String Vacuity under Ellipsis

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In this paper, I will try to show that when elliptic constructions involve string-vacuous movement, they exhibit insensitivity to locality constraints. I will first introduce Abe and Hornstein's (2009) work, which deals mainly with English right node raising (RNR) constructions, addressing the question why string-vacuous movement is insensitive to locality effects. They argue that even though such movement creates a normal chain under the single cycle hypothesis, it is the bottom copy that is pronounced due to a prohibition to the effect that overt movement must have a PF effect. Given that locality effects apply only to "overt" movement, it follows that string-vacuous movement does not show such effects. I will then deal with Japanese RNR, showing, followng Abe and Nakao's (2009) work, that RNR remnants are basically constrained by islands, but they become island-insensitive when they occupy the left-edge of an island, and that this follows from the mechanism of chain production proposed by Abe and Hornstein (2009). Further, I will try to extend such an approach to deal with the island insensitivity exhibited by the merger-type of sluicing. I argue that this island insensitivity is derived on the assumption that *wh*-movement involved in this type of sluicing is string vacuous. Finally, I will address the question why some elliptic constructions such as English gapping do show locality effects, even though they seem to involve string-vacuous movement. I suggest that in such a case, the top copy of the chain involved must be pronounced due to a parallelism requirement imposed upon the gapped clause and its antecedent clause.