

Having space to sprout: Failed sprouting in sub-clausal ellipses

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1 Introduction

1.1 Previewing the Puzzle

Clausal Ellipsis. A moved remnant, with or without an overt correlate, can escape an elided clausal constituent.

(1) *Merger Sluicing* (e.g., Merchant 2001)
 Sue will read **something**, but I forget **WHAT₁** \langle IP Sue will read x_T \rangle
correlate remnant elided constituent

(2) *Sprouted Sluicing* (e.g., Chung et al. 1995)
 Sue will read, but I forget **WHAT₁** \langle IP Sue will read x_T \rangle

A Constraint on Sprouting. The possibility for sprouting is gated by the size of the elided constituent.

Have Space to Sprout
 Sprouting in an ellipsis site E is not permitted if E is sub-clausal.

Predicate Ellipsis. A remnant moved out of an elided predicate must have an overt correlate.

(3) *Merger Wh-remnant VPE* (e.g., Schuyler 2001)
 Pam will read **the article**, but I forget **WHAT₁** SUE will \langle VP read x_T \rangle

(4) *Sprouted Wh-remnant VPE*
 *Pam will read, but I forget **WHAT₁** SUE will \langle VP read x_T \rangle

1.2 Previewing the Discussion

The Framework. This analysis employs an ellipsis framework including:

- Focus-Based Redundancy : A focus-based redundancy condition on ellipsis (Rooth 1992b).
- Flexible Recoverability : Antecedents can in principle be recovered from various types of linguistic objects (see also Overfelt 2020, to appear).

The Analysis. This constraint on sprouting represents an irreconcilable conflict between differential antecedence conditions on ellipses:

The differential antecedence conditions on ellipses

- ① Predicate Ellipses : Must be anaphoric to the overt syntax.
- ② Sprouting Ellipses : Must be anaphoric to an accommodated antecedent.

A Prediction. Sprouting may serve as a sufficient, although not necessary, indicator for the availability of clausal ellipsis.

The diagnostic utility of sprouting

The availability of sprouting is indicative of the availability of clausal ellipsis.

2 A Constraint on Sprouting

A Constraint on Sprouting. The possibility for sprouting is gated by the size of the elided constituent.

Have Space to Sprout

Sprouting in an ellipsis site E is not permitted if E is sub-clausal.

2.1 Generalizing the Puzzle

Clausal Ellipses. Ellipses that are amenable to treatment as clausal ellipsis permit extraction of a remnant with or without an overt correlate.

- (5) a. *Merger Sluicing* (e.g., Merchant 2001)
Sue will read **something**, but I forget **WHAT**₁ \langle_{IP} ~~Sue will read x_T~~
- b. *Sprouted Sluicing* (e.g., Chung et al. 1995)
Sue will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ \langle_{IP} ~~Sue will read x_T~~
- (6) a. *Merger Stripping* (e.g., Depiante 2000)
Sue will read **the article**, but not **the BOOK**₁ \langle_{IP} ~~Sue will read x_T~~
- b. *Sprouted Stripping* (e.g., Nakao et al. 2012)
Sue will read, but not **the BOOK**₁ \langle_{IP} ~~Sue will read x_T~~
- (7) a. *Merger Fragments* (e.g., Merchant 2004)
Q: Will Sue read **something**?
A: Yeah, **the BOOK**₁ \langle_{IP} ~~Sue will read x_T~~
- b. *Sprouted Fragments* (e.g., Weir 2014)
Q: Will Sue read?
A: Yeah, **the BOOK**₁ \langle_{IP} ~~Sue will read x_T~~

Predicate Ellipses. Ellipses that are amenable to treatment as predicate ellipsis permit extraction of a remnant only if it has an overt correlate.

- (8) a. *Merger Wh-remnant VPE* (e.g., Wyngaerd & Zwart 1991)
Pam will read **the article**, but I forget **WHAT**₁ SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$
- b. *Sprouted Wh-remnant VPE*
*Pam will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$
- (9) a. *Merger contrastive topic remnant VPE* (e.g., Schuyler 2001)
Pam will read **the article** and **the BOOK**₁ SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$
- b. *Sprouted contrastive topic remnant VPE*
*Pam will read and **the BOOK**₁ SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$
- (10) a. *Merger Pseudogapping* (e.g., Gengel 2013)
Pam will read **the article**, but she won't $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$ **the BOOK**₁
- b. *Sprouted Pseudogapping*
*Pam will read, but she won't $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$ **the BOOK**₁
- (11) a. *Merger Gapping* (e.g., Johnson 2019)
Pam will read **the article** and SUE $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$ **the BOOK**₁
- b. *Sprouted Gapping*
*Pam will read and SUE $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$ **the BOOK**₁

Visualizing the Puzzle. The empirical puzzle can be visualized as follows:¹

Possibility of sprouting as a function of the size of the elided constituent		
	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

2.2 Some Possible Approaches

Restricted Sprouting. There are positional/domain constraints on sprouting.

- Positional Constraints: There are syntactic positions from which sprouting is not permitted (e.g., Chung et al. 1995, 2011, Chung 2005, 2013, Larson 2014).

- (12) *Objects of prepositions*
Molly is speaking ***(to someone)**, but I won't say **WHO**₁ $\langle_{IP} \text{Molly is speaking to } x_T \rangle$.
- (13) *Indirect objects*
Donnie sent ***(someone)** a letter, but I don't know **WHO**₁ $\langle_{IP} \text{Donnie sent } x_T \text{ a letter } \rangle$.
- (14) *External arguments*
***(Someone)** being late is inevitable, but I can't guess **WHO**₁ $\langle_{IP} x_T \text{ will be late } \rangle$.

- Domain Constraints : There are domains from which or within which sprouting is not permitted.

- (15) *From Adjunct Clauses* (Albert's Generalization; Chung et al. 1995, 2011)
 Maxine left [after eating ***(something)**], but I forget **WHAT**₁ \langle IP ~~Maxine left [after eating x_T]~~ \rangle
- (16) *Within Adjunct Clauses* (Nipped in the Bud; Overfelt 2020)
 Donnie read ***(something)** [after **the BOOK**₁ \langle IP ~~Donnie read x_T~~ \rangle]

The parallel positions/domains of the remnants means that a positional/domain constraint would not distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable sprouting:

- (17) a. (I know) Sue will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ \langle IP ~~Sue will read x_T~~ \rangle
 b. ***(I know)** Pam will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ SUE will \langle VP ~~read x_T~~ \rangle

Focus Parallelism. There is a general requirement for an ellipsis site to recover an antecedent with a parallel focus structure (e.g., Rooth 1992a,b, Tancredi 1992, Winkler 2005).

