

Variable verb-stranding ellipsis in Uyghur

Intro. In this talk, we present a novel verb-stranding ellipsis (VSE) pattern from Uyghur. We observe that while typically Uyghur VSE permits mismatches between the antecedent and stranded V, there is a surprising exception to this pattern. We show that in the presence of an AUX the main V cannot be elided, i.e. no AUX-stranding, but VSE is possible immediately below the main V. Interestingly, in these cases the stranded main V must match the antecedent V. We propose that this split regarding the possibility of mismatching Vs under VSE arises from two different types of head dependencies available in Uyghur: syntactic head-movement and post-syntactic head-amalgamation. We argue that, typically, Uyghur VSE results from syntactic V-movement. But under an AUX, V-movement fails and V is displaced *via* head-amalgamation. While both types of dependencies have been proposed to explain VSE in other languages (for V-movement: Russian (Gribanova 2013), Greek (Merchant 2018); for amalgamation: Uzbek (Gribanova 2020), Lithuanian (Portelance 2020)), Uyghur VSE presents a unique case where, in a single language, both types are observed.

Uyghur VSE. As (1,2) show, Uyghur allows VSE, where the V is stranded, and arguments and modifiers are elided. Standard tests indicate that Uyghur VSE is not due to a null object *pro* or argument ellipsis (Oku 1998, *i.a.*). Uyghur VSE allows for both strict/sloppy interpretation of elided objects (1), indicating that VSE is not due to a *pro* (which doesn't permit sloppy interpretations). Uyghur VSE also permits the elision of secondary predicates (2), indicating that VSE involves elision of an XP including the secondary predicate and is not argument ellipsis (which can only elide arguments).

- (1) Ayghül somkisini qachiladi, Tomur-mu Δ qachiladi
 Ayghül bag.3POSS.ACC pack.PST.3SG Tomur-also pack.PST.3SG
 'Ayghül_i packed her_i bag and Tomur_j did too (pack his_j bag/pack her_i bag)'
- (2) Mehmet mitalni urup tüzliwatti, Tomur-mu Δ tüzliwatti
 Mehmet metal.ACC hit.IP flatten.PROG.PST.3SG, Tomur-also flatten.PROG.PST.3SG
 'Mehmet flattened the metal by pounding and Tomur did too (by pounding).'

First, we show that the constructions under consideration involve V-movement outside of XP to be elided. Uyghur VSE allows for the antecedent and stranded V to be distinct (3).

- (3) Adil tünügün texseni üstelde **yu-ghan.** Ali bügün Δ **buz-iwat-idu**
 Adil yesterday dish.ACC table.LOC wash-PERF.PST Ali today break-PROG-NPST.3SG
 'Yesterday, Adil had washed the dish on the table. Today, Ali is smashing (t.d.o.t.t.)'

It has been observed that ellipsis obeys the following condition regarding the identity lexical items of the antecedent and elided elements: for any non-trace element within the ellipsis site, there must be a matching overt element in the antecedent (Chung 2006, *i.a.*). Thus, we interpret the availability of distinct Vs (i.e. (3)) as indicating that V moves outside the XP (leaving a trace) before XP is elided. We suggest the position V moves to is Asp. This is supported by the fact that Uyghur VSE permits mismatching aspectual morphology. As (3) shows, the antecedent V hosts PERF *-ghan*, while the stranded V hosts PROG *-iwat*. We take this to indicate that Asp is above the ellipsis site and that V raises there. As to which XP is elided, we argue that it is VoiceP. Evidence for this comes from the inability of mismatching voice morphology in Uyghur VSE, as in (4) (in the talk we show that Uyghur permits VSE under passives, crucially, when the antecedent V is also passivized).

