

Indivisible portmanteaux and the timing of ellipsis

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A mystery with stripping copulas

- (1) Pisti otthon volt, de Ildi nem
Pisti at.home be.3SG.PST, but Ildi NEG ~~be.3SG.PST AT.HOME~~
'Pisti was at home, but not Ildi.'
- (2) Pisti otthon van, de én nem
Pisti at.home be.3SG.PRS, but 1SG NEG ~~be.1SG.PRS AT.HOME~~
'Pisti is at home, but not me.'
- (3) * Pisti otthon van, de Ildi nem
Pisti at.home be.3SG.PRS, but Ildi NEG ~~be.3SG.PRS AT.HOME~~
Int: 'Pisti is at home, but not Ildi.'

► Why can't we elide 3rd person present copulas?

The copular paradigms

Table: Affirmative singular copulas

	PRS.IND	PST.IND	SJV
1SG	vagyok	voltam	legyek
2SG	vagy	voltál	legy(él)
3SG	van	volt	legyen

Table: Negative singular copulas

	PRS.IND	PST.IND	SJV
1SG	nem vagyok	nem voltam	ne legyek
2SG	nem vagy	nem voltál	ne legy(él)
3SG	nincs , *nem van	nem volt	ne legyen

Subjunctives

- Subjunctive → No portmanteau: *ne legyen* → ✓ellipsis

(4) Megkövetelem, hogy a Dóri itthon legyen, de
require.1SG.PRS C DEF Dóri at.home be.SJV.3SG, but
megengedem, hogy a Peti ne
allow.1SG.PRS, C DEF Peti NEG.SJV
'I require that Dóri be at home, but I allow that Peti not
be.'

Ellipsis and copulas

- (5) Pisti otthon volt, de Ildi nem (volt)
Pisti at.home be.3SG.PST, but Ildi NEG be.3SG.PST
'Pisti was at home, but not Ildi.'
- (6) Pisti otthon van, de én nem (vagyok)
Pisti at.home be.3SG.PRS, but 1SG NEG be.1SG.PRS
'Pisti is at home, but not me.'
- (7) Pisti otthon van, de Ildi nincs/*nem
Pisti at.home be.3SG.PRS, but Ildi NEG.be.3SG.PRS/*NEG
Int: 'Pisti is at home, but not Ildi.'
- For the portmanteau, stripping is not possible
 - *nincs* can't be split into *nem* ~~COP.PRS.3SG~~

Data summary

- ▶ Hungarian stripping can (usually) elide the complement of negation
- ▶ But a portmanteau across the ellipsis boundary blocks ellipsis
 - ▶ Not 3rd person → no portmanteau → ✓ellipsis
 - ▶ Not present tense → no portmanteau → ✓ellipsis
 - ▶ Not indicative → no portmanteau → ✓ellipsis
 - ▶ 3, PRS, IND → portmanteau → ✗ellipsis

Timing of portmanteaux

- ▶ The possibility of a portmanteau across the boundary blocks ellipsis
- ▶ So, ellipsis sites must be accessible until we know if a portmanteau will form
- ▶ This raises the question of when the pieces of the portmanteau are brought together
- ▶ Possibilities:
 - ▶ Pre-syntactically, through listed bundles
 - ▶ Syntactically, through movement
 - ▶ Post-syntactically

Do portmanteaux form pre-syntactically?

- ▶ Not if we assume *Late Insertion* and *No Bundling*
- ▶ Why *No Bundling*?
 - ▶ We have to list NEG,COP,PRS,3SG at least once in the Lexicon/Encyclopedia
 - ▶ A pre-syntactic bundle of the same features would duplicate this listing
 - ▶ So let's try to do with just listing special feature bundles just once
- ▶ So portmanteaux do not form pre-syntactically, by assumption
- ▶ But ask me about Cypriot Greek-internal reasons to assume *No Bundling* too!

Do portmanteaux form syntactically?

