

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

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Setting up the Puzzle

Merger Clausal Ellipsis : A moved **remnant** with an overt **correlate** can escape an elided clausal constituent

- (1) a. *Sluicing* (e.g., Merchant 2001)
Sue will read **something**, but I forget **WHAT**₁ \langle IP ~~Sue will read x_T~~ \rangle
- b. *Stripping* (e.g., Depiante 2000)
Sue will read **the article**, but not **the BOOK**₁ \langle IP ~~Sue will read x_T~~ \rangle
- c. *Fragments* (e.g., Merchant 2004)
Q: Will Sue read **something**?
A: Yeah, **the BOOK**₁ \langle IP ~~Sue will read x_T~~ \rangle
-

Setting up the Puzzle

Sprouted Clausal Ellipsis : A moved **remnant** without an overt correlate can escape an elided clausal constituent

(2) a. *Sluicing* (e.g., Chung et al. 1995)

Sue will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ \langle IP ~~Sue will read x_T~~ \rangle



b. *Stripping* (e.g., Nakao et al. 2012)

Sue will read, but not **the BOOK**₁ \langle IP ~~Sue will read x_T~~ \rangle



c. *Fragments* (e.g., Weir 2014)

Q: Will Sue read?

A: Yeah, **the BOOK**₁ \langle IP ~~Sue will read x_T~~ \rangle



A Constraint on Sprouting : The availability of sprouting is gated by the size of the elided constituent

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

Setting up the Puzzle

Merger Predicate Ellipsis : A moved **remnant** with an overt **correlate** can escape an elided sub-clausal constituent

- (3) a. *Wh-remnant VPE* (e.g., Schuyler 2001)
Pam will read **the article**, but I forget **WHAT₁** SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$
- b. *Contrastive topic remnant VPE* (e.g., Schuyler 2001)
Pam will read **the article** and **the BOOK₁** SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$
- c. *Pseudogapping* (e.g., Gengel 2013)
Pam will read **the article**, but she won't **the BOOK₁** $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$
-
- The diagram illustrates the movement of remnants from VP ellipsis sites. In each example (a, b, c), a dashed arrow points from the x_T position in the VP ellipsis site $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$ to the remnant position. In (a), the remnant is **WHAT₁**. In (b), the remnant is **the BOOK₁**. In (c), the remnant is **the BOOK₁**.

Setting up the Puzzle

No Sprouted Predicate Ellipsis : A moved **remnant** without an overt correlate *cannot* escape an elided sub-clausal constituent

(4) a. *Wh-remnant VPE*

*Pam will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$



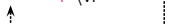
b. *Contrastive topic remnant VPE*

*Pam will read and **the BOOK**₁ SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$



c. *Pseudogapping*

*Pam will read, but she won't **the BOOK**₁ $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$



The Puzzle : The puzzle can be visualized as:

	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

Restricted Sprouting : A positional constraint on sprouting is too strong (e.g., Chung et al. 1995, 2011, Chung 2005, Larson 2014)

Contrast Principle : A requirement for a contrastively focused remnant-correlate pair is too strong (e.g., Romero 1998, Winkler 2005)

Scope Parallelism : A requirement for a scopally parallel remnant-correlate pair is too strong (e.g., Romero 2000, Merchant 2001, Thoms 2016)

Intervening Focus : A requirement for intervening focus is met (e.g., Schuyler 2001, Merchant 2008, Griffiths 2019, Stockwell 2020)

A Constraint on Sprouting : Sprouting is gated by the size of the elided constituent

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

The Framework : This analysis employs an ellipsis framework including:

Redundancy : A focus-based semantic identity condition on ellipsis (Rooth 1992b)

Recoverability : Antecedents can in principle be recovered from various types of linguistic objects (see also Overfelt 2020)

The Analysis : This constraint represents a conflict between differential antecedence conditions (see also AnderBois 2011, Weir 2014, Griffiths 2019, Overfelt 2020):

- ① **Predicate Ellipses** : must be anaphoric to the overt syntax
- ② **Sprouting Ellipses** : must be anaphoric to the (possibly implicit) QUD

- ❶ **A Constraint on Sprouting** : Sprouting is gated by the size of the elided constituent
 - Setting up the Puzzle*
 - Alternative Approaches (Appendix I)*

- ❷ **A Framework for Ellipsis** : Ellipsis is subject to a focus-based redundancy condition
 - Focus-Based Redundancy*
 - Flexible Antecedent Recoverability*
 - Constraining FDs (Appendix II)*

- ❸ **The Analysis** : There is a conflict between differential antecedence conditions on ellipses
 - ❶ *Clausal Ellipsis v. Predicate Ellipsis*
 - ❷ *Merger Ellipsis v. Sprouting Ellipsis*

- ❹ **Sprouting as a Diagnostic** : Sprouting indicates the availability of clausal ellipsis
 - Modal Complement Ellipsis*
 - Stripping in English (Appendix III)*

Identity : Ellipsis is subject to a level of identity with an antecedent.

