Ellipsis ≠ ellipsis

Evidence from exceptional inflection in German RNR

Johannes Hein

NELS 55, Yale University, 18 October 2024

University of Potsdam & Humboldt University of Berlin

Right Node Raising

(1) John likes, and Mary dislikes opera.

- Rightward ATB-movement (e.g. Ross 1967, Postal 1974, 1998, Grosu 1976, Abbott 1976, Sabbagh 2007)
- Phonological deletion (e.g. Wexler and Culicover 1980, Kayne 1994, Wilder 1997, Hartmann 2000, Ha 2008)
- Multidominance (e.g. McCawley 1982, Radford 1988, Moltmann 1992, Wilder 1999, Bachrach and Katzir 2009, Gračanin-Yuksek 2013)

$\Rightarrow$ RNR can have two distinct sources: ellipsis or multidominance (Barros and Vicente 2011, Belk et al. 2023; cf. Chaves 2014)

This talk

There is an alternation between presence and absence of a morphological reflex with nominal RNR in German

(2) a. … D ~~NP~~ & … D NP
b. … D-INFL ~~NP~~ & … D NP

- (2) looks like evidence for duality of RNR.
- But it is actually evidence for (at least) duality of ellipsis.

Ellipsis, inflection, and nominal RNR in German

NP ellipsis in German

In some cases, NP ellipsis in German gives rise to obligatory exceptional inflection (EI) on indefinite *ein, kein* and possessive determiners (e.g. *mein, dein, sein*) (Lobeck 1995, Wiltschko 1998, Roehrs 2006, Murphy 2018; for a similar phenomenon in Dutch, see Kester 1996*a*,*b*, Corver and van Koppen 2009, 2011).

(3) a. Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my problem and you solve your problem
'I solve my problem and you solve your problem.'

b. Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein-**s** ~~Problem~~.
I solve my problem and you solve your-EI
'I solve my problem and you solve yours.'

c. *Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein ~~Problem~~.
I solve my problem and you solve your
'I solve my problem and you solve yours.'

‘NP ellipsis’ in the first conjunct: RNR

We independently know that we can also not pronounce the NP in the first conjunct, i.e. create a right node raising structure (RNR).

(4) Ich löse ein altes ~~Problem~~ und du löst ein neues Problem.
I solve an old and you solve a new problem
‘I solve an old and you solve a new problem.’

A novel observation

(5) a. Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my problem and you solve your problem
'I solve my problem and you solve your problem.'

A novel observation

(5) a. Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my problem and you solve your problem
'I solve my problem and you solve your problem.'

b. Ich löse mein-**s** ~~Problem~~ und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my-EI and you solve your problem
'I solve my and you solve your problem.'

A novel observation

(5) a. Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my problem and you solve your problem
'I solve my problem and you solve your problem.'

b. Ich löse mein-**s** ~~Problem~~ und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my-EI and you solve your problem
'I solve my and you solve your problem.'

c. Ich löse mein ~~Problem~~ und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my and you solve your problem
'I solve my and you solve your problem.'

The pattern: [D(-EI) ~~NP~~] & [D*(-EI) ~~NP~~]

(6) *'Forward NPE'*

a. Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein-**s** ~~Problem~~.
I solve my problem and you solve your-EI
'I solve my problem and you solve yours.'

b. *Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein ~~Problem~~.
I solve my problem and you solve your
'I solve my problem and you solve yours.'

(7) *'Backward NPE'*

a. Ich löse mein-**s** ~~Problem~~ und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my-EI and you solve your problem
'I solve my and you solve your problem.'

b. Ich löse mein ~~Problem~~ und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my and you solve your problem
'I solve my and you solve your problem.'

What is this inflection?

It is the strong adjectival inflection that we usually find on the adjective.

(Schoorlemmer 2009, Murphy 2018)

(8) *Strong adjectival inflection*

	M	F	N	PL
NOM	**-er**	-e	**-es**	-e
ACC	-en	-e	**-es**	-e
DAT	-em	-er	-em	-er
GEN	-es	-er	-es	-er

(9) a. dein groß-**es** Haus
your big-S.INFL house
'your big house'

b. mein alt-**er** Hut
my old-S.INFL hat
'my old hat'

What is this inflection?

It is the strong adjectival inflection that we usually find on the adjective.

(Schoorlemmer 2009, Murphy 2018)

(8) *Strong adjectival inflection*

	M	F	N	PL
NOM	**-er**	-e	**-es**	-e
ACC	-en	-e	**-es**	-e
DAT	-em	-er	-em	-er
GEN	-es	-er	-es	-er

(9) a. dein groß-**es** Haus
your big-S.INFL house
'your big house'

b. mein alt-**er** Hut
my old-S.INFL hat
'my old hat'

In other cases, strong inflection appears on the determiner and weak inflection on the adjective.

(10) a. in sein-**em** groß-en Haus
in his-S.INFL big-W.INFL house
'in his big house'

b. auf ihr-**em** alt-en Hut
on her-S.INFL old-W.INFL hat
'on her old hat'

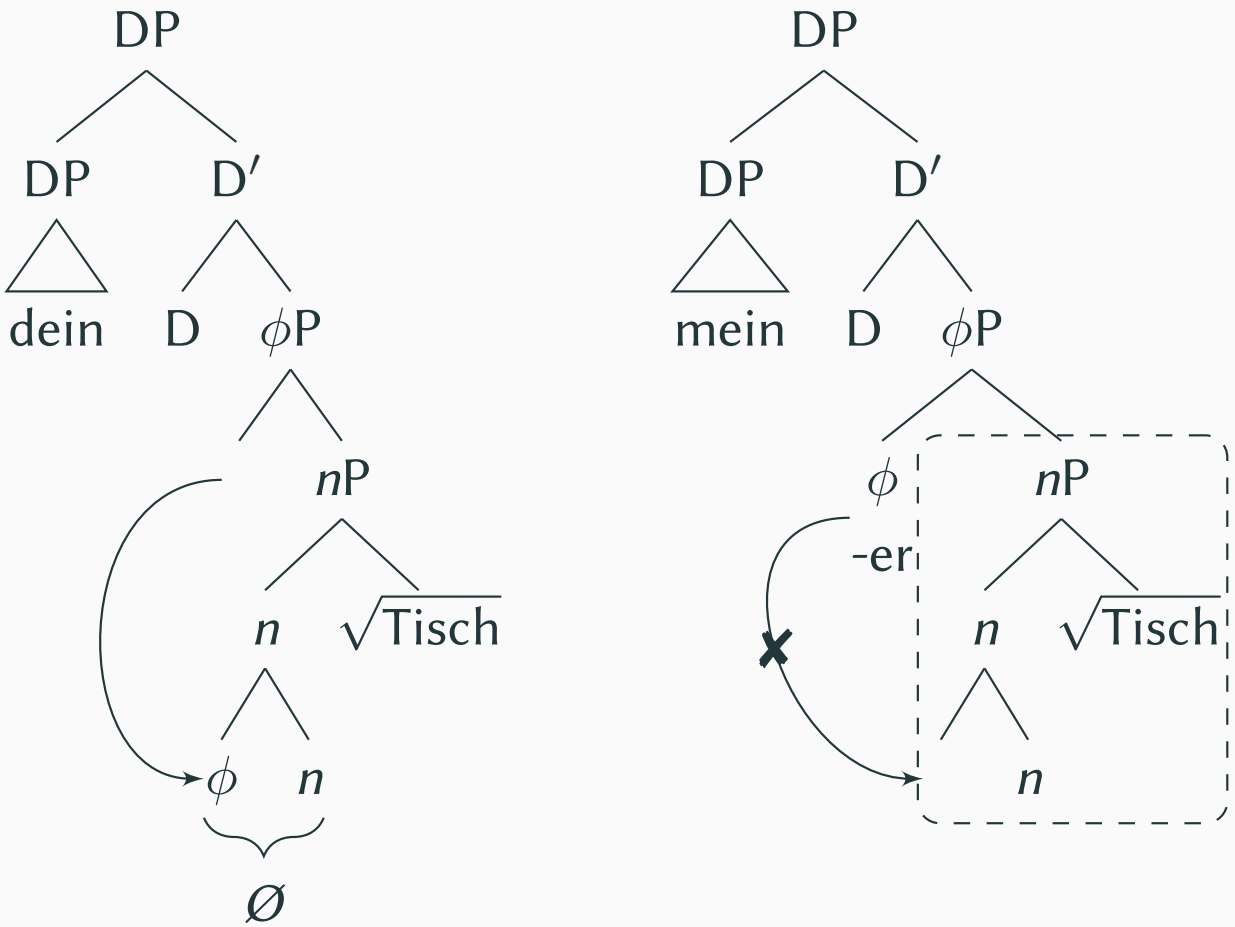
Exceptional inflection diagnoses ellipsis

- Lobeck (1995) takes these cases to be instances of NP ellipsis (see also Roehrs 2006, Lechner 2014, Leu 2015). She argues that they show that NP-ellipsis, treated by her as an empty category, i.e. *pro*, in contrast to overt pronouns like English *one* in the translations, is licensed only by strong inflection.
- In more recent approaches where ellipsis is simply the non-realization of syntactic structure (Merchant 2001), the exceptional occurrence of inflection has been treated as the result of ellipsis rather than its licensor (Saab and Lipták 2016, Murphy 2018).

EI as a consequence of NPE

(11) *NPE bleeds phi-lowering* (Murphy 2018: 356)

Das ist [$_{DP}$ dein Tisch] und das ist [$_{DP}$ mein-er ~~Tisch~~].
this is your table and this is my-EI
'This is your table and this is mine.'



Back to the pattern

If EI is a necessary consequence of NPE, then (13-b) cannot be ellipsis.

(12) *'Forward' NPE*

a. … [D NP] & … [D-**EI** ~~NP~~] ⇒ Ellipsis

b. *… [D NP] & … [D ~~NP~~] ⇒ Ellipsis

(13) *Nominal RNR*

a. … [D-**EI** ~~NP~~] & … [D NP] ⇒ Ellipsis

b. … [D ~~NP~~] & … [D NP] ⇒ ?

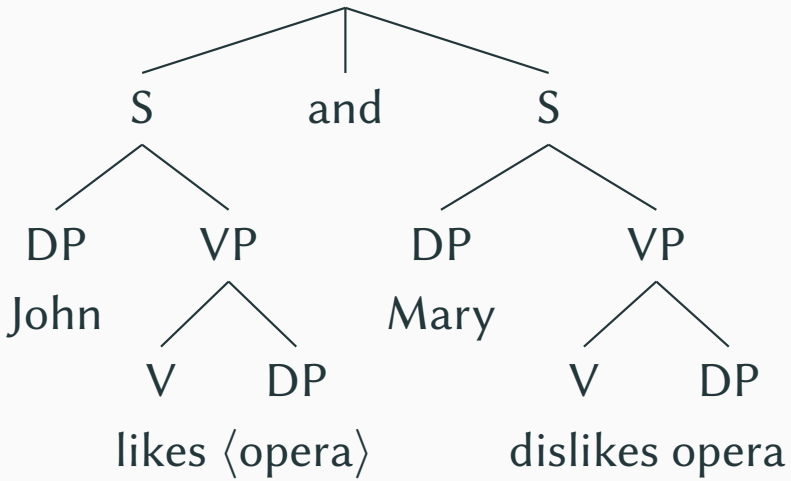
The duality of RNR

The duality of RNR

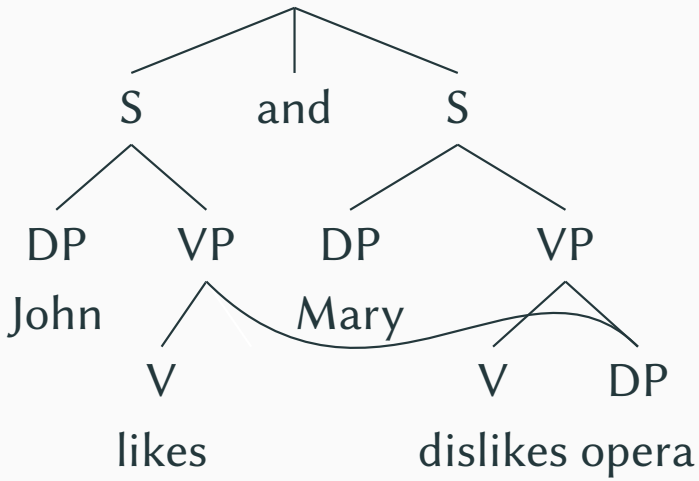
(14) John likes ~~opera~~ and Mary dislikes opera.

