“Silence is golden”

The syntax of ellipsis

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FWO

Yesterday's class

❶ Ellipsis = a mismatch between sound and meaning in which certain selectional requirements are not met in the phonetic realization.

❷ Ellipsis comes in various forms:

- sluicing
- NP ellipsis
- stripping
- fragment answers
- spading
- MCE
- (conjunction reduction)
- VP ellipsis
- gapping
- pseudogapping
- comparative deletion
- swiping
- (RNR)
- (topic/subject drop)

→ Variation in ellipsis: range, properties.

Overview

Class 1: "If you do not understand my silence, how will you understand my words?"

→ What is ellipsis and why study it?

Class 2: "Silence best speaks the mind."

→ Analyses for ellipsis

Class 3: "It's a great thing to know the season for speech and the season for silence."

→ Conditions on ellipsis

Class 4: "You have the right to remain silent."

→ The syntactic licensing of ellipsis

Class 5: "Nobody understands the silence of things."

→ VP ellipsis and other elliptical mysteries

“Silence best speaks the mind”

Phineas Fletcher, *Piscatorie Eclogues* (1633)

EGG 2010

Class 2

Analyses for ellipsis

Silence best speaks the mind (1)

Consider an elliptical sentence:

(1) Ryan has seen the man with binoculars, and Jasmin has, too.

Every utterance consists of 3 parts (roughly):

- Phonology (pronunciation, form)
- Semantics (interpretation)
- Syntax (hierarchical structure)

Silence best speaks the mind (2)

Ellipsis: semantics and phonology do not match

→ Crucial question: what is present in the syntax?

Does the syntax match the interpretation?

Does the syntax match what is pronounced?

Silence best speaks the mind (3)

3 possible analyses for ellipsis in Minimalism:

❶ WYSIWYG

what you see is what you get

❷ WYSI**A**WYG

what you see is **almost** what you get

❸ WYSI**N**WYG

what you see is **not** what you get

Silence best speaks the mind

1. WYSIWYG
2. WYSI**A**WYG (proform analysis)
3. WYSI**N**WYG (deletion analysis)
4. Ellipsis repair effects
5. Reconciling analyses

1. What you see is what you get (1)

Ginzburg & Sag (2000), Culicover & Jackendoff (2005), Stainton (2006), van Riemsdijk (1978)

(2) Someone stole my bike and I think I know who. (Sluicing)

Interpretation:

Someone stole my bike and I think I know who stole my bike.

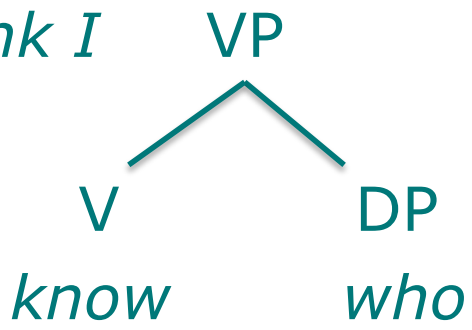
1. What you see is what you get (2)

WYSIWYG, the naive approach:

There is nothing more in the syntax than what is phonetically expressed.

→ *Know* simply selects *who* as its complement; there is no deleted clause.

…*and I think I*



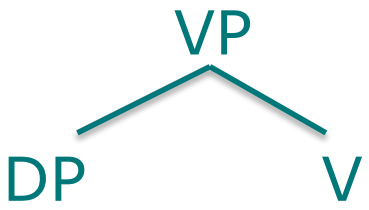
1. What you see is what you get (3)

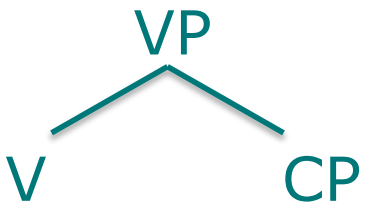
Counterarguments

❶ Selectional criteria

Dutch embedded clauses:

- nominal objects precede the verb
- sentential complements follow the verb





1. What you see is what you get (4)

(3) a. Hij zegt dat hij [$_{DP}$ het antwoord] weet.
he says that he the answer knows

b.*Hij zegt dat hij weet [$_{DP}$ het antwoord].
he says that he knows the answer

c. Hij zegt dat hij weet [$_{CP}$ dat Sarah ziek is].
he says that he knows that Sarah ill is

d.*Hij zegt dat hij [$_{CP}$ dat Sarah ziek is] weet.
he says that he that Sarah ill is knows

1. What you see is what you get (5)

Dutch sluicing:

(4) Iemand heeft mijn fiets gestolen, en ik denk
someone has my bike stolen and I think
dat ik weet wie.
that I know who

→ *Wie* follows the verb.

It behaves like a sentential complement, not like a nominal object.

⟷ WYSIWYG: sluice is just a DP

→ Prediction: …*ik denk dat ik wie weet.*

1. What you see is what you get (6)

Selectional criteria in English:

(5) a. Jeff inquired what the time was.
b.*Jeff inquired the time.

→ *inquire* takes a CP complement

Sluicing:

(6) I invited someone, and Jeff inquired who.

→ Sluicing is fine with *inquire*: CP, not a DP

1. What you see is what you get (7)

❷ Agreement

Sentential subject: singular agreement

DP subject: agreement depends on number of subject

(7) a. [$_{CP}$ Which of these problems are solvable] is/*are not obvious.

b. [$_{DP}$ These problems] *is/are solvable.

1. What you see is what you get (8)

Sluicing:

(8) Some of these problems are solvable, but [which problems] is/*are not obvious.

Interpretation:
…, but which problems are solvable is not obvious.

→ Singular agreement: CP

1. What you see is what you get (9)

❸ Case assignment

German:
Wissen 'know' assigns accusative case to object.
Schmeicheln 'flatter' assigns dative case to object.