(5) Sue will read the article, but not Δ the book.

- a. $\Delta =$ Sue will read
- b. $\Delta \neq$ Pam will read
- c. $\Delta \neq$ Sue will burn
- d. $\Delta \neq \dots$

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

(6) Ellipsis of some XP is permitted only if:

- i.) there is a Focus Domain (FD) that contains XP,
- ii.) there is an Antecedent Constituent (AC), and
- iii.) $\llbracket AC \rrbracket^o \subseteq \llbracket FD \rrbracket^f$

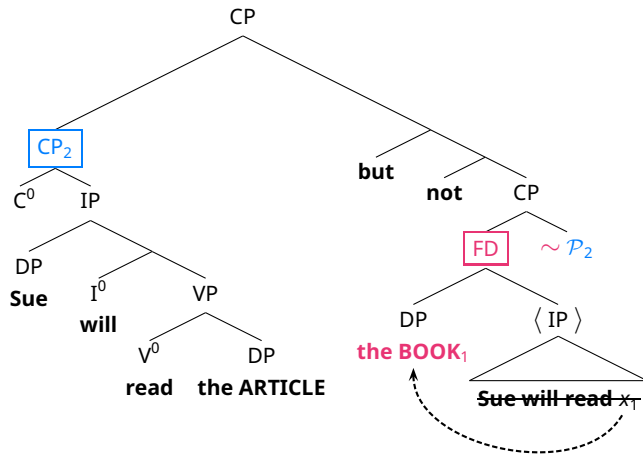
Focus Semantic Value : The focus interpretation operator \sim computes meanings while replacing **FOCUSED** constituents in its scope with alternatives (Rooth 1992a)

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

Ellipsis Framework : Redundancy

The Anaphoric Link : An **Antecedent Constituent** is recovered via an anaphoric link with the propositional variable \mathcal{P}

(8)



Ellipsis Framework : Redundancy

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

- (9) Ellipsis of some XP is permitted only if:
- i.) there is a **Focus Domain (FD)** that contains XP,
 - ii.) there is an **Antecedent Constituent (AC)**, and
 - iii.) $\llbracket \text{AC} \rrbracket^o \subseteq \llbracket \text{FD} \rrbracket^f$

Redundancy Calculation : Ellipsis is licensed by semantic redundancy with an AC recovered from the syntax (e.g., Hankamer & Sag 1976)

- (10) $\llbracket \text{AC Sue will read the article} \rrbracket_2$ but not $\llbracket \text{FD the BOOK}_1 \langle \text{IP Sue will read } x_1 \rangle \rrbracket \sim \mathcal{P}_2$
- i.) $\llbracket \text{FD} \rrbracket^f = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$
 - ii.) $\llbracket \text{AC}_{\text{SYN}} \rrbracket^o = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue will read the article} \}$
 - iii.) $\llbracket \text{AC}_{\text{SYN}} \rrbracket^o \subseteq \llbracket \text{FD} \rrbracket^f$, ellipsis is permitted

Recovering the Question: An AC for some ellipses must be recovered from a question meaning in the discourse

- (11) a. *Sluicing* (AnderBois 2011, Barros 2014)

Sue will read **something**, but I forget **WHAT**₁ \langle IP Sue will read ~~x~~_T \rangle



- b. *Fragments* (Reich 2007, Weir 2014)

Q: Will Sue read **something**?

