

Against evacuation movement in NP-ellipsis

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Topic and claims

- ellipsis is generally thought to target XPs
- whenever a subconstituent of XP survives XP-deletion, **evacuation movement** is postulated

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- we provide evidence from NP-ellipsis against evacuation movement:
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 - ▶ it is incompatible with genitive remnants of NP-ellipsis in German, which cannot undergo the movement required to escape ellipsis

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Alternative analysis

XPs can survive ellipsis without evacuation movement when they are contrastive/focused (cf. Stigliano 2022)

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Logic of Evacuation Movement

- consider ellipsis in the nominal domain:
- constituents of NP can survive "NP"-ellipsis

- (1) a. I like these books about Chomsky and you like those [_{NP} ~~books about Chomsky~~].
- b. I like these books about Chomsky and you like those ~~books~~ **about Churchill**.

Logic of Evacuation Movement

- consider ellipsis in the nominal domain:
- constituents of NP can survive "NP"-ellipsis

- (1) a. I like these books about Chomsky and you like those [_{NP} ~~books about Chomsky~~].
- b. I like these books about Chomsky and you like those ~~books~~ **about Churchill**.

- typical account: examples like (1b) are derived by NP ellipsis, just like (1a), with the PP **evacuating the NP prior to deletion**

- (2) ... and you those [_{NP} [_{NP} ~~books~~ PP] [_{PP} about Churchill]]

Advantages of Evacuation Movement

- advantage 1: no non-constituent deletion needed
 - advantage 2: explains why omission of the preposition is impossible if movement is rightward:
- (3) a. *I like these books about Chomsky and you like those ~~books about t~~ **Churchill**.
- b. *John read Bill's book of music and Mary's ~~book of t~~ poems.

No P-omission under Evacuation Movement

- because rightward movement, including extraposition but also reordering in DP, **requires pied-piping**

- (4) a. I read those books __ yesterday [_{PP} about your favorite actor]
- b. *I read those books [_{PP} about __] yesterday [_{DP} your favorite actor]
- (5) a. [Those books by John about Chomsky] impress me.
- b. [Those books __ about Chomsky [by John]] impress me.
- c. *[Those books by __ about Chomsky [John]] impress me.

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Subextraction from PP-remnants

- Saab (2019): possible to extract from PP-remnants of NP-ellipsis:

(6) I know who you bought two pictures of, but I don't know *who*₁ you bought three [_{NP} pictures of ___₁]

Position of PP-remnants

- PP-remnants can be shown to be DP-internal as they front together with other parts of DP:

(7) I like these books about Chomsky, but [those books **about Churchill**], I really dislike.

- 2 possibilities for evacuation movement within DP:
 - ▶ leftward movement
 - ▶ rightward movement

Putative evacuation movement

- Saab (2019) suggests **leftward** evacuation movement, but implausible given that PPs cannot occur pre-nominally (outside of ellipsis):

- (8) a. *I like these two [about Churchill]₁ [NPbooks ___₁]
 b. *I like these two [about Churchill]₁ [NPbooks ₁]

Putative evacuation movement

- Saab (2019) suggests **leftward** evacuation movement, but implausible given that PPs cannot occur pre-nominally (outside of ellipsis):

- (8) a. *I like these two [about Churchill]₁ [NP books ___₁]
 b. *I like these two [about Churchill]₁ [NP ~~books~~ ___₁]

- An alternative is evacuation movement **to the right**, leading to adjunction to NP/NumP, see Yoshida et al. (2012)

(9) I like these two [NP [NP ~~books~~ ___₁] [about Churchill]₁]

- advantage: DP-internal modifiers can independently reorder to some extent:

Reordering within DPs

- with certain nouns, reordering of NP-modifiers is possible, though marked

(10) a. a letter from John to Mary

b. a letter ___₁ to Mary [from John]₁

(11) a. a book about linguistics from the 19th century

b. a book ___₁ from the 19th century [about linguistics]₁

Reordering within DPs II

- while extraction from base order is possible (12), extraction from reordered structure is degraded (13):

(12) a. Who₁ did you see a letter from __₁ to Mary?

b. Who₁ do you like books about __₁ from the 20th century?

(13) a.??Who₂ did you see a letter __₁ to Mary [from __₂]₁

b.??Who₂ did you like books __₁ from the 20th century [about __₂]₁?

