

# Rightward Movement and Antecedent-Contained Deletion: New Evidence from Hocak

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## 1. Introduction

This paper examines data from Hocak (Siouan) that provide empirical evidence for Fox’s (2002) analysis of antecedent-contained deletion (ACD). Fox (2002) argues that ACD is resolved by covert rightward movement of the object, followed by late merger of the relative clause containing the ellipsis site. Thus, the example in (1) has the derivation shown in (2):

- (1) John likes every boy that Mary does.
- (2) a. [VP John likes every boy]  
b. [[VP John likes every boy] every boy]  
c. [[VP John likes every boy] every boy *that Mary does (likes boy)*] (Fox 2002:76)

The effect of rightward movement is that the parallelism requirement on ellipsis is satisfied: since the relative clause merges with the extraposed QP, there is an antecedent VP [likes every boy] that is identical, after trace conversion, to the elided VP [likes boy].

Hocak is an SOV language that displays ACD, which makes it an ideal candidate to test Fox’s theory: rightward movement is visible. In Hocak, overt rightward movement is in fact obligatory with ACD, as seen in (3) below:<sup>1</sup>

- (3) a. *Bryanga ruwɨ, jaagu Meredithga ɥɥra.*  
Bryan-ga Ø-ruwɨ jaagu Meredith-ga Ø-ɥɥ-ra  
Bryan-PROP 3S-buy what Meredith-PROP 3S-do-COMP  
‘Bryan bought what(ever) Meredith did.’
- b. \**Bryanga, jaagu Meredithga ɥɥra, ruwɨ.*  
Bryan-ga jaagu Meredith-ga Ø-ɥɥ-ra Ø-ruwɨ  
Bryan-PROP what Meredith-PROP 3S-do-COMP 3S-buy  
‘Bryan bought what(ever) Meredith did.’

In (3a), the relativized object has been moved rightward, and ACD is possible. In contrast, in (3b), the object remains between the subject and the object, resulting in ungrammaticality.

This paper is structured as follows: section 2 gives an overview of relevant aspects of Hocak syntax. In section 3, I discuss Fox’s (2002) analysis of ACD resolution and show that the facts from Hocak provide strong empirical evidence for that approach. Section 4 concludes the paper.

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<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used throughout this paper: 1 – first person; 3 – third person; COMP – complementizer; DEF – definite; FUT – future; INDEF – indefinite; PROP – proper name; PST – past; S – subject agreement.

## 2. Background on Hocak syntax

### 2.1. Word order

In Hocak, the neutral word order is SOV, as in (4) below.

- (4) *Hinukra wažatirera ruwı.*  
 hinuk-ra wažatire-ra ∅-ruwı  
 lady-DEF car-DEF 3S-buy  
 ‘The lady bought the car.’

While SOV word order is by far the most common, leftward and rightward movement are both freely available for discourse purposes. These are exemplified in (5a) and (5b), respectively.

- (5) a. *Wažatirera, hinukra ruwı.*  
 wažatire-ra hinuk-ra ∅-ruwı  
 car-DEF lady-DEF 3S-buy  
 ‘The car, the lady bought (it).’  
 b. *Hinukra ruwı, wažatirera.*  
 hinuk-ra ∅-ruwı wažatire-ra  
 lady-DEF 3S-buy car-DEF  
 ‘The lady bought something, the car.’

As hinted at by the translations above, leftward movement is associated with a focus interpretation, while right-dislocated elements are interpreted as backgrounded or “anti-topics” (Johnson et al. 2012).

Both SVO and OSV word orders are marked by an intonational break, represented by a comma in (5a) and (5b) above. These intonational breaks are obligatory: in their absence, the first NP is interpreted as the subject. In (6) below, the only possible interpretation (however pragmatically implausible) is one in which the car is the subject (cf. 5a):

- (6) *Wažatirera hinukra ruwı.*  
 wažatire-ra hinuk-ra ∅-ruwı  
 car-DEF lady-DEF 3S-buy  
 ‘The car bought the lady.’

