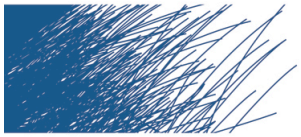


UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

What ellipsis can do for phases and what it can't, but not how

Lobke Aelbrecht (GIST/Ghent University)

Ellipsis2012 Workshop,
University of Vigo

9-10 November2012

FWO

ODYSSEUS
Topwetenschap in Vlaanderen

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

What ellipsis can do for phases and what it can't, but not how

1. Introduction: Phases and ellipsis
2. Extraction contrasts casting doubt
3. One step beyond
4. Testing the waters: implementation
5. Conclusion

Phases and ellipsis (1)

Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001, 2005): clauses consist of several derivational domains, which are the complements to what he calls phase heads.

Merger of phase head → complement sent to PF (Spell-Out)

+ Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000: 108):

> In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

Phases and ellipsis (2)

Revised PIC (Chomsky 2001): a phasal domain is accessible to syntax until the next phase head is merged.

= merger of a phase head triggers the domain of the previous phase head to be sent to PF.

→ Movement happens cyclically, through intermediate phase edges, to avoid being sent to Spell-Out prematurely and being frozen for syntactic operations.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Phases and ellipsis (3)

Tempting to see ellipsis as special kind of Spell-Out:

> What is targeted by ellipsis is always the phasal domain (complement of phase head)

→ See Holmberg (2001), Rouveret (2006, 2012), Gengel (2007), Yoshiba & Gallego (2008), Gallego (2009), Müller (2011), Bošković (2012) and Wurmbrand (2012) and others

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Phases and ellipsis (4)

Both ellipsis and Phase Theory affect the spell-out of certain domains and rely on the merger/presence of a specific trigger.

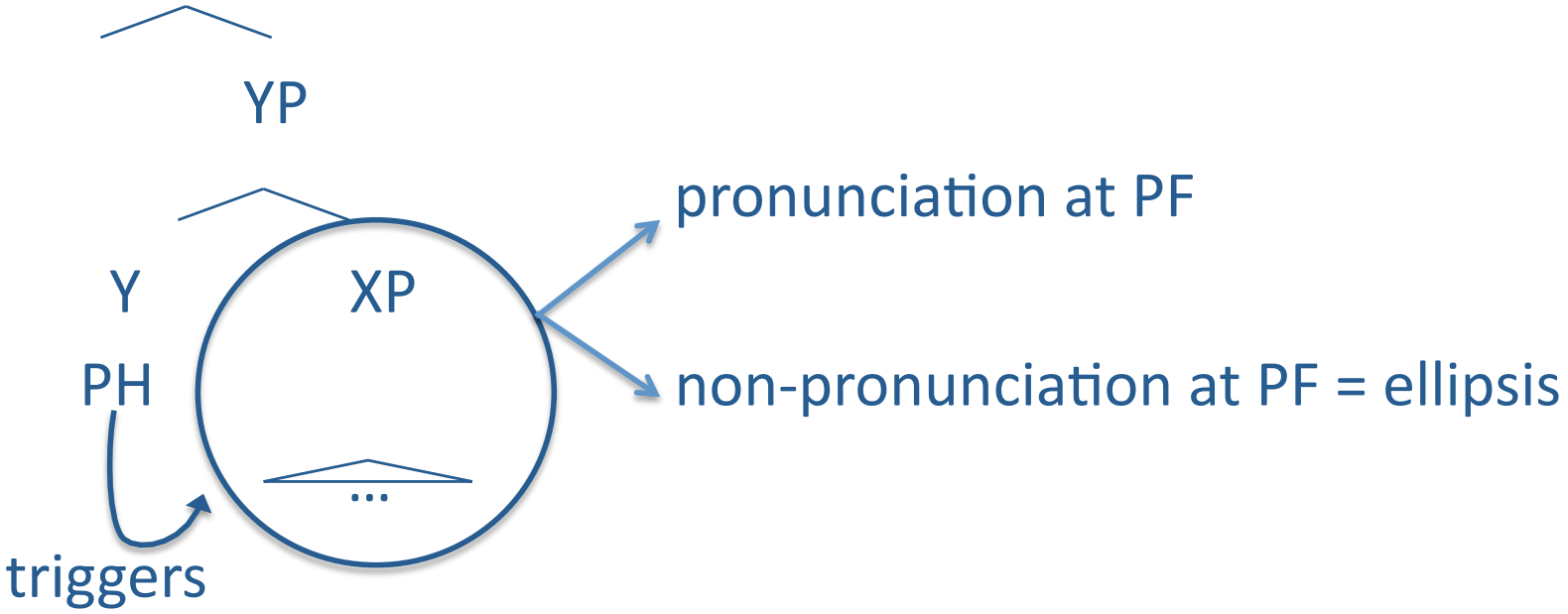
→ Ellipsis: licensing head

→ Phases: phase head

Suppose that ellipsis is always licensed by phase heads.

→ Take XP to be a phasal domain. When phase head Y is merged, XP is sent to PF and has a choice of being pronounced or not.

Phases and ellipsis (5)



→ Ellipsis = flipside of spell-out: phasal domain is sent to PF after merger of the phase head, for either spell-out or non-spell-out.

Phases and ellipsis (6)

→ Elegant approaches towards VP ellipsis and sluicing:

VPE elides VP complement of the v phase head

Sluicing elides TP complement of the C phase head

→ Gallego (2009): we only need to postulate one set of heads with an effect on PF. The E-feature (Merchant 2001) would be intrinsic to phase heads.

Phases and ellipsis (7)

Some of the problems:

1. Ellipsis sites differ depending on the phenomenon:

   VPE elides more than British English *do* (Baltin 2007, Aelbrecht 2010)

   Pseudogapping elides more than VPE (Merchant 2007 and his discussion of Voice mismatches)

→ Solution: dynamic phases/Phase sliding?

(Den Dikken 2007; Gallego 2005, 2012; Bošković 2011, 2012; Wurmbrand 2012; Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2012)

Phases and ellipsis (8)

2. Extraction differences between ellipsis and non-ellipsis

→ Some phrases can move in non-ellipsis but are not allowed to be extracted out of an ellipsis site.

= unexpected if ellipsis is simply the non-spell-out of a phasal domain: if an element can move out of a phase in non-ellipsis, why can't it in ellipsis?

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

What ellipsis can do for phases and what it can't, but not how

1. Phases and ellipsis
2. Extraction contrasts casting doubt
3. One step beyond
4. Testing the waters: implementation
5. Conclusion

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt

A. The data: Dutch modal complement ellipsis (MCE)
B. A way out of the paradox
C. Back to phases and ellipsis

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: The data (1)

A. The data: Dutch modal complement ellipsis (MCE)

(1) Ik wil naar je optreden komen, maar ik **kan** niet [~~naar je optreden komen~~].
I want to your gig come but I can not to your gig come
'I want to come to your gig, but I can't.'

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: The data (2)

Only with (deontic) modals, not with aspectual auxiliaries:

(2) a.* Hij zei dat hij naar de winkel was gegaan, maar hij **was** niet
he said that he to the shop was gone but he was not
[~~naar de winkel gegaan~~].
to the shop gone
'He said he had gone to the shop, but he hadn't.'

b.* Ik dacht dat hij gehuild had, maar hij **had** niet [~~gehuild~~].
I thought that he cried had but he had not cried
'I thought he had cried, but he hadn't.'

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: The data (3)

Analysis for Dutch MCE (Aelbrecht 2010):

Deletion of syntactic structure or null proform?

→ Extraction test: if an element can be extracted from the ellipsis site, there has to be enough syntactic structure present to accommodate the base position of that element.

! Dutch MCE: paradoxical results

Object extraction is disallowed → proform analysis?

Subject extraction is fine → deletion analysis?