- (18) *Generalized Contrastive Focus Principle* (adapted from Winkler 2005:192, (25))
 i.) Deleted elements must be given.
 ii.) The remnants must occur in an appropriate contrastive relation to their correlates.
- (19) SOME talked ***(with YOU)** about POLITICS and OTHERS \langle VP ~~talked~~ \rangle **with ME** about MUSIC
 (Winkler 2005:193, (28))

The lack of parallel contrastive focus in both cases means that a requirement for parallel contrastively focused remnant-correlate pairs would not distinguish between acceptable and non-acceptable sprouting:

- (20) a. (I know) Sue will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ \langle IP ~~Sue will read x_T~~ \rangle
 b. ***(I know)** Pam will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ SUE will \langle VP ~~read x_T~~ \rangle

Scope Parallelism. There is a general requirement for an ellipsis site to recover an antecedent with parallel binding/scopal dependencies (e.g., Fiengo & May 1994, Fox 2000, Romero 2000, Merchant 2001, Griffiths & Lipták 2014, Thoms 2015, Messick & Thoms 2016).

- (21) *Parallelism* (Thoms 2015:179, (17))
 An elided constituent E and its antecedent A must be isomorphic with respect to variable binding configurations.
- (22) ***(I know)** few kids ate *pro*, but I don't know **WHAT**₁ \langle IP ~~few kids ate x_T~~ \rangle (Romero 2000)
 "For few kids x , x ate, but I don't know, for what thing y , few kids ate y ."
- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| (23) Few kids ate. | (24) What did few kids eat? |
| a. <i>few</i> > <i>pro</i> _∅ | a. <i>*few</i> > <i>what</i> |
| b. <i>*pro</i> _∅ > <i>few</i> | b. <i>what</i> > <i>few</i> |

The lack of Parallelism between the remnants and the implicit correlates in both cases means a requirement for parallel variable-binding relations does not distinguish between acceptable and non-acceptable sprouting:

- (25) a. (I know) Sue will read *pro* but I forget **WHAT** \langle IP ~~Sue will read x_T~~ \rangle
 b. ***(I know)** Pam will read *pro*, but I forget **WHAT**₁ SUE will \langle VP ~~read x_T~~ \rangle

Intervening Focus. There is a general requirement for a focused marked element to (roughly) intervene between a remnant and an elided predicate (e.g., Schuyler 2001, Griffiths 2019a).

(26) *Schuyler's Generalization* (adapted from Schuyler 2001:16, (110))
 For A-Movement out of the site of VPE to be licensed, there must be a contrastively focused expression in the reflexive c-command domain of the extracted phrase.

- (27) a. *(I know) Pam will read something but I'm not sure **WHAT**₁ she will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$
- b. (I know) Pam will read something but I'm not sure **WHAT**₁ SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$

The presence of intervening focus in both cases means that a requirement for an intervening focused element does not distinguish between acceptable and non-acceptable sprouting:

- (28) a. Pam will read **the article**, and **the BOOK**₁ SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$
- b. *Pam will read, and **the BOOK**₁ SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$

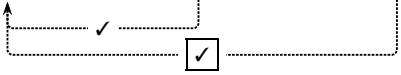
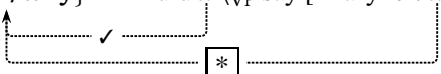
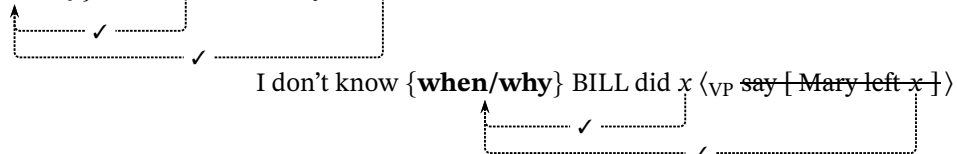
2.3 A Size-Based Constraint

Possibility of sprouting as a function of the size of the elided constituent		
	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

The Question of "Sprouted" Adjuncts. This picture may seemingly be counter-exemplified by adjuncts (see Lobeck 1995, Johnson 2001).

- (29) Sue read, but I don't know {**when / why**} $\langle \text{Sue read} \rangle$
- (30) Pam read, but I don't know {**?when / ?why**} SUE did $\langle \text{read} \rangle$

No Sprouting in Elided Predicates. Predicate ellipsis is bled specifically by sprouting in the elided predicate (adapted from Hartman 2011, Messick & Thoms 2016).

- (31) a. I know John said [Mary left], but I don't know {**when/why**} $\langle_{IP} \text{John } x \text{ said [Mary left } x] \rangle$

- b. I know JOHN said [Mary left], but I don't know {**when/why**} BILL did $x \langle_{VP} \text{say [Mary left } x] \rangle$

- c. I know {**when/why**} JOHN x said [Mary left x], but


The Desideratum. We need something that will ensure that sprouting in an elided constituent is gated by the size of the elided constituent.

Have Space to Sprout

Sprouting in an ellipsis site E is not permitted if E is sub-clausal.

3 A Framework for Ellipsis

The Framework. This analysis employs an ellipsis framework including:

- Focus-Based Redundancy : A focus-based redundancy condition on ellipsis (Rooth 1992b).
- Flexible Recoverability : Antecedents can in principle be recovered from various types of linguistic objects (see also Overfelt 2020, to appear).

3.1 Focus-Based Redundancy

A Redundancy Condition. Ellipsis is subject to a focus-based semantic Redundancy Condition (Rooth 1992a).

- (32) *Redundancy Condition on Ellipsis*
 Ellipsis of some XP is permitted only if:
- there is a Focus Domain (FD) that contains XP,
 - there is an Antecedent Constituent (AC), and
 - the ordinary semantic value of AC is a subset of the focus semantic value of FD: $\llbracket AC \rrbracket^o \subseteq \llbracket FD \rrbracket^f$.

Focus Semantic Value. The focus interpretation operator \sim computes a set of alternative meanings by replacing FOCUSED constituents in its complement, the FD, with their alternatives (Rooth 1992a).

- (33) Sue will read the article but not $\llbracket_{FD} \text{ the BOOK } \langle_{IP} \text{ Sue will read } x \rangle \rrbracket \sim \mathcal{P}$
- $Alt(\text{the book}) = \{ \text{the book, the article, the comic, ... } \}$
 - $\llbracket FD \rrbracket^f = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{that Sue will read the book, that Sue will read the article,} \\ \text{that Sue will read the comic, ...} \end{array} \right\}$
 - $\llbracket FD \rrbracket^f = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in Alt(\text{the book}) \}$

The Anaphoric Link. An Antecedent Constituent is recovered via an anaphoric link with the propositional variable \mathcal{P} , which \sim presupposes is a subset of $\llbracket FD \rrbracket^f$.