For ease of exposition, I will be representing Hocak as underlyingly SOV, contra previous research that takes SOV word order to be derived from SVO order (e.g. Kanye 1994). Evidence that suggests that this analysis is on the right track comes from quantifier scope: in Hocak, postverbal arguments obligatorily take wide scope. In (7a) with SOV word order, the subject obligatorily distributes over the object: the sentence can only describe a situation in which each man caught a different fish. However, if the object is moved rightward (SVO word order), the interpretation changes: (7b) can only describe a situation in which each man caught the same fish. If the subject is instead moved rightward (OVS word order), as in (7c), then the subject scopes over the object.

- (7) a. *Waqkra hižakišana hoohižq gisikire.*  
 waqk-ra hižakišana hoo-hižq gisik-ire  
 man-DEF each fish-INDEF catch-3PL.S  
 ‘Each man caught a fish.’ (each > a; \*a > each)  
 b. *Waqkra hižakišana gisikire, hoohižq.*  
 waqk-ra hižakišana gisik-ire hoo-hižq  
 man-DEF each catch-3PL.S fish-INDEF  
 ‘Each man caught a fish.’ (a > each; \*each > a)  
 c. *Hoohižq gisikire, waqkra hižakišana.*  
 hoo-hižq gisik-ire waqk-ra hižakišana  
 fish-INDEF catch-3PL.S man-DEF each  
 ‘Each man caught a fish.’ (each > a; \*a > each)

These quantifier scope facts are not straightforwardly explained under Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA): the LCA forbids elements to c-command elements to their left. Since the object is still to the right of the subject in (7b), we would expect the same scopal relations to hold, contra to fact. Furthermore, when the subject moves rightward in (7c), we would expect that the object, which is leftmost, would take wider scope, which is not the case.

On the basis of similar data from Turkish, Kural (1997) shows that an account for the scope of postverbal arguments that only permits leftward movement leads to contradictory results. To derive SVO word order, the O would need to move above the S, and then the SV constituent would move above the O. In order to yield the correct scopal relations at LF, either the SV would need to reconstruct or the O would raise higher than the S. OVS word order is derived by movement of the OV constituent to a position above the subject. To ensure that the S takes wide scope, either the OV would reconstruct or the S would raise higher than the O at LF.

As Kural points also out, this analysis overgenerates. Under the raising approach, it is not clear why only the O can raise at LF with SVO word order, while only the S may do so with OVS word order. Under the reconstruction approach, it is not clear why the OV can reconstruct with OVS word order, but the O cannot for SVO word order. Instead, a simpler account of Hocak quantifier scope is as follows: Hocak has underlying SOV word order, and rightward movement of both subjects and objects does not reconstruct. However, regardless of the explanation of the quantifier scope facts, the analysis of ACD presented here is still fully compatible with an antisymmetric syntax.

## 2.2. Verb Phrase Ellipsis

Hocak exhibits VPE. As seen in example (8), the light verb *uu* 'do' replaces the object and verb to the exclusion of the subject.

- (8) *Cecilga* [VP *wažqırehižq ruwı*] *kjane anaga nee ŝge [haıı] kjane.*  
 Cecil-ga wažqıre-hižq  $\emptyset$ -ruwı kjane anaga nee ŝge ha-ıı kjane  
 Cecil-PROP car-INDEF 3S-buy FUT and I also 1S-do FUT  
 'Cecil will buy a car, and I will too.'

The examples in (9) show that verb phrase ellipsis also targets VP-level adjuncts: (9a) shows that VPE targets VPs containing temporal adjuncts. In (9b) and (9c), locative adjuncts are included in the ellipsis site. (9d) exemplifies VPE with a comitative. In all of these examples, the adjunct is the antecedent VP is interpreted as being present in the ellipsis site.