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: The data (4)

No object extraction:

(3) * Ik weet wie Thomas MOET uitnodigen, maar ik weet niet
I know who Thomas must invite but I know not
wie hij niet MAG.
who he not is.allowed
'I know who Thomas has to invite, but I don't know who he isn't allowed to.'

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: The data (5)

Subject extraction?

(Dutch) deontic modals are raising verbs (Vanden Wyngaerd 1994; Barbiers 1995; Bhatt 1998 and Wurmbrand 2003)

(4) Denk je dat het vannacht gaat regenen? – Het moet/ het
think you that it tonight goes rain it has.to it
mag niet!
is.allowed not
'Do you think it's going to rain tonight? – It has to/It can't!'

→ Subject is base-generated inside the modal complement clause.

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: The data (6)

(5) Sanne moet morgen optreden.

Sanne has.to tomorrow perform

'Sanne has to perform tomorrow.'

= Sanne moet [$_{TP}$ morgen t_{Sanne} optreden]

(I take the modal complement to be a TP, see Aelbrecht 2010 for arguments.)

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: The data (7)

→ Subject of MCE has been extracted from ellipsis site:

(6) a. Ik wil naar je optreden komen, maar ik **kan** niet [~~naar je~~
I want to your gig come but I can not to your
~~optreden t_{ik} komen~~].
gig come

b. De rok kan al worden gewassen, maar de bloes moet
the skirt can already become washed but the blouse has.to
nog niet [~~worden $t_{de\ bloes}$ gewassen~~].
still not become washed
'The skirt can be washed already, but the blouse doesn't need to be yet.'

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: The data (8)

No object extraction in Dutch MCE

→ Null proform analysis?

Subject is extracted from inside the ellipsis site

→ Deletion of syntactic structure?

= paradox

(Same paradox occurs in British English *do*, see Baltin 2007; Aelbrecht 2010)

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: The data (9)

Puzzle: proform or deletion?

→ Deletion approach (Aelbrecht 2010)

→ Ban on object extraction is due to the timing of ellipsis

Next section: A way out of the paradox with a different theory of ellipsis licensing

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt

A. The data: Dutch modal complement ellipsis (MCE)
B. A way out of the paradox
C. Back to phases and ellipsis

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: A way out (1)

B. A way out of the paradox: Derivational ellipsis

Aelbrecht 2010: Ellipsis licensing

(i) Ellipsis is licensed via an Agree relation with a licensing head that is not necessarily adjacent to the ellipsis site.

(ii) Ellipsis happens in the course of the derivation, as soon as the licensor is merged and establishes the Agree relation.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: A way out (2)

(i) Ellipsis is licensed via an Agree relation with a licensing head that is not necessarily adjacent to the ellipsis site.

Assumptions:

- Ellipsis is licensed by a licensing head

  (See Zagona 1982, 1988a, 1988b; Lobeck 1993, 1995; Johnson 2001; Merchant 2001, 2004; Gergel 2006 a.o.; contra Chao 1987 and recent work by Gary Thoms)

- I adopt Merchant's E-feature, which marks the complement of the head it occurs on for non-pronunciation at PF.

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: A way out (3)

Merchant's E-feature implies that the licensor (with the E-feature) and the ellipsis site always stand in a head-complement relation to one another.

! Aelbrecht (2010): There can be material between the two.

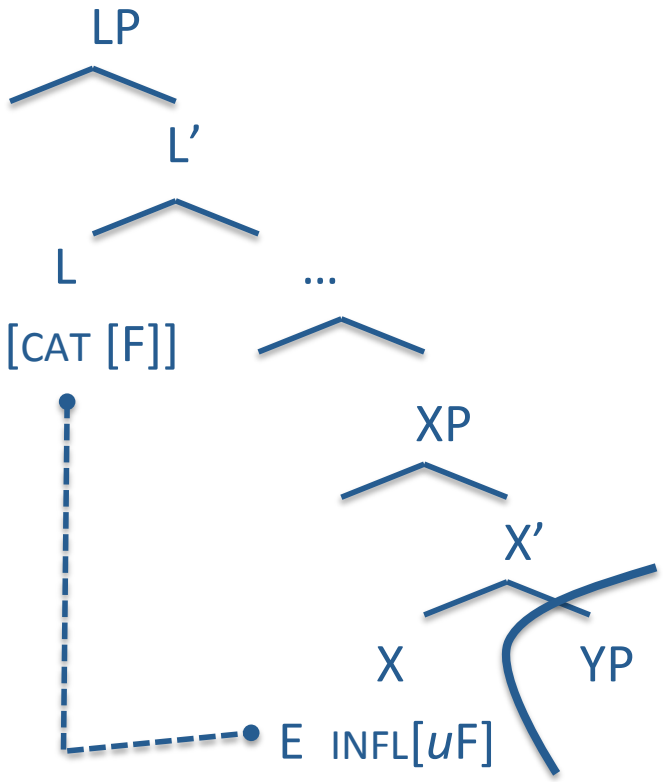
→Proposal: Ellipsis is licensed via Agree

= Slight adaptation of Merchant's approach so that the licensor and ellipsis site do not have to be adjacent.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: A way out (4)



→Agree relation between the licensor L and the E-feature on the head X selecting the ellipsis site YP.

→Checking E marks YP for non-pronunciation.

= non-adjacent licensor and ellipsis site

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: A way out (5)

(ii) Ellipsis happens in the course of the derivation.

= Derivational ellipsis

Ellipsis happens as soon as the licensor is merged and establishes the Agree relation.

The ellipsis site is sent to PF, marked for non-pronunciation, and from that point is unavailable for syntactic operations.

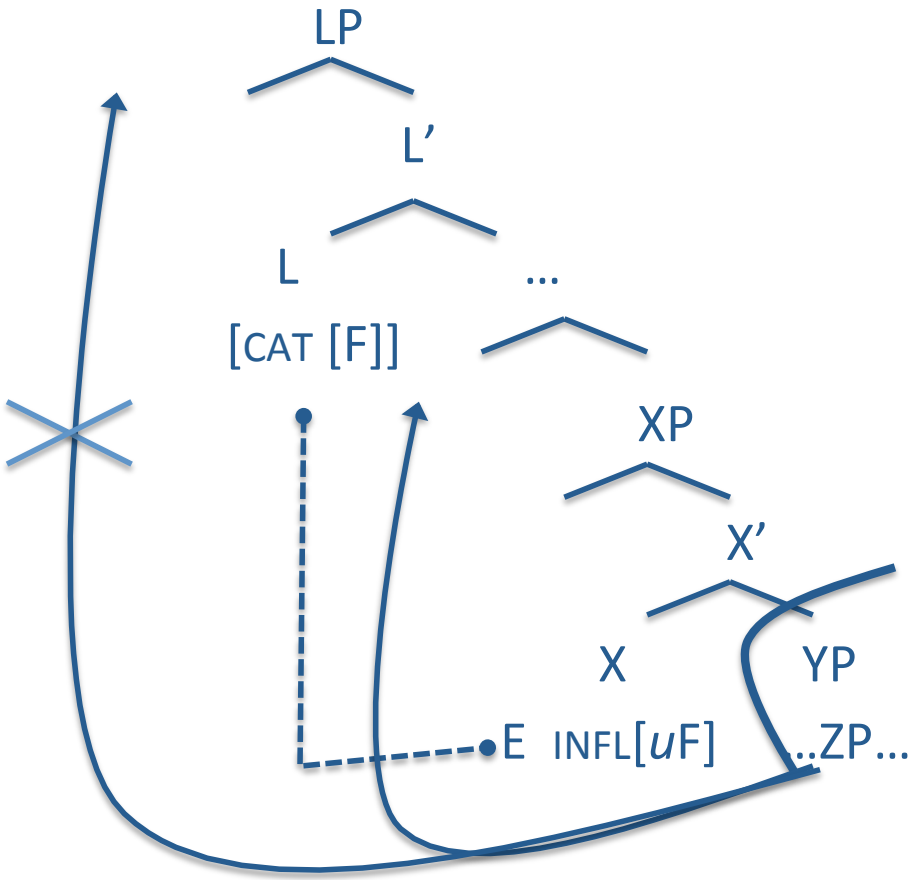
Extraction contrasts casting doubt: A way out (6)

= Solution to extraction puzzle:

An element can move out of the ellipsis site until the licensor is introduced, but not after that.