(9) a. Sie wissen die /*der Antwort nicht.
they know the$_{acc}$/the$_{dat}$ answer not
b. Er will jemandem schmeicheln.
he wants someone$_{dat}$ flatter

1. What you see is what you get (10)

Sluicing:

(10) Er will jemandem schmeicheln, aber sie
he wants someone flatter but they
wissen nicht *wen /wem.
know not who$_{acc}$/who$_{dat}$

Interpretation:
…, but they don't know who he wants to flatter t_{who}.

→ Case assignment by *schmeicheln*, not by *wissen*.

1. What you see is what you get (11)

A more sophisticated WYSIWYG approach:

Simpler Syntax Hypothesis (SSH)

The most explanatory theory is one that imputes the minimum syntactic structure necessary to mediate between phonology and meaning. (Culicover & Jackendoff 2005:5)

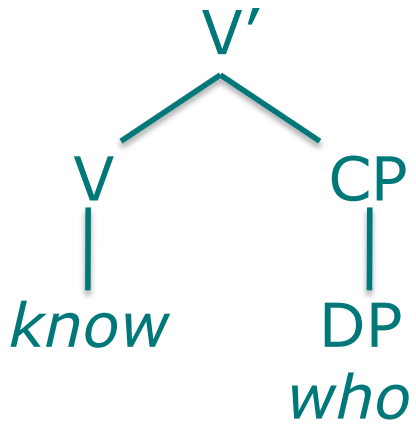
1. What you see is what you get (12)

Simpler Syntax:

Ellipsis, *wh* movement and topicalization all involve an ‘orphan’ that needs to be licensed indirectly.

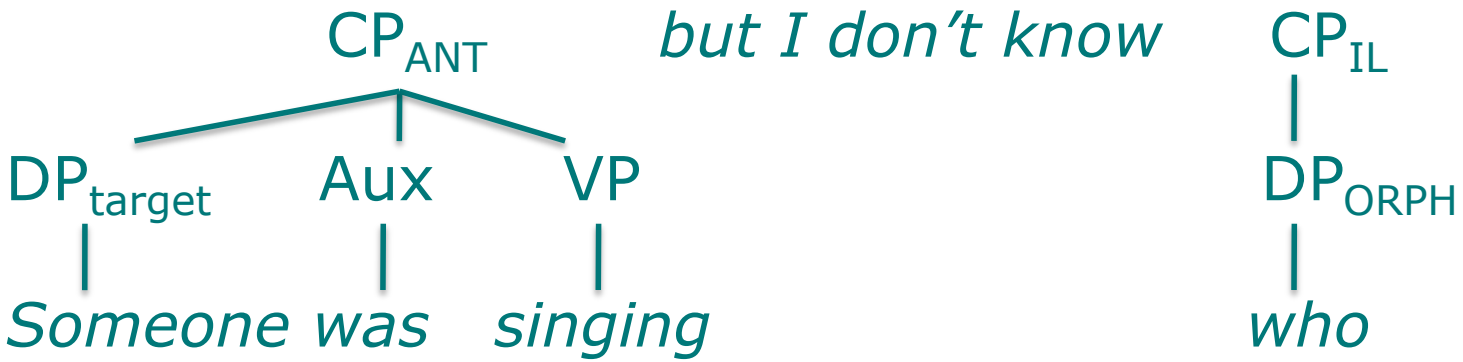
(11) Someone was singing, but I don’t know who.

The sluice is a CP, but only contains the *wh* phrase.



1. What you see is what you get (13)

The orphan is indirectly licensed by the target phrase in the antecedent clause:



→ The orphan receives its syntactic and semantic features from the target, but is spelled out as *who*.

1. What you see is what you get (14)

Simpler Syntax:

Sluice = CP

→ This analysis renders obsolete two arguments against the naive WYSIWYG approach:

- selectional criteria
- agreement

!! The case argument still holds, however.

!! Simpler syntax requires a much more complex mapping from syntax to semantics.

Silence best speaks the mind

1. WYSIWYG
2. WYSIAWYG (proform analysis)
3. WYSI**N**WYG (deletion analysis)
4. Ellipsis repair effects
5. Reconciling analyses

2. Proform analysis (1)

= WYSIAWYG
(what you see is **almost** what you get)

→ The syntax does not match with the pronunciation completely: there is a little more in the syntax than what you hear.

→ The syntax does not match with the semantics completely: there is no full syntactic structure of the unpronounced part.

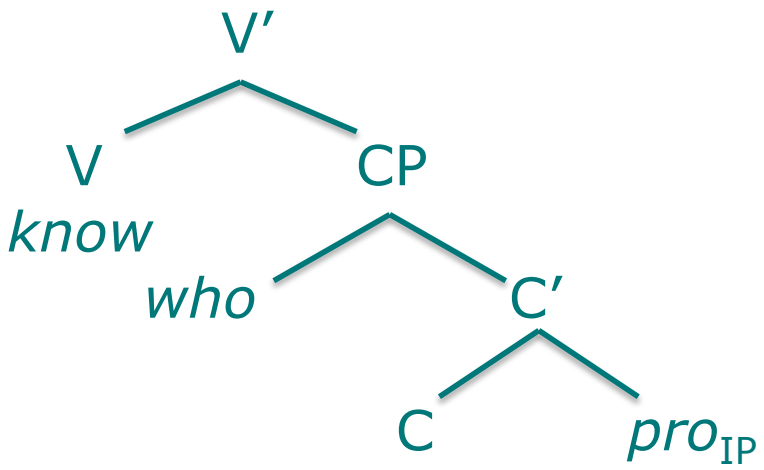
Ellipsis site = an unpronounced pronoun *pro* that gets its interpretation from the antecedent.

2. Proform analysis (2)

(12)a. Someone brought strawberries, but I don't know who pro_{IP}.

b. Someone brought strawberries, and I didn't know **it**.

it = that someone brought strawberries



2. Proform analysis (2b)

There are different approaches to how the proform gets its interpretation:

- Null proforms are interpreted just like overt pronouns

  (Wasow 1972; Shopen 1972; Hardt 1993, 1999; Lobeck 1995; Depiante 2000)

- LF-copy: the antecedent is copied into the ellipsis site at LF

  (Fiengo & May 1994; Chung et al 1995; Wilder 1997; Beavers & Sag 2004; Fortin 2007)

2. Proform analysis (3)

Arguments:

❶ Ellipsis sites seems to behave like pronouns.

❷ There are data showing that there is no syntactic structure inside the ellipsis site.

2. Proform analysis (4)

❶ Ellipsis sites seems to behave like pronouns.

Split antecedents:

(13) a. Jeff$_i$ told Sally$_j$ that they$_{i+j}$ should go out sometime.

b. I can [walk]$_i$ and I can [chew gum]$_j$. Gerry can *pro*$_{i+j}$ too, but not at the same time.

Hardt (1993)

2. Proform analysis (5)

Non-linguistic antecedents:

(14) a. (Pointing at someone)

HE broke the vase!

b. (On receiving a present)

You shouldn't have *pro*.

Lobeck (1995)

2. Proform analysis (6)

❷ No syntactic structure inside the ellipsis site.

Island effects:

(15) a. I don't know [which Balkan language]$_i$
Susan speaks t_i.

b.*I don't know [which Balkan language]$_i$ they want to hire [someone who speaks t_i].

→ Complex NP island

2. Proform analysis (7)

Sluicing

(16) They want to hire [someone who speaks a Balkan language], but I don't know which Balkan language *pro*. Merchant (2001)

Interpretation:
…which Balkan language they want to hire someone who speaks $t_{\text{which Balkan language}}$.

→ No island effect in sluicing

→ No syntactic structure in *pro*

2. Proform analysis (8)

Counterarguments:

❶ Ellipsis sites seem to behave differently from pronouns.

❷ There are data showing that there **is** syntactic structure inside the ellipsis site.

2. Proform analysis (9)

❶ Ellipsis sites seems to behave differently from pronouns.

Infinite regress (Sag 1976): Pronouns cannot refer to something they are contained in.

(17) a.* I saw $[_{DP}$ a picture of $it_i]_i$.

b.* I saw $[_{DP}$ a picture of a picture of a picture of …$]_i$.

2. Proform analysis (10)

An ellipsis site can be contained in its antecedent:

(18) I will $[_{VP}$ read every book Jeff did *pro*$_i]_i$.

→ Antecedent-contained deletion (ACD)

→ No infinite regress with ellipsis

2. Proform analysis (11)

❷ Syntactic structure inside the ellipsis site.

- Island effects and VP ellipsis
- Case assignment
- Preposition stranding
- Extraction
- Binding facts

= Arguments for a third approach, the deletion analysis

Silence best speaks the mind

1. WYSIWYG
2. WYSI**A**WYG (proform analysis)
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3. Deletion analysis (1)

= WYSINWYG
(what you see is **not** what you get)

→ The syntax matches with the semantics:

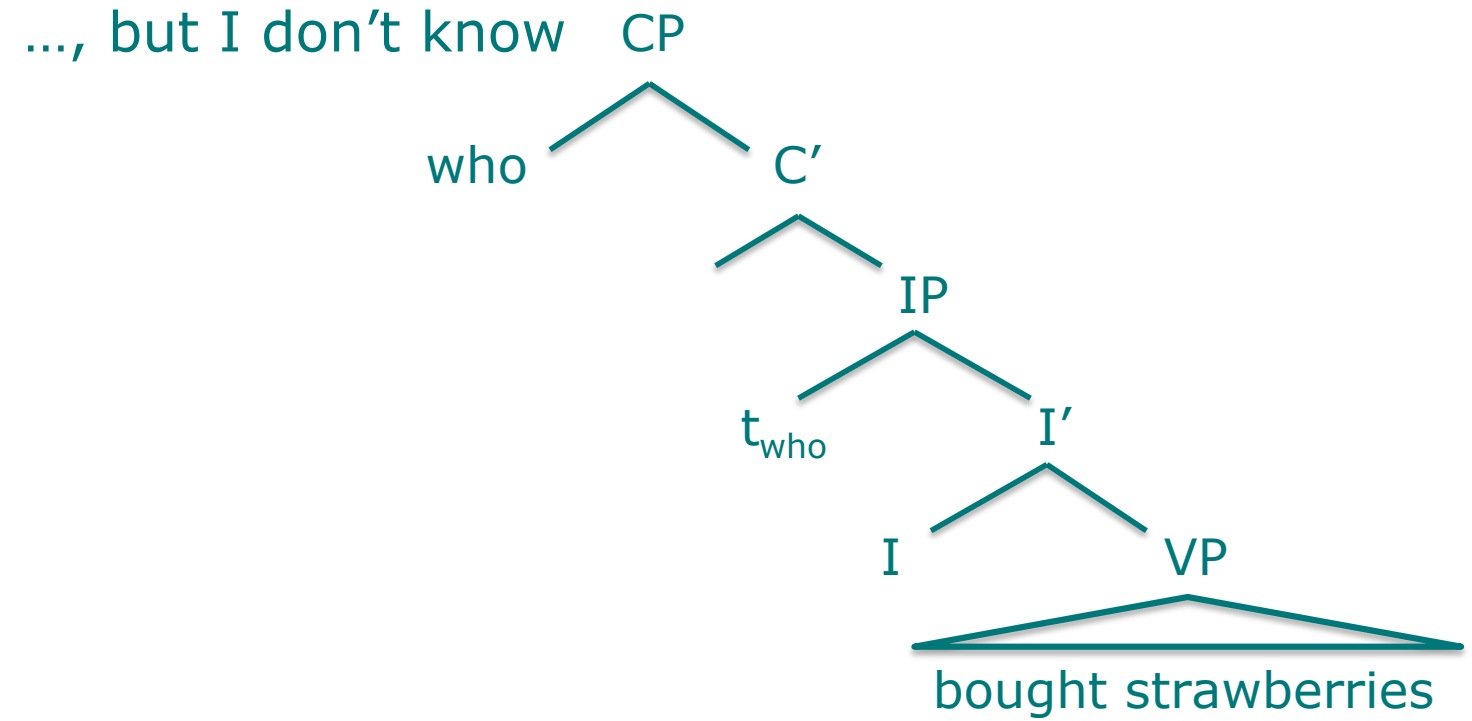
ellipsis site = a fully-fledged syntactic structure
that is left unpronounced (at PF)

→ Ellipsis is an extreme form of whispering.