- (9) a. *Cecilga* [VP *xjanare waşı*] *anaga Bryanga ŝge [ıı].*  
 Cecil-ga xjanare  $\emptyset$ -waşı anaga Bryan-ga ŝge  $\emptyset$ -ıı  
 Cecil-PROP yesterday 3S-dance and Bryan-PROP also 3S-do  
 'Cecil danced yesterday, and Bryan did too.'
- b. *Cecilga* [VP *hosto eja waşı*] *kjane anaga Bryanga ŝge [ıı]*  
 Cecil-ga hosto eja  $\emptyset$ -waşı kjane anaga Bryan-ga ŝge  $\emptyset$ -ıı  
 Cecil-PROP gathering there 3S-dance FUT and Bryan-PROP also 3S-do  
*kjane.*  
 kjane  
 FUT  
 'Cecil will dance at the gathering, and Bryan will too.'
- c. *Cecilga* [VP *ciınq eja wažqırehižq ruwı*] *anaga Bryanga ŝge*  
 Cecil-ga ciınq eja wažqıre-hižq  $\emptyset$ -ruwı anaga Bryan-ga ŝge  
 Cecil-PROP city there car-INDEF 3S-buy and Bryan-PROP also  
 [ıı].  
 $\emptyset$ -ıı  
 3S-do  
 'Cecil bought a car in the city, and Bryan did too.'

- d. *Cecilga* [VP *hinükra hakižu waši*] *anaga Bryanga šge* [*uu*].  
 Cecil-ga hinük-ra hakižu Ø-waši anaga Bryan-ga šge Ø-uu  
 Cecil-PROP woman-DEF be.with 3S-dance and Bryan-PROP also 3S-do  
 ‘Cecil danced with the woman, and Bryan did too.’

Constructions with *uu* cannot be analyzed as a *pro*-form, as object extraction is permitted (10).

- (10) a. *Meredithga waagaxra ruwi nuņige wiiwagaxra haąke uuņi.*  
 Meredith-ga waagax-ra Ø-ruwį nuņige wiiwagax-ra haąke Ø-uu-ņį  
 Meredith-PROP paper-DEF 3S-buy but pencil-DEF NEG 3S-do-NEG  
 ‘Meredith bought the paper, but not the pencils.’
- b. *Jaagu Bryanga ruwįra yaaperesšana, nuņige jaagu Hunterga*  
 Jaagu Bryan-ga Ø-ruwį-ra <ha>hiperes-šana nuņige jaagu Hunter-ga  
 what Bryan-PROP 3S-buy-COMP <1S>know-DECL but what Hunter-PROP  
*uura haąke yaaperesņi.*  
 Ø-uu-ra haąke <ha>hiperes-ņį  
 3S-do-COMP NEG <1S>know-NEG  
 ‘I know what Bryan bought, but not what Hunter did.’

VPE is possible in embedded clauses (11a) and adjuncts (11b-c), which is also inconsistent with a *pro*-form analysis.

- (11) a. *Bryanga haąke niįtašjak taaxu ruwįņi, nuņige Meredithga*  
 Bryan-ga haąke niįtašjak taaxu Ø-ruwį-ņį nuņige Meredith-ga  
 Bryan-PROP NEG coffee 3S-buy-NEG but Meredith-PROP  
*uura yaaperesšana.*  
 Ø-uu-ra <ha>hiperes-šana  
 3S-do-COMP <1S>know-DECL  
 ‘Bryan didn’t buy coffee, but I know Meredith did.’
- b. *Bryanga uu kjanegi Meredithga Hunterga (nišge) gišja hii kjane.*  
 Bryan-ga Ø-uu kjaneg-i Meredith-ga Hunter-ga (nišge) Ø-gišja hii kjane  
 Bryan-PROP 3S-do FUT-if Meredith-PROP Hunter-PROP also 3S-visit FUT  
 ‘Meredith will visit Hunter if Bryan will.’
- c. *Bryanga haąke uuņige Meredithga (nišge) haąke Hunterga*  
 Bryan-ga haąke Ø-uu-ņį-ge Meredith-ga (nišge) haąke Hunter-ga  
 Bryan-PROP NEG 3S-do-NEG-because Meredith-PROP also NEG Hunter-PROP  
*gišja hiinį.*  
 Ø-gišja hii-ņį  
 3S-visit-NEG  
 ‘Meredith didn’t visit Hunter because Bryan didn’t.’

Now that I have introduced these relevant aspects of Hocak syntax, I turn to my analysis of ACD in Hocak.

