

- Overview
- Data
- Ellipsis timing
- Portmanteau mechanisms
- Results
- Possible Analyses
- Hungarian
- End matter
- References

Indivisible portmanteaux and the timing of ellipsis

Neil Banerjee
neilb@mit.edu

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

GLOW 44

Overview

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- A portmanteau across a possible ellipsis boundary blocks ellipsis
- The existence of indivisible portmanteaux teaches us:
 - 1 The ellipsis site is not deleted/separated before PF (contra Baltin, 2012; Sailor, forthcoming)
 - 2 Contextual allomorphy is not enough to model all portmanteaux (contra Trommer, 1999)

Periphrastic futures in Cypriot Greek

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Cypriot Greek uses a periphrastic copular construction to convey the future

- (1) a. En na pao
 be.NPST.3 C go.PFV.NPST.1SG
 ‘I will go.’ (*Merchant & Pavlou, 2017:235*), ex. 3
- b. Itan na pao ekso
 be.PST.3 C go.PFV.NPST.1SG out
 ‘I was going to go out.’ (*Merchant & Pavlou, 2017:237*), ex. 9

Negative futures

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

Table: Cypriot Greek periphrastic future constructions

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

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

Differing ellipsis possibilities

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

(2) 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

(3) * 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.'

**en en*?

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau
mechanisms

Results

Possible
Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

■ Nothing wrong with *en en* sequence in general:

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

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

Data summary

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau
mechanisms

Results

Possible
Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Clausal ellipsis under a copula in Cypriot Greek is generally okay
- But, the possibility of a portmanteau across the ellipsis boundary blocks ellipsis

The idea

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Portmanteau formation has to be able to see contents of ellipsis sites
- If it couldn't, indivisible portmanteaux would not exist
 - (5) NEG COP.NPST C ...
 - a. ✗COP.NPST + C → tha
 - b. ✓COP.NPST → en
- But indivisible portmanteaux do exist
- Portmanteau formation gives an earliest bound on the loss of ellipsis sites
- So when can we tell if a portmanteau will form?

Not pre-syntactically

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Pre-syntactically, we cannot rule {*en*, *na*} in favour of {*tha*} universally
- Linear adjacency is required for *tha*

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

- We can't know about linearity pre-syntactically when choosing bundles for the derivation
- So *tha* does not exist pre-syntactically

Not syntactically

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- *tha* does not require C to be the complement of cop
- Only linear adjacency is required

(7) En tha mairepso che na

NEG THA COOK.PFV.NPST.1SG AND C

kathariso avrio

clean.PFV.NPST.1SG TOMORROW

‘I will not [cook and clean] tomorrow’ (Merchant & Pavlou, 2017:245), ex. 26a

- Structure can't distinguish *cop* & C that will form *tha* from those that won't

Post-syntactic portmanteaux and the timing of ellipsis

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- *tha* forms post-syntactically, so the features of C must be present post-syntactically
- What happens to the features inside ellipsis sites?
 - Deletion in the syntax (Baltin, 2012)
 - Segregated Transfer (Aelbrecht, 2010; Sailor, forthcoming)
 - Post-syntactic deletion (Murphy, 2016)
 - Non-insertion (Park, 2017; Saab, forthcoming)
- Syntactic deletion and Segregated Transfer cannot model indivisibility

Post-syntactic portmanteaux = late ellipsis

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Suppose ellipsis = syntactic deletion or Segregated Transfer

- The PF cycle with NEG would see this:

(8) BUT [DEF \sqrt MARIA [NEG [COP.NPST **×**]]]

- **×** is empty: deleted or interpreted separately
- The ingredients of a portmanteau would never be present together
- No way to form portmanteaux across ellipsis boundary means no indivisibility

Ellipsis results

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau
mechanisms

Results

Possible
Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Ellipsis sites are not deleted/separated before the post-syntax
 - Because post-syntactic portmanteau formation has to be able to see into them
- Live options for ellipsis:
 - Post-syntactic deletion (Murphy, 2016)
 - Non-insertion (Park, 2017; Saab, forthcoming)