Only elements with landing sites between the licensor and the elided part (or spec of licensor) can escape ellipsis.

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: A way out (7)



Extraction contrasts casting doubt: A way out (8)

Back to Dutch MCE: in a nutshell…

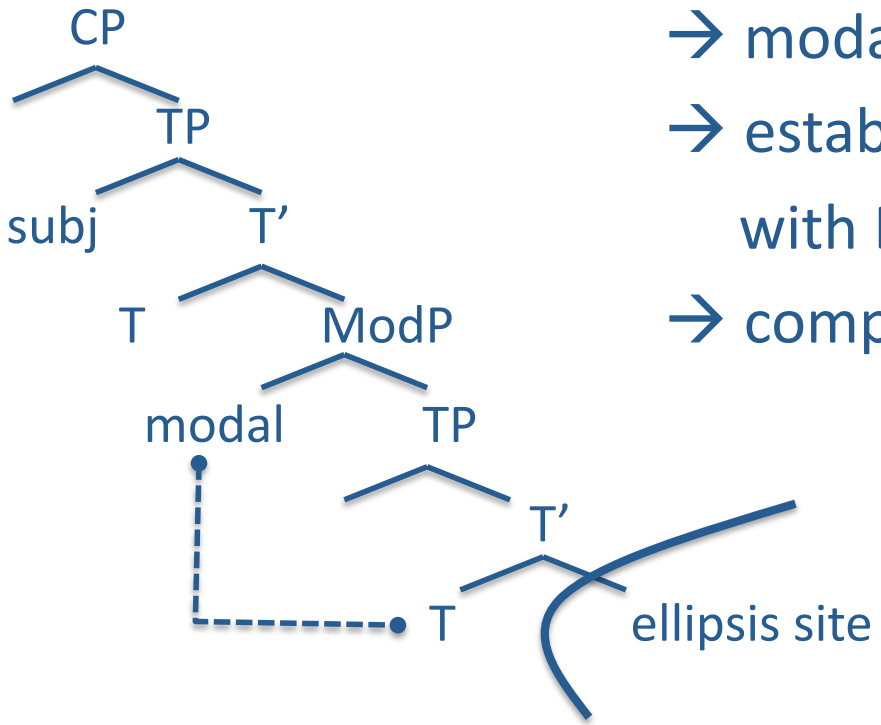
- Only with modal verbs → modal is licensor
- Modal complement is a TP
- Ellipsis site is the complement of T: aspectual auxiliaries are elided, but not the material in the embedded T projection

(For details and argumentation, see Aelbrecht 2010)

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: A way out (9)



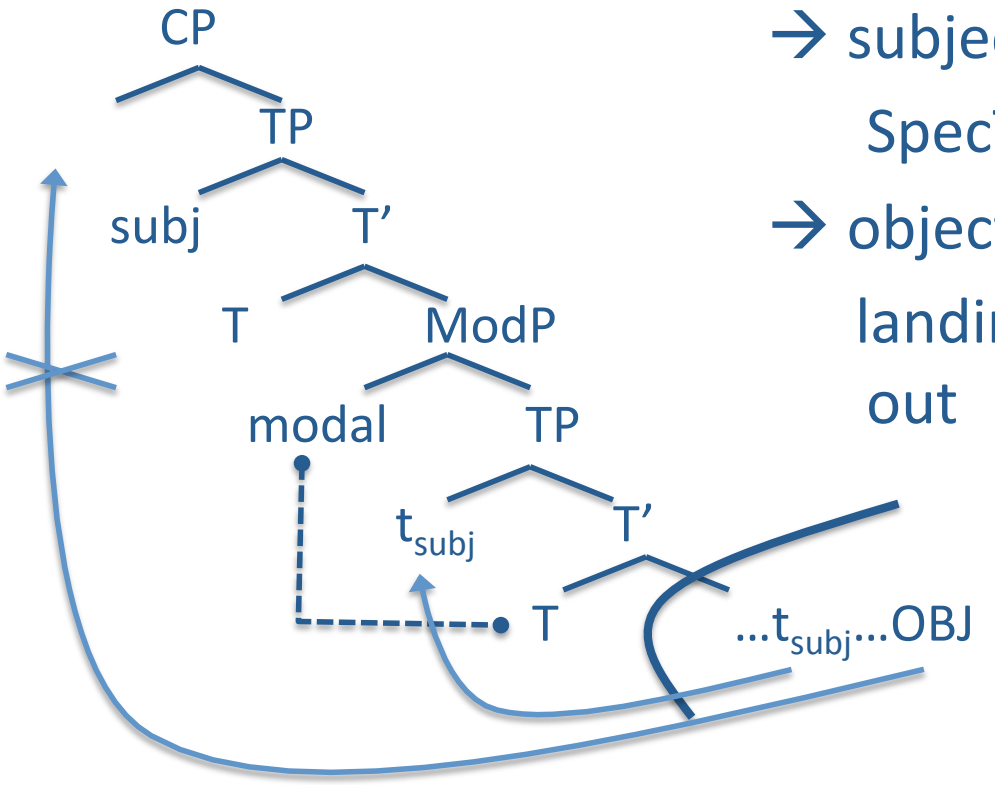
→ modal is licensor

→ establishes Agree relationship with E-feature on embedded T

→ complement of T is sent to PF

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: A way out (10)

This captures the extraction puzzle:



→ subject moves to embedded SpecTP, below licensor

→ object has no intermediate landing site and cannot move out

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt

A. The data: Dutch modal complement ellipsis (MCE)
B. A way out of the paradox
C. Back to phases and ellipsis

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: Back to phases and ellipsis (1)

Derivational ellipsis = reminiscent of approach that takes ellipsis to be the flipside of phasal spell-out:

If ellipsis – sending something to PF for non-pronunciation – occurs during the derivation, it seems logical that it would target the chunks of structure that are sent to PF at certain points anyway (i.e., phasal domains).

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: Back to phases and ellipsis (2)

Combining that with Agree:

> E-feature occurs on phase heads and we adopt the revised PIC: the higher phase head sends the phasal domain of the lower phase head to PF.

→ no obligatory adjacency between licensor and constituent sent to PF

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: Back to phases and ellipsis (3)

! We would miss something crucial in the data:

The object cannot move out of the MCE ellipsis site.

(7) * Ik weet wie Thomas MOET uitnodigen, maar ik weet niet

I know who Thomas must invite but I know not

wie hij niet MAG.

who he not is.allowed

'I know who Thomas has to invite, but I don't know who he isn't allowed to.'

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: Back to phases and ellipsis (4)

Crucially, this object movement is fine without ellipsis.

(8) Ik weet wie Thomas MOET uitnodigen, maar ik weet niet

I know who Thomas must invite but I know not

wie hij niet MAG uitnodigen.

who he not is.allowed invite

'I know who Thomas has to invite, but I don't know who he isn't allowed to.'

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: Back to phases and ellipsis (5)

→ Wh-movement that is impossible under ellipsis is fine when the extraction site is pronounced.

= **contrast between ellipsis and non-ellipsis** with regards to movement possibilities

! If ellipsis and cyclic spell-out are instantiations of the same process involving phases, these data remain unexplained.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: Back to phases and ellipsis (6)

Although ellipsis and phases seem closely linked, it is not the case that whenever the appropriate domain is sent to PF, there is a choice between pronunciation or non-pronunciation:

- In non-ellipsis, elements needing to undergo further movement, can move to the phase edge.
- In ellipsis with limited extraction (such as Dutch MCE), this phase edge escape hatch does not seem to be available.