→ Merchant, Johnson, Lasnik, Tomioka, van Craenenbroeck, Gengel, Aelbrecht, …: **PF** deletion

3. Deletion analysis (2)

(19) Someone bought strawberries, but I don't know who [~~bought strawberries~~].



3. Deletion analysis (3)

Arguments for syntactic structure inside the ellipsis site

❶ Extraction
❷ Preposition stranding
❸ Case assignment
❹ Binding facts
❺ Island effects
❻ …

3. Deletion analysis (4)

❶ Extraction

(20) I don’t know which puppy he wanted to buy,
but I do know which puppy he should.

Interpretation:
…, but I know [which puppy]$_i$ he should [~~buy t$_i$~~].

→ There has to be enough structure in the ellipsis site to host the movement trace/copy.

3. Deletion analysis (5)

❷ Preposition stranding

Some languages can strand a preposition under *wh* movement; others have to piedpipe the P:

(21) a. Who does he want to speak **with** t_{who}?
b. With who does he want to speak $t_{with\ who}$?

(22) a.*Qui veut-il parler **avec** t_{qui}? (French)
b. Avec qui veut-il parler $t_{avec\ qui}$?

3. Deletion analysis (6)

The same contrast is observed in ellipsis:

(23) a. He wants to speak with someone, but I don't know (**with**) who.

b. Il veut parler avec quelqu'un, mais je ne sais pas *(**avec**) qui? (French)

Interpretation:

a. …I don't know who he wants to speak with t_{who}.

b.*…je ne sais pas qui il veut parler avec t_{qui}.

3. Deletion analysis (7)

→ This correlation is expected if the ellipsis site is a fully-fledged structure:

The same restrictions hold in ellipsis as in non-ellipsis. (Merchant 2001, 2004)

3. Deletion analysis (8)

❸ Case assignment

Case is the same in ellipsis as in non-ellipsis:

(24)a. Er will jemandem schmeicheln, aber sie
he wants someone flatter but they
wissen nicht *wen /wem.
know not who$_{acc}$/who$_{dat}$

b. Er will jemandem schmeicheln, aber sie
he wants someone flatter but they
wissen nicht *wen/wem er will schmeicheln.
know not who he wants flatter

3. Deletion analysis (9)

❹ Binding facts

Binding theory applies in ellipsis as in non-ellipsis:

(25) Who does Patrick$_i$ like?
a. Himself$_i$/*Him$_i$.
b. Patrick$_i$ likes himself$_i$/*him$_i$.

(26) Where is he$_i$ now?
a. In his$_i$/*Patrick$_i$'s flat.
b. He is in his$_i$/*Patrick$_i$'s flat.

(Merchant 2001, 2004)

3. Deletion analysis (10)

❺ Island effects and VP ellipsis:

Remember sluicing?

(27) They want to hire [someone who speaks a Balkan language], but I don't know [which Balkan language]$_i$ [~~they want to hire someone who speaks t_i~~].

3. Deletion analysis (11)

VP ellipsis is island-sensitive:

(28) a.*I don't know [which Balkan language]$_i$
Susan knows [someone who speaks t_i].

b.*Steve knows someone who speaks Romanian, but I don't know [which Balkan language]$_i$ Susan does [~~know someone who speaks t_i~~].

3. Deletion analysis (12)

! The island-sensitivity data provide an argument for and against unpronounced syntactic structure.

→ Relying on the other arguments in favor of syntactic structure, Merchant (2001) argues that sluicing (high ellipsis) can repair island violations, while VP ellipsis (low ellipsis) cannot.

= repair by ellipsis

Silence best speaks the mind

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4. Ellipsis repair effects (1)

Ellipsis repair: island effects

Merchant (2008):

Claims

- Islands: PF phenomenon
- Not the island node itself, but the *wh* traces cause the crash.
- Sluicing elides the offending traces.
  → no PF crash
- VP ellipsis doesn't elide the offending traces.
  → PF crash

4. Ellipsis repair effects (2)

Sluicing: island-insensitive

Relative clause island (complex NP)

(29)*I don't remember which Balkan language they want to hire someone [who speaks $t_{\text{which Balkan language}}$]

(30) They want to hire someone [who speaks a Balkan language], but I don't know [which Balkan language]$_i$ [~~they want to hire someone who speaks t_i~~].

4. Ellipsis repair effects (3)

Left Branch condition

(31)*I don't know how big [she bought a $t_{\text{how big}}$ car].

(32) She bought [a big car], but I don't know [how big]$_i$ [~~she bought a t_i car~~].

Adjunct island

(33)*Ben will be mad if Abby talks to one of the teachers, but she couldn't remember which Ben will be mad [if she talks to t_{which}].

(34) Ben will be mad if Abby talks to one of the teachers, but she couldn't remember which (of the teachers) [~~Ben will be mad if she talks to t_i~~].

4. Ellipsis repair effects (4)

First attempt

When a movement trace crosses an island node, it marks the island as '*', leading to a crash at PF.

(35) …which Balkan language they want to hire someone *[who speaks $t_{\text{which Balkan language}}$].