A: Yeah, **the BOOK**₁ \langle IP Sue will read ~~x~~_T \rangle



Question Under Discussion : The QUD is a salient linguistic object with question meaning that guides contributions to the discourse (Büring 2003, Roberts 2012)

Explicit QUDs : The QUD can be made explicit with an overt question

- (12) A: What will Sue read?
 B: Sue will read the BOOK B': #Pam will read the BOOK

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

- (13) A: What will Sue do?
 B: She will read
 $\rightsquigarrow \{ \text{What will Sue read, When . . . , Where . . . , . . . } \}$
 And before you ask, she will read the BOOK

Focus and Anaphoricity : Rooth's (1992a) system of focus interpretation permits \mathcal{P}_n to be anaphoric to various kinds of linguistic objects

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

An AC can in principle be recovered from either:

the overt syntax or

a question meaning in the discourse

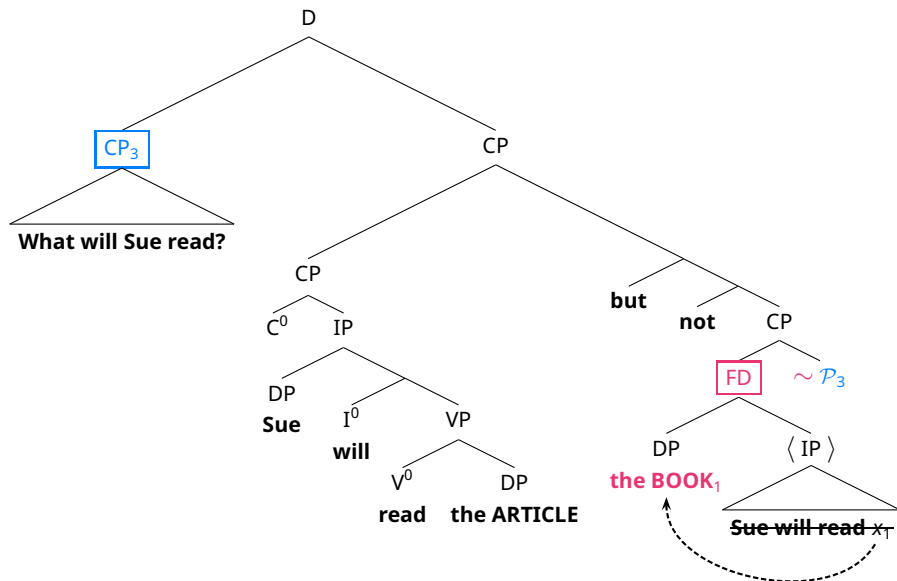
(see also Overfelt 2020)

The Game : Define the limits on the optionality a species of ellipsis has when recovering an AC

Ellipsis Framework : Flexible Recoverability

Anaphoricity to the QUD : The AC is recovered via an anaphoric link with a QUD in the discourse

(14)



Ellipsis Framework : Flexible Recoverability

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

- (15) Ellipsis of some XP is permitted only if:
- i.) there is a **Focus Domain (FD)** that contains XP,
 - ii.) there is an **Antecedent Constituent (AC)**, and
 - iii.) $\llbracket \text{AC} \rrbracket^o \subseteq \llbracket \text{FD} \rrbracket^f$

Redundancy Calculation : Ellipsis is licensed by semantic redundancy with a question meaning recovered from the discourse (Hamblin 1973, Rooth 1992a)

- (16) [Sue will read the article] but not $\llbracket \llbracket \text{FD the BOOK}_1 \langle \text{IP Sue will read } x_T \rangle \rrbracket \sim \mathcal{P}_3 \rrbracket$
- i.) $\llbracket \text{FD} \rrbracket^f = \{p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book}) \}$
 - ii.) $\llbracket \text{QUD What did Sue read?} \rrbracket_3$
 $\llbracket \text{AC}_{\text{QUD}} \rrbracket^o = \{p : p = \text{that Sue will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{what}) \}$
 - iii.) $\llbracket \text{AC}_{\text{QUD}} \rrbracket^o \subseteq \llbracket \text{FD} \rrbracket^f$, ellipsis is permitted

- ❶ **A Constraint on Sprouting** : Sprouting is gated by the size of the elided constituent
 - Setting up the Puzzle*
 - Alternative Approaches (Appendix I)*

- ❷ **A Framework for Ellipsis** : Ellipsis is subject to a focus-based redundancy condition
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- ❸ **The Analysis** : There is a conflict between differential antecedence conditions on ellipses
 - ❶ *Clausal Ellipsis v. Predicate Ellipsis*
 - ❷ *Merger Ellipsis v. Sprouting Ellipsis*

- ❹ **Sprouting as a Diagnostic** : Sprouting indicates the availability of clausal ellipsis
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A Constraint on Sprouting : The availability of sprouting is gated by the size of the elided constituent

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

The Analysis : This constraint represents a conflict between differential antecedence conditions (see also AnderBois 2011, Weir 2014, Griffiths 2019, Overfelt 2020):

- ① **Predicate Ellipses** : must be anaphoric to the overt syntax
- ② **Sprouting Ellipses** : must be anaphoric to the (possibly implicit) QUD

The Analysis : Clauses v. Predicates

The Effect of Size : Clausal and sub-clausal ellipses have differential antecedence conditions (AnderBois 2011, Weir 2014, Griffiths 2019)

Clausal Ellipses : can be anaphoric to the overt syntax or the (possibly implicit) QUD

① **Predicate Ellipses** : must be anaphoric to the overt syntax

Appositive Antecedents : Sluicing, but not VP-Ellipsis, disprefers recovering an AC from non-inquisitive content (AnderBois 2011)

(17) #Sue, who hired **someone** last week, forgets **WHO**₁ \langle ~~she hired~~ x_T \rangle

Exceptive Questions : VP-Ellipsis, but not Sluicing, is subject to *Schuyler's Generalization* (Griffiths 2019)

(18) John kissed MARY but I don't know **who ELSE**₁ (*he did) \langle . . . x_1 \rangle

The Analysis : Clauses v. Predicates

The Effect of Size : Clausal and sub-clausal ellipses have differential antecedence conditions
(AnderBois 2011, Weir 2014, Griffiths 2019)

Clausal Ellipses : can be anaphoric to the overt syntax or the (possibly implicit) QUD

① **Predicate Ellipses** : must be anaphoric to the overt syntax

Presupposition Inheritance : Fragment answers, but not VP-Ellipsis answers, inherit the presuppositions of the question (Weir 2014, Jacobson 2016)

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

A1: #Jimmy Buffett < ~~x_i wrote *Margaritaville*~~ >

A2: Jimmy Buffett did < ~~x_i write *Margaritaville*~~ >

The Analysis : Clauses v. Predicates

QUD AC for Stripping : A salient QUD provides an AC for Stripping

(20) [Sue will read the article] but not [[FD the BOOK_1 $\langle \text{IP Sue will read } x \rangle$] $\sim \mathcal{P}_3$]

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

ii.) [$\text{QUD What did Sue read?}$]₃

[AC_{QUD}]^o = { p : p = that Sue will read x | $x \in \text{Alt}(\text{what})$ }

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

No QUD AC for Pseudogapping : A linguistic object with a question meaning will not be a member of the focus alternative set of a predicate

(21) * [Pam will read the article] but she won't [[FD the BOOK_1 $\langle \text{VP read } x \rangle$] $\sim \mathcal{P}_3$]

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

ii.) [$\text{QUD What will Pam read?}$]₃

[AC_{QUD}]^o = { p : p = that Pam will read x | $x \in \text{Alt}(\text{what})$ }

iii.) [AC_{QUD}]^o $\not\subseteq$ [FD]^f, ellipsis is not permitted

The Analysis : Merger v. Sprouting

The Effect of Sprouting : Merger and sprouting ellipses have differential antecedence conditions (see also Overfelt 2020)

Merger Ellipses : can be anaphoric to the overt syntax or the (possibly implicit) QUD

② **Sprouting Ellipses** : must be anaphoric to the (possibly implicit) QUD

The Asymmetry : The syntax fails to provide an AC regardless of the representation of implicit arguments (e.g., Landau 2010, Bhatt & Pancheva 2017)

- (22) a. *Pam will read *pro*, but I forget **WHAT₁** SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$
b. Sue will read *pro*, but I forget **WHAT₁** $\langle_{IP} \text{Sue will read } x_T \rangle$

Other Asymmetries : Implicit arguments may fail to provide antecedents for Stripping (Overfelt 2020)

- (23) a. Sue will read **(the article)** { and probably / but not } **the BOOK₁** $\langle_{IP} \text{Sue will read } x_T \rangle$
b. Sue will read ***(the article)** { faster than / after } **the BOOK₁** $\langle_{IP} \text{Sue will read } x_T \rangle$

The Analysis : Merger v. Sprouting

The Effect of Sprouting : Merger and sprouting ellipses have differential antecedence conditions (see also Overfelt 2020)

Merger Ellipses : can be anaphoric to the overt syntax or the (possibly implicit) QUD

② **Sprouting Ellipses** : must be anaphoric to the (possibly implicit) QUD

No Alternatives : Implicit arguments do not provide salient alternatives for full DPs

Presupposition of *Too*. An implicit argument does not satisfy the presuppositions of additive *too* independent of ellipsis (see Winterstein 2011, Ahn 2015)

- (24) a. Kim read the article and she read the BOOK too.
b. #Kim read pro and she read the BOOK too.

No Syntactic AC for Sprouted Stripping : An AC cannot be recovered from the syntax for sprouting clausal ellipses

(25) * $\llbracket \text{AC Sue read} \rrbracket_2$ but not $\llbracket \text{FD the BOOK}_1 \langle \text{IP Sue read } x_1 \rangle \rrbracket \sim \mathcal{P}_2$

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

ii.) $\llbracket \text{AC}_{\text{SYN}} \rrbracket^o = \{ p : p = \text{that Sue read} \}$

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

QUD AC for Stripping : An AC can be recovered for sprouted clausal ellipses from the QUD implicated by the focused remnant (see also AnderBois 2011, Weir 2014, Kotek & Barros 2019)

- (26) [Sue read] but not [[_{FD} the BOOK₁ <_{IP} Sue read x_T>] $\sim \mathcal{P}_3$]
- i.) [_{FD}]^f = { $p : p = \text{that Sue read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{the book})$ } }
- ii.) [Sue read] \rightsquigarrow { [_{QUD} What did Sue read?]₃ , When . . . , Where . . . } }
- [_{AC_{QUD}}]^o = { $p : p = \text{that Sue read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{what})$ } }
- iii.) [_{AC_{QUD}}]^o \subseteq [_{FD}]^f, ellipsis is permitted

Implicit QUDs : The QUD can be chosen from a conversationally implicated family of questions (see Buring 2003, Roberts 2012)

- (27) A: What did Sue do?
B: Sue read
 \rightsquigarrow { What did Sue read, When . . . , Where . . . , . . . }
And before you ask, she read the BOOK

A Constraint on Sprouting : The availability of sprouting is gated by the size of the elided constituent

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

The Analysis : This constraint represents a conflict between differential antecedence conditions (see also AnderBois 2011, Weir 2014, Griffiths 2019, Overfelt 2020):

- ① **Predicate Ellipses** : must be anaphoric to the overt syntax
- ② **Sprouting Ellipses** : must be anaphoric to the (possibly implicit) QUD

The Analysis : Summary

The Puzzle : The puzzle can be visualized as:

	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

No Syntactic AC for Sprouted Pseudogapping : An AC cannot be recovered from the syntax for sprouting predicate ellipses

(28) *Pam will $[\text{AC read}]_2$ but she won't $[[\text{FD the BOOK}_1 \langle \text{IP read } x_1 \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_2]$

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

ii.) $[[\text{AC}_{\text{SYN}}]]^o = \{p : p = \text{read}\}$

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

The Analysis : Summary

The Puzzle : The puzzle can be visualized as:

	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

No QUD AC for Sprouted Pseudogapping : An AC cannot be recovered from the QUD for sprouting predicate ellipses

(29) * [Pam will read] but she won't [$[_{FD} \text{ the BOOK}_1 \langle \text{VP read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_3$]

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

ii.) [Pam will read] $\rightsquigarrow \{ [_{QUD} \text{ What will Pam read?}]_3, \text{When } \dots, \text{Where } \dots \}$

$[_{AC_{QUD}}]^o = \{ p : p = \text{that Pam will read } x \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{what}) \}$

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

The Analysis : Summary

The Puzzle : The puzzle can be visualized as:

	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

Syntactic AC for Merger Pseudogapping : An AC can be recovered from the syntax for merger predicate ellipses

(30) Pam will $[[_{AC} \text{ read the article }]_2]$ but she won't $[[_{FD} \text{ the BOOK}_1 \langle_{IP} \text{ read } x_1 \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_2]$

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

ii.) $[[_{AC_{SYN}}]^o = \{p : p = \text{read the article}\}$

iii.) $[[_{AC_{SYN}}]^o \subseteq [[_{FD}]^f$, ellipsis is permitted

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A Constraint on Sprouting : The availability of sprouting is gated by the size of the elided constituent

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

A Prediction : If being clausal ellipsis is a necessary (but not sufficient) condition on ellipsis:

The availability of sprouting indicates the availability of clausal ellipsis

Sprouting as a Diagnostic : Modal Complement Ellipsis

Dutch Modal Complement Ellipsis : Root modals in Dutch allow the VoiceP of their infinitival complements to be elided

- (31) Anouk wil wel komen, maar ze kan niet [TP t_{ze} <VoiceP ~~komen~~>]
Anouk wants PRT come but she can not come
'Anouk wants to come but she can't' (Dutch; Aelbrecht 2010)

French Modal Complement Ellipsis : Root modals in French allow their the TP of their infinitival complements to be elided

- (32) Tom a pu voir Lee, mais Marie n'a pas pu <TP t_{Marie} ~~voir Lee~~>
Tom has can see Lee, but Maire NEG-has not can see Lee
'Tom could see Lee but Mary couldn't' (French; Dagnac 2010)

Sprouting as a Diagnostic : Modal Complement Ellipsis

Catalan Modal Complement Ellipsis : Root modals in Catalan allow their infinitival complements to be elided

- (33) La Maria pot llegir el llibre pero l' Elena no pot ~~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'

(*Catalan*)

Restructuring : The infinitival complement of modals come in various sizes (see Picallo 1990, Wurmbrand 2003)

The availability of sprouting indicates the availability of clausal ellipsis

Sprouting as a Diagnostic : Modal Complement Ellipsis

French MCE Sprouting : A **remnant** without a **correlate** can escape an elided TP complement of a root modal

- (34) Il ne vote jamais (**contre un candidat**), mais **contre Tim₁**, il pourrait $\langle_{TP} \text{ } \overline{\text{t}_{II} \text{ vote}} \rangle$
he PRT votes never against a candidate but against Tim he could
'He never votes (against a candidate), but against Tim he could.'
(French)

No Catalan MCE Sprouting : A **remnant** without a **correlate** *cannot* escape an elided complement of a root modal

- (35) La Maria pot llegir ***(l' article)**, pero **el llibre₁**, (ella) no pot $\langle_{??} \overline{\text{llegir}} \rangle$
the Maria can read the article but the book, she NEG can
'Maria can read (the article), but the book she can't.'
(Catalan)

Sprouting as a Diagnostic : Modal Complement Ellipsis

In-Principle Sprouting : A **remnant** without a **correlate** can escape a Stripping site in both languages

- (36) Il a voté (**pour un candidat**), mais pas **pour Tim**₁ $\langle \text{IP } \text{il a voté } x_T \rangle$
he has voted for a candidate but not for Tim he has voted
'He voted (for a candidate) but not for Tim' (French)

- (37) La Maria pot llegir (**l' article**), pero no **el llibre**₁ $\langle \text{IP } \text{la Maria pot llegir } x_T \rangle$
the Maria can read the article but NEG the book the Maria can read
'Maria can read (the article), but not the book' (Catalan)

Sprouting as a Diagnostic : Modal Complement Ellipsis

Size-Based Mismatches : Voice and reflexivity mismatches are possible with ellipses that target constituents below VoiceP (e.g., Merchant 2013, Sailor 2014)

No Voice Mismatch in French MCE : French MCE does *not* permit voice mismatches (Dagnac 2010)

- (38) *Ce problème aurait dû [VP_{PAS} être résolu], mais visiblement personne n' a pu <_{TP} ... [VP_{ACT} ...]>
this problem should be solved but obviously nobody PRT could
'This problem should be solved but obviously nobody could' (French)

Voice Mismatch in Catalan MCE : Catalan MCE *does* permit voice mismatches

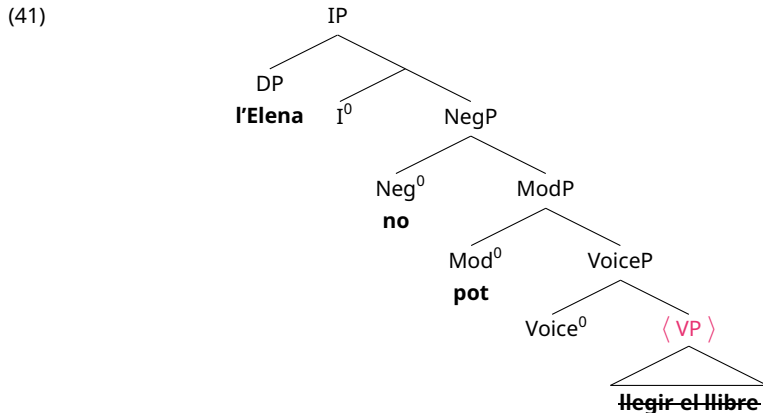
- (39) Aquest problema hauria de [VP_{PAS} ser resolt], però ningú (no) ha pogut <VP_{ACT} ... >
this problem should be resolved but nobody NEG could
'This problem should be resolved, but nobody could' (Catalan)

Sprouting as a Diagnostic : Modal Complement Ellipsis

Catalan MCE : Catalan MCE is ellipsis of a sub-clausal constituent (i.e., obligatory restructuring?)

- (40) La Maria pot llegir el llibre, pero l' Elena no pot ~~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'

(Catalan)



- ❶ **A Constraint on Sprouting** : Sprouting is gated by the size of the elided constituent
 - Setting up the Puzzle*
 - Alternative Approaches (Appendix I)*

- ❷ **A Framework for Ellipsis** : Ellipsis is subject to a focus-based redundancy condition
 - Focus-Based Redundancy*
 - Flexible Antecedent Recoverability*
 - Constraining FDs (Appendix II)*

- ❸ **The Analysis** : There is a conflict between differential antecedence conditions on ellipses
 - ❶ *Clausal Ellipsis v. Predicate Ellipsis*
 - ❷ *Merger Ellipsis v. Sprouting Ellipsis*

- ❹ **Sprouting as a Diagnostic** : Sprouting indicates the availability of clausal ellipsis
 - Modal Complement Ellipsis*
 - Stripping in English (Appendix III)*

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

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Appendix I : Alternative Approaches

The Puzzle : The puzzle can be visualized as:

	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

Restricted Sprouting : A positional constraint on sprouting is too strong (e.g., Chung et al. 1995, 2011, Chung 2005, Larson 2014)

- (42) a. Sue will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ \langle _{IP} ~~Sue will read~~ _x₁ \rangle
b. *Pam will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ SUE will \langle _{VP} ~~read~~ _x₁ \rangle

Appendix I : Alternative Approaches

The Puzzle : The puzzle can be visualized as:

	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

Focus Parallelism : A requirement for a contrastively focused remnant-correlate pair is too strong (e.g., Romero 1998, Winkler 2005)

(43) *Generalized Contrastive Focus Principle*

Remnants must occur in a contrastive relation to their correlates

- (44) a. Sue will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ \langle_{IP} ~~Sue will read~~ x_T \rangle
b. *Pam will read, but I forget **WHAT**₁ SUE will \langle_{VP} ~~read~~ x_T \rangle

Appendix I : Alternative Approaches

The Puzzle : The puzzle can be visualized as:

	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

Scope Parallelism : A requirement for scopally parallel remnant-corollate pairs is too strong (e.g., Romero 2000, Merchant 2001, Thoms 2016)

- (45) *Few kids ate *pro*, but I don't know **WHAT**₁ \langle_{IP} ~~few kids ate~~ $x_T \rangle$
"For few kids x , x ate, but I don't know, for what thing y , few kids ate y "
- (46) a. Sue will read *pro* but I forget **WHAT** \langle_{IP} ~~Sue will read~~ $x_T \rangle$
b. *Pam will read *pro*, but I forget **WHAT**₁ SUE will \langle_{VP} ~~read~~ $x_T \rangle$

Appendix I : Alternative Approaches

The Puzzle : The puzzle can be visualized as:

	Merger	Sprouting
Clausal	YES	YES
Sub-clausal	YES	NO

Intervening Focus : A requirement for intervening focus in predicate ellipsis is met (e.g., Schuyler 2001, Merchant 2008, Griffiths 2019, Stockwell 2020)

(47) *Schuyler's Generalization*

... there must be a contrastively focused expression in the reflexive c-command domain of the extracted phrase.