Barros and Vicente (2011) and Belk et al. (2023) have argued that RNR, such as (14), has two distinct sources:

(15) *Ellipsis (RNR-E)*



(16) *Multidominance (RNR-MD)*



RNR-E vs. RNR-MD: Morphological mismatches

(17) *Morphological mismatches in ellipsis* (Belk et al. 2023: 689)

a. Ava always succeeds in waking up early, but I usually fail to ⟨wake up early⟩.

b. I'm sure that Ava will pass her math exam, but I know that I didn't ⟨pass my math exam⟩.

(18) *Morphological mismatches in RNR* (Belk et al. 2023: 689)

a. I usually fail to ~~wake up early~~, but Ava succeeds in waking up early.

b. I know that I didn't ~~pass my math exam~~, but I'm sure that Ava will pass her math exam.

RNR-E vs. RNR-MD: Vehicle change

(19) *Vehicle change in ellipsis* (Belk et al. 2023: 690)
I fear that the boss will fire Ava_1, although she_1 hopes that he won't ⟨fire *Ava_1/her_1⟩.

(20) *Vehicle change in RNR* (Belk et al. 2023: 690)
She_1 hopes that he won't ~~fire *Ava_1/her_1~~, but I fear that the boss will fire Ava_1.

RNR-E vs. RNR-MD: Cumulative agreement

(21) *No cumulative agreement in ellipsis* (Belk et al. 2023: 690)
John has/*have traveled to Cameroon, and Ryo ⟨has traveled to Cameroon⟩, too.

(22) *Cumulative agreement in RNR* (Belk et al. 2023: 690)
Mary is proud that John —, and Alma is glad that Ryo, have traveled to Cameroon.

RNR-E vs. RNR-MD: Wide scope effects

(23) *No internal readings in ellipsis* (Belk et al. 2023: 690)
*Ava performed different$_{\text{INT}}$ songs, and Beatrix did ⟨perform different$_{\text{INT}}$ songs⟩, too.

(24) *Internal readings in RNR* (Belk et al. 2023: 690)
Ava composed —, and Beatrix performed, different$_{\text{INT}}$ songs.

Non-coordinate RNR is RNR-E (Belk et al. 2023)

(25) A man who likes ~~opera~~, met a woman who dislikes opera.

(26) *No wide-scope effects with non-coordinate RNR*
I gave a book about, to a die-hard fan of, two rather dull subjects.

a. 'I gave a book about two rather dull subjects to a die-hard fan of two rather dull subjects.'

b. *'I gave a book about one rather dull subject to a die-hard fan of another rather dull subject.'

(27) *No internal reading in non-coordinate RNR*
*I gave a book about, to a die-hard fan of, the same $_{\text{INT}}$ subject.

(28) *Morphological mismatches in non-coordinate RNR*
A man who is going to, married a woman who will soon be studying Niuean grammar.

(29) *Vehicle change in non-coordinate RNR*
[Ava is worried that a critical response to her work is in preparation]
A man who she$_1$ said is going to, met a woman who will soon study Ava$_1$'s paper on Niuean word order.

RNR-E vs. RNR-MD: Summary

(30) *Diagnostics for RNR-E vs. RNR-MD*

	RNR-E	RNR-MD
mismatches	✓	✘
non-coordinate RNR	✓	✘
sloppy readings.	✓	✘
vehicle change	✓	✘
cumulative agreement	✘	✓
wide-scope readings	✘	✓

Back to our pattern

If (32-b) cannot be RNR-E, perhaps it is RNR-MD (Adamson 2019: 167)

(31) *'Forward' NPE*

a.	… [D NP] & … [D-**EI** ~~NP~~]		Ellipsis
b.	*… [D NP] & … [D ~~NP~~]		Ellipsis

(32) *Nominal RNR*

a.	… [D-**EI** ~~NP~~] & … [D NP]		RNR-Ellipsis
b.	… [D ~~NP~~] & … [D NP]		RNR-Multidominance?

This would explain why we don't find it in forward NPE: There is no RNR in forward NPE.

RNR with EI is ellipsis

(33) *Morphological mismatches*

a. Ich höre auf mein-s ⟨Kind⟩ und du glaubst dein-em Kind.
I listen on my-ACC and you believe your-DAT child
'I listen to mine and you believe your child.'

b. Peter verdrängt sein-s ⟨schlechtes Gewissen⟩ und du
Peter suppresses his-ACC and you
entledigst dich deines schlechten Gewissens.
rid you your-GEN bad.GEN conscience.GEN
'Peter suppresses his but you rid yourself of your bad conscience.'

(34) *Non-coordinate RNR*

a. Wir müssen heute noch dein-s ⟨Namesschild⟩ durch mein
we must today still your-EI through my
Namensschild ersetzen.
name.tag replace
'We still need to exchange yours with my name tag.'

RNR without EI is also ellipsis

(35) *Morphological mismatches*

a. Ich höre auf [mein] ⟨Kind⟩ und du glaubst dein-em Kind.
I listen on my and you believe your-INFL child
'I listen to mine and you believe your child.'

b. Peter verdrängt [sein] ⟨schlechtes Gewissen⟩ und du
Peter suppresses his and you
entledigst dich deines schlechten Gewissens.
rid you your-GEN bad.GEN conscience.GEN
'Peter suppresses his but you rid yourself of your bad conscience.'

(36) *Non-coordinate RNR*

a. Wir müssen heute noch [dein] ⟨Namensschild⟩ durch mein
we must today still your through my
Namensschild ersetzen.
name.tag replace
'We still need to exchange yours with my name tag.'

Summary of diagnostics

(37) *Summary of diagnostics for German*

	infl.	uninfl.	RNR-E	RNR-MD
mismatches	✓	✓	✓	✘
sloppy readings	(✓/✘)	(✓/✘)	✓	✘
vehicle change	(✓/✘)	(✓/✘)	✓	✘
non-coordinate RNR	✓	✓	✓	✘
wide-scope readings	(✘)	(✘)	✘	✓

An analysis

Analysis: desiderata

(38) *'Forward' NPE*

a.	… [D NP] & …	[D-**EI** ⟨NP⟩]	Ellipsis
b.	*… [D NP] & …	[D ⟨NP⟩]	Ellipsis

(39) *Nominal RNR*

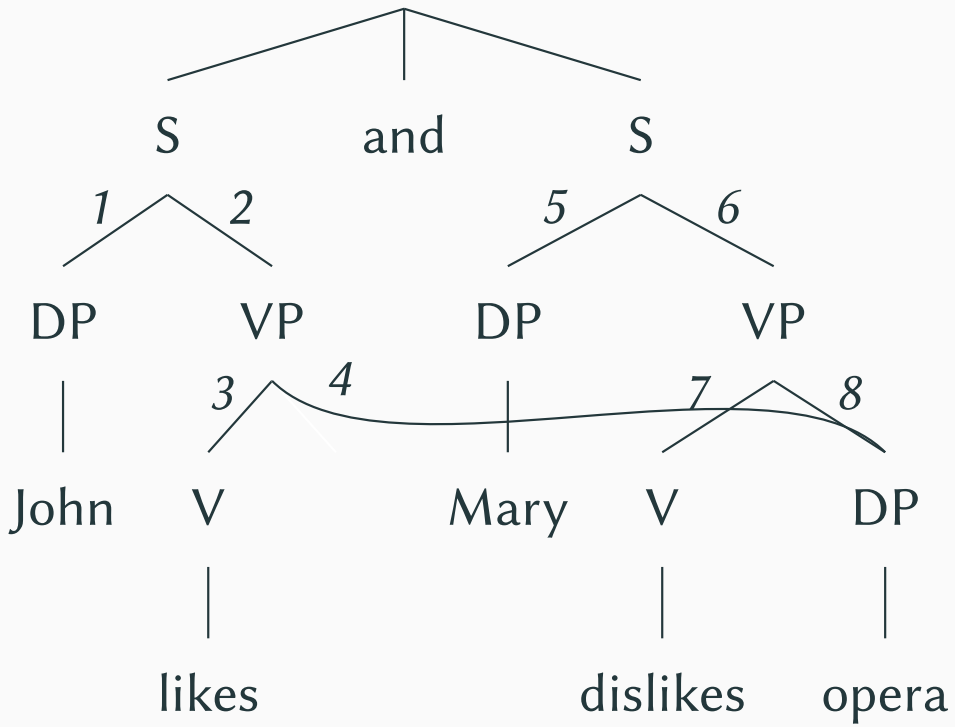
a.	… [D-**EI** ⟨NP⟩] & …	[D NP]	RNR-Ellipsis
b.	… [D ⟨NP⟩] & …	[D NP]	RNR-Ellipsis

What does the analysis have to capture?

- NPE gives rise to EI, and does so obligatorily.
- RNR gives rise to EI, but only optionally.
- Both RNR with and without EI is sensitive to diagnostics of ellipsis.

Duality of structure, unity of process (Belk et al. 2023)

RNR-MD creates a linearization problem due to the *No-Tangling Condition* (Partee et al. 1993: 437).



Duality of structure, unity of process (Belk et al. 2023)

Belk et al. (2023) suggest that a very restricted pruning operation (40) at PF resolves this issue by pruning branch 4 in (42).

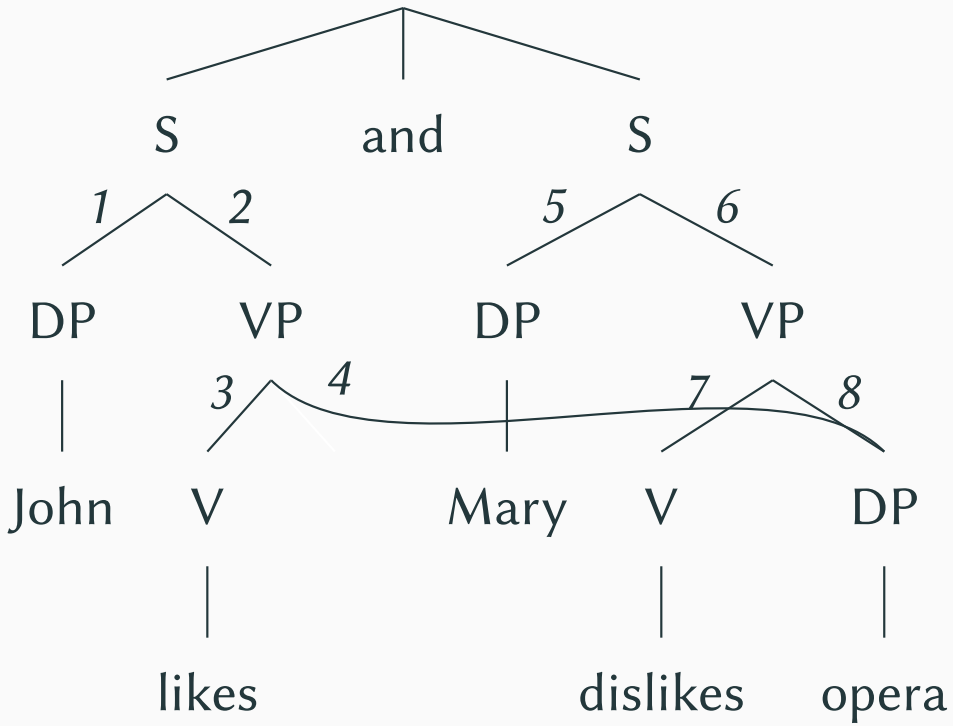
(40) *Pruning*
Let S_α and S_β be parallel structures. A branch α in S_α may be pruned if

a. S_α precedes S_β,
b. α corresponds to a branch β in S_β, and
c. β's yield satisfies the ordering statements that hold of α's yield in S_α.

(41) *Parallelism* (Hartmann 2000: 117)
A and B are parallel clauses iff $[\![A]\!]_o \in [\![B]\!]_f \wedge [\![B]\!]_o \in [\![A]\!]_f$.

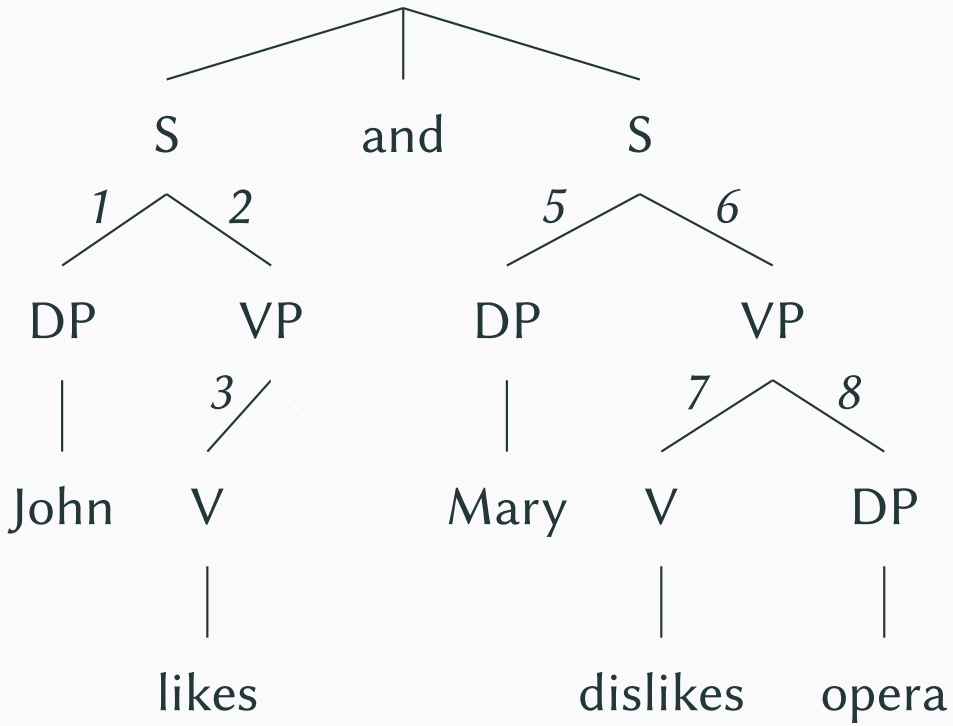
Deriving RNR-MD

(42) *RNR multidominance: Pruning of branch 4*



Deriving RNR-MD

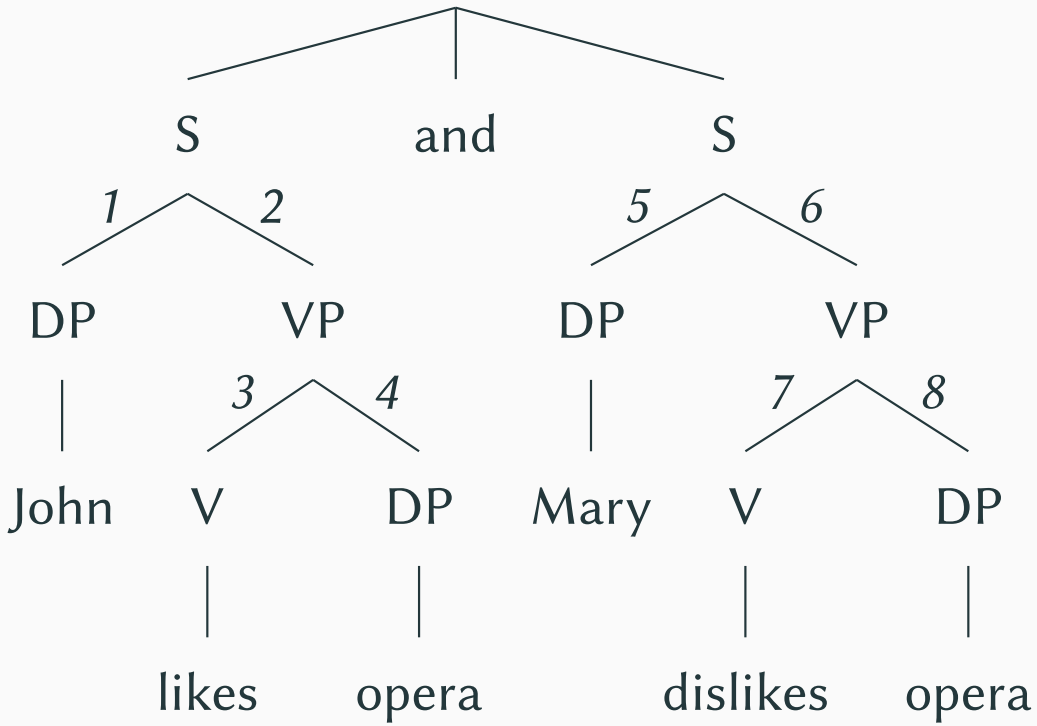
(42) *RNR multidominance: Pruning of branch 4*



Deriving RNR-E

Once adopted, Pruning permits a straightforward account of RNR-E.

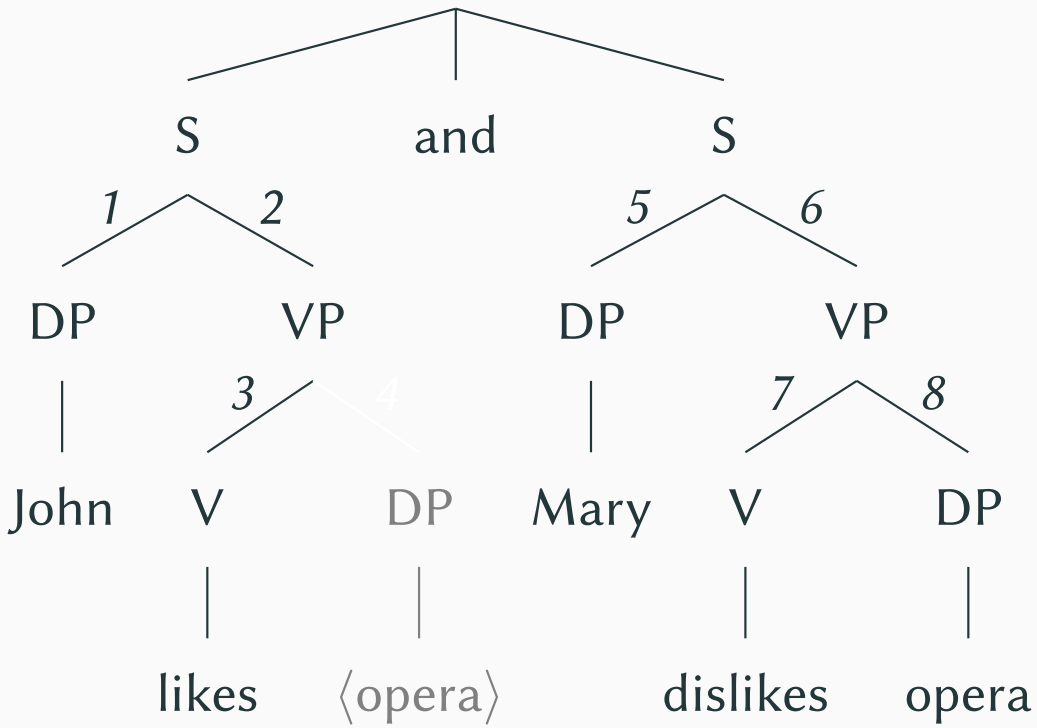
(43) *RNR ellipsis: Pruning of branch 4*



Deriving RNR-E

Once adopted, Pruning permits a straightforward account of RNR-E.

(43) *RNR ellipsis: Pruning of branch 4*



Analysis of German: Pruning of different-sized branches

(44) *Pruning*
Let S_α and S_β be parallel structures. A branch α in S_α may be pruned if

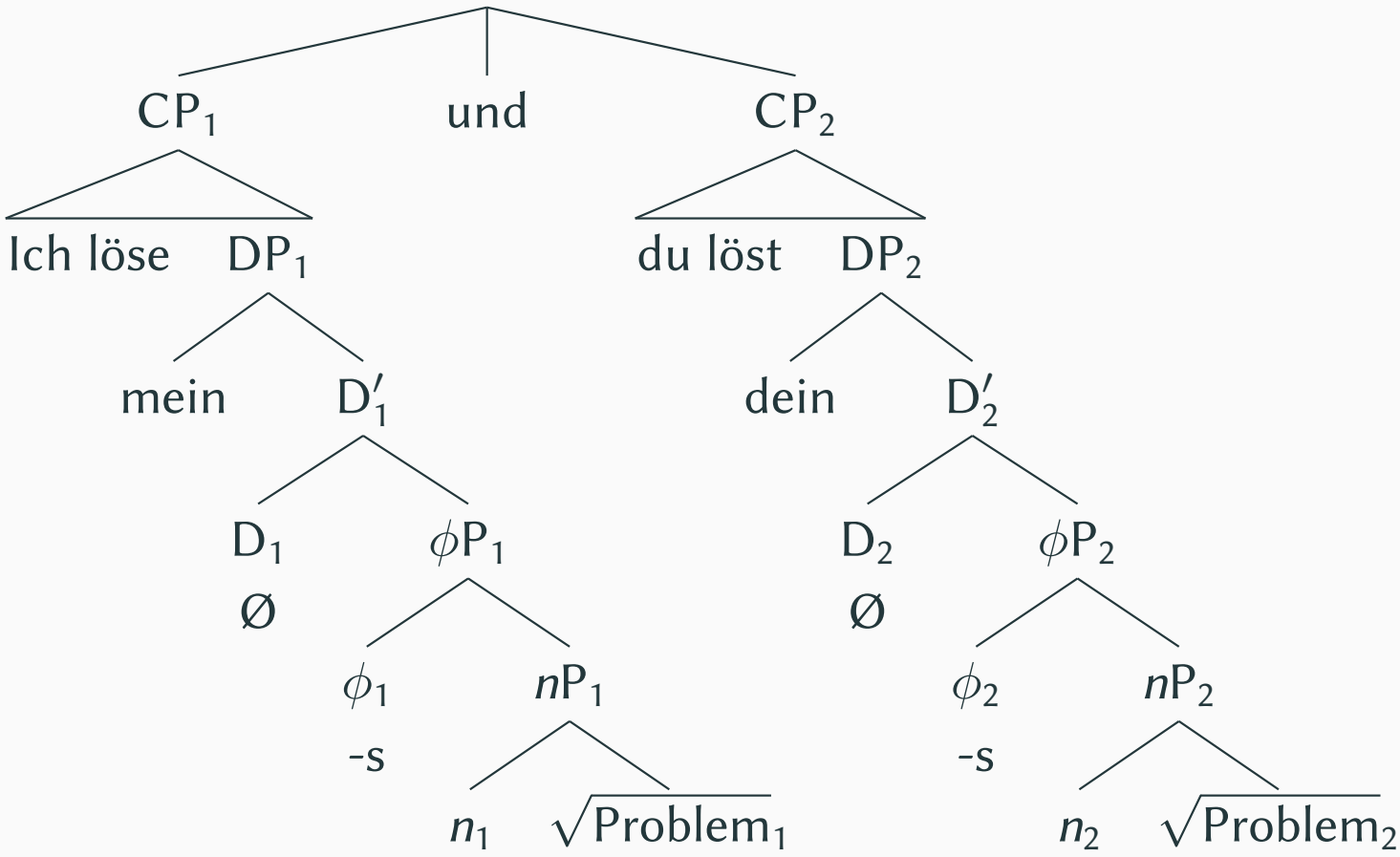
a. S_α precedes S_β,
b. α corresponds to a branch β in S_β, and
c. β's yield satisfies the ordering statements that hold of α's yield in S_α.

(45) *Parallelism* (Hartmann 2000: 117)
A and B are parallel clauses iff $[\![A]\!]_o \in [\![B]\!]_f \wedge [\![B]\!]_o \in [\![A]\!]_f$.

Pruning is free as to the size of the structure that it prunes, as long as (44) and (45) are met.

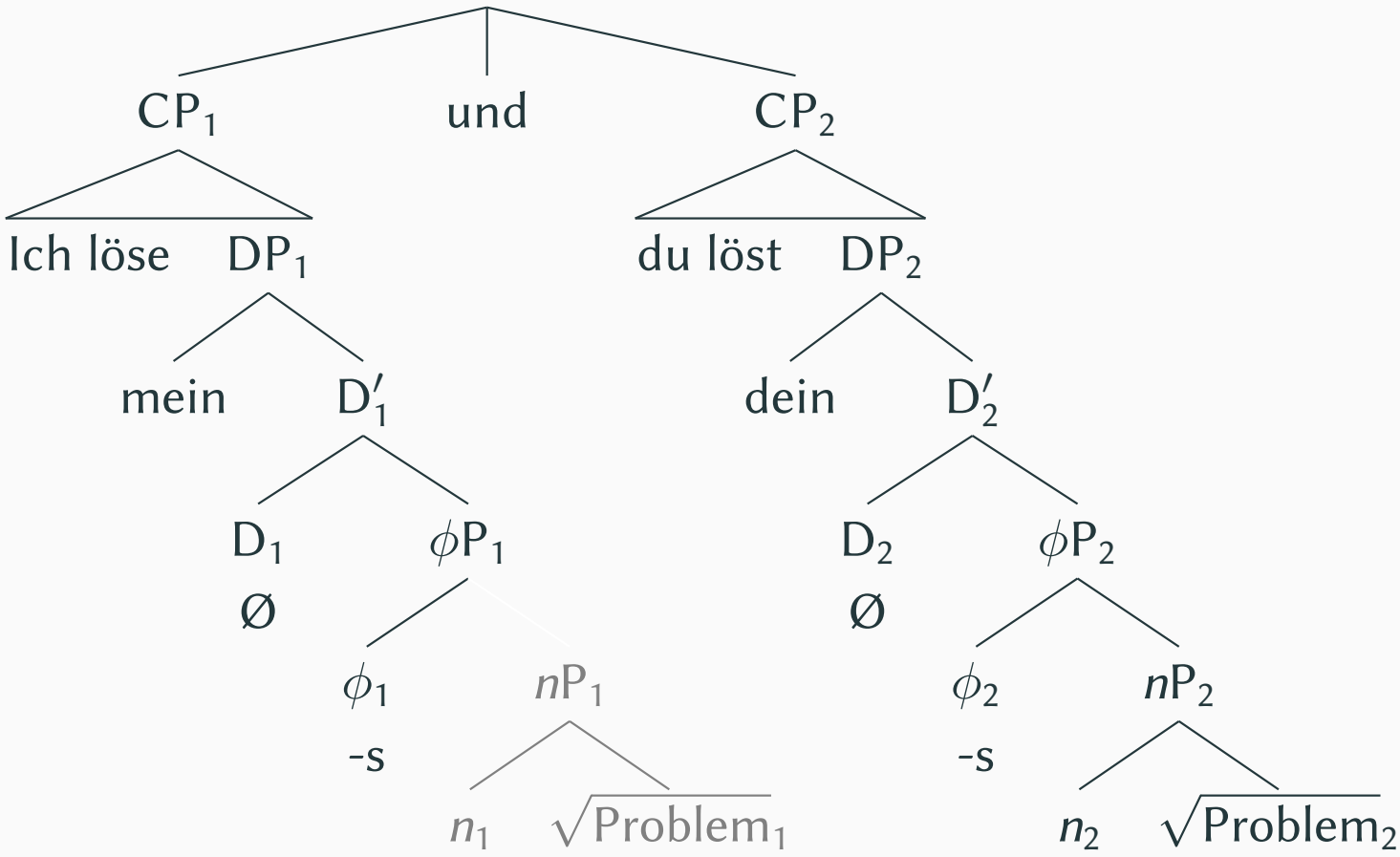
Analysis: Pruning of *n*P gives RNR with EI

(46) Ich löse mein-s ⟨Problem⟩ und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my-EI and you solve your problem
'I solve my and you solve your problem.'



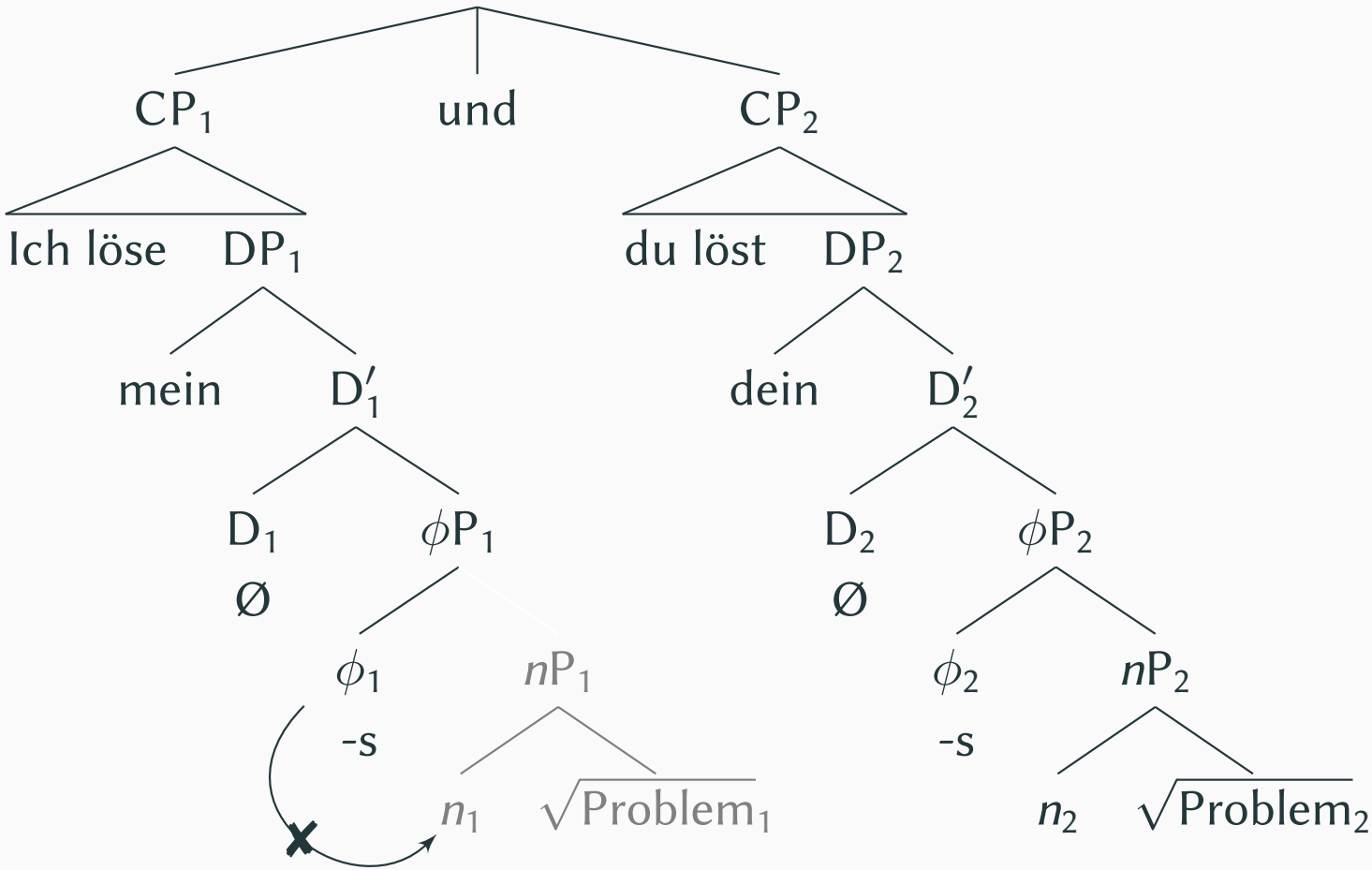
Analysis: Pruning of *n*P gives RNR with EI

(46) Ich löse mein-s ⟨Problem⟩ und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my-EI and you solve your problem
'I solve my and you solve your problem.'



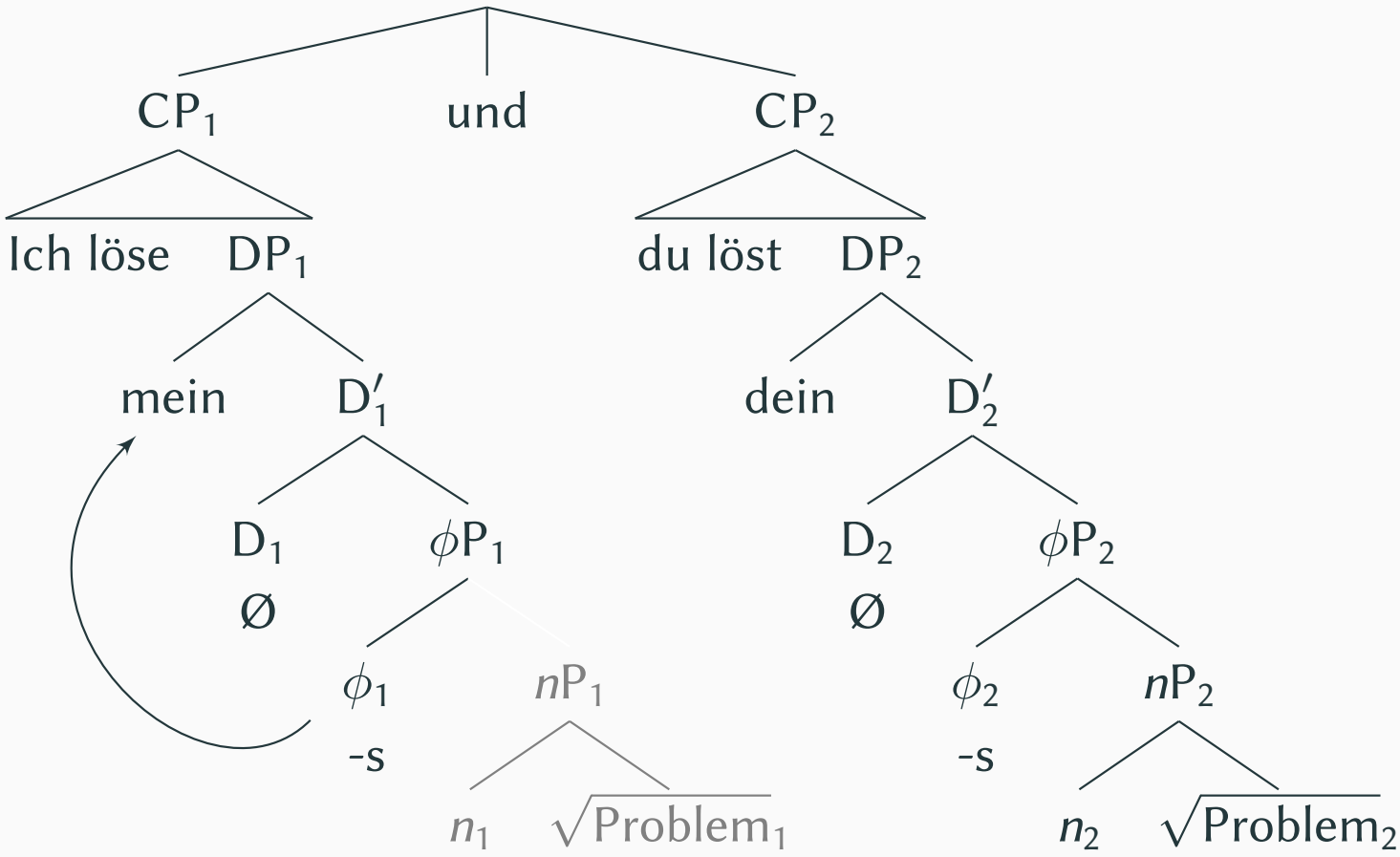
Analysis: Pruning of *n*P gives RNR with EI

(46) Ich löse mein-s ⟨Problem⟩ und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my-EI and you solve your problem
'I solve my and you solve your problem.'



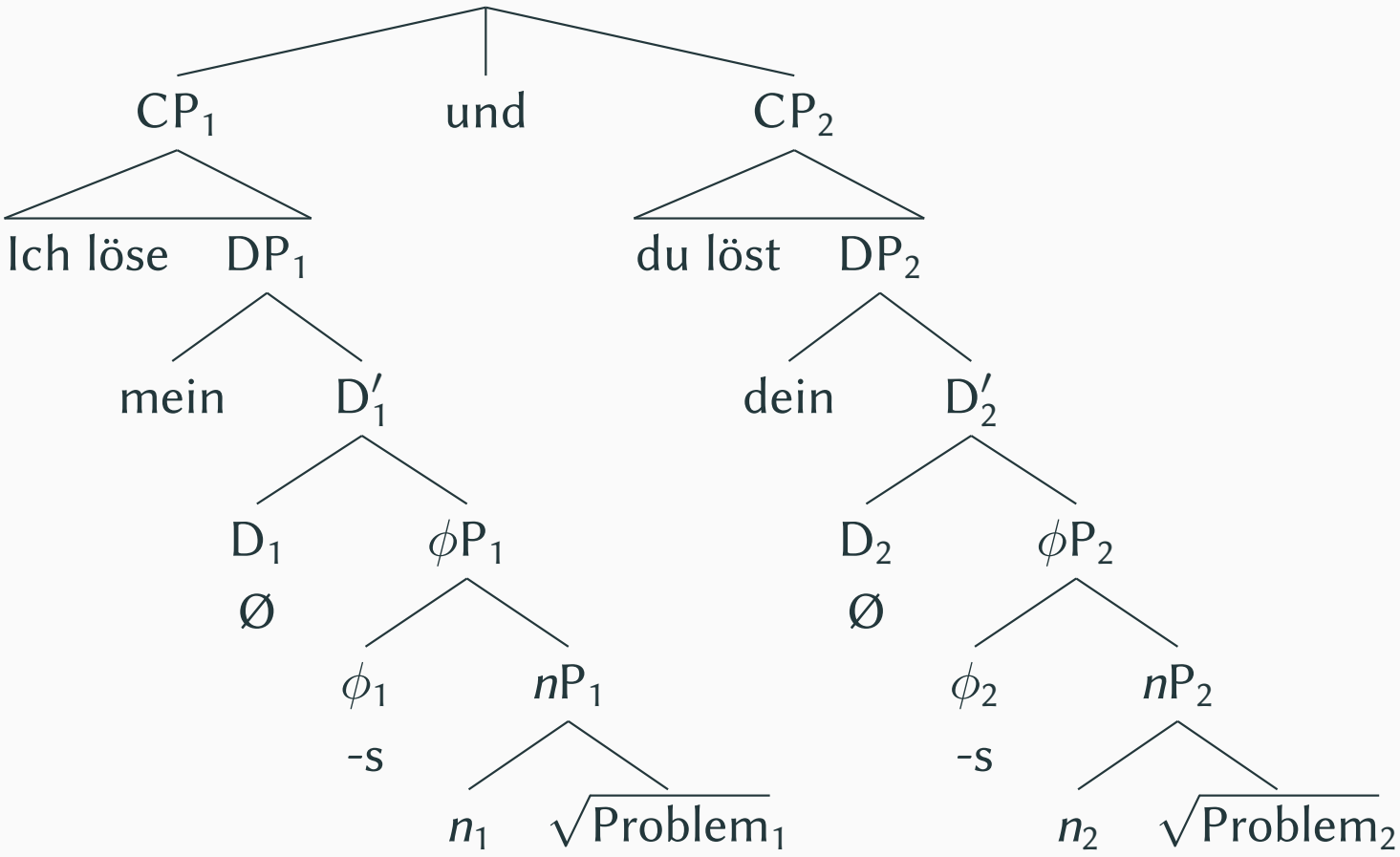
Analysis: Pruning of *n*P gives RNR with EI

(46) Ich löse mein-s ⟨Problem⟩ und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my-EI and you solve your problem
'I solve my and you solve your problem.'



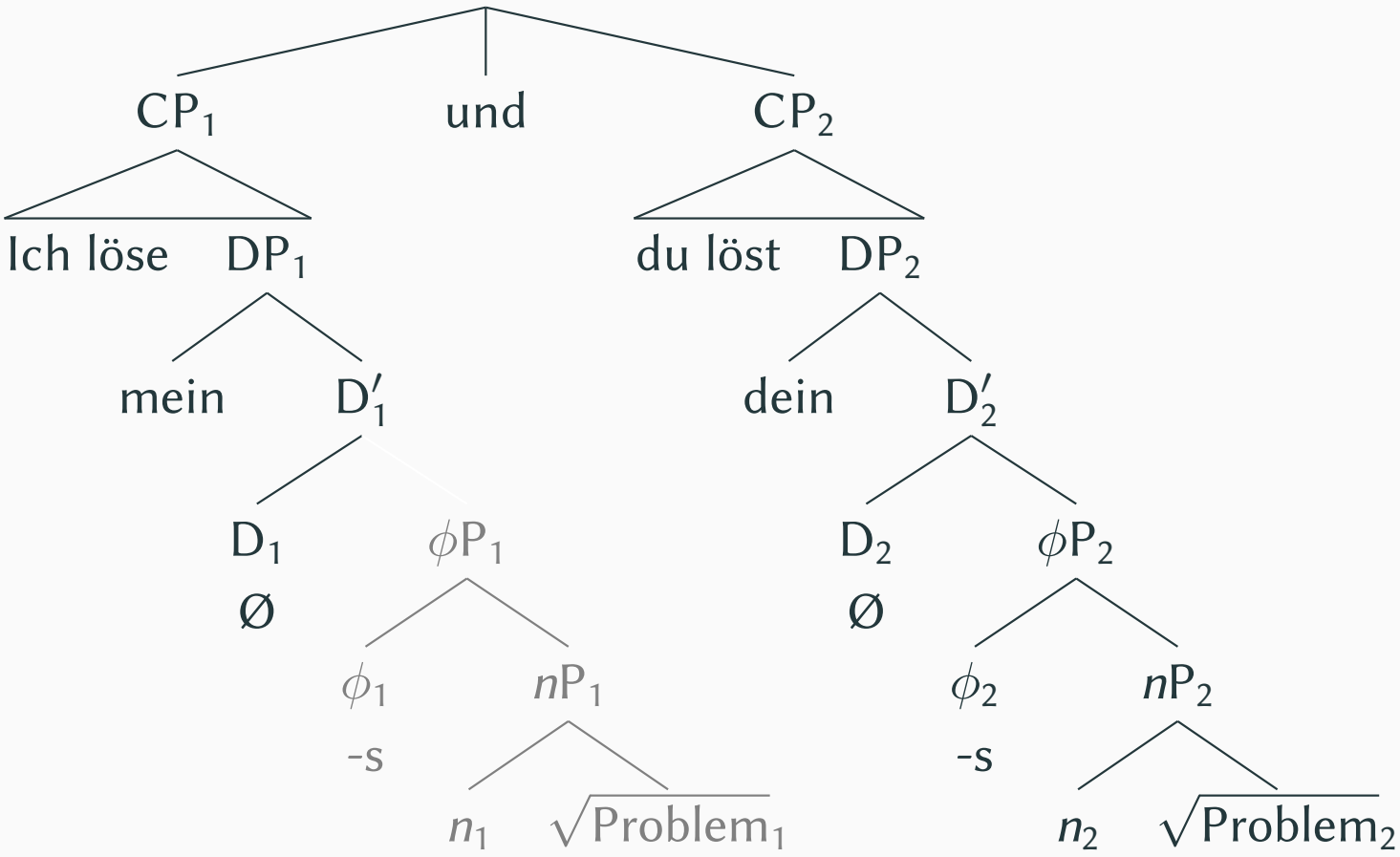
Analysis: Pruning of ϕP gives RNR without EI

(47) Ich löse **mein** ⟨Problem⟩ und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my and you solve your problem
'I solve my and you solve your problem.'



Analysis: Pruning of ϕP gives RNR without EI

(47) Ich löse **mein** ⟨Problem⟩ und du löst dein Problem.
I solve my and you solve your problem
'I solve my and you solve your problem.'



Analysis: Forward NPE

- We do not observe the same variability in forward NPE.

(48) *'Forward NPE'*

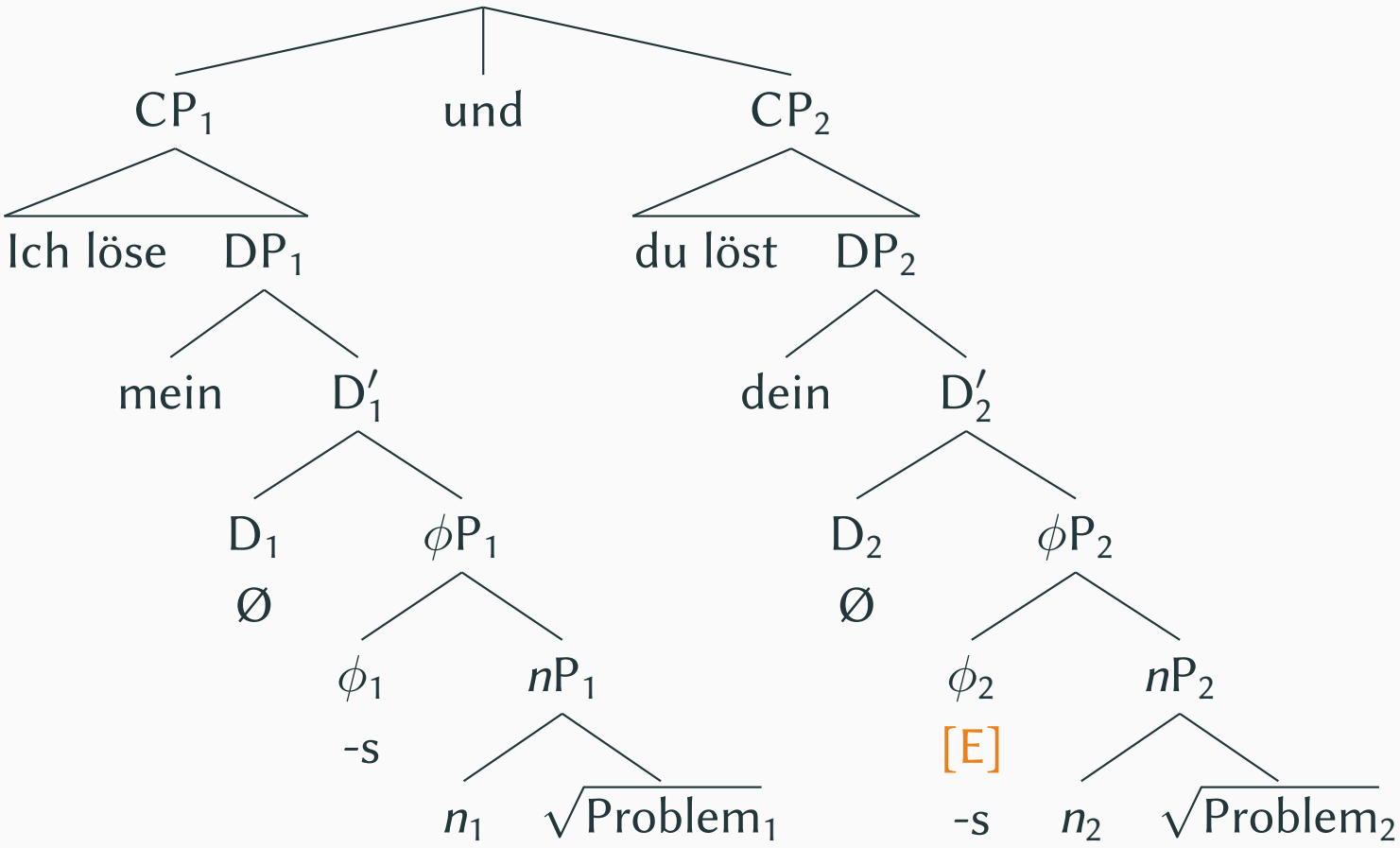
a. Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein-**s** ⟨Problem⟩.
I solve my problem and you solve your-EI
'I solve my problem and you solve yours.'

b. *Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein ⟨Problem⟩.
I solve my problem and you solve your
'I solve my problem and you solve yours.'

- Pruning by definition does not apply to the right conjunct.
- There must be a different kind of ellipsis for this.
- Forward NPE is triggered by an [E]-feature on ϕ_2 (Merchant 2001)

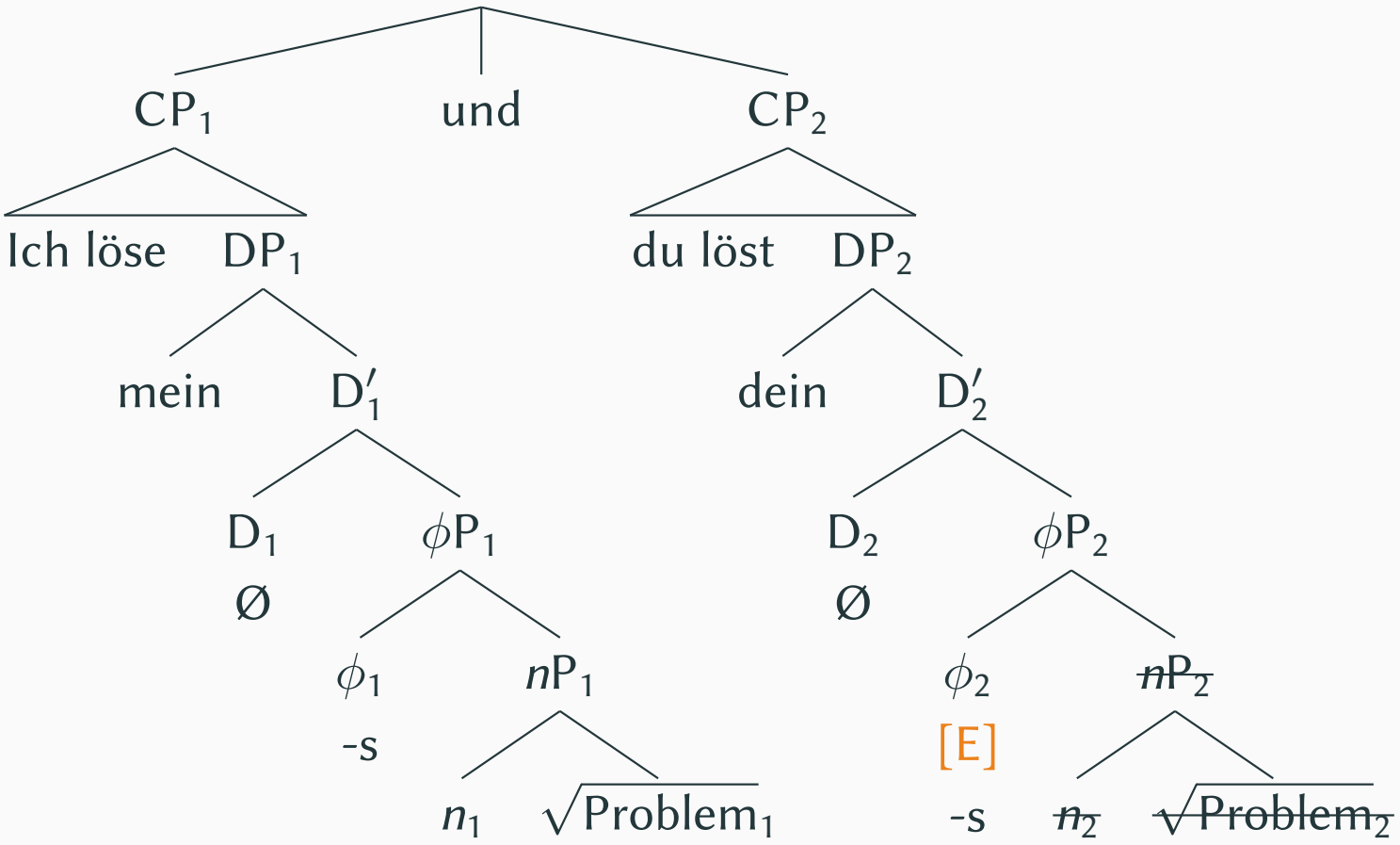
Analysis: Forward NPE

(49) Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein-s ⟨Problem⟩.
I solve my problem and you solve your-EI problem
'I solve my and you solve yours.'



Analysis: Forward NPE

(49) Ich löse mein Problem und du löst dein-s ⟨Problem⟩.
I solve my problem and you solve your-EI problem
'I solve my and you solve yours.'



Analysis: Forward NPE

Why can the [E]-feature not appear on D?

- Ellipsis is restricted to phases (Holmberg 2001, Gengel 2007, 2008, Bošković 2014, Aelbrecht 2016).
- Little *n* is a phase head (Marantz 2001, Marvin 2002).
- ϕ is not a phase head.

Open issues: Adjectives

Adjectives never appear without inflection.

(50) Ich löse ein leicht*(-es) ⟨Problem⟩ und du löst ein schwierig-es
I solve a simple-S.INFL and you solve a hard-S.INFL
Problem.
problem
'I solve a simple and you solve a hard problem.'

Open issues: Adjectives

Adjectives never appear without inflection.

(50) Ich löse ein leicht*(-es) ⟨Problem⟩ und du löst ein schwierig-es
I solve a simple-S.INFL and you solve a hard-S.INFL
Problem.
problem
'I solve a simple and you solve a hard problem.'

There is a general constraint that adjectives bear inflection in German.

(51) *Obligatoriness of adjectival inflection* (Murphy 2018: 347)
An adjective must bear an overt inflectional ending.
(Lexical exceptions: $\sqrt{\text{lila}}$, $\sqrt{\text{rosa}}$, $\sqrt{\text{prima}}$, $\sqrt{\text{super}}$, …)

Pruning cannot apply to ϕP when an adjective is present.

Prediction: Uninflectable adjectives

Uninflectable adjectives like *sexy*, *prima* should be illicit in forward NPE (52)

(52) *Du trägst ein förmliches Hemd und ich trage ein sexy(-*es)
you wear a formal shirt and I wear a sexy-S.INFL
⟨Hemd⟩.

'I'm wearing a formal shirt and you're wearing a sexy one.'

Prediction: Uninflectable adjectives

Uninflectable adjectives like *sexy*, *prima* should be illicit in forward NPE (52) but licit in nominal RNR (53).

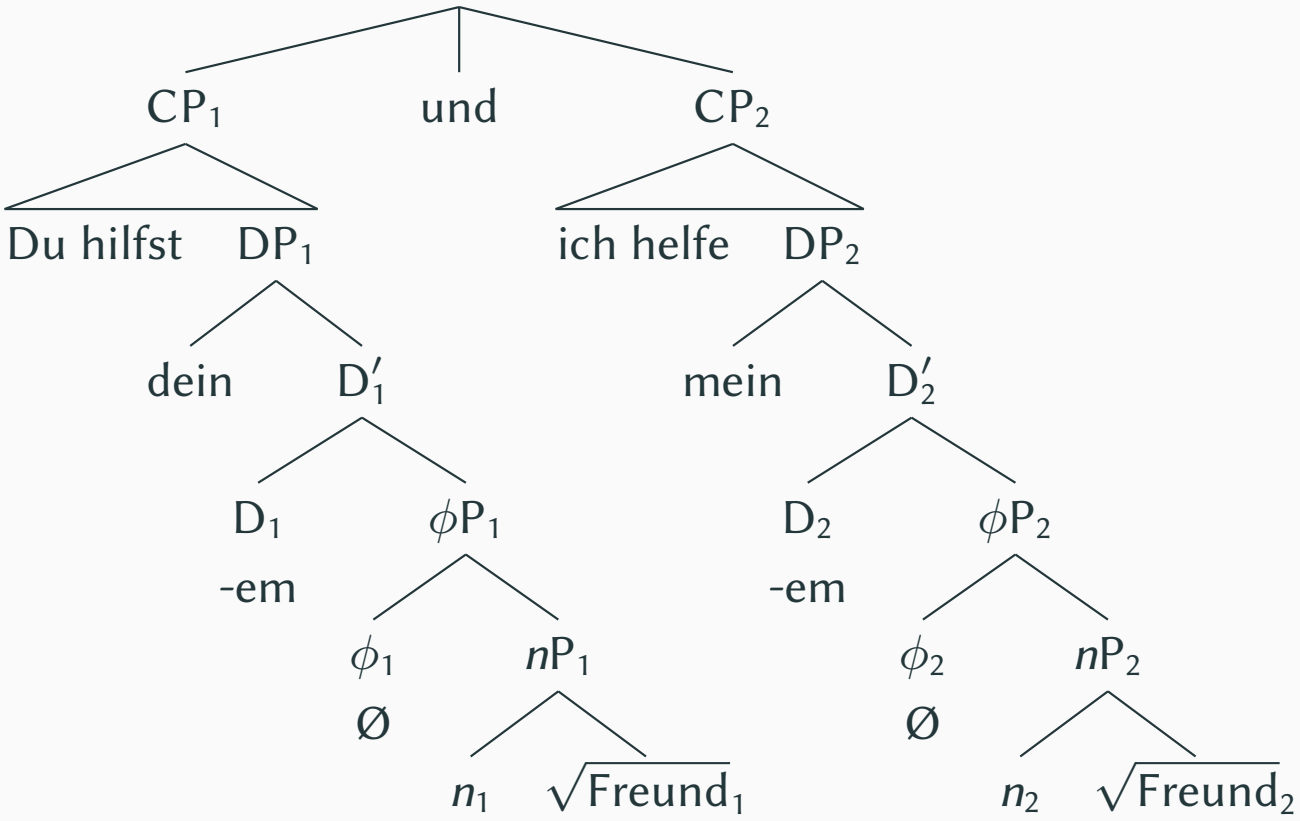
(52) *Du trägst ein förmliches Hemd und ich trage ein sexy(-*es)
you wear a formal shirt and I wear a sexy-S.INFL
⟨Hemd⟩.

'I'm wearing a formal shirt and you're wearing a sexy one.'

(53) Du trägst ein sexy ⟨Hemd⟩ und ich trage ein förmliches Hemd.
you wear a sexy and I wear a formal shirt
'I'm wearing a sexy and you're wearing a formal shirt.'

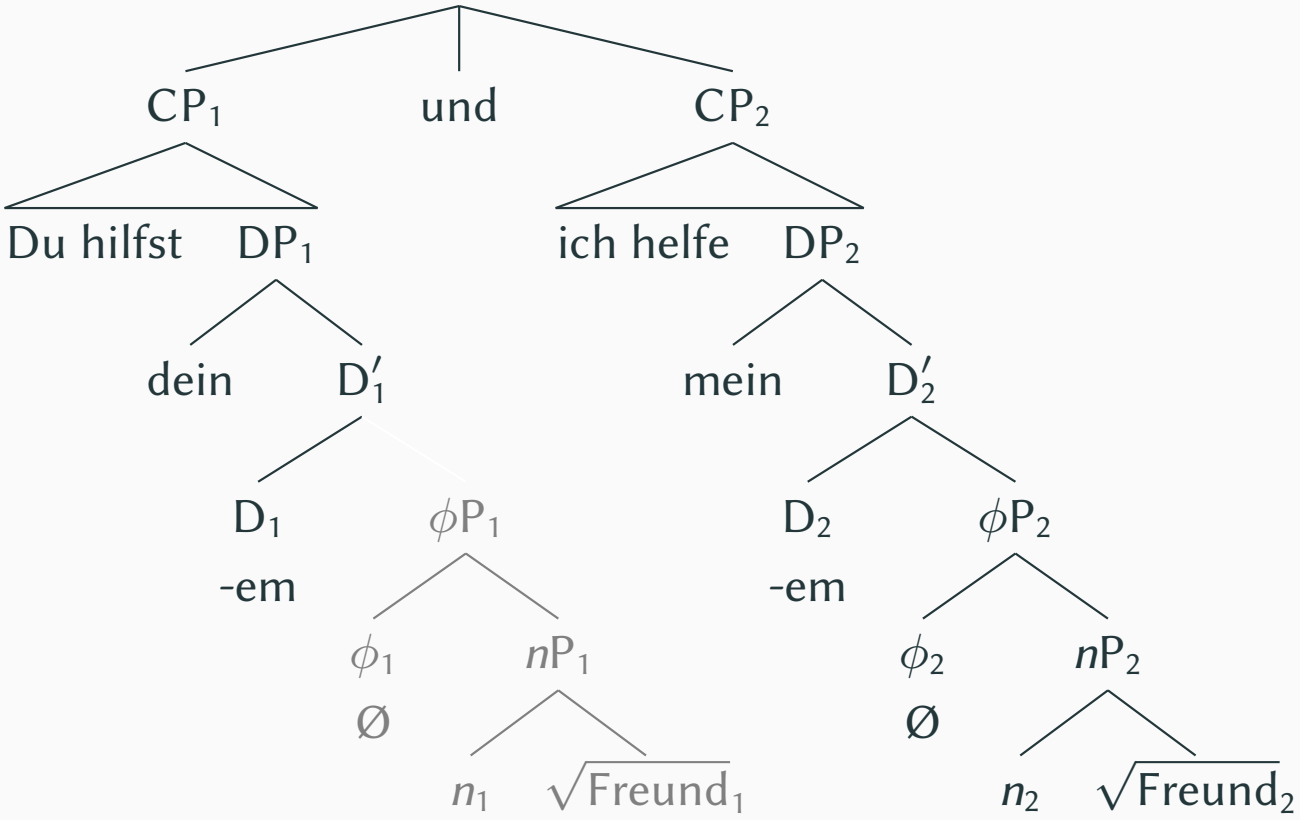
Open issues: Other case-number combinations

(54) Du hilfst dein-em/*dein ⟨Freund⟩ und ich helfe mein-em Freund.
you help your-S.INFL/your and I help my-S.INFL friend
You're helping your and I'm helping my friend.



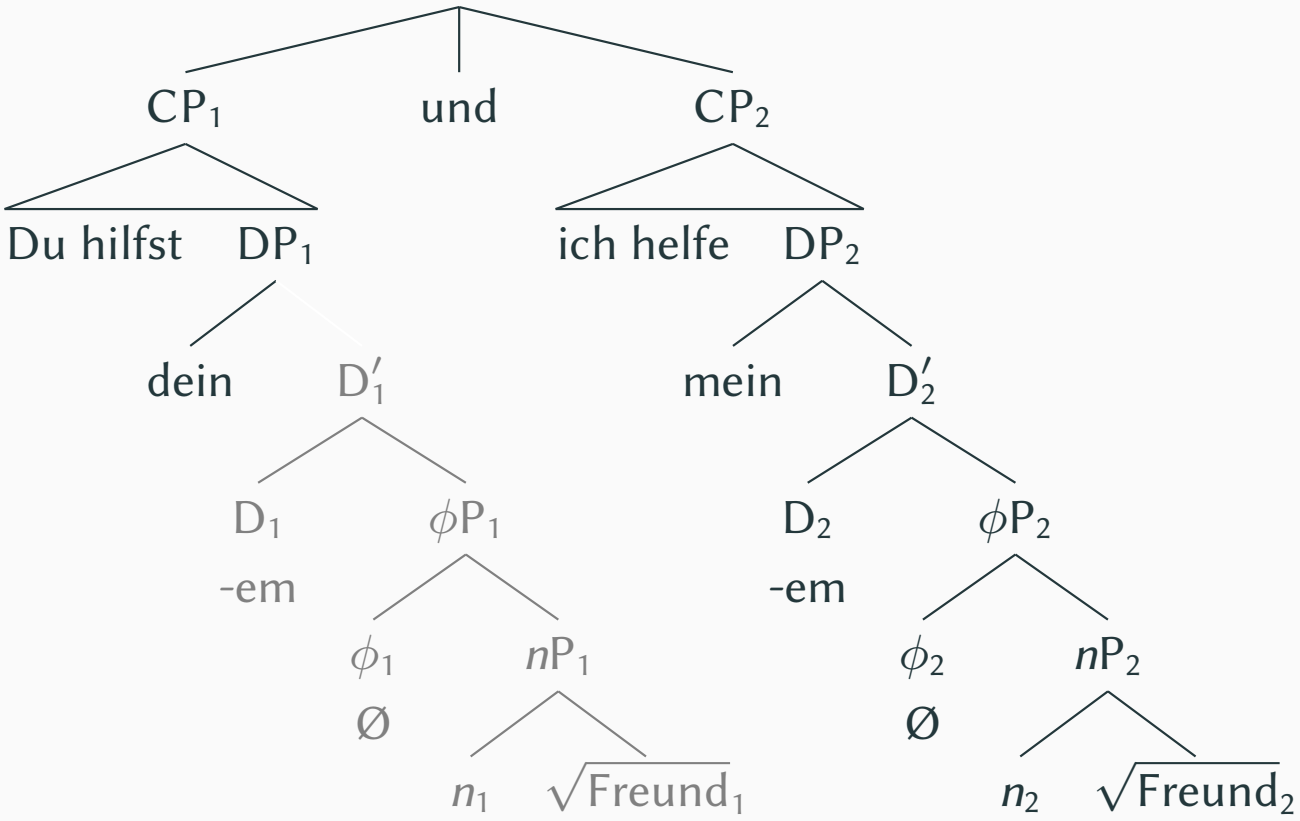
Open issues: Other case-number combinations

(54) Du hilfst dein-em/*dein ⟨Freund⟩ und ich helfe mein-em Freund.
you help your-S.INFL/your and I help my-S.INFL friend
You're helping your and I'm helping my friend.



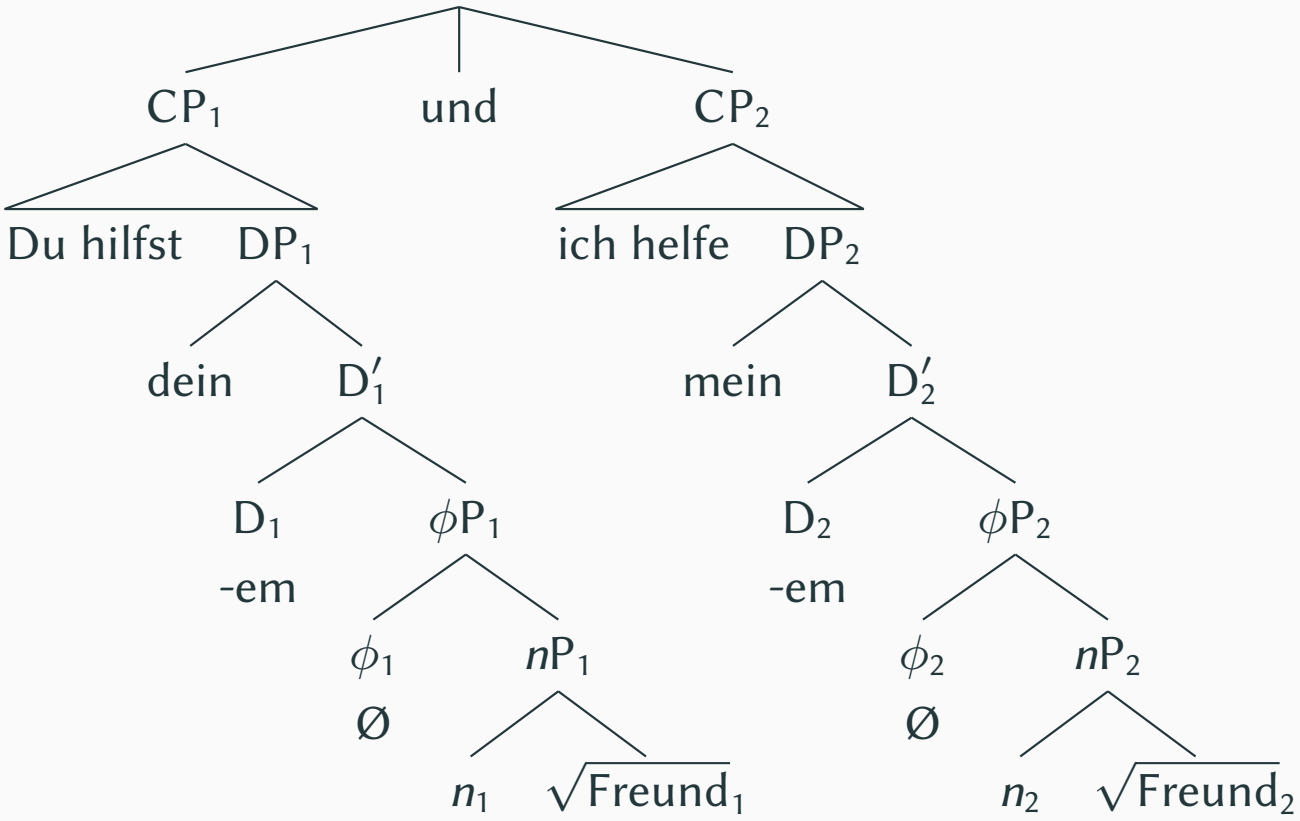
Open issues: Other case-number combinations

(54) Du hilfst dein-em/*dein ⟨Freund⟩ und ich helfe mein-em Freund.
you help your-S.INFL/your and I help my-S.INFL friend
You're helping your and I'm helping my friend.



Open issues: Other case-number combinations

(54) Du hilfst dein-em/*dein ⟨Freund⟩ und ich helfe mein-em Freund.
you help your-S.INFL/your and I help my-S.INFL friend
You're helping your and I'm helping my friend.



- Pruning must be restricted to apply to full phrases only.

The cross-linguistic picture

Hungarian

(55) Te kicsi autó-t és én nagy autó-t ve-tt-em. (T. Szarvas, p.c.)
you small car-ACC and I big car-ACC buy-PST-1SG
'You bought a small car and I bought a big car.'

Hungarian

(55) Te kicsi autó-t és én nagy autó-t ve-tt-em. (T. Szarvas, p.c.)
you small car-ACC and I big car-ACC buy-PST-1SG
'You bought a small car and I bought a big car.'

(56) *Case placement in NPE* (Saab and Lipták 2016; T. Szarvas, p.c.)

a. Te kicsi autó-t és én nagy-ot ~~autó~~ ve-tt-em.
you small car-ACC and I big-ACC buy-PST-1SG

b. *Te kicsi autó-t és én nagy ~~autó~~ ve-tt-em.
you small car-ACC and I big buy-PST-1SG
'You bought a small car and I bought a big one.'

Hungarian

(55) Te kicsi autó-t és én nagy autó-t ve-tt-em. (T. Szarvas, p.c.)
you small car-ACC and I big car-ACC buy-PST-1SG
'You bought a small car and I bought a big car.'

(56) *Case placement in NPE* (Saab and Lipták 2016; T. Szarvas, p.c.)

a. Te kicsi autó-t és én nagy-ot ~~autó~~ ve-tt-em.
you small car-ACC and I big-ACC buy-PST-1SG

b. *Te kicsi autó-t és én nagy ~~autó~~ ve-tt-em.
you small car-ACC and I big buy-PST-1SG
'You bought a small car and I bought a big one.'

(57) *Case placement in RNR* (T. Szarvas, p.c.)

a. Te kicsi-t ~~autó~~ és én nagy autó-t ve-tt-em.
you small-ACC and I big car-ACC buy-PST-1SG

b. Te kicsi ~~autó~~ és én nagy autó-t ve-tt-em.
you small and I big car-ACC buy-PST-1SG
'You bought a small and I bought a big car.'

Dutch

(58) Ik koop een klein huis maar jij koopt een groot huis.
I buy a small house but you buy a big house
'I buy a small house but you buy a big house.'

Dutch

(58) Ik koop een klein huis maar jij koopt een groot huis.
I buy a small house but you buy a big house
'I buy a small house but you buy a big house.'

(59) *Obligatory EI with NPE* (cf. Kester 1996*b*,*a*, Corver and van Koppen 2009, 2011)

a. Ik koop een klein huis maar jij koopt een grot-e ~~huis~~.
I buy a small house but you buy a big-EI

b. *Ik koop een klein huis maar jij koopt een groot ~~huis~~.
I buy a small house but you buy a big
'I buy a small house but you buy a big one.'

Dutch

(58) Ik koop een klein huis maar jij koopt een groot huis.
I buy a small house but you buy a big house
'I buy a small house but you buy a big house.'

(59) *Obligatory EI with NPE* (cf. Kester 1996*b*,*a*, Corver and van Koppen 2009, 2011)

a. Ik koop een klein huis maar jij koopt een grot-e ~~huis~~.
I buy a small house but you buy a big-EI

b. *Ik koop een klein huis maar jij koopt een groot ~~huis~~.
I buy a small house but you buy a big
'I buy a small house but you buy a big one.'

(60) *Optional EI with RNR* (Paula Fenger, p.c.)

a. Ik koop een klein-e ~~huis~~, maar jij koopt een groot huis.
I buy a small-EI but you buy a big house

b. Ik koop een klein ~~huis~~, maar jij koopt een groot huis.
I buy a small but you buy a big house
'I buy a small (one), but you buy a big house.'

Conclusion

(61) *'Forward' NPE*

a. … [D NP] & … [D-**EI** ~~NP~~] ⇒ Ellipsis by [E]

b. *… [D NP] & … [D ~~NP~~] ⇒ Ellipsis by [E]

(62) *Nominal RNR*

a. … [D-**EI** ~~NP~~] & … [D NP] ⇒ Ellipsis by Pruning (of *n*P)

b. … [D ~~NP~~] & … [D NP] ⇒ Ellipsis by Pruning (of ϕP)

- Both (61) and (62) are sensitive to diagnostics of ellipsis.
- Ellipsis in the right conjunct will have to obligatorily result in EI.
- Ellipsis in the left conjunct will have to allow for both EI and its absence
- ⇒ There must be two distinct ways to elide underlying syntactic structure.

Thanks

Thank you for your attention.

Thanks to Astrid van Alem, Imke Driemel, Paula Fenger, Thom van Hugte, Marie-Luise Schwarzer, Timea Szarvas, Philipp Weisser, and the audiences at HU Berlin and the University of Potsdam for judgements and discussion.

This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (LeibnizDream, grant agreement No 856421).

References i

Abbott, Barbara (1976). Right node raising as a test for constituenthood. *Linguistic Inquiry* 7. 639–642.

Adamson, Luke (2019). *Derivational Trapping and the Morphosyntax of Inflectionlessness.* PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, PA

Aelbrecht, Lobke (2016). What ellipsis can do for phases, and what it can't, but not why. *The Linguistic Review* 33(4). 453–482.

Bachrach, Asaf and Roni Katzir (2009). Right-node raising and delayed spellout. In K. Grohmann (ed.). *Interphases: Phase-theoretic investigations of linguistic interfaces*. Oxford University Press: Oxford. 283–316.

Barros, Matthew and Luis Vicente (2011). Right Node Raising requires both Ellipsis and Multidomination. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 17(1). 1–9.

Belk, Zoë, Ad Neeleman and Joy Philip (2023). What divides, and what unites, Right-Node Raising. *Linguistic Inquiry* 54(4). 685–728.

Bošković, Željko (2014). Now I'm a phase, now I'm not a phase: On the variability of phases with extraction and ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45. 27–89.

Chaves, Rui P. (2014). On the disunity of right-node raising phenomena: Extraposition, ellipsis, and deletion. *Language* 90(4). 834–886.

Corver, Norbert and Marjo van Koppen (2009). Let's focus on noun phrase ellipsis. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 48. 3–26.

Corver, Norbert and Marjo van Koppen (2011). NP-ellipsis with adjectival remnants: A micro-comparative perspective. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 29(2). 371–421.

Gengel, Kirsten (2007). Phases and ellipsis. In E. Elfner and M. Walkow (eds). *Proceedings of the 37th meeting of the North East Linguistic Society*. GLSA University of Massachusetts, Amherst 233–246.

Gengel, Kirsten (2008). Phases and ellipsis. *Linguistic Analysis* 35. 21–42.

Gračanin-Yuksek, Martina (2013). Linearizing multidominance structures. In T. Biberauer and I. Roberts (eds). *Challenges to linearization*. De Gruyter Mouton: Berlin. 269–294.

Grosu, Alexander (1976). A note on subject raising to object and right node raising. *Linguistic Inquiry* 7. 642–645.

Ha, Seungwan (2008). *Ellipsis, right node raising, and across-the-bard constructions.* PhD thesis, Boston University. Boston, MA

Hartmann, Katharina (2000). *Right Node Raising and Gapping: Interface conditions on prosodic deletion*. John Benjamins: Amsterdam.

Holmberg, Anders (2001). The syntax of Yes and No in Finnish. *Studia Linguistica* 55. 140–174.

Kayne, Richard (1994). *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. MIT Press: Cambridge, Mass..

Kester, Ellen-Petra (1996*a*). Adjectival inflection and the licensing of empty categories. *Journal of Linguistics* 31(1). 57–78.

Kester, Ellen-Petra (1996*b*). *The nature of adjectival inflection.* PhD thesis, Utrecht University. Utrecht, The Netherlands

Lechner, Winfried (2014). Semantik der Pronomen. Ms., University of Athens.

Leu, Thomas (2015). *the architecture of determiners*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Lobeck, Anne (1995). *Ellipsis: Functional heads, Licensing, and Identification*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Marantz, Alec (2001). Words and Things. LOT Summer School handout, from "words".

References ii

Marvin, Tatjana (2002). *Topics in the stress and syntax of words.* PhD thesis, MIT. Cambridge, MA

McCawley, James D. (1982). Parentheticals and discontinuous constituent structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 13. 91–106.

Merchant, Jason (2001). *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis.* Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Moltmann, Friederike (1992). *Coordination and comparatives.* PhD thesis, MIT. Cambridge, MA

Murphy, Andrew (2018). Pronominal Inflection and NP Ellipsis in German. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 21(3). 327–379.

Partee, Barbara, Ava ter Meulen and Robert E. Wall (1993). *Mathematical methods in Linguistics.* Kluwer: Dordrecht.

Postal, Paul (1974). *On raising.* MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.

Postal, Paul (1998). *Three Investigations of Extraction.* MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.

Radford, Andrew (1988). *Transformational grammar: A first course.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Roehrs, Dorian (2006). *The morphosyntax of the Germanic noun phrase: Determiners move into the Determiner Phrase.* PhD thesis, Indiana University. Bloomington, IN

Ross, Jon Robert (1967). *Constraints on Variables in Syntax.* PhD thesis, MIT. Cambridge, MA

Saab, Andrés and Anikó Lipták (2016). Movement and deletion after syntax: Licensing by inflection reconsidered. *Studia Linguistica* 70(1). 66–108.

Sabbagh, Joseph (2007). Ordering and Linearizing Rightward Movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25(2). 349–401.

Schoorlemmer, Erik (2009). *Agreement, dominance and doubling: The morphosyntax of DP.* PhD thesis, Universiteit Leiden. Leiden, The Netherlands

Wexler, Kenneth and Peter Culicover (1980). *Formal Principles of Language Acquisition.* MIT Press: Cambridge, MA.

Wilder, Chris (1997). Some properties of ellipsis in coordination. In A. Alexiadou and T. A. Hall (eds). *Studies on Universal Grammar and typological variation.* John Benjamins: Amsterdam. 59–107.

Wilder, Chris (1999). Right node raising and the LCA. In S. Bird, A. Carnie, J. D. Haugen and P. Norquest (eds). *Proceedings of WCCFL 18.* Cascadilla Press Somerville, MA 586–598.

Wiltschko, Martina (1998). On the syntax and semantics of (relative) pronouns and determiners. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 2(2). 143–181.