

## Verb-stranding VP-ellipsis (VVPE)

**Phenomenon:** The lexical verb heading the VP is still pronounced when the VP is elided, as in Portuguese, Hebrew, and Russian. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as verb-stranding VP-ellipsis (VVPE).

- (1) a. Eu dei um livro pra Maria e o Pedro também **deu** (um livro pra Maria).  
I gave a book to.the Maria and the Pedro also gave  
'I gave a book to Maria, and Pedro did, too.' (Portuguese, Santos 2009:28)
- b. A: Šalaxt etmol et ha-yeladim le-beit-ha-sefer?  
send.PST.2SG.FEM yesterday ACC the-children to-house-the-book  
'Did you send the children to school yesterday?'  
B: Šalaxti (etmol et ha-yeladim le-beit-ha-sefer).  
send.PST.1SG  
'I did.' (Hebrew, Doron 1999:129)
- c. A: Ty položil ručku na stol, ili knigu na stul?  
you put.PST.SG.M pen.ACC on table or book.ACC on chair  
'Did you put the pen on the table or the book on the chair?'  
B: Net, ne položil (ručku na stol, ili knigu na stul).  
no NEG put.PST.SG.M  
'No, I didn't (put the pen on the table or the book on the chair)' (Russian, Griбанова 2013:152)

**Analysis:** Independent V-to-T movement (Portuguese, Silva 2001; Hebrew, Doron 1983) or V-to-Asp movement (Russian, Bailyn 1995, Griбанова 2013) evacuates the verb prior to ellipsis (Goldberg 2005).

- (2) ... V ... [CP ... V+T/Asp ... ([VP V O]) ②]

**Standard assumptions:** HM is syntactic, E is post-syntactic, thus **HM counter-bleeds E**. If a language has VPE and verb-raising out of VP it is expected to show VVPE (Goldberg 2005).

## The puzzle of Mainland Scandinavian VPE

MSc shows **no VVPE** (Sailor 2018; see Sailor 2009, Sect. 4.2.2 for Danish, Thoms 2012 for Norwegian, Thoms 2012, Ström Herold 2009:153 for Swedish) despite exhibiting **VPE** (Sailor 2009, Houser et al. 2011, Thoms 2012, Bentzen et al. 2013) and **V-raising to C** (at least in matrix clauses, Vikner 1995). Instead of the elided verb, a dummy replacement form of *gøre, gjøre, göra* 'do' is pronounced.

- (3) a. Mona og Jasper vaskede bilen, eller rettere Mona **\*vaskede/gjorde**.  
Mona and Jasper wash.PST car.DEF or rather Mona wash.PST/do.PST  
'Mona and Jasper washed the car, or rather Mona did.' (Danish, Houser et al. 2011:249)
- b. Johan leste ikke *Lolita*, men Marie **\*leste/gjorde**.  
Johan read.PST not *Lolita* but Marie read.PST/do.PST  
'Johan didn't read *Lolita*, but Marie did.' (Norwegian, Thoms 2012:7)
- c. Maria körde inte bilen, men Johan **\*körde/gjorde** det.  
Maria drive.PST not car.DEF but Johan drive.PST/do.PST det  
'Maria didn't drive the car, but Johan did.' (Swedish, Sailor 2018:856)

In MSc **E bleeds HM** which is at odds with the standard view of syntactic HM and post-syntactic E.

## Sailor (2018): Ellipsis and HM are syntactic

**Background:** The relevant head movement is **V-to-T/Asp** in VVPE languages and **V-to-C** in MSc. Merger of the licensor of ellipsis turns the ellipsis site into an opaque (phase) domain (Aelbrecht 2010, Baltin 2012). The licensor is T in MSc.

**Analysis:**

### V-to-T/Asp

The verb leaves the ellipsis site before/at the same time when it turns opaque because the trigger of HM and the licensor of E are the same, namely T.

- (4) T merges: [TP V+T[V\*,E] ([VP V O]) ①]

### V-to-C

Verb movement is triggered by C and fails to take place from the ellipsis site, which is already rendered opaque by previous merger of T.

- (5) T merges: [TP T[E] ([VP V O]) ①]  
C merges: [CP C[V\*] [TP T[E] ([VP V O])]]

**Issue:** What about V-to-v movement? This should make V accessible for C (if ellipsis targets VP, not vP).

**Prediction:** Languages with **V-to-T/Asp** movement **show VVPE**. Languages with **V-to-C** movement **lack VVPE**.

## Verb-doubling VP-topicalization (VVPT)

**Phenomenon:** A finite copy of the verb is pronounced in its canonical position when the VP is topicalized. This phenomenon I will refer to as verb-doubling VP-topicalization (VVPT).

- (6) a. [Temperar aquele peixe] o cozinheiro **temperou** aquele peixe (mas...)  
season.INF that fish the cook seasoned (but...)  
'As for seasoning that fish, the cook seasoned it (but...)' (Portuguese, Bastos-Gee 2009:162)
- b. [Liknot et ha-praxim] hi **kanta** et ha-praxim.  
to.buy ACC the-flowers she bought  
'As for buying the flowers, she bought.'  
(Hebrew, Landau 2006:37)
- c. [Kupit' pomidory] ona **kupila** pomidory, (no salat ne sdelala).  
buy.INF tomatoes.ACC she bought but salad not make.PERF  
'As for buying the tomatoes, she bought (them), but she hasn't made a salad.'  
(Russian, Verbuk 2006:397)

**Analysis:** Independent V-to-T or V-to-Asp movement evacuates the verb from the low VP copy prior to the application of copy deletion (CD) (Abels 2001, Landau 2006, Aboh & Dyakonova 2009, Hein 2017).

- (7) [CP [VP V O] ... V+T/Asp ... [VP V O] ②]

**Standard assumptions:** HM is syntactic, CD is post-syntactic, thus **HM counter-bleeds CD**, analogous to the VVPE case. If a language has VPT and verb-raising out of VP it is expected to show VVPT.

## The puzzle of Mainland Scandinavian VPT

MSc shows **no VVPT** despite allowing **VPT** (see Lødrup 1990, Holmberg 1999, Ørsnes 2011, Houser et al. 2011) and **V-raising to C** (Vikner 1995). Paralleling the VVPE cases again, we find that instead of a verb doublet, there is a dummy verb *gøre, gjøre, göra* 'do' occurring in V2 position.

- (8) a. ...og [körde/køre bilen] **\*körde/gjorde** han.  
and drove/drive car.DEF drove/did he  
'...and drive the car, he did.' (Danish, Platzack 2008:280)
- b. [(Å) lese bok-en] **\*leser/gjør** hun i dag.  
to read.INF book-DEF reads/does she in day  
'As for reading the book, she does it today.' (Norwegian, Siri M. Gjersøe p.c.)
- c. [Läser boken] **\*läser/gör** han nu.  
reads book.DEF reads/does he now  
'Reading the book he is now.' (Swedish, Källgren & Prince 1989:47)

In MSc **CD bleeds HM** which is at odds with the standard view of syntactic HM and post-syntactic CD.

## Copy deletion in syntax?

**Idea 1:** A lower copy is deleted in syntax as soon as a higher copy in c-commanding position exists.  
**Problem:** HM and CD should take place simultaneously. Only after VP has moved to SpecCP, after merger of C, can CD apply. But C also triggers V-raising. The triggers for CD and HM are the same, namely C (9).

- (9) [CP [VP V O] V+C[V\*,VP\*(CD)] ... [VP V O] ①] (compare with (4))

**Idea 2:** When C attracts V, V is located in an opaque phase domain (PIC, Chomsky 2000, 2001).

- Strong PIC:** (10) [TP T[V\*] ([VP S [V' v [VP V O]])]] (11) [CP C[V\*] ([TP T [VP S [V' v [VP V O]])]]]
- Weak PIC:** (12) [TP V+T[V\*] ([VP S [V' v [VP V O]])]] (13) [CP C[V\*] ([TP T [VP S [V' v [VP V O]])]]]

**Problem:** The strong PIC wrongly predicts a lack of VVPT in V-to-T/Asp languages. Weak PIC wrongly predicts lack of V-to-C movement in regular matrix clauses without VPT.

VVPT (and its absence in MSc) cannot be accounted for by CD being syntactic in the same way that Sailor (2018) accounts for VVPE by E being syntactic, despite the close similarity between VVPT and VVPE.

## HM, CD, and E are ordered post-syntactic operations

### Proposal

**Post-syntactic HM:** All three operations must take place in the same module. As CD cannot be syntactic, E and HM must apply in the post-syntax (E: Merchant 2001, 2004, Goldberg 2005, a.o.; HM: Chomsky 1995, Merchant 2002, Schoorlemmer & Temmerman 2012, Zwart 2017, a.o.)

**Order:** Each language has a fixed order of application between HM and E/CD (cf. Arregi & Nevins 2012, Schoorlemmer 2012). CD and E are non-pronunciation operations, therefore nothing is ever ordered between them. They might even be the same operation.

(14) Order	Interaction	VVPE	VVPT	Languages
HM < CD, E	counter-bleeding	yes	yes	Hebrew, Portuguese, Russian
CD, E < HM	bleeding	no	no	Danish, Norwegian, Swedish

### Predictions

- Languages show the **same behaviour of the verb in VPE and VPT**.
- This behaviour is **independent of V-to-T/Asp vs. V-to-C**.

**Afrikaans** has **V-to-C** movement and behaves like MSc in VPT (15a) and VPE (15b).

- (15) a. [Die boek skryf] **\*skryf/doen** hy die boek (maar hy wil dit nie publiseer nie).  
the book write write/do he (but he will it not publish not)  
'As for writing the book, he does write it, but he doesn't want to publish it.'  
b. Jan skryf 'n boek en Marie **\*skryf/doen** ook ('n boek).  
Jan write a book and Marie write/do too  
'Jan is writing a book and Marie is, too.' (Erin Pretorius, p.c.)

**Welsh** has **V-to-T** movement (Rouveret 1990, Roberts 2004) and behaves like MSc in VPT (16a) and VPE (16b).

- (16) a. [Cau y glwyd] y **gwnaeth** y ffermwr.  
shut the gate c did the farmer  
'Shut the gate, the farmer did.'  
b. Prynodd Siôn y llyfr hwn a **gwnaeth** Mair hefyd.  
bought S. the book this and did Mair too  
'Siôn bought this book and Mair did too.' (Rouveret 2012:918, 916)

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