

**Unified Analysis of Repairability of Islands:
With Special Reference to Contrastive and Informational Focus**

橋本龍弥・今井俊吾・田村心・酒井啓史・中村直樹

1. Introduction

➤ 省略現象

- a. NP ellipsis
- b. VP ellipsis
- c. **TP ellipsis (e.g. sluicing, fragment answer)**

• *Sluicing*

- (1) a. Jack bought something, but I don't know what. (Merchant (2001:3))
- b. Anne invited someone, but I don't know who. (Merchant (2001:40))
- c. I remember meeting him, but I don't remember when. (Merchant (2001:23))

• *Fragment Answer*

- (2) a. Who did she see?
 - b. John. (intended: *She saw John*)
 - (3) a. What's left for me to eat?
 - b. Some turkey. (intended: *There's some turkey*)
- (Merchant (2004:673))

➤ Merchant (2001, 2004, 2008): *Movement and PF Deletion Approach*

- (4) [CP₁ [TP Jack bought something]], but I don't know [sluicing]
[CP₂ what_i [~~TP Jack bought t_i~~]].
 - (5) A: [CP₁ Who did [TP she see]]? [fragment answer]
B: [CP₂ John [~~TP she saw~~]].
- 先行節と同一の構造が省略節内にも存在する (isomorphic structure)。

➤ 節省略における島の敏感性 (Island-(In)sensitivity)

- 島の制約：島の領域からの要素の取り出しはできない。

- (6) a. *What_i did you hear the claim John said t_i? (Chomsky (1973:233))
- b. *Which book_i did John meet a child who read t_i? (Chomsky (1986:34))

• *Sluicing*:

- (7) a. They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which.
- b. *...I don't remember [CP which (Balkan language) [TP they want to hire [island someone who speaks]]].

- (8) a. Ben will be mad if Abby talks to one of the teachers, but she couldn't remember which.
 b. *... but she couldn't remember [_{CP} which (of the teachers) [_{TP} Ben will be mad [_{island} if she talks to]]].

(Merchant (2001:87-88))

→ 島を含む構造であれば非文となるはずだが、節省略を伴う場合は文法的。

➤ Island Repair Approach vs. Evasion Approach

【Island Repair Approach】

- 島の修復効果 (Island Repair effects) :

島の制約の違反はその構造に PF 削除が適用されることで修復される。

⇒ 島は PF レベルで課される制約

- (9) a. ...I don't remember [_{CP} which (Balkan language) [~~_{TP} they want to hire~~ [_{island} someone who speaks]]]
 b. ... but she couldn't remember [_{CP} which (of the teachers) [~~_{TP} Ben will be mad~~ [_{island} if she talks to]]].

- *Fragment Answer*

(10) A: Does Abby speak the same Balkan language that Ben speaks?

B: *No, Charlie.

(Merchant (2004:688))

(11) A: Did Ben leave the party because Abby wouldn't dance with him?

B: *No, Beth.

(Merchant (2004:688))

【Evasion Approach】

➤ 省略節の構造

(12) They hired someone who speaks a Balkan language – guess which!

(Barros et al. (2014:4))

a. which he speaks!

[short source]

b. *which they hired someone who speaks!

[long source]

→ 島の制約に反応しない sluicing は島を含まない構造を省略節内に含んでいる。

⇒ 島は統語レベルで課される制約

➤ 情報焦点 vs. 対比焦点

(13) A: Does Abby speak the same Balkan language that someone in your syntax class speaks?

B: Yeah, Charlie.

(Griffiths and Lipták (2014:193))

(14) A: I heard they hired someone who speaks a Balkan language fluently.

B: Yeah, Serbo-Croatian.

(Griffiths and Lipták (2014:205))

→ Fragment Answer であっても remnant が情報焦点として解釈される場合文法的。

- (15) a. *The detective ruled out the possibility that Fred killed ABBY, but I don't know
[who ELSE_i [~~the detective ruled out the possibility that Fred killed t_i~~]].
(Fox and Lasnik (2003:152))
- b. *Abby wants to hire someone who speaks GREEK, but I don't remember
[what OTHER languages_i [~~she wants to hire someone who speaks t_i~~]]
(Merchant (2008:148))
- Sluicing であっても remnant が対比焦点として解釈される場合非文法的。

問い

- a. 節省略が関わる現象はどのように統一的に分析できるのか。
b. なぜ節省略現象において島の違反が観察される場合とされない場合があるのか。

主張

- a. 節省略現象は Evasion Approach の下で、Scope Identity を満たす必要がある。
→ long/short source が使用可能だが、Scope Identity を満たさない場合節省略は認可されない。
b. 対比焦点が関わる節省略は long source のみ使用可能で、情報焦点が関わる節省略は long/short source のみ使用可能。
→ 対比焦点が置かれる remnant は、Scope Identityのもと、島を越えて主節の左周辺部に移動するため島の制約に違反する (=島は統語制約)。

2. Previous Studies

2.1. Evasion Approach (Barros et al. (2014))

➤ Non-isomorphic Source

- a. Short source
b. Cleft source
c. Predicative source

• Short Source

- (16) They hired someone who speaks a Balkan language – guess which! (= (12))
a. which he speaks! [short source]
b. *which they hired someone who speaks! [long source]

- (17) a. John seems to me to be lying about something, but I don't know what he is lying about.
(≠ what he seems to me to be lying about.) (Barros, et al. (2014:4))
b. I remember meeting him, but I don't remember when I met him.
(cf. ≠ #when I remember meeting him.) (Merchant (2001:23))

→ Short Source の解釈のみ可能な場合がある

- Cleft Source (truncated cleft; Mikkelsen (2005))

(18) They hired someone who speaks a Balkan language – guess which; ~~it was t !~~

(Barros et al. (2014:5))

(19) a. Either something's on fire, or Sally's baking a cake, but I don't know which.

b. Either something's on fire, or Sally's baking a cake, but I don't know which it is.

(Barros et al. (2014:6))

→ 先行節と同一の構造は使えないが、cleft source は利用可能

- Predicative Source

(20) She bought a big car, but I don't know how big ~~it/[the car that she bought] was~~

(Barros et al. (2014:7))

(21)*She bought a big car, but I don't know how big she bought a car.

(Barros et al. (2014:7))

→ correlate が限定修飾要素は isomorphic source が使われる場合抜き出しができないが、predicative source では可能。

(22) John will kiss anyone after the first date, it doesn't matter who

a. ... who ~~they are t~~

b. # ... who ~~John will kiss/kisses t after the first date~~

(Barros et al. (2014:7))

(23) John will fight any man, no matter how tall

a. ... how tall ~~he is t~~

b. #/*... how tall ~~John will fight a t man/fights a t man~~

c. # ... how tall a man ~~John will fight t~~

(Barros et al. (2014:8))

➤ 省略節内の構造を isomorphic source にすると本来の節省略で生じる意味と異なる場合があり、その際は non-isomorphic source のみ利用可能になる。

⇒ 当該統語環境によって選択できない source があるといえる。

2.2. (Non)Contrastivity in Clausal Ellipsis (Griffiths and Lipták (2014))

➤ Griffiths and Lipták (2014):

Sluicing も Fragments も、correlate と remnant が対比されている場合は島の制約違反がみられ、対比されていない場合は島の制約違反がみられない。

- Non-contrastive sluicing

(24) a. They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which.

(= (7))

b. Ben will be mad if Abby talks to one of the teachers, but she couldn't remember which.

(= (8))

- c. Ben left the party because one of the guests insulted him, but he wouldn't tell me which.
(Merchant (2001:88))

• Contrastive Sluicing

- (25)*Abby wants to hire someone who speaks GREEK, but I don't remember what OTHER languages.
(Merchant (2008: 148))

• Non-contrastive fragments

- (26) A: I heard they hired someone who speaks a Balkan language fluently.

B: Yeah, Serbo-Croatian.

B': Really? Which?

- (27) A: I hear that Abby is likely to get mad if Ben speaks to one of the guys from your syntax class.

B: Yeah, John.

B': Really? Who?

(Griffiths and Lipták (2014:205-206))

• Contrastive fragments

- (28) Felicity condition on contrastive fragments (Griffiths and Lipták (2014:202))

Contrastive fragments are only felicitous if their correlate is contrastively focused.

- (29) A: I heard they hired someone who speaks BULGARIAN fluently.

B: *No, SERBO-CROATIAN.

- (30) A: Does Abby speak the same Balkan language that BEN speaks?

B: *No, CHARLE. (Merchant (2004:688))

- (31) A: Did Ben leave the party because ABBY wouldn't dance with him?

B: *No. BETH. (Merchant (2004:688))

→ 島が含まれる先行節内の correlate と省略節内の remnant に対比焦点がおかれる場合、先行節が平叙文か疑問文かにかかわらず島の制約の違反が観察される。

3. Proposal

3.1. Information Focus and Contrastive Focus

- (32) Cartographic Approach (Rizzi (1997), Cruschina (2006, 2011), Belletti (2001, 2004))

a. CP periphery: ForceP ... TopicP ... Contrastive FocusP (CFocP) ... TopicP ...
Information FocusP (IFocP) ... Finite TP

b. vP periphery: (TopP) ... IFocP ... vP

【理論的仮定】

- CP 領域の IFoc は *emphatic IFoc*、vP 領域の IFoc は *neutral IFoc* を担う (Cruschina (2006, 2011))。
- CP 領域の[emphatic]IFoc と CFoc は主節の左周辺部にのみ現れる (cf. Cruschina (2006, 2011), Nagata (2022))。
- *Wh* 移動は CP 領域の *InterrogativeP* をターゲットとする。

3.2. *Scope Identity under the Evasion Approach*

➤ 節省略における先行節と省略節の関係性

- Griffiths and Lipták (2014:210):

(33) *Scopal Parallelism in ellipsis* (cf. Fox and Lasnik (2003))

Variables in the antecedent and the elided clause are bound from parallel positions.

- Abe (2015:44):

(34) *Identification Condition on Deletion*

An E-site E is semantically identified with its antecedent A if

- A constitutes a presupposition of E or
- E satisfies the truth conditions of A.

本発表の提案

(35) *Scope Identity*:

- 先行節に *correlate* を伴う場合の節省略において、省略節は先行節と同一の大きさのものでなければならない (主節レベル vs. 埋め込み節レベル)。
- Correlate* と *remnant* は常に同一の命題内容 (vP) をそれぞれのスコープにとらなければならない。

→ *Scope Identity* を満たしていれば省略節内は先行節とは異なる *source* (e.g. *short/cleft/predicative*)を使うことができる。

➤ *Sluicing*

(36) *Non-Contrast Type*:

- 先行節: [CP [TP [IFocP ___ [vP ... [CP [TP ___ [TP [IFocP ___ [vP ... *correlate*_[FOC] ...]]]]]]]
- 省略節: [CP(*InterrogativeP*) ___ [TP ... [CP(*InterrogativeP*) ___ [TP ... *wh-remnant* ...]]]]

→ *correlate* は埋め込みもしくは主節の *Spec,IFoc* に移動することで情報焦点の解釈が得られる。

- (37) John claimed that Mary bought some books on the Internet, but I don't remember ...
- a. which book ~~Mary bought~~. [short source]
- b. which book ~~John claimed that Mary bought~~. [long source]
- (a): 埋め込み節内の IFoc への移動によるもので、省略節内は **short source** が使われる (=最初に生じる解釈)。
- (b): 主節内の IFoc への移動によるもので、省略節内は **long source** が使われる。
- ⇒ 主節・埋め込み節内のどちらかの同じ機能範疇に移動することで先行節と省略節内における Scope Identity が保証される。

(38) Contrast Type:

- a. 先行節: [CP(CFocP) [TP ... [CP [TP ... CORRELATE_[FOC] ...]]]]
- b. 省略節: [CP(CFocP) [TP ... [CP [TP ... wh-remnant_[FOC] ...]]]]

→ Correlate と remnant はそれぞれ主節にのみ生じる Spec,CFoc へ移動することで対比焦点の解釈が生じる。

- (39) A: John denied that Mary bought OBAMA's book on the Internet,
but I don't know what ELSE.
- A': ..., but I don't know what ELSE (John denied that Mary bought)
- A'': #..., but I don't know what ELSE (Mary bought).

- (40) A: John denied that Mary ate three APPLES, but I wonder how many GRAPES.
- A': ..., but I wonder how many GRAPES (John denied that Mary ate).
- A'': #..., but I wonder how many GRAPES (Mary ate).

➤ Fragments (cf. Nagata (2022))

(41) Non-Contrast Type:

- a. 先行節: [CP [TP ... [IFocP [vP... [CP [TP IFocP [vP... correlate ...]]]]]]
- b. 省略節: [CP [TP ... [IFocP [vP... [CP [TP [IFocP [vP... remnant_[FOC] ...]]]]]]¹

→ Fragment は wh 要素が関与しないため、どちらも埋め込みもしくは主節の IFocP へ移動することで情報焦点の解釈が得られる。

¹ F(ocus)-marked な要素は省略領域内に生起していても音韻具現が可能 (Abe (2015), Nagata (2022)他)。

- (42) A: John reported that Mary ate something.
 B₁: Yeah, an apple ~~Mary ate~~. [short source]
 B₂: Yeah, an apple ~~John reported that Mary ate~~. [long source]
 → B₁: 埋め込み節内の IFoc への移動によるもので、省略節内は **short source** が使われる (=最初に生じる解釈)。
 B₂: 主節内の IFoc への移動によるもので、省略節内は **long source** が使われる。
 ⇒ 主節・埋め込み節内のどちらかの同じ機能範疇に移動することで先行節と省略節内における Scope Identity が保証される。

(43) Contrast Type:

- a. 先行節: [CP(CFocP) [TP ... [CP [TP ... *correlate* ...]]]]
- b. 省略節: [CP(CFocP) [TP ... [CP [TP ... *remnant* ...]]]]
-

- Correlate と remnant はそれぞれ主節にのみ生じる Spec, CFoc へ移動することで対比焦点の解釈が生じる。

- (44) A: John denies that Mary ate an APPLE.
 B: No, a GRAPE.
 B': No, a GRAPE john denies (that Mary ate).
 B'': #No, a GRAPE Mary ate.

- (45) A: John denies MARY ate the cake.
 B: No, LISA.
 B': No, LISA John denies (ate the cake).
 B'': #No, LISA ate the cake.

3.3. Island (In)Sensitivity in Clausal Ellipsis

➤ Island INSENSITIVE Sluicing and Fragments

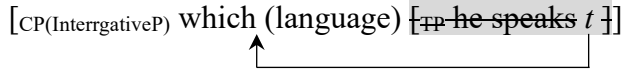
• Sluicing

- (46) a. Abby wants to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which. (= (7))
 b. Ben will be mad if Abby talks to one of the teachers, but she couldn't remember which. (= (8))
 c. Ben left the party because one of the guests insulted him, but he wouldn't tell me which. (= (24))

(47) 先行節（島を含む構造）：



省略節（島を含まない構造 [short])：



→ 主節領域への移動は島の違反により排除されるため島の領域内の IFoc への移動のみ可能。Scope Identity の下、省略節は short source のみ使用可能。

• Fragments

(48) A: I heard they hired someone who speaks a Balkan language fluently.

B: Yeah, Serbo-Croatian.

B': Really? Which? (= (27))

(49) A: I hear that Abby is likely to get mad if Ben speaks to one of the guys from your syntax class.

B: Yeah, John.

B': Really? Who? (= (28))

(50) 先行節（島を含む構造）：



省略節（島を含まない構造 [short])：



→ 主節領域への移動は島の違反により排除されるため島の領域内の IFoc への移動のみ可能。Scope Identity の下、省略節は short source のみ使用可能。

➤ Short Reading

(51) They hired someone who speaks a Balkan language – guess which! (= (12))

a. which he speaks! [short source]

b. *which they hired someone who speaks! [long source]

(52) A: Mary hired someone who speaks one of German languages.

B₁: Yeah, English (s/he speaks).

B₂: #Yeah, English (John hired someone who speaks).

➤ 内・外読みテスト

(53) A: John hired a man who owns French restaurants.

B: Yeah, German too.

a. Interpretation₁: A man owns both French and German restaurants.

[short reading]

b. Interpretation₂: #John hired two men. One owns French restaurants. The other man owns German restaurants.

[long reading]

(54) A: John hired a man who speaks French.

B: Yeah, German too.

a. Interpretation₁: A man speaks both French and German.

[short reading]

b. Interpretation₂: #John hired two men. One speaks French. The other man speaks German.

[long reading]

→ ジョンが雇った男が二人いる解釈（主節を含めた構造）は不自然

⇒ short source を使用していることがわかる。

➤ Island SENSITIVE Sluicing and Fragments

• Sluicing

(55)*Abby wants to hire someone who speaks GREEK, but I don't remember what OTHER languages. (= (27))

(56) 先行節（島を含む構造）：

[CP(CFocP) [TP Abby [VP wants to hire someone [CP[ISLAND] who [TP [VP speaks GREEK]]]]]]

⊘ 島違反

省略節（島を含む構造 [long]）：

[CP(CFocP) what OTHER languages [TP Abby [VP wants to hire someone [CP[ISLAND] who [TP [VP speaks GREEK]]]]]]

⊘ 島違反

→ CFoc は主節の左周辺部にのみあると仮定すると、島の内部から主節の CFoc への移動のみ可能になるはずだが、島を越えるため島の違反になる。Scope Identity の下では省略節内の構造も long source となるため、先行節と省略節で共に島に違反する。

• Fragments

(57) A: Does Abby speak the same Balkan language that BEN speaks?

B: *No, CHARLE.

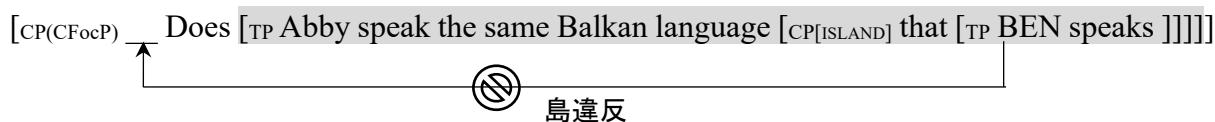
(= (30))

(58) A: Did Ben leave the party because ABBY wouldn't dance with him?

B: *No. BETH.

(= (31))

(59) 先行節 (島を含む構造) :



省略節 (島を含む構造 [long]) :



(60)

	Non-Contrast	Contrast
Source (島無し)	Long / Short	Long
Source (島あり)	Short	*

4. Stripping Construction

4.1. Positive Stripping and Negative Stripping

- Stripping (or Bare Argument Ellipsis)

- (61) a. John ate natto, but not sushi.
b. John ate natto, but John didn't eat sushi.

(Yoshida et al. (2014:324))

→ (a)は典型的な stripping の例であり、(b)の意味と同義である。

- 2 タイプの stripping : positive stripping と negative stripping

(62) Jones likes seafood a lot, and bread too. (Johnson (2019:562))

(63) John ate natto, but not sushi. (= (61a))

- 島との関連性

Positive stripping : Island insensitive (Potter (2017))

Negative stripping : Island sensitive (Depiante (2000), May (1991), Reinhart (1991))

(64) Speaker A: James met [ISLAND the student who speaks *German*].

