Indivisible portmanteaux and the timing of ellipsis

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WCCFL 39

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A mystery with stripping copulas

- 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.'
- 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 \rightarrow No portmanteau: *ne legyen* \rightarrow \checkmark 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.'
- 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 \rightarrow no portmanteau \rightarrow ✓ellipsis
 - ► Not present tense \rightarrow no portmanteau \rightarrow

 Vellipsis
 - ► Not indicative \rightarrow no portmanteau \rightarrow

 ellipsis
 - ▶ 3, PRS, IND \rightarrow portmanteau \rightarrow ×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/Encycopedia
 - 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

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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

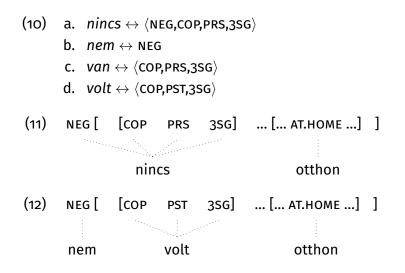
Prelude to the analysis

- 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

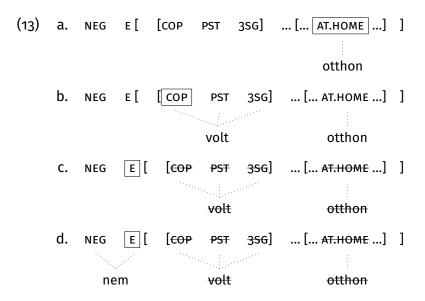
- Portmanteaux spell out sequences of structurally adjacent heads (spanning, Svenonius, 2016)
- Ellipsis is the post-syntactic effect of an E feature (Merchant, 2001)
- Insertion algorithm operates as follows:
 - 1. Find the lowest terminal unassociated with an exponent
 - 2. If it is [E], delete its 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



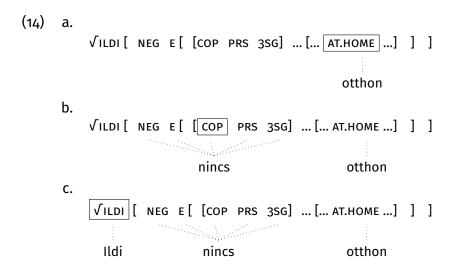
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Ellipsis of a non-portmanteau



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Elliptically indivisible portmanteau



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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
- $\blacktriangleright\,$ E is in the middle of a portmanteau $\rightarrow\,$ it will not be targeted \rightarrow 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. $\mathbf{X} A \leftrightarrow mimsy / _ B$
 - b. $\checkmark A \leftrightarrow brillig$
- 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

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 [√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, $F \to \emptyset$ 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 ~ Impoverishment ~ 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 ~ 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