→ Crash at PF

4. Ellipsis repair effects (5)

Ellipsis deletes the island at PF, so there is no more offending '*':

(36) …, but I don't know [which Balkan language]$_i$
[~~they want to hire someone *[who speaks t$_i$]~~].

4. Ellipsis repair effects (6)

VP ellipsis: island-sensitive!

Relative clause island (complex NP)

(37)*I don't remember which Balkan language Abby wants to hire someone [who speaks $t_{\text{which Balkan language}}$]

(38)*Abby DOES want to hire someone [who speaks Greek/a certain Balkan language], but I don't know [which Balkan language]$_i$ she DOESN'T [~~want to hire someone who speaks t_i~~].

4. Ellipsis repair effects (7)

Left Branch condition

(39) *I don't know how big [Ben bought a $t_{\text{how big}}$ car].

(40) *Abby bought [a big car], but I don't know [how big]$_i$
Ben did [~~buy a t_i car~~].

Adjunct island

(41)*Ben will be mad if Abby talks to Mr. Ryberg, and guess which teacher Jeff will be mad [if she talks to $t_{\text{which teacher}}$].

(42)*Ben will be mad if Abby talks to Mr. Ryberg, and guess which teacher Jeff will [~~be mad if she talks to t_i~~].

4. Ellipsis repair effects (8)

! VP ellipsis also deletes the island at PF:

(43) …, but I don't know [which Balkan language]$_i$ she DOESN'T [~~want to hire someone *[who speaks t$_i$]~~].

→ No more offending '*': the example should be grammatical.

4. Ellipsis repair effects (9)

Merchant (2008):
'*' does not mark the island node; it marks the traces.

Each link in a *wh* movement chain must be licensed either by locality or by being in a spec-head relation with a C (or simply by being pronounced).

→ If a *wh* trace violates locality by crossing an island node, it is marked with '*'.
→ All later copies are also *-marked, except for the last one, which is pronounced and licensed by C.

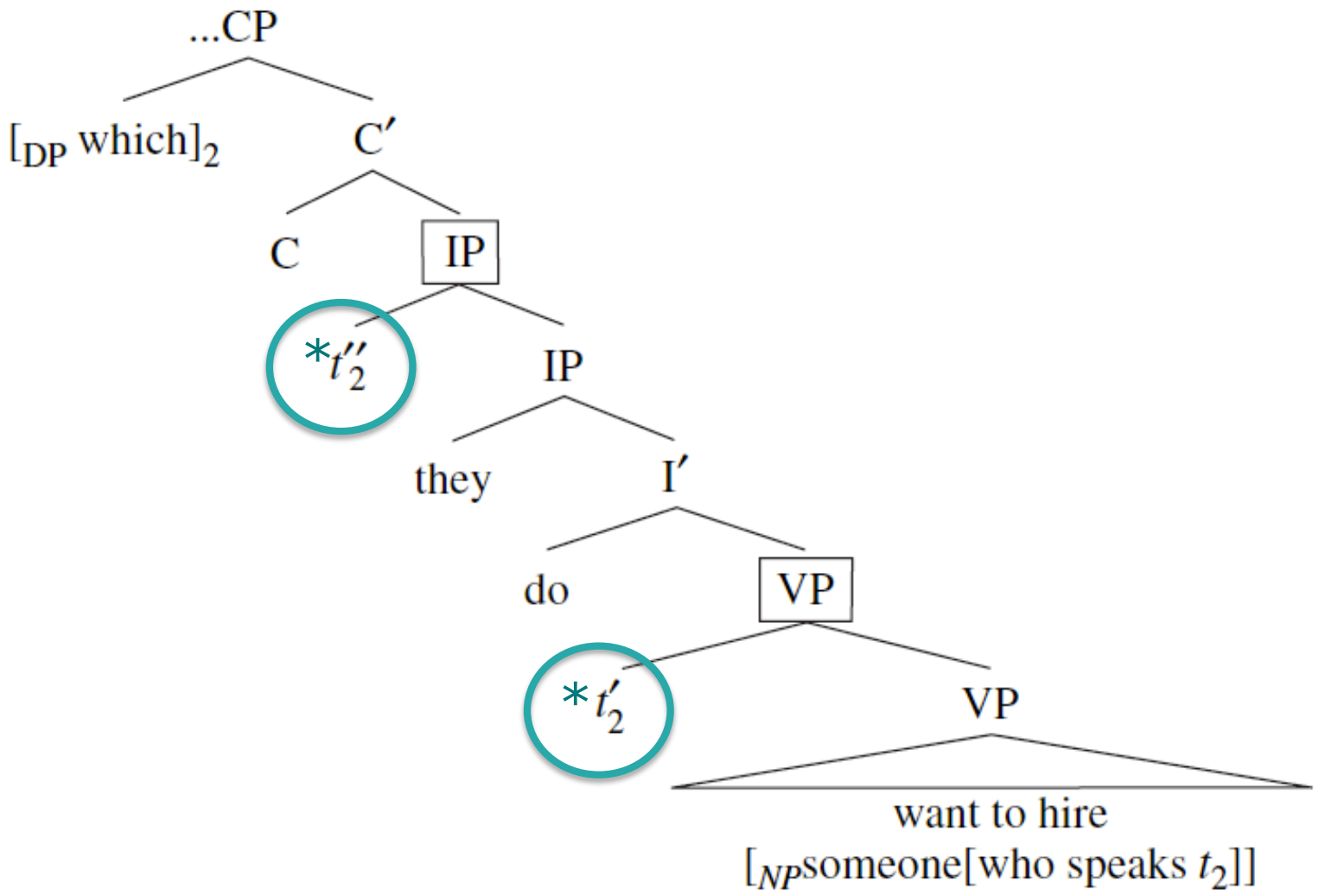
4. Ellipsis repair effects (10)

Merchant (2008):
Movement by adjunction to intervening maximal projections, VP and IP.

(44)*I don't remember [which Balkan language]$_i$ [*t_i [$_{IP}$ they [*t_i [$_{VP}$ want to [*t_i [$_{VP}$ hire someone [*t_i [who speaks t_i]]]]]]]].

→ Movement out of an island is ungrammatical.

4. Ellipsis repair effects (11)



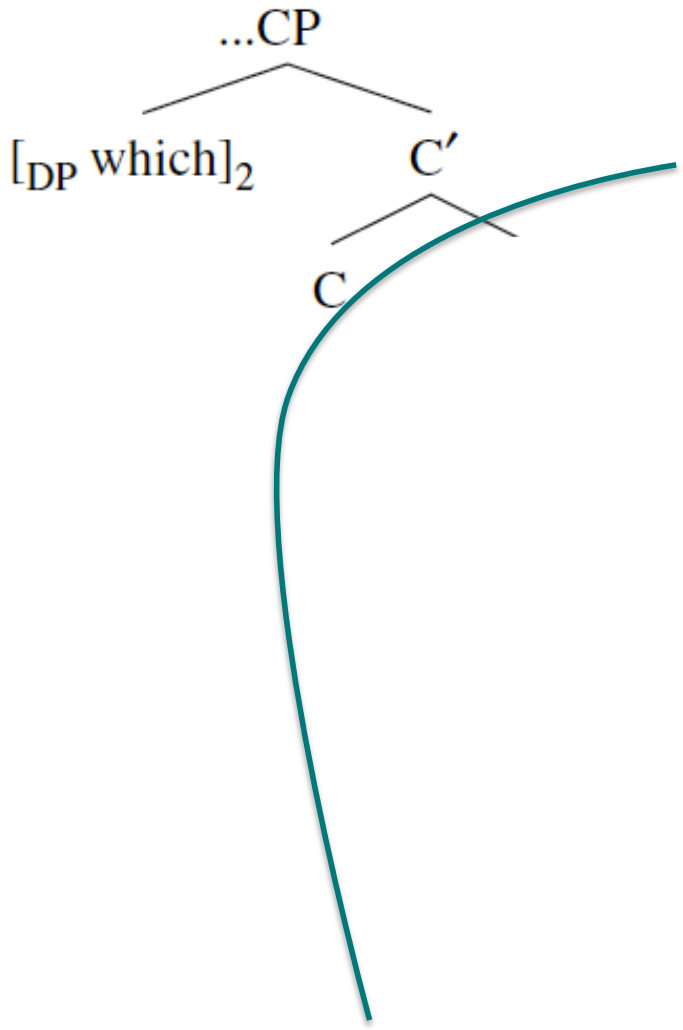
4. Ellipsis repair effects (12)

Ellipsis:

Sluicing elides all the *-marked traces:

(45) …, but I don't know [which Balkan language]$_i$ [~~*t$_i$ [$_{IP}$ they [*t$_i$ [$_{VP}$ want to [*t$_i$ [$_{VP}$ hire someone [*t$_i$ [who speaks t$_i$]]]]]]]]~~].

4. Ellipsis repair effects (13)

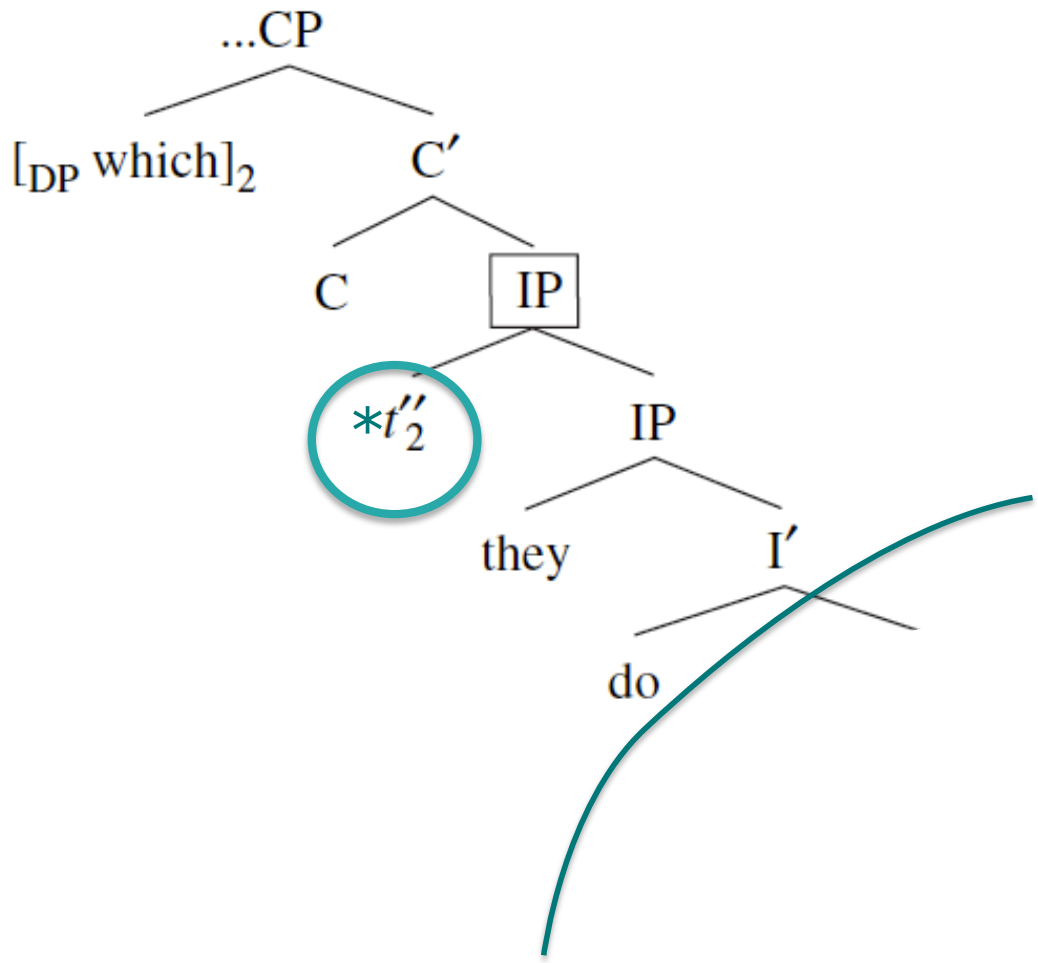


4. Ellipsis repair effects (14)

VP ellipsis doesn't elides all the *-marked traces:

