

## Sluicing in Exclamatives

The goal of this paper is quite decent. Since Merchant's (2001) very detailed work, we start getting to know various properties of sluicing (Ross 1969, Lobeck 1995, Lasnik 1999, among others), and of course, we want to add more observations to the list. Then, our primary concern is to expand the data set in the realm of sluicing. Most of the data in this paper come from exclamative sentences, which arguably involve *wh*-movement as in interrogatives. As far as I am aware of, all the work in sluicing has been done only with interrogatives. In this paper, I show that sluicing is also available with exclamatives. The properties of sluicing with interrogatives are compared with those of sluicing with exclamatives, and I show that the so-called "island amelioration" is observed also in sluicing with exclamatives. However, it is not true that everything goes in a parallel fashion; one interesting piece of data in sluicing with exclamatives is that Left Branch Condition violation under another island can be rectified, though it has been reported by Merchant (2001) that it is not allowed in sluicing with interrogatives.

First, I will illustrate exclamatives exhibit properties of *wh*-movement. Examples in (1) show that the dependency of exclamative *wh*-phrases is unbounded as far as adequate bridge-verbs are used. Next, movement of exclamative phrases obey various island constraints (Ross 1967), as shown in (2) and (3).

One property of sluicing, noted by Ross (1969), which grabs the heart of many linguists is that sluicing apparently rectifies various island violations (see Merchant 2001, Lasnik 1999). I will show that sluicing is available in exclamatives, and not surprisingly, island amelioration is observed even in sluicing with exclamatives. In order to make sure that we are dealing with exclamatives, we have to use an appropriate sort of predicates, namely, factive predicates (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970). It has been known that exclamative sentences, when embedded, must be selected by factive predicates (Elliott 1974, Grimshaw 1979). In the following sluicing examples with exclamatives, I will use factive predicates in order to assure that we are dealing with exclamatives.

Basic examples of sluicing with exclamatives are shown in (4) and (5). Note that other forms of *wh*-phrase cannot remain under sluicing. Examples in (6) and (7) show that a violation of Complex NP Constraint (Relative Clause) is ameliorated if sluicing applies. Though a little degraded, Adjunct Island violations are also repaired under sluicing as shown in (8) and (9).

One very interesting observation noted by Merchant (2001), which shows a clear contrast with cases with exclamatives is the following. He tested many island constraints to see which constraints are rectified under sluicing. One island constraint which is quite relevant in our cases with exclamatives is Left Branch Condition (LBC). Merchant (2001) notes that LBC effects disappear under sluicing, as shown in (10). However, if the nominals that contain the *how* + *adjective* complex is inside another island, examples are unacceptable Merchant (2001:175). He shows examples in (11) and (12) with Adjunct Island and Relative Clause. The contrast between cases with and without islands is quite peculiar. To make the matter even more peculiar, exclamatives do not show this contrast; namely, extraction of the *how* + *adjective* complex seems to be allowed regardless of island. We have already seen in (5) that examples with sluicing is fine if the nominal that contains an adjectival projection is not inside of islands.

In this paper, we observed that sluicing is available not only interrogatives, but also exclamatives. This forced us to revise a generalization noted by Merchant (2001) that only interrogative complementizers allow sluicing. We found out that, for sluicing, interrogatives and exclamatives form a natural class, excluding relative clauses and free relatives among others. Then, we investigated various cases where islands are involved. As seen in interrogatives, various island effects can be rectified by sluicing. The most interesting finding in this paper is that although Merchant (2001) has observed that LBC violation in interrogatives can be rectified only when there is no other islands involved, we found that LBC violation in exclamatives can be rectified regardless of the involvement of other islands. LBC effects disappear not only when there is no island involved, but also the launching site is embedded under other islands.

- (1) a. [What an expensive ring]<sub>1</sub> John thinks [Mary bought  $t_1$  ]!  
 b. [How fast]<sub>1</sub> John thinks [Mary ate the pie  $t_1$  ]!
- (2) a. \*[What an expensive ring]<sub>1</sub> John met [a girl [who bought  $t_1$  ] ]!  
 b. \*[How expensive a ring]<sub>1</sub> John met [a girl [who bought  $t_1$  ] ]!
- (3) a. \*[What an expensive ring]<sub>1</sub> John left [after Mary bought  $t_1$  ]!  
 b. \*[How expensive a ring]<sub>1</sub> John left [after Mary bought  $t_1$  ]!
- (4) John wrote an extremely long paper, ...  
 a. ... and it is unbelievable what a long paper John wrote.  
 b. ... and it is unbelievable what a long paper ~~John wrote~~.
- (5) John wrote an extremely long paper, ...  
 a. ... and it is unbelievable how long a paper John wrote.  
 b. ... and it is unbelievable how long a paper ~~John wrote~~.  
 c. ... and it is unbelievable how long ~~John wrote a paper~~.
- (6) John met a professor who wrote an extremely long paper,  
 a. \*..., but it is unbelievable [what a long paper]<sub>1</sub> John met a professor who wrote  $t_1$ .  
 b. ..., but it is unbelievable [what a long paper]<sub>1</sub> ~~John met a professor who wrote  $t_1$~~ .
- (7) John met a professor who wrote an extremely long paper,  
 a. \*..., but it is unbelievable [how long a paper]<sub>1</sub> John met a professor who wrote  $t_1$ .  
 b. ..., but it is unbelievable [how long a paper]<sub>1</sub> ~~John met a professor who wrote  $t_1$~~ .  
 c. ..., but it is unbelievable [how long]<sub>1</sub> ~~John met a professor who wrote a  $t_1$  paper~~.
- (8) Bill came to office because he had to sign an extremely important document,  
 a. \*..., but it is unbelievable [what an important document]<sub>1</sub> Bill came to office because he had to sign  $t_1$ .  
 b. ?..., but it is unbelievable [what an important document]<sub>1</sub> ~~Bill came to office because he had to sign  $t_1$~~ .
- (9) Bill came to the office because he had to sign an extremely important document,  
 a. \*..., but it is unbelievable [how important a document]<sub>1</sub> Bill came to office because he had to sign  $t_1$ .  
 b. ?..., but it is unbelievable [how important a document]<sub>1</sub> ~~Bill came to office because he had to sign  $t_1$~~ .  
 c. ?..., but it is unbelievable [how important]<sub>1</sub> ~~Bill came to office because he had to sign a  $t_1$  document~~.
- (10) a. He wants a detailed list, but I don't know how detailed.  
 b. She bought an {expensive/fast/big} car, but I don't know how {expensive/fast/big}.
- (11) a. \*She'll be angry if he buys an expensive car, but I don't know how expensive.  
 b. \*He got stressed because his boss wants a detailed list, but I don't know how detailed.
- (12) a. \*She met a guy who bought an {expensive/fast/big} car, but I don't know how {expensive/fast/big}.  
 b. \*They want to hire someone who writes thorough reports, and wait till you see how thorough.