

# Clausal Ellipsis and Case (Mis)Matching in Icelandic

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## Abstract

In this paper, we take a detailed look at clausal ellipsis in Icelandic, a hitherto understudied phenomenon. We focus on case-matching facts that seem to suggest two things. First, robust case-matching effects suggest that clausal ellipsis requires some amount of island repair. Secondly, and perhaps even more interestingly, constrained instances of case-*mismatching* strongly suggest that there must be silent structure in the ellipsis site. After outlining these patterns in some detail, we provide a brief discussion of what an analysis of clausal ellipsis in Icelandic must look like.

## 1 Introduction

In one of the earliest papers taking a generative approach to the study of Icelandic, Thráinsson (1975) focused on gapping constructions of the sort in (1) (strike-through represents elided material).

- (1) a. Sigurður treystir á Guðmund til að rata í skólann og  
Sigurður.NOM trusts on Guðmundur.ACC for to find to school and  
Sigurður treystir á Hörð til að rata heim.  
Sigurður.NOM trusts on Hörður.ACC for to find home  
'Sigurður is depending on Guðmundur to find the way to school, and  
Sigurður is depending on Hörður to find the way home.'
- b. Sigurður treystir á Guðmund til að rata í skólann og  
Sigurður.NOM trusts on Guðmundur.ACC for to find to school and  
Hörður treystir á Guðmund til að rata heim.  
Hörður.NOM trusts on Guðmundur.ACC for to find home  
'Sigurður is depending on Guðmundur to find the way to school, and  
Hörður is depending on Guðmundur to find the way home.'

Thráinsson's primary focus was on the fact that gapping of the sort in (1a) is possible in both English and Icelandic, whereas gapping of the sort in (1b) is rejected

by many English speakers.

Since then, however, not much research has been done on Icelandic ellipsis constructions, despite the explosion of work on ellipsis in recent decades. E.F. Sigurðsson and Stefánsdóttir (2014) briefly discuss fragment answers/responses. Norris et al. (2014) briefly discuss noun phrase ellipsis. Platzack (2008) briefly discusses the absence of VP-ellipsis (and VP-topicalization) in Icelandic; see also Thoms (2012). Gengel (2007) has a fairly extensive discussion of pseudogapping in Icelandic.<sup>1</sup> Ott (2014) and Ott and de Vries (2016) argue that contrastive left-dislocation and right dislocation in Icelandic and related languages should be analyzed as clausal ellipsis (essentially on par with sluicing and fragment responses). But overall, ellipsis phenomena has been very much in the background in the Icelandic syntax literature.<sup>2</sup>

With respect to clausal ellipsis, the subject which we will study here, it turns out that Icelandic is of substantial general interest. On the one hand, case-matching facts seem to suggest that clausal ellipsis requires some amount of island repair, a conclusion that has been controversial in the literature. On the other hand, constrained instances of case-*mismatching* strongly suggest that there must be silent structure in the ellipsis site, another controversial conclusion. The goal of the present paper, then, is to introduce the basic facts of Icelandic clausal ellipsis, outline their theoretical relevance, and briefly outline what an account of Icelandic clausal ellipsis must look like.

The paper is structured as follows. In section 2, we provide a brief background on clausal ellipsis and the relevance of case-matching to the phenomenon. In section 3, we present a variety of basic data, showing that Icelandic clausal ellipsis looks basically like what we would expect from other languages. In section 4, we show that robust case-matching facts seem to point quite strongly to the con-

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<sup>1</sup>Thanks to Gísli Rúnar Harðarson for pointing this out.

<sup>2</sup>There has been considerably more work on null arguments, which in some cases could be considered a kind of ellipsis (cf. Rögnvaldsson 1982, 1990, 1993; H.Á. Sigurðsson and Egerland 2009), but we set aside that matter here.

clusion that such ellipsis repairs island-violations, in consonance with claims since Ross (1969), and contra Merchant (2001) (for a subset of island types), Fukaya (2007), Barros (2012), Barros et al. (2013), Barros et al. (2014). In section 5, we discuss instances of case *mismatching*, which are shown to be possible under certain constrained circumstances. In section 6, we outline the implications of the Icelandic facts for the broader theory of case-marking and ellipsis. Section 7 concludes.

## 2 Background

Clausal ellipsis is where the sentential part of an utterance (i.e., IP, S, or TP depending on one's preferred terminology) goes missing from the speech signal, leaving some sub-part of the sentence overt. In (2), we have a simple case of sluicing in English, where a Wh-question goes missing from the speech signal, leaving just the Wh-phrase overt (called the 'remnant,' adopting Merchant's 2001 terminology). The remnant undergoes Wh-movement as usual to the left periphery followed by TP ellipsis.

- (2) Jack saw someone, but I don't know [ $_{CP}$   $who_i$  [ $_{TP}$  Jack saw  $t_i$ ]].

Following Merchant (2004) and Griffiths and Lipták (2012), fragments receive the same analysis, with the pronounced material undergoing A'-movement to the left periphery prior to TP deletion:<sup>3</sup>

- (3) A: Who did Jack see?  
 B: [ $_{CP}$  Sally<sub>i</sub> [ $_{TP}$  Jack saw  $t_i$ ]].

Here, we survey the empirical landscape in Icelandic, reproducing the various subtypes of sluicing and fragments which have been attested in other languages with clausal ellipsis. We discuss the implications of the Icelandic facts for extant the-

<sup>3</sup>See Hankamer (1971), Morgan (1973), for non-movement precedents where the fragment is pronounced in-situ, with the rest of the clause undergoing non-constituent deletion.

ories of clausal ellipsis, paying extra attention to what have been called ‘case-matching’ effects.

In clausal ellipsis, the remnant typically corresponds, in some intuitive sense, to a (typically) indefinite phrase in the antecedent, called the ‘correlate.’ In (2), the correlate for *who* is *someone* and, in (3), the correlate for *Sally* is *who*. Ross (1969) was the first to note that in sluicing, the remnant and correlate must match in case. We will refer to this as the ‘Case-Matching Generalization’ (CMG). The CMG is detectible in languages that overtly mark case on nominals, illustrated below with a German sluice. Merchant 2004 shows the same facts hold for fragments. German *schmeicheln* ‘flatter’ assigns dative case to the correlate, whereas *loben* ‘praise’ assigns accusative; in (4a)–(4b) we see that the remnant must bear whichever case its correlate does.

- (4) a. Er will jemandem schmeicheln, aber sie wissen nicht,  
 he wants someone.DAT flatter but they know not  
 { \*wer /\*wen /wem }.  
 { \*who.NOM /\*who.ACC /who.DAT }  
 ‘He wants to flatter someone, but they don’t know who.’
- b. Er will jemanden loben, aber sie wissen nicht,  
 he wants someone.ACC praise but they know not  
 { \*wer /wen /\*wem }.  
 { \*who.NOM /who.ACC /\*who.DAT }  
 ‘He wants to praise someone, but they don’t know who.’

(Merchant, 2001, 89)

The CMG is standardly taken as evidence for the presence of unpronounced syntactic material in ellipsis, as opposed to ‘interpretive’ approaches, which reject this assumption (Ginzburg and Sag 2000; Culicover and Jackendoff 2005; Barker 2013; Jacobson 2013). Under the assumption that the remnant is extracted from fully present, though unpronounced, syntactic structure, we expect its case to match that of the correlate, since they both share identical base positions at the relevant level of representation (5a)–(5b). On the other hand, an interpretive theory must stipu-

late case matching, perhaps as an anaphoric property of remnants. (See the above cited literature for various implementations.)