- (48) 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 $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$

Appendix II : Constraining FDs

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

(49) *Contrastive topic remnant VPE*

PAM will read ***(the ARTICLE)** and **the BOOK₁** SUE will $\langle_{VP} \text{read } x_T \rangle$



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

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

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

ii.) $\llbracket [_{QUD} \text{ Who will read what?}]_3 \rrbracket$

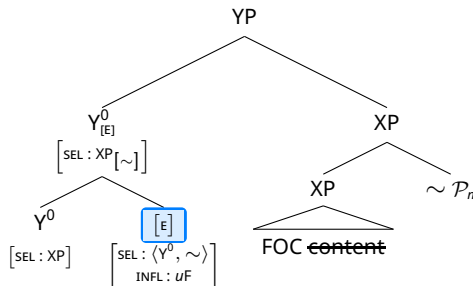
$\llbracket [_{AC_{QUD}}] \rrbracket^o = \{ p : p = \text{that } x \text{ will read } y \mid x \in \text{Alt}(\text{who}), y \in \text{Alt}(\text{what}) \}$

iii.) $\llbracket [_{AC_{QUD}}] \rrbracket^o \subseteq \llbracket [_{FD}] \rrbracket^f$, ellipsis is *incorrectly* permitted

Appendix II : Constraining FDs

A. Restricting Possible FDs : Selection of \sim by the licensing feature $[E]$ (indirectly) constrains interpretation of focus (e.g., Rooth 1992a, Aelbrecht 2010)

(51)



Minimize FDs : An $[E]$ that verifies the redundancy of its complement ensures the FD is in the scope of $[E]$

(52) $[\text{PAM will } [\text{read } \ast(\text{the article})]] \text{ and } [\text{the BOOK}_1 \text{ SUE will}_{[E]} [[\text{FD}_{\langle \text{VP read-xt} \rangle}] \sim P_3]$

B. Lambda-Intervention : Predicate abstraction disrupts computation of focus alternative values (see Kotek 2016, Griffiths 2019)

$$(53) \quad \lambda\text{-Intervention} \\ * \sim \mathcal{P}_n \dots \lambda \dots \text{FOC}$$

Avoid Lambda-Intervention : The desired result is that the focus semantic value of the attempted FD is not defined

$$(54) \quad * [\text{PAM will read (the article)}] \text{ and } [\sim \mathcal{P}_3 [_{\text{FD}} \text{ the BOOK } \lambda 1 \text{ SUE will } \langle_{\text{VP}} \text{ read } x_T \rangle]]$$

Minimize FDs : A smaller FD avoids a λ -Intervention configuration

$$(55) \quad [\text{PAM will } [\text{read } *(\text{the article})]] \text{ and } [\text{ the BOOK}_1 \text{ SUE will } [[_{\text{FD}} \langle_{\text{VP}} \text{ read } x_T \rangle] \sim \mathcal{P}_3]]$$

Canonical Stripping : A clausal constituent in a non-initial conjunct is omitted (e.g., Depiante 2000, Kolokonte 2008, Thoms 2016).

(56) $[_{CP} [_{CP} \text{ Sue will read the article }], \text{ but not } [_{CP} \text{ the BOOK}_1 \langle \text{IP Sue will read } x_T \rangle]]$

Small Conjuncts : Low coordination could in principle deliver the same result (e.g., Lechner 2004, Konietzko 2016, Hirsch 2017, Johnson 2019)

(57) Sue will $[_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ read the article }] \text{ but not } [_{VP} \text{ the BOOK}_1 \langle \text{VP read } x_T \rangle]]$

The availability of sprouting indicates the availability of clausal ellipsis

Scope of Coordination : Both small and large conjunct structures are available (e.g., Siegel 1987, Johnson 2019)

- (58) a. WARD can't $[_{VP} [_{VP} \text{eat caviar}] \text{ and } [_{VP} \text{his GUEST} \langle \text{eat caviar} \rangle \nearrow \text{TOO}]]$
 $\neg \Diamond (P \wedge Q)$: "It's not possible both for Ward to eat caviar and for his guest to eat caviar"
- b. $[_{CP} [_{CP} \text{WARD can't eat caviar}] \text{ and } [_{CP} \text{his GUEST} \langle \text{can't eat caviar} \rangle \text{ TOO} \searrow]]$
 $\neg \Diamond P \wedge \neg \Diamond Q$: "Ward can't eat caviar and his guest also can't eat caviar"

Canonical Stripping : High-adjoined epistemic adverbs force large conjuncts (see Ernst 2009).

- (59) $[_{CP} [_{CP} \text{WARD can't eat caviar}] \text{ and } [_{CP} \text{probably his GUEST} \langle \text{can't eat caviar} \rangle \text{ TOO} \searrow]]$
 $\neg \Diamond P \wedge \neg \Diamond Q$: "Ward can't eat caviar and probably his guest also can't eat caviar"