- (4) *Mehmet Adilgha kitap berdi, lëkim xet Δ ber-**il**-mi-di
 Mehmet Adil.DAT book give.PST.3SG but letter give-PASS-NEG-PST.3SG
 'Mehmet gave a book to Adil, but a letter wasn't (given to Adil by Mehmet)'

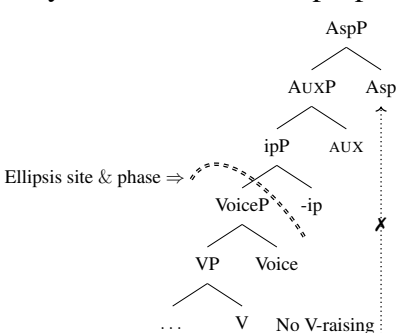
We interpret the matching requirement on voice morphology as indicating that VoiceP is the elided phrase, and, thus, must be identical with the VoiceP antecedent. We conclude that Uyghur VSE has the following structure: $[_{AspP} [_{VoiceP} [_{VP} t_i] \text{Voicee}]] Asp+V_i$].

The puzzle. While Uyghur generally allows different Vs under VSE, we observe a surprising exception to this pattern. As in (5), when an aspectual AUX is present, VSE is not possible immediately

below AUX, but is possible below the main V, which must be marked with the converbial affix *-ip* (6). Further, as in (7), such constructions do not permit different main Vs (but allow different AUXs (6)). Thus, with respect to the possibility of distinct main Vs, constructions such as (6) contrast with their AUX-less counterparts, i.e. (3), in this respect.

- (5) *Adil xet yez-ip qoydi, Ali-mu Δ turiwatidu
 Adil letter write-IP COMPL.AUX.PST.3SG, Ali-also AUX.CONT.PROG.NPST.3SG
 ‘Adil wrote a letter up and Ali keeps writing (a letter)’
- (6) Adil xet **yëzip** qoydi, Ali-mu Δ **yëzip** turiwatidu
- (7) *Adil öyige xet **yëzip** turiwatidu, Ali Δ **qayturip**
 Adil home.3POSS.DAT letter write.IP AUX.CONT.PROG.NPST.3SG Ali return.IP
 turiwatidu
 AUX.CONT.NPST.3SG
 ‘Adil writes letters home and Ali returns (letters home)’

We propose that both the impossibility of stranding just the AUX (5) and the obligatory matching of main Vs (7) results from to the obligatory presence of the converbial affix *-ip* and the position of phases in such constructions. Regarding the impossibility of AUX-stranding, we propose that *-ip* heads a phrase immediately above VoiceP (Sugar 2019). Further, we adopt Bošković’s (2014) proposals that only phases and phase complements may be elided, and that while VoiceP may be a phase, AUXP is not (we suggest that AUX is merged just below AspP). Thus, we propose that since *-ip* is neither a phase nor a phase complement, elision of *ipP* is impossible, and, thus, no AUX-stranding. Regarding the obligatory presence of a matching main Vs in such constructions, we propose that this results from the presence of *-ip* as well. We propose that under an AUX, V-to-Asp raising is blocked. But since *-ip* still requires a verbal host, we propose that post-syntactic head-amalgamation (E&N 2001, H&G 2019) of V with *-ip* occurs (we adopt H&G’s (2019) proposal that morphology-driven head displacement occurs post-syntactically). Thus, when ellipsis occurs, VoiceP is elided but V+*ip* is pronounced (9). What forces verbal identity is that since amalgamation is post-syntactic (and, therefore, does not leave a trace in the syntax (H&G 2019)), V does not leave a trace in VoiceP, and, thus, identity is enforced for the purposes of ellipsis (since syntactically V remains *in situ*).

- (8) 
- (9) *PF: morphological amalgamation, then elision*
 [AspP [AuxP [ipP [voiceP [vp yëz] ∅] yëz+ip] tur] ...]

Concl. In this talk, we present a novel VSE pattern observed in Uyghur, where mismatching main Vs are typically permitted but not in the presence of an AUX. We proposed that this pattern can be explained in terms of Uyghur VSE arising from two distinct types of head dependencies: syntactic V-to-Asp movement and post-syntactic amalgamation. While both types of head dependencies have been proposed to explain VSE, Uyghur provides evidence that within a single language VSE can arise from both types.

Sel Ref. Bošković, Ž. (2014) *LI* 45(1); Chung, S. (2006) *Proc. of Berkeley* 31; Embick, D. & Noyer, R. (2001) *LI* 32(4); Harizanov, B. & Gribanova, V. (2019) *NLLT* 37(2); Oku, S. (1998) PhD Thesis, UConn; Sugar, A. (2019) PhD Thesis, U Wash.