- unsurprising given the CED/the freezing principle

Consequences for evacuation movement

- however, examples like (14) (repeated from above) would require exactly this kind of derivation

(14) I know who you bought two pictures of, but I don't know
*who*₂ you bought [three [pictures ___₁] [*of* ___₂]₁]

- the grammaticality of (14) is completely unexpected under evacuation movement as it should violate the CED/the freezing principle

Consequences for evacuation movement 2

- making matters worse, the example in (14) is based on *of*-PPs
- *of*-PPs are known to be less mobile than other PPs, see Takami (1992, 53)

(15) a. students of physics with long hair
 b. *students ___₁ with long hair [of physics]₁

(16) a. a review of a book on the desk
 b. *a review ___₁ on the desk [of a book]₁.

→ With *of*-PPs, the putative source structure underlying subextraction is ungrammatical.

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Extraction of genitives

- DP-internal genitives cannot be extracted from DP, see Lindauer (1995, 118), Müller (1995, 46)
- the ban on extraction also holds if the DP is indefinite and extraction takes place from a postnominal position

(17) a. Ich habe [geheime Berichte des Professors] gelesen
 I have secret reports the.GEN professor.GEN read

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- (17) a. Ich habe [geheime Berichte des Professors] gelesen
 I have secret reports the.GEN professor.GEN read
- b. *[Des Professors]₁ habe ich [geheime Berichte ___₁] gelesen.
 the.GEN professor.GEN have I secret reports read
- c. *Ich habe [geheime Berichte ___₁] gelesen [des Professors]₁
 I have secret reports read the.GEN professor.GEN

Reordering: genitives

- crucially, genitives also cannot be reordered within NP by right-adjoining them:

- (18) a. Die Angst der Erstklässler vor Monstern
 the fear the.GEN first.graders of monsters
 'the first graders' fear of monsters'
- b. *Die Angst ___₁ vor Monstern [der Erstklässler]₁
 the fear of monsters the.GEN first.graders

DP-internal genitives under NP-ellipsis

- crucially: genitives can survive NP-ellipsis where both N and the PP-complement are deleted (and recovered):

(19) Die Angst der Erstklässler vor Monstern ist gross, aber [die Angst der Zweitklässler vor Monstern] ist viel größer

the fear the.GEN first graders of monsters is big, but that fear the.GEN second graders of monsters is much bigger

'The first graders' fear of monsters is big, but that of the second graders is much bigger.'

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 'The first graders' fear of monsters is big, but that of the second graders is much bigger.'

- (19) shows that genitive remnant is part of the DP (precedes verb in V2) → survival of NP-ellipsis is not due to extraction from DP
- ! (19) would thus require reordering/rightward movement within DP, which was shown to be impossible in (18):

(20) die [NP [NP Angst vor Monstern] [der Zweitklässler]₁]

Leftward movement?

- Leftward evacuation movement within DP is not an option either:

Leftward movement?

- Leftward evacuation movement within DP is not an option either:
- while genitives can occur in prenominal position, they can do so only if D is silent (irrespective of the position of D):

- (21) a. (*Die) Peters₁ / [der Erstklässler]₁
 the.NOM Peter.GEN the.GEN first.graders
 [NP Angst ___₁ vor Monstern]
 fear before monsters
- b. Peters₁ / [der Erstklässler]₁ (*die)
 Peter.GEN the.GEN first.graders the.NOM
 [NP Angst ___₁ vor Monstern]
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- b. Peters₁ / [der Erstklässler]₁ (*die)
 Peter.GEN the.GEN first.graders the.NOM
 [NP Angst ___₁ vor Monstern]
 fear before monsters

- but in the relevant ellipsis examples in (19)/(20), the determiner is overt

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Exceptional movement under ellipsis

- It is often claimed that ellipsis can allow certain otherwise illicit (viz., island-violating) movements

(Ross 1969, Chomsky 1972, Perlmutter 1971, Lasnik 2001, Merchant 2001, Mendes 2020, Mendes and Kandybowicz 2021, Drummond 2021, ...)

- (22) She kissed a man [_{island} who bit one of my friends], but ...
- ... *Tom doesn't realize *which one of my friends*₁ she kissed a man [_{island} who bit __₁]
 - ... Tom doesn't realize *which one of my friends*₁ she kissed a man [~~_{island} who bit __₁~~]

Islandhood is not at stake

- PP complements can move rightwards, in contrast with genitive complements

(23) a. Die Angst der Erstklässler vor Monstern
 the fear the.GEN first.graders of monsters
 'the first graders' fear of monsters'

b. *Die Angst __₁ vor Monstern [_{DP} der Erstklässler]₁
 the fear of monsters the.GEN first.graders

(24) a. die Angst von Erstklässlern vor Monstern
 the fear of first.graders before monsters

b. ?die Angst __₁ vor Monstern [_{PP} von Erstklässlern]₁
 the fear before monsters of first.graders
 'the first graders' fear of monsters'

→ the logic of salvation by deletion cannot be used here to motivate exceptional movement since the movement as such is possible

Islandhood is not at stake

- Also, genitive complements can move to left, but only **in the absence** of an overt determiner:

(25) (*Die) **Peters**₁ (*die) Angst ₁ vor Monstern
 the.NOM Peter.GEN the.NOM fear before monsters

Islandhood is not at stake

- Also, genitive complements can move to left, but only **in the absence** of an overt determiner:

(25) (*Die) **Peters**₁ (*die) Angst ₁ vor Monstern
 the.NOM Peter.GEN the.NOM fear before monsters

- crucially, the genitive can survive ellipsis **in the presence** of the determiner, suggesting it hasn't moved to the left:

(26) Die Angst der Erstklässler vor Monstern ist größer
 the fear the.GEN first graders of monsters is bigger
 als **die** Angst der Zweitklässler vor Monstern.
 than that fear the.GEN second graders of monsters
 'The first graders' fear of monsters is bigger than that of the
 second graders.'

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Ellipsis and focus in the nominal domain

- as in much of the literature, we assume that the entire NP is marked for ellipsis
 - but we make the claim that focus-marked constituents can in fact be retained (Hirai 2018, Stigliano 2022)
- Result: Evacuation movement is not necessary.

Ellipsis and focus in the nominal domain

- (27) a. $[_{DP} D [_{NP} \cancel{N} XP_F]]$
 b. $[_{DP} D [_{NP} N_F \cancel{XP}]]$

- The idea that portions of constituents marked for ellipsis can actually survive ellipsis has been around for a long time (though often frowned upon)

(e.g. Morgan 1973, Hankamer 1979, Kimura 2010, Abe 2015, Ott and Struckmeier 2018, Griffiths 2019, Stigliano 2022)

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One possible implementation

- for instance, ellipsis can be seen as an instruction to forgo vocabulary insertion targeting head by head within the ellipsis domain (Wasow 1972, Bartos 2000, Saab 2008, ...)
- Crucially, this instruction is bleeded by a focus feature

Ellipsis of N

(28) Die Angst der Erstklässler ist größer als [DP die [NP
 the fear the.GEN first.graders is bigger than that
 Angst der Zweitklässler]].
 fear the.GEN second.graders
 'The first graders' fear is bigger than that of the second
 graders.'

(29) [DP D $\underbrace{[NP \text{N GenP}_{[F]}]}$]
 domain of ellipsis

Ellipsis of post-nominal modifiers

(30) Im Flugzeug habe ich einen Artikel über Churchill
 In.the plane have I an article about Churchill
 gelesen und du [DP einen [NP Roman [~~PP über Churchill~~]].
 read and you a novel about Churchill
 ‘On the plane I read an article about Churchill and you a
 novel (about Churchill)’

(31) [DP D $\underbrace{[NP N_{[F]} \text{ GenP}]}$]
 domain of ellipsis

Conclusion

- We have provided two arguments against evacuation movement in NP-ellipsis based on
 - ▶ extraction from PP-remnants of ellipsis: evacuation movement would predict freezing effects
 - ▶ ellipsis surviving genitives in German: genitives cannot undergo the type of movement necessary to escape NP-ellipsis

Conclusion

- We have provided two arguments against evacuation movement in NP-ellipsis based on
 - ▶ extraction from PP-remnants of ellipsis: evacuation movement would predict freezing effects
 - ▶ ellipsis surviving genitives in German: genitives cannot undergo the type of movement necessary to escape NP-ellipsis

Proposal

- we adhere to NP-ellipsis as involving deletion of a maximal projection, viz., nP
- material within nP can survive ellipsis if it is contrastive/focus-marked

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Ellipsis of pre-nominal modifiers

- (32) *Ich habe das schönste Auto und du [DP das [NP schönste [NP Motorrad]]].
 I have the prettiest car and you the prettiest motorbike
 'I have the prettiest car and you the motor bike.'