→ The difference between ellipsis and non-ellipsis is not simply decided at PF; there is a difference in the syntax.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: Back to phases and ellipsis (7)

My proposal (Aelbrecht 2010):

Ellipsis occurs when the licensor is merged.

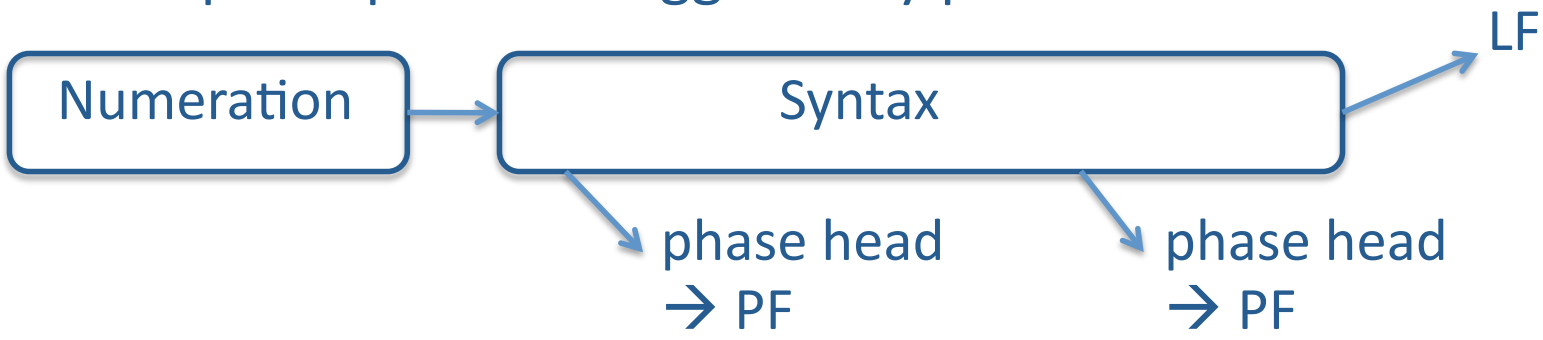
+

A phasal domain is sent to PF when the next phase head is merged (revised PIC).

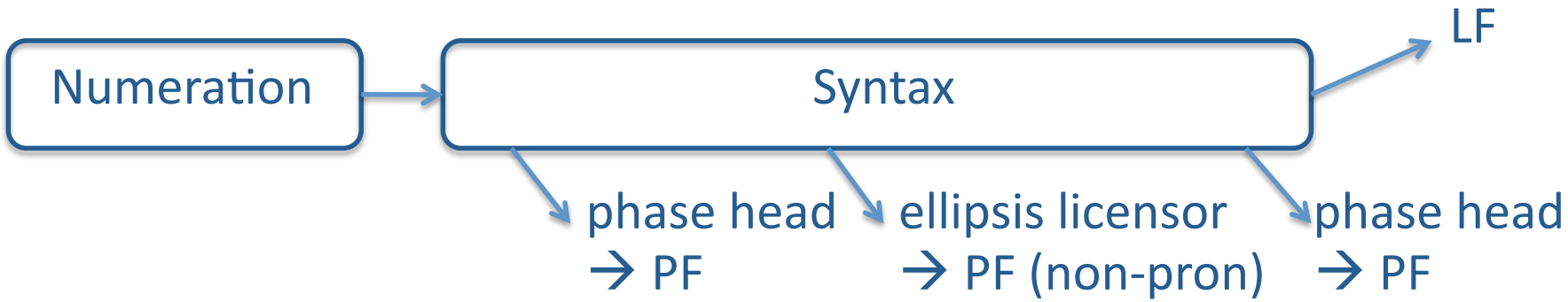
→ In ellipsis there can be an additional point at which a part of the structure is sent to PF (and frozen for syntax).

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: Back to phases and ellipsis (8)

No ellipsis: Spell-Out triggered by phase heads



Ellipsis: Spell-Out triggered by licensor and by phase heads



UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: Back to phases and ellipsis (9)

→ Important implication of the extraction contrast between ellipsis and non-ellipsis:

Ellipsis cannot simply be a side-product of phases, otherwise there would not be any movement differences between spell-out and non-spell-out.

If ellipsis were only non-pronunciation of a phasal complement, the phase edge would be present for any material to move out of the (non-)spell-out domain first.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: Back to phases and ellipsis (10)

! My 2010 proposal destroys the link between phases and ellipsis.

HOWEVER:

The intuition behind the phases and ellipsis approach is worth giving another chance: if both affect spell-out, why not have them target the same part of the structure?

→ Is it possible to 'rescue' the phases and ellipsis approach in a way that can also capture the extraction problem?

Extraction contrasts casting doubt: Back to phases and ellipsis (11)

Maybe.

My (new) proposal in the next section:

- Same chunk, not automatically same trigger
- Both operate through Agree relation

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

What ellipsis can do for phases and what it can't, but not how

1. Phases and ellipsis
2. Extraction contrasts casting doubt
3. One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger?
4. Testing the waters: implementation
5. Conclusion

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (1)

Ellipsis as the flipside of phasal Spell-out: no account for limited extraction out of certain ellipsis sites.

! Can we adapt this approach to keep the intuitive advantage, but without having to assume that the same chunk of structure is *always* sent to PF by the same head and that the choice between pronunciation or not is only decided there?

→ No fully worked-out analysis, but at least some food for thought.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (2)

Proposal:

1. Phasal spell-out and ellipsis target the same chunk: the entire phase.
2. Phasal spell-out and ellipsis do not automatically have the same trigger.
3. Phasal spell-out and ellipsis operate through the same mechanism, Agree, and value the same features, but with a different value.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (3)

Ellipsis licensing in Aelbrecht (2010):

Merger of ellipsis licensing head triggers lower constituent (ellipsis site) to be sent to PF (for non-pronunciation).

Phase Theory (with revised PIC):

Merger of a phase head triggers transfer to PF of the lower phasal domain.

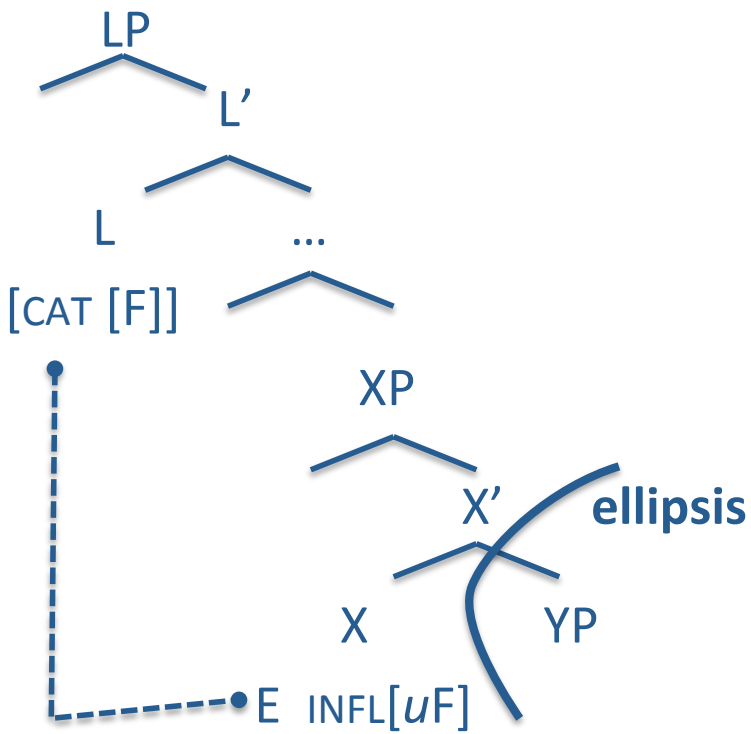
(Note: with the original PIC, ellipsis and phases looked alike too, but only if you assume that the licensor and the ellipsis site are always adjacent.)