- (5) a. Sie wissen nicht, { \*wer / \*wen / wem } er schmeicheln  
 they know not { \*who.NOM / \*who.ACC / who.DAT } he flatter  
 will.  
 wants
- b. Sie wissen nicht, { \*wer / wen / \*wem } er loben will.  
 they know not { \*who.NOM / who.ACC / \*who.DAT } he praise wants  
 (Merchant, 2001, 90)

These assumptions make an interesting prediction in languages where case-alternations are available in what otherwise appears to be the same syntactic position, like Icelandic. In short, all else being equal, we might expect to see violations of the CMG in sluicing and fragments in these languages. However, in recent work on case mismatches in sluicing in Hungarian, Nykiel and Sag (2012) (citing Jacobson 2013) note that case-alternations in Hungarian fail to license case-mismatch in sluicing.

- (6) a. Mari segített egy { fiunak / fiut }.  
 Mary helped a { boy.DAT / boy.ACC }  
 ‘Mary helped a boy.’
- b. Mari segített egy fiunak,  
 Mary helped a boy.DAT  
 de nem tudom, hogy { kinek / \*kit }.  
 but not I.know.DEF Q { who.DAT / \*who.ACC }  
 ‘Mary helped a boy, but I don’t know who.’

As discussed in Jacobson (2013), for at least some speakers, the alternants differ slightly in meaning, which might mean that this paradigm resembles the one found with Icelandic direct object case mismatches, discussed further in section 5 below. We will show there that such mismatches are generally degraded, at least for many speakers. However, we will also illustrate in section 5 that Icelandic does tolerate case mismatches under clausal ellipsis in some cases. We argue that such data

automatically follow from “silent structure” approaches to elliptical phenomena, in further support of the standard assumptions about case matching effects.<sup>4</sup>

### 3 Icelandic Sluicing and Fragment Responses: Basic Data

In this section we show that Icelandic is like other languages within which clausal ellipsis has been attested. We show here that well known sub-types of sluicing and fragments are found in Icelandic, which is as expected if what appears to be clausal ellipsis in Icelandic actually is.

#### 3.1 Basic Sluicing

In (7), we show some basic examples of sluicing in Icelandic. What we take to be a “basic” sluice in Icelandic is a sluice with a nominal Wh-phrase remnant with an explicit indefinite correlate argument in the antecedent.<sup>5</sup> (7a)–(7c) show that, generally, the remnant has to match the correlate in case. (We will return to exceptions to the CMG in section 5.) (7b)–(7c) show that for subjects, it does not matter if the subject is low, as in an unaccusative expletive construction (7c), or high, in the ordinary subject position (7b). (7d) shows (unsurprisingly) that sluicing is fine when nominative and accusative are syncretic.<sup>6</sup> (7e) shows that case matching is required for dative objects as well.

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<sup>4</sup>To our knowledge, case matching effects are robustly attested in languages with overt case marking. However, some counterexamples have been uncovered thus far in a few languages. Ince (2012) notes that Turkish genitive correlates correspond to nominative remnants obligatorily in sluicing; Barros (2014) and Thoms (2015) uncover abstract Case mismatches in English sluices; Vicente’s (2015) short survey cites counterexamples attested in Mongolian, Korean, Uzbek, Japanese, German and Chamorro (though it has been argued for some of these, namely Japanese and Uzbek, that what appears to be sluicing is actually a reduced copular clause, so that the relevance of these languages to the status of the CMG is questionable).

<sup>5</sup>Corresponding to the “merger” cases of Chung et al. (1995).

<sup>6</sup>Syncretism in case matching has been appealed to on occasion as a licensing context for syntactic mismatches between the antecedent structure and the elided clause; see especially van Craenenbroeck 2012 and references therein for discussion.

- (7) a. Jón sá **einvern**, en ég veit ekki  
 John.NOM saw someone.ACC, but I.NOM know not  
 { \*hver / **hvern** / \*hverjum }.  
 { \*who.NOM / who.ACC / \*who.DAT }  
 ‘John saw someone, but I don’t know who.’
- b. **Eihver** fór, en ég veit ekki  
 someone.NOM left, but I.NOM know not  
 { **hver** / \*hvern / \*hverjum }.  
 { who.NOM / \*who.ACC / \*who.DAT }  
 ‘Someone left, but I don’t know who.’
- c. Það fór **einhver**, en ég veit ekki  
 EXPL left someone.NOM, but I know not  
 { **hver** / \*hvern / \*hverjum }.  
 { who.NOM / \*who.ACC / \*who.DAT }  
 ‘Someone left, but I don’t know who.’
- d. Jón borðaði **eiðthvað**, en ég veit ekki  
 John.NOM ate something.NOM/ACC, but I know not  
 { **hvað** / \*hverju }.  
 { what.NOM/ACC / \*what.DAT }  
 ‘John ate something, but I don’t know what.’
- e. Jón breytti **einhverju**, en ég veit ekki  
 John.NOM changed something.DAT, but I.NOM know not  
 { \*hvað / **hverju** }.  
 { \*what.NOM/ACC / what.DAT }  
 ‘John changed something, but I don’t know what.’

The same basic fact holds for fragment responses. We illustrate this with an accusative direct object in (8), a dative direct object in (9), and a dative indirect object in (10). We will discuss subjects (non-nominative subjects in particular) in more detail in section 5.

- (8) A: Jón sá **bílinn**.  
 John.NOM saw car.the.ACC  
 ‘John saw the car.’

- B: { \*Rútan / **Rútuna** / \*Rútunni } líka.  
 { \*coach.the.NOM / coach.the.ACC / \*coach.the.DAT } too  
 ‘The coach too.’
- (9) A: Höfundurinn breytti **byrjuninni**.  
 author.the.NOM changed beginning.the.DAT  
 ‘The author changed the beginning.’
- B: { \*Endirinn / \*Endinn / **Endinum** } líka.  
 { \*ending.the.NOM / \*ending.the.ACC / ending.the.DAT } too  
 ‘The ending too.’
- (10) A: Jón gaf **mér** bókina.  
 John.NOM gave me.DAT book.the.ACC  
 ‘John gave me the book.’
- B: { \*Ég / \*Mig / **Mér** } líka.  
 { \*I.NOM / \*me.ACC / me.DAT } too  
 ‘Me too.’ (I.e. ‘He gave it to me too.’)

### 3.2 Sprouting

Sprouting describes a situation where the remnant of a sluice lacks a correlate. Sprouting is possible in Icelandic just as it is in other languages with sluicing.

- (11) Jón fór, en ég veit ekki { með hverjum /  
 John.NOM left but I know not { with whom.DAT /  
 hvenær / hvert / hvernig / hvers vegna / af hverju }.  
 when / where.to / how / why / why }  
 ‘John left, but I don’t know {with whom/when/where to/how/why}.’

When the sluice remnant is a DP, it must be case-marked with whatever case would have been expected from the verb in the antecedent clause. (12a) shows this with an ordinary inanimate object, which is case-syncretic for nominative and accusative. (Note that the verb *borða* ‘eat’ takes an object in the accusative case in the active.) (12b) shows this for an animate object, which is not case-syncretic. (If it helps, one can imagine that Jón is a people-eating troll.)

- (12) a. Jón borðaði, en ég veit ekki  
 John.NOM ate but I know not  
 { **hvað** / \*hverju }.  
 { what.NOM/ACC / \*what.DAT }  
 ‘John ate, but I don’t know what.’
- b. Jón borðaði, en ég veit ekki  
 John.NOM ate but I know not  
 { \*hver / **hvern** / \*hverjum }.  
 { \*who.NOM / who.ACC / \*who.DAT }  
 ‘John ate, but I don’t know who.’

Sprouting is also possible for fragment responses, as illustrated in (13).

- (13) A: Jón borðaði loksins.  
 Jón ate finally  
 ‘John finally ate.’
- B: Í alvöru?  
 in seriousness  
 ‘Really?’
- A: Já, { \*ávextir / ávexti / \*ávöxtum }.  
 Yes, { \*fruit.NOM / fruit.ACC / \*fruit.DAT }  
 ‘Yes, fruit.’