(46)*…, but I don't know [which Balkan language]$_i$ [*t$_i$ [$_{IP}$ they do ~~[*t$_i$ [$_{VP}$ want to [*t$_i$ [$_{VP}$ hire someone [*t$_i$ [who speaks t$_i$]]]]]]]]].

4. Ellipsis repair effects (15)



4. Ellipsis repair effects (16)

Merchant (2008):

High ellipsis (Sluicing) deletes the *-marked traces, taking away the PF violation.

→ Sluicing is island-insensitive.
→ Ellipsis repair

Low ellipsis (VP ellipsis) doesn't delete all the *-marked traces, causing a crash at PF.

→ VP ellipsis is island-sensitive.

4. Ellipsis repair effects (17)

Other ellipsis repair effects?

- lack of complementizer agreement in Bavarian Sluicing
- lack of Wackernagel clitics in S. Slavic Sluicing
- multiple Sluicing in Germanic, Greek, and Turkish (and perhaps in Bulgarian, Japanese, Russian, and Serbo-Croatian as well)
- remnant movements in Gapping (Johnson 2003, Richards 1998)
- remnant movements in Pseudogapping (Johnson 2001)
- lack of verb movement in Pseudogapping (Lasnik 1995, 2001)

4. Ellipsis repair effects (18)

- swiping in English, Norwegian, Danish (Merchant 2002)
- wh-movement in wh-in-situ languages
- lack of I-to-C movement in matrix sluices in Germanic (Lasnik 1999 and Merchant 2001)
- lack of the otherwise obligatory complementizer in Irish sluices (Merchant 2001).

→ Merchant (2008): Ellipsis may help us shed light on phenomena that have been traditionally investigated only with respect to their pronounced manifestations.

Silence best speaks the mind

1. WYSIWYG
2. WYSI**A**WYG (proform analysis)
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5. Reconciling analyses (1)

Reconciling the proform and the deletion approach?

It has been claimed that language has both the proform strategy and the deletion strategy at its disposal.

Hybrid/mixed approaches

5. Reconciling analyses (2)

- The ellipsis site can be a proform in one elliptical phenomenon and an unpronounced structure in another.

Test: extraction argument for structure

→ Is movement out of the ellipsis site possible?

- Pronouns can have internal structure or not.

5. Reconciling analyses (3)

Ellipsis site: proform or deletion?

- Movement out of the ellipsis site is possible.

→ **deletion analysis**

The moved constituent can only be connected to its base position if there is internal structure in the ellipsis site.

5. Reconciling analyses (4)

- Movement out of the ellipsis site is impossible.

→ **proform analysis**

When there is no internal structure, there is nothing to move or to move out from.

5. Reconciling analyses (5)

Movement is possible

VP Ellipsis:

(47) a. I know which cocktail Ryan made, but I don't remember which cocktail Jasmin did.

b. I know which cocktail Ryan made, but I don't remember which cocktail Jasmin did [~~make $t_{\text{which cocktail}}$~~].

→ **deletion**

5. Reconciling analyses (6)

Movement is impossible

Null Complement Anaphora (NCA)

(48) I asked Ryan to make a mojito, but he refused.

(49) * I know which cocktail Ryan made, but I don't remember which (cocktail) he refused.

→ **proform**

5. Reconciling analyses (7)

Pronouns (= proforms) with internal structure

Elbourne (2001):
Pronouns can be interpreted in at least two ways.

- As a variable
- As a definite determiner

(50) a. I told **you** to stay here.
b. Hans sieht **den**. (German)
Hans sees him
c. **You** troops will embark; the others remain.
d. Hans sieht **den** Mann. (German)
Hans sees the man

5. Reconciling analyses (8)

Third way: Donkey pronouns

- As the value of a contextually salient function *f* applied to an argument *x* (Heim 1990).

(51) Every man who owns a donkey beats **it**.

= "Every individual *x* such that *x* is a man who owns a donkey, beats the donkey owned by *x*."

It = the donkey owned by *x*
Function *f* = "owned by"

5. Reconciling analyses (9)

Elbourne: NP deletion theory for donkey pronouns

Pronouns can optionally have the semantics of definite articles:

⟦it⟧, ⟦him⟧, ⟦her⟧ = ⟦the⟧

+

NPs can undergo deletion in the environment of an identical NP.

(52) Most classes bore Jeff, but he does like some [~~classes~~].

= Donkey pronouns involve NP ellipsis

5. Reconciling analyses (10)

(53) Every man who owns a donkey beats **it**.

(53') Every man who owns a donkey beats [the donkey].

NP ellipsis:

(53'') …beats [the ~~donkey~~].

Alternative spell-out of *the*:

(53''') …beats **it**.

5. Reconciling analyses (11)

Elbourne (2001): NP ellipsis data with determiners

(54) a. Jeff only bought two books, but Jane bought **at least three**.
b. Most classes bore Jeff, but he does like **some**.
c. There were many unicorns in the garden, but Jeff only noticed **a few**.
d. Some students are morning people, but **most** are not.
e. I don't like either woman; **neither** knows much about Star Trek.
f. Many people went to Sicily, but **few** returned.
g. Two heads are better than **one**.
h. Most MIT students build robots, and **all** watch Star Trek.

5. Reconciling analyses (12)

(55)a.*Two heads are better than **no**.
b.*Jeff only bought one book, but Jane bought **every**.
c.*The giant wanted to eat the child, but **the** escaped.
d.*I wanted to read a book, so I bought **a**.

NP ellipsis and determiners:

Possible with all determiners except *no*, *a* , *the* and *every*.

5. Reconciling analyses (13)

Elbourne (2001):
The determiners that seem not to allow for NP ellipsis just have a pronominal spell-out under ellipsis.

(56) Two heads are better than **no** head.

NP ellipsis

(56') Two heads are better than **no** ~~head~~**.**

Alternative spell-out

(56'') Two heads are better than **none**.

5. Reconciling analyses (14)

(57) I wanted to read a book, so I bought **a** book.

NP ellipsis

(57') I wanted to read a book, so I bought **a** ~~book~~.

Alternative spell-out

(57'') I wanted to read a book, so I bought **one**.

(*Every* is a exception, no solution there yet)

5. Reconciling analyses (15)

More pronouns with internal structure: *det*

Hankamer & Sag (1976):
Deep and surface anaphora

- Deep anaphora: no internal structure
  → pronouns, NCA

- Surface anaphora: internal structure
  → VP ellipsis, sluicing

5. Reconciling analyses (16)

Overt or null?

	Deep anaphora	Surface anaphora
Overt	Pronouns: *it, so*,…	Sluicing, VP ellipsis
Null	NCA	??? Danish *det*

→ Houser, Mikkelsen & Toosarvandani (2006):
Danish *det*:overt surface anaphora

5. Reconciling analyses (17)

Houser, Mikkelsen & Toosarvandani (2006)

Danish *det* is an overt pronoun with internal structure.

Hankamer & Sag (1976): diacritic tests to distinguish between deep and surface anaphora.

- Extraction
- Missing antecedent phenomenon.

5. Reconciling analyses (18)

Extraction

If extraction out of the ellipsis site is possible, this is an indication of unpronounced syntactic structure.

Houser et al (2006):
Danish *det* allows subject extraction out of the ellipsis site

5. Reconciling analyses (19)

Unaccusative:

(58) Bare toget ville [bryde sammen lige nu]! Men
just train.DEF would break together right now but
det gjorde **det** selvfølgelig ikke!
DET did it (= the train) of.course not
'If only the train would break down right now! But of course it didn't!'

→ Extraction of the derived subject from complement position inside the elided VP.

5. Reconciling analyses (20)

Passive (both analytic and *blive*):

(59) Det var første gang, jeg ønskede at blive
it was first time I wanted to become
[afsat på stedet], og det blev **jeg**.
dismissed on place.DEF and DET became I
'It was the first time I had wanted to be dismissed on the spot and I was.'

(60) Staten skal betale 1 mio. kr, hvis planen
state.DEF must pay 1 million Kroner if plan.DEF
skal [gennemføres på normeret tid].Og det skal
must implement.PASS on normal time and DET must
den…
it (= the plan)
'The state must pay 1 million Kroner if the plan is to be implemented within the allocated time period. And it must be…'

5. Reconciling analyses (21)

Raising verbs:

(61) Han lader til at have glemt alt om aftalen,
he seems to that have forgotten all about deal.DEF
men det gør hun ikke.
but DET does she not

'He seems to have forgotten all about the deal, but she doesn't (seem to have forgotten all about the deal).'

→ Extraction of the subject from inside the complement clause of the elided VP.

→ *Det* allows extraction: surface anaphora

5. Reconciling analyses (22)

Missing antecedent phenomenon

(Hankamer & Sag 1976)

A pronoun can find its antecedent inside surface anaphora, but not inside deep anaphora:

VP ellipsis = surface anaphora

(62) a. I have never ridden a camel, but Ivan has and he says it stank terribly.

b. I have never ridden a camel, but Ivan has ~~ridden a camel~~ and he says **it** stank terribly.

5. Reconciling analyses (23)

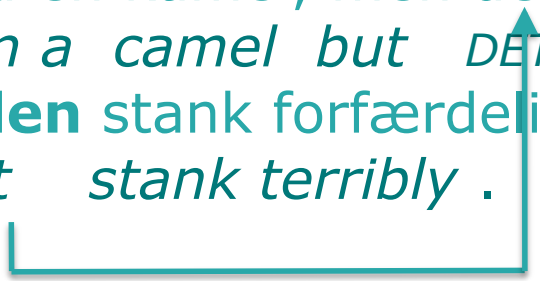
(Do) it = surface anaphora

(63) * I have never ridden a camel, but Ivan has done it and he says **it** stank terribly.

5. Reconciling analyses (24)

Houser et al (2006):
Danish *det* can provide an antecedent for a pronoun.

(64) Jeg har aldrig redet på en kamel, men det har
I have never ridden on a camel but DET has
Ivan og han siger at **den** stank forfærdeligt.
Ivan and he says that it stank terribly .



→ Danish *det* = surface anaphora

5. Reconciling analyses (25)

Proform or deletion:

Language might use both strategies to get rid of redundant repetitions.

VP ellipsis, sluicing ⟷ NCA

'regular' pronouns ⟷ donkey anaphora
Danish *det*

Silence best speaks the mind

- Ellipsis is a mismatch between sound and meaning.

  → Important question: what is present in the syntax?

- Three possible analyses:

  ❶ WYSIWYG: no syntax at all
  ❷ proform analysis: a null proform
  ❸ deletion analysis: a full syntactic structure

- One of the most-used arguments for syntactic structure in the ellipsis site is extraction.
- Islands: ellipsis repair effects
- Reconciling proform and deletion:

  NCA vs sluicing, VP ellipsis
  donkey pronouns and Danish *det.*

Silence best speaks the mind

Analyses of ellipsis

Lobke Aelbrecht