- (8) a. Ildi otthon van/volt
Ildi at.home COP.3SG.PRS/COP.3SG.PST
'Ildi is/was at home.'
- b. Ildi nincs otthon
Ildi NEG.COP.3SG.PRS at.home
'Ildi is not at home.'
- c. Ildi nem volt otthon
Ildi NEG COP.3SG.PST at.home
'Ildi was not at home.'
- ▶ All verbs appear adjacent to negation (É. Kiss, 2002)
 - ▶ No evidence of difference in syntactic positions of NEG and COP based on portmanteau status
 - ▶ So portmanteau do not form syntactically

Post-syntactic portmanteaux

- ▶ Options:
 - ▶ Fusion (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Halle, 1997)
 - ▶ Non-terminal insertion (Caha, 2009; Svenonius, 2016)
 - ▶ Contextual allomorphy (Trommer, 1999)
- ▶ I will present an analysis with non-terminal insertion
- ▶ Fusion can probably also be made to work, but contextual allomorphy will not work

Negation in Hungarian

- ▶ The positions of negation and the verb are contentious
- ▶ Following É. Kiss (2002) and Surányi (2002), I assume the verb moves to the edge of the sister of NEG

(9) NEG [[COP TNS AGR] ... [... AT.HOME ...*t* ...]]

- ▶ The exact position is not important, so I won't pick a side
- ▶ This will allow the ellipsis site to be a constituent

Prelude to the analysis

- ▶ So far, you're probably expecting portmanteau formation to precede ellipsis wholesale
- ▶ I'm actually going to propose that they're interleaved in a specific way
- ▶ This is necessary to capture post-syntactic interactions of ellipsis and allomorphy

Capturing indivisible portmanteaux

- ▶ Portmanteaux spell out sequences of structurally adjacent heads (spanning, Svenonius, 2016)
- ▶ Ellipsis is the post-syntactic effect of an \bar{E} feature (Merchant, 2001)
- ▶ Insertion algorithm operates as follows:
 1. Find the lowest terminal unassociated with an exponent
 2. If it is $[E]$, delete its complement
 3. Associate an exponent to the biggest span anchored by the active target such that a single VI is at least as good at exponing the features of the span as multiple separate VIs (c.f. Haugen & Siddiqi, 2016:369)
 4. Repeat from start until no unassociated terminals remain

Non-elliptical cases

(10) a. *nincs* \leftrightarrow $\langle \text{NEG, COP, PRS, 3SG} \rangle$

b. *nem* \leftrightarrow NEG

c. *van* \leftrightarrow $\langle \text{COP, PRS, 3SG} \rangle$

d. *volt* \leftrightarrow $\langle \text{COP, PST, 3SG} \rangle$

(11) NEG [[COP PRS 3SG] ... [... AT.HOME ...]]



nincs



otthon

(12) NEG [[COP PST 3SG] ... [... AT.HOME ...]]



nem



volt



otthon

Ellipsis of a non-portmanteau

(13) a. NEG E [[COP PST 3SG] ... [... AT.HOME ...]]

otthon

b. NEG E [[COP PST 3SG] ... [... AT.HOME ...]]

volt
otthon

c. NEG E [[COP PST 3SG] ... [... AT.HOME ...]]

volt
otthon

d. NEG E [[COP PST 3SG] ... [... AT.HOME ...]]

nem
volt
otthon

Elliptically indivisible portmanteau

(14) a.

$\sqrt{\text{ILDI}}$ [NEG E [[COP PRS 3SG] ... [... AT.HOME ...]]]
otthon

b.

$\sqrt{\text{ILDI}}$ [NEG E [[COP PRS 3SG] ... [... AT.HOME ...]]]
nincs otthon

c.

$\sqrt{\text{ILDI}}$ [NEG E [[COP PRS 3SG] ... [... AT.HOME ...]]]
ildi nincs otthon

Discussion

- ▶ E gets associated with an exponent when COP is the target
- ▶ Insertion never targets E when it's exponed by a portmanteau VI
- ▶ So E does not trigger deletion of its complement in this case
- ▶ E is in the middle of a portmanteau → it will not be targeted → no ellipsis

Why are ellipsis and portmanteaux interleaved?

- Sailor (forthcoming) and Ronai & Stigliano (2020) have observed that ellipsis bleeds allomorphy

(15) A [B C]

(16) a. ✗A \leftrightarrow *mimsy* / _ B

b. ✓A \leftrightarrow *brillig*

- If insertion preceded ellipsis deletion wholesale, we could not capture this

How ellipsis bleeds allomorphy

- ▶ At the point of insertion of anything at or above E, the ellipsis site has been obliterated
- ▶ This means contextual allomorphy should be bled by ellipsis of the trigger

(17) A E [B €]
 ⋮ ⋮
 tove slithy

- (18) a. ✗A ↔ *mimsy* / _ B
 b. ✓A ↔ *brillig*

Why *nincs* is not the result of allomorphy

- ▶ Trommer (1999) proposes that portmanteaux are two cases of allomorphy
- ▶ *nincs* cannot be the result of allomorphy because ellipsis interacts with it differently
 - ▶ With portmanteau formation in Hungarian, ellipsis is blocked
 - ▶ But with allomorphy, ellipsis blocks it

The timing of ellipsis

- ▶ Various proposals have been put forth about what happens to features inside ellipsis sites
 - ▶ Deleted in the syntax (Baltin, 2012)
 - ▶ Segregated Transfer (Aelbrecht, 2010; Sailor, forthcoming)
 - ▶ Deleted in the post-syntax (Murphy, 2016)
 - ▶ Non-insertion (Park, 2017; Saab, forthcoming)
- ▶ Hungarian portmanteaux show that the early deletion/isolation approaches cannot be right for this case

Why early deletion/isolation doesn't work

- ▶ Suppose ellipsis = syntactic deletion or Segregated Transfer
- ▶ The PF cycle with NEG would see this:

(19) BUT [$\sqrt{\text{ILDI}}$ [NEG E ✕]]

- ▶ ✕ is either nothing, or was interpreted in the previous cycle
- ▶ So PF operations cannot cross ellipsis boundaries
- ▶ But Indivisibility requires PF access across an ellipsis boundary

Conclusion

- ▶ NEG+COP portmanteau blocks stripping in Hungarian
- ▶ Contents of ellipsis site cannot be deleted before we decide whether a portmanteau is possible
- ▶ Post-syntactic portmanteau-formation means the ellipsis site is PF-accessible
 - ▶ No syntactic deletion or Segregated Transfer
- ▶ A possible implementation involves ellipsis by post-syntactic deletion and portmanteau by spanning

Things I ran out of time for

- ▶ You can ask me about these in the Q& A!
 1. Why Total Impoverishment (Murphy, 2016) doesn't work
 2. The pattern of elliptical indivisibility in Cypriot Greek
 3. Why Cypriot Greek may be a problem for a Fusion analysis
 4. How Cypriot Greek may provide another reason to adopt *No Bundling*
 5. How a non-Insertion approach (Park, 2017; Saab, forthcoming) might work

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Elliptical divisibility in Cypriot Greek I

Table: Cypriot Greek periphrastic future constructions

	is going to	was going to
AFF	en na	itan na
NEG	tha	itan na

- Merchant & Pavlou (2017) argue *tha* in Cypriot Greek is a portmanteau of the present tense copula *en* and the subordinator *na* in the presence of matrix negation

Elliptical divisibility in Cypriot Greek II

- Same pattern of elliptical indivisibility:

- (20) O Yannis itan na pai ekso
the Yannis be.PST.3 C go.PFV.NPST.3SG out
extes, ala i Maria en itan
yesterday, but the Maria NEG be.PST.3
'Yannis was going to go out yesterday, but Maria was
not.' (Merchant & Pavlou, 2017:243), ex. 23a
- (21) * O Yannis en na pai ekso
the Yannis be.NPST.3 C go.PFV.NPST.3SG out
avrio, ala i Maria en en
tomorrow, but the Maria NEG be.NPST.3
Int: 'Yannis is going to go out tomorrow, but Maria is
not.'