- (34) $\llbracket \text{ Sue will read the article } \rrbracket_2$ but not $\llbracket_{FD} \text{ the BOOK}_1 \langle_{IP} \text{ Sue will read } x_T \rangle \rrbracket \sim \mathcal{P}_2$

Redundancy Calculation. Ellipsis can be licensed by semantic redundancy when an AC recovered from the syntax is a subset of $\llbracket FD \rrbracket^f$ (e.g., Hankamer & Sag 1976, Rooth 1992a,b).

- (35) $\llbracket_{SYN} \text{ Sue will read the article } \rrbracket_2$ but not $\llbracket_{FD} \text{ the BOOK}_1 \langle_{IP} \text{ Sue will read } x_T \rangle \rrbracket \sim \mathcal{P}_2$
- $\llbracket FD \rrbracket^f = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in Alt(\text{the book}) \}$
 - $\llbracket SYN_2 \rrbracket^o = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read the article} \}$
 - $\llbracket SYN_2 \rrbracket^o \subseteq \llbracket FD \rrbracket^f$, ellipsis is permitted

3.2 Flexible Recoverability

Recovering the Question. For at least certain ellipses, it is argued that the AC must be recovered from a question meaning in the discourse.

(36) *Sluicing* (e.g., AnderBois 2011, Barros 2014, Griffiths 2019b)
 Sue will read something, but I forget WHAT_T₁ \langle_{IP} ~~Sue will read x_T~~ \rangle

(37) *Fragments* (e.g., Reich 2007, Weir 2014, Jacobson 2016)
 Q: Will Sue read something?
 A: Yeah, the BOOK₁ \langle_{IP} ~~Sue will read x_T~~ \rangle

Question Under Discussion. The QUD is a salient linguistic object with, at minimum, the logico-semantic content of a question that guides contributions to the discourse (Büring 2003, Roberts 2012).²

- Explicit QUDs : The QUD can be proffered explicitly with an overt question and addressed with congruent answers (Rooth 1992b, Roberts 2012).

(38) Q: What will Sue read?
 A: Sue will read the BOOK.
 B: #Pam will read the BOOK.
 C: #SUE read the book.

- Implicit QUDs : The QUD can be chosen from a conversationally implicated family of questions (e.g., Büring 2003, AnderBois 2011).

(39) A: Mary helped **someone** move last week.
 \rightsquigarrow { Who did Mary help move last week? }
 B: Yeah, it was Tim.

(40) Q: What will Sue do?
 A: Sue will read.
 \rightsquigarrow { What will Sue read?, When will Sue read?,
 Where will sue read?, With whom will Sue read?, ... }
 And before you ask,
 (i) she will read **the BOOK**. \rightsquigarrow { What will Sue read? }
 (ii) she will read **in the LIBRARY**. \rightsquigarrow { Where will Sue read? }
 (iii) ...

An accommodated QUD can be presupposed by the placement of prosodic focus (e.g. Büring 2003, Roberts 2012).

Focus and Anaphoricity. Rooth's (1992b) system of focus interpretation permits \mathcal{P}_n to be anaphoric to various kinds of linguistic objects, both explicit and contextually supplied.

(41) [She hugs ME]₁ \sim \mathcal{P}_2 more often than [she hugs SUE]₂ \sim \mathcal{P}_1

(42) Q: [Who cut Bill down to size?]₁
 A: [Mary cut Bill down to size] \sim \mathcal{P}_1

(43) Mary only(\mathcal{C}_1) [[introduced BILL to Sue] \sim \mathcal{P}_1]

Flexible Recoverability: An AC should in principle be recoverable from anything to which \mathcal{P}_n can be anaphoric.

The flexibility of antecedent recovery for ellipsis

(see also Overfelt 2020, to appear)

An antecedent for ellipsis can in principle be recovered from either:

- the overt syntax or
- a (possibly implicit) question meaning in the discourse.

Anaphoricity to the QUD. An AC can be recovered via an anaphoric link between \mathcal{P}_n and the possibly implicit QUD.

(44) Q: $[\text{QUD What will Sue read?}]_3$

A: [Sue will read the article] but not $[[\text{FD the BOOK}_1 \langle \text{IP Sue will read } x_T \rangle]] \sim \mathcal{P}_3$]

Redundancy Calculation. Ellipsis can be licensed by semantics redundancy when the QUD is recovered as the AC (see Hamblin 1973, Rooth 1992b).

(45) Q: $[\text{QUD What will Sue read?}]_3$

A: [Sue will read the article] but not $[[\text{FD the BOOK}_1 \langle \text{IP Sue will read } x_T \rangle]] \sim \mathcal{P}_3$]

i.) $[[\text{FD}]^f = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$

ii.) $[[\text{QUD}_3]^o = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{what}) \}$

iii.) $[[\text{QUD}_3]^o \subseteq [[\text{FD}]^f$, ellipsis is permitted

4 The Analysis: An Irreconcilable Conflict

Have Space to Sprout

Sprouting in an ellipsis site E is not permitted if E is sub-clausal.

The differential antecedence conditions on ellipses

① Predicate Ellipses : Must be anaphoric to the overt syntax.

② Sprouting Ellipses : Must be anaphoric to an accommodated QUD.

4.1 The Effect of Size: Predicate v. Clausal Ellipsis

The effect of size on antecedence conditions

① Predicate Ellipses : Must be anaphoric to the overt syntax.

Clausal Ellipses : May be anaphoric to the overt syntax or the (accommodated) QUD.

Differential Antecedence Conditions. Clausal and sub-clausal ellipses are subject to different antecedence conditions (AnderBois 2011, Weir 2014, Griffiths 2019a).

- Appositive Antecedents : Sluicing, but not VP-Ellipsis, disprefers recovering an AC from non-inquisitive content, such as appositive relative clauses (AnderBois 2011; cf. Collins et al. 2015).

(46) *Sluicing*

- Sue hired someone last week, but didn't tell Jane **WHO**₁ \langle IP ~~she hired~~ x_T \rangle
- #Sue, who hired someone last week, didn't tell Jane **WHO**₁ \langle IP ~~she hired~~ x_T \rangle

(47) *VP-Ellipsis*

- Sue hired someone last week, but didn't tell Jane to \langle VP ~~hire someone~~ \rangle .
- Sue, who hired someone last week, didn't tell Jane to \langle VP ~~hire someone~~ \rangle

- Exceptive Questions : VP-Ellipsis, but not Sluicing, is subject a contrast condition that nullifies satisfaction of *Schuylers's Generalization* (see Barros 2014, Griffiths 2019a)

(48) *Sluicing*

John kissed MARY but I don't know **who ELSE**₁ \langle IP ~~John kissed~~ x_T \rangle

(49) *VP-Ellipsis*

*John kissed MARY but I don't know **who ELSE**₁ he did \langle VP ~~kiss~~ x_T \rangle

- Inheritance of Content : Sluicing and fragment answers, but not VP-Ellipsis answers, inherent the restrictive content of the antecedent/question (Chung et al. 1995, Romero 1998, Weir 2014, Jacobson 2016)

(50) Marcelo met one of the Beatles, but

- I don't know who \langle ~~he met~~ x_T \rangle (i.e., who out of the Beatles)
- I don't know who SHERRY did \langle ~~meet~~ x_T \rangle (i.e., who out of everyone)

(51) Q: Which of the Beatles wrote *Margaritaville*?

A1: #Jimmy Buffett \langle ~~x_T wrote *Margaritaville*~~ \rangle , dummy.

A2: Jimmy Buffett did \langle ~~x_T write *Margaritaville*~~ \rangle , dummy.

Stripping also appears to be a species of ellipsis that is exempt from a requirement for inheritance of content.

(52) She met one of the BEATLES, but not JIMMY BUFFETT \langle IP ~~she met~~ x_T \rangle .

No QUD AC for Predicate Ellipsis. Predicate ellipsis is not, and moreover cannot be, anaphoric to the QUD for the purpose of licensing ellipsis (cf. Kehler 2015).

(53) *[Pam will read the article] but she won't \llbracket FD the BOOK₁ \langle VP ~~read~~ x_T $\rangle \sim \mathcal{P}_3 \rrbracket$

i.) \llbracket FD $\rrbracket^f = \{ p : p = \text{read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$

ii.) \llbracket QUD What will Pam read? \rrbracket_3
 \llbracket QUD $\rrbracket^o = \{ p : p = \text{that Pam will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{what}) \}$

iii.) \llbracket QUD $\rrbracket^o \not\subseteq \llbracket$ FD \rrbracket^f , ellipsis is not permitted

Toward an Explanation. A linguistic object with a question meaning must not provide a suitable antecedent for an elided predicate.

- Redundancy Relation 1 : Any linguistic object with a question meaning will not be LF-isomorphic/Parallel to a predicate (e.g. Rooth 1992a, Fiengo & May 1994).
- Structured Alternatives : Alternatives are structured objects/meanings and questions are not structured alternatives to predicates (e.g. Fox 2000, Thoms 2015, Weir 2018, Griffiths 2019b)

- (54) i.) $[\text{VP}]^f = \{ \Lambda : \Lambda = \llbracket [\text{FOCP } XP_1^F \lambda 1 [\text{VP read } x_1]] \rrbracket^o \mid XP \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$
 ii.) $[\text{QUD}]^o = \{ \Lambda : \Lambda = \llbracket [\text{CP } XP_1^F \lambda 1 [\text{TP Pam will } [\text{VP read } x_1]]] \rrbracket^o \mid XP \in \text{Alt}(\text{what}) \}$
 iii.) $[\text{QUD}]^o \not\subseteq \llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket^f$, ellipsis is not permitted

- Composition : There is a difference in semantic type between predicates (eventualities) and questions (worlds).

- (55) i.) $\llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket^f = \{ p : p = \lambda e. \phi(e) \}$
 ii.) $\llbracket \text{QUD} \rrbracket^o = \{ q : q = \lambda w. \psi(w) \}$
 iii.) $\llbracket \text{QUD} \rrbracket^o \not\subseteq \llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket^f$, ellipsis is not permitted

4.2 The Effect of Sprouting: Sprouting v. Merger Ellipsis

The effect of sprouting on antecedence conditions

② Sprouting Ellipses : Must be anaphoric to an accommodated QUD.

Merger Ellipses : May be anaphoric to the overt syntax or the (accommodated) QUD.

The Insufficiency of Implicit Arguments. Implicit arguments do not directly contribute to an antecedent for sprouted ellipsis (e.g., Kotek & Barros 2019, Overfelt 2020, to appear, Stockwell 2020, 2021).

- Implicit Arguments : Any theory for the representation of implicit arguments does not distinguish between sprouting in ellipses of different sizes (e.g., Martí 2006, Landau 2010, Bhatt & Pancheva 2017).

- (56) *Sluicing*
 a. Sue will read **something**, but I forget **WHAT**₁ $\langle \text{IP Sue will read } x_T \rangle$
 b. Sue will read *pro*, but I forget **WHAT**₁ $\langle \text{IP Sue will read } x_T \rangle$

- (57) *VP-Ellipsis*
 a. Pam will read **something**, but I forget **WHAT**₁ SUE will $\langle \text{VP read } x_T \rangle$
 b. *Pam will read *pro*, but I forget **WHAT**₁ SUE will $\langle \text{VP read } x_T \rangle$

- Voice Mismatches : Implicit agents in the passive (sometimes) fail to provide antecedents for sprouted external arguments (e.g., Hardt 1993, Grant et al. 2012, Stockwell 2020, 2021).

- (58) a. The information was released **by someone**, but **Gorbachev**₁ didn't $\langle \text{VP } x_T \text{ release it} \rangle$
 b. *The information was *pro* released, but **Gorbachev**₁ didn't $\langle \text{VP } x_T \text{ release it} \rangle$

- Nipped in the Bud : Implicit arguments fail to provide an antecedent for sprouted Stripping in QUD Not-at-Issue content (see Overfelt 2020).

(59) *Coordinate Stripping*

- Sue read **the article** but not **the BOOK**₁ $\langle_{IP} \text{Sue read } x_T \rangle$
- Sue read *pro* but not **the BOOK**₁ $\langle_{IP} \text{Sue read } x_T \rangle$

(60) *Subordinate Stripping*

- Sue read **the article** after **the BOOK**₁ $\langle_{IP} \text{Sue read } x_T \rangle$
- *Sue read *pro* after **the BOOK**₁ $\langle_{IP} \text{Sue read } x_T \rangle$

- Implicatures and Presuppositions : An implicit argument does not provide alternatives for the calculation of scalar implicatures and additive presuppositions (see Katzir 2007, Thoms 2015, Ahn 2015, Szabolsci 2017)

(61) a. Wade cleaned **something**.

Scalar Implicature : Wade didn't clean everything.

- Wade cleaned *pro*.

No Scalar Implicature

(62) a. Marla read **the article** and she read **the BOOK** too.

Satisfied Presupposition : Marla read something that is not the book.

- #Marla read *pro* and she read **the BOOK** too.

Unsatisfied Presupposition : Marla read something that is not the book.

No Syntactic AC for Sprouted Stripping. An AC recovered from the syntax will not provide a suitable alternative for licensing ellipsis in the case of sprouting; one must be accommodated.

(63) * $[_{SYN} \text{Sue will read }]_2$ but not $[[_{FD} \text{the BOOK}_1 \langle_{IP} \text{Sue will read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_2]$

i.) $[[_{FD}]^f = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$

ii.) $[[_{SYN}_2]^o = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } \}$

iii.) $[[_{SYN}_2]^o \not\subseteq [[_{FD}]^f$, ellipsis is not permitted

QUD Accommodation for Sprouting. A possible analysis for the puzzle at hand would identify an antecedent for accommodating sprouting that simultaneously fails to serve as an antecedent for predicate ellipsis.

Antecedent accommodation for sprouted ellipsis

An antecedent for sprouted ellipses must be accommodated in the discourse by recovery of the possibly implicit QUD.

That otherwise permissible sprouting fails in QUD Not-at-Issue content (Overfelt 2020) provides further support for this connection.

(64) a. Sue read **the article** after **the BOOK**₁ $\langle_{IP} \text{Sue read } x_T \rangle$

- *Sue read *pro* after **the BOOK**₁ $\langle_{IP} \text{Sue read } x_T \rangle$

The remnant, as part of presupposed content, fails to raise the QUD required to license sprouting; compare (68).

4.3 A Synthesis

Have Space to Sprout

Sprouting in an ellipsis site E is not permitted if E is sub-clausal.

Possibility of sprouting as a function of the size of the elided constituent

	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

Clausal Ellipses. A suitable AC can be recovered for both merger and sprouting ellipses.

- Merger : A suitable AC can be recovered from the overt syntax or a possibly implicit QUD.

$$(65) \quad [_{\text{SYN}} \text{ Sue will read } \mathbf{\text{the article}}]_2 \text{ but not } [[_{\text{FD}} \mathbf{\text{the BOOK}}_1 \langle_{\text{IP}} \text{ Sue will read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_2] \quad (\S 3.1)$$

- i.) $[[_{\text{FD}}]^f = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$
- ii.) $[[_{\text{SYN}_2}]^o = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read the article} \}$
- iii.) $[[_{\text{SYN}_2}]^o \subseteq [[_{\text{FD}}]^f$, ellipsis is permitted

$$(66) \quad [\text{ Sue will read } \mathbf{\text{the article}}] \text{ but not } [[_{\text{FD}} \mathbf{\text{the BOOK}}_1 \langle_{\text{IP}} \text{ Sue will read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_3] \quad (\S 3.2)$$

- i.) $[[_{\text{FD}}]^f = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$
- ii.) $[_{\text{QUD}} \text{ What did Sue read? }]_3$
 $[[_{\text{QUD}_3}]^o = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{what}) \}$
- iii.) $[[_{\text{QUD}_3}]^o \subseteq [[_{\text{FD}}]^f$, ellipsis is permitted

- Sprouting : Although the syntax fails to provide an antecedent, the remnant presupposes an accommodated QUD, which then serves as the antecedent for ellipsis (Kotek & Barros 2019, Overfelt 2020).

$$(67) \quad * [_{\text{SYN}} \text{ Sue will read }]_2 \text{ but not } [[_{\text{FD}} \mathbf{\text{the BOOK}}_1 \langle_{\text{IP}} \text{ Sue will read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_2] \quad (\S 4.2)$$

- i.) $[[_{\text{FD}}]^f = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$
- ii.) $[[_{\text{SYN}_2}]^o = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue read} \}$
- iii.) $[[_{\text{SYN}_2}]^o \not\subseteq [[_{\text{FD}}]^f$, ellipsis is not permitted

$$(68) \quad [\text{ Sue will read }] \text{ but not } [[_{\text{FD}} \mathbf{\text{the BOOK}}_1 \langle_{\text{VP}} \text{ Sue will read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_3] \quad (\S 3.2)$$

- i.) $[[_{\text{FD}}]^f = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$
- ii.) $[\text{ Sue will read }] \rightsquigarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [_{\text{QUD}} \text{ What will Sue read?}]_3, \text{ When will Sue read?}, \\ \text{Where will Sue read?}, \text{ With whom will Sue read?}, \dots \end{array} \right\}$
 $[[_{\text{QUD}_3}]^o = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{what}) \}$
- iii.) $[[_{\text{QUD}_3}]^o \not\subseteq [[_{\text{FD}}]^f$, ellipsis is not permitted

Merger Predicate Ellipsis. A suitable AC can be recovered from the syntax, but not an accommodated QUD.

- (69) Pam will $[_{SYN} \text{ read the article }]_2$ but she won't $[[_{FD} \text{ the BOOK}_1 \langle_{VP} \text{ read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_2]$
- i.) $[[_{FD}]^f = \{p : p = \text{read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book})\}$
 - ii.) $[[_{SYN}_2]^o = \{p : p = \text{read the article}\}$
 - iii.) $[[_{SYN}_2]^o \subseteq [[_{FD}]^f$, ellipsis is permitted
- (70) * $[\text{ Pam will read the article }]$ but she won't $[[_{FD} \text{ the BOOK}_1 \langle_{VP} \text{ read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_3]$ (§4.1)
- i.) $[[_{FD}]^f = \{p : p = \text{read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book})\}$
 - ii.) $[_{QUD} \text{ What will Pam read? }]_3$
 $[[_{QUD}]^o = \{p : p = \text{that Pam will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{what})\}$
 - iii.) $[[_{QUD}]^o \not\subseteq [[_{FD}]^f$, ellipsis is not permitted

Sprouting Predicate Ellipsis. This restriction on sprouting in predicate ellipses represents an irreconcilable conflict between differential antecedence conditions on ellipsis.

The differential antecedence conditions on ellipses

- ① Predicate Ellipses : Must be anaphoric to the overt syntax.
- ② Sprouting Ellipses : Must be anaphoric to an accommodated QUD.

- (71) *Pam will $[_{SYN} \text{ read }]_2$ but she won't $[[_{FD} \text{ the BOOK}_1 \langle_{VP} \text{ read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_2]$ (§4.2)
- i.) $[[_{FD}]^f = \{p : p = \text{read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book})\}$
 - ii.) $[[_{SYN}_2]^o = \{p : p = \text{read}\}$
 - iii.) $[[_{SYN}_2]^o \not\subseteq [[_{FD}]^f$, ellipsis is not permitted
- (72) * $[\text{ Pam will read }]$ but she won't $[[_{FD} \text{ the BOOK}_1 \langle_{VP} \text{ read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_3]$ (§4.1)
- i.) $[[_{FD}]^f = \{p : p = \text{read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book})\}$
 - ii.) $[\text{ Pam will read }] \rightsquigarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [_{QUD} \text{ What will Pam read? }]_3, \text{ When will Pam read?}, \\ \text{Where will Pam read?}, \text{ With whom will Pam read?}, \dots \end{array} \right\}$
 $[[_{QUD}_3]^o = \{p : p = \text{that Pam will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{what})\}$
 - iii.) $[[_{QUD}_3]^o \not\subseteq [[_{FD}]^f$, ellipsis is not permitted

Back to Sprouted Adjuncts. This analysis should make a distinction between adjuncts that are generated outside an elided VP and those generate inside an VP.

- (73) *High adjuncts tolerate sprouting*
- a. ?Pam will read but she won't $\langle_{VP} \text{ read} \rangle$ **during CLASS**
 - b. ?Pam will read but she won't $\langle_{VP} \text{ read} \rangle$ **to impress BECKIE**
- (74) *Low adjuncts resist sprouting*
- a. *Pam will read but she won't **in the LIBRARY** $\langle_{VP} \text{ read } x_T \rangle$
 - b. *Pam will read but she won't **with PHIL** $\langle_{VP} \text{ read } x_T \rangle$

4.4 Minimize Focus Domains

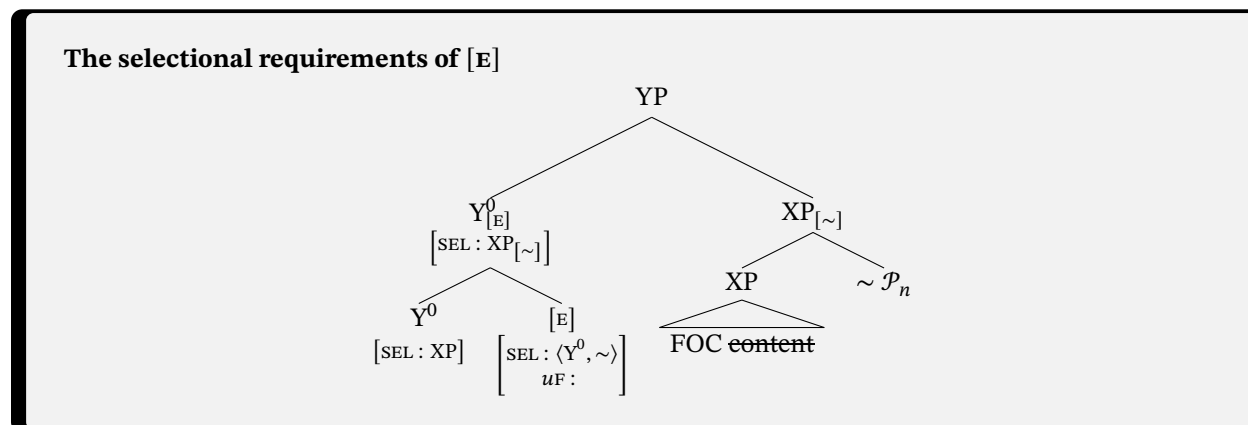
A Thread to Pull. A remnant sprouted in a sub-clausal ellipsis site that achieves clause-level scope is not obviously predicted to be ungrammatical.

- (75) a. PAM will read **the article** and **the BOOK₁** SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$
- b. *PAM will read and **the BOOK₁** SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$

Illicit QUD Antecedent. An implicated sorting question would incorrectly license sprouted ellipsis (see Büring 2003, Winkler 2005, Constant 2014)

- (76) *PAM will read and $[[_{FD} \text{the BOOK}_1 \text{ SUE will } \langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_3]$
 - i.) $[[_{FD}]^f = \{ p : p = \text{that } x \text{ will read } y \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{Sue}), y \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$
 - ii.) $[_{QUD} \text{Who will read what?}]_3$
 $[[_{QUD}_3]^o = \{ p : p = \text{that } x \text{ will read } y \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{who}), y \in \text{Alt}(\text{what}) \}$
 - iii.) $[[_{QUD}_3]^o \subseteq [[_{FD}]^f$, ellipsis is *incorrectly* permitted

Lexical Selection for ~. Selection of ~ by the licensing feature [E] (indirectly) constrains the interpretation of focus (e.g., Rooth 1992a, Aelbrecht 2010).³



Minimizing Focus Domains. An [E] that presupposes redundancy of its complement ensures that the FD is in the scope of the head selected by selected by [E].

- (77) $[\text{PAM will read } *(\text{the article})]$ and $[\text{the BOOK}_1 \text{ SUE will}_{[E]} [_{FD} \langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_3]$

The Contrast. The contrast is expected with the permission of calculating focus alternatives with reference to lower-copies (e.g., Sauerland 1998, Takahashi & Fox 2005, Erlewine 2014, Griffiths 2019a).

- Merger : Merger ellipsis is licensed by anaphoricity to the overt syntax.

- (78) PAM will $[_{SYN} \text{read the article}]_2$ and $[\text{the BOOK}_1 \text{ SUE will}_{[E]} [_{FD} \langle_{VP} \langle_{SUE} \text{read } \langle_{x_1} \text{BOOK} \rangle \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_2]$
 - i.) $[[_{FD}]^f = \{ p : p = x \text{ read } y \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{Sue}), y \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$
 - ii.) $[[_{SYN}_2]^o = \{ p : p = \text{Pam read the article} \}$
 - iii.) $[[_{SYN}_2]^o \subseteq [[_{FD}]^f$, ellipsis is permitted

- **Sprouting**: Due to an irreconcilable conflict between different antecedence conditions, neither the syntax nor an accommodated QUD provides a suitable AC.

(79) *PAM will [_{SYN} read]₂ and [**the BOOK**₁ SUE will_[E] [_{FD} <_{VP} <SUE> read <the x_T BOOK> >] ~ \mathcal{P}_2]

i.) $\llbracket \text{FD} \rrbracket^f = \{ p : p = x \text{ read } y \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{Sue}), y \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$

ii.) $\llbracket \text{SYN}_2 \rrbracket^o = \{ p : p = \text{Pam read} \}$

iii.) $\llbracket \text{SYN}_2 \rrbracket^o \subseteq \llbracket \text{FD} \rrbracket^f$, ellipsis is not permitted

(80) *PAM will read and [**the BOOK**₁ SUE will_[E] [_{FD} <_{VP} <SUE> read <the x_T BOOK> >] ~ \mathcal{P}_3]

i.) $\llbracket \text{FD} \rrbracket^f = \{ p : p = x \text{ read } y \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{Sue}), y \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$

ii.) [_{QUD} Who will read what?]₃

$\llbracket \text{QUD}_3 \rrbracket^o = \{ p : p = \text{that } x \text{ will read } y \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{who}), y \in \text{Alt}(\text{what}) \}$

iii.) $\llbracket \text{QUD}_3 \rrbracket^o \subseteq \llbracket \text{FD} \rrbracket^f$, ellipsis is not permitted

5 The Diagnostic Utility of Sprouting

The Sprouting Diagnostic. Sprouting could serve as a sufficient, though not necessary, condition on clausal ellipsis.

Have Space to Sprout

Sprouting in an ellipsis site E is not permitted if E is sub-clausal.

The diagnostic utility of sprouting

The availability of sprouting is indicative of the availability of clausal ellipsis.

5.1 Stripping in English

Canonical Stripping. The material in a non-initial conjunct is omitted, leaving behind a remnant.

- **Large Conjuncts**: High coordination—coordination of CP or TP—with ellipsis of a clausal constituent to the exclusion of a remnant (e.g., Depiante 2000, Kolokonte 2008, Thoms 2016).

(81) [_{CP} [_{CP} Sue will read **the article**], but not [_{CP} **the BOOK**₁ [_{IP} Sue will read x_T >]]

- **Small Conjuncts**: Low coordination—coordination of AspP, AgrP, or VP—could in principle deliver the same result (e.g., Lechner 2004, Konietzko 2016, Hirsch 2017, Johnson 2019).

(82) Sue will [_{VP} [_{VP} read **the article**] but not [_{VP} **the BOOK**₁ <_{VP} read x_T >]]

Diagnostic Sprouting. The availability of sprouting suggests the possibility of clausal ellipsis.

(83) [_{CP} [_{CP} Sue will read], but not [_{CP} **the BOOK**₁ <_{IP} Sue will read x_T >]]

Scope of Coordination. Both large and small conjunct structures appear to be available to derive stripping configurations (e.g., Siegel 1987, Winkler 2005, Johnson 2019).

(84) *Stripping in a large-conjunct coordination structure*

- a. *Context* : Ward is entertaining a guest and requests that they each be served an appetizer. Ward shares that both he and his guest suffer from severe allergies to seafood. This means that ...
- b. [CP WARD can’t eat caviar] and [CP his GUEST \setminus \langle ~~can’t eat caviar~~ \rangle too]
 $\neg \Diamond P \wedge \neg \Diamond Q$: “Ward can’t eat caviar and his guest also can’t eat caviar.”

(85) *Stripping in a small-conjunct coordination structure*

- a. *Context* : Ward is entertaining a guest and requests to be served a tin of caviar. Ward, being unwilling to share, insists that his guest be offered a separate portion of caviar. There is, however, only a single tin on hand. This means that ...
- b. WARD can’t [VP eat caviar] and [VP his GUEST \setminus \langle eat caviar \rangle too]
 $\neg \Diamond (P \wedge Q)$: “It’s not possible both for Ward to eat caviar and for his guest to eat caviar.”

Large Conjunct Stripping. High-adjoined epistemic adverbs, which should require large conjuncts (see Cinque 1999, Ernst 2009), disambiguate the structure as one with large conjuncts.

(86) *Stripping in a large-conjunct coordination structure*

- a. *Context* : Ward is entertaining a guest and requests that they each be served an appetizer. Ward shares that both he and his guest suffer from severe seafood allergies. Under these circumstances, ...
- b. [CP [CP WARD can’t eat caviar] and [CP **probably** his GUEST \setminus \langle ~~can’t eat caviar~~ \rangle too]]
 $\neg \Diamond P \wedge \neg \Diamond Q$: “Ward can’t eat caviar and probably his guest also can’t eat caviar”

A Note on Gapping. If Gapping is ellipsis, then the inability for sprouted gapping suggests that even “large” conjuncts are relatively small.

- (87) Pam will read ***(the article)** and SUE \langle ~~read x_1~~ \rangle **the BOOK₁**

5.2 Modal Complement Ellipsis in Catalan

Modal Complement Ellipsis (MCE). Root modals cross-linguistically permit ellipsis of or within their infinitival complement.

- Predicate Ellipsis : Sub-clausal constituents in the complement of root modals can be elided.

- (88) Anouk wil wel komen, maar ze₁ kan niet [TP t₁ \langle ~~VoiceP **komen**~~ \rangle]
 Anouk wants PRT come but she can not come
 ‘Anouk wants to come but she can’t.’ (Dutch; Aelbrecht 2010)

- (89) Jan jim pomohl, ale Marie bohužel nemohla \langle ~~VoiceP ...~~ \rangle
 Jan them.DAT helped but Marie unfortunately NEG.could
 ‘John helped them, but unfortunately Marie could not.’ (Czech; Gruet-Skrabalova 2020)

- Clausal Ellipsis : Clausal constituents in the complement of root modals can be elided.

- (90) Tom a pu voir Lee, mais Marie₁ n’a pas pu \langle ~~TP t₁ **voir Lee**~~ \rangle
 Tom has can see Lee, but Maire NEG-has not can see Lee
 ‘Tom could see Lee but Mary couldn’t.’ (French; Dagnac 2010)

- (91) Me encantaría ayudar a tu primo, pero realmente no puedo $\langle \text{TP } \dots \rangle$
 me love.COND.3SG to.help to your cousin but really not can.1SG.PRES
 ‘I’d love to help your cousin, but I really can’t.’ (Spanish; Fernández-Sánchez 2021)

Catalan MCE. The complements to Catalan root modals, which show restructuring effects (Picallo 1990), can be omitted and show connectivity effects.

- (92) La Maria pot llegir el llibre pero l’ Elena no pot $\langle \text{VP } \text{llegir el llibre} \rangle$
 the Maria can read the book but the Elena not can read the book
 ‘Maria can read the book but Elena cannot.’
- (93) La Maria pot llegir l’ **article**, pero **el llibre**₁, (ella) no pot $\langle \text{VP } \text{llegir } x_{\text{T}} \rangle$
 the Maria can read the article but the book, she NEG can read
 ‘Maria can read the article, but the book she cannot.’

Diagnostic Sprouting. The availability of sprouting suggests the possibility of clausal ellipsis.

- French MCE : A remnant can be sprouted from the elided clausal complement of a root modal.

- (94) Il ne vote jamais (**contre un candidat**), mais **contre Don**₁, il₁ pourrait $\langle \text{TP } \text{ne vote} \rangle$
 he PRT votes never against a candidate but against Don he could
 ‘He never votes (against a candidate), but against Don he could.’

- Catalan MCE : A remnant *cannot* be sprouted from the elided complement of a root modal.

- (95) La Maria pot llegir ***(l’ article)**, pero **el llibre**₁, (ella) no pot $\langle \text{VP } \text{llegir } x_{\text{T}} \rangle$
 the Maria can read the article but the book, she NEG can
 ‘Maria can read (the article), but the book she can’t.’

Sprouted Stripping. Sprouting is in principle possible in Stripping configurations in both languages.

- French Stripping : A remnant can be sprouted from the elided clausal constituent.

- (96) Il a voté (**pour un candidat**), mais pas **pour Don**₁ $\langle \text{TP } \text{il a voté } x_{\text{T}} \rangle$
 he has voted for a candidate but not for Don he has voted
 ‘He voted (for a candidate) but not for Don.’

- Catalan Stripping : A remnant can be sprouted from the elided clausal constituent.

- (97) La Maria pot llegir (**l’ article**), pero no **el llibre**₁ $\langle \text{TP } \text{la Maria pot llegir } x_{\text{T}} \rangle$
 the Maria can read the article but NEG the book the Maria can read
 ‘Maria can read (the article), but not the book.’

An Expected Correlation. The unavailability of sprouting should be correlated with other indicators for predicate ellipsis, including voice mismatches (e.g., Merchant 2013, Sailor 2014).

- French MCE : Voice mismatches are not permitted in the elided clausal complement of root modals (Dagnac 2010).

- (98) *Ce problème aurait dû $[\text{VP}_{\text{PAS}} \text{ être résolu}]$, mais visiblement personne n’ a pu $\langle \text{TP } \dots [\text{VP}_{\text{ACT}} \dots] \rangle$
 this problem should be solved but obviously nobody PRT could
 ‘This problem should be solved but obviously nobody could.’ (French; Dagnac 2010)

- Catalan MCE : Voice mismatches are permitted in the elided complement of root modals.

(99) Aquest problema hauria de [VP_{PAS} ser resolt], però ningú (no) ha pogut <VP_{ACT} ... >
 this problem should be resolved but nobody NEG could
 'This problem should be resolved, but nobody could.'

Predicate Ellipsis in Catalan. Catalan MCE shows properties consistent with the ellipsis of a predicate.⁴

(100) La Maria pot llegir el llibre, però l' Elena no pot <VP ~~llegir el llibre~~>
 the Maria can read the book but the Elena not can read the book
 'Maria can read the book but Elena cannot'

6 Conclusion

A Constraint on Sprouting. The possibility for sprouting is gated by the size of the elided constituent.

Have Space to Sprout

Sprouting in an ellipsis site E is not permitted if E is sub-clausal.

Possibility of sprouting as a function of the size of the elided constituent

	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

The Analysis. This constraint on sprouting represents an irreconcilable conflict between differential antecedence conditions on ellipses:

The differential antecedence conditions on ellipses

- ① Predicate Ellipses : Must be anaphoric to the overt syntax.
- ② Sprouting Ellipses : Must be anaphoric to an accommodated QUD.

A Prediction. Sprouting may serve as a sufficient, although not necessary, indicator for the availability of clausal ellipsis.

The diagnostic utility of sprouting

The availability of sprouting is indicative of the availability of clausal ellipsis.

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The responsibility for any errors or misrepresentations of the ideas of others lies solely with the author.

Notes

¹**Sprouting in NP-Ellipsis.** There is a question of how NP-Ellipsis fits into the proposed generalization. I am not entirely in control of the facts at present. However, Karlos Arregi (p.c.) points to research by Lipták & Saab (2014) and Eguren (2010) while also providing the following example of apparent sprouting in Spanish NP-Ellipsis.

- (101) A: ¿Te gusta leer novelas?
 CL.2S.DAT like.PRS.3S read.inf novels.F
 ‘Do you like to read novels?’
- B: Sí. Sobre todo me gustan [DP las ⟨NP ~~novelas~~⟩ de Cortázar].
 Yes above all CL.1S.DAT like.PRS.3P the.FP novels of Cortazar
 I do. I especially like Cortazar’s novels.

The English examples below, which are adapted from Merchant (2022), seem to point in different directions.

- (102) a. [DP The compound’s reaction ***(to light)**]
 was more intense than [DP the solution’s ⟨NP ~~reaction~~⟩ **to heat**].
- b. [DP That reaction **?(to light)**] was more intense than [DP the one **to heat**].

Gerundive nominals are more tricky, but appear to not counter-exemplify the generalization.

- (103) *[DP Mary’s reading **((of) Pride and Prejudice)**]
 was more expected than [DP Sarah’s ⟨NP ~~reading~~⟩ **(of) Dune**]

²**Inquisitive Semantics.** An alternative execution of this idea is developed by AnderBois (2011, 2014) within the framework of Inquisitive Semantics (Groenendijk & Roelofsen 2009). See Kotek & Barros 2019 for discussion.

³**Lambda Intervention.** Another means of controlling the size of FDs could appeal to the idea that predicate abstraction disrupts the computation of focus alternative values (Shan 2004, Kotek 2019, Griffiths 2019a).

- (104) *λ-Intervention*
 * ~ \mathcal{P}_n ... λ ... FOC

A smaller FD could be understood to avoid this problem:

- (105) *[PAM will read (the article)] and [~ \mathcal{P}_3 [FD the BOOK₁ λ 1 SUE will]_[E] ⟨VP ~~read~~ x_T ⟩]]

- (106) [PAM will read ***(the article)**] and [the BOOK₁ SUE will]_[E] [FD ~ \mathcal{P}_3 ⟨VP ~~read~~ x_T ⟩]]

The validity and utility of the λ -Intervention constraint has been called into question (Charlow 2021, Stockwell 2020), motivating our exploration of an alternative.

⁴**The VPE Problem.** This is a potentially surprising conclusion given the observation that Catalan does not otherwise permit predicate ellipsis:

- (107) *La Maria ha llegit el llibre però l’ Elena no ha \langle_{VP} ~~llegit el llibre~~ \rangle
 the Maria has read the book but the Elena NEG has read the book
 ‘Maria has read the book, but Elena hasn’t’

There are at least two ways to move forward given these and other facts about Catalan MCE. One might understand the issue as one in which modals, but not auxiliaries, license ellipsis via [E] and restructuring bleeds ellipsis, as proposed by Fernández-Sánchez (2021). Alternatively, one may approach the data from the view that ellipsis bleeds (generalized) restructuring, as discussed by Saab (2022).

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