Speaker B: Yeah, and French, too.

(Potter (2017:31))

(65) a. *John loves [DP a girl who is learning Italian], but not Spanish.

b. *John left [ADJUNCT because Mary invited David], but not Bill.

(Yoshida (2014:344))

(66) Positive stripping : 情報焦点 (IFoc)

Negative stripping : 対比焦点 (CFoc)

- 実際、対比性の有無と Positive / Negative stripping の違いは関連している。

(67) Ann: Ingrid knows the student who sent a text to another student.

Bill: Yeah, to ALEXI.

(Yoshida et al. (2019:1519), 一部修正)

(68) 先行節 (島を含む構造) :

[CP [TP Ingrid knows the student [CP_[ISLAND] who [TP IFocP [VP sent a text to another student]]]]]

省略節 (島を含まない構造 [short]) :

[CP [TP s/he [IFocP TO ALEXI [FOC] [VP sent a text t]]]]

(69) Ann: Ingrid knows the student who sent a text to TIM.

Bill: *No, to ALEXI.

(Yoshida et al. (2019:1519), 一部修正)

(70) 先行節 (島を含む構造) :

[CP(CFocP) [TP Ingrid knows the student [CP_[ISLAND] who [TP sent a text to TIM]]]]]

省略節 (島を含む構造 [long]) :

[CP(CFocP) to ALEXI [TP Ingrid knows the student [CP_[ISLAND] who [TP sent a text t]]]]

→ 対比の意味が生じるか否かで、容認性に差が生じる。

4.2. Why-Stripping

- Why-stripping : 一見、sluicing と stripping の両方の性質を有する

(71) John was eating natto, but why NATTO (and not another food)?

(Yoshida et al. (2014:324))

(72) A: John was eating natto.

B: I can't believe it! Why NATTO!

→ 一種の感嘆文として振る舞うため、明確な答えを必要としない。

(73) A: My colleague often goes to Sushi-restaurants. He always eats French fries at first.

B: I can't believe it! Why FRENCH FRIES!

A: #Because he likes it.

• sluicing と異なる点

(74) A: John was eating natto.

B: Why NATTO? / *How/*When/*Where NATTO?

(Yoshida et al. (2014:326))

→ *wh* 要素は *why* に限定される。

• (negative) stripping と異なる点

(75) A: No linguist₁ recommended [_{DP} a book that contains his₁ own article].

B: Why HIS₁ OWN ARTICLE?

(Yoshida et al. (2014:343))

(76) A: No politician₁ hated a political commentator₂ [_{Adjunct} because he₂ criticized his₁ campaign].

B: Why HIS₁ CAMPAIGN?

(Yoshida et al. (2014:343))

→ 島からの抜き出しが可能。

• *Why*-stripping 固有の性質

(77) [Context: John was eating natto.]

*Why NATTO John was eating?

(Yoshida et al. (2014:343))

→ *Why*-stripping では削除が義務的。

(78) a. Shall we? [Courteous invitation to dance.]

b. May I? [Polite request for permission to invade a person's space, e.g. by taking away an unoccupied chair or performing some action that involves touching them.]

(Miller and Pullum (2014:4))

5. Concluding Remarks

問い

a. 節省略が関わる現象はどのように統一的に分析できるのか。

b. なぜ節省略現象において島の違反が観察される場合とされない場合があるのか。

主張

a. 節省略現象は Evasion Approach の下で、Scope Identity を満たす必要がある。

→ long/short source が使用可能だが、Scope Identity を満たさない場合節省略は認可されない。

b. 対比焦点が関わる節省略は long source のみ使用可能で、情報焦点が関わる節省略は long/short source のみ使用可能。

→ 対比焦点が置かれる remnant は、Scope Identity のもと、島を越えて主節の左周辺部に移動するため島の制約に違反する (=島は統語制約)。

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