### 3. Rightward movement and ACD in Hocak

#### 3.1. Fox’s (2002) analysis of ACD

ACD resolution faces two problems that any theory of ellipsis must account for: (1) parallelism between the antecedent and the gap, and (2) infinite regress. Both of these problems are due to the fact that the gap is properly contained by the antecedent VP. Parallelism is the requirement that the antecedent VP and elided VP be syntactically identical. On the surface, there appears to be no appropriate antecedent VP for the gap in example (12a), as evidenced by a comparison with its non-elliptical counterpart in (12b).

- (12) a. John [VP likes every boy that Mary does [VP e] ].  
 b. John [VP likes every boy that Mary [VP likes] ].

For parallelism to be satisfied in (12a), there would need to be an antecedent VP that consisted solely of the verb ‘likes’. Instead, the only available VP in (12a) is [likes every boy that Mary does e], while the gap is the VP [does e]. Since the antecedent is not equivalent to the gap, parallelism is not satisfied.

The infinite regress problem arises when the antecedent VP is copied into the gap. Since the antecedent VP properly contains the gap, an attempt to resolve the ellipsis will necessarily involve copying the gap back into the gap. Each operation of VP-copying results in a new gap, with the result that ellipsis can never be resolved. This is illustrated in (13):

- (13) John [VP likes every boy that Mary does [VP likes every boy that Mary does [VP e] ] ].

Fox (2002) argues that ACD resolution is achieved via rightward movement.<sup>2</sup> This analysis makes use of three crucial assumptions. First, Fox adopts Lebeaux’s (1988) theory that adjuncts can undergo so-called “late-merger”; that is, that adjuncts, in contrast to arguments, can be added to a structure at a later stage in the derivation. Second, Fox follows Fox & Nissenbaum (1999) and assumes that that overt and covert movements can be interspersed. Third, Fox assumes that relative clauses are both head external and head internal (following Sauerland 1998, among others). Fox proposes that the derivation of ACD constructions occurs in three steps, which are shown in (14):

- (14) a. [VP John likes every boy]  
 b. [[VP John likes every boy] *every boy*]  
 c. [[VP John likes every boy] *every boy that Mary does (likes boy)*] (Fox 2002:76)

The first step is the derivation of the VP, as in (14a). The second step is covert rightward movement of the object *every boy*, as in (14b). Finally, the relative clause *that Mary does (likes boy)* undergoes overt late merger with the covert copy of the object, as seen in (14c). Parallelism is satisfied due to late merger: since the relative clause merges with the raised object, there is an antecedent VP [likes every boy] that is identical (after trace conversion) to the elided VP [likes boy]. Fox’s analysis assumes that PF-Deletion is the relevant ellipsis mechanism, and so the problem of infinite regress is avoided.

One of the main empirical advantages of Fox’s analysis is that it can account for Condition C effects while still being fully consistent with the copy theory of movement. As first noted by Fiengo & May 1994, ACD can obviate Condition C effects, as evidenced by the contrast between (15a) and (15b):

- (15) a. \* I introduced him<sub>i</sub> to every guy Peter<sub>i</sub> found attractive.  
 b. I introduced him<sub>i</sub> to every guy Peter<sub>i</sub> wanted me to.

(15a) is ungrammatical, which is expected due to a Condition C violation. In contrast, (15b) is acceptable, despite the fact that the R-expression *Peter* is in the c-command domain of its antecedent, *him*. This apparent violation of Condition C is readily accounted for if QR is responsible for satisfying parallelism: after QR of the phrase [every guy Peter wanted me to] takes place, the R-expression is no longer in the scope of the pronoun. However, as Fox notes, this analysis is not consistent with the copy theory of movement. There would still be a copy of the R-expression *Peter* at the tail of the movement chain, which should result in a Condition C violation. Under Fox’s analysis, late merger is responsible for the fact that Condition C is obviated: since the relative clause containing the R-expression is merged with the raised QP, the antecedent pronoun in the matrix clause never c-commands it.

<sup>2</sup> Fox acknowledges that what he terms ‘rightward movement’ could in fact be derived by other mechanisms that are compatible with Kayne’s (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom, such as leftward movement of the object followed by remnant VP movement (Fox 2002:71, fn. 14).

## 3.2. ACD in Hocak

In Hocak, ACD is possible with one constraint: if an object is relativized, *the object must be right-dislocated*, as shown in (16a). In contrast, if the object remains *in situ*, the result is ungrammatical (16b). This difference in grammaticality is only found in elliptical environments: note that the non-elliptical counterparts of the examples in (16) are both grammatical, as shown in (17).

- (16) a. *Bryanga ruwĭ, jaagu Meredithga uqra.*  
 Bryan-ga  $\emptyset$ -ruwĭ jaagu Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -uq-ra  
 Bryan-PROP 3S-buy what Meredith-PROP 3S-do-COMP  
 ‘Bryan bought what(ever) Meredith did.’
- b. \**Bryanga, jaagu Meredithga uqra, ruwĭ.*  
 Bryan-ga jaagu Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -uq-ra  $\emptyset$ -ruwĭ  
 Bryan-PROP what Meredith-PROP 3S-do-COMP 3S-buy  
 ‘Bryan bought what(ever) Meredith did.’
- (17) a. *Bryanga ruwĭ, jaagu Meredithga ruwĭra.*  
 Bryan-ga  $\emptyset$ -ruwĭ jaagu Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -ruwĭ-ra  
 Bryan-PROP 3S-buy what Meredith-PROP 3S-buy-COMP  
 ‘Bryan bought what(ever) Meredith bought.’
- b. *Bryanga, jaagu Meredithga ruwĭra, ruwĭ.*  
 Bryan-ga jaagu Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -ruwĭ-ra  $\emptyset$ -ruwĭ  
 Bryan-PROP what Meredith-PROP 3S-buy-COMP 3S-buy  
 ‘Bryan bought what(ever) Meredith bought.’

However, ACD involving an adjunct exhibits no such constraint. Instead, the relative clause has the option of remaining between the subject and the verb. This is demonstrated in (18a) with *hacĭĭja* ‘where(ever)’ and in (18b) with *jaajanare* ‘when(ever)’. As shown in (19) the default position for adjuncts is between the subject and verb.

- (18) a. *Bryanga, hacĭĭja Meredithga uqra, waši.*  
 Bryan-ga hacĭĭja Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -uq-ra  $\emptyset$ -waši  
 Bryan-PROP where Meredith-PROP 3S-do-COMP 3S-dance  
 ‘Bryan danced where(ver) Meredith did.’
- b. *Bryanga, jaajanare Meredithga uqra, waši.*  
 Bryan-ga jaajana-re Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -uq-ra  $\emptyset$ -waši  
 Bryan-PROP when-PST Meredith-PROP 3S-do-COMP 3S-dance  
 ‘Bryan danced when(ever) Meredith did.’
- (19) *Hinukra hoxataprookeja heepšĭ.*  
 hinuk-ra hoxatap-rook-eeja  $\emptyset$ -heepšĭ  
 lady-DEF woods-inside-there 3S-sneeze  
 ‘The lady sneezed in the woods.’

Right-dislocation of the adjunct relative clause is also possible, as shown in (20). However, this is not unusual, because right-dislocation is freely available for discourse-informational purposes in Hocak.

- (20) a. *Bryanga waši, hacĭĭja Meredithga uqra.*  
 Bryan-ga  $\emptyset$ -waši hacĭĭja Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -uq-ra  
 Bryan-PROP 3S-dance where Meredith-PROP 3S-do-COMP  
 ‘Bryan danced where(ver) Meredith did.’
- b. *Bryanga waši, jaajanare Meredithga uqra.*  
 Bryan-ga  $\emptyset$ -waši jaajana-re Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -uq-ra  
 Bryan-PROP 3S-dance when-PST Meredith-PROP 3S-do-COMP  
 ‘Bryan danced when(ever) Meredith did.’

As with direct object free relatives, the two positions for the relative clause are available in non-elliptical environments as well. This can be seen in (21) for *hacijja* ‘where(ever)’ and (22) for *jaajanare* ‘when(ever)’.