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

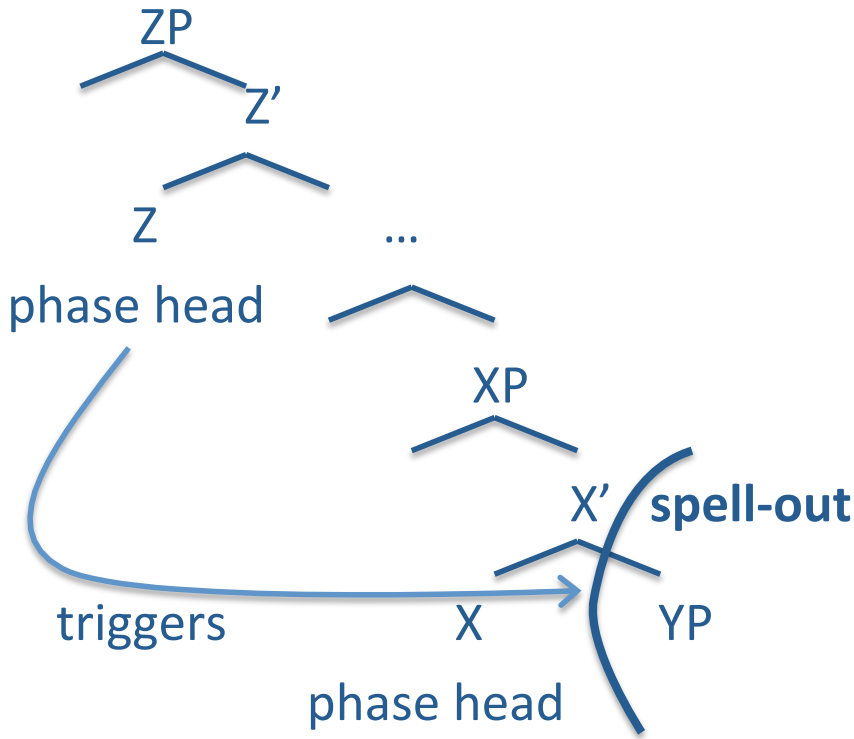
GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (4)

Derivational ellipsis



Derivational spell-out



One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (5)

Two points about these abstract structures:

A. The targeted chunks of structure: entire phase
B. The mechanism that triggers these operations: Agree

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (6)

A. The target: entire phase

What if ellipsis and phase theory **do** target the same chunks of structure?

Now: They both target the complement of a certain head.

→Does ellipsis target the complement of a phase head?

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (7)

No: If ellipsis targets the phasal complement, the phase edge remains available for all kinds of extraction.

→ We cannot capture the extraction contrast between ellipsis and non-ellipsis.

Proposal: it is the **entire phase** that is sent to PF, not only the complement of the phase head.

(following Fox & Pesetsky 2005; Richards 2011; Fowlie 2010)

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (8)

B. Trigger happy?

Both operations are triggered by merger of a certain head

→Is the mechanism triggering them the same?

! Ellipsis: (Agree) relationship between licensor and ellipsis site (or head selecting ellipsis site), with E-feature

Phases: No such relationship between the two phase heads (or the higher phase head and the lower domain)

→Agree relation with Spell-out feature? **NO!** But…

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (9)

Svenonius (2003/2004):

> "a phase is spelled out when all uninterpretable features on its head are checked. For example, **if a phase head H has uninterpretable features then HP will not have a coherent interpretation at one or the other interface. Assume that some higher head Z merges and values those features, allowing HP to be spelled out; call Z the trigger. If the trigger also has features that attract XP out of HP, then by assumption this occurs simultaneously with the checking of features on HP, and extraction is possible.**" (Svenonius 2003/2004: section 4 – my emphasis)

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (10)

= Revised PIC + Agree relation between phase heads:

Merger of the higher phase head checks the uninterpretable features on the lower one. Once the lower phase head is satisfied, the lower phase is sent to spell-out.

The higher phase head can also come with extra features which at the same time check and attract an XP in the lower phase, thereby allowing for extraction.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (11)

Feature checking on phase head = parallel to checking in ellipsis?

→ Both phases and ellipsis: sending a chunk to PF, triggered by Agree relation

! Extraction problem:

Trigger cannot automatically be the same: timing of PF transfer should be able to differ to capture extraction contrast in some elliptical phenomena.

Same chunk (entire phase), not always same trigger

Same mechanism (Agree)

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (12)

Let's push it even further: the same feature is checked.

Implication: we could do away with the E-feature for ellipsis

E-feature: useful way of providing unified analyses for different elliptical phenomena.

! It would be nice to move past an E-feature specific for ellipsis and find a deeper connection between the element that seems to have to be present for ellipsis (licensor) and the chunk that remains unpronounced (or less ideally, the head selecting that chunk).

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (13)

Proposal:

1. Each phase head bears a phase-specific feature F. Once this feature F is valued, the phase is sent to PF.
2. F can be valued by the higher phase head, and the value can be either 'spell-out' or 'ellipsis' (as phase heads are also licensors). Only phase heads can assign value 'spell-out'.
3. Some ellipses are licensed by a non-phase head: this head can value F as well, but only for 'ellipsis'.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (14)

- → Ellipsis and phase theory target the same chunk of structure.
- → Ellipsis and phase theory value the same feature.
- → The (potential) difference: head doing the valuing, and therefore the timing of when the chunk is sent to PF.

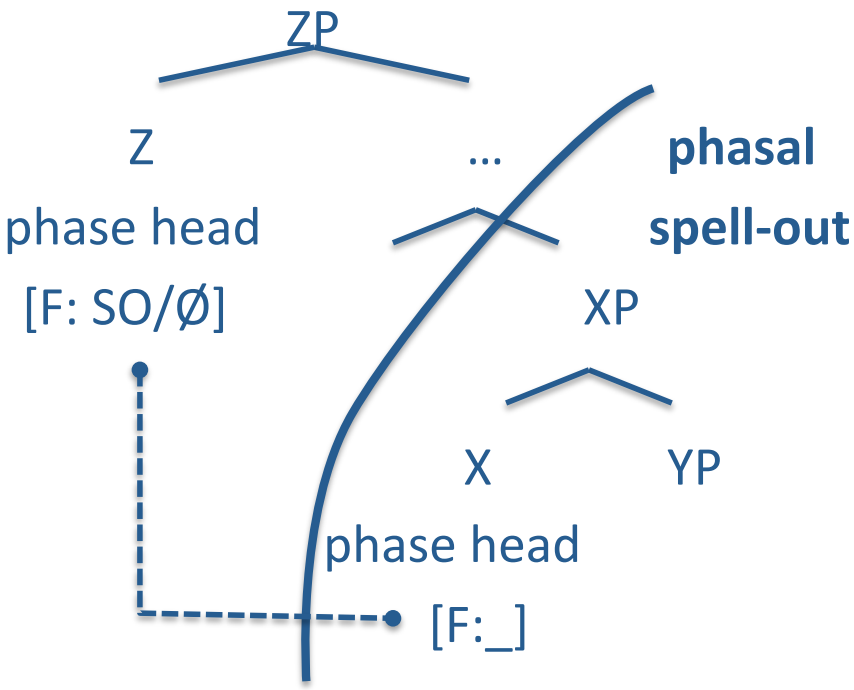
  ! Only in cases with extraction contrast!

