Negative indefinites are the result of remerge and fusion: Support from ellipsis

Jeroen van Craenenbroeck   Tanja Temmerman
CRISSP/HUB/FUSL/Brussels   &   CRISSP/HUB/FUSL/Brussels
`van.craenenbroeck.jeroen@gmail.com`   `tanja.temmerman@gmail.com`

Main topic: the interaction between ellipsis and negation

Main claims:
- negative indefinites do not undergo QR or Agree/feature checking, but are the result of fusion with a Pol°-head
- fusion between Pol° and D° comes about under multidominance
- ellipsis can block this kind of fusion

Outline:

1   *Any/no* interchangeability under ellipsis: empirical generalizations

1.1   Background: polarity switches under ellipsis

observation: polarity items and indefinites are interchangeable under ellipsis (cf. Sag 1976; Hardt 1993; Johnson 2001; Merchant 2011)

from *any* to *some*
(1)   John didn't see **any**one, but Mary did ~~<see *anyone/**someone**>~~.   (Sag 1976:157f.)

from *some* to *any*
(2)   John saw **some**one, but Mary didn't ~~<see *someone/**anyone**>~~.   (Sag 1976:157f.)

from *no* to *a*
(3)   I could find **no** solution, but Holly might ~~<find *no/a solution>~~.   (Johnson 2001:107)

this talk: a closer look at polarity switches involving negative indefinites

1.2   From *any* to *no*: clausal vs. verbal ellipsis

1.2.1   *Clausal ellipsis:* any *can antecede the ellipsis of* no

question: how can we tell if a clausal ellipsis site contains *any* or *no*?

(4)   Q: Who didn't eat any cookies?
    A: a.   Mary ~~<didn't eat any cookies>~~.
         b.   Mary ~~<ate no cookies>~~.

answer: by looking at subject NPIs

(5)   [context: the TV show *American Idol*]
    Q: Which song didn't anyone like?
    A: a.   Katie's song.
         b.   Katie's song. Guess why!

note: the non-elliptical variants of (5) are ill-formed due to violations of NPI-licensing

(6)   a.   * Katie's song anyone didn't like.
    b.   * Guess why anyone didn't like Katie's song!

conclusion: the example in (5) shows that *any* can antecede the ellipsis of *no* in clausal ellipsis

(7)   a.   [$_{CP}$ Katie's song$_i$ [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ~~no one~~$_k$ [$_{T'}$ ~~T°~~ [$_{vP}$ t_k ~~liked t_i~~]]>]]
        b.   Guess [$_{CP}$ why   [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ~~no one~~$_k$ [$_{T'}$ ~~T°~~ [$_{vP}$ t_k ~~liked Katie's song~~]]>]]

however: Merchant (2001) has argued that the EPP can be suspended under ellipsis (see also Den Dikken et al. 2000, Van Craenenbroeck & Den Dikken 2006, Van Craenenbroeck 2010)
        → this means that the example in (5) can also be represented as in (8)

(8)   a.   [$_{CP}$ Katie's song$_i$ [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ___ [$_{T'}$ ~~didn't~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~anyone like t_i~~]]]>]]
        b.   Guess [$_{CP}$ why   [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ___ [$_{T'}$ ~~didn't~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~anyone like Katie's song~~]]]>]]

conclusion: we need an ellipsis site where an NPI-subject is illicit *both in its base-generated and in its derived position*

test: the Immediate Scope Constraint (cf. Linebarger 1987; Guerzoni 2006; Lechner 2007)

(9)   **Immediate Scope Constraint (ISC)**
    An NPI is acceptable in a sentence S if in the LF of S [...] the NPI is in the Immediate Scope (IS) of [NOT]. [i.e.] [...] only if (1) it occurs in [...] the [...] scope of NOT, and (2) [...] there are no 'logical' elements intervening between it and NOT."
                                  (Linebarger 1987:338, cited in Guerzoni 2006:360)

(10)   a.   He didn't like anything.   ¬ > NPI
       b.   He didn't always like anything.   * ¬ > ∀ > NPI

→   the ISC can ensure that a subject NPI is illicit in an ellipsis site

(11)   [context: There's a contest to choose which song will represent England in the Eurovision Song Contest. There are several qualifying rounds, a semi final, and a final, and several judges choose their favorite song. When there's a tie in the final, the consistency of the votes given to the songs is taken into account. In particular, if a judge has consistently voted for a certain song in every round, this is considered a bonus. Now, we're in the final and there is a tie. We first want to eliminate the weakest song, i.e. we want to know if there is a song that no one consistently voted for. So we ask…]

    Q: Which song didn't any judge always vote for?
    A: Katie's song.

note: in determining what the ellipsis site looks like in (11A), there are (at least) four options:

option #1: *any judge* in specTP

(12)   [$_{CP}$ Katie's song$_i$ [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ~~any judge~~$_k$ [$_{T'}$ ~~didn't~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~always~~ [$_{vP}$ t_k ~~vote for t_i~~]]]]>]]

    → this ellipsis site is ruled out due to lack of NPI-licensing

option #2: *any judge* in spec*v*P

(13)   [$_{CP}$ Katie's song$_i$ [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ___ [$_{T'}$ ~~didn't~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~always~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~any judge vote for t_i~~]]]]>]]

    → this ellipsis site is ruled out due to the ISC (* ¬ > ∀ > NPI)

option #3: *no judge* in specTP

(14)   [$_{CP}$ Katie's song$_i$ [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ~~no judge~~$_k$ [$_{T'}$ ~~T°~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~always~~ [$_{vP}$ t_k ~~voted for t_i~~]]]]>]]

    → this ellipsis site doesn't violate any principles and leads to a converging derivation

option #4: *no judge* in spec*v*P

(15)   [$_{CP}$ Katie's song$_i$ [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ___ [$_{T'}$ ~~T°~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~always~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~no judge voted for t_i~~]]]]>]]

    → this ellipsis site doesn't violate any principles and leads to a converging derivation (cf. Merchant 2001 on covert phrasal A-movement leading to the correct scope inside sluicing sites)

Aside
Two other options include (i) short QR of the NPI subject *any judge* to a position in between T° and *always*, and (ii) ellipsis 'repairing' the ISC or the NPI-licensing violation. The former would falsely predict (10) to be grammatical (with *anything* undergoing QR to a position in between *didn't* and *always*). The latter is unlikely in light of the fact that both the ISC and the condition on NPI licensing have a prominent LF-component (for NPIs cf. Giannakidou 1998, Moscati 2006); it is well known that ellipsis cannot repair LF-violations (cf. e.g. Sauerland 1996).

conclusion: the ISC-example in (11) shows that in clausal ellipsis *any* can antecede the ellipsis of *no*

1.2.2   *Verbal ellipsis:* any *ca<u>nnot</u> antecede the ellipsis of* no

observation: in simple Q/A-pairs with VP-ellipsis in the A, *any* cannot antecede the ellipsis of *no*:

(16)   [context: the film festival of Cannes]
    Q: Who didn't like **any** movie?
    A: a.   Quentin Tarantino didn't like **any** movie.
          b.   Quentin Tarantino liked **no** movie.
          c.   Quentin Tarantino didn't <~~like **any** movie~~>.
          d. * Quentin Tarantino did <~~like **no** movie~~>.

note: the ill-formedness of (16Ad) is not due to the presence of a stressed auxiliary, as the effect persists in infinitival VPE with a focused subject:

(17)   I know PETER didn't offer **any** help …
      a.   … and I also don't expect JOHN to offer **any** help.
      b.   … and I also expect JOHN to offer **no** help.
      c.   … and I also don't expect JOHN to <~~offer any help~~>.
      d. * … and I also expect JOHN to <~~offer no help~~>.

conclusion: the data in (16)-(17) show that in verbal ellipsis *any* ca<u>nnot</u> antecede the ellipsis of *no*

Generalization #1: The Clausal/Verbal-Generalization
   while in clausal ellipsis *any* can antecede the ellipsis of *no,*
   in verbal ellipsis this switch is disallowed

1.3   From *no* to *no* under verbal ellipsis

note: the data in section 1.2.2 only represent one of the four types of *any*/*no*-interaction under VP-ellipsis; let's try to paint a more complete picture:

from *any* to *no*:   **disallowed** (see above, section 1.2.2)

from *any* to *any*:   **allowed** (attested data)

(18)   a.   I didn't loose **any** weight. My mom didn't <~~loose any weight~~> either.
      b.   Honestly, I didn't see **any** difference. He said he didn't <~~see any difference~~> either.
      c.   I didn't feel **any** closure. Obviously they didn't <~~feel any closure~~> either.
      d.   I couldn't find **any** supplies for rabbits. Employees couldn't <~~find any supplies~~> either.
      e.   "The traditional family won't see **any** change," says Burlison. "A single-parent family won't <~~see any change~~> either."

from *no* to *any*:   **allowed** (attested data, cf. Temmerman 2012:42, (20))

(19)   a.   The press pulled **no** punches. Leaf didn't <~~pull any punches~~> either.
      b.   Many people there have **no** idea who he was but apparently Obama didn't <~~have any idea who he was~~> either.
      c.   Who here has **no** identification? – I don't <~~have any identification~~>.
      d.   "I have no idea how a hunter would have gotten his hands on it. It makes no sense." – "No, it doesn't <~~make any sense~~>.

from *no* to *no*:   **mixed results**

(20)   Q: Who liked **no** movie?
      A: ? Quentin Tarantino did <~~like no movie~~>.

(21)   I know PETER offered **no** help, and I also expect JOHN to <~~offer no help~~>.

however: if *no* outscopes an element outside of the ellipsis site, *no*/*no*-interchangeability fails

example #1: Neg>Mod-modals (cf. Cormack & Smith 2002; Iatridou & Sichel 2010)

can typically scopes below negation:

(22)   a.   John cannot go to this party. $(\neg > \diamond, {}^\%\diamond > \neg)$
      b.   John can do no homework tonight. $(\neg > \diamond, {}^\%\diamond > \neg)$

in VPE licensed by *can*, *no* cannot outscope the modal:

(23)   Q: Who can offer **no** help?
      A: % Quentin Tarantino can <~~offer no help~~>. $(*\neg > \diamond, {}^\%\diamond > \neg)$

example #2: high PP-scope

the example in (24) famously has two readings (cf. Jackendoff 1972):

(24)   Mary looks good with no clothes.
      =   Mary doesn't look good with any clothes.   (the unfortunate dresser reading)
      =   Mary looks good naked.   (the nudity reading)

Haegeman (1995), Svenonius (2002): these two readings correlate with two different scope positions for *no*: high in the case of the unfortunate dresser, low in the case of nudity

under VP-ellipsis only the naked reading survives:

(25)   You say MARY looks good in **no** clothes, but I say JULIE does <~~look good in no clothes~~>.   (*unfortunate dresser, [ok]nudity)

conclusion: *no* cannot take scope outside of a VPE-site

Generalization #2: The VPE/NI-Generalization
   a negative indefinite (NI) in object position cannot scope out of a VP-ellipsis (VPE) site

---

2　　Background for the analysis

2.1　　Possible analyses for negative indefinites and their interaction with VP-ellipsis

note: both generalizations crucially concern negative indefinites

let's start from generalization #2, i.e. a negative indefinite in object position cannot scope out of a VP-ellipsis site

→　there are various possible ways of allowing a negative indefinite (NI) in object position to take clausal scope:

(i)　**Quantifier Raising:** a NI undergoes QR to take clausal scope, targeting the same position as QR of other generalized quantifiers or the scope position of sentential negation (cf. Geurts 1996; De Swart 2000; Iatridou & Zeijlstra 2010; Iatridou & Sichel 2011; Zeijlstra 2011)

(ii)　**Agree/feature checking:** a sentential Polarity-head undergoes Agree/feature checking with a NI in object position (Giannakidou 1997; Weiß 2002; Tubau 2008; Haegeman & Lohndahl 2010; Penka & Zeijlstra 2010; Merchant 2011; Penka 2011)

(iii)　**Fusion/amalgamation/incorporation:** a NI in object position is the result of a (fairly superficial) process of fusion/amalgamation/incorporation between a clausal negative head and the indefinite determiner of the object DP (cf. Jacobs 1980; Rullman 1995)

question:　which of these processes can be blocked by VP-ellipsis?

(i)　VPE does not block QR, provided Parallelism and Scope Economy are respected (cf. Fox 2000)

> **Note**
> a.　*(A consequence of)* Parallelism (Fox 2000:32)
>> In an ellipsis construction, the scopal relationship among the elements in the antecedent must be identical to the scopal relationship among the parallel elements in the ellipsis site.
> b.　The Ellipsis Scope Generalization (Fox 2000:83)
>> In an ellipsis construction, inverse scope is possible only if it is semantically distinct from surface scope both in the sentence that includes the ellipsis site and in the sentence that includes the antecedent.

(26)　Some girl watched every movie, and some boy did <s>watch every movie</s> too.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ha 2007:160, (10))

　　a.　$\exists > \forall \,\&\, \exists > \forall$　(both conjuncts take surface scope)
　　b.　$\forall > \exists \,\&\, \forall > \exists$　(both conjuncts take inverse scope)
　　c.　* $\exists > \forall \,\&\, \forall > \exists$　(*Parallelism)
　　d.　* $\forall > \exists \,\&\, \exists > \forall$　(*Parallelism)

(27)　A boy admires every teacher. Mary does <s>admire every teacher</s>, too.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Fox 2000:32, (21))

　　a.　$\exists > \forall \,\&\, \exists > \forall$　(both conjuncts take surface scope)
　　b.　* $\forall > \exists \,\&\, \forall > \exists$　(*Scope Economy)
　　c.　* $\exists > \forall \,\&\, \forall > \exists$　(*Parallelism)
　　d.　* $\forall > \exists \,\&\, \exists > \forall$　(*Parallelism)

note:　in the illicit example in (28), both Scope Economy and Parallelism would be respected and hence QR should be allowed

(28)　Q:　　Who can offer no help?　　　　　　　$(\neg > \diamond)$

　　　A:　*　Quentin Tarantino can <s>offer no help</s>.　$(\neg > \diamond)$

(ii)　VPE does not block Agree/feature checking

e.g. T° can agree with the elided associate of a *there*-expletive

(29)　a.　Jim said there wouldn't be many people at the party, but there **were** <s>many people at the party</s>.
　　　b.　Jim said there wouldn't be a linguist at the party, but there **was** <s>a linguist at the party</s>.

note:　T° also agrees with the elided associate of a *there*-expletive when it is not the licenser of the ellipsis site

(30)　a.　Q: Will there be a linguist at the party?
　　　　　A: Well, there **seems** to be likely to be <s>a linguist at the party</s>.

　　　b.　Q: Will there be (any) linguists at the party?
　　　　　A: Well, there **seem** to be likely to be <s>(any) linguists at the party</s>.

(31)　a.　Q: Will there be an independent investigation of the murder?
　　　　　A: There **seems** likely to be <s>an independent investigation of the murder</s>.

　　　b.　Q: Will there be independent investigations (by the CIA, the FBI, …) of the murder?
　　　　　A: There **seem** likely to be <s>independent investigations of the murder</s>.

conclusion:　an analysis of object NIs based on QR or Agree/feature checking cannot account for the blocking effect of VP-ellipsis

　　　　　　　　→ we pursue an analysis in terms of fusion instead

> **Two questions:**
> - how can an NI in object position be the result of fusion given that Polº and the object are arguably not adjacent?
> - how exactly does VP-ellipsis block fusion?

2.2 A multidominance analysis of *wh*-movement and Quantifier Raising (Johnson 2011)

wh-movement

(32) Which story about her$_1$ should no linguist$_1$ forget?

(33)
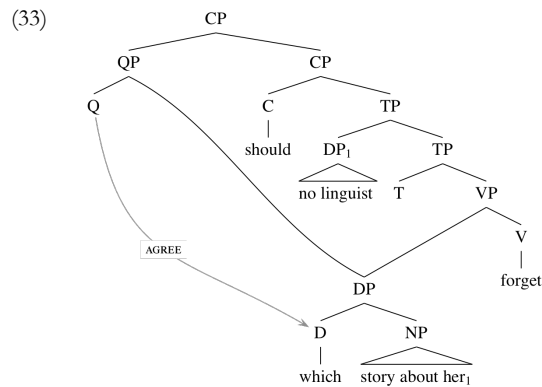
key ingredients: - the question morpheme Q combines semantically with CP, but morphologically with D(P) (cf. also Cable 2007, 2010)
- there is an Agree-relation between Q and D as a result of which D is spelled out in an agreeing form, i.e. as *which*
- the multiply dominated WH-phrase can in principle be spelled out in the high (moved) or the low (in situ) position

Quantifier Raising

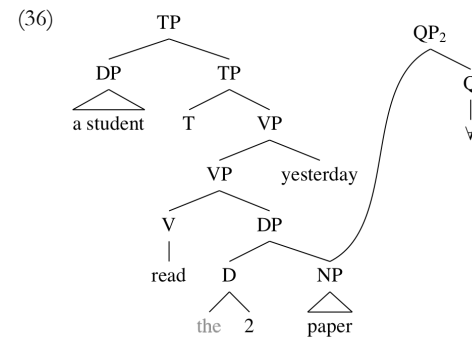(34) A student read every paper yesterday.

(35)
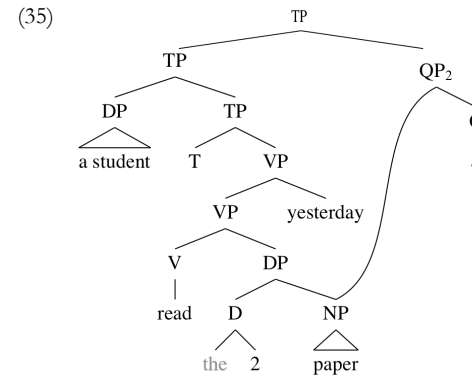
key ingredients: - the universal quantifier Q combines semantically with NP and TP, but morphologically with D(P)
- there is no c-command between Q and D, and hence no Agree-relation; instead, Q and D undergo fusion, i.e. a morphological process that allows two adjacent terminals to be combined into one vocabulary item

problem: Q and D do not appear to be adjacent

Johnson (2011):   the morphological requirements of Q and D force (cyclic) linearization to take place prior to the merger of TP and QP:

(36)

5

(37)   a.   The linearization of TP is:

a < student	student < T	read < D	D < paper	paper < yesterday
a < T	student < read	read < paper	D < yesterday	
a < read	student < D	read < yesterday		
a < D	student < paper			
a < paper	student < yesterday			
a < yesterday				

   b.   The linearization of QP is:
$$\forall < \text{paper}$$

note: at this point in the derivation nothing intervenes between Q and D,
i.e. $\neg\exists$ x.(Q < x & x < D) (and vice versa)
→ Johnson defines adjacency based on such linearizations

(38)   **Adjacency** (Johnson 2011:25, fn.22)
Two terminal items α and β are adjacent iff the linearization algorithm puts nothing in between them.

3   The analysis: ellipsis blocks fusion

3.1   The core of the analysis: negative indefinites involve multidominance (Johnson 2010)

(39)   She likes no spiders.   (= *She doesn't like (any) spiders*)

(40)

(Johnson 2010)
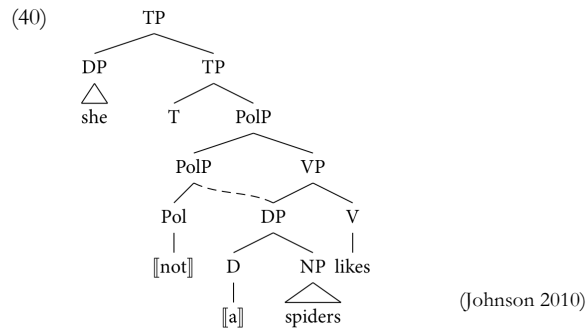
key ingredients: - the polarity head Pol° combines semantically with VP, but morphologically with D(P)
        - there is an Agree-relation between between Pol° and D° as a result of which D° is spelled out in an agreeing form, i.e. as *no*

our proposal: Pol° does not undergo Agree with D°; instead, they undergo fusion

supporting evidence:

(i)   In many languages, NIs transparently consist of two morphemes (negation and indefinite) (cf. Sauerland 2000)

(41)   a.   Jon   leser   **inger**   romaner.
             John   reads   no   novels
             'John reads no novels.'

        b.   Jon   leser   **ikke noen**   romaner.
             John   reads   not   any   novels
             'John does not read any novels.'

                                    (Norwegian, Sauerland 2000:423, (17)-(18))

(ii)   An Agree-analysis would predict negation (the head Pol°) and the agreeing indefinite (the head D°) to be able to be spelled out simultaneously (cf. Cable 2007, 2010 on Tlingit, where Q° and the WH-form of D° co-occur), *quod non* (cf. (42)) >< an analysis in terms of fusion (correctly) predicts the two to be in complementary distribution

(42)   * John did not buy nothing.   (* under the single negation reading)

conclusion: negative indefinites in object position are the result of fusion Pol° and D°

3.2   Returning to generalization #2: VP-ellipsis and the scope of *no*

three central assumptions:

1. 2 PolPs (NegPs), one dominating and one dominated by TP
cf. Robbers 1992; Zanuttini 1997; Van Kemenade 2000; Barbiers 2002; Cormack & Smith 2002;
Haegeman 2002; Butler 2003; Holmberg 2003; Van Craenenbroeck 2010

(43) $PolP_1$

     $Pol_1°$ TP

           T° $PolP_2$

               $Pol_2°$ VP
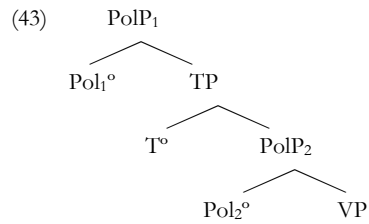
2. VP-ellipsis = ellipsis of the complement of T°
cf. Zagona 1982,1988; Lobeck 1995; Johnson 2001

(44) $PolP_1$

     $Pol_1°$ TP   ⇨ VP-ellipsis

           T° $<PolP_2>$

              $Pol_2°$ VP
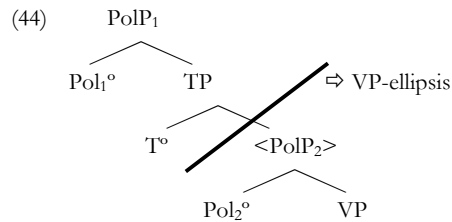
3. ellipsis of α involves the non-pronunciation of any terminal element dominated by α and the deletion from the Ordering Table of all statements referring to terminal elements dominated by α (Fox & Pesetsky 2003, 2004)
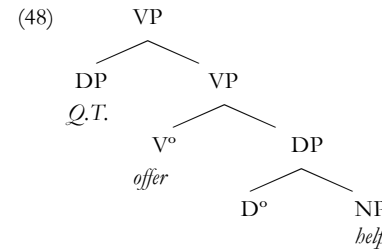
recall:

(45)   **Generalization #2: The VPE/NI-Generalization**
a negative indefinite in object position cannot scope out of a VP-ellipsis site

(46)   Q: Who can offer no help?
A: * Quentin Tarantino can <~~offer no help~~>.   (*¬ > ◇)

(47)   Q: Who liked *no* movie?
A: ? Quentin Tarantino did <~~like no movie~~>.

derivation of (46):

step 1: merger of VP

(48)   VP

    DP   VP
    Q.T.

           V°   DP
         offer

               D°   NP
                    help

step 2: spell-out of VP

(49)   The linearization of VP is:
   Q.T. < offer   offer < D   D < help
   Q.T. < D   offer < help
   Q.T. < help
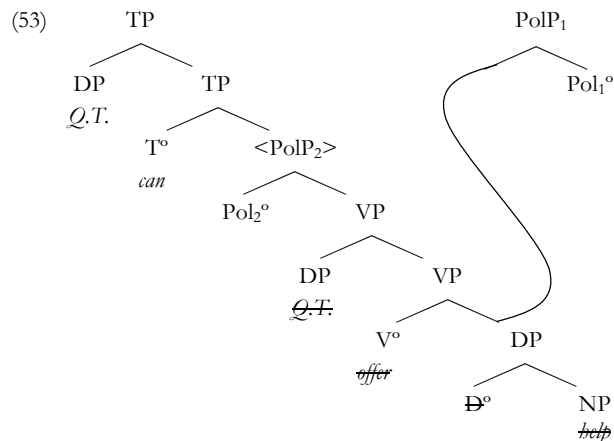
step 3: merger of $Pol_2°$ and T°

(50)   TP

    T° $PolP_2$
   can

        $Pol_2°$ VP

             DP   VP
            Q.T.

                 V°   DP
               offer

                    D°   NP
                       help
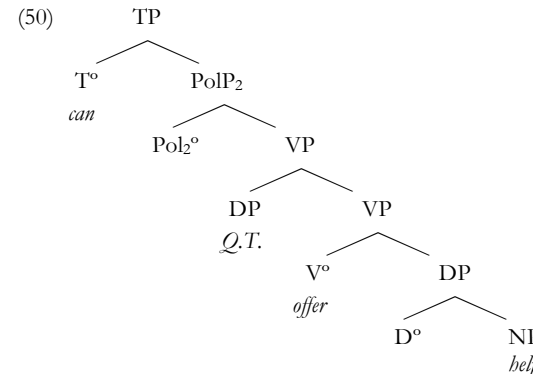
step 4: T° attracts the subject and triggers deletion of its complement

(51)
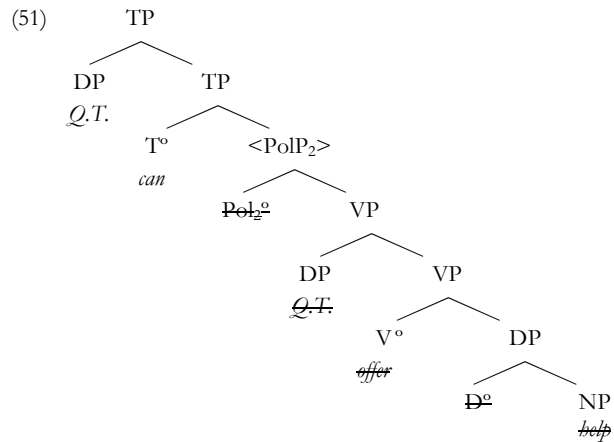
(52)   The linearization of PolP$_2$ is:
Pol$_2$ < Q.T   Q.T. < offer   offer < D   D < help
Pol$_2$ < offer   Q.T. < D   offer < help
Pol$_2$ < D   Q.T. < help
Pol$_2$ < help

step 5: Pol$_1$° merges with DP

(53)

note: this is the point in the derivation where Pol$_1$° and D° would normally fuse (right before the merger of PolP$_1$ and TP)

however: at this point, D° has already been elided, which means there is nothing to fuse with
→ fusion is blocked and Pol$_1$° can only be spelled out as an independent lexical item (i.e. as *not* or *n't*)

conclusion: the derivation in (48)-(53) is spelled out as (54); the example in (55) can—in the intended reading—not be derived by our system

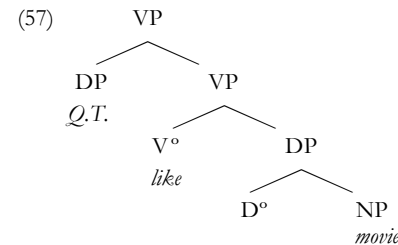(54)   Quentin Tarantino can't <offer (any) help>.   (¬ > ◇)

(55)   * Quentin Tarantino can <offer no help>.   (*¬ > ◇)

derivation of (56):

(56)   Q: Who liked no movie?
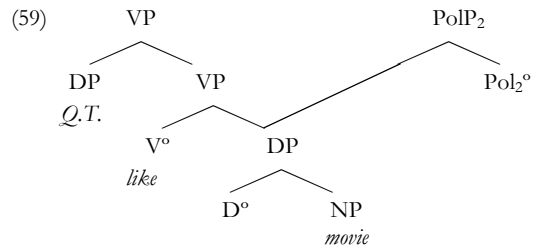A: ? Quentin Tarantino did <like no movie>.

step 1: merger of VP

(57)

step 2: spell-out of VP

(58)   The linearization of VP is:
Q.T. < like   like < D   D < movie
Q.T. < D   like < movie
Q.T. < movie

step 3: $Pol_2°$ merges with DP

(59)

step 4: the fusion requirement of $Pol_2°$ and D° triggers linearization at this point

(60)   The linearization of VP is:
Q.T. < like   like < D   D < movie
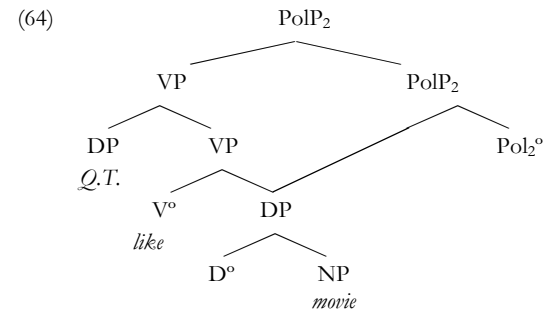Q.T. < D   like < movie
Q.T. < movie

(61)   The linearization of $PolP_2$ is:
$Pol_2°$ < D   D < movie
$Pol_2°$ < movie

step 5: $Pol_2°$ and D° are adjacent and undergo fusion into *no*
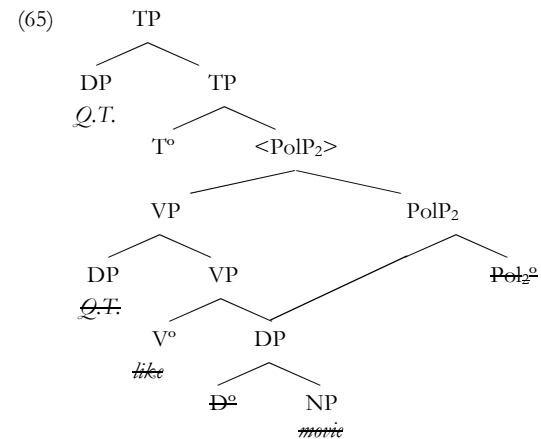
(62)   The linearization of VP is:
Q.T. < like   like < no   no < movie
Q.T. < no   like < movie
Q.T. < movie

(63)   The linearization of $PolP_2$ is:
no < movie

step 6: VP and $PolP_2$ are merged

(64)

step 7: T° attracts the subject and triggers deletion of its complement

(65)

(66)   The linearization of $PolP_2$ is:
~~Q.T. < like   like < no   no < movie~~
~~Q.T. < no   like < movie~~
~~Q.T. < movie~~

step 8: the rest of the structure is merged ($Pol_1°$, $C°$, etc.) and the derivation is spelled out as (67)

(67)   ?   Quentin Tarantino did <s>like no movie</s>.

conclusion: if fusion takes place prior to ellipsis (i.e. if $D°$ merges with $Pol_2°$ rather than $Pol_1°$), the derivation converges and the VP-ellipsis site can contain an object-NI

3.3   Returning to generalization #1: clausal vs. verbal ellipsis

recall:

(68)   **Generalization #1: The Clausal/Verbal-Generalization**
while in clausal ellipsis *any* can antecede the ellipsis of *no,* in verbal ellipsis this switch is disallowed

clausal ellipsis

(69)   Q: Which song didn't **any** judge always vote for?
A: Katie's song <<s>no judge always voted for</s>>.

verbal ellipsis

(70)   Q: Who didn't like **any** movie?
A: * Quentin Tarantino did <<s>like no movie</s>>.

general idea:

    clausal ellipsis: the ellipsis site properly contains both $PolP_1$ and $PolP_2$
      → fusion always precedes ellipsis
      → negative indefinites are allowed regardless of whether the indefinite merges with $Pol_1°$ or $Pol_2°$

    verbal ellipsis: the ellipsis site only properly contains $PolP_2$, not $PolP_1$
      → only fusion with $Pol_2°$ precedes ellipsis
      → negative indefinites are allowed only if they merge with $Pol_2°$ (i.e. if they scope below $T°$)

analysis of (70):

1. the contracted negation (i.e. *n't*) of the antecedent is the spell-out of $Pol_1°$ (cf. Cormack & Smith 2002)

(71) $[_{CP}$ Who $[_{PolP1}$ didn't $[_{TP}$ $T°$ $[_{PolP2}$ $[_{VP}$ like **any** movie]]]]]?

2. Scope Parallelism requires that the negation in the ellipsis site also be of the $PolP_1$-type

3. Ellipsis of $PolP_2$ blocks fusion of $Pol_1°$ and $D°$ and the example in (70) cannot be derived

Aside
This line of reasoning suggests that if *any* were licensed by $Pol_2°$, *any* should be able to antecede the ellipsis of *no* even in VP-ellipsis contexts. A relevant example would be the one in (i).
(i)   [context: There's an eating contest and both John and Mary want to end last in the contest. Peter and Julie are discussing this.]
    Peter: So can John forfeit the game?
    Julie: Well, he COULD not eat anything, I guess.
    Peter: But then, Mary could <<s>eat nothing</s>> too.
The problem with these kinds of examples, though, is that there is no way of telling if the ellipsis site contains a (fused) negative indefinite or an NPI licensed by $Pol_2°$.

analysis of (69):

1. the negative indefinite in subject position fuses with a $Pol°$-head (presumably $Pol_1°$ given that negation outscopes *always*)

2. ellipsis of the complement of $C°$ (i.e. $PolP_1$ or some higher projection) yields the fragment in (69)

conclusion: an ellipsis site can contain negative indefinites only if it properly contains the polarity head responsible for creating the indefinite; for clausal ellipses this is always the case, for verbal ellipses this only holds for the lower polarity projection

4   Broader implications:
Elided subject NPIs constitute no new argument for EPP-violation-repair

claim: clausal ellipsis suspends the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), i.e. the requirement
that subjects raise to specTP (cf. Den Dikken et al. 2000; Merchant 2001; Van Craenenbroeck
& Den Dikken 2006; Van Craenenbroeck 2010)

(72)   A biography of one of the Marx brothers is going to appear this year.
Guess [$_{CP}$ which (Marx brother)$_i$ < [$_{IP}$ ___ ~~is~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~going to appear [a biography of t$_i$~~]
~~this year.~~]] >]   (Merchant 2001:187)

question: do subject NPIs in fragments and embedded sluicing constitute a new (fourth)
argument for this claim?

answer: no, given that *any* can antecede the ellipsis of *no* under clausal ellipsis, there is no way
of telling if the underlying structure for (71) is (72) or (73)

(73)   [context: the TV show *American Idol*]
Q: Which song didn't anyone like?
A: a.   Katie's song.
b.   Katie's song. Guess why!

(74)   a.   [$_{CP}$ Katie's song$_i$ [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ___ [$_{T'}$ ~~didn't~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~anyone like t$_i$~~]]]>]]
b.   Guess [$_{CP}$ why   [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ___ [$_{T'}$ ~~didn't~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~anyone like Katie's song~~]]]>]]

(75)   a.   [$_{CP}$ Katie's song$_i$ [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ~~no one~~$_k$ [$_{T'}$ ~~T°~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~t$_k$ liked t$_i$~~]]>]]
b.   Guess [$_{CP}$ why   [$_{C'}$ C° <[$_{TP}$ ~~no one~~$_k$ [$_{T'}$ ~~T°~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~t$_k$ liked Katie's song~~]]>]]

5   Summary and conclusions

5.1   Summary

- *The Clausal/Verbal-Generalization*
  While in clausal ellipsis *any* can antecede the ellipsis of *no*, in verbal ellipsis this switch is
  disallowed.

- *The VPE/NI-Generalization*
  A negative indefinite in object position cannot scope out of a VP-ellipsis site.

- Negative indefinites do not undergo QR or Agree/feature checking, but are the result of
  fusion with a Pol°-head.

- Fusion between Pol° and D° comes about under multidominance.

- Ellipsis can block this kind of fusion.

5.2   Implications and prospects

- Subject NPIs do not provide conclusive evidence that clausal ellipsis suspends the EPP.

- The facts discussed here fit into a broader set of distinctions between 'high' and 'low'
  ellipses. Clausal ellipsis contains two members of a grammatical dependency, whereas
  verbal ellipsis only contains one, leading to differences in grammaticality (cf. Merchant
  2007, 2011).

- Our theory predicts there is no overt NEG-shift. This seems corroborated by the fact
  that many proposed instances of NEG-shift are parasitic on independently attested
  movement operations, e.g. scrambling in continental West-Germanic (Haegeman 1995)
  and object shift in Scandinavian (Svenonius 2002). See Temmerman (2012:Ch.6.2.2) for
  some discussion.

- How does the fusion operation described here relate to existing (DM and non-DM)
  accounts of Fusion (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993; Embick & Noyer 2001; Kandybowicz 2006;
  Parrott 2006; Radkevich 2010)? See Temmerman (2012:Ch.3) for discussion.

- How do negative indefinite formation and QR interact, given that both of these
  operations require D° to fuse with a higher functional head?

- Why does VPE *not* block QR, given that QR requires D° to fuse with a higher functional
  head Q°? See Temmerman (2012:Ch.5) for an analysis.

References

Barbiers, S. (2002). 'Microvariation in negation in varieties of Dutch.' In: S. Barbiers, L. Cornips & S. van der Kleij (eds.), *Syntactic Microvariation*. Amsterdam: Meertens Instituut. 13-40. Available at: http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/books/synmic/

Butler, J. (2003). 'A Minimalist Treatment of Modality.' *Lingua* 113. 967-96.

Cable, S. (2007). *The grammar of Q: Q-particles and the nature of wh-fronting, as revealed by the wh questions of Tlingit*. PhD dissertation, MIT.

Cable, S. (2010). *The Grammar of Q: Q-Particles, Wh-Movement and Pied-Piping*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cormack, A. & N. Smith (2002). 'Modals and negation in English.' In: S. Barbiers, F. Beukema & W. van der Wurff (eds.), *Modality and its interaction with the verbal system*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 133-63.

Craenenbroeck, J. van (2010). *The syntax of ellipsis: Evidence from Dutch dialects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Craenenbroeck, J. van & M. Den Dikken (2006). 'Ellipsis and EPP repair.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 37(4). 653-64.

Den Dikken, M., A. Meinunger & C. Wilder (2000). 'Pseudoclefts and ellipsis.' *Studia Linguistica* 54:1. 49-89.

Embick, D. & R. Noyer (2001). 'Movement operations after syntax.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 32. 555-95.

Fox, D. (2000). *Economy and Semantic Interpretation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Fox, D. & D. Pesetsky (2003). 'Cyclic Linearization and the Typology of Movement.' Handout, MIT. Available at http://web.mit.edu/afs/athena.mit.edu/org/l/linguistics/www/bibliography/pesetsky.html

Fox, D. & D. Pesetsky (2004). 'Cyclic Linearization of Syntactic Structure.' *Theoretical Linguistics* 31(1-2). 1-46.

Geurts, B. (1996). 'On *no*.' *Journal of Semantics* 13. 67-86.

Giannakidou, A. (1997). *The landscape of polarity items*. PhD Dissertation, University of Groningen.

Giannakidou, A. (1998). *Polarity sensitivity as (non) veridical dependency*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Guerzoni, E. (2006). 'Intervention effects on NPIs and feature movement: Towards a unified account of intervention.' *Natural Language Semantics* 12. 359-98.

Ha, S. (2007). 'An entailment account of scope parallelism.' In: E. Bainbridge & B. Agbayani (eds.), *Proceedings of Western Conference on Linguistics 2006, Vol 17*. Fresno, CA: California State University Press. 158-69.

Haegeman, L. (1995). *The syntax of negation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haegeman, L. (2002). 'West Flemish negation and the derivation of SOV order in West Germanic.' *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 25. 154-89.

Haegeman, L. & T. Lohndal (2010). 'Negative concord and (multiple) Agree: A case study of West Flemish.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 41(2). 181-211.

Halle, M. & A. Marantz (1993). 'Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection.' In: K. Hale & S.J. Keyser (eds.), *The View from Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 111-76.

Hardt, D. (1993). *Verb phrase ellipsis: Form, meaning and processing*. PhD dissertation, UPenn.

Holmberg, A. (2003). 'Yes/no questions and the relation between tense and polarity in English and Finnish.' *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 3. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 43-68.

Iatridou, S. & H. Zeijlstra (2010). 'On the scopal interaction of negation and deontic modals.' In: K. Schulz & M. Aloni (eds.), *Proceedings of the Amsterdam Colloquium*. Amsterdam: ILLC.

Iatridou, S. & I. Sichel (2011). 'Negative DPs, A-movement, and scope diminishment.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 42. 595-629.

Jackendoff, R. (1972). *Semantic interpretation in generative grammar*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Jacobs, J. (1980). 'Lexical Decomposition in Montague Grammar.' *Theoretical Linguistics* 7. 121-136.

Johnson, K. (2001). 'What VP ellipsis can do, and what it can't, but not why.' In: M. Baltin & C. Collins (eds.), *The handbook of contemporary syntactic theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Johnson, K. (2010). 'Karen.' E-mail correspondence with Karen De Clercq, GIST/UGent.

Johnson, K. (2011). 'Towards deriving differences in how Wh movement and QR are pronounced.' *Lingua* (in press). Available online since January 2011 at: http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0024384110002822

Kandybowicz, J. (2006). 'On Fusion and the architecture of PF.' Paper presented at *Penn Linguistics Colloquium (PLC) 30*, University of Pennsylvania.

Kemenade, A. van (1998). 'Sentential negation and clause structure in Old English.' In I. Tieken-Boon, G. Tottie & W. van der Wurff (eds.), *Negation in the history of English*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter. 147-66.

Lechner, W. (2007). 'Interpretive effects of head movement.' Ms, University of Tübingen. (lingBuzz/000178)

Linebarger, M.C. (1987). 'Negative polarity and grammatical representation.' *Linguistics and Philosophy* 10. 325–87.

Lobeck, A. (1995). *Ellipsis: Functional heads, licensing and identification*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Merchant, J. (2001). *The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands and the theory of ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merchant, J. (2007). 'Voice and ellipsis.' Ms, University of Chicago.

Merchant, J. (2011). 'Polarity items under ellipsis.' To appear in: L. Cheng & N. Corver (eds.), *Diagnosing syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moscati, V. (2006). *The scope of negation*. PhD dissertation, University of Siena.

Parrott, J.K. (2006). 'Distributed morphological mechanisms of Smith Island *weren't* leveling.' *UPenn Working Papers in Linguistics* (12:3).

Penka, D. (2011). *Negative indefinites*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Penka, D. & H. Zeijlstra. (2010). 'Negation and polarity: An introduction.' *NLLT* 28. 771-786.

Radkevich, N. (2010). 'Overlapping portmanteaus: Why they do not exist.' Paper presented at *NELS 41*, University of Pennsylvania.

Robbers, K. (1992). 'Properties of negation in Afrikaans and Italian.' In: R. Bok-Bennema & R. van Hout (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1992*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 223-34.

Rullman, H. (1995). 'Geen einheid.' *Tabu* 25. 194-7.

Sag, I. (1976). *Deletion and logical form*. PhD dissertation, MIT.

Sauerland, U. (1996). 'Guess How?' In: J. Costa, R. Goedemans & R. van de Vijver (eds.), *Proceedings of the 4th Conference of the Student Organization of Linguistics in Europe.* Leiden: Student Organization of Linguistics in Europe. 297-309.

Sauerland, U. (2000). 'No 'no': On the crosslinguistic absence of a determiner 'no'.' In: *Proceedings of the Tsukuba workshop on determiners and quantification.* Tsukuba University, Tsukuba. 415-44.

Svenonius, P. (2002). 'Strains of negation in Norwegian.' *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 69. 121–46.

Swart, H. de. (2000). Scope ambiguities with negative quantifiers. In: K. von Heusinger & U. Egli (eds.), *Reference and anaphoric relations.* Dordrecht: Kluwer. 109-132.

Temmerman, T. (2012). *Multidominance, ellipsis, and quantifier scope.* PhD dissertation, Leiden University.

Tubau, S. (2008). *Negative concord in English and Romance: Syntax-morphology interface conditions on the expression of negation.* PhD dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and University of Amsterdam. Utrecht: LOT Publications.

Weiß, H. (2002). 'A quantifier approach to negation in natural languages. Or why negative concord is necessary.' *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 25. 125-153.

Zagona, K. (1982). *Government and proper government of verbal projections.* PhD dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.

Zagona, K. (1988). *Verb Phrase Syntax: A Parametric Study of English and Spanish.* Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Zanuttini, R. (1997). *Negation and Clausal Structure: A comparative study of Romance languages.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Zeijlstra, H. (2011). 'On the syntactically complex status of negative indefinites.' *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 14. 111-138.