Post-syntactic portmanteaux

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

**Portmanteau
mechanisms**

Results

Possible
Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Options:
 - Fusion (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Halle, 1997, a.o.)
 - Non-terminal Insertion (Caha, 2009; Svenonius, 2016; Haugen & Siddiqi, 2016, a.o)
 - Contextual allomorphy (Trommer, 1999)
- Contextual allomorphy does not work for indivisible portmanteaux

Portmanteaux as contextual allomorphy

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Trommer (1999) proposes that portmanteaux are two cases of contextual allomorphy
- In Cypriot Greek, this would mean one of the two following options:

- (9) a. COP.NPST \leftrightarrow tha / NEG _ C
b. C \leftrightarrow \emptyset / NEG COP.NPST _
- (10) a. COP.NPST \leftrightarrow \emptyset / NEG _ tha
b. C \leftrightarrow tha / NEG COP.NPST _

Ellipsis and allomorphy

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau
mechanisms

Results

Possible
Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

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

(11) A [B C]

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

Why *tha* is not allomorphy

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

**Portmanteau
mechanisms**

Results

Possible
Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Ellipsis bleeds allomorphy
 - Features inside an ellipsis site do not trigger allomorphy outside the ellipsis site
- Cypruit Greek *tha* does not fit this pattern
 - It blocks ellipsis
 - Its formation does **not** get bled, unlike allomorphy

Portmanteaux results

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Not all portmanteaux are the result of allomorphy
 - Because allomorphy and portmanteau show different interactions with ellipsis
- Live options for portmanteaux:
 - Fusion (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Halle, 1997, a.o.)
 - Non-terminal Insertion (Caha, 2009; Svenonius, 2016; Haugen & Siddiqi, 2016, a.o)

Results summary

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Ellipsis sites are not deleted/separated before the post-syntax
 - Because post-syntactic portmanteau formation has to be able to see into them
- Not all portmanteaux are the result of allomorphy
 - Because allomorphy and portmanteau show different interactions with ellipsis
- Multiple options remain for both phenomena that do capture the facts

Things you can ask me about

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau
mechanisms

Results

Possible
Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Is every ellipsis option compatible with every portmanteau option?
 - Yes! But we have to make a few stipulations
- What about Hungarian?
 - It also has an elliptically indivisible portmanteau

Fusion + Deletion

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Ellipsis by Total Impoverishment (Murphy, 2016)
 - Delete a terminal if its features are a subset of a terminal in the antecedent
- If Fusion \prec Deletion, we can get indivisibility

(13) [COP,NPST],[C] \rightarrow [COP,NPST,C] / NEG_

	Portmanteau	Non-portmanteau
Antecedent	[COP.NPST][C]	[COP.PST][C]
Ellipsis Target	[NEG][COP.NPST,C]	[NEG][COP.PST][C]
Deletion	-	[NEG][COP.PST][C]

Fusion + Deletion stipulations

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- The copula does not get elided, even though its features are contained in the antecedent
- One of the two have to hold to account for (7):
 - Head movement can violate CSC and move out of first conjunct alone
 - Fusion is defined over spans, not sister terminals

Fusion + Non-insertion

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Ellipsis deletes the diacritic trigger for insertion ^q (Saab, forthcoming)
- Delete ^q on C in syntax; fuse it with COP.NPST post-syntactically

(14) [COP^q, NPST^q, C] = ✕

- Stipulate: If a terminal has features both with ^q and without, crash

NTI + deletion

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Portmanteau by spanning (Svenonius, 2016)

(15) NPST, COP, C → tha /NEG_

- Ellipsis is post-syntactic deletion, triggered by E (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 exposing the features of the span as multiple separate VIs (c.f. Haugen & Siddiqi, 2016:369)
- 4 Repeat from start until no unassociated terminals remain

How it captures indivisibility

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- If E is in the middle of a portmanteau, it will not be targeted by insertion
- E gets associated with an exponent when a lower terminal is the target
- Insertion never directly targets E , so E does not trigger deletion

NTI + Non-insertion

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Ellipsis as in Saab (forthcoming)
- Portmanteaux by spanning Svenonius (2016)
- Insertion crashes if the best VI associates with a span that has some terminals with q and some without

(16) $\langle \text{NPST}^q, \text{COP}^q, \text{C} \rangle \neg \rightarrow \text{tha}$

Portmanteaux don't evade ellipsis

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- The sketch analyses presented involve either crash, or no ellipsis
- None of them are formulated to allow *tha* to survive alone

(17) * O Yannis en na pai ekso
the Yannis be.NPST.3 C go.PFV.NPST.3SG out
avrio, ala i Maria en tha
tomorrow, but the Maria NEG be.NPST.3+C
Int: 'Yannis is going to go out tomorrow, but
Maria is not.'*(Merchant & Pavlou, 2017:244), ex. 23c*

Stripping in Hungarian

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- (18) 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.'
- (19) 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.'
- (20) * 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

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

Table: Affirmative singular copulas

	PRS.IND	PST.IND
1SG	vagyok	voltam
2SG	vagy	voltál
3SG	van	volt

Table: Negative singular copulas

	PRS.IND	PST.IND
1SG	nem vagyok	nem voltam
2SG	nem vagy	nem voltál
3SG	nincs	nem volt

- 3rd person present copulas are the only ones that form a portmanteau with negation

Acknowledgements

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau
mechanisms

Results

Possible
Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

Thanks to Adam Albright, Sabine Iatridou, and Norvin Richards for discussion and to Christos Christopoulos, Renos Georgiou, Natalia Pavlou, Dóra Kata Takács, and Amy Csete for judgements. This work was partially supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada's Doctoral Fellowship 767-2017-0069.

References I

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

Aelbrecht, Lobke. 2010. *The Syntactic Licensing of Ellipsis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/la.149.

Baltin, Mark. 2012. Deletion versus pro-forms: An overly simple dichotomy? *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 30(2). 381–423. doi:10.1007/s11049-011-9157-x.

Caha, Pavel. 2009. *The nanosyntax of case*: University of Tromsø Doctoral dissertation.

Halle, Morris. 1997. Distributed morphology: Impoverishment and fission. In *Papers at the Interface*, vol. 30 (MITWPL), 425–449. MITWPL.

Halle, Morris & Alec Marantz. 1993. Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection. In Kenneth Hale & Jay Keyser (eds.), *The View from Building 20*, 111–176. Cambridge, US: MIT Press.

Haugen, Jason D. & Daniel Siddiqi. 2016. Towards a Restricted Realization Theory: Multimorphemic monolistemicity, portmanteaux, and post-linearization spanning. In Daniel Siddiqi & Heidi Harley (eds.), *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*, vol. 229, 343–386. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. doi:10.1075/la.229.12hau.

Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis* (Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 1). Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

References II

Overview

Data

Ellipsis timing

Portmanteau mechanisms

Results

Possible Analyses

Hungarian

End matter

References

- Merchant, Jason & Natalia Pavlou. 2017. The morphosyntax of the periphrastic future under negation in Cypriot Greek. *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 17(2). 233–262. doi:10.1163/15699846-01702005.
- Murphy, Andrew. 2016. Subset relations in ellipsis licensing. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 1(1). 44. doi:10.5334/gjgl.61.
- Park, Dongwoo. 2017. *When does ellipsis occur and what is elided?* College Park, MD: University of Maryland, College Park Doctoral dissertation.
- Ronai, Eszter & Laura Stigliano. 2020. NP ellipsis bleeds allomorphy in Hungarian. *Snippets* (39). 10–12. doi:10.7358/snip-2020-039-rost.
- Saab, Andrés. forthcoming. Ellipsis: Its way from syntax to morphology. In Anikó Lipták & Güliz Güneş (eds.), *The derivational timing of ellipsis*, Oxford University Press.
- Sailor, Craig. forthcoming. The morphophonology of ellipsis: Evidence for Segregated Transfer. In Anikó Lipták & Güliz Güneş (eds.), *The derivational timing of ellipsis*, Oxford University Press.
- Svenonius, Peter. 2016. Spans and Words. In Heidi Harley & Daniel Siddiqi (eds.), *Morphological Metatheory*, 199–220. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Trommer, Jochen. 1999. Morphology consuming Syntax' Resources.