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

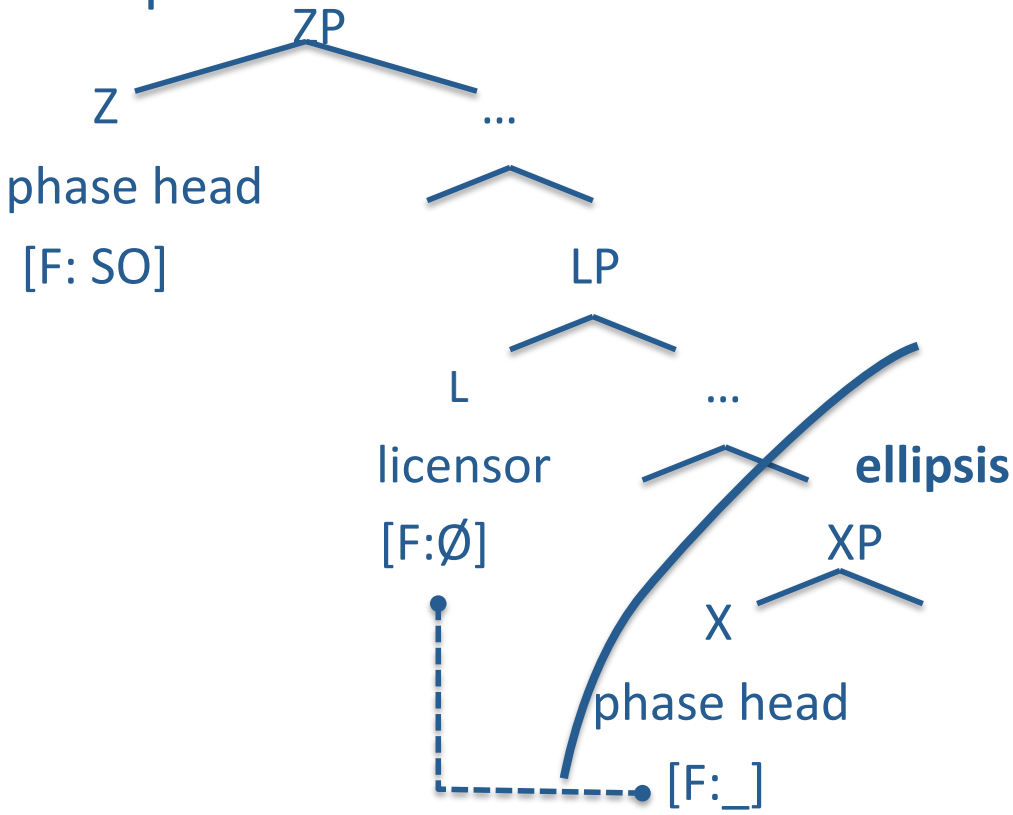
GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (15)

Non-ellipsis/ellipsis



Ellipsis with extraction contrast



UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (16)

Ellipses without extraction contrast (VPE, sluicing…):

> Feature is valued by the licensor, which happens to be the next phase head: this head can assign either value ‘spell-out’ or ‘ellipsis’.
>
> This head has extra features to allow for extraction.

→ Extraction possibilities are the same irrespective of whether the chunk is pronounced or not pronounced.

One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger? (17)

Ellipses with extraction contrast (Dutch MCE, British English *do*):

Feature is valued by a head different from the next phase head.

This head (licensor) has only value 'ellipsis' to assign to F and lacks the extra features that a phase head has to allow for extraction (Svenonius 2003/2004).

→ Only extraction triggered by features between the ellipsis site and the licensor is possible.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

What ellipsis can do for phases and what it can't, but not how

1. Phases and ellipsis
2. Extraction contrasts casting doubt
3. One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger?
4. Testing the waters: implementation
5. Conclusion

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Testing the waters: implementation (1)

Let's try to make this a little bit more concrete…

- Clause is divided into several layers:

  predicate/thematic part

  referential layer (places predicate in space and time)

  information-structural/clause-typing layer

  = vP – FinP layer – CP layer

  (see Grohmann's 2003 *prolific domains*)
- These three layers are phases (see also Fowlie 2010)

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Testing the waters: implementation (2)

- Highest head of each chunk has to establish a relationship with the highest head of the chunk below it, to connect them to each other, by valuing a feature F on the lower head.

  → Highest C values a feature F on Fin
  Fin values a (different) feature F on v

  Note: One has to assume that FinP is a phase (Branigan 2005; López 2009; Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2012)

- Once this relationship is established – through valuation of F – the lower phase head is satisfied and the phase is sent to PF.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Testing the waters: implementation (3)

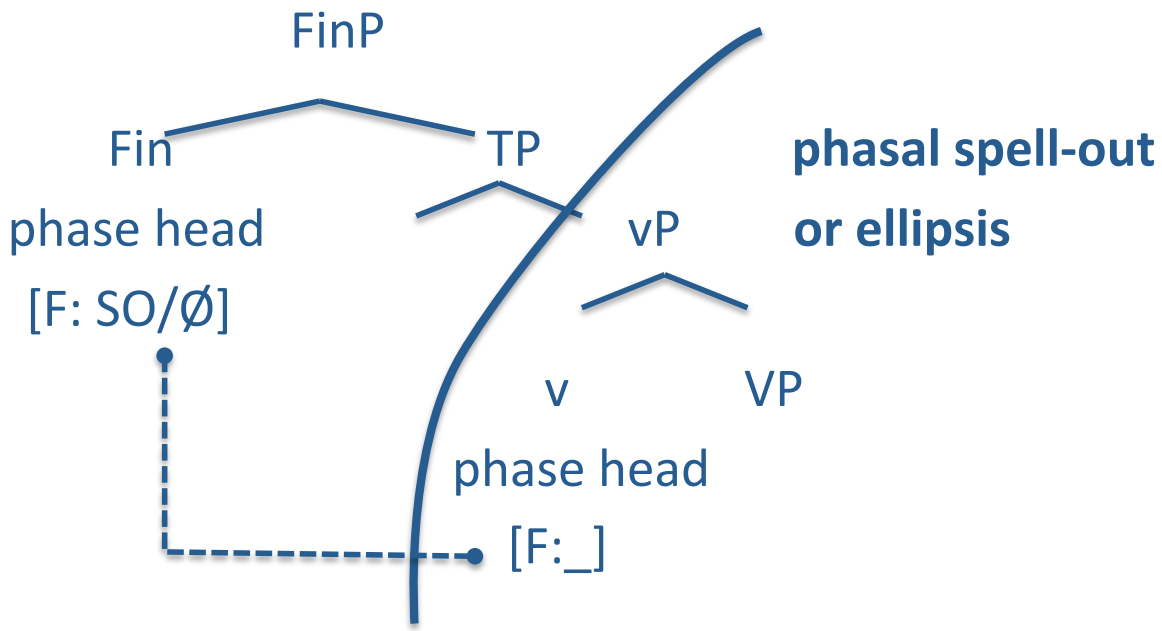
Applied to English VPE:

VPE is licensed by Fin head and leaves the predicate chunk unpronounced (see Aelbrecht & Harwood 2012).

→ The same chunk is sent to PF by the same trigger in ellipsis and non-ellipsis.

→ Verb phrase can either be pronounced or not pronounced (in the presence of salient antecedent) and there are no extraction differences.

Testing the waters: implementation (4)



!! How about languages without VPE?

→ Their Fin is a phase head too, but not a licensor, and can only assign value 'spell-out' to the F on v.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Testing the waters: implementation (5)

Applied to sluicing (FinP ellipsis)

FinP ellipsis is licensed by C head and leaves the referential chunk unpronounced.

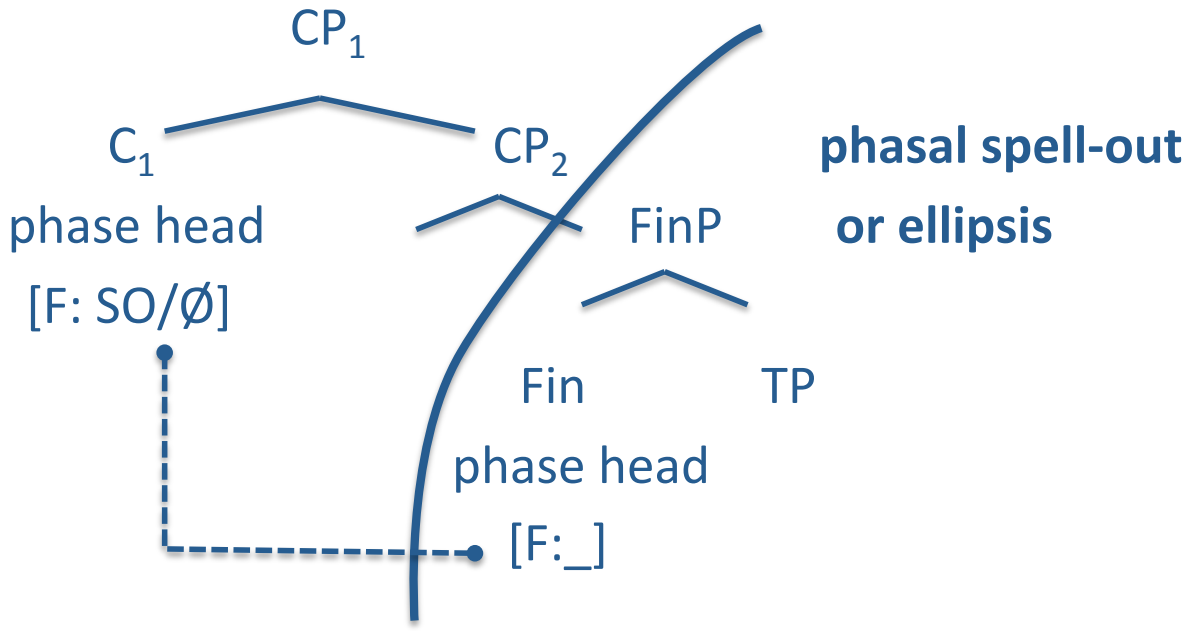
→ The same chunk is sent to PF by the same trigger in ellipsis and non-ellipsis and there are no extraction differences.

! Of course we still need to formalise this relationship.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Testing the waters: implementation (6)



→ I assume that this F on Fin is a different feature from the one on v, but as for now I choose to remain vague on what these features are.

Testing the waters: implementation (7)

Applied to Dutch MCE (and other cases with extraction contrast)

Licensor is not the next phase head, but a head which can also value feature F on the lower phase head, with value ‘ellipsis’.

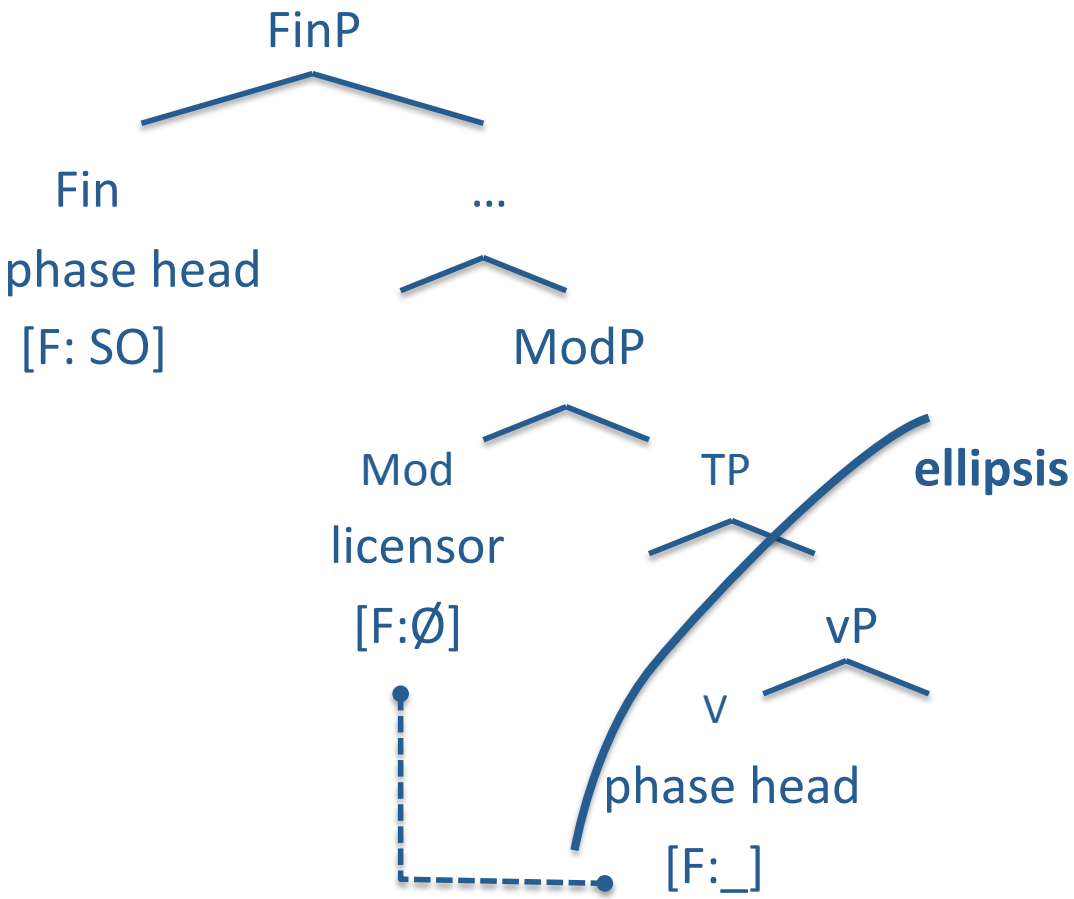
MCE: Modal is an ellipsis licensor and can value the feature F on the thematic layer with value ‘ellipsis’.

In non-ellipsis, the higher phase head (Matrix Fin) establishes the relationship and allows for extraction.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Testing the waters: implementation (8)



Testing the waters: implementation (9)

! This idea needs to be worked out properly:

Look at phase heads and phases

Look at licensors and ellipsis sites

Look at what the relationship could be between the highest heads of the different structural chunks

→ Further research?

Testing the waters: implementation (10)

= **first tentative step** towards ellipsis without E-feature? Not really:

- If certain heads can also value F, but only for 'ellipsis', is this not the same as the E-feature, but as the E-value?
- Which heads are licensors? How do we regulate which heads can value F for 'ellipsis'? It cannot only be phase heads…
- What happens in non-ellipsis with Dutch modals? The modal cannot value the F feature?

= back to E feature

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

What ellipsis can do for phases and what it can't, but not how

1. Phases and ellipsis
2. Extraction contrasts casting doubt
3. One step beyond: Same chunk, not always same trigger?
4. Testing the waters: implementation
5. Conclusion

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Conclusion

- Ellipsis and phases: intuitively attractive view, but problem with extraction contrast!

  Proposal:

- Ellipsis and phases target the same chunk (entire phase).
- Ellipsis and phases are both triggered by an Agree relationship.
- Ellipsis is triggered by licensing heads, spell-out by phase heads, but most licensors are phase heads. If the licensor is not a phase head, extraction contrasts can arise.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

Thank you for your attention!

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

References

Abels, Klaus. 2011. Don't repair that island. It ain't broke. Paper presented at the conference on Islands in Contemporary Linguistic Theory at the University of the Basque Country, Vitoria-Gasteiz.

Aelbrecht, Lobke. 2010. *The Syntactic Licensing of Ellipsis*. Amsterdam/New York: John Benjamins.

Aelbrecht, Lobke & Will Harwood. 2012. To be or not to be elided: VP ellipsis revisited. Ms, Ghent University.

Baltin, Mark. 2007. Deletion versus Pro-forms: a false dichotomy*?*. Ms. New York University.

Barbiers, Sjef. 1995. The syntax of interpretation. PhD dissertation, Leiden University.

Bhatt, Rajesh. 1998. Obligation and Possession. In *The Proceedings of the UPenn/MIT Workshop on Argument Structure and Aspect*, MITWPL 32, H. Harley (ed), 21-40.

Biezma, Maria. To appear. Multiple Focus Strategies in pro-drop Languages: Evidence from Ellipsis in Spanish.

Boeckx, Cedric. 2008. *Bare Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bošković, Željko. 2011. Phases beyond clauses. http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/001243.

Bošković, Željko, 2012. Now I'm a phase, now I'm not a phase: on the variability of phases with extraction and ellipsis. http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/001437.

Branigan, Phil. 2005. The phase theoretic basis for subject-aux inversion. Ms. Memorial University.

Chao, Whynn. 1987. On ellipsis. PhD dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, eds. Roger Martin, David Michaels and Juan Uriagereka, 89–155. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2005. On Phases. Ms. MIT.

Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van. 2010. Invisible Last Resort: A note on clefts as the underlying source for sluicing. In *Lingua* 120: 7, 1714–1726.

Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van and Anikó Lipták. 2008. On the interaction between verb movement and ellipsis: new evidence from Hungarian. 2008. In *Proceedings of the 26th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. C. B. Yang and H. J. Haynie, 138-146. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

References (2)

Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van and Marjo van Koppen. 2012. How to void a phase: Anti-intervention effects with clitic doubling in Dutch dialects. Paper presented at the Complementizer Agreement Workshop, Ghent University.

Dikken, Marcel den. 2007. Phase Extension: Contours of a Theory of the Role of Head Movement in Phrasal Extraction. *Theoretical Linguistics* 33:1, 1-41.

Fox, Danny and Howard Lasnik. 2003. Successive cyclic movement and island repair: The difference between Sluicing and VP Ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34: 143-154.

Fox, Danny and David Pesetsky. 2005. Cyclic Linearization of syntactic structure. In *Object Shift, ed. Katalin É. Kiss. Special issue of Theoretical Linguistics 31(1-2): 1-46.*

Fowlie, Meaghan. 2010. More multiple multiple spell-out. In *Proceedings of GLOW 31 Principles of Linearisation workshop*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gallego, Ángel. 2005. Phase sliding. Ms, University of Barcelona and University of Maryland.

Gallego, Ángel. 2010. *Phase theory*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

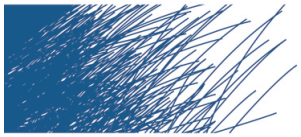
Gallego, Ángel. 2009. Ellipsis by Phase. Paper presented at the XIX Coloquium on Generative Grammar, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea Vitoria-Gasteiz.

Gengel, Kirsten. 2007. Focus and Ellipsis: A Generative Analysis of Pseudogapping and other Elliptical Structures. PhD Dissertation, University of Stuttgart.

Gergel, Remus. 2004. Short-Distance Reanalysis of Middle English Modals: Evidence from Ellipsis. *Studia Linguistica*.

Gergel, Remus. 2006. Interpretable Features in vP-Ellipsis: On the Licensing Head. In *Proceedings of Console XIV*, Sylvia Blaho, Erik Schoorlemmer & Luis Vicente (eds.). <http://www.sole.leidenuniv.nl>

Grohmann, Kleanthes. 2003. *Prolific Domains: On the Anti-Locality of Movement Dependencies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.



References (3)

Haddican, Bill. 2006. *The Structural Deficiency of Verbal Pro-forms*. York Papers in Linguistics .

Hartman, Jeremy. 2011. The Semantic Uniformity of Traces: Evidence from Ellipsis Parallelism. *Linguistic Inquiry*.

Heim, Irene. 1997. Predicates or Formulas? Evidence from ellipsis. In *SALT VII*, 197-221, ed. Aaron Lawson, Ithaca, NY: Cornell.

Holmberg, Anders. 2001. The syntax of yes and no in Finnish. *Studia Linguistica* 55: 141 - 175.

Johnson, Kyle. 2001. What VP-ellipsis can do, and what it can't, but not why. In *The handbook of contemporary syntactic theory*, Mark Baltin & Chris Collins (eds), 439-479. Blackwell.

Lasnik, Howard. 1995. Verbal morphology: Syntactic Structures meets the minimalist program. In *Evolution and Revolution in Linguistic Theory: Essays in Honor of Carlos Otero*, ed. Hector Campos and Paula Kempchinsky, 251-275. Georgetown University Press.

Lasnik, Howard. 2001. When can you save a structure by destroying it? In *Proceedings of the North Eastern Linguistic Society 31* Volume two, ed. M. Kim and U. Strauss, 301-320. GLSA.

Lasnik, Howard. 2009. Island Repair, Non-Repair, and the Organization of the Grammar. In *Inter-Phases*, ed. Kleanthes Grohmann, 339–353. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lasnik, Howard. 2011. Another Look at Island Repair by Deletion. Paper presented at the conference on Islands in Contemporary Linguistic Theory at the University of the Basque Country, Vitoria-Gasteiz.

López, Luis. 2009. *A derivational syntax for information structure*. OUP.

Martin, Andrea E., Mante S. Nieuwland & Manuel Carreiras. 2012. Cue-based retrieval in sentence comprehension: ERP evidence from ellipsis. Poster presented at the 25th Annual CUNY Conference on Human Sentence Processing.

Martin, Andrea E. & Brian McElree. 2009. Memory operations that support language comprehension: Evidence from verb-phrase ellipsis. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning Memory & Cognition*, 35, 1231-1239.

Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence. Sluicing, islands and the theory of ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

UNIVERSITEIT GENT

GIST
Generative Initiatives in Syntactic Theory

References (4)

Merchant, Jason. 2008. An asymmetry in voice mismatches in VP-ellipsis and pseudogapping. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39, 169-179.

Müller, Gereon. 2011. *Constraints on Displacement: A Phase-Based Approach*. Amsterdam/New York: John Benjamins.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartik. 1972. *A Grammar of Contemporary English*. London: Seminar Press.

Rafal, Jeremy. 2009. Clitic doubling and object shift in Ilokano: Evidence from ellipsis. Paper presented at the *Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association 16 (AFLA)*. University of California, Santa Cruz.

Roberts, Ian. 2010. Head Movement and the Minimalist Program. In *The Oxford Handbook of Minimalism*, ed. Cédric Boeckx. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rouveret, Alain. 2012. VP ellipsis, phases and the syntax of morphology. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 30, 897-963.

Sag, Ivan. 1976. *Deletion and Logical Form*. PhD Dissertation, MIT.

Schoorlemmer, Erik & Tanja Temmerman. 2012. Head Movement as a PF Phenomenon: Evidence from Identity under Ellipsis. In *Proceedings of the 29th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. Jaehoon Choi et al., 232-240. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Stjepanović, Sandra. 1997. VP Ellipsis in a Verb Raising Language and Implications for the Condition on Formal Identity of Verbs. In *'Is the Logic Clear?': Papers in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, *University of Connecticut Working Papers in Linguistics* 8, eds. Jeong-Seok Kim, Satoshi Oku, and Sandra Stjepanović, 287-306.

Warner, Anthony. 1986. Ellipsis Conditions and the Status of the English Copula. *York Papers in Linguistics* 12: 153-172.

Wurmbrand, Susi. 2012. Ellipsis. Handout.

Wurmbrand, Susi. To appear. QR and selection: Covert evidence for phasehood. In *Proceedings of the North Eastern Linguistics Society Annual Meeting 42,* ed. Stefan Keine and Shayne Sloggett. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, GLSA.

Yoshiba, Wasaya & Ángel Gallego. 2008. Phases and Ellipsis. Paper presented at the 27th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics.