Implications of T-to-C movement for stripping in embedded sentences

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RESUMO: Ellipsis theories such as Merchant's (2003) and Johnson's (2009) predict certain restrictions that forbid stripping in embedded sentences. Wurmbrand (2017), however, points out that not all embedded sentences with stripping are ungrammatical in English or other languages. To account for this problem, the author presents a new proposal, which comes from a parallel between ellipsis and phase theory, predicting the grammaticality of stripping in embedded sentences that lack a CP. The generalization aims to explain the fact that, while embedded sentences with stripping are ungrammatical with the presence of "that" in English, they become grammatical without this element. Such hypothesis, however, seems unsustainable when we look at languages such as Brazilian Portuguese (BP), in which the presence of the complementizer "que" is obligatory in embedded sentences. The present work proposes a new explanation for this problem, considering the T-to-C movement theory as postulated by Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004). Following these authors, we propose that "that" in English is not a true complementizer, but an instance of T in C. This new proposal, besides accounting for BP data, runs naturally from assumptions already adopted by Pesetsky & Torrego to account for other phenomena involving the left periphery of sentences.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Stripping; T-to-C Movement; Embedded Sentence; Complementizer.

Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the ellipsis phenomenon known as stripping, focusing on a subject recently analyzed by Wurmbrand (2017), as we'll see. Stripping is an ellipsis mechanism that, as Hankamer & Sag (1976, p. 409) point out, operates under identity with a preceding sentence, and deletes everything in a clause, except for one constituent (and sometimes a clause-initial adverb or negative). The following coordinated sentences illustrate this phenomena in English and Brazilian Portuguese (BP)[1], respectively.

1. a) Jane gave presents to John, but not to Geoff. (Lobeck 1995: 27)
   b) Jane loves to study rocks, and geography too. (Lobeck 1995: 27)
   c) Abby speaks passable Dutch, and BEN, too. (Merchant 2003: 01)

[1] Although, in this paper, we'll compare only English and BP, we predict our proposal is valid cross-linguistically.

2. a) Jane deu presentes a John, mas não a Geoff.
   b) Jane ama estudar rochas, e geografia também.
   c) Abby fala holandês iniciante, e BEN, também.

Wurmbrand (2017) points to a specificity of the stripping phenomenon, which we'll discuss here, bringing in BP data. The author shows that, in English, TP ellipsis of declarative sentences is not restricted to coordinated structures as the ones in (1), but can also occur with embedded sentences, contrary to what the preceding literature led us to believe (MERCHANT, 2003; JOHNSON, 2009). According to Wurmbrand (2017: 342), the idea that stripping is impossible in embedded sentences seems to derive from the observation that sentences such as (3a-c) are ungrammatical in English. Additionally, the author shows that a lower ellipsis, such as VP ellipsis, is not ungrammatical on the similar sentences (3d-e), which leads us to believe only stripping cannot occur in subordinated sentences.

3. a) *Jane loves to study rocks, and John says that geography too. (Lobeck, 1995: 27)
   b) *Abby wanted to take Dutch, because Ben. (Merchant, 2003: 03)
   c) *Abby claimed Ben would ask her out, but she didn't think that Bill(too). (Merchant, 2003: 04)
   d) Abby wanted to take Dutch, because Ben does. (Wurmbrand, 2017: 342)
   e) Abby claimed Ben would ask her out, but she didn't think that Bill would. (Wurmbrand, 2017: 342)

Merchant (2003) and Johnson (2009) present two different proposals to explain the restriction observed in (3a-c):

> **Merchant (2003)**: TP in stripping sentences is equipped with $E_{stripping}$, a feature that involves another uninterpretable feature *u*Conj, which needs to be checked by a higher conjunction, restricting this type of ellipsis to conjunctions.

> **Johnson (2009):** Stripping involves vP coordination, in which the shared VP suffers ellipsis and across-the-board movement. In embedded sentences, the coordination occurs in TP, which prevents any element under TP from being divided by the elided

constituent and its precedent. This prevents VP from performing across-the-board movement outside CP, making the sentence ungrammatical.

However, the following data from Wurmbrand (2017: 344-45) show proposals such as Merchant's and Johnson's make a wrong prediction about stripping in embedded sentences.

4. a) Abby claimed (that) Ben would ask her out, but she didn't think Bill (too).
   b) Jane loves to study rocks, and John says geography too.
   c) [W]hen we asked her . . . who her favorite new country star is, she said you.[2]
   d) When I get asked who's the biggest diva on the set, I say you.
   e) First, they thought it would be done last year, then they thought THIS year.
   f) First, they predicted there would be driverless cars in 2000, then they predicted THIS year.

As we can see, the examples above share a common fact, which is the absence of "that" in the embedded sentences. The grammaticality of such sentences led Wurmbrand (2017) to formulate the following generalization:

5. **Embedded Stripping Generalization** (Wurmbrand, 2017: 345)
   Stripping of embedded clauses is only possible when the embedded clause lacks a CP.

Assuming this, Wurmbrand (2017) excludes the possibility of analyzing the embedded CP as a null complementizer.

