Elliptical Phenomena in Spoken Tamil

Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

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by

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DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This thesis titled *"**Elliptical Phenomena in Spoken Tamil**"* submitted by me for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institution.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled "**Elliptical Phenomena in Spoken Tamil**" submitted by **Ms. Rajamathangi S**, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for award of degree of Ph.D. of Centre for Linguistics, School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies-I, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, has not been previously submitted in part or in full for any other degree of this university or any other university/institution.

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Contents

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ADD	additive marker
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CLM	cleft marker
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction particle
COORD	coordination
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite

DEM	demonstrative
DISJ	disjunction
DUB	dubitative
EP	elided part
EQU	equative
ERG	ergative
EXIS	existential
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	neuter
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
NOM	nominative

OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicative
PRT	preterite
PRF	perfect
PROG	progressive
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCP	participle
Q	question particle/marker
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
SG/S	singular
TQ	tag question
TOP	topic

List of Tables

List of Figures

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"One day, you will thank yourself for never giving up, for holding on, for staying alive long enough to finally meet the version of yourself you've always prayed for" – Gecille Elido

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis aims to account for the different elliptical constructions available in spoken Tamil, a major Dravidian language spoken mainly in the southern state of Tamil Nadu, India, within the Minimalist framework by Chomsky (1993, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2008a,b, 2013).

Ellipsis is the omission or deletion of a clause or a phrase or a constituent but interprets from its antecedent available in the previous utterance. There are different elliptical constructions observed across world languages such as Noun Phrase Ellipsis, Sluicing, Stripping, Modal Complement Ellipsis, Verb Phrase Ellipsis, Gapping, Pseudo-gapping, etc. Cross-linguistically, each elliptical phenomenon varies in analysis based on its distribution and constraints. One of the most studied elliptical phenomena is the Verb Phrase Ellipsis (VPE), but "it is a rare phenomenon among world languages; however, their sparse distribution among non-western languages has not diverted the attention of such research on Indian languages" (Aelbrecht 2010).

Example (1) is an instance of VPE in English, in which the second conjunct is interpreted as "Sam didn't eat an apple". The elided part [*e*] thus gets its meaning from its identical antecedent in the first conjunct (In the examples of elliptical construction throughout the thesis, items in square bracket refer to the [antecedent] and the italicised [*e*] in a square bracket refers to the elided

part).

(1)   a.   Bill ate an apple and Sam didn't [*e*].

        b.   [*e*]: eat an apple

The ellipsis site has no phonetic form but it gets the meaning and this mismatch between the form and meaning interests researchers. The main puzzle lies in mapping the syntax-semantics interface, given the absence of phonetic material in the second part of the utterance. Hence, there is no uniform analysis cross-linguistically for different elliptical constructions.

Section 1.1 of this chapter discusses the properties of ellipsis, briefly summarising the various approaches to analyse elliptical constructions in general. Section 1.2 enumerates the main three principal conditions that have been held to be required for ellipsis to occur. Section 1.3 presents the diagnostics in the study of ellipsis. Section 1.4 illustrates different types of ellipsis available in world languages, along with examples from various languages. Section 1.5 concludes the chapter with an outline of the dissertation.

1.1   Properties of Ellipsis

The research on elliptical phenomena triggers to think about the role of syntax in these constructions. When there is no phonetic realisation, how does form match with the semantics, and where do we locate the role of syntax in these constructions? Researchers have puzzled over whether an ellipsis site has unpronounced syntactic structure or whether it is best analysed as just an empty category licensed from its antecedent's form. These questions create the space to think about how ellipsis can be understood using one uniform analysis in all natural languages.

There are two main approaches to elliptical constructions: the non- structural approach and the structural approach, which Merchant (2016) summarises

by means of the figure 1.1 below.
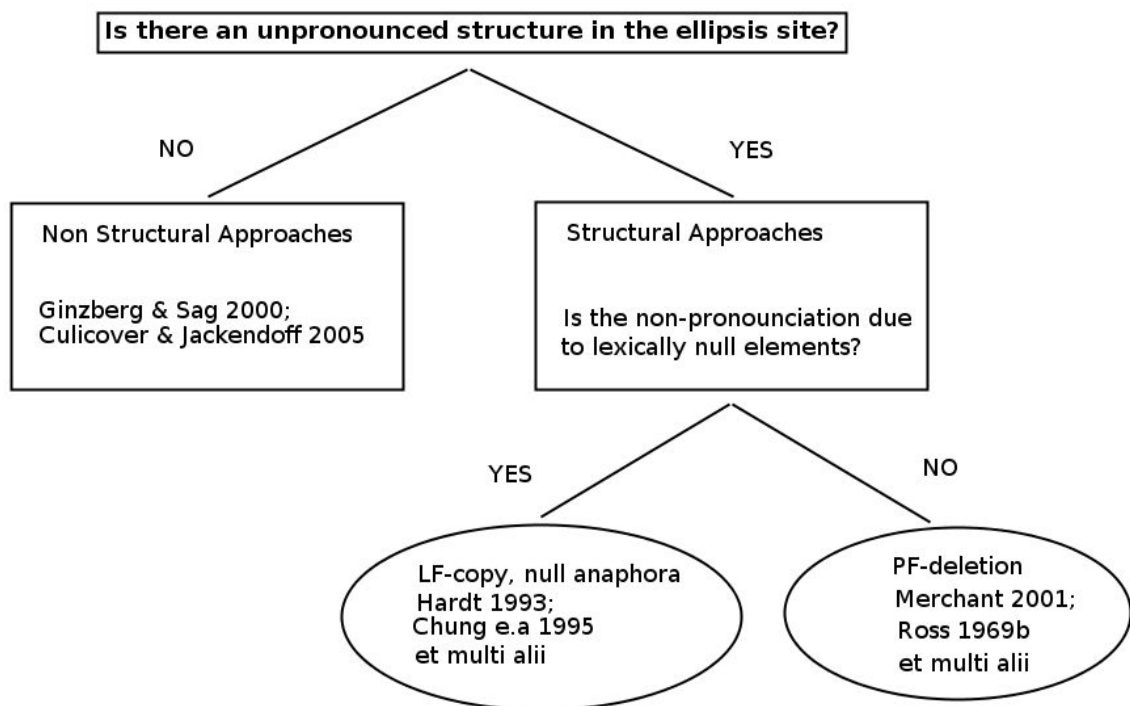
Figure 1.1: Schema for Approaches to Ellipsis by Merchant

The next two sections briefly summarises the major features of these two approaches.

1.1.1 Non-Structural Approaches

This approach follows the saying 'What You See Is What You Get' (WYSIWYG) and holds that ellipsis site has no structure other than what is actually pronounced in an utterance. Its main claim is that the syntax- semantics interface plays a significant role in getting a grammatical interpretation. There are various accounts under this approach: Van Riemsdijk (1978), Ginzburg and Sag (2000), Schlangen (2003), Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) and Stainton (2006). Aelbrecht (2010) discusses one of the approaches, for example, "the indirect licensing approach which posits no more syntactic structure than that appears at the surface, in conformity with the Simpler Syntax Hypothesis" (Culicover and Jackendoff 2005:235). The Simpler Syntax Hypothesis by Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) is given in (2).

(2)   *Simpler Syntax Hypothesis (SSH)*   (Culicover and Jackendoff 2005:5)

"The most explanatory theory is one that imputes the minimum syntactic structure necessary to mediate between phonology and meaning."

Based on this hypothesis, they provide an indirect licensing approach for ellipsis. As an example of this approach, consider (3), the elliptical phenomenon of sluicing in English. In such constructions, the elided part [*e*] in (3) is interpreted as 'I don't know who [was singing a song $<who>$]', even though the *wh*-clause is not uttered fully:

(3)   Someone [was singing a song] but I don't know who [*e*].

In example (3), Aelbrecht (2010:4) describes "The *wh*-word *who* refers to a question argument in an unexpressed proposition *P* and this *P* corresponds to the proposition expressed by the antecedent. The *orphan* is indirectly licensed by referring back to the antecedent which has identical semantic and syntactic features."

The tree structure adapted from Aelbrecht (2010:4 (6)) given in (4), the category *S* refers the sluiced part but it only consists of an *orphan* NP (NP$^{\text{ORPH}}$). In the indirect licensing approach, the *orphan* NP finds an anaphoric NP in the antecedent clause (S$^{\text{ANT}}$) and receives its semantic and syntactic features to get the meaning of the sluiced part. But the sluiced part is spelled out as the *wh*-word. This approach to ellipsis is less structurally driven but needs a richer syntax-semantics interface to map utterances to the interpretation they receive. The indirect licensing (IL) mechanism, on the other hand, lead us to interprets elliptical utterances as whole sentences. Example (4) below shows the tree structure of example (3) for indirect licensing approach.

(4)

S^{ANT}
— NP AUX VP
— N: Someone
— AUX: was
— V: singing
— NP: a song

but I don't know S^{IL}
NP^{ORPH}
who
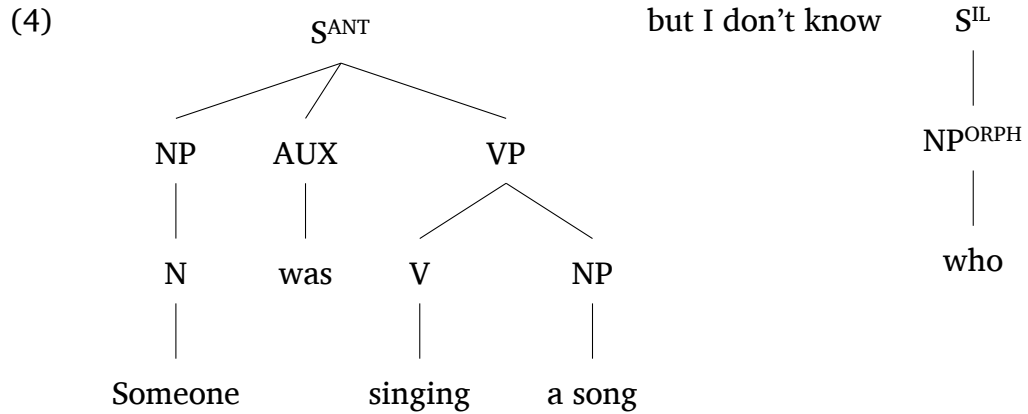
The problem with this approach is that even though the elided part as in (4) is interpreted with indirect licensing, it is very clear that the ellipsis site has the distribution of a clause which has been deleted and not that of a DP as Merchant (1999) argues. Building on Ross's observations that in German the *wh*-word in the sluiced clause should case match with its correlate in the antecedent clause., Merchant (1999) shows that this case matching requirement holds in several languages. He, therefore, argues that the case matching effect proves that the unpronounced *wh*-word in the sluiced clause is the result of a *wh*-movement operation which happens in the syntax. Merchant's (1999,2001) *case matching* is given in (5).

(5)   *Form-identity generalisation I:Case matching*   (Merchant 1999:124)
        "The sluiced *wh*-phrase must bear the case that its correlate bears."

Another argument for the presence of syntactic structure in sluiced part is *form identity* effect.

In English interrogative clause, preposition can either strand alone as in (6a) or pied-pipe along with *wh*-word as in (6b). Merchant (1999) observes that the p-stranding is possible in sluicing too as in (6c).

(6)   a.   Who was he talking with?
        b.   With whom was he talking?

    c.   Peter was talking with someone but I don't know (with) who.

Merchant (1999) proposes a P-stranding effect in sluicing as stated in (7) given preposition can strand in English interrogative clauses.

(7)   *Form-identity generalisation II: P-stranding*   (Merchant 1999:126)
       "A language L will allow preposition stranding under sluicing iff L allows preposition stranding under regular *wh*-movement."

The above discussed arguments by Merchant (1999) are the main reasons to argue that ellipsis site has unpronounced syntactic structure that is identical to the one possessed by non-elided sentences that have syntactic structure.

1.1.2   Structural Approaches

All structural approaches to ellipsis claim that there exists an "unpronounced syntactic structure in the ellipsis site", but they differ in their specific analyses. One view argues that the unpronounced structure is silent because it only contains elements that were null in the first place, *i.e.,* they were null *pro*-forms. The other dominant view argues that the unpronounced structure results from deleting its phonological content or lack of lexical insertion at PF. Merchant (1999, 2001) calls it as PF-deletion approach.

    Null proform/LF copy: The null proform approach has two different views on ellipsis. For example, Wasow (1972), Shopen (1972), Hardt (1993, 1999), Lobeck (1995), and Depiante (2000) argue that there is a null proform that is interpreted like overt pronouns under semantic identity. Another set of authors— Fiengo et al. (1994), Chung et al. (1995), Wilder (1997a), Beavers and Sag (2004) and Fortin (2007) — argue that the LF of antecedent is copied onto the LF of ellipsis site thus enabling the null elements to get the right interpretation. This account is known as the LF-copy approach.

Winkler (2005) points out that the null proform/LF copy analysis is favoured by the fact that ellipsis sites are similar to pronouns in certain occurrences. Firstly, just as pronouns can take split antecedents in (8), ellipsis structures such as (9a) can as well. Just as in (8), the antecedent of *they* is to be found in different phrases of the main clause, namely *Bill* and *Jim*, the elided VP in (9a) takes the conjoined sentence as its antecedent (represented in (9b)).

(8)   Bill$_i$ told Jim$_j$ that they$_{i+j}$ could go away together.

(9)   *English*   (Hardt 1993:30)

    a.   I can walk and I can chew gum. Gerry can [$_{VP}$ *e*] too, but not at the same time.

    b.   [*e*]: walk and chew gum

Also, Lobeck (1995) point out that ellipsis can take a non-linguistic antecedent in some cases, parallel to the pronouns in (10a) and (10b).

(10)   *English*   (Lobeck 1995)

    a.   [*Pointing at someone*]

       He should do that.

    b.   [*On receiving a present*]

       You shouldn't have!

The above instances may conclude that ellipsis are parallel to pronouns. The empty category in ellipsis is just an empty form with structure but no lexical items. However, other counter examples show certain occurrences in which pronouns cannot occur but ellipsis can. One such argument comes from Hankamer and Sag (1976) who argue that elided VPs for example, cannot be treated like pronouns, when it comes to explaining Antecedent-Contained Deletion (ACD) as in (11a) and (11b). As can be seen by (11a), the only VP that can serve as the antecedent for the empty VP is the matrix VP. As (11b) shows how-

ever, if we replace the empty VP with the matrix VP, there would still be an empty VP.

(11)   *English*   (Aelbrecht 2010:6)

    a.   Christina [read every book Hilary did].

    b.   Christina read every book Hilary did [read every book Hilary did [$_{VP}$ *e*]]

Hankamer and Sag (1976) solves this infinite regress problem by moving the XP that dominates the gap to a position outside of the VP, but what is important for us at this point is that pronouns do not exhibit the same behaviour of serving as their antecedents in a manner parallel to (11a), cf. the ungrammaticality of (12):

(12)   *Waldo saw [a picture of it$_i$]$_i$ (Aelbrecht 2010:6)

PF-Deletion: The views on ellipsis discussed above argue that the "syntax matches with the phonology either fully or partially, and the interpretation of the elliptical clause" comes from the antecedent clause. In contrast, PF-deletion is an approach where "the syntax of ellipsis matches its semantics, and it is the phonology of the elliptical sentence that deviates from its non-elliptical counterpart. It argues that the ellipsis site contains a full-fledged syntactic structure, so at the LF interface, nothing much changes compared to the non-ellipsis part". It is at PF, however that the phonological features are removed, and silence obtains. This approach follows a strong argument proposed by Merchant (1999, 2001, 2005b) for sluicing constructions in English. He claims that in sluicing, a *wh*-remnant (the item that escapes the ellipsis site) movement happens, transporting the *wh*-word out of the ellipsis site. Thus, the surface form (13a) is derived by raising the *wh*-remnant to the [Spec, CP] of the second conjunct, after which the TP complement of C$_0$ is deleted at PF.

(13)　a.　Someone drove a car but I don't know who [*e*]

　　　b.　[$_{CP}$ who$_i$ [$_{TP}$ <*who*>$_i$ [$_{vP}$ drove a car]]]

Remnant movement is usually the strongest argument for the claim that the ellipsis site has an unpronounced syntactic structure.

1.2　Conditions on the licensing of ellipsis

There are three main conditions posited in the literature for ellipsis to occur. Examples from different languages provided below show how these conditions are interdependent for an ellipsis construction.

1.2.1　Identity Condition

The identity condition plays the main role in ellipsis as the ellipsis site gets its interpretation from an identical antecedent. When the antecedent and the ellipsis site look identical at LF or PF, the identity condition is satisfied. The debate still remains about whether this identity should be syntactic or semantic or both because the distribution of different types of ellipsis varies across languages.

Merchant (2006b) holds that once "the syntactic identity is fulfilled, semantic identity follows it (he calls this effect structural isomorphism)". Still, he also acknowledges that in some instances, there is no need for any structural identity for the occurrence of ellipsis, given the purely semantic approaches to ellipsis of Dalrymple et al. (1991) and Hardt (1993).

Merchant (1999) develops ideas on the semantic conditions for ellipsis, using the ideas of Rooth (1992), Romero (1998) and Schwarzschild (1999), to study the interaction of focus with ellipsis, all the while maintaining that the ellipsis site has full syntactic structure, an assumption motivated in large part by the form-identity effects.

1.2.2   Recoverability Condition

A constituent can be left unpronounced only when it can infer its interpretation from the given context; otherwise, the ellipsis site must recover its meaning through a salient linguistic antecedent. This notion of the recoverability condition is implemented via the notion of e-GIVENness used in Merchant (1999, 2001):

(14)   "A constituent α can be deleted only if α is e-GIVEN."   (Merchant
        2001:26)

Whether a constituent is e-GIVEN (where *e* stands for ellipsis) is determined by the presence of a salient antecedent. The notion of e-GIVENness is defined in (15):

(15)   *e-GIVENness*   (Merchant 2001:31)
        "An expression E counts as e-GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent A
        and, modulo ∃-type shifting,

            1.   A entails F-clo (E), and

            2.   E entails F-clo (A)"

F-clo in 1 and 2 stands for 'F-closure' in this definition, a concept defined in (16):

(16)   *F-closure*   (Merchant 2001:14)
        "The F-closure of α, written F-clo(α), is the result of replacing F(ocus)
        - marked parts of α with ∃ bound variables of the appropriate type
        (modulo ∃-type shifting)."

If there is syntactic identity between the antecedent and ellipsis site, then the conditions given for e-GIVENness will be satisfied. There are also instances where identity fails, but the recoverability condition holds and the ellipsis site

is interpreted. Merchant (2006b) gives instances from a sub-type of sluicing which is known as *Sprouting*. For example, take (17a), in which there is no 'correlation' for *what* in the antecedent.

(17)   a.   Mary served the guests but I don't know what [*e*]

        b.   [*e*]: Mary served the guests *t*

Merchant reasons that verbs like *serve* have no syntactic arguments in this case, but semantically the arguments are interpreted. In such cases, the identity condition fails in his analysis, but the recoverability condition ensures that the meaning is interpreted.

1.2.3   Licensing Condition

The syntactic environment is also important in ellipsis, since there are cases where the ellipsis cannot occur despite meeting the e-givenness condition. Consider the example in (18), where even though the verb phrase is e-GIVEN in (18a), only the verb phrase occurring in the finite clause can be elided, as in (18b).

(18)   *English*   (Aelbrecht 2010:13)

        a.   *Max having arrived and Morgan not having, we decided to wait.

        b.   Max had arrived, but Morgan hadn't so we decided to wait.

Moreover, not all elliptical phenomena are to be found in all languages. For instance, "VPE is relatively limited in its distribution across the world's languages compared to the more widespread sluicing" (Aelbrecht, 2010:13). The English VPE example in (19a) "cannot be replicated in Dutch, French, or Italian, despite the fact that the verb phrase is equally e-given in all of these languages". VPE is syntactically licensed by the finite auxiliary *has* in the English utterance (19a). The equivalents of this auxiliary in Dutch, on the other hand, do not licence

VPE, as (19b) demonstrates.

(19)   (Aelbrecht 2010:14)

    a.   Monika has paid already, but Alice hasn't.   (English)

    b. *Jelle heeft al   betaald, maar Johan heeft nog niet.
        Jelle has   already paid   but   Johan has   still not.

    (Dutch)

Thus, the syntactic environment plays a role in ellipsis, showing that the elided part has to be licensed in the syntax. The licensing criteria are language specific and the type of elliptical phenomena being considered. In theoretical terms, Merchant (1999, 2001, 2005b) propose that there is an [E]-feature on the licensing head that triggers the deletion of its complement. This [E]-feature has varying phonological, syntactic and semantic properties for different kinds of ellipsis. It instructs PF to "skip its complement for the purposes of parsing and production" (Merchant 2001:60). In terms of the syntax, the [E]-feature is held to be bundled with features and it differs across ellipsis constructions and across languages: "The varieties of [E] found in VP-ellipsis, NP-ellipsis and elsewhere, as we will see below, simply have slightly different syntactic requirements, and are subject to cross-linguistic variation. (*e.g.,* German has an E_s feature equivalent to the English, but lacks the E_v feature that is found in English VP-ellipsis: in other words, the fact that English but not German has VP-ellipsis is a fact which is captured in the lexicon, a garden-variety kind of cross-linguistic morphosyntactic lexical variation.)" (Merchant 2004:671). As a result, ellipsis may be licensed by multiple distinct [E]-features in a construction-specific manner within one ellipsis type, both within a language and cross-linguistically.

1.3 Important diagnostics in the study of ellipsis

Strict/Sloppy readings: Ross (1967) identified the interpretational ambiguity in the elided VPs as encoding either a *strict* reading — when a pronoun or a reflexive denotes the same referent in both the antecedent VP and the elided VP — or a *sloppy* reading, where the pronoun/reflexive in the elided VP is not interpreted as identical to the antecedent VP. In example (20b), the pronoun *his* in the elided VP can either refer to Ram (strict) or Bill (sloppy).

(20)   a. Ramu_i [loves his_i mother] and Bill_j too [*e*].

   b.   [*e*]: loves his $_{i/j}$ mother

In Tamil, the *tan* reflexive can only be bound by an antecedent in the subject position of its containing clause, as example (21) shows,

(21) ra:mu_i $\text{tan}_{i/*j}$ amma:υ-ai   ne:si-kir-a:n.
       Ramu[3SGM.NOM] REFL.3SG mother.3SGF.ACC love-PRS-3SGM
       'Ram loves his mother.'

Consequently, in Tamil elliptical constructions, if the reflexive *tan* is used, only sloppy readings are available. For example, in (22a), the reflexive must obligatorily be bound by *Ramu* in the first conjunct and *Sita* in the second conjunct as in (22b).

(22)   a. ra:mu_i tan_i amma:υ-ai   ne:si-kir-a:n
             Ramu[3SGM.NOM] REFL.3SG mother-ACC love-PRS.PROG-3SGM
             si:ta:_jυ-um   ta:n [*e*].
             Sita[3SGF.NOM]-ADD ta:n EP
             'Ramu loves his mother and Sita loves too.'

   b.   [*e*] tan_j amma:υ-ai   ne:si-kir-a:ɭ
             [EP]: REFL.3SG mother-ACC love-PRS.PROG-3SGF
             'loves her mother.'

This is expected as a strict reading would be in violation of the Principle A of the Binding Theory, which requires anaphora to be bound (c-commanded and

co-indexed by an antecedent in the minimal binding domain here, the clause).
If the reflexive anaphor *tan* in the elided VP is co-indexed with *Ramu* it would
violate Binding Principle A because the reflexive and its antecedent would be in
separate clauses. Hence, "the PF-deletion hypothesis generates sloppy readings
because it treats the elided VP as identical in structure to the antecedent VP
and constrains co-indexation by locality".

In the spoken variety of Tamil, speakers prefer to use the pronouns *aʋan/aʋaɭ*
('his/her') instead of the reflexive anaphor *tan* (self). In such cases, just like En-
glish, both strict and sloppy readings can obtain, as shown in (23b):

(23)   a.   ra:mu$_i$ aʋan$_i$ amma:ʋ-ai   ne:si-kir-a:n
              Ramu[3SGM.NOM] 3SGM mother.3SGF-ACC love-3SGM
              si:ta:ʋ$_j$-um   ta:n [*e*]
              Sita[3SGF.NOM]-ADD ta:n [*e*]
              'Ramu loves his mother and Sita loves too'.

        b.   [*e*]: aʋan$_i$/aʋaɭ$_j$ amma:ʋ-ai ne:si-kir-a:ɭ
              [ep]: 3SGM.GEN/3SGF.GEN mother-ACC love-PRS-3SGF
              'loves his/her mother'.

This result is expected as per the Binding Principle B, which requires pronouns
to be free in their binding domain. The strict reading follows from the co-
indexation of the pronoun with the first conjunct subject and the sloppy reading
from its co-indexation with the subjects of the respective conjuncts, but neither
of these constitutes a violation of Principle B as the relevant binding domain
for the calculation of *Principle B* is the containing DP (and not the containing
clause, as in the case of the reflexive). The example (24) shows the availability
of strict and sloppy reading in Tamil ellipsis:

(24)   ma:du$_i$ aʋaɭ$_i$ ʋi:ʈʈir-ku   po:-n-a:ɭ
        Mathu[3SGF.NOM] 3SGF house-DAT go-PST-3SGF
        me:rij$_j$-um   ta:n [$_e$ aʋaɭ$_{i/j}$ ʋi:ʈʈir-ku   po:-n-a:ɭ]
        Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD TA:N   3SGF house-LOC go-PST-3SGF
        'Mathu went to Mathu's house and Mary went to Mathu's/Mary's house

        too.'

Agreement: "The first proposal regarding the relation between the strength of agreement and null subjects was made by" Taraldsen (1979), and has become known as Taraldsen's Generalisation. Applying this test in elliptical constructions can diagnose whether the empty form involves an elliptical structure or a null pronominal. Tamil is a subject *pro*-drop language. It is a subject-verb agreement language, and hence the subject can be null. Examples (25a), (25b) and (25c) show subjects can be null as the verb cross-references the features of the subject. Also, the null subject is not obligatory but optional, as indicated with brackets in the following examples:

(25) a. (naːn)   saːpi-ʈʈ-eːn
          (1SG.NOM) eat-PST-1SG
          'I ate.'

      b. (niː)   saːp-ʈi-y-aː?
          (2SG.NOM) eat-PST-2SG-Q
          'Did you eat?'

      c. (raːmu)   siːtaːʋ-ai   paːr-tt-aːn
          Ramu[3SGM.NOM] Sita-3SGF.ACC see-PST-3SGM
          'Ramu saw Sita.'

Further, the sloppy reading which is available for null objects in the ellipsis examples noted above fails in Tamil null subject constructions as shown in (26a), further adding a strong argument to conclude that the null subject is a pronoun[1] in Tamil.

(26) a. soːmu$_i$ [$_{TP}$ aʋan$_i$ ammaː
          Somu[3SGM.NOM]   [3SGM.GEN] mother[3SGF.NOM]
          kaɖai-kku poːʋ-aːŋga-nu]   ninai-tt-aːn
          shop-DAT go-FUT-3SG.HON-COMP think-PST-3SGM
          meːrij-um$_j$ ninai-tt-aːɭ   [e]
          Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD think-PST-3SGF EP
          'Somu thought that his mother will go to the shop and Mary thought,

---

[1]Tamil doesn't have object agreement which could lead us to conclude that null objects in the language do not involve pro-drop. However, given that there exist languages that have object drops not triggered by the agreement would suggest that such a conclusion would be hasty. Chamorro is one such language whose null objects are not triggered by agreement, but they are analysed as null pronouns by Chung (1984) for various reasons. She suggests that these null objects are clitics in this language.

too.'

b.   [*e*]: avan~i/j*~   amma: kaḍai-kku
     EP: 3SGM.GEN mother[3SGF.NOM] shop-DAT
     po:ʋ-a:ŋga-nu.
     go-FUT-3SG.HON-COMP
     (*lit*): 'that thought Somu's mother will go to the shop.'

1.4   Types of Ellipsis and their availability in Tamil

As the thesis title suggests, this work focuses on the various types of ellipsis available in Tamil. This section demonstrates the different elliptical phenomenon in different languages, based on Aelbrecht's (2016) & Merchant's (2016) surveys of the types of ellipsis cross-linguistically. Along with presenting examples from different languages, this section also explores the possible types of ellipsis in Tamil.

1.4.1   VP-Ellipsis

VPE is one of the most studied elliptical phenomena so far in the literature. But its distribution is only observed in western languages, especially English. In English, "it is licensed by *do* verbs, modals, infinitival *to* and negation *not* which are all termed as Aux members" by Lobeck (1992). For example, in (27a), the licensor is the 'do' verb, in (27b), it is the perfect auxiliary 'has', in (27c), it is the modal 'will', in (27d), it is the infinitival 'to', and in (27e), it is the negation 'not':

(27)   a.   Sam [bought an apple] but Mary **didn't** [*e*].

       b.   John [has gone home] and Bill **has** too [*e*].

       c.   Peter won't buy a car, but Jim **will** [*e*].

       d.   Bill wants to read Chomsky's 'Syntactic structures' and I also want
            to [*e*].

       e.   I believe Mary is brilliant and Sam is **not** [*e*].

In all the English examples above, we can see that in the elided part, the main verb is unpronounced along with its internal arguments and that these constituents are interpreted from the antecedent. However, this is not the pattern observed in Tamil. The main verb also escapes the ellipsis site in such constructions, as shown in example (28a), and the elided part includes only the internal arguments to the VP, as shown in (28b).

(28) a. ra:m   [a:ppil] sa:ppi-tt-a:n meri-yum
    Ram[3SGM.NOM] apple eat-PST-3SGM Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD
    sa:ppi-tt-a:ɭ [*e*]
    eat-PST.3SGF [*e*]
    'Ram ate an apple and Mary ate too'

  b. [*e*]: a:ppiɭ
    EP: apple.3SGN
    'apple'

Similar phenomena have been found in many other languages, where the main verb is pronounced, and only the arguments are unpronounced. The examples in (29) and (30a)-(30b) illustrate this for Brazilian Portuguese and Japanese respectively:

(29) a ana não leva o computador para as aulas, porque os
   the Ana not brings the computer to the classes because the
   amigos também não levam
   friends too not bring
   'Ana does not bring her computer to the classes because her friends

   don't either'.   [Brazilian Portuguese, Cyrino and Matos (2016)]

(30) *Japanese*   (Funakoshi 2011)

  a. John-ga ringo-o tabeta.
    John-NOM apple-ACC ate
    'John ate an apple.'

  b. Bill-mo [*e*] tabeta.
    Bill-also ate
    lit: "Bill ate an apple, too."

One of the analyses proposed for these constructions is that in these elliptical

constructions (dubbed V-Stranding VP-Ellipsis, or VVPE), the main verb moves to T (V-T movement), and this is followed by VP deletion. This was first proposed by Goldberg (2005) and has been supported later by others for different languages like Gribanova (2009), Funakoshi (2011, 2016), Rasekhi (2014), Cyrino and Matos (2016), etc. Johnson (2001), Merchant (2008, 2016) and Aelbrecht (2010) have argued that VPE does not just elide the VP, but in fact the whole vP projection. In VVPE also, the complement of head T, vP, is held to be elided. Chapter 4 of this dissertation discusses the analysis of Tamil VSVPE.

1.4.2   Fragment answer

The fragment answer is a distinctive type of ellipsis, as in this case the antecedent is not in the same sentence as the ellipsis site. In the fragment answer, we find the antecedent in question uttered by one person and the ellipsis site in the answer uttered by another speaker. Examples (31a) and (31b) illustrates this type in English. The interpretation of [*e*] in (31b) is as given in (31c).

(31)   a.   Speaker A: What did [you eat]?

        b.   Speaker B: Rice$_i$ [*e*]

        c.   [*e*]: [I ate t_i]

This type is also available in Tamil, as shown by (32a) and (32b). In (32b) the answer to the question in (32a) is a fragment type ellipsis and the full interpretation of (32b) is as in (32c). Only the answer is pronounced by the speaker B and the meaning is recovered from the utterance of speaker A.

(32)   a.   **Speaker A**: ni: enna sa:ppi-ʈʈ-a
                  2SG what eat-PST-2SG
                  'What did you eat?'

    b.   **Speaker B**: sa:dəm [*e*]
                  rice   [*e*]
                  'Rice'

    c.   [*e*]: sa:dam [$_{\text{TP}}$ (na:n) <sa:dam> sa:ppi-ʈʈ-e:n]
        EP: rice   1SG   rice   eat-PST-1SG
        'I ate rice.'

Merchant (2005a) argues fragment answers to be the result of the PF-deletion. He proposes that the fragment answer *rice* in (32b) moves from its base position to the left periphery of the clause, and the whole TP is deleted.

1.4.3   Stripping

Stripping is a process that deletes everything in a clause under identity with of a preceding clause, except for one constituent (and sometimes an initial clause adverb or negative). Example (33) shows the stripping construction in English, and (34) shows a similar construction in Tamil.

(33)   Ram [eats an orange], and Sam, too [*e*].

(34)   ra:m   [ʋi:ʈʈu-kku po:-n-a:n]   me:rij-um
        Ram[3SGM.NOM] home-DAT go-PST-3SGM Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD
        ta:n [*e*].
        TA:N EP
        'Ram went home and Mary, too'

In English, negation is stranded under stripping in addition to the focused element, as in example (35). In such cases, negation is typically obligatory with the connectors *but* and this construction is referred to as Negation Stranding Stripping in the literature. In Tamil, negation stranding stripping is not possible, as shown in example (36). We will see the distribution of types of stripping in Tamil in more detail in chapter 2.

(35)   Abby speaks passable Dutch, but not Ben.   [Merchant (2003)]

(36)   *ra:m   [kaɖai-kku po:na:n]   a:na:l si:ta:
        Ram[3SGM.NOM] shop-LOC   go-PST-3SGM but   Sita[3SGF.NOM]
        illa [e]
        NEG EP
        'Ram went to shop but not Sita.'

1.4.4   Gapping

Gapping is another type of ellipsis similar to stripping but differing from it in that it leaves the second contrastive remnant out of the ellipsis site. This is shown by the English examples in (37) and (38).

(37)   John [wanted to go] home, but Bill [e] to the market.

(38)   Peter [will buy] a car and John [e] a bike.

Like stripping, gapping occurs only in coordination, and it also doesn't allow the ellipsis site to precede the antecedent. Example (39) shows gapping is not possible in a subordination sentence, and example (40) shows gapping is not possible when the ellipsis site appears before its antecedent.

(39)   *Ram [ate] an apple, though Sita [e] an orange.

(40)   *Bill [e] to market but John [wanted to go] to home.

In Tamil, however, gapping ellipsis is not available. Example (41) shows that the verb has to be pronounced along with the second contrastive remnant, rendering gapping impossible in Tamil.

(41)   ra:mu   ʋanɖi ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n   me:ri   sku:ʈʈi
         Ramu[3SGM.NOM] bike   buy-PST-3SGM Mary[3sgf.nom] scooty
         *(ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:ɭ).
         buy-PST-3SGF
         'Ramu bought a bike and Mary bought a scooty'

1.4.5   Pseudo-Gapping

Pseudo-gapping is basically the combination of gapping and VP-ellipsis. Example (42) is an instance of pseudo-gapping where the elided part is the verb phrase, except for one contrasted remnant. The auxiliary verb is pronounced, along with the second remnant (distinguishing it from gapping). This type is also unavailable in Tamil, as shown by example (43), which is the ungrammatical sentence for Tamil pseudo-gapping.

(42)   Bill [drank] juice, and Jen did coffee [*e*].

(43)   *ra:mu   a:ppiɭ [sa:ppi-ʈʈ-a:n] meri   a:raɲdʒu
        Ramu[3SGM.NOM] apple eat-PST-3SGM meir[3SGF.NOM] orange
        [*e*]
        [*e*]
        'Ramu ate an apple and Mary did orange.'

Gapping and pseudo-gapping ellipsis types in English are analysed as VP ellipsis by Jayaseelan (1990). He argues that it is the result of the incomplete deletion of VP where the second contrastive remnant also moves out of VP, and the whole VP gets deleted along with the main verb. Following this, it is evident that if English like VPE is not possible in Tamil, gapping and pseudo-gapping are expected to be disallowed too because, in Tamil, the main verb cannot be left unpronounced as it can in English.

1.4.6   Sluicing

Ross (1969) was the first to describe the phenomenon of sluicing. Sluicing is an elliptical construction where the *wh*-word escapes the ellipsis site, and the unpronounced part is interpreted from its antecedent. For example, in (44a), following the movement of *what* to [Spec, CP] in the second conjunct, the rest of the clause is not pronounced and is interpreted from its identical antecedent.

(44)   a.   [Ravi bought something] but I don't know *what*$_i$ [*e*]

          b.   [*e*]: Ravi bought <what>$_i$.

Merchant (1999) "indicates that if a language allows normal *wh*-movement, then sluicing also can be observed in those languages". However, Tamil, being a *wh*-in-situ language, nevertheless displays a similar pattern as shown by (45a).

(45)   a.   [ra:mu   eŋg-ai-jo: po:-n-a:n]   a:na:
                Ramu[3SGM.NOM] where-ACC-DISJ go-PST.3SGM but
                eŋga$_i$ [*e*] nu   ena-kku terij-a-la.
                where-ACC EP COMP 1SG-DAT know-INF-NEG
                'Ramu went somewhere but I dont know where'

          b.   [*e*]: <eŋga>$_i$ aʋan   po:-n-a:n
                EP: where   he[3SGM] go-PST-3SGM
                'Ramu went(Lit)'

Researchers have also identified several sub-types of sluicing, such as Relative Pronoun Deletion in Hungarian, Swiping in Northern Germanic, and Spading in Dutch. Of these, swiping is found in Tamil but not other subtypes. This term is an abbreviation for "Sluiced Wh-word Inversion with Prepositions In Northern Germanic" Merchant (1999) it looks like sluicing but with an inverse preposition as an extra remnant. Consider the English example (46a) and the full utterance of it in (46b) from Aelbrecht (2010) for English:

(46)   a.   "He was going to give a lecture, but I don't know what [*e*] about.

          b.   He was going to give a lecture, but I don't know what [$_e$ he was going to give a lecture] about".

Tamil has a similar construction as swiping as given in (47a). There is a preposition that strands along with the *wh*-word and the rest of the clause that follows is elided.

(47) a. [aʋan ka:r-la po:-gir-a:n] a:na ya:rɨ-ku:ɖa [*e*] nu
    3SGM.NOM car-LOC go-PROG-3SGM but who-COM EP COMP
    ena-kku teriy-a:-du
    1SG-DAT know-NEG-3SGN
    'He is going in a car but I don't know with whom'

  b. [*e*]: aʋan ka:r-la < ya:rᵢ > po:-gir-a:n
    EP: 3SGM car-LOC who go-PROG-3SGM
    'He is going in a car'

We will explore sluicing and its distribution in Tamil in detail in Chapter 5.

1.4.7 NP-Ellipsis

The above-discussed types of ellipsis are all instances of clausal ellipsis. NP-Ellipsis also exists in most languages, by which a nominal phrase is elided in a sentence or clause and is interpreted from the antecedent. Examples (48a), (48b) and (48c) are from Aelbrecht (2010), and they show the ellipsis of the head noun, and possibly its modifier and complement as in (48c) (the ellipsis is indicated here by striking through the elided part).

(48) a. Sam's [older brother] is taller than Jeff's ~~older brother~~.

  b. Steve bought these [pants] and Jeff bought those ~~pants~~.

  c. Jen wanted three [balloons with pink ribbons] and Jane wanted two ~~balloons with pink ribbons~~.

In Tamil also, the head noun can be elided but not in comparatives. As (49) shows in the comparative sentence the head noun *akka:ʋ-ai* has to be pronounced in Tamil. However, in conjoined sentence (50a), analogous to (48b), the head noun can be elided as shown in (50b), similar to the English case.

(49) siʋa:ʋ-in akka: ra:muʋ-in (*akka:ʋ-ai) ʋiɖə
   Siva.3GSM-GEN sister Ramu.3SGM-GEN sister-3SGF-ACC more
   ujaram-a:ga iru-kir-a:ɭ
   tall-ADJ be-3SGF
   'Siva's sister is taller than Ramu's sister'

(50)   a.   ra:mu   iraɳɖu [a:ppiɭ] sa:ppi-ʈʈ-a:n   na:n na:lu [*e*]
              Ramu[3SGM.NOM] two   apple   eat-PST.3SGM 1SG four EP
              sa:ppi-ʈʈ-e:n
              eat-PST-3SGF
              'Ramu ate two apple and I ate four.'

        b.   [*e*]: [a:ppiɭ]
              EP: apple
              'apple'

I will not discuss in detail about NP ellipsis in Tamil in this thesis as I focus on
other ellipsis types. There are two ways to do null NP in Tamil such as dele-
tion and pronomalisation. In example (51), the NP complement of a numeral
phrase (NumP) is deleted and therefore this type is analysed as NP ellipsis in
the literature.

(51)   ra:mu   oru [NP pe:na:] ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n   si:ta:
        Ramu[3SGM.NOM] one   pen   buy-PST.3SGM Sita[3SGF.NOM]
        reɳɖu [NP *e*]   ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:ɭ
        two   (*e*) buy-PST.3SGF
        'Ramu bought one pen and Sita bought two'.

In Tamil, we don't see any numeral classifier but in languages like Japanese,
Chinese, Korean NP ellipsis is licensed by numeral classifier. The presence of
classifier in NP ellipsis leads to the argument to consider numeral classifiers as
functional heads (Watanabe 2006, Park 2021). Example (52) shows NP ellipsis
in numeral phrase where the numeral classifier licenses the NP deletion.

(52)   na-nun [nonmun twu phyen]-ul ilkess-ko, ku-nun [nonmun sey
        I-TOP   paper   two CL -ACC   read-and he-TOP paper   three
        phyen]-ul ilkessta.
        CL-ACC   read
        'I read two papers, and he read three.'   (Park 2021:664)

I assume there is null numeral classifier in Tamil and therefore the complement
NP is deleted in (51). The tree in (53) shows the structure of NP ellipsis that
occur in numeral phrase in Tamil.

(53)

```
                              TP
                      _____|_____
                     |                 |
                    DP                 T'
                     |           _____|_____
                   si:ta:       |             |
                               vP             T
                        _____|_____       |
                       |               |   va:ŋgi-n-a:ɭ
                      DP               v'
                      /\         _____|_____
                    si:ta:      |             |
                               VP             v
                           ____|____          |
                          |         |      <va:ŋgi>
                          ∅         V'
                              _____|_____
                             |             |
                           NumP            V
                         ___|___           |
                        |       |       <va:ŋgi>
                      rendu    Num'
                           _____|_____
                          |           |
                         NP          Num
                         /\           |
                       pe:na:         ∅
```
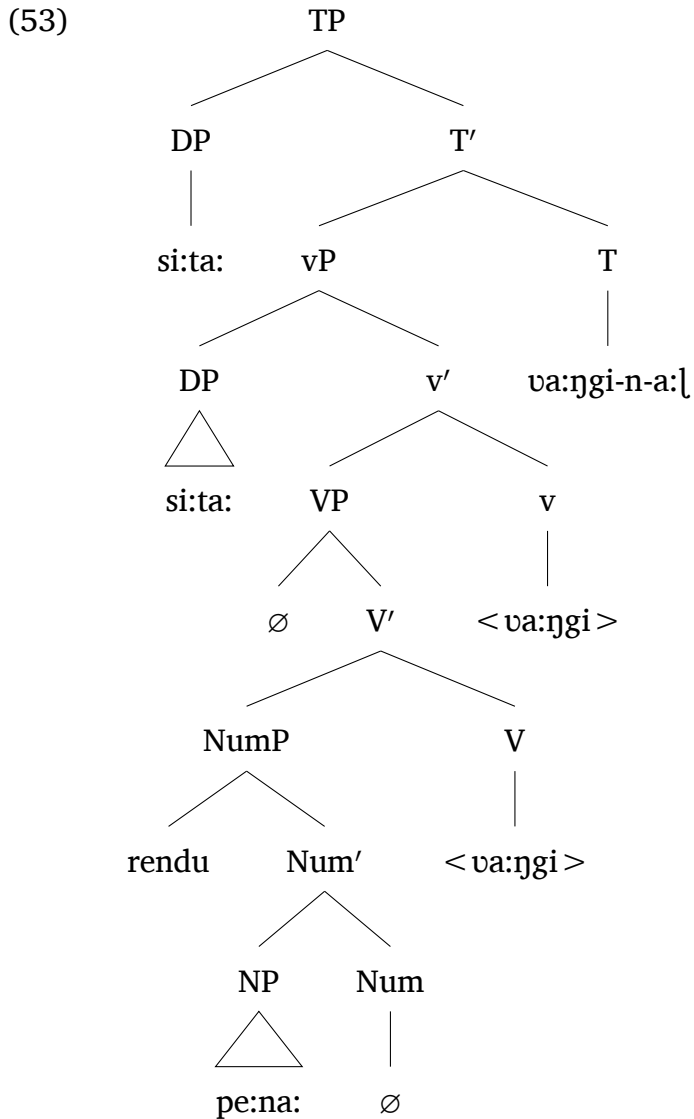
The other way to derive null NP is pronominalisation which is similar to the English *one* substitution for an NP as illustrated in example (54). Park (2021) shows *kes* in Korean similar to English *one* in NP ellipsis. This type is not accounted as NP ellipsis rather NP *pro*-form.

(54)   John bought a big house and Bill bought a small one.

In Tamil, it is very clear how pronominalisation works for NP ellipsis as the third person pronoun *-adu* suffixes with the adjective substituting the noun head. Consider example (55a) that has *-adu* replacing *ka:r* and example (55b) shows the head noun instead of the pronoun suffix.

(55)   a.   ʝɔːn   perija [NP kaːr]   ʋaːŋgi-n-aːn
              John[3SGM.NOM] big   car-3SGN buy-PST-3SGM
              meːri   ʃinna-adu   ʋaːŋgi-n-aːɭ.
              Mary[3SGF.NOM] small-3SGN buy-PST-3SGF
              'John bought a big car and Mary bought a small one'.

        b.   meːri ʃinna [NP kaːr]   ʋaːŋgi-n-aːɭ
              Mary small   car-3SGN buy-PST-3SGF
              'Mary bought a small car.'

Like in Korean, in Tamil also, the pronominal suffix *-adu* cannot occur with bare
numerals as in example (57a) and therefore pronominalisation process is not
possible for NP ellipsis in a numeral phrase (cf. examples in (56). But an ad-
jective can intervene between numeral and pronominal suffix as in (57c). Only
with bare numerals pronominal suffix couldn't attach which shows numeral
phrase cannot have pronominalisation for null NP in Tamil.

(56)   *Korean*   (Park 2021:671)

        a.   i/ku/ce   (say) kes
              this/that/that (new) one

        b.   *tases/yeses kes
              five/six   one

        c.   say/hen/yey kes
              new/old/old one

(57)   *Tamil*

        a.   *naːlu-adu
              four-3SGN

        b.   pudij-adu
              new-3SGN

        c.   naːlu pudij-adu
              four new-3SGN

1.5   Outline of the Dissertation

As the discussion in the preceding section shows, the major types of elliptical
constructions that Tamil instantiates are: (i) stripping, (ii) sluicing, (iii) frag-

ment answers, (iv) negative contrast, (v) VSVPE, and (vi) NP-ellipsis. Over the five chapters of this dissertation, I examine these phenomena in detail and provide analyses for all these construction types, simultaneously analysing several aspects of Tamil clause structure in the process.

Chapter 2 and 3 explore Bare Argument Ellipsis (BAE) and its occurrence in Tamil. BAE includes certain kinds of elliptical constructions which share similar properties. As discussed above, the primary debate among researchers on ellipsis is whether or not there is an unpronounced syntactic structure in an elliptical construction. Therefore, in chapter 2 the debate is presented by reviewing some of the prominent literature on the various types of BAE available cross-linguistically and in Tamil. It also poses the empirical and theoretical issues that an analysis of Tamil BAE must address including the various syntactic phenomena present in Tamil. Chapter 2 comprises of three sections. The first section defines and illustrates the types of BAE available cross-linguistically. Followed by this in the second section the prominent analyses that have been proposed to account for these types in the literature is discussed. Finally, the last section concludes the analysis, with a brief preview of the components of an analysis of Tamil BAE must comprise.

Chapter 3 builds on the discussion from chapter 2. It develops and proposes an analysis for coordination and fragment stripping as well as negative contrast. The analyses developed in this chapter for these phenomena explore several aspects of the syntax and semantics of the grammar of Tamil in the process, such as the nature of the Tamil additive and disjunctive coordination, the nature of Tamil cleft and its copular negation, as well as the expression of focus and discourse particle in the language. The discussion in this chapter is spread across five sections. In section 3.1, the core analysis proposed for stripping in Tamil in coordinate structures is presented first. The next section examines non-coordinate/fragment stripping in Tamil. Followed by this, section 3.3 proposes a unified analysis of stripping in both coordination and fragment contexts. Then

section 3.4 turns to the analysis of negative contrast in Tamil which argues for ATB movement analysis and not an elliptical analysis. Finally, section 3.5 concludes the chapter with a summary of the proposals made.

In Chapter 4, I examine two instances of constructions with null objects, which may therefore receive a null pronoun/variable or an elliptical analysis (either as verb stranding VP ellipsis or argument ellipsis). In section 4.1, I show that constructions with null objects in which the predicate in the antecedent is not identical to the predicate in the elided clause cannot be analysed as an elliptical construction and that analysis of these constructions as new in which a null pronominal in object positions is justified. In section 4.2, I motivate a VSVPE analysis of the constructions in which the predicate in the two conjuncts are identical by explaining the various diagnostics for VSVPE developed in the last decade and demonstrating how the Tamil facts satisfy them. Finally, Section 4.3 demonstrates that the diagnostics from complex predicates in Tamil provide sufficient evidence to motivate an analysis of overt verb raising in Tamil for these constructions.

Chapter 5 studies the elliptical phenomenon called Sluicing. Ross (1969) and Merchant (1999, 2001, 2006) have made perhaps the most influential proposals regarding the analysis of sluicing in English. Under their proposals, the basic argument that is made is that languages that have *wh*-movement also necessarily exhibit the sluicing phenomenon. In such languages, after *wh*-movement, the TP is deleted as there is an identical antecedent TP that is pronounced in the first conjunct. We observe a similar construction in Tamil, which is a *wh*-in-situ language. Leung's (2018) work highlights two kinds of sluicing in Tamil namely case marked (CM) sluicing and non-case marked (NCM) sluicing. In the CM type, the *wh*-remnant obligatorily bears a case marker identical to its correlate in the antecedent and in the NCM type, no case-marking on the *wh*-remnant is allowed. Any analysis of Tamil sluicing that is to be developed must therefore address the question of how these two types are to be derived in

a *wh*-in-situ languages, and therefore the focus of my attempts in this chapter is to describe and derive the properties of the two types of sluicing in Tamil. Following the work of Toosarvandani (2008) for Farsi, Bhattacharya & Simpson (2012) for Hindi and Bangla, Gribanova (2013) for Uzbek, Manetta (2013) for Hindi/Urdu, Balusu (2016) for Telugu and other Dravidian languages and importantly Leung (2018), whose detailed work on the Tamil sluicing is particularly helpful in this chapter. The chapter presents extensive arguments for a sluicing analysis for constructions with obligatory case-matching between the the *wh*-remnant and the correlate. It will demonstrate that the source of case marked sluicing cannot be traced to either an underlying cleft or overt *wh*-movement but rather implicates overt raising to a high Foc head in the narrow syntax. Finally, the chapter also argues that in non-case marked constructions, no elliptical construction is involved and the source of sluice clause is a reduced equative copular clause.

In Chapter 6, I present a brief summary of the various elliptical phenomenon studied in this thesis. After that it explores one of the important consequence for future research that this study provides. It is the fact that this study serves to set a baseline comparison for the study of elliptical phenomena in other Dravidian languages. Although the predominant tendency is to assume that all Dravidian languages pattern similarly with respect to clausal phenomena, Leung argues that this presupposition is not well founded. My own preliminary investigations with regards to the Dravidian elliptical phenomena reveal that there is significant variation to be found even in the few major Dravidian languages namely Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, that I have surveyed (with respect to the elliptical phenomena studied in this dissertation) and there are also similarities among them.

Chapter 2

Bare Argument Ellipsis (BAE): A review of the literature

This chapter and the next explores Bare Argument Ellipsis (BAE) and its occurrence in Tamil. BAE is an umbrella term that covers certain kinds of elliptical constructions with similar properties. As discussed in chapter 1, the primary debate among researchers on ellipsis is whether or not there is an unpronounced syntactic structure in an elliptical construction. Therefore, this chapter explores this debate by reviewing some of the prominent literature on the various types of BAE available cross-linguistically and in Tamil. It also poses the empirical and theoretical issues that an analysis of Tamil BAE must address the presence of syntactic structure in the various types of BAE.

The chapter comprises three sections. Section 2.1 defines and illustrates the types of BAE available cross-linguistically. Following this, section 2.2 explains the prominent analyses that have been proposed to account for these types in the literature. Finally, section 2.3 concludes the analysis, with a brief preview of the components of an analysis of Tamil BAE must comprise.

2.1 Bare Argument Ellipsis and its realisation in Tamil

Elliptical constructions that elide everything in a clause except the focused remnant and focus sensitive particle, and sometimes a clause-initial adverb or negative, are considered to instantiate cases of BAE[1]. Figure 2.1 represents Konietzko's (2016) classification of the commonly identified types and sub-types of BAE.
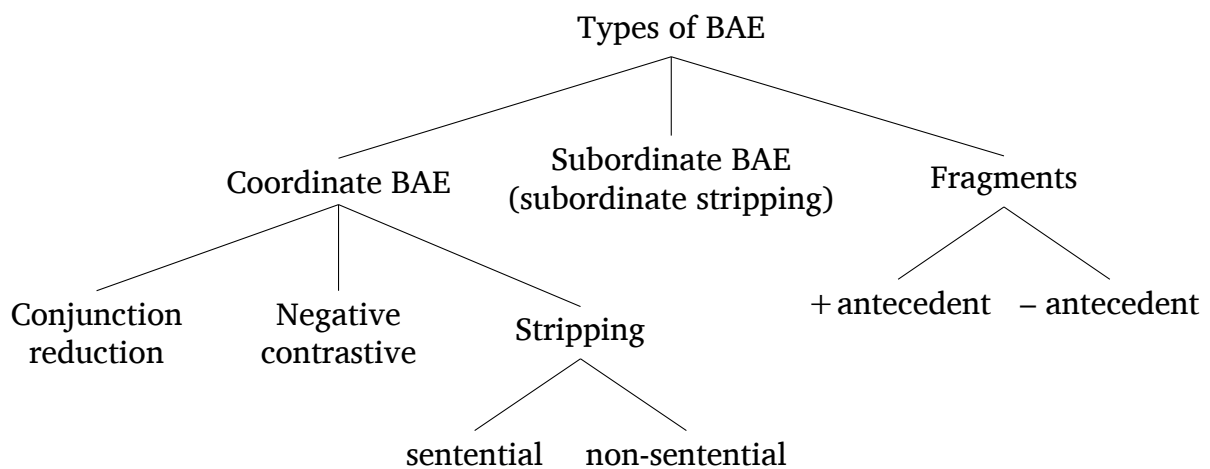
Figure 2.1: Types of BAE

As can be seen from 2.1, there are three main triggering environments for BAE: ellipsis in the context of a coordinating conjunction, ellipsis in subordinate contexts, and fragments. Examples of these three main types are illustrated in (1a)-(1c) from English: with (1a) representing ellipsis in coordination contexts, (1b) an elliptical fragment and (1c) ellipsis in a subordination context.

(1)   a.   John went to the hills and not to the mountains *e*].   (Coordinate)

---

[1] In the literature, individual authors differ in the nomenclature they use to name the similar elliptical constructions. Wilder (1997b) introduces the term *Bare Argument Ellipis* for elliptical instances in which only a single remnant survives ellipsis and Reinhart (1991) refers to the same instances as *Bare Argument Conjunctions.*

    b.   A: Sam watched a horror movie.

        B: Mary, [*e*] too.   (Fragment)

    c.   *Jim likes football because his father, [*e*] too   (Subordinate)

The sentence (1c) is ungrammatical as subordinate BAE is not possible in English (cf. the 'no embedding constraint' for stripping Johnson (2019), Lobeck (1995), Merchant (2003) and Wurmbrand (2017)). However, Konietzko (2016) argues that German comparatives involve subordinate clauses and stripping is possible in such contexts. Further, Winkler (2020) argues for German Reduced Subordinate Clauses (RSC) as an instance of embedded stripping given in (2).

(2)   Sandy spielt FUSSball, /weil   /wenngleich /obgleich   /wenn
        Sandy plays soccer   because /if-prt   /whether-prt /if
        /falls   nicht TENnis.
        /incase not   tennis
        'Sandy plays soccer because/ if/ whether/ in case not tennis.'

                                          (Winkler 2020:1)

2.1.1 Coordinate and Fragment BAE

As the name suggests, coordinate BAE constructions occur in conjoined structures with coordinators such as *and, or, but*. Gapping, pseudo–gapping, and VP–ellipsis can also happen in coordination contexts, and so they are known as coordination ellipsis as well. Ellipsis that appears in *and* coordination takes an obligatory additive marker *too* and, as we have just seen, this elliptical construction is stripping. Ellipsis that occurs in *but* coordination takes negation, and it is known as negative stripping/contrast. Let us see how these two types work in English and German.

    Prominent amongst the BAE sub-types in coordinate contexts is the phenomena known as stripping, as first discussed by Hankamer & Sag (1976:409).

Stripping is a process that deletes everything in a clause under identity with corresponding parts of a preceding clause except for one constituent (and sometimes a clause initial adverb or negative). The constructions demonstrated in (3a) – (5a) are analysed by Hankamer and Sag (1976) in accordance with this definition. In (3a), a case of stripping, the subject remnant (*i.e.,* the element that escapes the ellipsis site) of the second conjunct is uttered followed by an additive particle, while the rest of the clause is elided. The elided part gets its meaning from the identical antecedent in the first conjunct of the utterance. In (4a), also an example of stripping, the object escapes the ellipsis site and the rest of the clause is elided. Example (5a) illustrates a case of negative contrast, where the coordination marker used is *but* the negation sets up the contrast indicated by the remnant rather than *and*.

(3)   a.   Ramu [likes ice–cream] and Sam [*e*], too.

        b.   [*e*]: likes ice–cream

(4)   a.   [John bought] a car and [*e*] a bike, too.

        b.   [*e*]: John bought.

(5)   a.   Bill [speaks English] but not Peter [*e*].

        b.   [*e*]: who speaks English.

    Reinhart (1991) considers stripping constructions to be an instance of BAE, and adds to this set the constructions in (6a) and (6b) as involving BAE. In (6a), *or Max* moves to the right side of the clause from its base disjunction position. Similar to this, *instead of him* moves rightward to derive the structure in (6b). She argues all the BAE types are derived through such a 'rightward movement' analysis.

(6)   a.   Either Lucie <*or Max*> will show up, [*or Max*].

        b.   <*Instead of him*> Lucie will go, [*instead of him.*]   (Reinhart 1991)

As a consequence, stripping is now referred to as ellipsis that occurs in *and* co-ordination structures with an additive marker. This type of sentential stripping is available cross-linguistically, as shown for German by Winkler (2005) and in Catalan from Busquets (2006). In (7), the subject is the remnant and in (8), the remnant is the object.

(7)   weil   Jan nicht Geige spielen kann und ANNA AUCH [*e*].
            Because Jan not   violin play   can   and Anna too   EP
            'Because Jan cannot play the violin and Anna too.'

(8)   En   Max va donar flors   a la   Rosa, i   també a
            DEF.3SGM Max PST give   flowers to DEF.3SGF Rosa, and also   to
            la   Zelda.
            DEF.3SGF Zelda
            'Max gave flowers to Rosa and also to Zelda.'

It is also available in Japanese, as adapted from Hoji (1990) in (9). Further Hoji and Fukaya (1999) show the availability of the strict/sloppy reading as in the translations given for (10b).

(9)   John-ga   Bill-o   hihansita; Tom(-o)   mo da.
            John-NOM Bill-ACC criticized Tom-(ACC) also COP
            'John criticised Bill; and Tom, too'.

(10)   *Japanese*   (Hoji & Fukaya 1999:6)

    a.   A: Toyota$_i$-ga   [soko-no [roodoo kumiai]]-o hihansita.
           Toyota-NOM it-GEN   labor   union-ACC criticized
        'Toyota criticized its labor union.'

    b.   B: Iya. Nissan$_j$-ga   da [*e*].
           No. Nissan-NOM COP EP.
        'No, Nissan (criticized its$_{i/j}$ labour union).'

       = 'Nissan criticized Toyota's labour union.'   (strict)

       = 'Nissan criticized Nissan's labour union.'   (sloppy)

Across all the observed languages, the unique feature of stripping is the appearance of the additive marker 'too' with the remnant, which requires both the

conjuncts to be parallel in syntax and semantics. Funakoshi (2016) claims that in Japanese, the additive marker '*mo*' requires parallelism between two conjuncts in elliptical constructions. This parallelism requirement follows from the identity condition requirement on ellipsis in general. While Merchant (1999) suggests that the structural isomorphism between syntactic structure in the two conjuncts feeds the semantic parallelism, Kolokonte (2008) extends to a requirement of parallelism in information structure between both the antecedent and elided conjunct. Thus, the use of the additive marker *too* in all these requirements of parallelism in information languages signals parallelism.

Turning now to Tamil, we see that the language too instantiates stripping. As we can see from (11a), the second clause has only the subject remnant and the additive marker *-um* is suffixed along with it. The *-um* presupposes that whatever holds for the correlate in the antecedent clause should hold for the remnant in the elided clause as well.

(11)   a.   so:mu   na:ʃai   madiyam paɖam pa:rkk-a
               Somu[3SGM.NOM] tomorrow afternoon film   see-INF
               po:-ʋ-a:n   bill-um   [*e*].
               go-FUT-3SGM Bill[3SGM.NOM]
               'Somu will go to see a film tomorrow morning and Bill, too."

         b.   [*e*]: na:ʃai   madiyam paɖam pa:rkk-a po:-ʋ-a:n.
               EP: tomorrow afternoon film   see-INF   go-FUT-3SGM
               'will go to see a film tomorrow morning.'

In the discussion thus far, we have only considered cases of sentential stripping, but languages also show in non-sentential stripping.

Konietzko (2016) observes that German has two types of stripping: a sentential type where the remnant is interpreted as a contrastive topic as well as a non-sentential type which involves coordination of vPs and where the remnant is interpreted as a contrastive focus. In German, the focus sensitive particle or negation can occur in two positions: following the remnant (12a) and preceding the remnant (12b).

(12)   a.   XP – *auch*

      b.   *auch* – XP

This is illustrated by the German examples provided by Konietzko (2016) in (13a) and (13b). Konietzko (2016) analyses (13a) as involving vP-coordination which is derived through leftward ATB movement. He refers to this type as 'non-sentential stripping'. When *auch* follows the remnant as in (13b), the focus-sensitive particle moves to a higher position in the CP layer and results in full TP-deletion. As there is full clausal deletion, Konietzko (2016) refers to this type as 'sentential stripping'. Tamil, however, only has sentential stripping, as the additive marker *-um* can only follow the remnant.

(13)   *German*   (Konietzko 2016:64)

      a.   Maria liest   oft   Bücher und auch ZEITSCHRIFTEN.
             Maria reads often books   and also magazines
             'Marina often reads books and magazines also.'

      b.   Maria liest   oft   Bücher und ANNA AUCH.
             Maria reads often books   and Anna too
             'Marina often reads books and Anna, too.'

A second type of coordinate BAE is one in which the sentential negation strands under stripping along with the focused remnant, when the adversative conjunction *'but'* is used. This construction is called as Negative Stripping by Merchant (2003) and as Negative Contrast by Winkler (2005), Kolokonte (2008), and Konietzko (2016). A typical example is provided from English in example (14a), where the negation *'not'* in this utterance is a constituent negation which contrasts one focused constituent with its correlate in the antecedent. Merchant (2003) analyses this construction as clausal (TP) ellipsis under the PF–deletion approach.

(14)   a.   Ram [plays cricket] and/but not SAM [*e*].

      b.   [*e*]: who plays cricket.

Later work on negative stripping/contrast distinguishes two kinds based on the negation and the remnant, as in (15a) and (15b).

(15)   a.   XP – NEG

         b.   NEG – XP

Both the orders in (15a) and (15b) are possible in French, Spanish, German and a few other languages. The example (16a) follows the order (15a) and is analysed as 'polarity ellipsis' in Spanish by Morris (2008) and 'yes/no ellipsis' in German by Winkler (2005). Example (16b) illustrates negative contrast/negative stripping in Spanish, in which the negation immediately precedes the remnant.

(16)   *Spanish*   (Morris 2008:9)

         a.   Ana vio   a Maria, pero a Susana no.
               Ana saw.3SG to Maria but   to Susana NEG
               'Ana saw Maria but she didn't see Susana.'

         b.   Ana vio   a Maria, pero no a Susana.
               Ana saw.3SG to Maria but   NEG to Susana
               'Ana saw Maria but she didn't see Susana.'

In Tamil, we can only have the (15a) order, and it can only yield a cleft interpretation. Example (17a) shows an instance of negative contrast in which the second clause has a remnant with negation. The elided part can only be interpreted as a clefted constituent as in (17c) and not as identical to the antecedent clause. Tamil differs from languages such as German and Spanish languages in the order of remnant and focus sensitive particles in ellipsis. As we can see from the examples below, the negation follows the remnant, but we cannot say it is polarity ellipsis. In Tamil, polar yes/no occurs sentence-initially and doesn't attach with any phrasal level. We will discuss how this type of construction can be analysed in Tamil in chapter 3.

(17) a. ba:lu   ka:r   va:ŋgi-n-a:n   me:ri
          Balu[3SGM.NOM] car.3SGN buy-PST-3SGM Mary[3SGF.NOM]
          illa [*e*].
          NEG
          'Balu bought a car not Mary.'

      b. [*e*]: *ka:r   va:ŋgi-n-a:ḷ.
          EP: car.3SGN buy-PST-3SGF
          'bought a car.'

      c. [*e*]: ka:r   va:ŋgi-n-a-thu
          EP: car.3SGN buy-PST.PTCP-REL-3SGN
          'car bought.'

In Tamil, stripping is not restricted to the *and* coordination. Coordination stripping occurs when both conjuncts are uttered by the same speaker, (as in ((18a), but non-coordination stripping occurs when the second conjunct is produced by another speaker in a conversation, as in (19a)-(19b).

(18) a. ɟɔ:n   [sku:l-kku po:-n-a:n]
          John[3SGM.NOM] school-DAT go-PST-3SGM
          me:rij-um   [*e*].
          Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD EP
          'John went to school and Mary, too '.

      b. [*e*]: school-kku po:-n-a:ḷ
          EP: school-DAT go-PST-3SGF
          'went to school.'

(19) a. **[Speaker A]** : ɟɔ:n   [sku:l-kku po:-n-a:n].
                            John[3SGM.NOM] school-DAT go-PST-3SGM
                            'John went to school.'

      b. **[Speaker B]** : me:rij-um   ta:n [*e*].
                            Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD TA:N EP
                            'MARY, too.'

As can be seen, these two constructions contrast. While in coordination stripping, the *–um* suffix, *i.e.* the additive suffix, simply follows the remnant, in fragment stripping, along with *–um*, we can see a *ta:n* particle.

The last sub-type of Coordinate BAE is the phenomenon of Conjunction Re-

duction (CR). Hankamer (1979) was the first to argue for gapping and stripping phenomena as conjunction reduction. Wilder (2018) defines CR as follows: "the conjuncts in a coordinate structure can be reduced by ellipsis, in the sense of omission of repeated material". He discusses two types of CR phenomena in English based on the directionality: Forward CR (stripping, Phrase Cluster Coordination) and Backward CR (Right-Node Raising).

In the elliptical analysis, Forward CR is derived when in a coordination structure, the non-elided part inside the initial conjunct licences ellipsis in non-initial conjuncts (Wilder 2018). Example (20a) is derived by eliding (strikethrough) the subject and verb in the second conjunct under an identical antecedent (underlined) available in the first conjunct of the coordination, as shown in (20b).

(20)   *English*   (Wilder 2018:681-682)

    a.   They offer money to the rich, but nothing to the poor.

    b.   < [<u>They offer</u> money to the rich] but [~~they offer~~ nothing to the poor] >.

Wilder (2018) defines Backward CR, which is also known as Right-Node-Raising (RNR) as the ellipsis of materials inside the non-final conjuncts under identical antecedent available in the final conjunct in the coordination structure. Example (21a) is derived by eliding the materials in the first conjunct (strikethrough) under the availability of an identical antecedent available in the final conjunct (underlined) as shown in (21b).

(21)   *English*   (Wilder 2018:681-682)

    a.   We are not responsible for, and we will not reimburse you for any losses incurred.

    b.   < [We are not responsible ~~for any losses incurred~~] and [we will not reimburse you <u>for any losses incurred</u>] >.

Let us take a hypothetical example to see if English type of Forward CR is possible in Tamil. It is not possible to derive (22a) by an elliptical analysis, as the strings deleted are not from a single constituent. Also, the pronounced negation in the second conjunct gives a copula reading; therefore it cannot negate the main verb, which is elided. We will see this type of example in negative contrast, which can only take place when both conjuncts are cleft clauses.

(22)   a.   so:mu   paŋaka:raŋ-gaḷ-kku paṇam koḍu-tt-a:n
              Somu[3SGM.NOM] rich-3PL-DAT   money give-PST-3SGM
              a:na: e:ṛai-gaḷ-kku   illa.
              but   poor-3PL-DAT NEG
              'Somu gave money to the rich but not to the poor.'

        b. *<[so:mu   paŋaka:raŋ-gaḷ-kku paṇam koḍu-tt-a:n]
              Somu[3SGM.NOM] rich-3PL-DAT   money give-PST.3SGM
              a:na: [so:mu   e:ṛai-gaḷ-kku   paṇam
              but   Somu[3SGM.NOM] poor-3PL-DAT money
              koḍukk-a-la]>.
              give-INF-NEG
                'Somu gave money to the rich, but Somu gave not to the poor.'

In Tamil, it is not possible to have Backward CR, as the antecedent should always precede the elided part. Example (21a) cannot be derived from (21b) because the missing elements in the first conjunct don't get the interpretation as the antecedent is in the final conjunct.

(23)   a.   na:ŋga   poruppu   illa na:ŋga   unn-uḍaya iṛappukku
              1PL.NOM responsible NEG 1PL.NOM 2SG-GEN   loss
              i:ḍu   kodukk-a muḍiy-a:-du.
              compensate give-INF   can-NEG-3SGN
              'We are not responsible and we cannot give compensation for your

              loss.'

        b. *<[na:ŋga   unn-uḍaya iṛappukku poruppu   illa]   [na:ŋga
              1PL.NOM 2SG-GEN   loss   responsible NEG   1PL.NOM
              unn-uḍaya iṛappukku i:ḍu   kodukk-a muḍiy-a:-du]>.
              2SG-GEN   loss   compensate   give-INF can-NEG-3SGN
              'We are not responsible and we cannot give compensation for your

              loss.'

2.1.2   Subordinate BAE

Stripping in English is only allowed in coordinate structures. As demonstrated by Johnson (2019), Merchant (2003), Lobeck (1995) and Wurmbrand (2017) stripping is disallowed in contexts like those in (24a) to (24f) for English. Wurmbrand (2017)

(24)   a.   *I met Ravi because Bill, too.

        b.   *John likes seafood whenever bread, too (Johnson 2019:2)

        c.   *I met Ravi because not Bill.

        d.   *Jane loves to study rocks, and John says that geography too. (Lobeck 1995:27)

        e.   *Abby wanted to take Dutch, because Ben. (Merchant 2003:3)

        f.   *Abby claimed Ben would ask her out, but she didn't think that Bill (too).(Merchant 2003:4)

This is also true in Tamil, as the ungrammaticality of the example in (25a) shows. In the language, only the coordinate BAE types are available, and subordinate BAE types are not. Example (25a) (in which EP indicates the elided part) shows that eliding everything in the clause except the remnant along with additive marker in the subordinate clause is ungrammatical, and that one cannot recover the expected omitted part as (25b) for the [*e*] in (25a).

(25)   a.   *ra:mu   ʋaɳɖi ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n   e:nna:
             Ramu[3SGM.NOM] bike   buy-PST-3SGM because
             si:ta:ʋ-um   [*e*].
             Sita[3SGF.NOM] EP
             'Ramu bought a bike because Sita too.'

        b.   [*e*]:   ʋaɳɖi va:ŋg-in-a:ɭ.
             [EP]: bike   buy-PST-3SGF
             'bought a bike.'

However, it has been shown that German does allow elliptical constructions in comparative clauses, like those in example (26a), which are analysed as syntac-

tically subordinate in nature Reich (2009). This claim comes from the fact that in German the embedded clauses are verb–final, whereas the simple clauses are verb–second by default (Konietzko 2016). Example (26a) shows the verb–final order in comparatives for gapping construction, whereas (26b) exhibits verb-second order, which is ungrammatical in comparative constructions.

(26)   *German*   (Konietzko 2016:25)

      a.   Maria spielt besser Gitarre als   Anna Klavier spielt.
          Maria plays better guitar than Anna piano   plays

      b.   *Maria spielt besser Gitarre als   Anna spielt Klavier.
          Maria plays better guitar than Anna plays piano

Tamil comparatives also allow such ellipsis in which, as example (27a) shows, the subordinate clause precedes the comparative marker. The natural word order for complex clauses in Tamil is OSV, whereas the default word order is SOV (although scrambling to SVO order is also possible in marked cases). In both the OSV order in (27a) and the SOV order in (27b) comparatives, the elided part must precede the antecedent.

(27)   a.   [raʋi   ~~giʈaːr nallaː ʋaːsi-pp-adu~~-ai]   ʋiɖa
          Ravi[3SGM.NOM] **guitar good play-FUT-NOMZ-ACC** COMP
          meri   giʈaːr nallaː ʋaːsi-pp-aːḷ.
          Mary[3SGF.NOM] guitar good play-FUT-3SF
          'Mary will play guitar better than Ravi will pay guitar'.

    b.   meri   [raʋi
          Mary[3SGF.NOM]   Ravi[3SGM.NOM]
          ~~giʈaːr nallaː ʋaːsi-pp-adu~~-ai   ʋiɖa] giʈaːr nallaː
          guitar good play-FUT-NOMZ-ACC COMP guitar good
          ʋaːsippaːḷ.
          play-FUT-3SGF
          'Mary will play guitar better than Ravi will play guitar'.

When the elliptical clause follows the antecedent clause as in (28a), it is ungrammatical. The elliptical clause needs to precede the antecedent as in (28b) to be grammatical.

(28)   a. *[$_{IP}$ Sue didn't [*e*]] because John ate meat.

        b.   Because [$_{IP}$ Sue didn't [*e*]], John ate meat.

In addition, the embedded clause in general precedes the main clause and the head–final complementiser, *enḏru*, which is the grammaticalised form of the lexical verb *en* ('say'). The placement of the embedded clause thus suggests that Tamil comparatives are also subordinate clauses, and therefore that the language also instantiates ellipsis in comparative clauses.

However, beyond these ordering facts, there is little syntactic evidence that suggests that what is involved in in Tamil comparatives is indeed ellipsis. A stripping analysis is not supported as in Tamil comparatives, the elided part precedes the antecedent. Stripping, however, is analysed as 'forward ellipsis' in which the elided part should always follow the antecedent.

Tamil comparatives cannot be an instance of 'backward ellipsis' either (*i.e.,* where the elided part precedes the antecedent). As Langacker (1969) and Ross (1967) have noted, ellipsis is subject to the 'Backward Anaphora Constraint' (BAC). This is given in (29) and its illustrative examples in (30a) - (30c).

(29)   *Backwards Anaphora Constraint*: An ellipsis site cannot precede its an-
        tecedent when the ellipsis gap occurs in the matrix clause.

(30)   *English* (Ha 2008:122)

        a.   Because Jeff did $<>$, his children had to go to church last Sunday.

        b.   *Jeff did $<>$ because his children had to go to church last Sunday.

        c.   *Jeff did $<>$, and his children went to church last Sunday, too.

Based on the insights of Jayaseelan (2014), and following the proposals of Ha (2008) and Barros and Vicente (2009), I will argue that the apparent backward ellipsis in Tamil comparatives is actually an instance of Right Node Raising. Although Jayaseelan does not address comparatives, he claims that Tamil instantiates an RNR derivation of example (31a), which is an instance of coordinate

non-finite clause. In his analysis, this example is derived by RNR from has the underlying structure given in (31b).

(31) a. ra:mu   [[ba:l ʋa:ŋg-aʋ-um] [kriket̪ ʋiɭaja:ɖ-aʋ-um]
          Ramu[3SGM.NOM] ball   buy-INF-CONJ cricket play-INF-CONJ
          sej-t-a:n].
          do-PST-3SGM
          'Ramu did buy ball and play cricket.'

      b. ra:mu   [[ba:l ʋa:ŋg-a sej-t-a:n]   [kriket̪ ʋiɭaja:ɖ-a
          Ramu[3SGM.NOM] ball   buy-INF do-PST-3SGM cricket play-INF
          sej-t-a:n]].
          do-PST-3SGM
          'Ramu bought ball and played cricket.'

The reason why an RNR analysis of Tamil comparatives seems appropriate is the fact that they show the same insensitivity to islands that RNR constructions in English do (Barros and Vicente 2009). Example (32) is derived by ATB movement out of a Complex NP island in English. Example (33) shows that the same insensitivity to islands is exhibited in the Tamil comparative too, the Complex NP Constraint island condition is violated.

(32)   Alice is talking to [NP the man who composed <a beautiful sonata>], and Beatrix is having dinner with [NP the pianist who performed <a beautiful sonata>], a beautiful sonata.

(33)   [raʋi ~~giṭa:r nalla: ʋa:si-pp-adu~~-ai] ʋiɖa me:ri giṭa:r nalla: ʋa:si-pp-a:ɭ.
         Ravi[3SGM.NOM] ~~guitar good play-FUT-NOMZ~~-ACC COMP Mary[3SGF.NOM]
         guitar good play-FUT-3SGF
         'Mary will play guitar better than Ravi will pay guitar'.

   Ha (2008) argues for backward ellipsis as right node raising (RNR) phenomenon which is derived by PF deletion (Wexler and Culicover 1980, Hartmann 2000, Abels 2004, Ha 2007, among others). He claims that the RNR phenomenon does not involve rightward movement, but rather stays in-situ

in syntax. It is at the PF that the items in the first conjunct is unpronounced which is identical to the antecedent available in the matrix clause. Ha (2007) adapts Merchant's (1999, 2001) E-feature in RNR phenomenon and argues that the E_{RNR} feature licences the deletion of its complement at the PF. He further claims that the E_{RNR} feature is different from the other elliptical E-features. Because the E_{RNR} doesn't need to be on any functional head unlike sluicing, VP ellipsis constructions. It just attaches to the contrastively focused pre-RNR constituent in the derivation. I adapt Ha's (2007, 2008) analysis of E-feature for RNR in Tamil comparatives too. The embedded subject, which is contrastively focused with the matrix subject carries E_{RNR} and all the other items in the clause get deleted at PF.

A potential problem (Gurujegan Murugesan p.c.) for this analysis comes from data like (33) (repeated here as (34)), in which the accusative case of the embedded clause is pronounced along with the embedded subject remnant raʋi.

(34)   [raʋi giʈa:r nalla: ʋa:si-pp-adu-ai] ʋiɖa me:ri giʈa:r nalla: ʋa:si-pp-a:ɭ.
          Ravi[3SGM.NOM] guitar good play-FUT-NOMZ-ACC COMP Mary[3SGF.NOM]
          guitar good play-FUT-3SGF
          'Mary will play guitar better than Ravi will play guitar'.

However, this example is not really a counter example. What is happening here is that the accusative case marker attaches to the embedded nominalised clause in Tamil, and is assigned by the matrix predicate. Thereafter, because the whole embedded clause is not deleted at PF, (the subject of it survives) the case marker comes to be attached to the final element of the items that have survived the PF deletion. As shown in (35), this may turn out to be the embedded subject *ravi* as in (35a), but it may also be the nominalised verb *va:si-pp-adu,* as shown in (35b) .

(35)   a.   [raʋi   ~~giṭa:r nalla: ʋa:si-pp-adu~~-ai]   ʋiḍa
       Ravi[3SGM.NOM] ~~guitar good play-FUT-NOMZ~~-ACC COMP
       me:ri   giṭa:r nalla: ʋa:si-pp-a:ḷ.
       Mary[3SGF.NOM] guitar good play-FUT-3SGF
       'Mary will play guitar better than Ravi will play guitar better'.

       b.   [raʋi   ~~giṭa:r nalla:~~ ʋa:si-pp-adu-ai]   ʋiḍa
       Ravi[3SGM.NOM **guitar good** play-FUT-NOMZ-ACC COMP
       me:ri   giṭa:r nalla: ʋa:si-pp-a:ḷ.
       Mary[3SGF.NOM] guitar good play-FUT-3SGF
       'Mary will play guitar better than Ravi will play (guitar better)'.

This account of the attachment of the case marker post PF-deletion can also explain the other potential problem that Gurujegan Murugesan (p.c) indicates. He observes that an embedded subject pronoun, such as in (36a) *ni:* must assume the oblique form *unn* when other items get deleted in the clause, as in (36b). Given that oblique stems in Tamil arise in the context of a case marker, this follows from my analysis - when the accusative case marker attaches to the pronoun post PF-deletion, it triggers the selection of an oblique form of the pronoun in the pronounced string.

(36)   a.   [ni: giṭa:r nalla: ʋa:si-pp-adu-ai]   ʋiḍa
       2SG.NOM guitar good play-FUT-NOMZ-ACC COMP
       me:ri   giṭa:r nalla: ʋa:si-pp-a:ḷ.
       Mary[3SGF.NOM] guitar good play-FUT-3SF
       'Mary will play guitar better than you (will play guitar better)'.

       b.   [unn   ~~giṭa:r nalla: ʋa:si-pp-adu~~   -ai] ʋiḍa
       2SG.NOM **guitar good play-FUT-NOMZ**   -ACC COMP
       me:ri   giṭa:r nalla: ʋa:si-pp-a:ḷ.
       Mary[3SGF.NOM] guitar good play-FUT-3SGF
       'Mary will play guitar better than you will play guitar better'.

2.2   A brief literature survey of BAE analyses

The previous section discussed the cross-linguistically available types of BAE and concluded that Tamil mainly only instantiates BAE in coordinate constructions, i.e. stripping and negative contrast. In this section, I review the major

analytical proposals for the treatment of the two. These analyses fall into two classes: the first, Winkler (2005), Merchant (2003), etc., suggest that BAE types involve ellipsis in which two clauses are coordinated and the second conjunct gets deleted under identity with the first conjunct, leaving the focused remnant. The second type of analyses as proposed by, Reinhart (1991), Hudson (1976) claim that BAE types are of a single clause in which two NPs are conjoined at its base position inside the clause; the remnant from one of the conjuncts raises under movement.

2.2.1   Non–elliptical analyses of coordinate BAE

Hudson (1976), Reinhart (1991), McCawley (1991, 1993) and a few others argue that stripping and negative contrast constructions do not involve ellipsis. Within non-elliptical analyses, we can see differences in approaches based on the cross-linguistic variation. This section briefly recalls that Hudson (1976) analyses conjunct reduction (CR), gapping, and right node raising (RNR) constructions as a result of moving the remnant out of the coordinated XPs. He terms this rule as Conjunct Postposing as defined in (37).

(37)   *Conjunct Postposing*   (Hudson 1976:547)
        "Postpose, as right sisters of the clause, any number of non-initial conjuncts, matched pairwise if they come from more than one position; and preserve their original order."

Hudson suggests that this rule also applies to stripping (or 'split coordination' as he terms it). Example (38b) is English stripping derived by Conjunct Postposing from the underlined structure (38a). In his analysis, the remnant in (38a) is base generated inside the coordinated phrase XP and is later extraposed to the right side of the clause, giving split coordination interpretation in (38b).

(38)   a.   [John and Mary] played football.

  b. John *< and Mary >* played football [and Mary], too.

Kolokonte (2008) reports that Reinhart (1991) takes a slightly different, but nevertheless equally non-elliptical approach. Reinhart argues against the elliptical analysis for BAE because the elided materials in the second conjunct don't form a constituent, unlike in VP Ellipsis or Sluicing. The elided materials in BAE are discontinuous strings, as inflectional material is also part of the omission. This can be seen by contrasting the construction with VP Ellipsis in (39a) and sluicing in (39b), where the *Aux* elements support the non-elided inflectional morphemes. In contrast, in (39c), which is a case of BAE, the inflection is elided.

(39) a. Bill did *buy a car* and John did [$_{VP}$ buy a car], too.

  b. *Bill bought something* but John didn't know what [$_{TP}$ Bill bought *< what >*].

  c. Bill *did buy a car* and John [$_{T'}$ did buy a car], too.

Reinhart analyses examples given in (40a) - (40d) as a result of sideward movement, and they are instances of Elliptic Conjunctions. In her analysis, the remnant 'the public' in (40a) is base-generated adjoined to the TP (IP in her notation), as in (41). However, this cannot be licit, as coordination can occur only between elements of the same category, and in this case, the TP and NP are conjoined. Reinhart therefore suggests that a rule of LF-raising QRs the NP 'the critics' to coordinate with the NP coordinate at LF, as in (42). The correlate NP thus adjoins to the remnant in her analysis.

(40) a. *The critics* liked your book and *the public* – too.

  b. The critics praised *your book* yesterday but not *your poem*.

  c. Either *Lucie* will show up, or *Max*.

  d. *Lucie* will go, instead of *him*.   (Reinhart 1991)

(41)
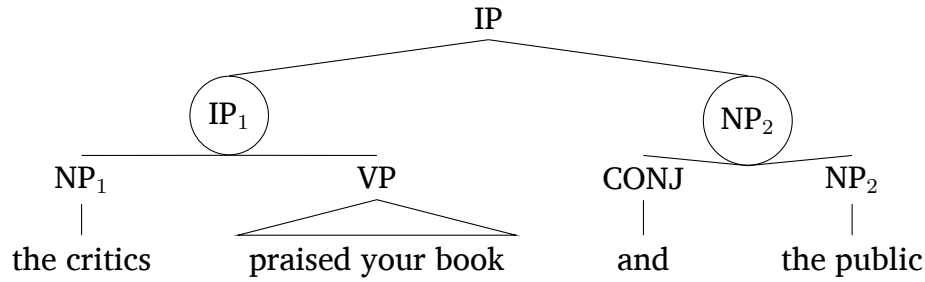
(42)
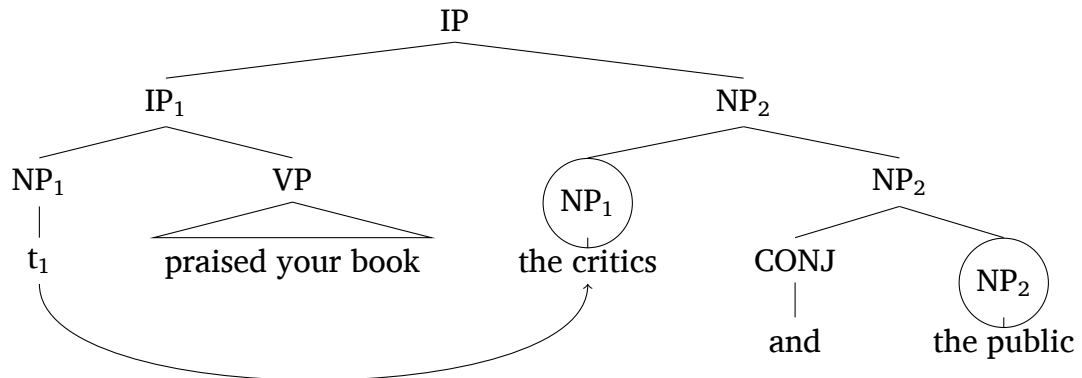
Merchant (2003) points out various problems with the movement approach for English stripping constructions. One of the main issues that challenge this explanation is that when the pronoun in the split coordinate construction is in the plural form, the antecedent that it refers back to in each conjunct must necessarily have the same features. In (43a), the antecedent *John and Mary* binds the plural pronoun *their* as the number feature matches between them. But in (43b), after moving the remnant rightward from the base generated position, the utterance becomes ungrammatical for two reasons. The verb does not take the third–person singular suffix *-s* to match features with the correlate and the pronoun doesn't match in its number feature with the antecedent.

(43)   a.   John$_i$ and Mary$_j$ love their$_{i+j}$ car.

         b.   *John$_i$ [<and Mary>] love their$_{*i}$ car and Mary$_j$, too.

Given the empirical and theoretical problems, I will not pursue a non-elliptical approach to Tamil stripping and negative contrast in this dissertation.

2.2.2 Elliptical analyses of coordinate BAE

2.2.2.1 Merchant (1999, 2001, 2003)

The approach that Merchant advocates assumes syntactic identity of the conjuncts, with ellipsis involving deletion in the PF-component. In his analysis of ellipsis in general, Merchant claims that the head that licenses ellipsis contains an E(llipsis)-feature that is checked via Agree (an analysis that Merchant (1999, 2001)) initially provided for sluicing). The lexical items that function as licensors in ellipsis (discussed in detail by Lobeck (1995)) signal the relevant features on [E] (Merchant 2003).

For example, in sluicing, illustrated in (44a), Merchant proposes that relevant [E] is [uwh*, uQ*] on the C^0 head as shown in the tree structure (46). The derivational steps he proposes for sluicing are given in (47), using the definition of Agree given in (45).

(44)   a.   Jack bought something, but I don't know what.

       b.   Jack bought something, but I don't know [$_{CP}$ what$_1$ C^0 [$_{TP}$ he bought <what$_1$>]].

(45)   *Agree*   (Chomsky 2000:122)

       "The phi-set we can think of as a probe that seeks a goal, namely,"matching" features that establish agreement. Matching is a relation that holds of a Probe P and a goal G. Not every matching pair induces Agree. To do so, G must (at least) be in the domain D(P) of P and satisfy locality conditions".

(46)

$$\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{XP}_{[wh]} \qquad\qquad \text{C}' \\
| \qquad\qquad\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
\text{what}_1 \quad \text{C}^0_{[wh^*,Q^*]} \qquad <\text{TP}> \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad \diagup \diagdown \\
\qquad\qquad \text{he bought } \textit{what}_1
\end{array}$$
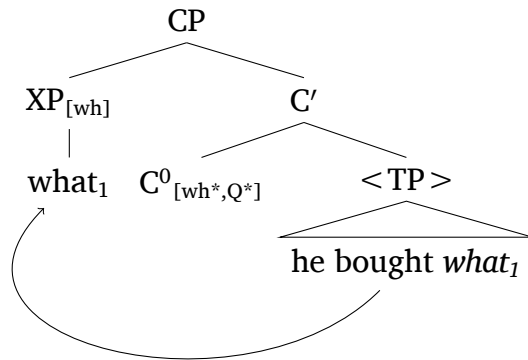
(47)   Derivation of sluicing in Merchant (2001):

- The sluice clause TP merges to the embedded C^0 of the second conjunct.

- The *wh*-word moves from the base position to Spec of CP like in normal interrogatives.

- The embedded CP merges to the v in matrix clause.

- Then the vP of matrix clause merges to the head T^0.

- Now, the second conjunct CP merges to Conjunction Phrase.

- At PF, the identical antecedent is visible in the first conjunct which triggers the E-feature on the C^0 of the embedded clause in the second conjunct to delete its complement TP.

Similarly for fragment answers, like example (48b), Merchant (2005a) proposes the licensor to be [uF*] and (49) shows the structure of fragment answers.

(48)   a.   Who did she see?

b.   John.

c.   John$_2$ [$_{TP}$ She saw <John$_2$>].

(49)

```
                          FP
              ┌───────────┴───────────┐
        [DP John₂]                   F'
                            ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                          F[E]               <TP>
                                        ┌───────┴───────┐
                                    she saw  <John₂>
```
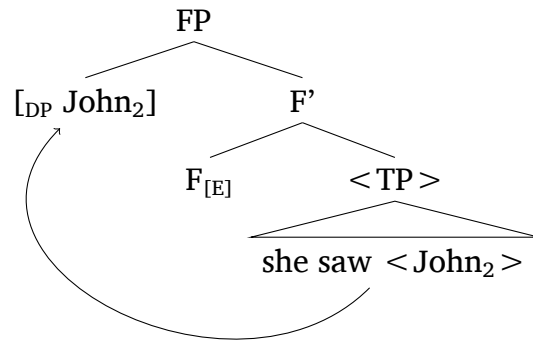
With regard to stripping constructions, Merchant proposes that the E has the lexical specifications given in (50).

(50)   E-stripping: [uF*, uConj]

The feature [uConj] is restricted to coordinated conjunctions (and, but) but not in subordinated conjunctions (as, because, after, etc). His derivation of the English stripping construction in example (51) is given in (52).

(51)   Abby speaks passable Dutch, and Ben, too.

(52)

```
                          ConjP
              ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
            Conj                          FP
             │              ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
            and           DP₂                          F'
                           │          ┌─────────────────┴─────────────────┐
                          Ben       F[E]                                <TP>
                                                              ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                                                          <Ben₂> speaks passable Dutch
```
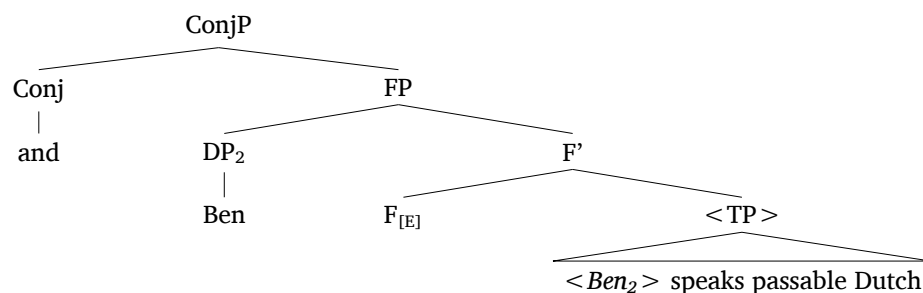
2.2.2.2   Winkler 2005

Winkler (2005) discusses German constructions that isolate contrast remnants as Contrastive Remnant Ellipsis (CRE). Terming the ellipsis that occurs with 'and' coordination 'stripping or *auch* ellipsis'; and the ellipsis that occurs in 'but' coordination as negative contrast, she divides CRE into two types based on the focus sensitive particles' position *vis–a–vis* the remnant as given in (53).

(53)   Two types of CRE in German

       Contrastive Topic Ellipsis (CTE)   Contrastive Focus Ellipsis (CFE)

The above classification is based on the position of the additive particle *auch* (equivalent to 'too' in English) and *nicht* (negation). In CTE, the particle *auch/nicht* occurs post the remnant with stress on the particle, as in (54a) and (54b). But in CFE, it occurs before the remnant, with no stress on the particle, as in (55a) and (55b).

(54)   *German*   (Winkler 2005:166)

    a.   Jan kann die Aufgabe lösen und ANNA AUCH.

       John can solve the task, and ANNA, TOO

    b.   weil die Anna die Aufgabe lösen kann, aber nicht der JAN.

       because Anna can solve the task, but not JAN

(55)   *German*   (Winkler 2005:166)

    a.   Anna kann die Aufgabe lösen und auch das PROBLEM.

       Anna could solve the task and also the problem

    b.   weil Anna die Aufgabe lösen kann, aber JAN NICHT.

       Anna could solve the task, but JAN NOT.

Winkler (2005) suggests that a hybrid focus ellipsis analysis is necessary, as these constructions are isolated.

Winkler (2005) observes that while gapping (56a) and stripping (56b) involves movement of contrastive remnants out of ellipsis site, VP ellipsis (56c) does not involve movement. Rather the information focus is on the functional head T^0.

(56) a. Leon read The FACTS and Manny ~~read~~ The Great American NOVEL.

  b. Leon read The FACTS, but ~~he has~~ not ~~read~~ The Great American NOVEL.

  c. John said that Manny read The FACTS. But Mary - who knows that Manny has never read a book by Philip ROTH - said that he HASN'T ~~[read The Facts]~~.

Hence, Winkler (2005) proposes a hybrid focus analysis (57) to accommodate gapping/stripping and VPE phenomena. German stripping and gapping like instances can be accounted for by PF deletion (57a) as it involves movement of remnants. In German, VPE is analysed as involving a *proform* (57b), as there is no movement involved.

(57) *Hybrid Focus Hypothesis of Ellipsis:*   (Winkler 2005:37)

  a. A PF-deletion account must be assumed for elliptical constructions in which a contrastive focus/topic is isolated by syntactic displacement.

  b. A proform account is feasible when no movement is involved, as in the core cases of VPE. Crucial to Winkler's analysis is her adoption of Kiss's (1998) idea of contrastive focus. Kiss (1998: 245) defines contrastive focus as evoking a "subset of the set of contextually situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is defined as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds." Winkler adopts this notion and posits that contrastive focus and topic are edge functions associated with a word or phrase or even categories in the lexical sub-array. In terms of interpretation, the contrastive focus is purely pragmatic.

The stripping and negative contrast types of BAE involve remnant isolation,

but the PF–deletion account depends on the movement of contrast remnants. Winkler suggests two ways of checking E-feature on the stripping and negative contrast constructions. The first one is agreement, where the formal feature on the contrastive remnant is checked through *Agree* relation (in-situ) and the second one is movement, where the contrastive constituent moves to the edge of phase (vP) so that it is accessible for further movement to higher positions. The example in (58a) is for agreement, and example (58b) is of the cleft that shows displacement for feature checking.

(58)   a.   Now you hear $[ME]_F$ eating a cookie.

        b.   It is $[ME,]_f$ that you hear *t*; eating a cookie now.

Winkler (2011) explains how the derivation for (58a) and (58b) takes place. When the derivation, for example (59) reaches the phase α, the pronoun me that carries the contrastive focus feature merges into the structure. After Spellout however, at LF, the focus feature cannot be interpreted without the head of the phase α (v) being assigned an E-feature.

(59) $[_\beta$ you hear $[_\alpha$ $[me]_F$ eating a cookie]].

After the E-feature is assigned to the head of α phase, Winkler (2005) proposes two ways of feature checking, as given in (60a) and (60b).

(60)   a.   *Agreement* (feature checking without movement): Agree can take place between the E-feature (here the focus feature [F]) and an identical feature [F'] in the domain of [F]. The domain of [F] is the complement of [F]. This is the case in which the contrastive focus feature on me is checked by the feature on the phase in-situ.

        b.   *Contrastive Focus Displacement*: The E-feature of the phase can be formally erased by movement of the focused pronoun me to the edge of the phase, here Spec of vP, where it is accessible to further

displacement. (Winkler 2005:34)

2.3 Concluding remarks

The discussion in the foregoing sections of this chapter have laid out previous scholarship in the area of Bare Argument Ellipsis and its availability in Tamil. The discussion in Section 2.1 of this chapter identifies three types of BAE in Tamil: (i) coordinate stripping, (ii) fragment stripping and (iii) the negative contrast construction. In this concluding section, I lay out what the components of an analysis of these constructions must explain.

With regard to both coordinate and fragment stripping in Tamil, recall that coordination stripping differs from fragment stripping in that in the former, the *-um* suffix leaves the remnant *merij-um ta:n*. In Tamil coordination stripping, the additive suffix simply follows the remnant, but in fragment stripping, the additive must be followed by a *ta:n* particle. This contrast is shown by (61a) and (61b), repeated below:

(61) a. ɟɔ:n   [sku:l-kku   po:-n-a:n]
           John[3SGM.NOM] school-DAT go-PST-3SGM
           me:rij-um   [*e*].
           Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD EP
           'John went to school and Mary, too '.

      b. [*e*]: school-kku po:-n-a:ɭ.
             EP: school-DAT go-PST-3SGF
           'went home.'

(62) a. **[Speaker A]** : ɟɔ:n   [sku:l-kku   po:-n-a:n].
                           John[3SGM.NOM]   school-DAT go-PST-3SGM
                           'John went to school.'

      b. **[Speaker B]** : me:rij-um   ta:n [*e*]
                           Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD TA:N   EP
                           'MARY, too.'

Any analysis of the Tamil stripping constructions therefore needs to develop

an account of what these two markers of the syntax and information structure of these two lexical items. I will discuss their distribution in detail in the next chapter in §3.1.1 and §3.2.1 The third type of stripping we have identified in Tamil is that of negative contrast, as shown by example (63), which is a cleft construction.

(63)   [kaḍaik-ku po:-n-a-tu   ɟɔ:n]   [kaḍaik-ku
       shop-DAT   go-PST.PTCP-REL-3SGN John[3SGM.NOM] shop-DAT
       po:-n-a-tu   si:ta: illa].
       go-PST.PTCP-REL-3SGN Sita[3SGF.NOM] NEG
       'It is John who went to the shop but/and it is not Sita who went to the

       shop.'

In Tamil, the more natural way to get contrastive focus is by clefting the constituent. Of the limited work on Tamil clefts by (Velupillai 1981, Jayaseelan & Amritavalli 2005, Selvanathan 2017) only the latter two have given a syntactic analysis. The focused item is analysed as right-extraposed to the nominalised clause , via a movement to a PredP with a null copula. It thus comes to be juxtaposed to the presupposed entity.

(64)   [<ɟɔ:n> kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu]   ɟɔ:n.
        John   shop-DAT go-PST.PTCP-REL-3SGN John[3SGM.NOM]
       'It is JOHN who went to the shop.'

In order to develop an analysis of the Tamil negative contrast construction, one therefore needs to develop an account of how negation works in Tamil clefts, how such clefts are derived, and how they interact with ellipsis. I discuss these issues in the next chapter in sections 3.3.1, 3.3.3 and 3.3.4 in order to build the analysis I propose for negative contrast in Tamil.

Chapter 3

Stripping in Tamil: Coordination, Fragments, and Negative Contrast

This chapter, building on the discussion in the previous one, develops and proposes my analysis of the Tamil stripping (both coordination and fragment stripping) as well as negative contrast. The analyses developed in this chapter for these phenomena explore several aspects of the syntax and semantics of the grammar of Tamil in the process, such as the nature of the Tamil additive and disjunctive coordination, the nature of Tamil cleft and its copular negation, as well as the expression of focus and contrast in the language.

The discussion in this chapter is structured as follows: in Section 3.1, I first lay down the core analysis I propose for stripping in Tamil in coordinate structures. Section 3.2 examines non-coordinate stripping in Tamil. Section 3.3 then proposes a unified analysis of stripping in both coordination and fragment contexts. In section 3.4 I turn to the analysis of negative contrast. Section 3.5 concludes the chapter with a summary of the proposals made.

3.1   Coordination Stripping in Tamil

In the preceding chapter, I proposed that Tamil (1a) instantiates a case of stripping as defined in the previous chapter. In presenting my analysis in this sec-

tion, I first justify this conclusion by considering the status of the *-um* that occurs in the construction and then present a derivation of the coordinate stripping construction in Tamil.

(1) a. ɟɔːn   [skuːl-kku poː-n-aːn]
         John[3SGM.NOM] school-DAT go-PST-3SGM
         meːrij-um   [*e*].
         Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD EP
         'John went to school and Mary, too '.

     b. [*e*]: skuːl-kku   poː-n-aːɭ.
         EP: school-DAT go-PST-3SGF
         'went home.'

The chief problem that (1a) presents for a straightforward stripping analysis is an analysis of the *-um* that appears affixed to the remnant. The suffix *-um* is a polyfunctional/homophonous particle which has been attributed many other functions. As the examples in (2) indicate, it has been been analysed as a polysyndetic coordination marker (2a), an additive marker (2b), a future participle/habitual aspect marker (2c), and a unconditional marker it has also been analysed as signaling maximality with numerals (2e), and as marking quantifiers licensed by negation in Negative Polarity Item (2f) (Lehmann 1993, Iyer 2017).

(2) a. siːtaːʋ-um   giːtaːʋ-um   koʋilu-kku
         Sita[3SGF.NOM]-CONJ Gita[3SGF.NOM]-CONJ temple-DAT
         poː-n-aːŋga.
         go-PST-3PL
         'Sita and Gita went to the temple.'

     b. siːtaː   koʋilu-kku poː-n-aːɭ aʋaɭ
         Sita[3SGF.NOM] temple-DAT go-PST-3PL 3SGF.NOM
         skuːl-kk-um   poː-n-aːɭ.
         school-DAT-ADD go-PST-3PL
         'Sita went to the temple and she went to the school too.'

    c.   ena-kku/si:ta:-kku   pu:-kkaɭ piḍik-um.
           1SG-DAT/Sita.3SGF-DAT flowers like-HAB
           'I/Sita like/likes flowers.'

    d.   [ja:ru   pa:rʈi-kku po:-n-a:l]-um   na:n
            Who.NOM party-DAT go-PST.PTCP-COND -UM 1SG.NOM
           aʋaŋg-aɭ-ai ke:ɭʋi   ke:ʈ-p-e:n.
           3PL-ACC   question ask-FUT-1SG
           'Whoever goes to the party, I will question them.'

    e.   na:lu pe:r-um   pa:rʈi-kku ʋaru-ʋ-a:ŋga.
           four person-UM party-DAT come-FUT-3PL
           'Four persons will come to the party.'

    f.   na:n   pa:rʈi-la   et-aij-um   sa:piḍ-a ma:-ʈʈ-e:n
           1SG.NOM party-DAT what-ACC-UM eat-INF NEG-FUT-1SG
           'I won't eat anything at the party.'

The key issue in analysing (1a) as a case of stripping lies in determining whether the *-um* that appears suffixed to the remnant is an instance of a conjunction or an additive marker. If it is the latter, then the question arises as to how we know that the two conjunctions in (1a) are in fact coordinated, there being no overt coordination marker in the sentence. What motivates a stripping analysis in this circumstance and leads us to reject a non-elliptical conjunction reduction analysis instead? In the arguments that follow, I will propose and justify the basic proposition that in (1a) we find the coordination of two finite clauses by a null syndetic coordination marker, that the *-um* in these examples must necessarily be interpreted as an additive marker, and that there are compelling arguments against a conjunction reduction analysis of the construction.

3.1.1   Establishing the Stripping analysis

Tamil has two kinds of markers to mark the 'and' coordination: the first is a syndetic coordination marker *maʈrum*, which is a free morpheme like the English 'and' that occurs before the final coordinand, as in (3). This marker is only used in the literary and written form of Tamil.

(3)   raʋi   pen maʈrum pensil ʋa:ŋg-in-a:n.
       raʋi[3SGM.NOM] pen COORD pencil buy-PST-3SGM
       'Ravi bought pen and pencil.'

The second marker is a polysyndetic one, the suffix *-um*, which attaches
to the end of each conjunct as demonstrated in (4a) and (4b). This marker is
commonly used in spoken Tamil.

(4)   a.   ma:tu   [ka:j-gaʟ]-*um*   [paɽaŋ-gaʟ]-*um*
             Mathu[3SGF.NOM] vegetbale.3PL-CONJ   fruit.3PL-CONJ
             ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:ʟ.
             buy-PST-3SGF
             'Mathu bought vegetables and fruits.'

       b.   [ma:tuʋ]-*um*   [mano:ʋ]-*um*   paɖam
              Mathu[3SGF.NOM]-CONJ Mano[3SGF.NOM]-CONJ movie
             pa:r-tt-argaʟ.
             see-PST.3PL
             'Mathu and Mano saw a movie.'

In its expression of polysyndetic coordination, Tamil is not unusual, as the phe-
nomenon is well–attested cross–linguistically (Haslinger *et al.* 2019). In the lit-
erature, the suffixes that attach to each conjunct are usually called 'conjunction
particles', or following Mitrović and Sauerland (2014), 'μ-particles', contrast-
ing them with the 'unmarked' conjunctions of the English type. For example,
Hungarian is also a language which has both types, as shown in examples (5a)
and (5b).

(5)   *Hungarian*   (Szabolcsi 2015:181)]

       a.   [A és   B] 100 kilót nyomott.
              A COORD B 100 kg   weighed
             'A and B weighed 100 kg.'

       b.   [A is   (és)   B is] 100 kilót nyomott.
              A too COORD B too 100 kg   weighed
             'A and B each weighed 100 kg.'

However, while the Hungarian conjunction particles can optionally surface in

the coordination of various categories including finite clauses, the Tamil ones appear overtly only in the coordination of NPs (6a), PPs (6b), AdjPs (6c), AdvPs (6d), as well as non-finite VPs/CPs (6e)/(6f).

(6) a. raʋi   [pen]-um [pensil]-um ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n.
    Ravi[3SGM.NOM] pen-CONJ pencil-CONJ buy-PST-3SGM
    'Ravi bought a pen and pencil.'

  b. raʋi   [me:dʒ-ai me:lay]-um [kaʈʈil-kku aɖiyil]-um
    Ravi[3SGM.NOM table-ACC above-CONJ cot-DAT under-CONJ
    putagaŋ-gaḷ ʋait-iru-kkir-a:n.
    book-3PL keep-BE-PRS.PROG.3SGM
    'Ravi has kept books on the table and under the cot.'

  c. raʋi   [siʋapu saʈʈ-ay]-um [ni:la pe:nʈ]-um
    Ravi[3SGM.NOM] red shirt-CONJ blue pant-COORD
    ʋa:ŋgu-ʋ-a:n.
    buy-FUT-3SGM
    'Ravi will buy a red shirt and a blue pant.'

  d. raʋi   [ne:rmaiy-a:ʋ]-um [ʋegam-a:ʋ]-um te:rʋu
    Ravi[3SGM.NOM] honest-ADV-CONJ quick-ADV-CONJ exam
    eɾudi-n-a:n.
    write-PST-3SGM
    'Ravi wrote the exam honestly and quickly.'

  e. raʋi   [putagam paɖikk-a-ʋ]-um [ba:l
    Ravi[3SGM.NOM] book read-INF-CONJ ball
    ʋilaya:ɖ-a-ʋ]-um sej-t-a:n.
    play-INF-CONJ do-PST-3SGM
    'Ravi did [read a book and play with a ball].'

  f. raʋi   [aʋan putagam paɖi-tt-a:n
    Ravi[3SGM.NOM] 3SGM.NOM book read-PST-3SGM
    enɖr]-um [aʋan ba:l ʋilaya:ɖ-in-a:n enɖr]-um
    COMP-CONJ 3SGM.NOM ball play-PST-3SGM COMP-CONJ
    son-n-a:n.
    say-PST-3SGM
    'Ravi said that he read a book and that he played with a ball.'

However, these conjunction particles are disallowed when finite clauses are co-ordinated (Jayaseelan 2014), as shown by example (7), leading him to conclude that finite clauses cannot be conjoined.

(7)   *ravi   [putagam paɖi-tt-aːn]-um   [baːl
        Ravi[3SGM.NOM] book   read-PST-3SGM-CONJ ball
        vilayaːɖi-n-aːn]-um.
        play-PST-3SGM-CONJ
        'Ravi [read book and played ball].'

The proposal I would like to make is that in finite clauses in Tamil, there is a null conjunction marker of the simple syndetic kind like *maʈrum*. This simple syndetic marker can also be used to coordinate finite clauses in literary Tamil, as shown in example (8).

(8)   soːmu   paːʈʈu paːɖi-n-aːn   maʈrum giːta:
        Somu[3SGM.NOM] song   sing-PST-3SGM and   Gita[3SGF.NOM]
        naɖanam aːɖi-n-aːḷ.
        dance   dance-PST-3SGF
        'Somu sang a song and Gita danced.'

In other words, I am claiming that the *-um* we see in the remnant of stripping examples does not signify the use of the polysyndetic marker *-um* and the structure of coordinated clauses involves a null syndetic conjunction marker. The proposed structure of conjoined finite clauses in Tamil is given in (9).

(9)
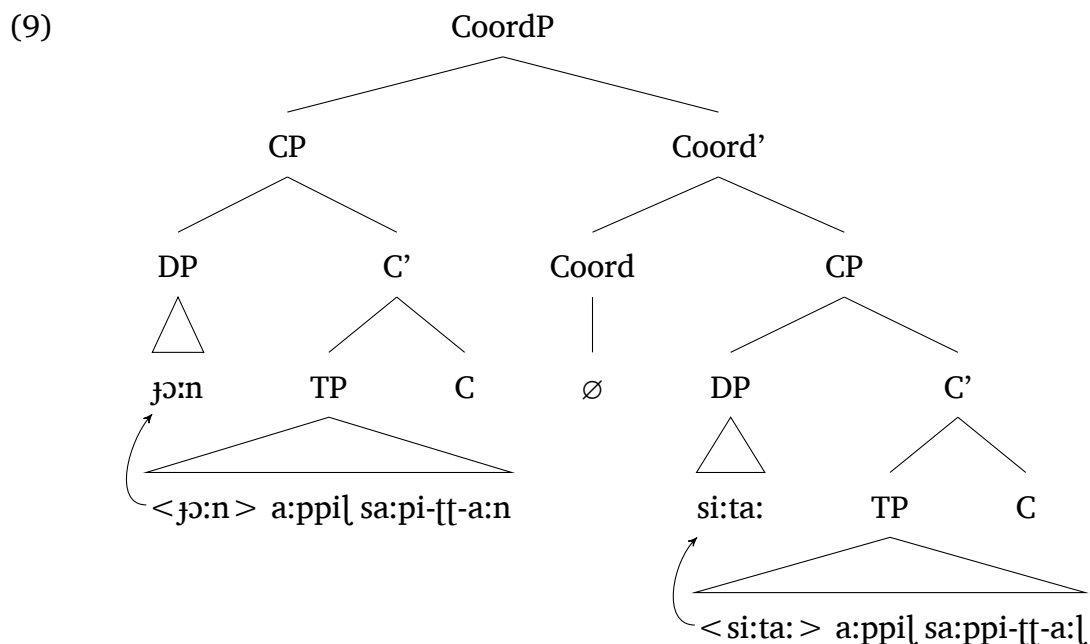
Support for this analysis comes from Merchant's (2003) observations regard-

ing stripping and plural pronominal reference. Merchant notes that in English, in monoclausal constructions, conjoined DPs yield only a non-distributive reading with plural pronoun. Example (10) is an instance of DP conjunction in English, where only the cumulative/non–distributive reading obtains. The plural pronoun (*their$_{i+j}$*) refers to the conjoined DPs and must thus be analysed as belonging to the same clause.

(10)   Ravi$_i$ and Geeta$_j$ read *their$_{i+j}$* book.

In Tamil also, the plural pronoun receives a non-distributive reading with conjoined DPs, as shown by (11a). This is, however, unexpected, because normally, polysyndetic conjoined DPs get a distributive reading in Tamil. This is also true for Hungarian polysyndetic coordination marker as well). If the pronoun is not plural, DPs conjoined with -um receive only distributive reading, as in (11b).

(11)   a.   ravij-um$_i$ bill-um$_j$ avargal_{i+j}-o:ḍa
                Ravi[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ Bill[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ 3PL-GEN
                putagam   paḍi-tt-a:r-ga$l$
                book.3SGN read-PST-3PL
                'Ravi and Bill read their book'

         b.   ravij-um$_i$ bill-um$_j$ putagam
                Ravi[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ Bill[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ 3PL-GEN
                paḍi-tt-a:r-ga$l$
                book.3SGN   read-PST-3PL
                'Ravi and Bill read book (both would have read different books).'

We know that the stripping construction yields sloppy readings, of the kind shown in (12b). However, this is unexpected if the remnant was indeed moved out from a conjoined DP, as we would then expect the pronouns to have identical reference. The existence of a sloppy reading thus shows that stripping involves clausal conjunction rather than DP conjunction.

(12)   a.   Ravi$_i$ read his$_i$ book and Geeta$_j$ [$e_{i/j}$] too.

         b.   Ravi$_i$ read Ravi's book and Geeta$_j$ read Geeta's book.

As the examples in (13a) —(13b) show, we observe exactly the same case in Tamil too. In Tamil stripping we get a sloppy reading, which is identical to the distributive reading in biclausal coordination.

(13)   a.   ravi$_i$ avan$_i$-o:ɖa putagam   paɖi-tt-a:n
              Ravi[3SGM.NOM] 3SGM-GEN book.3SGN read-PST-3SGM
              bill-um$_j$ [e$_{i/j}$].
              Bill[3SGM.NOM]-ADD EP
              'Ravi read his book and Bill, too.'

        b.   ravi$_i$ ravij-o:ɖa   putagam   paɖi-tt-a:n
              Ravi[3SGM.NOM Ravi.3SGM-GEN book.3SGN read-PST-3SGM
              bill-um$_j$ [$_e$ bill$_j$-o:ɖa   putagam   paɖi-tt-a:n].
              Bill[3SGM.NOM]-ADD   3SGM-GEN book.3SGN read-PST-3SGM
              'Ravi read Ravi's book and Bill read Bill's book.'

Merchant (2003) observes that the distribution of pronominal co-reference readings noted above make an analysis of English stripping as involving conjunction reduction impossible. Taking as an example the ungrammaticality of English stripping construction in (14), Merchant points out that an analysis that treats the remnant *Geeta* as rightward moved out of a conjoined DP makes the wrong predictions, as we would expect that plural pronominal reference should be ungrammatical for a singular subject.

(14)   *Ravi$_i$ read *their*$_{i+j}$ book and Geeta$_j$, too.

To see this, consider the derivation of the stripping example in (15a) under a DP conjunction analysis, whose underlying structure would be as in (15b).

(15)   a.   Ravi$_i$ read a book and Geeta$_j$, too.

        b.   [$_{DP}$ Ravi$_i$ <and Geeta$_j$>] read a book and Geeta$_j$, too.

Under Reinhart's (1991) conjunction reduction analysis, the remnant <*and Geeta*> would move rightwards to the end of the final conjunct in the syntax. At LF, however, the interpretation of this conjunct would access its base

position. If this were indeed the case, it is inexplicable as to why (14) is ungrammatical, as at LF, the plural pronoun will have a conjoined DP with which it may co-refer. The LF representation of (14) (repeated as (16a)) would be as in (16b).

(16) a. *Ravi$_i$ read *their*$_{i+j}$ book and Geeta$_j$, too.

   b. Ravi$_i$ <and Geeta$_j$> read their$_{i+j}$ book and Geeta$_j$, too.

Merchant uses this reasoning to argue that the only adequate analysis of English stripping is that it involves two clauses and it is the second clause that shows ellipsis. This is the same conclusion that Tamil requires, as the Tamil examples are exactly parallel to the English ones. Only example (17a) is different from English as it is an instance for DP conjunction with a distributive reading, where the plural pronoun doesn't refer to conjoined DPs. In (17b), if we try to derive the stripping construction via rightward movement of the remnant, the plural pronominal reference becomes ungrammatical for the singular subject. Also, as (17c) shows a distributive reading remains possible in the Tamil stripping construction.

(17) a. ravij-um$_i$ bill-um$_j$ avarga{$_{i+j}$-o:ɖa
         Ravi[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ Bill[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ 3PL.GEN
         vi:ʈʈu-kku   po:na:r-gaɭ.
         house.3SGN-DAT go-PST-3PL
         'Ravi and Bill went to their house.'

   b. *[ravij-um$_i$ <bill-um$_j$>   avarga{$_i$-o:ɖa
         Ravi[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ Bill[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ 3PL.GEN
         vi:ʈʈu-kku   po:na:r-ga] bill-um$_j$.
         house.3SGN-DAT go-PST-3PL Bill.3SGM.NOM-CONJ
         'Ravi went to Ravi's house and Bill too'

   c. [ravij-um$_i$ avan$_i$-o:ɖa vi:ʈʈu-kku
         Ravi[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ 3SGM-GEN house.3SGN-DAT
         po:na:n]   [bill-um$_j$
         go-PST-3SGM Bill[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ
         ~~avan$_{i/j}$-o:ɖa vi:ʈʈu-kku po:na:n~~].
         3SGM-GEN house.3SGN-DAT go-PST-3SGM
         'Ravi went to Ravi's house and Bill went to Ravi's/Bill's house too'

Note that the polysyndetic coordination structure makes the conjunction reduction approach both syntactically and semantically inadequate for Tamil stripping. If the remnant has to move to the right of the second conjunct, then the correlate and the remnant that carries *-um* in the polysyndetic structure in (18a) should be considered as split. We should therefore expect a distributive reading, by which (18b) should be interpreted as 'Ravi and Sita ate an apple each'. However, the facts of Tamil do not support such an analysis (as pointed out by Merchant (2003), Johnson (2019) for English), as (18b) is ungrammatical by virtue of the plural agreement on the verb with the conjoined DP.

(18)   a.   [raʋij-um   si:ta:ʋ-um]   ka:r
              Ravi[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ Sita[3SGF.NOM]-CONJ car.3SGN
              ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:r-gaḷ.
              buy-PST-3-PL
              'Ravi and Sita bought a car.'

        b.   *[raʋij-um   <si:ta:ʋ-um>]   ka:r
              Ravi[3SGM.NOM]-CONJ Sita[3SGF.NOM]-CONJ car.3SGN
              ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:r-gaḷ [si:ta:-ʋ-um].
              buy-PST-3-PL   Sita[3SGF.NOM]-CONJ
              'Ravi bought a car and Sita bought a car.'

In general, (18b) is barred because in at least some languages with polysyndetic coordination of DPs, one can only get a distributive reading (henceforth D-reading). For example, in Hungarian (Mitrović & Sauerland 2014), a coordinated DP like (5b) can only mean that A and B weighed 100 pounds each, whereas (5a), which is the syndetic construction, can only receive a cumulative reading, *i.e.* together A and B weighed 100 pounds. These facts are also true in Tamil, as example (19) shows:

(19)   a.   [A matrum B] 100 kilo: eḍai   iru-nt-ana
              A and   B 100 kg   weight be-PST.3PLN
              'A and B weighed 100 kg.'

        b.   [A-um   (matrum) B-um]   100 kg   eḍai   iru-nt-ana
              A-CONJ (and)   B-CONJ 100 kilo: weight be-PST.3PLN
              'A and B each weighed 100 kg.'

In fact, the only way to capture the intended distributive reading is to generate example (20), where the *-um* is used in its additive marker function. In this example, the lexical item bearing *-um* in each conjunct gives the distributive interpretation.

(20) raʋi-kk-um   kalja:ɳam a:-n-adu   si:ta:-kk-um
      Ravi.3SGM-DAT-CONJ marriage   be-PST-3SGN Sita.3SGF-DAT-CONJ
      kalja:ɳam a:-n-adu.
      marriage   be-PST-3SGN
      'Ravi also got married and Sita also got married.'

The polysyndetic coordination marker is widely attested cross-linguistically in many languages like Hungarian, Japanese, Korean (Mitrović & Sauerland 2016, Morita *et al.,* 2018), Malayalam (Jayaseelan 2014). Like Tamil *-um*, examples (21a) - (21c) show that Japanese *-mo* also has the quantificational meanings of 'any' or 'all' (Kuroda 1965, Shimoyama 2001, 2006, Yatushiro 2009) and also functions as an additive particle 'too'.

(21)   *Japanese*   (Mitrović & Sauerland 2016:471-472)

       a. dare -mo wakaru.

           who -μ understand

           'Everyone understands.'   (universal quantification)

       b. dare -mo wakarimas-en.

           who -μ understand-NEG

           'No one (= not anyone) understands.'   (negative) polarity

       c. Mary (-mo) John -mo wakaru.

           Mary -μ John -μ understand

           '(Both) Mary and John understand.'   (conjunction: exhaustive)

           '(Both) Mary and John understand and someone else also understands.   (conjunction: non-exhaustive)

       d. Mary -mo wakaru.

           Mary -μ understand

'Also Mary understands.'   (additivity)

The polysyndetic marker *-to* in Korean attaches to both conjuncts for a coordination (non-exhaustive) meaning in (22a). It also gives an additive meaning when it attaches to a single conjunct, as in (22b).

(22)   *Korean*   (Morita 2018:24-25)

      a.   Ken-*(to) Mary-*(to) kyelhonha.ess.ta.
          Ken-TO   Mary-TO   married
          *'Ken married someone and Mary married someone else.'   (*exhaustive)

          'In addition to someone who got married, Ken and Mary married someone respectively.'   (non-exhaustive)

      b.   Ken-to o.ass.ta.
          Ken-TO came
          'Ken also came.'   (additivity)

Morita (2018) argue that when *-mo* in Japanese and *-to* in Korean occur with a single conjunct, it functions as additive marker. This is the same case in Tamil too, as shown in (23).

(23)   bill-um   putagam   paḍi-tt-aːn.
        Bill[3SGM.NOM]-ADD book.3SGN read-PST-3SGM
        'Bill also read book (someone else also read).'

Though the conjunction particles have similar properties among languages in having other semantic functions, there is a contrast between Japanese, Korean and Tamil as well. In Japanese, when *-mo* attaches to both conjuncts, it can give both an exhaustive and non-exhaustive reading, as shown in example (21b). But in Korean *-to* can only refer non-exhaustive reading, as in the running translation of example (22a). In contrast with Korean and Japanese, the Tamil *-um* can only give exhaustive reading when it functions as a polysyndetic coordination marker.

(24) so:mu-kk-um   mi:ra:-kk-um   kalya:ɳam
      Somu.3SGM-DAT-CONJ Meera.3SGF-DAT-CONJ marriage
      a:-n-adu
      be-PST-3SGN
      'Somu married someone and Meera married someone.'   (exhaustive)

Many of the languages that have these polysyndetic markers also use them in the stripping construction. Consider Japanese *-mo* in (25b), Korean *-to* in (26b) and Hungarian is in (27).

(25) *Japanese*   (Hoji 1990:129)

      a. A: John-wa Toyotai-ni [NP sokoi-ni   hairitagatteita
          John-TOP Toyota-DAT   there-DAT wanted-to-join
          hito]-o   syookaisita.
          person-ACC introduced
          'John introduced to Toyota_i (the/a) person(s) who wanted to

          join it_i.'

      b. B: Nissan(-ni)-*mo*   da [*e*].
          Nissan(-DAT)-also COP EP
          '(To) Nissan, too.'

(26) *Korean*   (Kim 2017:3)

      a. A: John-i   khephi-lul masi-ess-e.
          John-NOM coffee-ACC drink-PST-DECL
          'John drank coffee.'

      b. B: nokcha-*to*-(ya)   [*e*].
          green.tea-ALSO-COP EP
          'Green tea too.'

(27) Péter táncolt,   és Mari *is*   táncolt   [*e*].
      Péter dance.PST.3SG and Mari also dance.PST.3SG EP
      'Péter danced and Mari, too.'   *Hungarian* (Lipták 2018:17)

Forker (2016) defines additivity as "the speaker indicates that there is an alternative proposition in which the associate is replaced by a contextually relevant alternative". Further, additive markers are presupposition triggers (König 1991, Saebo 2004) as shown in (28).

(28)   Jonathan also came.

   Assertion: Jonathan came.

   Presupposition: Someone else came.   (Forker 2016:3)

Additive marker are also known as focus-sensitive particles that interact with the focus of an utterance without lexically expressing focus (König, 1991). Example (29a) and (29b) show that the scopal interaction of additive *also* with the focus item is clause-bound, but it is important for scope interpretation.

(29)   *English*   (Forker 2016:4)

  a. Mary also said that Peter stole a [BIKE]$_F$..

  b. Mary said that Peter also stole a [BIKE]$_F$..

Turning to Stripping, we can see now how the additive marker functions. It triggers the presupposition in the second clause (ellipsis clause), and forces the remnant to denote the same proposition by replacing the remnant with the correlate in the antecedent. The presence of additive marker in Tamil stripping shows it cannot be derived through conjunction reduction analysis, as both a conjunction and an additive role cannot simultaneously be played by the particle *-um*. Therefore, I suggest that the *-um* we observe in Tamil ellipsis is the additive marker, an analysis which strengthens the argument that the ellipsis belongs to a separate clause.

  Finally, note that in written Tamil, the syndetic *maʈrum* conjunction and additive *-um* can co-occur. Example (30) shows that additive *-um* may mark either the remnant or both the antecedent and remnant. By the arguments just presented, I have shown that there exists justification for my proposal that the example in (1a) instantiates a case of null syndetic coordination of finite clauses, in which stripping has taken place, and the morpheme *-um* that occurs in the second conjunct of the stripping constructions in Tamil is simply the additive marker too, *i.e.* equivalent to English *too/also*.

(30) bill-um   a:ppiḷ   sa:pi-ṭṭ-a:n   (maṭrum)
      Bill[3SGM.NOM]-ADD apple.3SGN eat-PST-3SGM COORD
      sita-um   a:ppiḷ   sa:pi-ṭṭ-a:ḷ.
      Sita[3SGF.NOM]-ADD apple.3SGN eat-PST-3SGF
      'Bill also ate an apple and Sita also ate an apple.'

Mitrović and Sauerland (2016) propose that μ-particle occurs on both conjuncts which coordinate nominal phrases but the semantics of coordination comes from the null coordinator *J*. I follow the same for Tamil and adapt his structure to describe Tamil coordination in (31). Since there is evidence for null coordination as laid out in my analysis, Tamil is a language that has both polysyndetic coordination (with DPs) as well as free syndetic coordination, which may be null or non-null, and is therefore just like Hungarian. Stripping in the language, because it involves the coordination of clauses, necessarily uses the syndetic marker, which in spoken Tamil, must be the null variant.

(31)
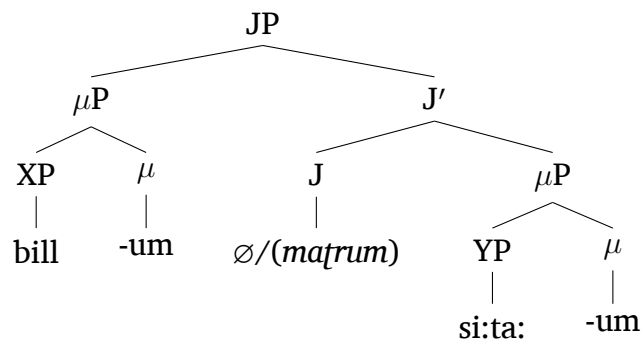
With the basic elements of my analysis in place, the next section details the derivational steps by which stripping ellipsis takes place, basing my analysis directly on Merchant (2003).

3.1.2 The derivation of Tamil coordination stripping

I follow Haslinger et al.'s (2019) analysis for the Tamil additive marker, and consider that the additive -*um* to be adjoined to the DP of the μP in the CP layer. With the argument that the two clauses in (31) are conjoined with a null syndetic marker made in the preceding section, we are now in a position

to analyse Tamil stripping along the lines proposed by Merchant (2003), *i.e.* to derive the stripping construction under a clausal deletion analysis in the PF component (Merchant 2003). In my analysis I also adopt the proposals of Winkler (2005). By the proposals of these two analyses, the derivation of the English stripping construction would proceed in the steps outlined (32):

(32)   Derivation of English stripping through PF-deletion

- The two conjunct finite clauses in the stripping construction are assembled independently in the normal derivational steps.

- In both clauses, the correlate in the antecedent bears a [+focus] feature as does the remnant, thereby respecting the parallelism condition at information structure discussed by Winkler (2005).

- Following Merchant (2003), the $E_{\text{stripping}}$ feature involves a strong focus feature which attracts the focus element to its specifier as well as an uninterpretable feature [uConj] which needs to be checked by a higher conjunction.

- The strong focus feature on the remnant triggers its movement to the Focus projection in the left periphery.

- When both clauses are sent to PF, the TP in the second clause gets deleted under the identical antecedent condition.

An identical analysis can now be implemented for example ((1), repeated below as (33)), represented in the tree in (34).

(33)   a.   ɟɔːn   [skuːl-kku   poː-n-aːn]
              John[3SGM.NOM] school-DAT go-PST-3SGM
              meːrij-um   [*e*].
              Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD   EP
              'John went to school and Mary, too '.

         b.   [*e*]: skuːl-kku   poː-n-aːḷ
              EP: home-DAT go-PST-3SGF
              'went home.'

(34)
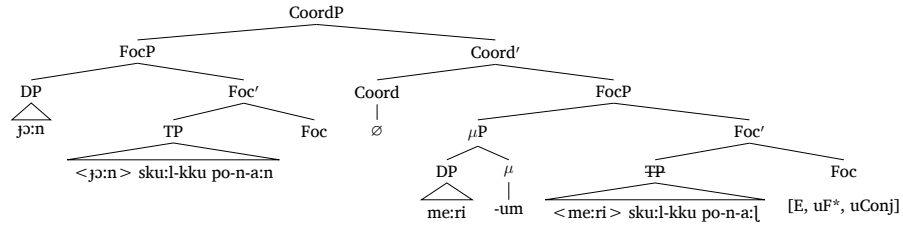
3.2 Fragment/non-coordination stripping in Tamil

In this section, I develop my analysis of the non-coordination stripping in Tamil. As observed in the previous chapter, Tamil has another elliptical construction, as shown in (35), which I will also argue to be an instance of stripping, but of the fragment kind. Such fragments can only be uttered by another speaker B in the discourse. In such constructions, besides the null coordination marker that I have postulated, and what I have argued in the preceding section to be the additive marker *-um*, another particle *ta:n* must obligatorily appear. In this section, I develop an analysis based on Merchant's insights for these instances of fragment stripping, beginning with a discussion of the properties of *ta:n* which I argue to be a emphatic (discourse) particle, and then proceed to formulate an analysis of this type of stripping.

(35) a. **[Speaker A]** : ɟɔ:n   [sku:l-kku po:-n-a:n].
                            John[3SGM.NOM] school-DAT go-PST-3SGM
                            'John went to school.'

       b. **[Speaker B]** : me:rij-um   ta:n [*e*]
                            Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD TA:N EP
                            'MARY, too.'

3.2.1 Pragmatics of *ta:n*

The particle *ta:n* in Tamil has several functions, many closely related to the expression of focus. Veluppillai (1981) observes that *ta:n* functions as an emphatic

clitic in cleft constructions, and Murugaiyan (2009) provides detailed discussion on the origin of *ta:n* particle and its function as focus marker in different contexts in Tamil. The *ta:n* particle can attach to a Noun Phrase (NP), Adjective Phrase (AdjP), Prepositional Phrase (PP) and an infinitive verb. The particle has various functions in different contexts, but for present purposes, I will focus on its role as a discourse particle. In my understanding, *ta:n* is related to the emphasis effect observed by Sperber and Wilson (1996), who analyse the repetition of an utterance in discourse to have emphatic effects. (Jackson, 2016, 35) also cites several authors, namely Gerleman (1951), Bolinger (1972), Leech and Short (1981), Brody (1986), and Bazzanella (2011), to make the same point—that the repetition of an utterance by the same speaker has the effect of emphasis.

Examples in (36) illustrate this use. In (36a), Speaker A asks B if there is there anything on the stove. On Speaker B's affirmative reply, Speaker A reminds Speaker B not to forget to switch it off, in (36c). However, Speaker B is clueless about what 'it' is, and asks for a repetition of what she should not forget about in (36d). When Speaker A utters the information again, she uses the *ta:n* particle in (36e).

(36)   a.   sṭaʋ-la   jeta:ʋadu iru-kk-a:?
             stove-LOC something be-PRS-Q
             'Is there anything on the stove'?

        b.   a:ma: [*e*]
             yes   [*ep*]
             'Yes, there is something on the stove.'

        c.   marantiḍ-a:-ta.
             forget-NEG-IMP.2SG
             'Don't forget (to switch off).'

        d.   etu-kku?
             why-DAT
             'For what (don't forget).'

        e.   sṭaʋ-la   jeta:ʋadu iru-kk-a:-nu   ke-ṭṭ-e:n-la
             stove-LOC something be-PRS-Q-COMP ask-PST-1SG-TQ

> **adu-kku-ta:n**.
> DEM-DAT-TA:N
> 'I asked is there anything on the stove, isn't it? FOR THAT.'

This repetition of an utterance in a yes/no question–answer context is a good example of what has been called polarity focus in the literature (Goodhue 2018, Wilder 2013), *i.e.* a use of focus to emphasise the truth of the proposition. However, *ta:n* cannot be analysed merely as polarity focus, because the exchange in (36) does is not merely assert the truth of a proposition, but rather it simultaneously signals a 'reminder' to speaker B that the referent of *it* was available in the common ground of the discourse thus far, and should be reactivated.

I take common ground (CG) to be defined in the sense of Krifka (2008) who defines it as: "a way to model the information that is mutually known to be shared and that is continuously modified in communication" (cf. Stalnaker 1974; Karttunen 1974; Lewis 1979). Later, the notion of CG was not only defined to include shared knowledge, but also discourse referents (cf. Kamp 1981 and Heim 1982). Following this, Krifka (2008) says "CG does not only consist of a set of propositions that is presumed to be mutually accepted (or the conjunction of this set, one proposition), but also of a set of entities that have been introduced into the CG before".

Krifka (2008) also distinguishes between CG-content and CG-management. CG-content refers to the truth conditional information in the CG. CG-management refers to the pragmatic expressions and the information of the participant's communicative interests and goals. In my analysis, *ta:n* is a discourse particle that is oriented towards CG-management, rather than CG-content.

This pragmatic use of *ta:n* is allowed in simple declarative contexts as well, without coordination *and/or* ellipsis. Consider the examples in (37), where the use of *ta:n* is optional. In example (37a), *ta:n* reactivates an assurance made by one of the speakers in the given context, adding a flavour of 'not to worry'. In the same context, the same utterance can be uttered without *ta:n*, as in (37b),

but in this case, the speaker's assurance will not be reflected.

(37)   **Context**: Somu had a maths examination today. He finds mathemat-
         ics difficult but he has worked very hard to secure a pass mark. In
         the course of a discussion about his performance, one of his parents
         reassures the other that he would do well, uttering (37a).

         a.   aʋan   nalla taːn paɲɲi iru-pp-aːn.
              3SGM.NOM good TA:N do   be-WILL-3SGM-COMP
              'He would have done good for sure (don't worry).'

         b.   aʋan   nalla paɲɲi iru-pp-aːn.
              3SGM.NOM good do   be-WILL-3SGM-COMP
              'He would have done good.'

I would like to suggest that in this context, *taːn* functions like a discourse particle
quite similar to the German *doch*. German *doch* reactivates a fact that is assumed
to be already part of the CG (Zymla *et al.* 2015). They propose the interpretation
of *doch* as in (38) (*p* refers the proposition).

(38)   [*doch p*] signals that the speaker assumes *p* not to be activated at the
         current state in the discourse, because the addressee may have tem-
         porarily forgotten about *p* or the addressee may consider *p* false (Lind-
         ner 1991, Karagjosova 2003, Zimmermann 2011).

Examples (39a) and (39b) are instances of how *doch* functions in German.
Zymla *et al.* (2015) observe that in (39b) the speaker signals the addressee that
they should already be aware of/believe that there is a TGV from Straßbourg
to Stuttgart.

(39)   *German*   (Zymla *et al.* 2015:422-423)

         a.   Das ist doch   klar.
              that is indeed clear
              'That is clear (as you ought to know).'

b. Es fährt doch ein TGV von Straßburg nach Stuttgart?
   it drives indeed a TGV from Strasbourg to Stuttgart?
   'There is a TGV from Strasbourg to Stuttgart, right?'

I would like to suggest that the Tamil *ta:n* we see in fragment stripping is an instance of this use of *ta:n* as reactivation discourse particle. Recall that the requirement on fragment stripping is that the antecedent should be uttered by one speaker, and the stripped fragment by another, without any other utterance intervening. The use of *ta:n* in such an utterance then serves as speakers B's communication to Speaker A to reactivate the constituent adjacent to *ta:n* as available in the common ground, and to add it to the set of entities for whom the proposition uttered by A holds true.

3.2.2 The derivation of Tamil fragment/non-coordination stripping

With the understanding of *ta:n* developed in the preceding section in place, I consider reactivation *ta:n* to be a discourse particle merged in the CP projection of the left periphery (Rizzi 1997). The discourse particle *ta:n* occupies Foc^0 in Rizzi's (1977) structure as shown in (40).

(40)
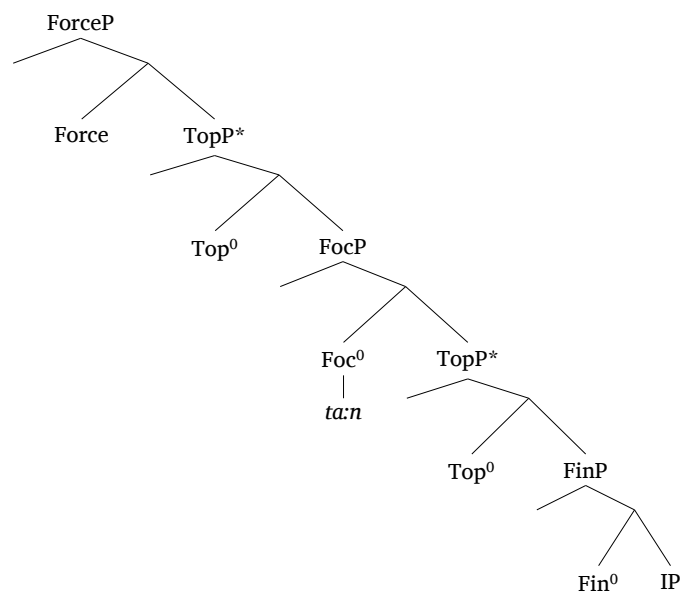
The example of Fragment stripping in Tamil is given in (41).

(41)   a.   A: ɟɔ:n   [sku:l-kku po:-n-a:n]
               John[3SGM.NOM] school-DAT go-PST-3SGM
               'John went to school.'

        b.   B: merij-um   ta:n [*e*]
               Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD TA:N EP
               'MARY, too.'

The only difference in the derivation of these examples from the stripping one lies in the derivation of the fragment, which is (a) not conjoined to the antecedent and (b) has the discourse particle *ta:n* merged in the CP projection, as in (42).

(42)

```
                              CP
                  ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                 μP                          C′
            ┌─────┴─────┐              ┌──────┴──────┐
           DP           μ             TP             C
            △           │       ┌──────┴──────┐      │
         me:ri₁       -um   <me:ri₁> sku:l-kku po:-n-a:ɭ  ta:n
```
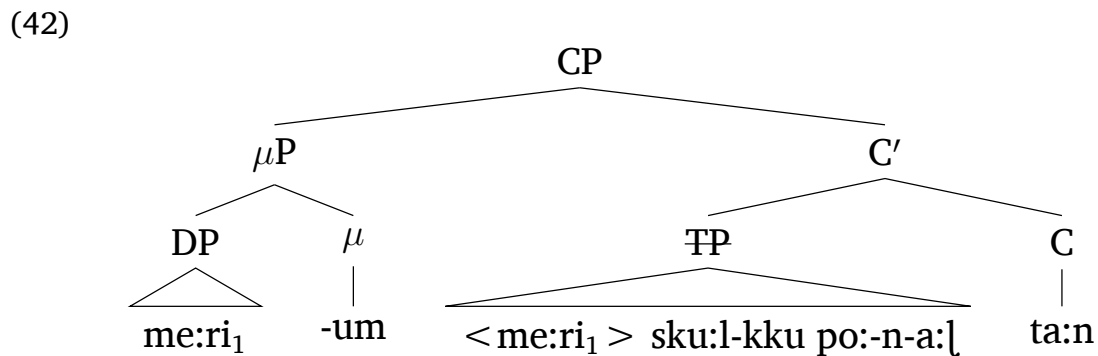
After PF-deletion of the TP constituent identical to the antecedent, the fragment stripping that we see in Tamil arises.

3.3   Negative stripping/contrast in Tamil

The chief issue in the analysis of negative contrast in Tamil is that even though the language uses the same copular negation for sentential negation as well as constituent negation, the only way that negative contrast can be expressed in Tamil is through a cleft, as in example (43a).

(43) a. [kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu]   ɟ:ɔn_F   [*e*]
          shop-DAT   go-PST.PTCP-REL-3SGN John[3SGM.NOM] EP
          s:ita: illai
          Sita[3SGF.NOM] NEG
          'It is JOHN who went to shop not SITA.'

      b. [*e*]: [kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu]
           EP: shop-DAT   go-PST.PTCP-REL-3SGN
          'one who went to shop.'

Recall that English negative contrast requires constituent negation, as in example (44).

(44)   Peter went to London but NOT to Paris

If Tamil used exactly the same derivation as negative contrast as English did, we would expect the Tamil example in (45a) to instantiate a negative stripping construction in which we would interpret [*e*] as in (45b). In (45a), the copula negation follows the focused remnant, but unlike English, the utterance is not grammatical. Rather, *illai* being a copula negation, the second conjunct in (45a) gives the reading 'Sita is not there (in the shop)'. So what is Tamil negation doing in these cases?

The utterance in (45a) cannot be analyzed as negative stripping/contrast for two reasons: (1) The antecedent in (45a) and the expected elided part in (45b) do not match in terms of its inflections - while the verb in the antecedent is finite and inflects agreement features, the verb form in the elided part is infinitive. This mismatch shows the importance of parallelism between the antecedent and ellipsis in Tamil. The second conjunct can be a constituent by itself, yielding a counter–expectational interpretation of 'but' (more about this reading in section 3.3.2).

(45)   a. ?ɟɔ:n   [kaḍai-kku po:-n-a:n]   a:na:l
            John[3SGM.NOM] shop-DAT   go-PST-3SGM but

si:ta: illai [*e*]
Sita[3SGF.NOM] NEG EP
'John went to the shop but Sita did not.'

b.   [*e*]: kaɖai-kku po:g-a-ʋillai
     EP: shop-DAT go-INF-COP.NEG
     'went to the shop.'

c.   si:ta: kaɖai-la   illai
     Sita[3SGF.NOM] shop-DAT COP.NEG
     'Sita is not in the shop.'

The only way to get the negative stripping/contrast reading in Tamil is by cleft-

ing as in (46).

(46)   [kaɖai-kku po:-n-a-tu   ɟɔ:n]   [kaɖai-kku
          shop-DAT   go-PST.PTCP-REL-3SGN John[3SGM.NOM] shop-DAT
          po:-n-a-tu   si:ta: illai]
          go-PST.PTCP-REL-3SGN Sita[3SGF.NOM] NEG
          'It is John who went to the shop but/and it is not Sita who went to the

          shop.'

Over the next three subsections I discuss why negative contrast in Tamil finds

expression in a cleft construction in order to develop my account of negative

contrast in the final section as involving across the board (ATB) movement.

3.3.1   Constituent and sentential negation in Tamil

In Tamil, the negation morpheme *illai* is a negative copula which functions as

existential in (47a), and equative negation in (47b).

(47)   a.   aŋga taɳɳi illai   (*la).
              There water be-EXIS.NEG
              'There is no water.'

         b.   aʋan   ɖa:kʈar illai   (*la).
              3SGM.NOM doctor be-EQU.NEG
              'He is not a doctor.'

The same negation morpheme *illai* or its reduced form *la* attach to the infinitive

verb for sentential negation as in (48b).

(48) a. ra:mu   oḍi-n-a:n.
          Ramu[3SGM.NOM] run-PST-3SGM
          'Ramu ran'.

      b. ra:mu   oḍ-a-ʋillai/la.
          Ramu[3SGM.NOM] run-INF-NEG
          'Ramu didn't run'.

In a declarative sentence (48a), the finite verb takes tense and agreement morphology, but in the negative sentence in (48b), tense and agreement markers disappear. Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2005) argue that in Dravidian languages, mood and finiteness are in a complementary distribution and therefore, both negation and finiteness compete for the same inflection head.

The negation morpheme *la* in (48b) is a reduced form of *illai* which cannot stand alone, and instead suffixes to the verb. In the copula sentences, a reduced form *-la* is not possible as in (47a) and (47b). This is why when the negation *illai* occurs in its full form after the remnant in ellipsis in (45a), it gives the copula negation reading 'Sita is not there' as in (45c). The structure in (49) shows the derivation of Tamil negative sentence (48b).

(49)
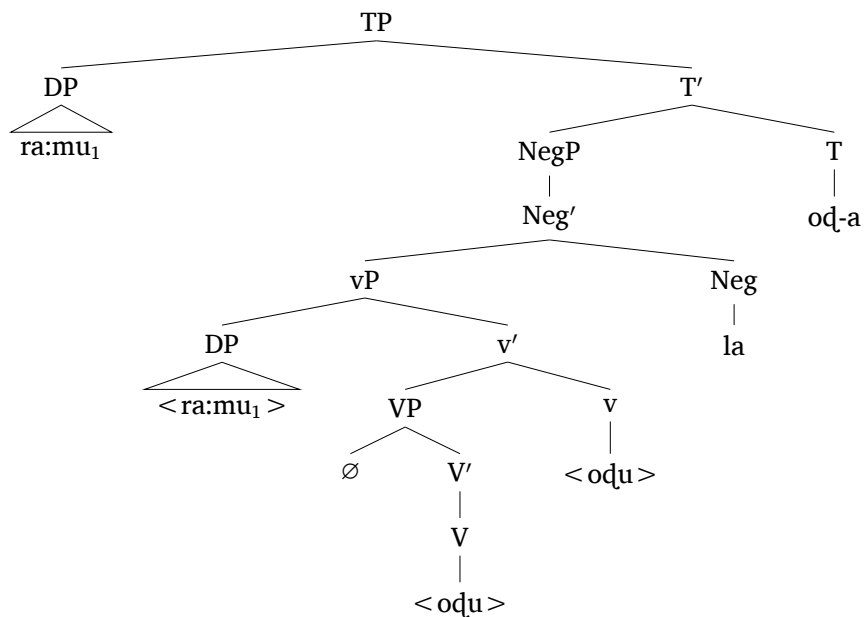
Given that there is no constituent negation morpheme similar to the English 'not' in Tamil, there are two ways to get constituent negation in Tamil. The first way is to use the negation *illai* attached to the verb and scoping over the focused constituent in (50).

(50)   raʋi   [paɖa-tu-kku]ꜰ pog-a-*la*.
        Ravi[3SGM.NOM] movie-DAT   go-INF-NEG
        'Ravi didn't go TO THE MOVIE but went somewhere else.'

In ellipsis, this first method cannot be adopted, as the two clauses would fail to satisfy the identity requirement. As a consequence, a second method is used: the focused constituent is clefted and the negation adjoins to the focused constituent as in (51).

(51)   [raʋi   po:-n-a-tu]   paɖa-tu-kku illai
        Ravi[3SGM.NOM] go-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ movie-DAT   NEG
        pu:ŋga:-kku.
        park-DAT
        'It is NOT TO THE MOVIE that Ravi went but to the park.'

The use of the cleft to express negative contrast in Tamil thus follows from the special properties of Tamil negation.

3.3.2   Two types of 'but'

In the Tamil clefts denoting negative contrast as in (51), note that the coordinator 'but' is absent. I would like to suggest that, just like in the case of coordination stripping, what we have in (52a) are two separate clauses conjoined by a null coordination marker.

(52)   a.   krikeʈ ʋiɭaya:ɖi-n-a-tu   so:mu
              cricket play-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ Somu[3SGM.NOM]
              bill   illai   [*e*].
              Bill[3SGM.NOM] COP.NEG EP
              'It is Somu who played cricket and NOT BILL.'

    b.   [*e*]: krikeʈ ʋiɭayaːɖi-n-a-tu.
            EP: cricket play-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ
            'who played cricket'

The reasons for this conclusion is mostly the same as in English, which too can take an 'and'/'but' coordination in (53a) or null coordination in (53b). This is because the predication in both conjuncts has the same truth conditions, and only the focused constituent is negated and not the predicates in these constructions.

(53)   a.   Bill went to Paris but/and not to London

        b.   Sam bought a car NOT Bill.

Cross-linguistically speaking, as a lexical item, the adversative coordinator 'but' has two flavours of meaning. In the words of Vicente (2010) (speaking of Spanish) "These two coordinators correlate with the two semantic flavours which adversative coordination is typically argued to come in: corrective, which expresses the denial of the proposition in the first conjunct; and counter-expectational which simply compares two propositions, introducing the implicature that the second conjunct is unexpected given the first conjunct". In languages like English the two 'buts' are homophonous, but some languages, such as Spanish and French have different lexical items (Toosarvandani 2013, Fernández-Sánchez 2018). In languages where the distinction between the two types of but adversative coordination is overt, clear differences can be seen is other types of coordination ellipses as well, *e.g.* in gapping, pseudo–gapping, etc. (Johnson 2006).

In my analysis, Tamil is closer to Spanish than English, as it has two distinct 'buts', but nevertheless also differs from Spanish in having a null form of the corrective 'but'. Example (54) is the counter–expectational 'but' *aːnaː*, which is the only overt form of but in the language, and is used in what I will argue in chapter 4 to be VSVPE constructions. The corrective 'but' is null, and it is this

null form, as in (55a), that is the one used in negative contrast in the language.

(54)   so:mu   krikeʈ viḷayaɖi-n-a:n a:na: bill
        Somu[3SGM.NOM] cricket play-PST-3SGM but   Bill[3SGM.NOM]
        krikeʈ viḷayaɖ-a-la.
        cricket play-INF-NEG
        'Somu played cricket but Bill didn't play cricket.'

(55)   a.   krikeʈ viḷaya:ɖi-n-a-tu   so:mu
              cricket play-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ Somu[3SGM.NOM]
              bill   illai   [*e*].
              Bill[3SGM.NOM] COP.NEG EP
              'It is Somu who played cricket and NOT BILL.'

        b.   [*e*]: krikeʈ viḷaya:ɖi-n-a-tu
              EP: cricket play-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ
              'who played cricket'

(56)
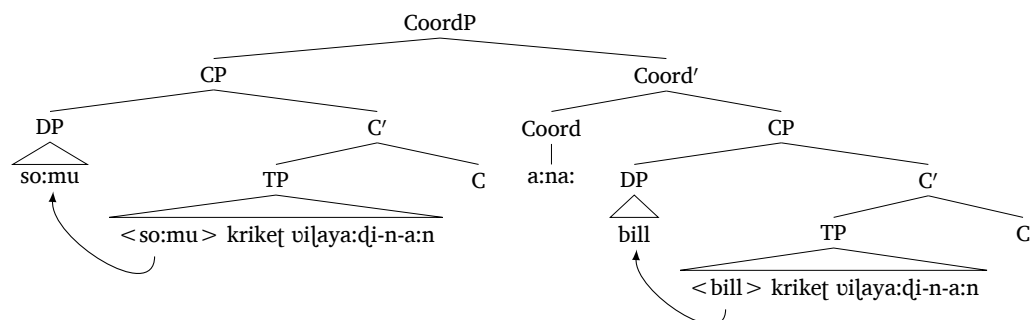
Both counter-expectational and corrective 'but' conjoin clauses and have the structures in (56) and (57) respectively.

(57)

```
                                    CoordP
                          ┌───────────┴───────────┐
                         TP                      Coord'
                   ┌──────┴──────┐          ┌──────┴──────┐
                 NP_i            T'       Coord            TP
              ┌───┴───┐      ┌───┴───┐      │         ┌─────┴─────┐
     kriket viḷaya:ḍi-n-a-tu AspP    T   ∅/(maṭrum)  NP_j          T'
                        ┌─────┴─────┐         kriket viḷaya:ḍi-n-a-tu  ┌───┴───┐
                      PredP        Asp                              NegP      T
                   ┌────┴────┐                                   ┌───┴───┐
                  DP        Pred'                              PredP     Neg
                   │     ┌────┴────┐                        ┌────┴────┐    │
                 so:mu <NP_i>    Pred                      DP       Pred' illai
                                                            │    ┌────┴────┐
                                                           bill <NP_j>   Pred
```
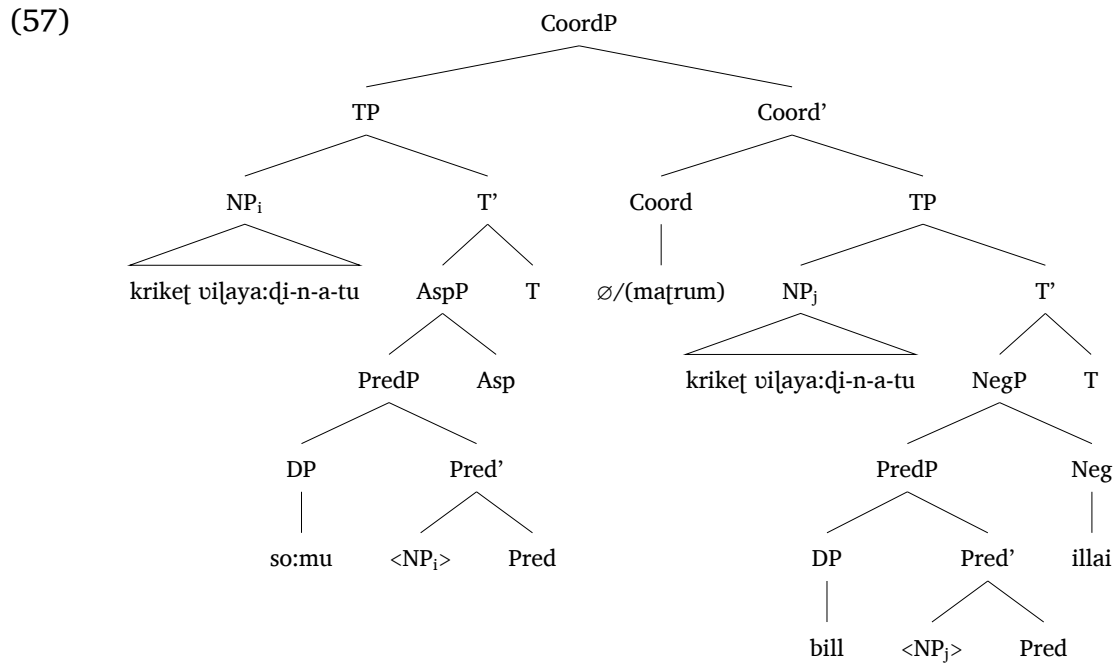
3.3.3 The Cleft Construction in Tamil

The relation between contrastive emphasis and cleft sentences has been well-studied cross–linguistically by Harries (1973), who in his detailed study, shows that one of the ways that contrastive emphasis may be syntactically expressed across languages is by using the underlying cleft constructions.

Cleft sentences are equational sentences which establish an identity between a known or presupposed entity and a focused entity which represents the new information. The presupposed information is contained in the subject, the new information in the predicate. The subject of a cleft sentence consists of a head noun like the one which is modified by a restrictive relative clause. The head noun is always a neutral noun like *'one, the man, the person, & he'*, which is more closely defined by the relative clause.The predicate contains the focus constituent (Harries 1973:87).

While languages differ in terms of the syntax of clefting, a few common ingredients used in the syntactic derivation are identifiable across languages: viz., the copula, relative markers, nominalizers, and emphasis markers. Dravidian clefts too have been studied by Veluppillai (1981), Jayaseelan and Amritavalli (2005), and Selvanathan (2017), with various authors providing the analysis

for Dravidian cleft structures like those exemplified here by the Tamil one in (58). As can be observed, the Dravidian cleft consists of a nominalised relative clause and an extraposed focused constituent:

(58)   [ɟɔ:n   <*kaḍai-kku*> po:-n-a-tu]   kaḍai-kku.
        John[3SGM.NOM]   shop-DAT   go-PST.PTCP-REL-3SGN shop-DAT
        'It is TO THE SHOP that John went.'

The cleft in Tamil is derived by nominalizing the participial verb by adding the suffix -*atu* on top of the relative marker -*a*. Following Jayaseelan and Amritavalli (2005), I will gloss the third person neuter pronoun -*atu* as a nominalizer, which is descended from a grammaticalized pronoun.

Adopting Selvanathan's cleft structure for Tamil in which the nominalized phrase (relative clause) is the complement of PredP as in (60) and predicate inversion moves the NP to Spec of IP in (61) for Tamil cleft (59).

(59)   [ma:la:ʋ-ai   pa:r-tt-adu/aʋan]   ba:lan.
        Mala.3SGF-ACC see-PST-NOMZ.3SGN/3SGM Balan
        'The one that saw Mala is Balan.'   (Selvanathan 2017:6)

(60)   *PredP portion of a copular clause*   (Selvanathan 2017:12)
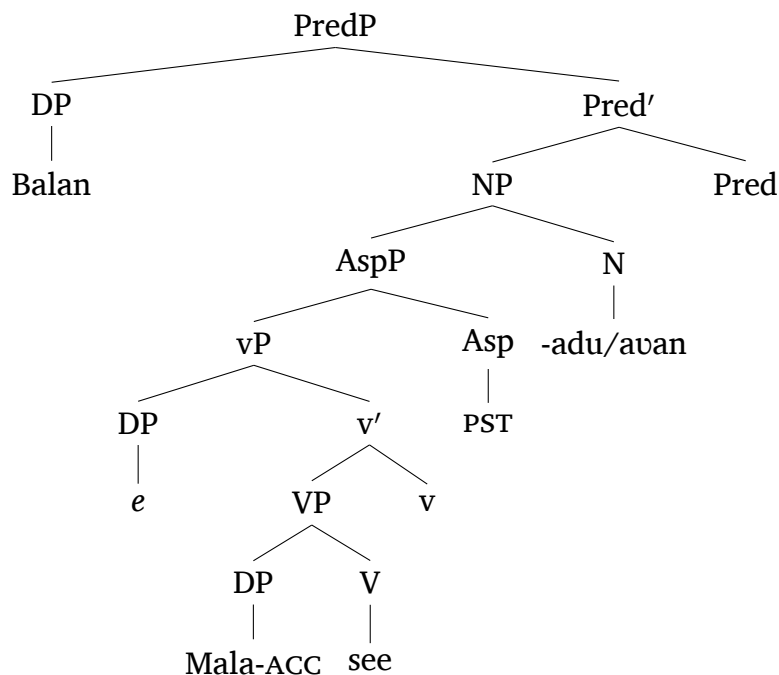
(61)   *Predicate Inversion*   (Selvanathan 2017:12)

TP
- NPⱼ
  - [*e* Mala-ACC saw-PST (-adu/aʋan)]
- T′
  - AspP
    - PredP
      - DP
        - Balan
      - Pred′
        - ⟨NPⱼ⟩   Pred
    - Asp
  - T
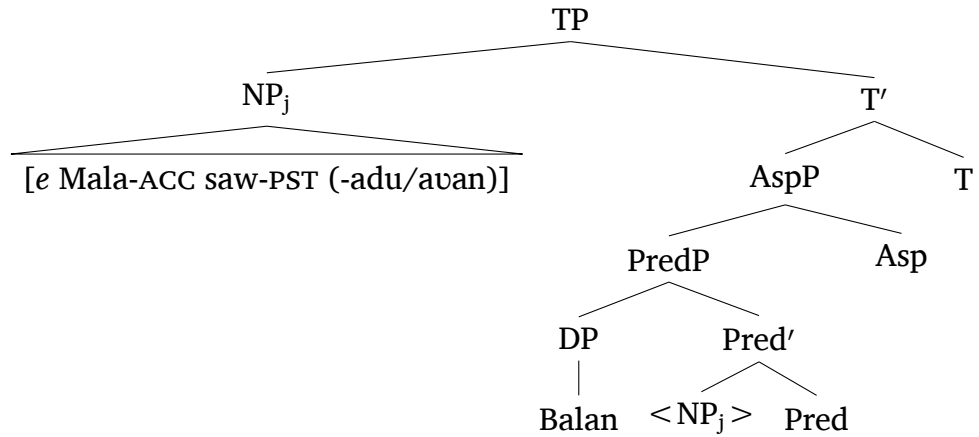
3.3.4 Derivation of negative contrast

Now, let us see how negative contrast (63) can be derived using the Tamil cleft structure as in (64). As discussed in §3.3.2 and §3.3.3, the negative contrast takes corrective 'but' which is different from the 'but' we see in a subordinate clause. In Tamil, the 'but' in the subordinate clause is *a:na:* which is obligatory in (62), but this structure does not yield the negative contrast interpretation.

(62)   ra:mu   si:ta:ʋ-ai   pa:r-tt-a:n   a:na: pe:s-a-la
         Ramu[3SGM.NOM] Sita[3SGF-ACC see-PST.3SGM but   talk-INF-NEG
         'Ramu saw Sita but didn't talk.'

(63)   [[kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu]   ɟɔ:n   ta:n]
         shop-DAT   go-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ John[3SGM.NOM] TA:N
         [[kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu]   si:ta: illai].
         shop-DAT go-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ Sita[3SGF.NOM] NEG
         'It is JOHN who went to the shop but/and not Sita'

(64)

```
                                    TP
                        ┌───────────┴───────────┐
                      NPᵢ                        T′
                 ┌─────┴─────┐          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
            kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu      NPᵢ                    T
                               ┌───────┴───────┐            │
                             PredP              N           │
                      ┌────────┴────────┐      -atu
                     DP                Pred′
                 ┌───┴───┐        ┌─────┴─────┐
             John ta:n   vP               Pred
                    ┌────┴────┐            │
                   DP         v′        po:-n-a:n
                   │      ┌────┴────┐
               <John>    VP         v
                     ┌───┴───┐      │
                    DP       V    <po:>
                    │        │
                kaḍai-kku  <po:>
```
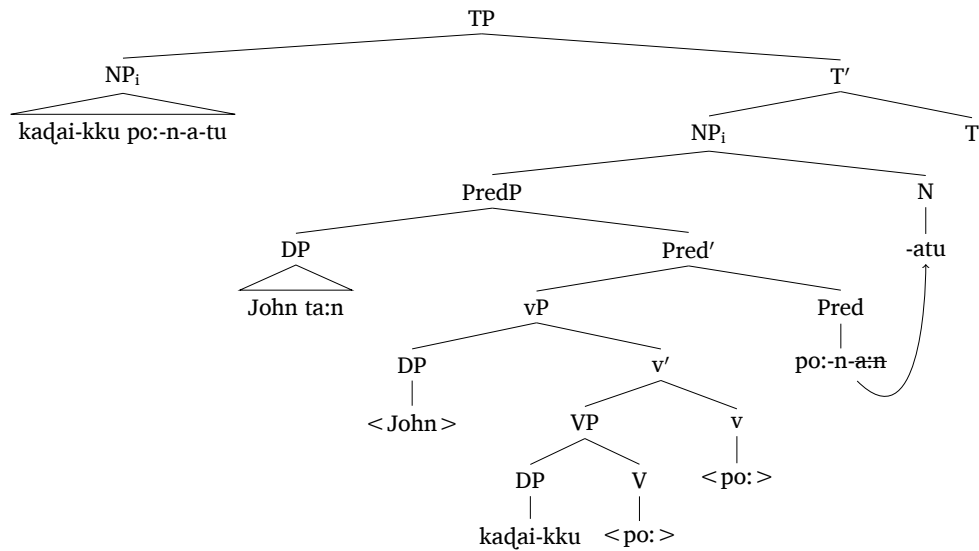
I have suggested in the preceding sections that in corrective *but* constructions what we have is the null coordination of two finite clauses. This squares well with the pragmatics of negative contrast, since such constructions, unlike stripping, can only be uttered by the same speaker to correct the already uttered focused constituent in the discourse as in (63). Toosarvandani (2013) argues that the corrective 'but' coordinates clauses and sometimes coordinates sub-clauses too. In Tamil, we might assume that the correlate in cleft clause, which is adjacent to the remnant, forms a constituent with *but*. This is assumed for English too as Vicente (2010) classifies the corrective 'but' into two forms in English. Following McCawley (1991), he distinguishes (65a) with sentence negation as anchored form and (65b) with constituent negation as basic form. In the basic form (65b), the correlate and the remnant form a single constituent. Thus McCawley (1991), Vicente (2010) argue that the anchored form involves clausal ellipsis and the basic form involves DP conjunction.

(65)   [taken from Toosarvandani (2013)]

a.   Max doesn't eat chard, but spinach.   (anchored form)

b.   Max eats not chard but spinach.   (basic form)

As we have already seen, the anchored form is not possible in Tamil, because

sentential negation cannot make negative contrast. Does this mean the clefted structure we have in Tamil negative contrast is DP conjunction? In that case, there should be no intervention between the two DPs, however, we can have an adverb before the remnant, as in (66).

(66)   [kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu]   ʝɔ:n   ta:n]
            shop-DAT go-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ John[3SGM.NOM] TA:N
         kaṇḍipp-a si:ta: illai].
         sure-ADV   Sita[3SGF.NOM] NEG
            It is JOHN and for sure not Sita who went to the shop.

Further, if we assume that negative contrast has a full-fledged syntactic structure like its antecedent, both the antecedent TP and the elided clause TP can be conjoined in an embedded clause, as in (67). The syntactic structure for the conjoined cleft clauses in negative contrast is given in (68).

(67)   [CP[TP[NP kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu]   ʝɔ:n   ta:n]
                  shop-DAT go-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ John[3SGM.NOM] TA:N
         [TP[NP~~kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu~~]   si:ta: illai]-nu
               shop-DAT go-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ Sita[3SGF.NOM] NEG COMP
         ra:mu   son-n-a:n].
         Ramu[3SGM.NOM] say-PST-3SGM
         It is JOHN and not Sita who Ramu said went to the shop.

(68)
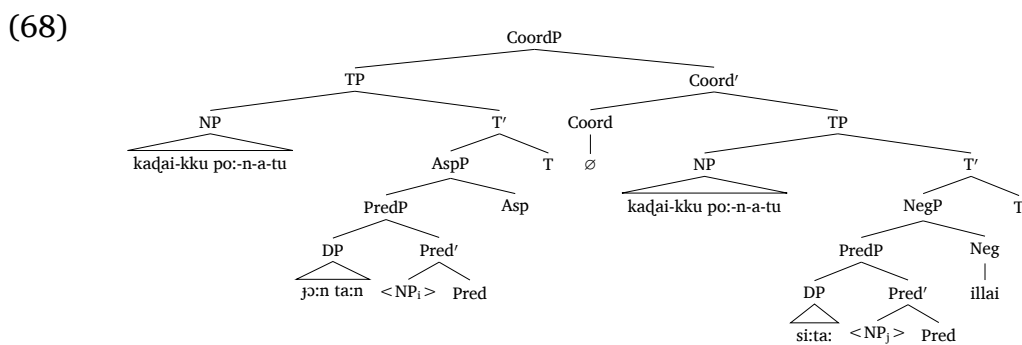
As the focused constituent is derived through a cleft in negative contrast, the remnant movement analysis is not possible. Given a bi-clausal analysis of the cleft structure, it is in principle possible that what we have here is a coordination between two focused predicate clauses. However, this analysis is refuted by the fact that we cannot move the focused constituent to the left of

cleft clause in (69).

(69)   *[[kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu]   ɟɔ:n   ta:n]
        shop-DAT   go-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ John[3SGM.NOM] TA:N
        [si:ta: illai ~~[kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu]~~].
         Sita[3SGF.NOM] NEG ~~shop-DAT go-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ~~
        'It is JOHN who went to shop but/and not Sita'

Another possible derivation for negative contrast is to adopt the Across The
Board Movement (ATB) that applies for gapping (Johnson 2019), comparative
deletion (Williams 1978, de Vries 2017) Ross (1967) was the first to introduce
ATB phenomena to derive backward conjunction reduction and relative clauses.
Ross defines ATB as "a class of rules that move a constituent out of all the
conjuncts of a coordinate structure at once". It involves the strict parallelism
of categories which move out of each conjunct. Example (70) is an instance of
ATB in which the *wh*-phrase moves out of each conjunct.

(70)   Which book$_i$ does Peter like <*which book*>$_i$ and Susan hate <*which
         book*>$_i$?

Williams (1978) shows example comparative deletion and gapping in (71a) and
(71b) are derived through ATB. Johnson (2019) also argues gapping in (71c)
as ellipsis reduced through ATB movement.

(71)   a.   John has *more* cows than Bill has <*more*> dogs or Peter has <*more*>
              horses.
         b.   *John gave* the book to Mary and <*John gave*> the record to Sue,
              or <*John gave*> the book to Sue and <*John gave*> the record to
              Mary.
         c.   Peter$_s$ *bought* [t_s <*bought*> a book] and [Susan <*bought*> a mag-
              azine].

It is this analysis that I will adopt in my analysis of Tamil negative contrast.

Given that both clauses are coordinated, the nominalized verb phrase moves out of both TP conjuncts in (72) and this derivation is shown by the tree in (73).

(72)   [$_{NP}$ kaḍai-kku po:-n-a-tu]   [$_{TP1}$[< NP$_1$ >
            shop-DAT go-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ
        ɟɔ:n   ta:n] [$_{TP2}$[< NP$_2$ > si:ta: illai]
        John[3SGM.NOM] TA:N   Sita[3SGF.NOM NEG
        'It is JOHN who went to shop but/and NOT SITA.'

(73)
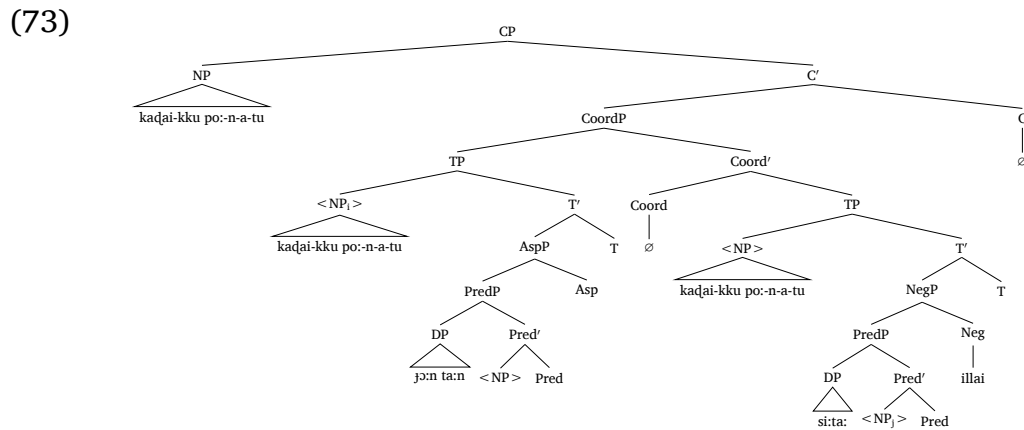
3.4   Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the possible analyses for the expression of coordination and fragment ellipsis as well as negative contrast in Tamil, and along the way, explored several aspects of Tamil syntax such as the nature of Tamil coordination, discourse particles, cleft constructions, and additive particles. By the analyses that I have proposed in this chapter, I have argued that only coordination and fragment ellipsis can be accounted for under the PF–deletion approach of Merchant (1999, 2001, and subsequent work) and that negative contrast is not expressed by elliptical constructions in Tamil. Rather, I propose that it involves leftward ATB movement of the nominalized clause from both conjuncts.

Chapter 4

Verb Stranding Verb Phrase Ellipsis in Tamil

In this chapter, I examine the constructions in (1) - (3). Here, I shall adopt the neutral term 'Null Object Construction' (henceforth NOC) to describe these sentences before motivating a Verb Stranding Verb Phrase Ellipsis (VSVPE) analysis.

In (1a), the second clause has the subject, the additive marker *-um* and the inflected main verb. The interpretation we get is 'Balu will go to London, too', rather than 'Balu will go, too'.

(1) a. mi:ra: [vP1 laṇḍan-kku   po:-ʋ-a:ʎ]
         Meera[3SGF.NOM]   London.3SGN-DAT go-FUT-3SGF
         ba:luʋ-um   po:-ʋa:n   [vP2 *e*].
         Balu[3SGM.NOM]-ADD go-FUT-3SGM   EP.
         'Meera will go to London and Balu will go too.'

     b. [*e*]: laṇḍan-kku
         EP: London.3SGN-DAT
         'to London.'

Let us now see a ditransitive example to see if more than one item can be left unpronounced. In (2a), both internal arguments can be missing when an identical antecedent is available [1].

---
[1]Note that in (2a), *ta:n* is optional, just as in the fragment stripping cases we saw in chapter

(2)   a.   A: ra:mu   [vP1 ra:ɟu-kku   oru parisu
                 Ramu[3SGM.NOM]   Raju.3SGM-DAT one gift.3SGN
              koɖu-tt-a:n].   B: gi:ta:ʋ-um   (ta:n) koɖu-tt-a:ɭ
              give-PST-3SGM.   Geeta[3SGF.NOM]-ADD TA:N   give-PST-3SGF
              [vP2 e].
                  EP
              'A: Ramu gave a gift to Raju. B: Geeta gave too.'

       b.   [e]: ra:ɟu-kku   oru parisu.
             EP: Raju.3SGM-DAT one gift.3SGN
             'a gift to Raju.'

I argue below that (1) involves syntactic coordination that is not morphologi-
cally marked. Example (3a) uses an overt 'but' conjunction in which the first
clause (antecedent) is assertive and the second clause (elided part) is negative.
In this example, we can see the additional presence of a VP-modifying adverb
in the antecedent clause, this shows that, it is not just the arguments of the verb
that can be unpronounced, but also adverbs and PP adjuncts may be elided.

(3)   a.   so:mu   [vP1 kaʋanam-a:ga putagam
             Somu[3SGM.NOM]   careful-ADV   book.3SGN
             paɖi-kir-a:n]   a:na: ma:du   paɖi-kk-a-la
             read-PRS.PROG-3SGM but Mathu[3SGF.NOM] read-OBL-INF-NEG
             [vP2 e].
                 EP
             'Somu is carefully reading a book but Mathu is not reading.'

       b.   [e]: kaʋanam-a:ga putagam
             EP: careful-ADV   book.3SGN
             'carefully book'

Construction similar to (1) - (3) have been analysed as involving VSVPE ie., a
construction in which the main verb undergoes V-T movement, and the whole
vP is deleted at PF (Goldberg 2005b, Gribanova 2013b, Funakoshi 2016, Fuji-
wara 2017, Manetta 2019).

     This derivation is different from that of the VP-ellipsis construction, as il-
lustrated in the examples in (4a) and (5a). Here, VPE elides the whole vP
constituent, consisting of the main verb and its arguments, in the second con-

---

2 and 3 in which the second clause is uttered by a different speaker.

junct. The elided part is then interpreted as identical to the vP antecedent in the first conjunct (the elided parts are shown in the (b) examples below).

(4)   a.   Bill played football in his school and Sam did [*e*] too.

         b.   [*e*]: play football in his school

(5)   a.   Peter likes ice–cream but John doesn't [*e*].

         b.   [*e*]: like ice–cream.

According to Lobeck (1995), a vP in English may be elided if it is selected by a head that is filled with tense-related terms. She further groups all the tense related terms in English that license VPE as 'Aux members'. The identical antecedent vP for example (4b) is (6a) and for example (5b) is (6b). (English is a *do*–support language which occupies the T position as 'last resort' to take tense and agreement features).

(6)   a.   [$_{TP}$ Bill did [$_{vP}$ <Bill> play football in his school].

         b.   [$_{TP}$ Peter does [$_{vP}$ <Peter> like ice–cream]

However, languages that lack *do*-support cannot have English-like VP Ellipsis, but they do have a very similar construction in which the main verb escapes the ellipsis site and the rest of the items in VP/vP are elided. For now, let us call this the NOC. Examples (7a) to (9b) show null objects in Hebrew, Japanese and Hindi respectively, where only the subject and the main verb in the second conjunct are obligatorily pronounced.

(7)   *Hebrew*   (Landau 2018:1)

         a.   Gil [hizmin   et axot-o].
                Gil invited-ACC   sister-his.
                'Gil invited his sister.'

         b.   Yosi gam hizmin [*e*].
                Yosi too invited EP
                'Yosi invited (his sister) too.'

(8)   *Japanese*   (Otani and Whitman 1991:346-347)

    a.   John-wa   [zibun-no tegami-o] sute-ta.
        John-NOM self-of   letter-ACC discard-PERF
        'John threw out self's letters.'

    b.   Mary-mo sute-ta   [*e*].
        Mary-also discard-PERF EP
        = 'Mary_j also threw out self_j's letters.'

        = 'Mary also threw out John's letters.'

(9)   *Hindi*   (Simpson *et al.* 2013:36)

    a.   Ram-ne   Chomsky-ka   naya lekh   do baar paRh-a.
        Ram-ERG Chomsky-GEN new   writing two time read-PFV.M.SG
        'Ram read the new paper by Chomsky twice.'

    b.   Raj-ne   bhi paRh-a   [*e*].
        Raj-ERG also read-PFV.M.SG   EP
        'Raj also read (the paper twice).'

As the NOC exhibits similar properties as VPE, it has grabbed the attention of ellipsis researchers. The NOC is a construction in which the object(s) inside the vP/VP layer is missing, receiving its interpretation from an identical antecedent. In Hebrew, Japanese and Hindi, the tensed verb is stranded in the ellipsis site, and its argument is elided.

Tamil, too, has the NOC, as exemplified by the examples (10) and (11). (In these examples, the italicised verb in the second conjunct is the stranded verb.) Note that the two examples contrast with respect to the stranded verb in the second conjunct: in (10a) the stranded verb is identical to the one in the antecedent, but in example (11a) it is different. Another contrast is the presence of additive particle *-um* in (10a) which is not the case in (11a).

I will consider these two as different types of NOCs in Tamil and in my analysis of the Tamil NOC in this chapter, examine whether both these types receive an identical analysis.

(10)   a. ʄɔ:n   ʋi:ʈʈu-kku po:-n-a:n
        John[3SGM.NOM] house-DAT go-PST-3SGM

me:ri-j-um *po:-n-a:ɭ* [*e*].
Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD go-PST-3GSF EP
'John went home and Mary went (home) too.'

b. [*e*]: ʋi:ʈʈu-kku
  EP: house-DAT
'house.'

(11) a. ra:mu oru putagam ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n si:ta:
Ramu[3SGM.NOM] one book buy-PST-3SGM Sita[3SGF.NOM]
paɖi-t-a:ɭ [*e*].
read-PST-3SGF EP
'Ramu bought a book and Sita read (a book) .'

b. [*e*]: oru putagam
EP: one book
' a book'.

There are three distinct possibilities for analysing the Tamil NOC. The first op-
tion is the null argument analysis, which analyses the 'missing objects' in con-
structions like (10) and (11) as involving an instance of a base-generated *pro*
(Huang 1984, Park 1997, Hoji 1998). The structure in (12) represents the *pro*
analysis. The second and third options are to analyse these examples as involv-
ing ellipsis of differing sorts, either Argument Ellipsis (AE) or Verb Stranding VP
Ellipsis (VSVPE). These latter two analyses can be summarised as involving the
distinct derivations given in (13) and (14) respectively, where (13) represents
the AE derivation and (14), the VSVPE one.

(12) [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ V *pro*]]] (*pro* Analysis)

(13) [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ V ~~[DP]~~ ~~([DP])~~]]] (AE Analysis)

(14) [$_{TP}$ T+V ~~[$_{vP}$ v+ <V> [$_{VP}$ <V> DP (DP) (PP) (ADV)]]~~] (VSVPE
Analysis)

In the VSVPE analysis, (Otani and Whitman 1991, Goldberg 2005b, Toosarvan-
dani 2009, Gribanova 2013, Takahashi 2013, Funakoshi 2016, Merchant 2018,
Rasekhi 2018, Manetta 2019) the lexical verb is stranded outside the vP the

elliptical part, leaving other items inside the vP/VP unpronounced after deletion under identity. The examples in (15a) and (15b) illustrate the VSVPE case through the question-answer pair, in which the antecedent is in the question utterance and the elided part is in the answer utterance. Goldberg (2005b) argues that the main verb moves to T and the vP is elided in (15b). The derivation of elided part under VSVPE analysis is represented in (14) in which the main verb moves to T and then the vP is elided.

(15)   *Hebrew*   (Goldberg 2005b:53)

    a.   (Ha'im) Miryam hisi'a   et   Dvora la-makolet
          Q   Miryam drove.3SGF ACC Dvora to.the-grocery.store
          "Did Miryam drive Dvora to the grocery store."

    b.   ken, hi   hisi'a
          yes   she drove.3SGF
          "Yes, she drove (Dvora to the grocery store)."

In contrast to the VSVPE analysis, the AE analysis (Oku 1998, Tomioka 1998, Kim 1999, Saito 2007, Takahashi 2008, Abe 2009, Simpson *et al.* (2013), Sakamoto 2015 and Landau 2018, 2020a, 2020b, 2021), holds that no movement takes place in the derivation of these structures, arguing instead that each argument inside the VP is deleted independently under the identity condition. First postulated as an operation by Oku (1998), the AE analysis was motivated by the facts of Japanese in (16). It was pointed out that the only interpretation that obtains for (16b) is 'Hana did not solve the problem', rather than the expected 'Hana did not solve the problem quickly'. This suggests that the VSVPE derivation is not correct, because if it were, the VP-modifying adverb would also be interpreted in the elided part. Accordingly, Takahashi (2013) proposes that the only adequate derivation for (16b) is the AE analysis in (13).

(16)   *Japanese*   (Takahashi 2013:175)

    a.   Hana-wa   subayaku kono mondai-o   tokanakatta.
         Hana-TOP quickly   this   problem-ACC not.solved
         'Hana did not solve this problem quickly.'

    b.   Hana-wa   tokanakatta *e.*
         Hana-TOP not.solved   EP
         'Hana did not solve.'

The difference between the two analyses is thus in the size of the chunk of structure that is deleted, and therefore also whether the deletion that results in the ellipsis structure happens in one attempt or through repeated applications of the deleted operation.

The chapter explores which of these analyses best suit the derivation of the two types of Tamil NOCs instantiated in (10) and (11). I will henceforth distinguish by calling the NOC in (11) as NOC_{DV}, to indicate that the main verb used in the two conjuncts are distinct. NOCs of the type in (10), I will refer to as NOC_{SV} (where SV indicates 'same verb').

In the sections that follow, I discuss the Tamil facts in relation to various analyses that have been made in the literature. In section 4.1, I develop the proposal that the NOC_{DV} facts are best served by a null pronominal analysis. In section 4.2, I motivate a VSVPE analysis of the NOC_{SV} type in (10) by examining the Tamil data in light of the various diagnostics that have been developed in the last decade or so. Section 4.3 closes the discussion by providing evidence for overt verb raising in Tamil along the lines proposed by Manetta (2019).

4.1   A null pronominal analysis for NOC

4.1.1   Licensing Tamil null arguments

In this section, I argue that the behaviour of the gap in the NOC_{DV} construction in (11) satisfies all the diagnostics of a null argument (*pro*). I begin by highlighting the problem of identifying null arguments in Tamil in section 4.1.1. I first discuss how agreement diagnostics are not available for subject and object

null arguments in Dravidian in general and Tamil in particular. I then show
that the null objects in (10) and (11) cannot be analysed involving a variable
pro, bound by a null topic. Finally I show that the licensing issue notwithstand-
ing, an null pronominal analysis of the NOC$_{DV}$ in (11), but not the one in (10),
is warranted by the Tamil facts.

The null argument approach considers the NOC to involve base generated
empty *pro* that gets its interpretation from its antecedent, just like an overt
pronoun. This analysis of null arguments relies on agreement with the syntactic
heads T and V that show subject and object agreement, respectively. However,
there also exist languages, such as Malayalam and Japanese (Takahashi 2013)
as well as Tamil, that do not show object–verb agreement and still have missing
objects.

Example (17a) has subject-verb agreement and not object-verb agreement.
The verb carries third person singular masculine features that matches with the
subject (and not the object). Yet, the object is elided and gets its meaning from
the antecedent in the previous clause. Example (18a) shows second and first
person objects, which also do not show agreement on the verb but yet can elide
null objects.

(17)   a.   ra:mu   kriket   viɭaya:ɖi-n-a:n
              Ramu[3SGM.NOM] cricket.3SGN play-PST-3SGM
              ba:luʋ-um   viɭaya:ɖu-ʋ-a:n [*e*].
              Balu[3SGM.NOM]-ADD play-FUT-3SGM   EP
              'Ramu played kriket and Balu will play, too.

        b.   [*e*]: kriket
               EP: cricket.3SGN
              'cricket.'

(18)   a.   ra:mu-kku   unn-ai/enn-ai   piɖikk-um
              Ramu.3SGM-DAT 2SG-ACC/1SG-ACC like-HAB
              ba:lu-kk-um   piɖikk-um [*e*].
              Balu.3SGM-DAT-ADD like-HAB   EP
              'Ramu likes you/me and Balu likes, too.

b.   [*e*]: unn-ai/enn-ai
      EP: 2SG-ACC/1SG-ACC
      'you/me.'

Other languages also lack overt agreement but can nevertheless be argued to have subject *pro*-drop. In Malayalam, unlike Tamil, subject-verb agreement is not overtly expressed on the verb. Yet, as argued by Simpson *et al.* (2013), null subjects show a strict reading and E-type reading of quantifiers with pronouns in Malayalam. Therefore, null subjects in Malayalam are *pro* as they show an interpretation identical to the overt pronoun. As embedded clause subjects cannot be null in the strict/quantificational interpretation, Simpson *et al.* (2013) show that a strict and non-quantificational (E-type) reading is possible only with main clause null subjects. The subject QP in (19a) is obligatorily the antecedent of the null subject in (19b), despite the fact that there is no overt subject-verb agreement on the verb.

(19)   *Malayalam*   (Simpson *et al.* 2013:108)

a.   muunu pujari-maar anilin-e   kanu-waan ʋann-u.
     three   priest-PL   anil.3SGM-ACC see-INF   came-PST
     'Three priests came to see Anil.'

b.   [*e*]: raʋiy-e   kaanaan-um ʋann-u
      EP: ravi.3SGM-ACC see-UM   came-PST
      '(They) came to see Ravi too.'

In (20a) we see that in Malayalam subject-verb agreement is absent, the main verb carries only the tense/aspect inflections and that it remains same even if the object is second/first person.

(20)   *Malayalam*   (Takahashi 2013:178-179)

a.   ɟɔn tan-te   amma-ye   sne:hik'-k'unnu
     John self-GEN mother-ACC love-BE.PRS
     'John loves his mother.'

    b.   Bill-um [*e*] sne:hik'k'unnu.
            Bill-also EP love
            '*lit.* Bill loves *e*, too.'

           = 'Bill loves John's mother.'

           = 'Bill loves Bill's mother.'

But does this indicate the presence of abstract agreement for Malayalam null objects like in null subjects? No, because null objects, unlike null subjects, show both sloppy and quantification readings in Malayalam as discussed in Simpson et al. (2013) and Takahashi (2013).

Hence, agreement diagnostics are not reliable for a *pro* analysis in languages that lack agreement but still can have null objects. The same is the case for Chinese, which also has null arguments in both subject and object position. In the discussion that follows, I shall not dwell on this licensing question any further, assuming that an explanation of the existence of both subject and object *pro* in Tamil will follow from a general theory of the distribution of null arguments.

4.1.2   Null objects in Tamil are not topic variables

Huang (1984) represents one of the earliest analyses that advocates a topic drop account of the NOC, characterising argument gaps to be empty categories (ECs), that are bound by an antecedent. His proposal is framed within a parametric framework, where he suggests that there are two parameters responsible for licensing empty categories in argument positions. The first is whether a language has *pro*-drop or not, and the second is whether a language allows zero topics or not. Huang claims that languages like Chinese and Japanese are discourse–oriented languages, *i.e.*, they are topic prominent (Li and Thompson 1976) and this allows empty categories in topic position. In contrast, there also exist English-type languages, which are sentence–oriented in nature, and are therefore subject–prominent languages.

Let us see some examples from Huang (1984) to know why English is subject-

prominent and Chinese is topic-prominent. Chinese examples (21a) to (21d) show a zero pronoun in both subject and object positions, whereas English examples (22a) to (22d) show that an overt pronoun is obligatory.

(21)   *Chinese*   (Huang 1984:537)

    a.   *e*   lai-le.
       EP come-LE
       '[He] came.'

    b.   Lisi hen xihuan *e.*
       Lisi very like   EP
       'Lisi likes [him] very much.'

    c.   Zhangsan shuo [*e*   bu renshi Lisi].
       Zhangsan say   EP not know Lisi
       'Zhangsan said that [he] did not know Lisi.'

    d.   Zhangsan shuo [Lisi bu renshi *e*].
       Zhangsan say   Lisi not know EP
       'Zhangsan said that Lisi did not know [him].'

(22)   *English*   (Huang 1984:538)

    a.   *He* came.

    b.   Bill saw *him.*

    c.   John said that *he* knew Bill.

    d.   John said that Bill knew *him.*

Though the overt pronouns in English are parallel to the zero pronouns (*e*) in Chinese examples in their distribution and reference, there is a crucial difference.

The subject zero pronoun in (21a) finds its referent outside the sentence, just as is the case with the overt pronoun in the English (22a). This applies also to the object zero pronoun in (21b) and object overt pronoun in (22b). The zero pronoun and overt pronoun in embedded subject position of examples (21c) and (22c) also holds parallel reference, in which the pronoun can either refer the matrix subject or an entity outside the sentence. However, in example (21d),

the zero pronoun in the embedded object position can only get its reference from outside the sentence. The overt pronoun in embedded object position of (22d) can either refer to an entity outside the sentence or the matrix subject.

Huang (1984) argues that in Chinese if zero pronoun in embedded object position is replaced with an overt pronoun as shown in (23), then both references that is 'Lisi knew either Zhangsan or someone else' is possible.

(23)   Zhangsan shuo Lisi bu renshi ta.
         Zhangsan say   Lisi not know him
         'Zhangsan said that Lisi didn't know him.'.

Huang (1984) discusses the parallel distribution between English and Chinese to propose what is really dropped in embedded object position in (21d) is not an empty pronoun, but a null topic. The moved topic cannot refer to the matrix subject in (24) because of 'strong-crossover' (Postal 1971, Wasow 1972). In (24) the empty category *e* is coindexed both with a c-commanding subject *Zhangsan* and with a non-argument (null topic). As the NP in *e* moves across a co-referential c-commanding NP to a topic position it is ungrammatical (Huang 1984:558). He claims that the object pronoun in Chinese moves to a topic position before it is deleted, as shown in (24).

(24) $[_{\text{Top}}\ e_i]$, [Zhangsan shuo [Lisi bu renshi e_i]].
                EP   Zhangsan say   Lisi not know
         '*[Him$_i$], Zhangsan said that Lisi didn't know e_i.'   (Huang 1984:542)

The asymmetry between the embedded subject and object zero pronoun reference which is seen in Chinese applies to Japanese (Kuroda 1965), Korean and Brazillian Portuguese (cf. Huang 1984). This shows that Chinese, Japanese type languages are topic-prominent as they are discourse-oriented languages.

Based on the typological properties that some languages exhibit, Tsao (1977) divides languages into two categories for governing deletion: 'discourse-oriented' and 'sentence-oriented'. He argues discourse-oriented properties for Chinese,

which he also assumes to work for Japanese and Korean. Citing Tsao's (1977) Topic NP Deletion rule as evidence supporting his proposal for null topics in Chinese, Huang argues that this rule applies across the discourse in an utterance to delete the topic under the identity of available topics in the preceding utterance(s), yielding a topic chain interpretation. Example (25) shows a topic chain under Topic NP Deletion in Chinese.

(25)   [Zhongguo, difang hen da.] [*e*, renkou   hen duo.] [*e*, tudi hen
         China   place very big *e*, population very many *e*, land very
        feiwo.] [*e*, qihou ye hen hao.] [*e*, women dou hen xihuan.]
        fertile   *e*, climate too very good *e*, we   all   very like
        '(As for) China, (its) land area is very large. (Its) the population is very

        big. (Its) land is very fertile. (Its) climate is also very good. We all like

        (it).'   (Huang 1984:549)

In Huang's analysis, languages like English lack topic chaining as they are subject prominent. Huang claims that in Chinese, topics may be null, by citing examples that show overt topic *neige ren* in (26a) and (26b): He argues examples in (24) and (26) differs in expressing topics as null and overtly.

(26)   *Chinese*   (Huang 1984:542)

        a.   neige ren$_i$ Zhangsan shuo [Lisi bu renshi e_i].
             that man Zhangsan say   Lisi not know   EP
             'That man$_i$, Zhangsan said Lisi didn't know e_i.'

        b.   neige ren$_i$, Zhangsan zhidao [Lisi mei banfa   shuifu e_i]
             that man Zhangsan know   Lisi no   method persuade EP
             'That man$_i$, Zhangsan knows that Lisi won't be able to persuade

             e_i.'

With regards to null objects, the analysis is not so straightforward. Given the ECP (Chomsky 1981) in (27), Huang (1984, 1991) points out that null objects pose a problem for this account as they do not observe the expected licensing conditions for *pro*, not being identified within a rich agreement system. He therefore proposes that Chinese null objects are 'zero topics', and suggests that

these constructions are derived by movement. In his analysis, zero topics/topic drop involve object raising to the the topic position before the subject does. Thus, in this analysis, the null objects in (28a) is not a *pro* but a variable bound by a null topic or null operator. The representation of (28a) is given in (28b).

(27)   *Empty Category Principle (ECP)*

'[$_\alpha$e] must be properly governed.'   (Chomsky 1981)

(28)   *Chinese*   (Huang 1991:57)

   a.   Zhangsan shuo Lisi bu renshi [*e*].
        Zhangsan say   Lisi not know [*e*]
        'Zhangsan said that Lisi does not know him/her/them/you.'

   b.   *e*$_i$, [Zhangsan shuo [Lisi bu renshi *t*$_i$]]
        e$_i$, Zhangsan say   Lisi not know

Tamil only has subject-verb agreement and so it is traditionally analysed as subject *pro*-drop language. As there is no object-verb agreement in Tamil, *pro-drop* analysis will not fit for null objects in Tamil. Let us see if Huang's (1984) zero topic analysis works for Tamil NOCs. First, we need to know how Tamil marks topics in its grammar. As there are no morphologically marked topics in Tamil, I will use Bhalla's (2021) diagnostics used to study the topic interpretation in Hindi. She argues that the topic constituent in Hindi is entity based and so adapts Krifka's (2008) definition of topics: "topical constituents identify the entity or set of entities under which the information expressed in the comment constituent should be stored in the Common Ground (CG) content".

   Reinhart (1981) and Gundel (1988) are the first to discuss the topichood tests such as "what-about" or "tell-about" or "as-for". If we apply the *tell me about X test* within a context, like Hindi, the Tamil topic also seems to be entity based as it picks out an entity which is already in the common ground. In the given context (29), the utterance in (29a) is about an entity 'dog' which is mentioned in the common ground. In (29b), the same entity gets a topic interpretation. Scrambling past this topic in (29c) does not allow the topic

interpretation for 'the dog' to be preserved.[2]

(29)   **Context**: After COVID-19 lockdown two friends - Vaishu (a) and Mano (b) met and talked about their families. Mano invited Vaishu to her home and Vaishu said she is scared to come as there is a pet dog at Mano's home. And Vaishu was enquiring about the dog.

     a.   mano,   un   na:j-ai   patti soll-u,
         Mano[3SGF.NOM] your.2SG-GEN dog.3SGN-ACC about tell-IMP,
         epɖi iru-kku-du?
         how be-prs-3sgn
         'Mano, tell me about your dog, how is it?'

     b.   na:j-kku   la:kɖaun ɟa:lija: iru-nt-adu
         dog.3SGN-DAT lockdown jolly   be-PST-3SGN
         'As for dog, the lockdown was jolly.

     c.   ?la:kɖaun na:j-kku   ɟa:lija: iru-nt-adu
         lockdown dog.3SGN-DAT jolly   be-PST-3SGN
         'The lockdown was jolly for the dog.'

Let us now see if the null object in Tamil can be deleted in this topic position, just as in Chinese. Using the same set of examples as Huang (1984) provides to illustrate Chinese zero pronouns in subject and object position, we see (from examples (30a) to (30d)) that only subjects can be dropped. Objects on the other hand are obligatory in both simple and embedded sentences. Without a salient antecedent, we cannot have null objects in Tamil. The language is therefore, not like Chinese.

(30)   a.   (aʋan)   enn-ai   pa:r-tt-a:n.
           ([3SGM.NOM]) 1SG-ACC see-PST-3SGM
           '(He) saw me.'

---

[2]Note that (29c) is not ungrammatical and the utterance would be acceptable if the question was about the 'lockdown' as in (i) below, *i.e.* if 'lockdown' was treated as the topical constituent.

(i)   na:j-kku   la:kɖaun epɖi iru-nt-adu?
      dog.3SGN-DAT lockdown how be-PST-3SGN
      'How was the lockdown for the dog.'

    b.   ra:mu   *(aʋan-ai) pa:r-tt-a:n.
        Ramu[3SGM.NOM] 3SGM.ACC see-PST-3SGM
        'Ramu saw him.'

    c.   ra:mu   [(aʋan)   enn-ai pa:r-tt-a:n]   -nu
        Ramu[3SGM.NOM] 3SGM.NOM 1SG-ACC see-PST-3SGM COMP
        son-n-a:n.
        say-PST-3SGM
        'Ramu said (he) saw me.'

    d.   ra:mu   [ba:lu   *(aʋan-ai)
        Ramu[3SGM.NOM] Balu[3SGM.NOM] she.3SGM-ACC
        pa:r-tt-a:n]   -nu   son-n-a:n.
        see-PST-3SGM COMP say-PST-3SGM
        'Ramu said Balu saw her.'

As objects cannot be null without an antecedent in the previous utterance, Tamil overt pronouns in object position behave exactly like English. The overt pronoun in embedded object can refer to either the matrix subject or an entity from outside. The table 4.1 shows the behaviour of Chinese, English and Tamil zero and overt pronouns in subject and object positions. Given Tamil cannot have a zero pronoun in null object position, Huang's (1984) zero topic analysis for null objects in Tamil cannot apply.

Languages	Subject in simple clause	Object in simple clause	Embedded Subject	Embedded Object
Chinese (Z)	D	D	D/MS	D
English (O)	D	D	D/MS	D/MS
Tamil	D (Z)	D (O)	D/MS (Z)	D/MS (O)

Abbreviations in the table: D - Discourse reference, O - Overt pronoun, MS - Matrix Subject reference, Z - Zero pronoun.

Table 4.1: Zero pronoun vs Overt pronoun Interpretations

    Huang (1984) distinguishes languages as 'hot', 'medium' and 'cool' languages based on the availability of EC types in both subject and object position. Table 4.2 shows the properties associated with the three categories. Comparing tables 4.1 and 4.2, it is evident that Tamil is a 'Medium' language, unlike Chi-

nese, which is a 'cool' language whereas English is a 'hot' language. Medium type languages cannot have zero topics, as they do not allow zero pronouns in object position. The null objects we see in Tamil are purely based on the availability of an antecedent uttered in the previous clause or before a fragment answer. Therefore, Tamil NOCs cannot receive a zero topic analysis unlike Chinese like languages.

Types of ECs	"Hot" Languages	"Medium" Languages	"Cool" Languages
Zero subject (PRO) in tenseless clauses?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Zero subject (*pro*) in tensed clauses?	No	Yes	Yes
Zero object (*pro*)?	No	No	No
Zero topic?	No	No	Yes

Table 4.2: Types of ECs by Huang (1984)

In conclusion, it must be noted that the NOC in Chinese is itself not analysed as a null topic construction. In fact, as Huang (1991) has argued, the Chinese NOC shows evidence that the elided part has internal syntactic structure. This evidence lies in the availability of sloppy readings in NOCs, as shown by (31a). The NOC in (31a) can only get the reading in (31b) and not the one in (31c). The ungrammaticality we witness in (31c) is due to the locality effect; the null object in the embedded clause cannot be bound by the matrix subject.

(31)   *Chinese*   (Huang 1991:65)

    a.   John$_i$ kanjian-le tade$_i$ mama, Mary$_k$ zhidao Bill$_j$ ye   kanjian-le
            John see-PERF   his   mother Mary know   Bill also see-PERF
            [$_e$ tade$_{j/*k}$ mama].

            'John saw his mother, and Mary knew that Bill saw, too.'

    b.   Mary knew that Bill [saw Bill's mother]..

    c.   *Mary knew that Bill [saw Mary's mother].

4.1.3   A Null Object in Tamil

In the preceding two subsections, we have seen the problems associated with analysing the null objects in the Tamil NOC as *pro,* whether as a null argument or a variable bound by a null topic element. In this section, I present arguments that suggest that while a *pro* analysis for the NOC$_{SV}$ cases in Tamil (cf. (10a), repeated as (32) below) does indeed seem to be unavailable the facts of the NOC$_{DV}$ cases (cf. (11a), repeated as (33) below) warrant an object *pro* analysis.

(32)   ɟɔ:n   [ʋi:ʈʈu-kku po:-n-a:n]   merij-um
       John[3SGM.NOM] house-DAT go-PST-3SGM Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD
       po:-n-a:ɭ   [*e*].
       go-pst-3gsf   EP
       'John went to house and Mary went too.'

(33)   ra:mu   [oru putagam]   ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n   si:ta:
       Ramu[3SGM.NOM] book buy-PST.3SGM Sita[3SGF.NOM] book
       paɖi-t-a:ɭ   [*pro*].
       read-PST.3SGF
       'Ramu bought a book and Sita read (a book).'

As evidence for this conclusion, I draw upon the arguments of Sakamoto (2015, 2016) for Japanese and Lee (2016) for Korean. Both authors point out that an outstanding difference between a *pro* and an ellipsis analysis is that the former, as a pronominal element, has no internal structure while the latter does. They apply a few diagnostics that enable us to differentiate between the two analyses by showing the different predictions each makes for the interpretation of the elided part. I examine the distribution of the quantificational, sloppy, and disjunctive readings in Tamil in the light of these diagnostics.

4.1.3.1   Quantificational Readings

Sato (2014) shows that in the ellipsis site, a Quantificational reading (*Q-reading*)

obtains. The scope properties of the quantifier[3] shows there is a structure in the unpronounced part, as the quantified DP in the antecedent and the ellipsis sit e does not need to be interpreted as referring to the same entity. This is in contrast to the interpretation that full pronouns get, called an E-type reading as the same referent (Evans 1980), showing clearly that null objects are not pronouns.

Consider examples (34a) - (34c), example (34b) is actually an instance of VP ellipsis in English. In example (34b) it is not necessary that the 'three people' should be the same entities as in its antecedent in (34a). But in (34c) 'them' must obligatorily refer to the same entities (E-type reading) as its antecedent in (34a). Therefore like in VP ellipsis, the availability of a Q-reading in the NOC shows the presence of internal syntactic structure unlike pronouns, and it proves that the ellipsis analysis is more prominent for null objects.

(34)   a.   Ramu likes three people in the class.

        b.   Sita does *e*, too [*e*].

        c.   Sita likes them, too.

Examples (35a) and (35b) are ambiguous having Q-reading and E-type reading in Japanese NOCs which is not possible if the null objects were pronominal elements. Sakamoto (2016) shows that the elided part in (35a) can either mean 'Hanako also washed the same three cars which Taroo washed (E-type reading)' or 'Hanako also washed three cars which are different from Taroo washed' (Q-reading).

(35)   *Japanese*   (Sakamoto 2016:246)

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[3]Elliott and Sudo (2016) discuss that quantifier noun phrase (QNP) have two interpretations in ellipsis. One interpretation is the Q-reading, that is available under identity of XP_A (antecedent phrase) and XP_E (ellipsis phrase). The other reading is E-type reading which has a definite phrase in ellipsis clause instead of the QNP, that is identical to the QNP in antecedent clause.

a. Taroo-wa sandai-no kuruma-o aratta.
Taro-TOP three-GEN car-ACC   washed
'Taro washed three cars.'

b. Hanako-mo [*e*]   aratta.
Hanako-also washed
lit: 'Hanako also washed [*e*].'   ✓ E-type; ✓quantificational

The Q–reading is also available in the Tamil NOC$_{SV}$, as given in the examples below. The [*e*] in (36a) can be interpreted from its antecedent *iraṇḍu a:siri-yar-gaḷ-ai paḷḷi-jil* in (36a). In the elided part, the quantifier phrase 'two teachers' need not be the same as the antecedent. If we substitute [*e*] with a pronoun as in (36c), the pronoun can also be interpreted from the available antecedent in (36a). But, the referent of the quantifier phrase for the pronoun has to be the same as in the antecedent.

(36)   a. ba:lu-kku   [[iraṇḍu a:siriyargaