X

AGAINST A VP ELLIPSIS ACCOUNT OF RUSSIAN VERB-STRANDING CONSTRUCTIONS*

Recent proposals that Russian verb-stranding constructions are the result of VP-ellipsis after V+*v* raising (Gribanova 2009, 2011) (henceforth the "VVPE analysis") are presented and refuted on various grounds. The case against VVPE for Russian V-stranding involves examination of Gribanova's arguments in favor of VVPE, as well as additional arguments against it. It is demonstrated, however, than one crucial insight of the VVPE analysis must be maintained, namely that there are (at least) two distinct processes allowing objects of otherwise obligatorily transitive verbs in Russian to be omitted, one of them involving ellipsis (though crucially not VP/*v*P ellipsis) and the other resembling discourse-licensed Argument Drop (AD). AD is revealed to be the result of the licensing of null object pronouns in a manner familiar to Huang's 1984 Topic Drop and distinct from Rizzi's 1986 null-object typology. The resulting analysis of Russian verb-stranding is consistent with the existing literature on true VVPE in those languages that show it uncontroversially (Goldberg 2006).

X.1 RUSSIAN V-STRANDING CONSTRUCTIONS

It is quite common in Russian to find grammatical constructions containing otherwise obligatorily transitive verbs without their internal argument(s). These will be referred to as V-stranding constructions (VSC). An example from Gribanova 2009 is given in (1). (In all VSC examples, the "stranded" verb will be indicated with bold face, and the neutral symbol ☻ will be used to mark the site of the missing argument(s)).

1)   A.   --Ty   poznakomil Mašu   s Petej?
          you   introduced Masha   with Petya
          "Did you introduce Masha to Petya?"

     B.   --Konečno,   poznakomil ☙   ☙
          of course   introduced ☙   ☙
          "Of course, I introduced ☙."

Goldberg (2006), following a long tradition dating back to Otani & Whitman 1991, argues that various languages, such as Hebrew, Swahili, Irish and Ndendeule, (but *not* Korean and Japanese derive V-stranding by raising the main verb out of the extended VP/vP domain, followed by ellipsis of the vP itself. This is the VVPE account. Goldberg's primary argument in favor of a VVPE account of V-stranding in such languages involves ruling out the alternative of Argument Drop, an approach which is similar in spirit to that taken by Gribanova 2011 for Russian, though crucially different in certain details as we will see immediately below.

  Gribanova's VVPE account of Russian V-stranding differs from Goldberg's account of the languages mentioned above in one crucial respect: Russian does not show V→T raising in overt syntax (Bailyn 1995, 2012, Kollestinova 2007, Gribanova 2009, 2010, 2011), something that is required of all the other VVPE languages in Goldberg's typology. Rather, Gribanova argues, Russian main verbs raise out of vP to an intermediate category between vP and TP, namely Asp(ect)P, after which the lower vP is elided, stranding the main verb. A schematic representation, from Gribanova 2011, is given in (2):

2) Gribanova's VVPE analysis of Russian VSC (Gribanova 2011)
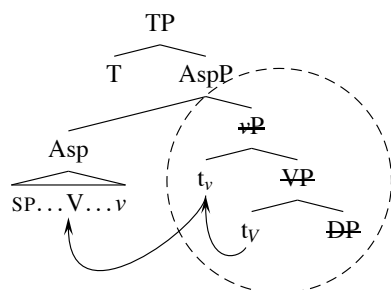
In this article, I argue against the VVPE analysis for Russian V-stranding and propose an alternate account for deriving the relevant cases. The article is structured as follows. First, in Section 2, I present the two primary arguments in favor of a VVPE analysis of Russian V-stranding, namely (i) that there is no good alternative (in particular, that V-stranding cannot always be the result of Argument Drop) and (ii) that certain facts of Russian verbal morphology and matching in V-stranding favor VVPE. In Section 3, I present 6 arguments against the VVPE account. In Section 4, I present an alternative account that captures Gribanova's core intuition (that two distinct processes can be involved in deriving Russian V-stranding) without requiring VVPE.

X.2 THE CASE FOR RUSSIAN VVPE

Gribanova's (2009, 2010, 2011) case for a VVPE analysis of Russian V-stranding consists primarily of two arguments, as follows:[1] (i) The alternative to VVPE, some form of Argument Drop (AD), fails (for at least some Russian VSCs). (ii) Morphological verbal matching effects of a particular kind hold (in at least some VSCs), which can be accounted for under a VVPE account, but do not follow from any account that does not involve vP ellipsis. I now outline the two arguments in detail.

  The first argument for VVPE put forth by Gribanova is an argument against the most plausible alternative, namely (some kind of) Argument Drop (AD). The argument runs as follows:

3) Gribanova's argument against an AD account of V-stranding:

a. There are contexts where AD is unavailable (certain syntactic islands)
b. In such contexts, V-stranding is still possible
c. Therefore, in such contexts (at least), V-stranding can't be derived by AD.
d. Therefore in such contexts (at least), V-stranding must be derived by VVPE

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[1]It should be noted that the 2009 and 2010 handout versions contain additional arguments later not found in the written 2011 version. I do not address those arguments here.

To start this argument, Gribanova reviews the well known fact that uncontroversial cases of VP/*v*P ellipsis require a linguistic antecedent. This is shown in the distinction between successful English *v*P ellipsis in (4) (with a linguistic antecedent) and unsuccessful English *v*P ellipsis in (5):

4) A. --Nobody here will be able to sew those ripped jeans!
    B. --Don't worry, grandma will be able to [$_{vp}$ ~~sew those ripped jeans~~].   (*v*PE)

5) Situation: *A man with ripped jeans enters the room*
    *Don't worry, grandma will be able to [$_{vp}$ ~~sew those ripped jeans~~].   (**v*PE)

On the other hand, Argument Drop (AD) (Hoji 1998, Saito 2007, Aoun & Li 2007, Gribanova 2010, Sigurðsson 2011), does not require a linguistic antecedent, and so the Russian equivalent of (5), which is fine, must be some form of Argument Drop:

6) Situation: *A man with ripped jeans enters the room*

    A. Ne   volnujsja, babuška   zaš'et   ☻ (AD)
        don't   worry   grandma   will sew   ☻
        "Don't worry, grandma will sew [~~them~~]."

Crucially for Gribanova's argument, AD fails inside syntactic islands. Thus, if no linguistic antecedent is present, precluding *v*P ellipsis, and an island is present, precluding AD, the result is ungrammatical. This is shown in (7):

7) Situation: *A man with ripped jeans enters the room*

    A. *Ne   volnujsja, sejčas   pridjet   [čelovek,   (*AD)
        don't   worry   now   will come   [man   (**v*PE)
         kotoryj   zaš'et   ☻]
         who   will sew   ☻ (ex from Gribanova 2010)
        "Don't worry, [someone who will sew [~~them~~]] is coming."

Because (7) is unacceptable, both ellipsis and AD must fail. Ellipsis is ruled out by the lack of a linguistic antecedent, leaving only AD as a possibility. The fact that the example is bad shows

that AD fails within syntactic islands.[2] By contrast, if a linguistic antecedent is provided, such as (8), the same response as (7) becomes possible, implicating ellipsis, and not AD, as the only viable analysis of examples such as (8), which is identical to (7) but without a linguistic antecedent:

8) A. Menja   volnuet,   čto nikto ne   zašil   džinsy
       me   worries   that noone neg   sewed   jeans
       "It worries me that no one has sewed these jeans."

   B. Ne   volnujsja, sejčas pridet   [čelovek,
      don't worry   now   will come [man
        kotoryj   zašet$_v$ [t_v Ø]   "VVPE"
        who   will sew   [t_v Ø]
      "Don't worry, [someone who will sew [~~them~~]] is coming."
      (= ex (39) from Gribanova 2011)

Note that this diagnostic is the only one Gribanova provides to distinguish VVPE from AD. Therefore all examples of purported VVPE should be embedded within such islands. In what follows, I will use relative clauses, which are strongly opaque to WH extraction, to maintain the parallel as much as possible.

   Gribanova's   second   argument   involves   morphological matching. Recall that Gribanova's account involves V movement of the head of AspectP, but no higher. This movement of the verb must be motivated, since it is generally accepted that Russian main verbs do not move overtly out of vP (Bailyn 1995, Kollestinova 2007, Gribanova 2009, 2010). Therefore, Gribanova relies on syntactic accounts of Russian verbal prefixation (following Svenonius 2004) to provide evidence that this movement is exactly what is involved in successful cases of VVPE. To do this, she relies on the distinction between two kinds of verbal prefixes in Russian: Lexical prefixes (LP) and

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[2]Gribanova does not provide an account for the island-sensitivity of AD, other than to say that *pro "establishes an A-bar relation with a topic in the matrix clause."* Gribanova does present parallels between WH-movement constraints and AD island-sensitivity, which provide support for the generalization. I will therefore assume along with Gribanova that some such island-sensitivity restricts AD in Russian, (though it must be noted that WH-movement/AD parallels do not always hold in the manner presented by Gribanova). The distribution and nature of these restrictions is outside the scope of this article.

Superlexical Prefixes (SP). LPs are essentially part of certain lexical items (such as English *re*frain, *re*treat)[3] whereas SP are heads of AspectP, by assumption, following Svenonius 2004. Assuming an identity condition on *v*P ellipsis of the standard kind, in successful cases of VVPE, SPs, residing outside *v*P, can be expected to vary, while LPs, being *v*P-internal, must be identical. The predictions for Gribanova, therefore, are as follows: V-stranding should be possible, within syntactic islands, if either (i) the verbs are identical or (ii) the verbs differ only in having distinct superlexical prefixes (SP). On the other hand, V-stranding should not be possible, within syntactic islands, if (i) the verbs are different or (ii) the verbs have identical stems with distinct lexical prefixes (LP) (note that (ii) essentially reduces to (i) on standard approaches to lexical prefixes). Evidence to support these predictions is given in Gribanova 2011, as follows:

9) Predictions about availability of V-stranding within syntactic islands (where AD is unavailable):

  a. Identical verbs (10) and identical stems with distinct superlexical prefixes (11) are predicted to be OK.

  c. Different verbs (12) and identical stems with distinct lexical prefixes (13) are predicted to be out.

10) A. Kažetsja, čto nikto ne   podnjal   tu   vazu
       seems   that no one neg   picked up that vase

   B. Tot fakt, čto nikto   ne   podnjal   Ø   menja
      the fact   that no one   neg picked up Ø   me
          očen'   ogorčaet
          very   upsets   "VVPE"

   "It seems that no one picked that vase up. The fact that no one picked (it) up upsets me greatly."

11) V-stranding inside an island with identical stems and distinct Superlexical Prefixes: (Gribanova, 2011, exs 73, 74)

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[3] Of course, in some cartographic accounts, these too could be syntactic heads, but they certainly fall within the standard VP/*v*P domain, which is all that matters for Gribanova, and therefore for the current discussion,

A. Kažetsja,   čto nikto ne   podnjal   vazu
   seems   that no one neg   picked up vase
    kotoraja uže   ne pervyj raz   padaet
    which   already neg first   time   falls

B. Naoborot,   uže   prišel   čelovek,
   on-contrary already came   someone who
    kotoryj   PEREpodnjal   Ø
    who   re-   picked up Ø   "VVPE"

"A: It seems that no one picked up the vase that fell more than once. B: On the contrary, a person who picked (it) up again already came."

12) Unacceptable V-stranding inside an island with different verbs: (Gribanova, 2011, exs 63, 64)

A. Kto-to   uronil   ètu   vazu
   someone   dropped   this   vase

B. *Tot fakt, čto nikto   ne podnjal   Ø   menja
    the fact   that no one   neg picked up Ø   me
     očen'   ogorčaet
     very   upsets   *"VVPE"

"Someone dropped that vase. The fact that no one picked (it) up upsets me greatly."

13) Unacceptable V-stranding inside an island with identical stems and distinct Lexical Prefixes: (Gribanova, 2011, ex 76)

A.   Nepravitel'stvennye   organizacii   dolžny   byli
     Non-governmental   organizations   should   have
      RAZdavat' butylki vody   bežencam na   Gaiti
      distributed   bottles   of water   refugees   in   Haiti

B. *Nas očen' volnujut sluxi, čto oni   PROdavali Ø
    us   very worry   rumors that they   sold   Ø

"NGOs were supposed to distribute bottles of water to Haitian refugees. We are very worried by rumors that they sold *(them)."   *"VVPE"

These two arguments form the core of the Gribanova analysis. Next, I present 6 arguments against the VVPE analysis of Russian VSE constructions, still assuming, along with Gribanova, that instances of AD can be controlled for by examining cases within syntactic islands only. Gribanova's second argument, (morphological matching) is countered in X.3.5. The status of what the alternative to VVPE is within islands (her first argument) is addresses in section 4.

X.3 THE CASE AGAINST V-STRANDING AS VVPE

In this section, I present 6 arguments against the VVPE account of VSCs in Russian. The first two are theoretical arguments, the final three are empirical arguments.

14) 6 arguments against VVPE for Russian
  I.   "true" Russian *v*P ellipsis does not strand verbs
  II. VVPE occurs in V→T raising languages only
  III. Russian V-stranding constructions allow strict and sloppy identity; *v*P ellipsis allows only sloppy readings
  IV. *v*P adverb constituency is not required in V-stranding
  V. Verb matching requirements do not support VVPE
  VI. Subject/Object drop dependencies are unexpected in V-stranding under a VVPE account

X.3.1 "TRUE" RUSSIAN *V*P ELLIPSIS DOES NOT STRAND VERBS

Kazenin 2006 demonstrates that Russian has at least 2 kinds of phrasal ellipsis, one of which elides the entire verbal complex (including any AspP projections) but nothing in the IP/TP domain. I call this kind of ellipsis "true *v*P+ ellipsis". "Two types of predicate ellipsis [in Russian] are possible, one retaining a polarity marker without the aux (15) and the other one retaining a polarity marker with the aux (16)"

TYPE I: "polarity ellipsis" (using *da, net*) (Kazenin 2006)

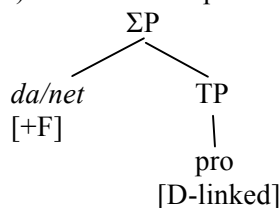15) Petja   [ljubit   sebja], a   Vasja   <u>net</u>   Ø
      Petya   [loves   self]   but Vasja   NET   Ø
"Peter loves himself, but Vasja doesn't [~~love himself~~] (sloppy)

TYPE II: "true" *v*P+ ellipsis -- using the auxiliary *budet*

16) Petya   budet   [pomogat' sebe]
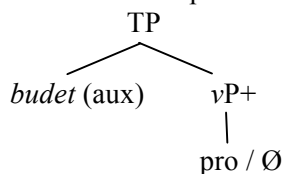   Petya   will   [to help   self]
              a   Kolja   ne   budet Ø
              but   Kolja   neg   will   Ø
              "Petya will help himself, but Kolya won't Ø."
              (Ø = *help himself (Kolya)* = sloppy))

The relevant structures are shown in (17):

17) a. TYPE I ellipsis: b.TYPE II ellipsis:
            ΣP   TP

     da/net   TP   *budet* (aux)   *v*P+
     [+F] | |
                       pro   pro / Ø
                   [D-linked]

It is the latter case that is of interest to us here. The ellipsis site in
cases such as (16) / (17) comprises the entire verbal complex,
including any syntactic domains headed by prefixes (since verbs
are obligatory elided). This corresponds to traditional English *v*P
ellipsis. (The + indicates that any extended cartographic domains
above *v*P but below TP, such as AspP in Gribanova's account,
must be included here, since the extended *v*P is entirely elided.
     Familiar diagnostics implicating traditional *v*P ellipsis are
given in Kazenin 2006, such as the inclusion in the ellipsis site of
verbal adjuncts (18), the availability of the construction in both
coordinate and subordinate structures (19), the possibility that the
antecedent be in a separate sentence (20) but its obligatory nature
(21), and the fact that sloppy readings can be obtained (22).

18) Obama [budet zanimat'sja   posle užina],
     Obama [will   practice]   after dinner
          a   Biden   ne   budet   Ø
          but   Biden   neg   aux   Ø
     "Obama will practice after dinner, but Biden won't Ø".
     (Ø = *practice after dinner*)

19) a. Ja   budu pomogat'   Kolje,   (*v*P ellipsis)
        I   will   [help   Kolya]
            a   Petja ne   budet   [VP Ø]
            but   Peter <u>neg</u>   aux   [VP Ø].
        "I will help Kolya but Petya won't Ø."

    b. Ja budu pomogat'   Kolje,   (*v*P ellipsis)
        I will [help   Kolya]
            esli   Petja   ne budet   [VP Ø].
            if   Peter   <u>neg</u> aux   [VP Ø].
            "I will help Kolya if Petya won't Ø."

20) Obama [budet xodit'na   zanjatie]!
     Obama [willgo   to   class]
     --Ser'ezno?   A   Biden   ne   <u>budet</u> Ø
     --Seriously? But Biden   neg   aux   Ø
     "Obama will go to class!" "Seriously? But Biden won't"
     (Ø = *go to class*)   (*v*P ellipsis)

21) <u>Context</u>: Obama puts the square block in the round hole.
     Obama to Biden:
     *A   ty <u>ne</u> budeš   Ø   (*v*P ellipsis)
      and   you neg   aux   Ø
      "But you won't Ø"
     (Ø = [*(be able to) put the square block in the round hole*])

22) Petja   budu   [pomogat'   sebe],   (*v*P ellipsis)
     Petya   will   [to help   self]
         a   Kolja   <u>ne</u> budet   Ø
         but   Kolja   not   will   Ø
     "Petya will help himself, but Kolya won't Ø [~~help Kolya~~]"

I take it as uncontroversial, then, that Russian has true *v*P+
ellipsis. Therefore, if Gribanova is also right, then there are (at
least) 2 kinds of *v*P+ ellipsis (as well as IP ellipsis in sluicing).
This is a theoretical weakness of the VVPE account.

23) Gribanova's required vP ellipsis typology for Russian:

   a. IP/TP ellipsis: sluicing, etc. (equal to Kazenin's PolP ellipsis)
   b. *v*P+ ellipsis: the V elides (would include AspP)
     (cf. Kazenin 2006; not discussed in Gribanova 2009, 2010, 2011)
   c. Purported *v*P ellipsis: the V survives (not in Kazenin 2006)

This raises various questions about the theoretical claim being made: Why should a language contain all of (23)? In particular, what allows a language to elide a verbal projection *lower* than the full verbal complex *v*P+ (as needed in (23)c for the VVPE account)? Assuming any verbal XP can be elided will not help – why then, does English not derive VSCs through V→*v* movement, followed by VP ellipsis? The burden of proof is surely on the proponent of a system like (23). This leads us to the second theoretical argument against the ellipsis account of Russian VSCs.

X.3.2 VSE occurs in V→T raising languages only

If a language allows something smaller than *v*P+ to be elided (the complement of Asp^0 for Gribanova), then why do *all* the languages showing VSCs in Goldberg's 2006 typology have V→T movement independently? Goldberg's generalization that V-stranding is enabled by V raising out of the maximal verbal domain is thus contradicted, and we would not expect any such correlation to hold. And yet it does, in all known cases other than Russian. In Hebrew, for example, V→T is independently motivated by familiar word order facts: verbs precede manner adverbs and floated quantifiers. It is well-established, as readily acknowledged by Gribanova 2009, 2011, based on (24), that there is no V→T rising in Russian (Bailyn 1995, Kallestinova 2007):

24)… čto   Ivan často celuet (*často) Mašu.   [that S-adv-V-O]
   … that Ivan often kisses (often) Mary
     "I know that Ivan often kisses Mary."   (*that [S-V- adv-O])

X.3.3. Strict vs Sloppy Readings

True *v*P+ ellipsis in Russian not only allows sloppy identity readings, as shown in (25) from Kazenin 2006, it also strongly disprefers strict readings in the same context:

25) Petya   budet   pomogat'   sebe   (*v*P ellipsis)
     Petya   will   [to help   self]
         a   Kolja   ne   budet   Ø
         but Kolja   neg   will   Ø
"Petya will help himself, but Kolya won't Ø." (sloppy only)

26) Dina [kupila svojej   dočke   škol'nye učebniki]
     Dina [bought self's   daughter$_{DAT}$ school   textbook
        but Paša neg   bought   ☺☺
        a   Paša ne   kupil   ☺☺
     "Dina bought her daughter textbooks, but Paša didn't
        [~~buy her/his daughter textbooks~~].' → STRICT possible!
     ((26) is Gribanova's V-stranding ex, *reported* as ambiguous)

27) a. Obama budet   xvalit'   sebja,   (*v*P ellipsis)
        Obama will   praise   self
           a   Biden   ne   budet   Ø
           but Biden   neg   aux   Ø
        "Obama will praise himself but Biden won't Ø".
        (*Ø = *will praise Obama*) (*strict)

     b. Obama zaxvalil   sebja,
        Obama praised   self
           i   Biden tože   zaxvalil   ☺
           and Biden also   praised   ☺
        "Obama praised himself and Biden also praised [~~him~~]".
        (☺ = *(praised) Obama*) (strict!)

The proper generalization appears to be that in Subject-oriented anaphor binding languages such as Russian (as vs. English), only sloppy readings are available. This is to be expected on the assumption that the Subject-condition on anaphor binding results from covert movement of the anaphor (or its feature) to T (Cole & Sung 1994, Saito 2003), which, at the time the *v*P phase is built, is unchecked/unsatisfied, so the only value for the anaphor in the elided VP is the bound variable, leading to the sloppy reading. Once the full TP has been built, the 'strict" referent is determined, and can be accessed for pronominalization purposes, that are not phase-bound. If strict readings are available, as in Verb-stranding constructions, *v*P ellipsis cannot be at work, because the value of the anaphor would not have accessed its antecedent's features within *v*P. This in turn constitutes an argument against *v*P ellipsis in Russian Verb-stranding.

X.3.4 Adverb constituency

The fourth argument concerns adverb constituency. In true *v*P+ ellipsis, the adverbial may be included in the interpretation of the elided *v*P ((28)b)), but need not ((28)b), at last marginally:

28) a. Ty budeš' snimat' Vasil'eva často, a ja ne   budu Ø
       you will   record Vasiliev   often but I neg   will   Ø
       ✓(Ø = *record Vasiliev often*) (*v*P ellipsis)

   b. ??Ty budeš' snimat' Vasil'eva često, a ja budu Ø redko
       you will   record Vasiliev often but I will   Ø
       ??(Ø = *record Vasiliev*) (*v*P ellipsis)

With Verb stranding, the exact opposite holds: including the adverbial is out (29)a, whereas excluding it is fine:

29) a. Ty snimal   Vasil'eva často, a   ja ne   snimal   ☻
       you recorded Vasiliev   often but I   neg recorded
       'You recorded Vasiliev often but I didn't record [him]'
       ✓ (☻ = *Vasil'eva*) * (☻ = [*t Vasil'eva often*] (cf 28)a)

   b. Ty snimal   Vasil'eva často, a   ja snimal ☻ redko
       you recorded Vasiliev   often but I recorded rarely
       'You recorded Vasiliev often but I recoded [him] rarely'
       (☻ = *Vasil'eva*) (cf 28)b

X.3.5. Verb matching requirements revisited

The fifth argument is simple – the proposed requirements for morphological matching between the main verb and the stranded verb that licenses VVPE do not hold.   All four of the predictions about matching have systematic counter-examples. Recall that identical verbs are predicted to always license VVPE, as are identical stems with distinct superlexical prefixes, but we see in (30) and (31) that they don't. Conversely, entirely different verbs are predicted to be out, as are identical stems with distinct *lexical* prefixes, but we see in (32) and (33) that these can be fine.

30) ??Nikto   ne   **ljubit** Ivana, a   menja   udivljaet
     No one   neg   loves   Ivan but me   surprises
         tot   fakt, čto   Nadja   **ljubit** ☻
         the   that   that   Nadya loves ☻
"Noone loves Ivan, but the fact that Nadya loves [him] surprises me"

31) *Saša nikogda ne   **pela** "Piano Man", daže v karaoke
     Sasha never   neg   sang "Piano Man" even at karaoke
     poetomu menja udivil fakt, čto   včera   **zapela** ☻
     therefore me   surprised fact that   yesterday sang   ☻

"Sasha never sang "Piano Man", even at karaoke, that's why the fact that (she) started to sing [it] surprised me."

32) Kto-to   skazal, čto   vse   **nenavidjat**   Ivana,
    Someone said   that everyone hates   Ivan
    tak čto menja udivil   fakt, čto   Nadja **ljubit** ☻
    so that me   surprised fact   that   Nadya loves   ☻
    "Someone said that everyone hates Ivan, so the fact that Nadya loves [him] surprised me."

33) Nikto nikogda ne poet "Piano Man" daže v karaoke
    noone ever   neg sings "Piano Man even at karaoke
    tak čto menja udivil   fakt, čto Saša včera   **spela** ☻
    so that me   surprised fact   that Sasha yesterday sang   ☻
    "No one ever sings "Piano Man" even in karaoke, so the fact that Sasha sang [it] yesterday surprised me."

To summarize, the matching requirements on V-stranding (within islands) seem problematic for VVPE: Contrary to the specific claims in Gribanova 2011, stranded verbs can have distinct Lexical prefixes and indeed the verbs do not have to be identical. In fact, the conditions do not seem to be entirely syntactic: *v*Ps differing only in the Superlexical prefix of the stranded verb do not guarantee successful stranding, and even identical verbs can fail. Therefore it is extremely unlikely that we are dealing with *v*P ellipsis after raising of the V+*v* complex.

X.3.6 Subject/Object drop dependencies

Finally, there is the remarkable dependence of successful V stranding on omission of the *subject*, something that *v*P ellipsis never shows. Consider the following exchange:

34) A. Kak   tebe   lingvistika?
        how   you-Dat   linguistics-Nom

    B. (*ja)   Nenavižu ☻   (V-stranding)
        (*I)   hate-1sg   [it]
    "--How do you like linguistics? --I hate [it]" (lit: "hate")

In the response, the object is missing, as is the subject. Gribanova notices this as well, ("in many examples, … the subject in the clause with the stranded verb is absent") though she

does not observe that it *must* be absent. Thus, all other options are unacceptable, both in main clauses (35), but also in island contexts (36):

35)   a. ☻   Nenavižu ☻   (subject and object dropped = ok)
            hate$_{1stSg}$ "I hate it" (lit: "hate")

         b. *Ja nenavižu   ☻   (*only object dropped)
           I   hate$_{1stSg}$ "I hate it" (*lit: "I hate")

         c. ?☻ Nenavižu   ee   (?only subject dropped)
            hate$_{1stSg}$ it "I hate it" (?lit: "hate it")

         d. Ja nenavižu   ee   (nothing dropped = ok)
           I   hate$_{1stSg}$ it "I hate it" (lit: "I hate it")

36) A. Čto   Saša   dumaet   pro   lingvistiku?
        what   Sasha   thinks   about   linguistic
        "What does Sasha think about linguistics?"

     B. Menja udivljaet   tot   fakt,
        mesurprise   that fact
            čto (*on)   nenavidit ☻   (V-stranding)
            that (*he)   hates-3sg [it]
        "The fact that (he) hate [i̵t] surprises me"

Crucially, true *v*P ellipsis has no such restriction:

37) Ja segodnja   zanimalsja lingvistikoj,
    I   today   studied   linguistics
         a   zavtra   (ja) ne   budu   Ø   (*v*P ellipsis)
         but tomorrow (I) neg aux   Ø
    "Today I studied linguistics but tomorrow I won't Ø"

Once again, we see that V-stradning consrtuctions behave in a manner distinct from what we would expect with *v*P ellipsis. In the final section I turn to a plausible alternative.

X.4. The "Inner Constituent Ellipsis" alternative

Gribanova's work has definitively established that V-stranding is possible both in the purely discourse licensed environments of Argument Drop (AD), and in complex environments, such as within A'-islands, where AD typically fails. As Gribanova argues, such examples implicate syntactic ellipsis, a conclusion

that seems correct. What is at issue then, is the kind of ellipsis found in such contexts. We have seen ample evidence against the *v*P ellipsis analysis. Instead, I propose that V-stranding within islands results from "Inner Constituent Ellipsis", (ICE), a process that can eliminate VP-internal NP/DPs, PPs as well as local adverbials of the relevant kind (see Sigurðsson 2011 for related proposals).

38) Inner Constituent Ellipsis: Freely elide any VP internal constituent (DP/PP) that is both *identified* and V-*licensed*

39) Conditions on Inner Constituent Ellipsis
    a. <u>ICE Identification</u>. An antecedent DP/PP must be *identical* to the elided DP/PP, a relationship established by AGREE

    b.<u>ICE Licensing</u>. Selection between the main verb and the antecedent DP/PP must be *parallel* to the relationship between the stranded verb and the elided DP/PP

The exact definition of parallelism still requires further research. However, it is clear just from the examples in (30)-(33) above that thematic relations, case relations, semantic field, and discourse status (especially that of contrast) are all involved. And although the kind or prefixation involved may coincide with those factors, as in Gribanova's examples, hey need not, as seen above. The kind of prefix is not (necessarily) of central concern, as the *v*P ellipsis account requires.
    Consider the ellipsis in (41) ((40) showing AD is out):

40)   <u>Context</u>: people looking for a book

   * Menja   udivljaet   tot fakt,   (cf Gribanova 2010)
     me   surprises   the fact
        čto   kto-to   prosto   vzjal   ☯
        that   someone   simply   took   ☯
    "*(The fact) that someone simply took [~~it~~] surprises me"

41)   a. Kto-to   ukral   moju   knigu!
       Someone stole   my   book
       "Someone stole my book!"

    b. ?Menja   udivljaet   tot fakt,
       me   surprises   the fact
        čto   kto-to   prosto   vzjal   ☯

that   someone   simply   took   ☙
"*(The fact) that someone simply took [i̶t̶] surprises me"
(same as (40)b but licensed here by *ukral~vzjal*)

Here we find successful island-internal Verb-stranding with morphologically unrelated but parallel verbs. Absolute identity conditions on *v*P ellipsis would be too strong to allow such examples. And they would be too weak to disallow (30) or (31). ICE, under the proper formulation of parallelism, accounts for exactly this distribution along with the other facts reported above.

As for the Subject/Object dependency, we find it both in AD and in ICE, indicating that some kind of blocking process is involved in both. Sigurðsson (2011) proposes specificity hierarchy requirements on null arguments in Germanic:

42) *Relative specificity Constraint* (Sigurðsson 2011, p. 290)

The dropped object *cannot be more specific* than the subject

Sigurðsson (2011) argues that "the Relative Specificity Constraint is puzzling at first sight. However, … it can be analyzed as a minimality violation, that is, an intervention effect". The same would then surely be true of the AGREE relation that establishes the identification needed for ICE. The VVPE analysis has no known way to account for such blocking effects.

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