Elliptical divisibility in Cypriot Greek III

- ▶ Nothing wrong with *en en* sequence in general though:

(22) Ta mora en en arosta
the children NEG be.NPST.3 sick

‘The children are not sick.’ (Merchant & Pavlou,
2017:239), ex. 15a

- ▶ So it seems Cypriot Greek shows the same thing as Hungarian: when a portmanteau crosses an ellipsis boundary, it cannot be split

A problem for Fusion?

- (23) En tha mairepso che na kathariso
NEG THA cook.PFV.NPST.1SG AND C clean.PFV.NPST.1SG
avrio
TOMORROW
'I will not [cook and clean] tomorrow' (*Merchant & Pavlou, 2017:245*), ex. 26a

- ▶ Fusion operates on sister terminals, so would require head movement of C to cop
- ▶ But *tha* can form out of *cop* and the first C in a co-ordination
- ▶ So we would need CSC-violating head-movement out one conjunct only...

Why No Bundling?

- ▶ Modelling indivisibility with pre-syntactic bundling requires ruling out the unbundled option
 - ▶ e.g. Economical to use the fewest number of feature bundles
- ▶ But in Cypriot Greek, this would fail because adjacency is required for *tha*
- ▶ So Bundling is not an option in Cypriot Greek

(24) En en ute na mairepso supa ute na
NEG be.NPST.3 neither C cook.PFV.NPST.1SG soup nor C
kathariso to domatio avrio
clean.PFV.NPST.1SG the room tomorrow
'I will neither cook soup nor clean the room tomorrow.'
(Merchant & Pavlou, 2017:248), ex. 33

Total Impoverishment Murphy (2016)

(25) For any F , F a feature on L , $F \rightarrow \emptyset$ iff there is an L' such that F is on L' and $L_F \subseteq L'_F$

- ▶ The features on a terminal are deleted if they are all contained on some terminal in the antecedent
- ▶ Relax the identity requirement to subsets instead of proper subsets (c.f. Murphy, 2016:9, fn. 4)
- ▶ Modelling elliptical indivisibility:
Fusion \prec Impoverishment \prec Insertion

Total Impoverishment Murphy (2016) (cont.)

- ▶ After Fusion [NEG,COP,PRS,3SG] will not be a subset of the antecedent [COP,PRS,3SG]
- ▶ With any non-portmanteau, the ellipsis site will contain identical terminals to the antecedent
- ▶ So, as long as Fusion \prec Impoverishment, we can capture elliptical indivisibility
- ▶ But Fusion only applies to 3rd person copulas, so agreement features must already be present before Fusion

Total Impoverishment Murphy (2016) (cont.)

- ▶ Total Impoverishment needs feature identity, but a 1st person copula can be deleted under identity with a 3rd person one

(26) Pisti otthon van, de én nem
 Pisti at.home be.3SG.PRS, but 1SG NEG
 ‘Pisti is at home, but not me.’

- ▶ So agreement features must not yet be present at the time of Impoverishment
- ▶ Timing contradiction:
 - ▶ Agreement features are present before Fusion but not before Impoverishment
 - ▶ Yet Fusion precedes Impoverishment

Non-Insertion approaches

- ▶ Park (2017); Saab (forthcoming) propose that ellipsis is just non-Insertion
 - ▶ For Park (2017), it is deleting the phonological feature matrices that exponents would be inserted into
 - ▶ For Saab (forthcoming), it is deleting the trigger for Insertion
- ▶ These approaches can also capture elliptical indivisibility
- ▶ As long as one terminal in a span having a PFM/Insertion trigger is enough to associate with the whole span
- ▶ These approaches predict that both stripping and predicate ellipsis produce the same output when a portmanteau is involved