- (33) * $[DP^D [Q] [NP^{AP} [Q]] \underbrace{[NP^N [F,Q] PP [F,Q]]}_{\text{domain of ellipsis}}]]$

- The prenominal modifier is typically not properly included in the domain of ellipsis (though there are complications here)
- (possessors are no longer an issue as they are outside of NP)

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Survival and constituency

(34)*I like these books about Chomsky and you like those books
about ~~t~~ **Churchill**.

Survival and constituency

(34)*I like these books about Chomsky and you like those books
about ~~t~~ **Churchill**.

- The current approach has little to say about the fact that the preposition must also survive deletion even though
 - ▶ it is not contrastive and
 - ▶ should be recoverable from the antecedent

Survival and constituency 2

- issue is more general: also affects Ds in German genitival DPs or parts of surviving RCs that are non-contrastive and should be recoverable from the antecedent

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(35) .. als die Angst [*der Zweitklässler]
 than that fear the.GEN second.graders

Survival and constituency 2

- issue is more general: also affects Ds in German genitival DPs or parts of surviving RCs that are non-contrastive and should be recoverable from the antecedent

(35) .. als die Angst [*der Zweitklässler]
 than that fear the.GEN second graders

(36) Ich habe zwei Bücher, die im Mittelalter spielen, und
 I have two books which in.the Middle.Age play and
 du hast drei Bücher, [*die in der Antike *spielen].
 you have three books which in the antiquity play
 'I have two books that are situated in the Middle Ages, and
 you have three that are situated in antiquity.'

Survival and constituency 3

- pre-nominal modifiers can actually be elided, as long as other NP internal material also is.
- the present analysis doesn't capture this fact

(37) Ich habe zwei neue Bücher über Chomsky gelesen und
 I have two new books about Chomsky read and
 du drei ~~neue Bücher über Chomsky~~
 you three **new** books about Chomsky
 'I read two new books about Chomsky and you read three.'

Licensing of NP-ellipsis

- another advantage of the present account is that ellipsis licensing is always by D and targets D's complement, even in cases where it seems that the complement of a lower head, viz., Num or A, is deleted:

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- (38) a. I read two books about Chomsky and you three ~~books about Chomsky~~
- b. Ich kaufte die gelbe Tasche und du kauftest
 I bought.1sg the yellow bag and you bought.2sg
 die grüne Tasche
 the green bag
 'I bought the yellow bag and you bought the green (one).'

Licensing of NP-ellipsis 2

- the fact that numerals and adjectives survive can be related to their contrastivity, which prevents them from being deleted

Licensing of NP-ellipsis 2

- the fact that numerals and adjectives survive can be related to their contrastivity, which prevents them from being deleted
- the fact that there is no NP ellipsis after adjectives in English will have to be related to other factors (e.g., realization of some morphology necessary, which triggers *one*-insertion)

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Subextraction from PP-remnants

- Once we combine PP-subextraction with visible extraposition, the result is ungrammatical:

- (39) a. I know who you bought two pictures of today, but I don't know
 who₁ you bought three pictures **of** ___₁ yesterday.
- b. *I know who you bought two pictures of today, but I don't know who₂ you bought three pictures ___₁ yesterday [**of** ___₂]₁.

Alternative 1: NP-modifiers = adjuncts

- It is frequently argued that PP-modifiers within NP are adjuncts (to NP/nP), cf. Donati and Cecchetto (2011), Bruening and Al Khalaf (2019)
 - ! this would render evacuation movement unnecessary

Alternative 1: NP-modifiers = adjuncts 2

- possible counterarguments

- ▶ given the CED, one would expect subextraction to be generally blocked if they were adjuncts
- ▶ one would expect *about/of*-PPs to behave like bona fide adjuncts within DP, but they behave differently w.r.t. pied-piping extraction, see Bošković (2016, 23), (40), and subextraction, see Takami (1992, 56f.), (41):

(40) a. [About which city]₁ did Peter read [books ___₁]?

b. *[From which city]₁ did Peter meet [girls ___₁]?

(41) a. *Who₁ does Phineas know [a girl [behind ___₁]]?

b. *[What color eyes]₁ did you meet [a man [with ___₁]]?

→ makes evacuation movement even less plausible

Alternative 2: PP-modifiers as vP-constituents 1

- it is sometimes disputed that the PPs under consideration are part of NP
- rather, they are treated as constituents of VP, resulting from some reanalysis process

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- it is sometimes disputed that the PPs under consideration are part of NP
- rather, they are treated as constituents of VP, resulting from some reanalysis process
- For some PP-modifiers, this may be correct given that (i) the noun can be omitted/(ii) can be replaced by a pronoun:

- (42) a. Who did he write his first book about?
b. He wrote **it** about Nixon.

→ in such cases, no subextraction would be necessary

Alternative 2: PP-modifiers as vP-constituents 2

- however, this does not solve the puzzle because
 - ▶ this kind of reanalysis is not possible in all cases, cf.

(43) a. He found *(a/the book) about Chomsky.
 b. *He found it about Chomsky
 - ▶ the PP fronts together with other parts of the noun phrase (recall from above):

(44) but [that book about John], I really dislike

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Agents/themes/possessors in the German DP 1

- agents, themes and possessors in the German DP can be realized as genitives or *von*-‘of’-PPs

(45) a. Marias Bericht
Mary’s report

b. ein Bericht der Maria
a report the.GEN Mary.GEN

c. ein Bericht von (der) Maria
a report of the Mary

- with proper names and kinship terms, an -s genitive is used, which, unlike in English, is limited to heads

Agents/themes/possessors in the German DP 2

- all can occur in postnominal position

(46) Die Entdeckung Amerikas / von Amerika / der
 the discover America.GEN / of America / the.GEN
 Langsamkeit
 slowness
 ‘the discovery of America/slowness’

Agents/themes/possessors in the German DP 3

- PP-arguments and phrasal genitives are marked prenominally, either colloquial/dialectal (PPs) or archaic (phrasal genitives)

- (47) a. von Hans die Frau
 of John the wife
 'John's wife'
- b. des Kaisers neue Kleider
 the.GEN emperor.GEN new clothes
 'the emperor's new clothes'

Agents/themes/possessors in the German DP 4

- they are usually thought to (optionally) undergo movement within DP, viz., from within NP to Spec,DP
- agents are projected above themes: minimality effects: only the agent can front, cf. Lindauer (1995)

- (48) a. Kolumbus' Entdeckung Amerikas
 Columbus' discovery America.GEN
- b. *Amerikas Entdeckung Kolumbus'
 America's discovery Columbus'

Extraction 1

- DP-internal genitives cannot be extracted from DP, see Lindauer (1995, 118), Müller (1995, 46)

(49) a. Ich habe [Caesars Eroberung von Gallien] gesehen.
I have Caesar.GEN conquest of Gaul seen
'I saw Caesar's conquest of Gaul.'

Extraction 1

- DP-internal genitives cannot be extracted from DP, see Lindauer (1995, 118), Müller (1995, 46)

- (49) a. Ich habe [Caesars Eroberung von Gallien] gesehen.
 I have Caesar.GEN conquest of Gaul seen
 'I saw Caesar's conquest of Gaul.'
- b. *Caesars₁ habe ich [₁ Eroberung von Gallien] gesehen.
 Ceasar.GEN have I conquest of Gaul seen
- c. *Ich habe [₁ Eroberung von Gallien] gesehen Caesars₁.
 I have conquest of Gaul seen Caesar.GEN

Extraction 1

- DP-internal genitives cannot be extracted from DP, see Lindauer (1995, 118), Müller (1995, 46)

- (49) a. Ich habe [Caesars Eroberung von Gallien] gesehen.
 I have Caesar.GEN conquest of Gaul seen
 'I saw Caesar's conquest of Gaul.'
- b. *Caesars₁ habe ich [₁ Eroberung von Gallien] gesehen.
 Ceasar.GEN have I conquest of Gaul seen
- c. *Ich habe [₁ Eroberung von Gallien] gesehen Caesars₁.
 I have conquest of Gaul seen Caesar.GEN

- confound: the DPs in the above examples are definite, extraction may be blocked for independent reasons

Extraction of PP-complements

- but *von*-‘of’-PPs bearing the same thematic role can be extracted

- (50) a. Ich habe [geheime Berichte von Peter gelesen]
 I have secret reports of Peter read
- b. [Von Peter]₁ habe ich [geheime Berichte ___₁] gelesen.
 of Peter have I secret reports read
- c. Ich habe [geheime Berichte ___₁] gelesen [von Peter]₁.
 I have secret reports read of Peter

→ the extraction restriction only affects genitives

Reordering 2: PPs

- reordering of PP-modifiers, however, is possible to some extent, and, in nominalizations, seems to be most acceptable if the preposition is identical to the one selected by the underlying predicate, cf. Lindauer (1995, 109-11)

- (51) a. die Angst von Erstklässlern vor Monstern
 the fear of first.graders before monsters
- b. ?die Angst ___₁ vor Monstern [von Erstklässlern]₁
 the fear before monsters of first.graders
 'the first graders' fear of monsters'

Relevance of surviving genitives

- DP-internal genitives are the most argument-like DP-internal constituents
- they must occur closer to the noun than 'about'-PPs

Relevance of surviving genitives

- DP-internal genitives are the most argument-like DP-internal constituents
- they must occur closer to the noun than ‘about’-PPs
- they are thus most likely to be generated within NP
- their survival under NP-ellipsis thus cannot be explained away by treating them as adjuncts to NP (like other NP-modifiers)

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Looking the other side of the coin

- We've been looking at elements that can survive NP-ellipsis,
- We will consider now elements that can be elided in the nominal domain
- **Hypothesis (to be considered and rejected): syntactic objects within the nominal domain can be independently elided**
- Looking at the data in this way will put us on the right track: *NP ellipsis exists, but it is more flexible than previously thought*

Ellipsis of N

- (52) Die Angst der Erstklässler ist größer als [DP die [NP
 the fear the.GEN first.graders is bigger than that
 Angst der Zweitklässler]].
 fear the.GEN second.graders
 'The first graders' fear is bigger than that of the second
 graders.'

Ellipsis of post-nominal modifiers

- (53) Im Flugzeug habe ich einen Artikel über Churchill gelesen und du [DP einen [NP Roman [~~PP über Churchill~~]].
 In.the plane have I an article about Churchill read and you a novel about Churchill
 'On the plane I read an article about Churchill and you a novel (about Churchill)'

Ellipsis of pre-nominal modifiers

- but deletion of individual constituents is not always possible, see prenominal adjectives and possessors (same with numerals):

- (54) *Ich habe das schönste Auto und du [DP das [NP schönste [NP Motorrad]]].
 I have the prettiest car and you the prettiest motorbike
 'I have the prettiest car and you the motor bike.'
- (55) *Ich schätze Peters Bücher und du schätzt Peters Bilder
 I appreciate Peter.GEN books and you appreciate Peter.GEN paintings
 'I appreciate Peter's books and you appreciate his paintings.'

Takeaways

Generalizations

1. nouns and post-nominal modifiers can be independently elided,
2. pre-nominal modifiers cannot be independently elided

Takeaways

Takeaways

1. ellipsis of postnominal modifiers is unlikely to be reduced to pragmatic recovery alone, otherwise the asymmetry between prenominal and postnominal modifiers is unexpected. In other words: *ellipsis is mediated by the grammar*.
2. Deletion of individual constituents is too powerful and hence must be constrained

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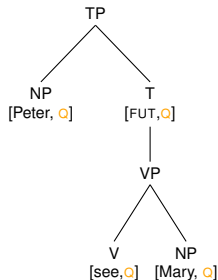
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Ellipsis in the grammar

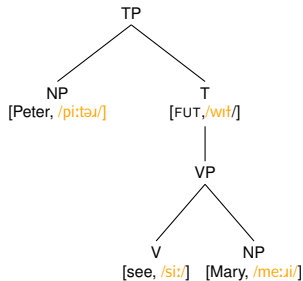
- Vocabulary insertion as Q-replacement (Halle 1991, Noyer 1992, Embick 2015)

(56) Peter will see Mary.



Ellipsis in the grammar

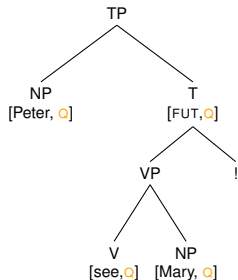
(57) Peter will see Mary.



Ellipsis in the grammar

- Ellipsis as Q-deletion (Saab 2022)

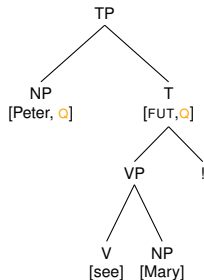
(58) A: Mary won't see Mary.
 B: Peter will.



Ellipsis in the grammar

- Ellipsis as Q-deletion (Saab 2022)

(59) A: Mary won't see Mary.
 B: Peter will.



Ellipsis in the grammar

- Ellipsis as Q-deletion (Saab 2022)

(60) A: Mary won't see Mary.
 B: Peter will.