- (21) a. *Bryanga, hacijja Meredithga wašira, waši.*  
 Bryan-ga hacijja Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -waši-ra  $\emptyset$ -waši  
 Bryan-PROP where Meredith-PROP 3S-dance-COMP 3S-dance  
 ‘Bryan danced where(ver) Meredith danced.’
- b. *Bryanga waši, hacijja Meredithga wašira.*  
 Bryan-ga  $\emptyset$ -waši hacijja Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -waši-ra  
 Bryan-PROP 3S-dance where Meredith-PROP 3S-dance-COMP  
 ‘Bryan danced where(ver) Meredith danced.’
- (22) a. *Bryanga, jaajanare Meredithga wašira, waši.*  
 Bryan-ga jaajana-re Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -waši-ra  $\emptyset$ -waši  
 Bryan-PROP when-PST Meredith-PROP 3S-dance-COMP 3S-dance  
 ‘Bryan danced when(ever) Meredith danced.’
- b. *Bryanga waši, jaajanare Meredithga wašira.*  
 Bryan-ga  $\emptyset$ -waši jaajana-re Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -waši-ra  
 Bryan-PROP 3S-dance when-PST Meredith-PROP 3S-dance-COMP  
 ‘Bryan danced when(ever) Meredith danced.’

To account for this data, I propose that ACD resolution in Hocak proceeds in the same way that Fox argues for on the basis of English data. The only difference between Hocak and English is that rightward object movement is visible in Hocak. The derivation of the example in (23) (repeated from (16a) above) is schematized in (24):

- (23) *Bryanga ruwi, jaagu Meredithga uqra.*  
 Bryan-ga  $\emptyset$ -ruwi jaagu Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -uq-ra  
 Bryan-PROP 3S-buy what Meredith-PROP 3S-do-COMP  
 ‘Bryan bought what(ever) Meredith did.’
- (24) a. [VP *Bryanga jaagu ruwi*]  
 [VP Bryan.PROP what 3S.buy]
- b. [[VP *Bryanga jaagu ruwi*] *jaagu*]  
 [[VP Bryan.PROP what 3S.buy] what]
- c. [[VP *Bryanga jaagu ruwi*] *jaagu Meredithga uqra*]  
 [[VP Bryan.PROP what 3S.buy] what Meredith.PROP 3S.do.COMP]

First, the VP is generated (24a). Following Bresnan & Grimshaw (1978), Larson (1987) and Citko (2002), among others, I assume that free relatives are externally-headed so that the *wh*-phrase of free relatives sits in the DP; however, no part of my analysis rests crucially on this analysis.<sup>3</sup> Second, the object moves rightward and adjoins to the VP (24b). Lastly, the relative clause adjoins to the right-dislocated object (24c). At PF, the right-adjoined object is pronounced. As in Fox’s analysis, parallelism is satisfied due to the late merger of the relative clause.

In the case of adjunct free relatives, rightward movement is not necessary for ACD resolution because parallelism can be satisfied without it. Instead, after VP generation, the adjunct can left-adjoin to the VP. Thus, the sentence in (25) (repeated from (18a) above) has the structure shown in (26):

<sup>3</sup> If we instead adopt the Comp(lementizer) account of free relatives, as advocated by Groos & van Riemsdijk (1981), Grosu & Landman (1998) and Gračanin-Yukse (2008), then the head of the relative clause is occupied by *pro*. Thus *pro* would be base-generated in object position and the CP of the relative clause will be adjoined to the rightward moved *pro*.

- (25) *Bryanga, hacijja Meredithga uura, waši.*  
 Bryan-ga hacijja Meredith-ga  $\emptyset$ -u $\ddot{u}$ -ra  $\emptyset$ -waši  
 Bryan-PROP where Meredith-PROP 3S-do-COMP 3S-dance  
 ‘Bryan danced where(ver) Meredith did.’
- (26) [VP [CP *hacijja Meredithga uura*] [VP *waši*]]  
 [VP [CP where Meredith.PROP 3S.do.COMP] [VP 3S.dance]]

The data from Hocak provide strong empirical evidence for Fox’s analysis. Rightward movement is both overt in Hocak and required for ACD resolution of objects. In contrast, adjuncts may remain *in situ*, which I attribute to their adjoined status.

#### 4. Conclusion

To conclude, I presented new data from Hocak and discussed its implications for theories of ACD resolution. I argued that the data strongly support Fox’s (2002) analysis of ACD, as overt rightward movement is obligatory for argument ACD in Hocak. Furthermore, adjuncts have the option to remain *in situ* precisely because they do not have to move for parallelism to be satisfied.

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