The goal of this paper is to put the generalization in (5) under scrutiny, considering a different proposal for the nature of "that" and the possibility of an embedded CP with a null complementizer in English, following Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004, 2007). Additionally,

[2] Someone might say sentences (4c-d) can be interpreted as citations, as if the speaker was reproducing someone else's speech: "... I say: "you".". Wurmbrand discards this possibility by saying both sentences came from spontaneous speech corpora, and "[t]he contexts of these examples clearly point to embedding structures rather than quotes, since "you" is interpreted indexically" (p. 344). What she means is that the speaker says "you" referring to the person he is talking to at the moment of speech, and not to what he *really* says when asked about the singer/diva (if the speaker actually said "you" under these circumstances, then everyone who asked him one of those questions would feel like a star). The same goes for sentences (4e-f): when he says "THIS year", the speaker is referring to the current year.

we'll bring to the discussion data on this phenomenon in BP, in order to show that, in this language, the generalization in (5) does not apply. By the end, we hope to have demonstrated why stripped sentences cannot have a phonetically realized complementizer in English, but in BP, the complementizer must always be phonetically realized on the same contexts, as shown by the examples in (6), translated from English (4a-b), and, additionally, the examples in (7), created by us.

6. a) ?A Bia disse que o Bruno ia chamar ela para sair, mas ela não pensou **que** o Beto também.

   a') *A Bia disse que o Bruno ia chamar ela para sair, mas ela não pensou o Beto também.

   b) ?A Joana adora estudar rochas, e o Jõao disse **que** geografia também.

   b') *A Joana adora estudar rochas, e o João disse geografia também.

7. a) A Júlia quer ir para casa e acho **que** o Paulo também.
   'Julia wants to go home, and I think **that** Paul too'.

   b) A minha namorada adorava o cheiro daquele perfume, e ela nem fazia ideia de **que** eu também.
   'My girlfriend loved the smell of that perfume, and she had no idea **that** me too'.

   c) O Pedro e a Rosa não tocaram na comida hoje, e está parecendo **que** o José também não.
   'Peter and Rosa did not touch their food today, and it looks like Joseph also not'.

Although the translation of sentences (4a-b) to BP does not sound very natural to Brazilian speakers, the reason for that cannot be the presence of the complementizer, since the sentences in (7) are all grammatical, despite the presence of the complementizer "que". Moreover, the sentences without complementizer are completely ungrammatical in BP, as we can see in (6a',b').

Therefore, we'll assume that the generalization in (5) is right when saying stripping is possible in embedded sentences, but is wrong when considering the absence of CP as a condition for that phenomenon.

The most immediate question we need to deal with is the following:

8. Why does "that" compromises the grammaticality of a stripped embedded sentence in English, but the complementizer "que" does not have the same effect in BP?

In order to present an adequate answer for the question above, we've organized this paper as follows: section 1 reviews the fundamental points of Wurmbrand's (2017) proposal, and raises some of its problems; section 2 introduces and applies the split-CP framework from Rizzi (1997), along with the T-to-C movement framework from Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004), in order to propose a reason for the absence of "that" in stripped embedded sentences in English; and section 3 summarizes the discussion, reinforcing our position about the formulated question.

1. Wurmbrand's (2017) proposal

Wurmbrand (2017) explains the generalization in (5) by articulating three backgrounds: (i) a dynamic phasehood approach, that allows her to sustain the idea that not only CPs but also CP-less clauses with a TP domain function as phases; (ii) the assumption that, in cases of stripping, the remnant element occupies a focal position above TP; (iii) and the idea of Ellipsis as non-pronunciation of the phasal domain, referred by the author as "the zero spell-out approach". The second assumption, when associated with assumptions (i) and (iii), allows the author to argue that, despite the absence of a CP in stripped embedded sentences, TP will still be a spell-out domain, since it will be part of a phase whose head is a focal projection, to where the element that escapes the ellipsis site must move.

We'll now summarize these three assumptions, in order to explain how they work together to sustain the generalization in (5).

1.1 A dynamic understanding of phases

Essentially, the concept of phases delineated in Chomsky (2000, 2001) states that the derivation of a sentence must include two sub-numerations: one that contains the lexical verb, namely, VP, delimited by the *v*P projection; and another that contains Tense, i.e., TP, and is delimited by the CP projection. This view is considered as a static definition of phases, since it comprises *v* and C as the only possible phase heads, and consequently, the only phasal boundaries available.

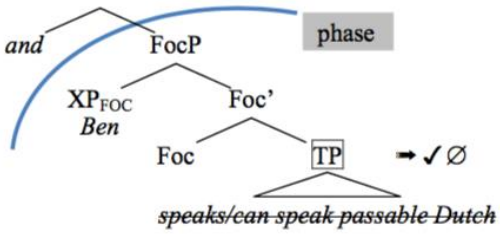
Since Chomsky's formulation, different approaches to phase theory were proposed (cf. LEGATE, 2003; BOBALJIK & WURMBRAND, 2005; WURMBRAND, 2015; HARWOORD, 2015, BOŠKOVIĆ, 2014; among others), all having in common the idea that phase boundaries must be somehow more dynamic than originally proposed. Objectively, what Wurmbrand

(2017) assumes to this respect is the idea that the highest projection of a cyclic domain constitutes a phase. According to this conception, there are two cyclic domains for a sentence: the extended thematic domain of V; and the combined T and C domains. This definition of cyclic domain results on the idea that not only CPs but also CP-less clauses with a TP domain function as phases. Assuming this approach, it is possible to argue for the absence of a CP at the highest clausal domain, in cases where a complementizer is not phonologically realized.

Specifically looking at cases of stripping in English, the question brought up is what is the exact boundary of the cyclic domain that contains the elided TP. Following Merchant (2003), Ortega-Santos et al. (2014) and Yoshida et al. (2015), Wurmbrand (2017) assumes that this phase's boundary is a focal projection above TP, to where the constituent that escapes the ellipsis site moves in cases of stripping. This is illustrated below.

9. a) Abby speaks passable Dutch, and BEN, too

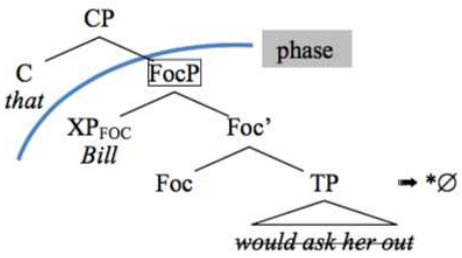
b)



(in.: WURMBRAND, 2017: 349)

10.a) *Abby claimed Ben would ask her out, but she didn't think that Bill (too)

b) *



(in.: WURMBRAND, 2017: 349)

As can be noticed, Wurmbrand's analysis excludes the possibility that CP is the head of the phase that contains TP in sentences with stripping. The head of that phase is actually a focal projection not linked to CP, both in coordinated sentences, as in (9), and in subordinated sentences, as in (10).

Although a dynamic approach to phases has been more and more empirically motivated through the years, the analysis delineated by Wurmbrand (2017) undergoes the following criticism when one assumes CP as a generic label, under which projections such as

focus must be inserted: what independent motivation could justify an analysis in which FocP works as a combined projection with TP, without, however, being part of what is labeled as CP? It does not seem obvious to us that a dynamic approach to phases needs, in this case, to exclude the possibility of FocP as a category of the CP system, as proposed by Rizzi's (1997) cartographic model, which we'll assume in this work.

We believe Wurmbrand's generalization in (5), which excludes the possibility of a null complementizer, is required to maintain the idea that ellipsis must correspond to the non-pronunciation of the phasal domain (see BOŠKOVIĆ, 2014). This is one of the assumptions the author uses to explain the possibility of stripping in embedded sentences in English. Next, we'll summarize this assumption.

1.2 Ellipsis as non-pronunciation of the phasal domain

Many authors that conceive ellipsis as being the erasing of syntactic material in PF, and not reconstruction in LF, end up questioning why only certain constituents are marked for deletion. Giving cases such as (11) and (12) below, it is plausible to say that ellipsis always chooses a specific domain, that coincides with the spell-out domain for the phase theory.

11. Apollo punched Rocky, and Mr. T did [VP ~~punch Rocky~~] too.
12. Pinocchio lied about something, but I don't know what [TP ~~Pinocchio lied about~~].

The sentence in (11) is a case of VP ellipsis, which is an erasing mechanism of the lexical verb and its arguments. In (12), we have a case of sluicing (cf. ROSS, 1969; MERCHANT, 2001), in which the constituent marked for deletion is a TP. What those sentences share is the fact that the ellipsis does not affect a whole phase, but only the spell-out domain. Based on this observation, Gengel (2009) suggested there is a tight connection between the ellipsis site and the spell-out phasal domain (cf. GALLEGO, 2010; VAN CRAENENBROECK, 2010; ROUVERET, 2012; BOŠKOVIĆ, 2014).

If, by definition, the erased constituent in stripping must be a TP, then Wurmbrand has the necessary conditions to sustain her generalization. As verified through the representations in (9) and (10) above, if FocP is considered a root projection (cf. 9b), the spell-out domain is TP; on the other hand, if there is a CP above FocP (cf. 10b), FocP is no longer the root projection, and becomes the spell-out domain.

The analysis that combines the dynamic approach to phases with the assumption that ellipsis consists on the erasing of the spell-out domain in PF seems very useful to explain the generalization in (5). However, this generalization seems to lose cross linguistic validity when we observe the stripping phenomenon in other languages[3], such as Spanish and Albanian (MORGAN, 1973, *apud* WURMBRAND, 2017), Basque, Polish, Russian and Hebrew (VAN CRAENENBROECK & LIPTÁK, 2006, 2008).

As proposed on the introduction (cf. also MATOS & KOLBERG, 2017), BP can join the languages exemplified above, since it licenses stripping in embedded sentences despite the presence of "que", which, to us, is clearly a complementizer.

On the following section, we'll start delineating the theoretical model we believe is more compatible with our analysis to answer to the question in (8). First, we'll argue in favor of the hypothesis that there is a CP in stripped embedded sentences in English as well as in BP; then, we'll discuss the status of "que" in BP, and its position on a Split-CP system, *à la* Rizzi (1997). We'll also discuss the status of "that" in English, based on Pesetsky & Torrego's (2001, 2004, 2007) proposal, and the implications of its absence in stripped embedded sentences.

2. Gathering the pieces for a new analysis proposal

2.1 Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP system

Interested on the rich structure that composes the C domain, Rizzi (1997) proposes the left periphery of the sentence is divided in at least four different projections, as in (13):

13.[Force [Topic [Focus [Finiteness . . .]4

These projections include indicators of the type of the sentence (Force) and its finiteness, as well as Focus and Topic. Under this perspective, we understand that, for labeling

[3] Wurmbrand acknowledges that, although English and German do not allow stripping in embedded sentences with a complementizer, other languages do. To maintain the cross linguistic validity of her analysis, the author suggests, speculatively, that languages that allow that-stripping must have a head equipped with the operator property in CP, and that this head should always be constituted as a phase head. For instance, that-stripping would be possible in languages in which *Wh*-movement targets FocP rather than CP, as assumed by van Craenenbroeck & Lipták (2006, 2008).

[4] According to more recent work (cf. Rizzi & Bocci, 2017), Rizzi's (1997) proposal should be viewed as just a simplified account of what should be understood as a much larger structure, with even more projections.

purposes, CP must correspond to a generic label, an abbreviation of functional heads that can coexist articulately (although not all heads need to be present in every sentence[5]).

Our first argument, following Rizzi (1997) and Mioto (2001), contra Wurmbrand (2017), refers to ForceP on the C system. As Mioto points out,

> Assuming that all sentences involve a level superior to IP (as ∑P, in which we establish the truth value of the sentence, as pointed out by Laka (1990), or the domain which is responsible by the type of sentence, discussed by Cheng (1991)), we can assume the generalization [that] there is a CP in every sentence.
> Mioto (2001: 101, our translation)

This means that, in the examples from BP in (14), an abstract CP must be required to structurally code the distinction that exists on the intonation of the two sentences. On the other hand, the presence of CP becomes more explicit in a language such as English, which manifests T to C movement, at least in yes/no interrogative contexts, as shown in (15).

14. a) O João viu a Maria ontem
    b) O João viu a Maria ontem?

15. a) John saw Mary yesterday.
    b) **Has** John seen Mary yesterday?

Considering embedded sentences, we'll now discuss the position a complementizer must occupy in BP, regarding the Split-CP system.

2.2 The complementizer's place in BP

Giving the Split-CP structure we assume in this paper, we follow Mioto's (2001) proposal, according to which the complementizer "que" in declarative embedded sentences in BP must occupy ForceP. This seems clear to us by the contrast between (16b) and (16b'): in (16b), "que" follows the focalized constituent "a menina", showing it does not occupy FocP; in (16b'), the embedded sentence does not have "que", and is therefore ungrammatical. (17b)

[5] To this respect, it is assumed that when the Topic-Focus articulation is not triggered in a sentence, the first and last projections (ForceP and FinP) must be realized syncretically in languages such as English (c.f. Rizzi, 1997) (and it seems that this is also true for BP).

reinforces this analysis, since it includes, besides a focalized constituent, a topic, showing "que" does not occupy a topic position as well.

16. a) Quem o Pedro disse que foi para a festa? A menina ou o menino?
Who did Peter say that went to the party? The boy or the girl?

b) O Pedro disse [$_{ForceP}$ que [$_{FocP}$ *a menina* (que) foi para a festa. (MIOTO, 2001: 132)
Peter said [$_{ForceP}$ that [$_{FocP}$ *the girl* (that) went to the party.

b') *O Pedro disse a menina (que) foi pra festa.
Peter said the girl (that) went to the party.

17. a) Alguém vai dar as flores para a noiva.
Someone will give flowers to the bride.

b) O Pedro disse [$_{ForceP}$ que, [$_{TopP}$ *as flores*, [$_{FocP}$ *ele mesmo* (que) vai dar para a noiva.
Peter said [$_{ForceP}$ that, [$_{TopP}$ *the flowers*, [$_{FocP}$ *he himself* (that) will give to the bride

Returning to our central question, even if we didn't assume every sentence must have a CP (even if it is an abstract one, as presented), it would be impossible to sustain the generalization that stripping in embedded sentences in BP can only happen without the presence of a CP. The evidence that makes this generalization unfeasible is the obligatory presence of a complementizer in finite embedded sentences in BP, including in cases of stripping (cf. examples (6) and (7)).

Considering that, in BP, the complementizer of embedded declarative sentences occupies the ForceP head, we propose the structure in (18b) for stripped embedded sentences. From Wurmbrand (2017) and preceding works' proposals, we maintain the assumption that, in cases of stripping, the remnant constituent moves to a focal projection[6,7]

18. a) A Júlia quer ir para casa e acho que O PAULO também.
Julia wants to go home and I think that PAUL too.

b) A Júlia quer ir para casa e acho [$_{ForceP}$ que [$_{FocP}$ O PAULO também [$_{deletion...}$]]

[6] For now, we're assuming that the landing site of the constituent that escapes the ellipsis, both in BP and in English, is a focal projection that is part of the CP system, namely, FocP. This hypothesis is motivated both by the observation of the prosodic structure of the sentences (WINKLER, 2005), and by licensing matters (MERCHANT, 2003; ORTEGA-SANTOS ET. AL., 2014; YOSHIDA ET. AL. 2015). We leave open questions relative to the specific nature of this focalization, acknowledging that it deserves a more rigorous account, especially regarding the more criterious, cartographic approaches. We intend to discuss this matter further in future work.

[7] As we can see, in a lot of cases the remnant DP moves together with some additional material. However, we'll not discuss this material here. We indicate Wurmbrand (2017:354-58) for an interesting proposal on this matter.

Having argued that stripping in embedded sentences is possible in BP, even with the obligatory presence of a phonologically realized CP, we go on to explore an alternative analysis for stripping in English, assuming a hypothesis about the nature of "that" in this language. Our proposal is that, as in BP, English stripped embedded sentences must contain an abstract CP, in Rizzi's (1997) terms.

2.3 The nature of "that" in English

As previously said, considering the possibility that the C head is phonologically null in English, we can assume the presence of an abstract CP in cases of stripping in embedded sentences. Therefore, CP must not be a syntactic obstacle for stripping. An immediate demand this assumption makes is to explain the nature of "that" in English, traditionally analyzed as a complementizer. We'll follow Pesetsky & Torrego's (2001, 2004) proposals, that analyze "that" as follows:

19. **The nature of English "that"**

"That" is not C, but a realization of T moved to C.

(PESETSKY & TORREGO, 2004: 499)

Let's see how this assumption, put forward by Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004, 2007), can be discussed, facing the question we need to answer, relative to the obligatory absence of "that" in contexts of stripping in embedded sentences in English.

2.3.1 Pesetsky & Torrego (2001)

In a lot of English dialects, "that" cannot happen introducing a CP from which a *Wh*-subject has been extracted (Perlmutter's (1971) That-trace effect) (cf. (20)); also in English, "that" is optional in completing sentences, but it's obligatory in sentences which work as the subject of a sentence (Stowell's (1981) that-omission asymmetry) (cf. (21)). According to Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) (from now on, P&T), these facts can be compared to another important asymmetry involving subject/non-subject phrases, as discussed by Koopman (1983), in which the movement of the auxiliary verb to C in subject *Wh*-questions is ungrammatical (Koopman's (1983) "Tns-to-C" asymmetry) (cf. (22)).

20. **[nonsubject *Wh* → optional that]**
    a) What do you think [Mary read ___]?
    b) What do you think [that Mary read ___]?

    [subject *Wh* → no that]
    c) Who do you think [___ read the book]?
    *Who do you think [that ___ read the book]?

21. a) Mary thinks [that Sue will buy the book].
    b) Mary thinks [Sue will buy the book].
    c) [That Sue will buy the book] was expected by everyone.
    d) *[Sue will buy the book] was expected by everyone.

22. a) What did Mary buy ___?
    b) *What Mary bought ___?
    c)*Who did ___ buy the book? [* unless did is focused]
    d) Who ___ bought the book?

(PESETSKY & TORREGO, 2001: 356-57)

P&T (2001) offer a unified explanation for all the contrasts observed below, which implies the following proposal:

23. **The nature of nominative case**

    Nominative case is *u*T on D.

(PESESTSKY & TORREGO, 2001: 361)

Besides proposing that nominative Case is an instance of the *u*T feature in DP, the authors also work with a particular hypothesis with respect to C and the nature of "that". They suggest the CP-initial "that" is not an instance of C, but is actually the pronunciation of Tns[8] moved to C[9] to satisfy the EPP property of *u*T in C (this would be a case where both the copy and the trace are pronounced).

The authors argue that the effects observed in (20) and (22) appear due to a competition between Tns-to-C movement and nominative DP-to-Spec CP movement as different methods for satisfying the EPP property of an *u*T feature acting as a probe in C, in contexts where C also bears a feature that triggers *Wh*- movement. If Nominative Case is an *u*T feature on DP, and not a *sui generis* feature with a special relation with φ-features, then

[8] Tns corresponds to the head of the TP projection.
[9] P&T (2001) suggest that "that" is an interpretable instance of Tns that moves to C via head movement and becomes a C morpheme.

the facts can be explained in terms of computational economy, complying with the following economy condition:

24. **Economy Condition**

The EPP properties of *u*F on a head H are satisfied by the smallest possible number of movement operations.

(PESETSKY & TORREGO, 2001: 359)

Thus, when the *Wh*- element is nominative, it will constitute as a target which, by itself, satisfies the EPP properties of two features that act as a probe in C. Consequently, only one movement will need to be triggered. On the other hand, when the *Wh*- element is not nominative, two different movements will need to be triggered: the *Wh*- movement, to satisfy the [*u*Wh, +EPP] feature, and the Tns-to-C movement, to satisfy the [*u*T, +EPP] feature.

The competition described above disappears when there is no subject *Wh*- movement, as in simple embedded declarative sentences. Under such circumstances, both Tns-to-C movement and subject-to-Spec,CP movement can satisfy [*u*T, +EPP] of the embedded C. This is justified by the fact that both the nominative subject and Tense are equidistant[10] from C.

25. a) Mary thinks [$_{CP}$ [$_{T}$ that]$_j$ + C, ~~*u*T~~] [$_{TP}$ Sue will$_j$ buy the book]].
b) Mary thinks [$_{CP}$ [Sue, ~~*u*T~~]$_j$ [C, ~~*u*T~~] [$_{TP}$ will buy the book]].

When a simple embedded declarative sentence is introduced by "that", as in (25a), P&T assume that Tns moves to C (that) through head movement, then constituting a morpheme with C; in the absence of "that" (25b), they propose that the subject occupies the specifier position more internal to CP. In both cases, what motivates movement is the presence of [*u*T,+EPP] in the declarative embedded C.

Regarding the summarized panoram of P&T's (2001) proposal presented above, we assume (19), considering it offers an immediate analysis of the more general behavior of "that" in English. This idea combines with the assumption sustained here, according to which C in English must be present in embedded sentences, although it can be phonologically null.

[10] According to the Closeness Condition of P&T (2001: 362), which we assume here, "Y is closer to K than X if K c-commands Y and Y c-commands X.".

We consider the assumptions above minimally sufficient to explain the absence of "that" in cases of stripping of embedded sentences as in (4a), repeated here as (26):

26. a) Abby claimed (that) Ben would ask her out, but she didn't think Bill (too).

Assuming there is a CP in stripped embedded sentences, we need to acknowledge there are two features working as a probe in C: a feature [*u*T, +EPP], and an interpretable feature of focus[11] [*i*F$_{ocus}$, +EPP]. When the probing of these features is triggered, two equidistant elements, both having a T feature (the subject DP in Spec,Tense and the auxiliary in the Tense head) are found. However, in this case, there is no optionality of Tns-to-C movement, since the nominative subject also carries a Focus feature, which is the target of the probing of [*i*F$_{ocus}$, +EPP] in C. The absence of "that" in that situation runs naturally from the economy condition stated in (24). That is, the same DP that moves to satisfy the EPP property of a Focus feature in C also satisfies EPP of the T feature of C, and therefore its movement is more economic than Tns-to-C movement.

The analysis presented above considers only the cases where the DP that escapes the ellipsis site is a nominative DP. However, not only nominative DPs can move to C to escape from ellipsis, but also accusative DPs or even PPs (prepositional phrases), as can be seen in the examples below, repeated from the introduction:

27. **Stripping with a remnant accusative DP**

Jane loves to study rocks, and John says GEOGRAPHY too.

28. **Stripping with a remnant PP**

First, they predicted there would be driverless cars in 2000, then they predicted THIS YEAR.

A careful reader should realize the examples above pose a problem to our (and P&T's) analysis, since the assumptions made until here are only sufficient to explain the cases where the remnant constituent is a nominative DP. In other words, the Economy condition

[11] We're assuming, speculatively, that the focus feature acting as a probe in C is interpretable, and FocP in the C system must be the locus of the semantic interpretation of focus. Obviously, this assumption takes advantage of P&T's (2007) proposal, which dissociates valuation and feature interpretability.

stated in (24) cannot explain the absence of "that" when the remnant constituent in cases of stripping is not a nominative DP, since, in principle, "that" is only dispensable if there is another equidistant target whose movement is more advantageous, that is, if it can satisfy both probes in C by itself.

In the next section, we'll discuss the continuation of P&T's (2001) proposal in P&T (2004), in which structural Case in general, and not only nominative Case, must be treated as an instance of T in an argument.

2.3.2 Pesetsky & Torrego (2004)

Attempting to explain structural Case as an independent concept, P&T (2004) extend the proposal that deals with nominative Case to all instances of Case. The authors defend a proposal regarding accusative Case that is parallel to the one in (23).

29. **The nature of accusative case**

Accusative case (like nominative) is an instance of *u*T on D.

(PESETSKY & TORREGO, 2004: 496)

Since Case in general is now seen as an instance of the T feature, the Case filter formulated in the scope of the Government and Binding theory needs to receive a new formulation in P&T's (2004) work:

30. **Argument Tense Condition (Case Filter)**

An argument must bear T (*u*T or *i*T).

(PESETSKY & TORREGO 2004: 501)

As a consequence of (30), at least in English, instances of D and C must come from the lexicon bearing an *u*T feature, but not *i*T. On the other hand, prepositions, as we'll see, must come with the *i*T feature. Looking specifically at how D and C behave when they're arguments from adjectives (labelled A), we found that, although, by hypothesis, these two categories share the need to come from the lexicon with a T feature, they differ on the fact that CPs are self-sufficient regarding *u*T, since every CP contains a TP, but DPs are not self-sufficient, because DPs do not contain TPs. So, DPs cannot work as a complement of A, but CPs can.

31. **DP complement to A: impossible**

*Bill was afraid the storm.

32. **CP complement to A: possible**

a) Bill was afraid that the storm will be destructive.

b) Bill was afraid the storm will be destructive.

c) John was eager to read the instructions.

d) John was careful to read the instructions.

(PESETSKY & TORREGO, 2004: 502)

So, while CPs can satisfy their internal requirements relating to the T feature they carry, DPs cannot do the same. This can be acknowledged by the traditional assumption that DPs must seek Case, but not CPs. Since all matrix sentences in (31) and (32) contain TP, we can assure nominative Case for the subject; if the complement of the adjective is just a DP, there is no category capable of deleting *u*T on the DP complement, and so the sentence is ungrammatical (31).

Despite having a T that deletes *u*T from the nominative subject, the TP in sentences (31) and (32) do not delete the *u*T feature in an accusative object, either because this instance of T can only agree with a DP, or because it is structurally distant from the complement of A (Pesetsky & Torrego, 2004:502). That is, although accusative Case should also be an instance of *u*T, the T responsible for nominative Case cannot be the same responsible for the accusative Case.

In order to solve this issue, P&T (2004) propose that a verbal predication structure must have a second T, closer to V's complement (named T_o) than the T that's responsible for nominative DP (named T_s). This is close enough for T_o to enter an *Agree* relationship with *u*T in a complement DP.

33. **Verbal predication structure**

Subj T_s [$_{vP}$ v T_o [$_{VP}$ V Obj]]

(P&T, 2004: 503)

The adjectival predication structure, in cases (31) and (32) above, would differ from (33) only by the absence of T_o.

34. **Adjectival predication structure**

Subj T_s [$_{ap}$ a [$_{AP}$ A Obj]]

(P&T, 2004: 505)

The two occurrences of T on the predication structure of a transitive sentence carry uninterpretable φ-features that probe, on their domain, a target that also carries φ-features. According to the authors, these two instances of T differ only in relation to the EPP property.

The structure that P&T propose in (33) takes into account proposals presented in works such as Kratzer (1996) and Travis (1992), which suggest the existence of an aspectual head on the same position as T_o; Torrego (1999/2002), that argues the existence of an aspectual head belonging to the P category; and Lasnik & Saito (1991), Johnson (1991), Koizumi (1993, 1995) and Lasnik (1999), which bring up evidences based on binding, scope and word order, defending the existence of a separate head licensing accusative Case. Furthermore, P&T (2004:503-505) also bring up some semantic evidences. For the sake of simplicity, we'll not discuss those arguments here.

Assuming P&T's (2004) proposal, we'll return now to the discussion of a possible explanation for stripping in embedded sentences from which an accusative DP escapes, moving to FocP.

35. Jane loves to study rocks, and John says GEOGRAPHY too.

The most immediate consequence that P&T's (2004) proposal entails for an analysis of the sentence above, more specifically to our intention to justify the absence of *that* in the embedded sentence, is as follows: if the DP "geography" also comes from the lexicon with a T feature, besides a F_{ocus} feature, then the movement of just one constituent will satisfy the EPP properties of the T and F_{ocus} features acting as a probe in C, in line with the economy condition expressed in (24). Because of that, an instance of T_s ("that") will not move to C. This analysis is corroborated by the assumption that Tns-to-C movement in English targets FocP[12] (cf.

[12] When examining the Subject Auxiliary Inversion in English (for instance: "Under what circumstances would you go into the office during the holidays?" or "On no account would I go into the office during the holidays"), Haegman (2000) proposes that I-to-C movement targets FocP, as a way of guaranteeing that a spec-head relation is satisfied between the focalized XP and the Foc head, since this type of movement is triggered by the WH/NEG-criterion.

HAEGMAN, 2000a,b); if that is true, the DP movement in embedded sentences with stripping would satisfy the EPP properties of two traces **on the same head** of the C system.

We should note, however, that the analysis proposed above, that aims to explain the absence of "that" in (35), presents a challenge for technical implementation. In P&T's (2004) proposal, the *u*T feature in accusative DPs must be deleted in a very specific timing after having entered an *Agree* relationship with T_o. This provides an explanation for the asymmetry relative to the omission of "that" seen in many cases, such as (20)-(22). According to P&T (2004: 516), "an uninterpretable feature marked for deletion inside a complete phrase ∏ must be allowed to survive past the point at which a new head ß is merged to ∏". So, in order to explain the subject/non-subject asymmetries that reflect the omission of "that", it is necessary to assume that the *u*T feature in accusative DP is only available for syntax up until the moment T_s is merged to the phase in which the feature is valued. That is, under the conditions assumed here, the *u*T feature from the accusative DP should not remain available for syntax at the moment where the *u*T feature in FocP triggers its probe.

Although we cannot present a solution to this technical problem, we suggest there must be something exceptional in structures that are the target of ellipsis, in a way that allows an uninterpretable feature present at the constituent that escapes the ellipsis site to survive longer until it is deleted and becomes unavailable for syntactic computation. Up to the present moment, however, we don't have an explicit way of implementing this assumption, which makes us leave this proposal as an open question in our work.

This same technical problem is not found in the analysis proposed next, to explain the absence of "that" in cases where what escapes from the ellipsis site is a PP.

2.3.2.1 Prepositions as an instance of T

P&T (2004), based on proposals such as Torrego (1999/2000), Dermirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000) and Kayne (1984), propose there are evidences to analyze P as a kind of T. Among the reasons presented by P&T are:

(i) If the Argument Tense Condition in (30) is correct, then the head of an A complement must carry a T feature. The example below shows this seems to be correct, since a PP which is the complement of A behaves like a CP in terms of self-sufficiency of the T feature, which makes the sentence grammatical. We then have a parallel between CPs and PPs, but not between CPs and DPs, as seen in (31) and (32).

36. **PP complement to A**

Bill was afraid **of** the storm.

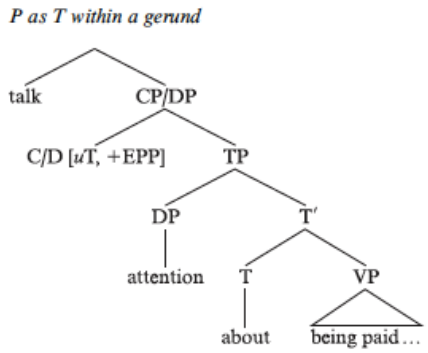
(ii) T seems to occupy a position in DP which is very analogous to the one occupied by T inside CP. According to P&T (2004:506), an argument for that comes from a phenomenon known as the P-trace effect, which, according to Kayne (1984), has its source on that-trace effect. This phenomenon consists on the fact that when a gerund is the object of V, both the subject and the object of the gerund can be extracted through Ā-movement, as seen in the examples (37a-b) below; however, when the same gerund is the object of a preposition, the extraction of the subject is noticeably worse than the extraction of the object.

37. a) How much attention do you remember [John and Mary paying ___ to this]?
b) How much attention do you remember [___ being paid to this by John and Mary]?
c) How much attention did you talk about [Bill paying ___ to John and Mary]?
d) *How much attention did you talk [about ___ being paid to John and Mary]?

(P&T, 2004: 506)

Through the facts above, P&T (2004) suggest the prepositions in (37c-d) are instances of T inside the gerund, serving as target for *u*T at the gerund's C/D, as sketched below.

38.



(P&T, 2004:507)

(iii) It is very common among languages that elements of prepositional vocabulary occur in T position in a lot of types of sentences. This can be observed in English through the examples in (39). The data in (40) and (41), from English and Portuguese, respectively, show that a preposition can alternate with a (progressive) aspect particle, namely, the gerund.

39. a) John considers [there to be many reasons for this].
b) Mary kept [there from being a riot].

(P&T, 2004:510)

40. a) I spoke with Joe **with regard** to his application.
b) I spoke with Joe **regarding** his application.

41. a) Eu estou **a preparar** a comida. (European Portuguese)
b) Eu estou **preparando** a comida. (Brazilian Portuguese)
' I'm preparing food.'

(iv) Prepositions share with traditional instances of T the property of placing events and individuals in time and space. So, in P&T's (2004: 510) words, "It is a commonplace that the same vocabulary is often used for spatial and temporal location and direction (before, after, within, etc.), and for both spatial and temporal ordering.". As noted by Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000), it is common in English the use of prepositions such as on, in, at, along, over and through to express the space-time relation of a predicate with progressive aspect. This is common not only in English, but is a phenomenon observed in many languages, as shown by the examples below, extracted from Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000:178):

42. Maritere euskara ikas-te-*n* ari da. **[V + t(z)e + LOC ARI]**
Maritere Basque learn-NOM-LOC_{in} engage AUX(are)
'Maritere is (engaged in) learning Basque.'

43. Zazie est *en train de* jouer. **[BE + en train de + INFINITIVE]**
Zazie is *in along of* play
'Zazie is (engaged in) playing.'

44. Ik ben het huis *aan* het bouwen. **[BE + AT + INFINITIVE]**
I am the house *at* the build
'I am (at the) building (of) the house.'

As shown in (42), in Basque the progressive is formed by the combination of the verb *ari* 'engage' with a nominalizer morpheme and with the locative *–n* '(with)in/on/at'. In French (43), the progressive is formed by the combination of the infinitive with a complex locative expression, that can be translated as "engaged in", and decomposes in the

prepositions "in" + "along" (prepositions of central coincidence, in Uribe-Etxebarria's (2000) framework). In Dutch, the progressive is formed by means of a combination of an infinitive with a locative preposition (at), as shown in (44).

P&T (2004: 510) suggest that, even for the prepositions that do not denote spatial or temporal relations, one could picture a view of θ-role assignment that identifies such prepositions with positions in an abstract space in which a given state or scene occurs.

An additional assumption we put forward and adopt from P&T's (2004) framework is that prepositions are a kind of TP that contain an *i*T feature, but not *u*T. Facing this assumption, we don't have the same technical problem in relation to timing to deletion of uninterpretable features, that we acknowledged when trying to explain the absence of "that" when what escapes from the ellipsis site (from a stripped embedded sentence) is an accusative DP.

Analyzing the data in (28), written below as (45), we propose that the remnant constituent is a PP with a null preposition. Such as the preposition at the PP "in 2000" of the matrix sentence presents a clearly temporal flavor, the null preposition of the remnant phrase, as we're assuming, is also an instance of *i*T.

45. First, they predicted there would be driverless cars in 2000, then they predicted IN/Ø THIS YEAR.

According to the framework exposed here, if the constituent marked to escape the ellipsis site is the target of Ā-movement because of a F_{ocus} feature it brings to the derivation, and, besides that, it also has a T feature, such that it can satisfy the EPP property of two features in a head of the C system (the F_{ocus} and T features in FocP) acting as a probe, then its movement dismisses the need for Tns-to-C movement, making the presence of "that" (an instance of T_s moved to C) in the embedded sentence ungrammatical.

Finally, it is important to say that, if the head of the prepositional phrase is an interpretable instance of Tense, then after entering an *Agree* relation with its DP complement, regardless of the timing to deletion we come to formulate, the *i*T feature from the preposition will still be available for syntax at the moment FocP triggers its probe in search of a T feature, since only uninterpretable features are deleted after being valued through *Agree*.

3. Final thoughts

In this paper, we have discussed a possible explanation for the obligatory absence of "that" in stripped embedded sentences in English, assuming, among other things, that a computational economy condition dismisses "that" in such context. Our analysis is corroborated if, as proposed by Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004), structural Case is a T feature in DP, and "that" in English is an instance of Tns that moves to C, and not a true complementizer. In this aspect, BP differs from English, since it presents obligatory phonological realization of a true complementizer in embedded sentences as the ones seen above, unlike English, in which the complementizer itself has no phonological realization. Furthermore, as we've seen, BP is not a T-to-C movement language.

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RESUMO: Teorias de elipse tais como as de Merchant (2003) e Johnson (2009) preveem certas restrições que impedem a realização de stripping em sentenças encaixadas. Wurmbrand (2017), no entanto, aponta para o fato de que nem todas as sentenças encaixadas com stripping são agramaticais, tanto em inglês, quanto em outras línguas. Para dar conta desta questão, a autora apresenta uma nova proposta, fazendo um paralelo entre a teoria de elipse e a de fases, prevendo a gramaticalidade de stripping em construções encaixadas sem CP. A generalização busca explicar o fato de que, enquanto sentenças encaixadas com stripping são agramaticais com a presença do "that" no inglês, elas se tornam gramaticais sem este elemento. Tal hipótese, no entanto, parece insustentável quando olhamos para uma língua como o Português Brasileiro (PB), em que a presença do complementizador "que" é obrigatória em sentenças encaixadas. O presente trabalho propõe uma nova explicação para esse problema, aproveitando-se da teoria de movimento de T-a-C como postulada por Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004). Para isso, adota-se a hipótese de que o "that" do inglês não é um complementizador verdadeiro, mas sim uma instância de T em C. Esta nova proposta, além de também dar conta dos dados do PB, decorre naturalmente de pressupostos já adotados pelos autores para dar conta de outros fenômenos envolvendo a periferia esquerda das sentenças.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Stripping; Movimento de T-a-C; Sentença Encaixada; Complementizador.

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