### 3.3 SWIPING

SWIPING describes sluicing where the remnant is a prepositional phrase where the word order of the prepositional object and the preposition are inverted from the canonical order.<sup>7</sup> An example from English is given in (14) below.

- (14) John left, but I don’t know who with.

Ross (1969) originally analyzed this sort of word order in sluicing as non-constituent deletion. Abstracting away from the details of Ross’s original analysis and framework, this essentially gives us an analysis for the elided material in (14) as in (15):

<sup>7</sup>The term is due to Merchant (2001). It stands for S(luicing) W(ith) I(nversion) of P(repositions) in N(orth) G(ermanic).

- (15) John left, but I don't know who ~~John~~ left with.

Such an analysis suggests a correlation between the possibility of preposition stranding under Wh-movement in a given language, and the availability of SWIPING under ellipsis. As Merchant (2002) illustrates, SWIPING is unavailable in Icelandic, Swedish, and Frisian, all of which are languages in which preposition stranding is allowed under regular Wh-movement. This casts doubt on the relationship between the availability of preposition stranding and SWIPING.<sup>8</sup> Our own investigations into Icelandic sluicing are consistent with Merchant's results:

- (16) a. \* Jón fór, en ég veit ekki hverjum með.  
 Jon.NOM left but I know not who.DAT with  
 Intended: 'John left, but I don't know who with.'
- b. \* Jón gerði við bílinn, en ég veit ekki hverju með.  
 John fixed P car.the.ACC but I know not what.DAT with  
 Intended: 'John fixed the car, but I don't know what with.'

We do not discuss this further here, except to note that our observations are consistent with Merchant's.

### 3.4 Contrastive Sluicing

Contrast sluices are sluices where the remnant and correlate are contrastively focused, as in (17). Unlike non-contrastive sluices, the interpretation of the correlate and remnant must contrast in some way, shape, or form. For example, the distinction between dogs and cats is relevant in (17).

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<sup>8</sup>Though it does appear to be the case that only a subset of preposition stranding languages allow SWIPING, so perhaps the correlation is mostly correct (i.e., that perhaps there is, in fact, an implicational relationship between the availability of SWIPING, and the availability of preposition stranding), and independent principles in languages in which this expectation is not borne out are to blame for the counterexamples mentioned here.

- (17) Hún á þrjá ketti,  
 she.NOM has three cats.ACC  
 en ég veit ekki hversu marga hunda.  
 but I know not how many.ACC dogs.ACC  
 ‘She has three cats, but I don’t know how many dogs.’

A subtype of contrastive sluicing involves ‘else’-modification, as in the examples in (18).

- (18) a. Hún kallaði Hlynur fífl,  
 she.NOM called Hlynur.ACC fool.ACC  
 en ég veit ekki hverja aðra.  
 but I know not who.PL.ACC else.PL.ACC  
 ‘She called Hlynur a fool, but I don’t know who else.’
- b. Henni finnst gaman að lesa í eldhúsinu,  
 her.DAT finds fun to read in kitchen.the.DAT  
 en ég veit ekki hvar annars staðar.  
 but I know not where else place  
 ‘She likes reading in the kitchen, but I don’t know where else.’

Contrastive sluices are interesting because they have slightly different properties than non-contrastive sluices. In particular, unlike non-contrastive sluices, contrastive sluices are island sensitive (Fukaya 2007; Merchant 2008). See Merchant (2001) especially for in-depth discussion of contrastive sluices and their consequences for theories of ellipsis identity. While it would be worthwhile to see if this holds in Icelandic as well, we must set this aside at the moment for reasons of space and time.

### 3.5 Interim summary

To summarize, we find all the usual sub-types of sluicing and fragments in Icelandic that are found in other languages in which these constructions have been attested. We have, furthermore, gone some way in illustrating that the known properties of these sub-types behave as expected in Icelandic. In what follows we fo-

cus on two construction-specific properties of clausal ellipsis as instantiated in Icelandic, namely, the phenomenon of “island-repair” under clausal ellipsis, and case-matching effects between remnants and correlates.

## 4 Potential Island Violations

It has long been observed that sluicing appears to ‘repair’ island violations (Ross 1969; Chung et al. 1995; Merchant 2001 (for some islands); Lasnik 2001; Fox and Lasnik 2003). That is, if we understand sluicing as being derived from movement, but deletion of what is left over, then that movement appears in some cases to violate island constraints.<sup>9</sup> In this section, we show that the same holds for Icelandic, and that the case-matching discussed in the previous sections seems to hold in these cases as well. We take no particular stance on the analysis of these apparent island repair phenomena.

### 4.1 Relative Clauses

Sluicing appears to repair relative clause islands, as shown in (19a). (19b) shows that relative clauses of the relevant sort are extraction islands. (19c) and (19d) show that such cases cannot be derived by assuming that the deleted clause was really a cleft. This addresses a vein in the literature that aims to explain the appearance of island repair under ellipsis as illusory, stemming from non-island containing structures in the ellipsis site, such as clefts or copular clauses (Erteschik-Shir 1977; Fukaya 2007; Barros 2012; Barros et al. 2013, 2014). However, case-matching is fully unacceptable for all speakers in short clefts, as shown in (19c), and most speakers reject a long cleft as well, as shown in (19d).

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<sup>9</sup>In this section, a judgment of ‘?’ means that speakers varied, ranging from rejecting to accepting. Other than Einar, the judgments in this section come partially from Gísli Harðarson, Sigríður Sigurjónsdóttir, Halldór Sigurðsson and Ásgrímur Angantýsson. The sentences we asked them about were the short and long it-cleft sentences, since the other judgments were totally clear.

- (19) a. Þeir réðu einhvern sem talar sænska mállýsku...  
 they hired someone.ACC who speaks Swedish dialect.ACC  
 ...en ég veit ekki hvaða { mállýsku / \*mállýska }.  
 ...but I know not which { dialect.ACC / \*dialect.NOM }  
 ‘They hired someone who speaks a Swedish dialect,  
 but I don’t know which dialect.’
- b. \* ...en ég veit ekki hvaða mállýsku þeir réðu einhvern  
 ...but I know not which dialect.ACC they hired someone.ACC  
 sem talar \_\_.  
 who speaks \_\_
- c. ...en ég veit ekki hvaða { \*mállýsku / mállýska } það var.  
 ...but I know not what { \*dialect.ACC / dialect.NOM } it was  
 ‘...but I don’t know which dialect it was.’
- d. ...en ég veit ekki hvaða { <sup>??!</sup>mállýsku / mállýska } það  
 ...but I know not what { <sup>??!</sup>dialect.ACC / dialect.NOM } it  
 var sem hann talar.  
 was that he speaks  
 ‘...but I don’t know which dialect it was that he speaks.’

This suggests that the apparent island-violation in (19a) cannot be explained by assuming a cleft source. Worth noting is that these results are also consistent with the view where the elided structure must be syntactically identical to its antecedent, which would rule out cleft or copular sources whenever the antecedent is not itself a cleft or copular clause.

An alternative possibility that has been explored in the literature (Merchant 2001; Fukaya 2007; Barros 2012; Barros et al. 2013, 2014) is that such cases are derived from a “short source” such as the English example in (20a) or its Icelandic counterpart in (20b):

- (20) a. They hired someone who speaks a Swedish dialect, but I don't know which dialect he speaks.
- b. Þeir réðu einhvern sem talar sænska mállýsku  
they hired someone.ACC who speaks Swedish dialect.ACC  
en ég veit ekki hvaða mállýsku hann talar.  
but I know not which dialect.ACC he.NOM speaks  
'They hired someone who speaks a Swedish dialect,  
but I don't know which dialect he speaks.'

This possibility—at least the short source given in (20)—is, however, undermined by sentences like (21),<sup>10</sup> in which there is no referent that can correspond to the pronoun in the deleted clause. That is, since no one was hired (21a), it is not possible to have something like 'he or she speaks' in the deleted clause.

- (21) a. Þeir réðu ekki neinn sem talar ákveðna sænska mállýsku,  
they hired not anyone who speaks certain Swedish dialect  
en ég veit ekki hvaða mállýsku.  
but I know not which dialect.ACC  
'They didn't hire anyone who speaks a certain Swedish dialect,  
but I don't know which dialect.'
- b. Enginn var með nemanda í bekknum sínum sem talar  
no.one was with student in class REFL.POSS who speaks  
ákveðna sænska mállýsku, en ég man ekki hvaða  
certain Swedish dialect but I remember not which  
mállýsku.  
dialect.ACC  
'No one had a student in their class who speaks a certain Swedish  
dialect, but I don't remember which dialect.'

The same appears to hold for fragment answers, as illustrated in (22).

<sup>10</sup>Adapted from Lasnik (2001, 315) (his example (42)) in English, which makes the same point.

- (22) A: Þeir réðu einhvern sem talar íslensku.  
 they hired someone who speaks Icelandic.ACC  
 ‘They hired someone who speaks Icelandic.’
- B: { \*Þýska / Þýsku } líka.  
 { \*German.NOM / German.ACC } too  
 ‘German too.’

This response is ambiguous. It can mean either (i) that the person they hired also speaks German, or (ii) that they also hired someone who speaks German. The second reading is salient in the context of a conversation where A and B are discussing a situation where a number of people have been hired. It is reading (ii) that appears to be an island violation, assuming that fragment responses are derived by movement plus deletion. The Icelandic facts thus seem to support the view that ellipsis can repair relative clause island violations.

## 4.2 Left Branch Violations

Sluicing and fragment responses also appear to violate constraints against left branch extraction. Consider the following sentences. (23a) shows that a phrase like *hversu ríkum* ‘how rich’ cannot be moved out of the phrase containing the head, *manni* ‘man’. (23b), however, shows that this phrase can be stranded by sluicing. It also shows that the case on ‘how rich’ must match the case of the associate in the antecedent clause. Such data is troubling for the view where left branch sluices actually stem from predicative copular clauses, with no left branch violation, as argued for in Barros et al. (2014). In (23b), the case on the remnant must be dative. (23c) shows that a short source like ‘...how rich he is’ would not be a possible source for the sluice in (23b), since case matching is impossible in (23c). In predicative sentences of this type, nominative is required.

- (23) a. \* Hversu ríkum giftist hún manni?  
 how rich.DAT married she.NOM man.DAT
- b. Hún giftist ríkum manni, en ég veit ekki  
 she.NOM married rich.DAT man.DAT but I know not  
 hversu { ríkum / \*ríkur }.  
 how { rich.DAT / \*rich.NOM }  
 ‘She married a rich man, but I don’t know how rich.’
- c. ...en ég veit ekki hversu { \*ríkum / ríkur } hann er.  
 ...but I know not how { \*rich.DAT / rich.NOM } he is  
 ‘...but I don’t know how rich he is.’

Another possible source for (23b) would be to front the whole DP object, and then elide the NP. Thus, if ellipsis of *manni* ‘man’ in (24a) were possible in a context licensing sluicing, then we would not be forced to assume that there was a violation of the left branch constraint. However, the exchange in (24b) casts doubt on this idea, since NP-ellipsis is normally not available in a way that strands the degree phrase and adjective phrase.

- (24) a. Hversu ríkum manni giftist hún?  
 how rich.DAT man.DAT married she.NOM  
 ‘How rich a man did she marry?’
- b. A: Hún giftist rosalega ríkum manni.  
 she.NOM married very rich man  
 ‘She married a very rich man.’
- B: \* Hversu ríkum giftist hún?  
 how rich.DAT married she.NOM

The data in (25) and (26) replicate the data in (23) and (24), only with an accusative object.

- (25) a. \* Hversu ríkan þurfti hún mann?  
 how rich.ACC needed she.NOM man.ACC
- b. Hún þurfti ríkan mann, en ég veit ekki  
 she.NOM needed rich.ACC man.ACC but I know not  
 hversu { ríkan / \*ríkur }.  
 how { rich.ACC / \*rich.NOM }  
 ‘She needed a rich man, but I don’t know how rich.’
- c. ...en ég veit ekki hversu { \*ríkan / ríkur } hann er.  
 ...but I know not how { \*rich.ACC / rich.NOM } he is  
 ‘...but I don’t know how rich he is.’
- (26) a. Hversu ríkan mann þurfti hún?  
 how rich.ACC man.ACC needed she.NOM  
 ‘How rich a man did she need?’
- b. A: Hún þurfti rosalega ríkan mann.  
 she.NOM needed very rich.ACC man.ACC  
 ‘She needed a very rich man.’
- B: ?? Hversu ríkan þurfti hún?  
 how rich.ACC needed she.NOM

In (27) and (28), we show that left branches can also be stranded in fragment responses. As before, case matching is required, and this holds for both dative and accusative objects.

- (27) A: Hún giftist ríkum manni.  
 she married rich man.DAT  
 ‘She married a rich man.’
- B: Já, mjög { \*ríkur / \*ríkan / ríkum }.  
 yes very { \*rich.NOM / \*rich.ACC / rich.DAT }  
 ‘Yes, very rich.’
- (28) A: Hann þarf ríka konu.  
 he needs rich woman.ACC  
 ‘He needs a rich woman.’
- B: Já, mjög { \*rík / ríka / \*ríkri }.  
 yes very { \*rich.NOM / rich.ACC / \*rich.DAT }  
 ‘Yes, very rich.’

Thus, the Icelandic facts seem to support the view that ellipsis can repair left branch violations.

### 4.3 Embedded Question Island

Embedded questions are islands in Icelandic, as illustrated in (29b). The sluice in (29a) shows that sluicing seems to fix a violation of such an island, as expected under the island-repair view. Examples (29c)–(29d) illustrate that an account of the apparent repair effect in terms of copular clauses fails to account for the case matching facts. This forces us to the conclusion that we do, indeed, once again, have apparent island repair in Icelandic sluices.

- (29) a. Sandra var að reyna að átta sig á hvaða kona  
 Sandra.NOM was to try to figure REFL out what woman  
 ætlaði að hitta ákveðinn mann,  
 intended to meet certain man.ACC  
 en ég man ekki hvaða { mann / \*maður }.  
 but I remember not what { man.ACC / \*man.NOM }  
 ‘Sandra was trying to figure out which woman was trying to meet a  
 certain man, but I don’t remember which man.’
- b. \* ...en ég man ekki hvaða mann hún var að reyna  
 ...but I remember not what man.ACC she.NOM was to try  
 að átta sig á hvaða kona ætlaði að hitta \_\_\_  
 to figure REFL out what woman intended to meet \_\_\_
- c. ...en ég man ekki hvaða { \*mann / maður } það  
 ...but I remember not what { \*man.ACC / man.NOM } it  
 var.  
 was  
 ‘...but I don’t remember which man it was.’

- d. ...en ég man ekki hvaða { <sup>??/%</sup>mann / maður } það  
 ...but I remember not what { <sup>??/%</sup>man.ACC / man.NOM } it  
 var sem konan ætlaði að hitta.  
 was that woman.the intended to meet  
 ‘...but I don’t remember which man it was  
 that the woman was going to meet.’

Thus, the Icelandic facts seem to support the view that ellipsis can repair movement out of embedded question islands.

#### 4.4 Adjunct Island

As (30b) illustrates, adjuncts are islands to extraction in Icelandic, which appear to be repairable under sluicing (30a). As before, (30c)–(30d) illustrate that a copular source for the remnant fails to meet case-matching requirements (at least for those speakers who reject such cases on long-cleft pivots).<sup>11</sup>

- (30) a. Jón verður reiður ef Sara talar við einn af kennurunum,  
 John will.be mad if Sara talks with one.ACC of teachers.the.DAT  
 en hún getur ekki munað { hvern / \*hver }  
 but she can not remember { which.ACC / \*which.NOM }  
 ‘John will be mad if Sara talks with one of the teachers, but she  
 can’t remember which.’
- b. \* ...en hún getur ekki munað hvern hann verður reiður ef  
 ...but she can not remember which.ACC he will.be mad if  
 hún talar við \_\_\_  
 she talks with \_\_\_
- c. ...en hún getur ekki munað { \*hvern / hver } það er.  
 ...but she can not remember { \*who.ACC / who.NOM } it is  
 ‘...but she can’t remember who it is.’

<sup>11</sup>Granted, it is conceivable that other sorts of copular sources aside from clefts in Icelandic yield the right case facts under sluicing. We leave exploring this question aside here for future work.

- d. ...en hún getur ekki munað { ??/‰hvern / hver } það  
 ...but she can not remember { ??/‰who.ACC / who.NOM } it  
 er sem hún á ekki að tala við.  
 is that she ought not to talk with  
 ‘...but she can’t remember who it is that she shouldn’t talk to.’

Fragments show a similar pattern. In (31), the nominative response is grammatical only on the reading where Guðmundur will get angry—corresponding to the the nominative correlate *Jón*. Under the reading where Jón gets mad if Sara talks with Bjartur and Guðmundur, only accusative is possible on the fragment in (31B).

- (31) A: Jón verður reiður ef Sara talar við Bjart.  
 John becomes angry if Sara talks to Bjartur.ACC  
 ‘John will get angry if Sara will talk to Bjartur.’  
 B: { \*Guðmundur / ?Guðmund / \*Guðmundi } líka.  
 { \*Guðmundur.NOM / ?Guðmundur.ACC / \*Guðmundur.DAT } too  
 ‘Guðmundur, too.’

Thus, this seems to support the view that ellipsis can repair adjunct island violations.

#### 4.5 Coordinate Structure Constraint

Another kind of constraint that might be violable under clausal ellipsis is the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC; Ross 1967), which says that it is impossible to extract only one conjunct from a coordinated phrase. (32a) shows that a sluicing remnant can indeed correspond to (and match the case of) one correlate in a conjunction phrase. (32b) shows that a continuation that extracts such a conjunct directly is ungrammatical; if such a continuation is the source for (32a), then it appears that the illicit CSC violation is repaired by ellipsis. (32c)–(32d) show that short and long clefts would not be possible sources for (32a), since they do not allow case-matching.

- (32) a. Þeir sannfærðu Kennedy og einhvern annan þingmann  
 they convinced Kennedy and some.ACC other.ACC senator.ACC  
 um að styðja (í sameiningu) frumvarpið,  
 on to support (in unison) bill.the  
 en ég man ekki hvaða { þingmann / \*þingmaður }.  
 but I remember not which { senator.ACC / \*senator.NOM }  
 ‘They convinced Kennedy and some other senator to support the bill  
 (together), but I don’t remember what senator.’
- b. ...en ég man ekki hvaða þingmann (\*þeir sannfærðu  
 ...but I remember not which senator.ACC (\*they convinced  
 hann og \_\_ um að styðja (í sameiningu) frumvarpið)  
 him and \_\_ on to support (in unison) bill.the)
- c. \* ...en ég man ekki hvaða þingmann það var.  
 ...but I remember not what senator.ACC it was
- d. <sup>??/%</sup> ...en ég man ekki hvaða þingmann það var sem þeir  
 ...but I remember not what senator.ACC it was that they  
 sannfærðu.  
 convinced  
 ‘...but I don’t remember which senator it was that they convinced.’

The same facts—i.e., case matching and apparent island repair—hold for fragment responses. (33) replicates the context from above.

- (33) A: Þeir sannfærðu Kennedy og einhvern annan þingmann  
 they convinced Kennedy and some.ACC other.ACC senator.ACC  
 um að styðja (í sameiningu) frumvarpið.  
 on to support (in unison) bill.the
- B: Já, { \*Bjartur / Bjart / \*Bjarti }.  
 yes { \*Bjartur.NOM / Bjartur.ACC / \*Bjartur.DAT }

However, it is possible that the elided continuation does not require a CSC violation. Depending on one’s view of the identity condition, (33B) could be derived from something like (34).

- (34) Já, Bjartur sannfærðu þeir um að styðja frumvarpið.  
 yes, Bjartur.ACC convinced they on to support bill.the  
 ‘Yes, Bjartur they convinced to support the Bill.’

This alternative is undermined by the example presented in (36). (35) shows that a predicate like *skila að* ‘separate’ requires a plural internal argument. Thus, in (36B), the fragment response would seem to have to be fed by a CSC violating structure; it could not, for example, be derived from something like (35a), since that is not a grammatical sentence to begin with.

- (35) a. \* Þeir skildu Bjartur að.  
 they separated Bjartur.ACC at  
 b. Þeir skildu Bjartur og Páll að.  
 they separated Bjartur.ACC and Páll.ACC at  
 ‘They separated Bjartur and Páll.’
- (36) A: Þeir skildu Páll og einhvern annan að.  
 they separated Páll.ACC and someone other.ACC at  
 ‘They separated Páll and someone else.’  
 B: Já, { \*Bjartur / Bjartur / \*Bjarti }.  
 yes { \*Bjartur.NOM / Bjartur.ACC / \*Bjartur.DAT }  
 ‘Yes, Bjartur.’

The same goes for sluicing, as illustrated in (37).

- (37) Þeir skildu Bjartur og einhvern annan þingmann að,  
 they separated Bjartur.ACC and some other senator.ACC at,  
 en ég man ekki hvaða þingmann.  
 but I remember not what senator.ACC  
 ‘They separated Bjartur and some other senator,  
 but I don’t remember which senator.’

Thus, the facts presented in this section seem to support the view that ellipsis can repair CSC violations.

## 5 Case Mismatches and Dative Substitution

Ordinarily, case mismatches are not possible in Icelandic fragment answers/responses. This holds for verbs selecting oblique subjects, as illustrated in (38), and for verbs that take ordinary nominative subjects, as illustrated in (39)–(40).

- (38) A: { \*Ég / \*Mig / Mér } leiðist.  
 { \*I.NOM / \*me.ACC / me.DAT } bores  
 ‘I’m bored.’  
 B: { \*Ég / \*Mig / Mér } líka.  
 { \*I.NOM / \*me.ACC / me.DAT } too  
 ‘Me too.’
- (39) A: { Hver / \*Hvern / \*Hverjum } skemmdi sjónvarpið?  
 { who.NOM / \*who.ACC / \*who.DAT } broke television.the.ACC  
 ‘Who broke the TV?’  
 B: { Ég / \*Mig / \*Mér }.  
 { I.NOM / \*me.ACC / \*me.DAT }  
 ‘Me.’
- (40) A: { Ég / \*Mig / \*Mér } vil fara.  
 { I.NOM / \*me.ACC / \*me.DAT } want go  
 ‘I want to go.’  
 B: { Ég / \*Mig / \*Mér } líka.  
 { I.NOM / \*me.ACC / \*me.DAT } too  
 ‘Me too.’

Under theories of ellipsis identity where only semantic content is relevant (Merchant 2001 in particular), one might have imagined that accusative or dative would be possible in (40B), given that another verb meaning ‘want’, namely *langa*, takes either an accusative subject (standardly) or a dative subject (under Dative Substitution).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup>It should be noted that Dative Substitution refers to verbs that prescriptively take an accusative subject. There is, however, a lot of both inter- and intra-speaker variation, such that some speakers may find dative ungrammatical with these verbs, whereas others may only find dative grammatical. Many speakers, however, show intra-speaker variation. (See discussion in, e.g., Svavarsdóttir 1982; Jónsson 2003; Barðdal 2001, 2011; Jónsson and Eythórsson 2003, 2005; Eythórsson and Jónsson 2009; Viðarsson 2009; Ingason 2010; Nowenstein 2012, 2014a,b.)

- (41) { Mig / Mér } langar að fara.  
 { me.ACC / me.DAT } wants to go  
 ‘I want to go.’

However, (41) does not make accusative or dative available in (40B).

And yet, the availability of accusative or dative with a verb like *langa* ‘want’ does make available a case mismatch of its own: case mismatches based on Dative Substitution are clearly okay:

- (42) A: Mig langar að fara.  
 me.ACC wants to go  
 ‘I want to go.’  
 B: Mér líka.  
 me.DAT too  
 ‘Me too.’
- (43) A: Hverjum langar að fara?  
 who.DAT wants to go  
 ‘Who wants to go?’  
 B: { \*Ég / Mig / Mér }!  
 { \*I.NOM / me.ACC / me.DAT }  
 ‘Me!’

This is even possible within one sentence, as illustrated in (44a).<sup>13</sup> (44b) shows that such mismatching is not possible with a verb like *vilja* ‘want’, which, as illustrated in (40) above, only takes a nominative subject.

- (44) a. Hana langar að fara, og honum líka.  
 her.ACC wants to go, and him.DAT too  
 ‘She wants to go, and he does too.’  
 b. Hún vill fara, og { hann / \*honum } líka.  
 she.NOM wants go and { he.NOM / \*him.DAT } too  
 ‘She wants to go, and he does too.’

<sup>13</sup>Note that although (44) is translated using verb phrase ellipsis, that is not what is going on in the Icelandic examples, as Icelandic doesn’t even have verb phrase ellipsis (Thoms, 2012).

It is not enough that a verb can assign two different cases (to the same argument), however. What appears to be crucial in allowing case mismatches is that in the case of Dative Substitution, the change in case has no semantic consequences. It has long been known that some kinds of case alternations do have semantic consequences. For example, there is a class of verbs which can take either an accusative or a dative object (H.Á. Sigurðsson, 1989; Barðdal, 1993; Maling, 2002; Svenonius, 2002). If the dative is chosen, the object is understood to benefit from the event. Consider the example in (45):

- (45) Hún klóraði { mig / mér }  
 she.NOM scratched { me.ACC / me.DAT }  
 ‘She scratched me.’

If accusative is chosen, it means she affected me physically, and probably hurt me or damaged my skin. If dative is chosen, it means I benefitted from the event, as if she had scratched me kindly or scratched an itch. With case alternations like this, a case mismatch in fragment answers is not possible.

- (46) A: Hún klóraði mig.  
 she.NOM scratched me.ACC  
 ‘She scratched me.’  
 B: { \*Ég / Mig / \*Mér } líka.  
 { \*I.NOM / me.ACC / \*me.DAT } too  
 ‘Me too.’
- (47) A: Hún klóraði mér.  
 she.NOM scratched me.DAT  
 ‘She scratched me.’  
 B: { \*Ég / \*Mig / Mér } líka.  
 { \*I.NOM / \*me.ACC / me.DAT } too  
 ‘Me too.’

Another example comes from cases discussed by Jónsson (2013a), drawing in part on the references above. Jónsson (2013a) noticed that verbs of contact, like

*skalla* ‘(hit with one’s) head’, can take either accusative or dative objects.<sup>14</sup>

- (48) Messi skallaði { boltann / boltanum } í netið.  
 Messi headed { ball.the.ACC / ball.the.DAT } in net.the  
 ‘Messi headed the ball into the net.’ (Jónsson, 2013a, 145)

According to Jónsson (2013a, 154), “While both the accusative and the dative variant assert contact with the object, only the latter variant asserts motion of the object.” Thus, a sentence with the dative entails the corresponding sentence with an accusative, but not vice-versa.

- (49) a. Jón skallaði boltann  
 John.NOM headed ball.the.ACC  
 án þess að skalla honum neitt.  
 without to head it.DAT anywhere  
 ‘John headed the ball without heading it anywhere.’
- b. \* Jón skallaði boltanum (burt) án þess að skalla hann.  
 John.NOM headed ball.the.DAT (away) without to head it.ACC  
 ‘John headed the ball away without heading it.’  
 (Jónsson, 2013a, 155)

Similarly to *klóra* ‘scratch’ above, case mismatches with *skalla* ‘head’ are not possible (although the contrast is perhaps sharper with *klóra* ‘scratch’ than with *skalla* ‘head’, as pointed out to us by Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Note, however, that not all speakers accept dative in sentences like (48). The tests based on it, therefore, can only be judged by speakers who do accept both dative and accusative.

<sup>15</sup>However, Hlíf Árnadóttir (p.c.) tells us that she finds the following exchange acceptable.

- (i) A: Jón mokaði stéttina.  
 John.NOM shoveled sidewalk.the.ACC  
 ‘John shoveled the sidewalk.’
- B: Já, snjónum líka.  
 Yes, snow.the.DAT too  
 ‘Yes, the snow too.’

Since the alternation between accusative and dative in this case is thought to be determined semantically (Svenonius, 2002), on par with the *skalla* ‘head’ examples above, this suggests that case-mismatches might be slightly less restricted than we are indicating here. For now, we leave a

- (50) A: Jón skallaði fjólubláa boltanum.  
 John.NOM headed purple ball.the.DAT  
 ‘John headed the purple ball.’  
 B: { ??Gráa boltann / Gráa boltanum } líka.  
 { ??gray ball.the.ACC / gray ball.the.DAT } too  
 ‘The gray ball too.’
- (51) A: Jón skallaði fjólubláa boltann.  
 John.NOM headed purple ball.the.ACC  
 ‘John headed the purple ball.’  
 B: { Gráa boltann / ??Gráa boltanum } líka.  
 { gray ball.the.ACC / ??gray ball.the.DAT } too  
 ‘The gray ball too.’

The contrast between Dative Substitution, which seems to trigger/allow case-mismatches, and the other cases, which do not, seems to relate to the fact that in the latter cases, a difference in case assignment correlates with a difference in interpretation, whereas in the former case, it does not (though see footnote 15). This lends itself to an account which takes the difference in semantic interpretation to have syntactic correlate, whereas Dative Substitution is a purely morphological process. Consider why. In the case where a case difference entails a semantic difference, there must be some marking in the syntax that the semantics is drawing from. If the case alternation were a purely PF process, there would be no way for the semantics to be directly sensitive to it. In contrast, Dative Substitution could be a purely PF process, since the semantics needn’t be sensitive to it.

Icelandic, then, can be seen as a mixed language with respect to whether it robustly supports or counterexamples the CMG—it does both. In the following section we discuss the theoretical consequences of these facts for extant theories of ellipsis and ellipsis identity, and the standard conception of the CMG, in light of the Icelandic counterexamples, and supporting examples just discussed.

better understanding for future research.

## 6 Towards an Explanation, and Theoretical Consequences

The facts above receive the most natural explanation if TP ellipsis requires syntactic identity of the ellipsis site with an antecedent, but that the factors deciding between accusative and dative are not encoded in the syntax. For example, suppose that the experiencer of a verb like *langa* ‘want’ is introduced in the specifier of an Appl(icative) head, as proposed in Wood (2015). In many cases, the specifier of experiencer Appl is assigned dative. However, there is another variety of Appl, even with an experiencer interpretation, which does not assign dative to its specifier. H.Á. Sigurðsson (2012) gives the following notation: Appl\* assigns dative, while Appl\*<sup>+</sup> assigns accusative.<sup>16</sup> H.Á. Sigurðsson (2012) argues, however, that the distinction between Appl\* and Appl\*<sup>+</sup> is made post-syntactically, in the PF branch of the derivation.

If so, then the rule adding the marked, ‘+’ feature to Appl\* would only apply to a certain, limited set of verbs. Failure to apply this extra, marked rule would lead to dative rather than accusative.

Another possibility is that there is no syntactic featural difference between the two varieties of Appl. Rather, in the spirit of McFadden (2004, 2006), there would be a general post-syntactic rule to the effect that dative case is added to a DP base-generated in SpecAppIP. (See McFadden (2004) for a formalization of how the case feature assigned to a DP will be realized on all the appropriate heads internal to that DP.)

$$(52) \quad \text{DP} \rightarrow \text{DP}_{\text{DAT}} / [\text{AppIP} \text{ — } [\text{AppI}' \dots ]]$$

Accusative subjects would then involve some way of suppressing the rule in (52) for particular verbs. One way of suppressing such a rule, which retains the intuition

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<sup>16</sup>Wood (to appear) proposes that accusative subjects are in fact structural accusative, assigned not by Appl itself but by virtue of the presence of a silent external argument. The difference does not matter for the present point, though, except that if there is a silent external argument present, it would have to be present in both the accusative and dative variants, at least for syntactic identity to hold in ellipsis contexts.

that (52) is the general case, would be to apply the rule everywhere, but then apply an impoverishment rule in the context of certain, specific verbs.

(53)  $DP_{\text{DAT}} \rightarrow DP / \_ \{ \textit{langa}$  ‘want’, etc. }

In the absence of a dative feature, accusative will appear automatically in the account of Wood (to appear). Alternatively, we could specify accusative directly, as in McFadden (2004). McFadden (2004) argues that dative is really [+OBLIQUE, +INFERIOR], while accusative is simply [+INFERIOR]. He proposes that Dative Substitution is a result of the following impoverishment rule:

(54)  $[+CASE, +OBLIQUE, +INFERIOR] \rightarrow [+CASE, +INFERIOR] / \_ \{ \textit{langa}$  ‘want’, etc. }

The general situation would be to add dative (i.e. [+CASE, +OBLIQUE, +INFERIOR]) to a DP in SpecAppIP, but in the context of particular verbs—which speakers would have to learn individually—the [+OBLIQUE] feature would be deleted. This captures the fact that speakers really do have to learn on a case-by-case basis which verbs take accusative, but the general system pushes in the direction of dative for applied arguments.

An advantage to this approach is that it has a clear way of approaching some other case-mismatches, such as those discussed in detail by Jónsson (2013b). He discusses examples where DP modifiers carry a different case from the DP they modify. An example is presented in (55) and (56). Ordinarily, the intensifier ‘self’ must match the DP it modifies in case (and number/gender as well). The examples in (55) are, in this respect, what we would expect. (55a) would be the standard variant, with accusative on the subject pronoun, and a matching accusative on the ‘self’ modifier. (55b) would be the expected form in the context of Dative Substitution (which *langa* ‘want’ permits): dative on the subject pronoun and a matching dative on the ‘self’ modifier. These examples, are, as we expect, both possible.

- (55) a. Mig sjálfan langar að vita það.  
me.ACC self.ACC want to know that  
'I myself want to know that.'
- b. Mér sjálfum langar að vita það.  
me.DAT self.DAT want to know that  
'I myself want to know that.'

However, Jónsson (2013b) also claims that case-mismatches are possible, but with a twist: an accusative subject pronoun is possible with a dative 'self' modifier, but a dative subject pronoun is highly degraded with an accusative 'self' modifier.

- (56) a. Mig sjálfum langar að vita það.  
me.ACC self.DAT want to know that  
'I myself want to know that.'
- b. ?? Mér sjálfan langar að vita það.  
me.DAT self.ACC want to know that  
'I myself want to know that.'

Jónsson (2013b) presents several other, similar examples, with floating quantifiers and secondary predicates of various sorts. The approach here would suggest an asymmetry in how the impoverishment rule that turns underlyingly dative DPs into accusative ones applies. Essentially, there would be some rule stating that impoverishment must apply to the head DP before it can apply to any of the dependents that agree with it. We must leave a more in-depth development of this idea for future work, noting only that treating Dative Substitution as the absence of impoverishment seems promising.<sup>17</sup>

Under all of the above possibilities, however, the narrow syntax makes no distinction between dative and accusative. As far as the syntax is concerned, the

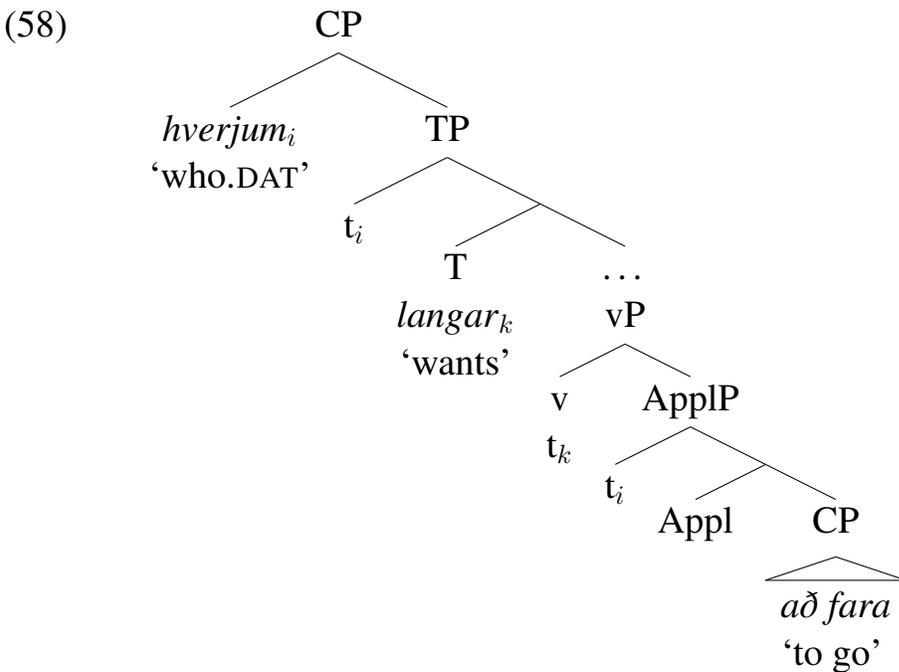
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<sup>17</sup>Another possibility is that the agreeing dependents themselves get their case features under agreement at PF, in which case the variation could be a matter of timing: either agreement occurs before impoverishment, generating (56a), or after impoverishment, generating (55a), or else there is no impoverishment, generating (55b). The marked, degraded option in (56b), however, is the only option that would require impoverishment directly on the modifier—and that in the absence of impoverishment on the head.

structure is the same whether the DP ended up being dative or accusative. This structure is enough to license ellipsis. Consider (43), repeated in (57).

- (57) A: Hverjum langar að fara?  
 who.DAT wants to go  
 ‘Who wants to go?’  
 B: { \*Ég / Mig / Mér }!  
 { \*I.NOM / me.ACC / me.DAT }  
 ‘Me!’

Speaker A’s utterance would have the structure in (58).



Speaker B’s utterance would be identical, except that the specifier of Appl would be a 1st person pronoun. The case of that pronoun would be determined post-syntactically, on the basis of the surrounding structure—dative because it is in the specifier of ApplP, possibly followed by accusative (under impoverishment or case-star augmentation) due to the presence of the specific verb *langa* ‘want’. But the syntax of the TP would be the same: not even the features, let alone the structure of ApplP and its arguments would be different in the narrow syntax.

Now consider the other kind of case-alternation, the one where mismatches

are not possible in fragment answers. We repeat examples in (50)–(51) above in (59)–(60).

- (59) A: Jón skallaði fjólubláa boltanum.  
 John.NOM headed purple ball.the.DAT  
 ‘John headed the purple ball.’  
 B: { ??Gráa boltann / Gráa boltanum } líka.  
 { ??gray ball.the.ACC / gray ball.the.DAT } too  
 ‘The gray ball too.’
- (60) A: Jón skallaði fjólubláa boltann.  
 John.NOM headed purple ball.the.ACC  
 ‘John headed the purple ball.’  
 B: { Gráa boltann / ??Gráa boltanum } líka.  
 { gray ball.the.ACC / ??gray ball.the.DAT } too  
 ‘The gray ball too.’

In this example, the case distinction makes a semantic difference, even if it is a very subtle one. This would mean that there would have to be some feature in the syntax that distinguished between them. For example, Schäfer (2008) proposes that the dative case version involves a special  $\text{Voice}_{\text{DAT}}$  head. Svenonius (2006), Jónsson (2013b) and Wood (2015) propose that the [DAT] feature is on a special kind of little *v*. E.F. Sigurðsson (2015) proposes that the dative version is actually structurally distinct from the accusative one, in that the dative argument is generated in a lower position in the tree.<sup>18</sup> For all these proposals, however, there is some syntactic difference between the accusative and dative structures that the semantics can be sensitive to. Thus, ruling such cases out on the basis of syntactic identity promises to be relatively straightforward if we assume such semantic differences entail a syntactic one, a natural assumption.

Note, in passing, that this does not entail that case is *assigned* in the syntax. Rather, post-syntactic case assignment can be sensitive to the presence of, say  $v_{\text{DAT}}$

<sup>18</sup>Jónsson (2013b) also proposes that the dative version is structurally distinct from the accusative, but for him, it is not about the position of the object: rather his *v*-DAT occurs as an extra head in addition to the heads present in the accusative version.

or Voice<sub>DAT</sub>. In fact, Wood (2015) argues that certain case alternations between dative and nominative should be accounted for with an impoverishment rule applied to  $v_{\text{DAT}}$ , deleting the [DAT] feature prior to morphological case-assignment. This account requires that case assignment takes place post-syntactically, even in this case where a syntactic diacritic on  $v$  is necessary.

The claim, then, would be that whatever feature or structure distinguished accusative from dative in the *skalla* ‘head’-type examples, that is enough to bleed ellipsis. The structural distinction—even if it is just a case-feature diacritic on a head—prevents TP deletion of a structure that differs (e.g. in lacking that feature, or in the more structurally complex way proposed by E.F. Sigurðsson 2015).

Finally, we point out a theoretical consequence of the Icelandic case facts for non-silent structure theories (Ginzburg and Sag 2000; Culicover and Jackendoff 2005; Nykiel and Sag 2012; Barker 2013; Jacobson 2013). Case mismatch under ellipsis in Icelandic directly challenges “non-silent-structure” approaches, which reject the notion that there is regular, albeit unpronounced syntactic structure. Such approaches capture case matching by stipulating that the category of the remnant and correlate must match, with case features forming part of the category definition. That is, a nominative marked nominal would differ in category from an accusative marked one. This assumption leads us to expect case-matching across the board in Icelandic, contrary to fact.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, the standard account of case matching effects, which makes reference to silent structure, does a better job of correctly predicting the distribution of case mismatches we see in Icelandic. Crucial reference is made to the idiosyncratic properties of elided material. In sluices involving dative substitution predicates or otherwise, it is not the correlate that determines case marking possibilities for the remnant, but rather the copy of the antecedent predicate in the elided TP.

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<sup>19</sup>Barros (2014) adopts the standard assumption that there is silent structure in ellipsis, but adopts a semantic theory of identity with an additional case-matching stipulation in the spirit of non-silent structure approaches. The Icelandic facts would seem to argue against even this view of identity.

## 7 Conclusion

In this paper, we have explored the basic facts of Icelandic clausal ellipsis. For the most part, Icelandic clausal ellipsis is unexceptional in having the properties we expect from such constructions as found in many other languages. Independent properties of the Icelandic case system, however, shed potentially important light on the analysis of clausal ellipsis.

With respect to apparent cases of island repair under clausal ellipsis, the Icelandic facts support the view where such repair is not apparent, or illusory, as has been argued in recent work. To support this conclusion we drew on interpretive and morphological evidence in controlling for alternative non-island containing structures, such as short sources and copular clauses. Even when such structures are independently ruled out, island repair effects persist. It is always possible that there is some other, non-island-violating alternative at work, but our investigation so far casts doubt on some of the more prominent proposals.

Icelandic behaves largely as expected with respect to case matching effects in clausal ellipsis, requiring case on remnants and correlates to match in general. Case matching is standardly assumed to follow from two assumptions: first, that there is silent syntactic structure in ellipsis, and second, that this structure is identical to the structure of the antecedent for the ellipsis.

Together these two assumptions make a simple prediction, borne out in Icelandic Dative Substitution configurations, that case mismatches should be possible when the antecedent predicate (and its copy in the elided structure) allows case to alternate on one or more of its arguments. The Icelandic facts support the standard assumptions over approaches that reject silent structure and stipulate case matching between remnants and correlates in clausal ellipsis, with no reference to an elided predicate (Ginzburg and Sag 2000; Culicover and Jackendoff 2005; Nykiel and Sag 2012; Jacobson 2013; Barker 2013). Such approaches undergenerate in overpredicting matching across the board in Icelandic.

Importantly, the case matching facts also argue against purely semantic approaches that allow for structural mismatches between the antecedent and elided structure (provided they match in interpretation). Such approaches overgenerate, predicting unacceptable case mismatches. Consider, for instance, the discussion in section 5 surrounding examples (40) and (41) (repeated below as (61) and (62)). The verbs *vilja* and *langa* both mean ‘want,’ but come with distinct case properties. A purely semantic approach would predict an antecedent like that in (61A), with *vilja* ‘want’ as the main verb, should license deletion in a clause like (62), with *langa* ‘want’, erroneously predicting an acceptable accusative or dative remnant.<sup>20</sup>

- (61) a. A: { Ég / \*Mig / \*Mér } vil fara.  
           { I.NOM / \*me.ACC / \*me.DAT } want go  
           ‘I want to go.’  
       B: { Ég / \*Mig / \*Mér } líka.  
           { I.NOM / \*me.ACC / \*me.DAT } too  
           ‘Me too.’
- (62) { Mig / Mér } langar að fara.  
       { me.ACC / me.DAT } wants to go  
       ‘I want to go.’

It is worth noting that there is currently no consensus on precisely how the identity condition on ellipsis should be stated. Here, we have weighed just two alternatives in broad terms: a purely syntactic condition, and a purely semantic one. It is well established that either option alone runs into empirical trouble. Merchant (2001) shows that purely syntactic approaches undergenerate, whereas Chung (2006) shows that purely semantic approaches overgenerate. Various “hybrid” approaches have also been proposed, often adopting an overarching semantic identity condition alongside one or more syntactic codicils to reign in overgeneration (Merchant 2005; Chung 2006, 2013; AnderBois 2011; Barros 2014; Weir

<sup>20</sup>In this case, a semantic account might, however, make use of the more subtle semantic distinctions between *langa* and *vilja* discussed by Jónsson (2003, 138). It is well known in the Icelandic literature, however, that case-marking cannot be predicted on the basis of semantics, so we suspect that the point here will withstand closer scrutiny.

2014). The Icelandic facts we have uncovered are consistent with a purely syntactic approach, but we appreciate that a hybrid approach may be capable of countenancing the Icelandic facts as well. For space and time reasons, we leave exploration of the various hybrid proposals on the market for future research.

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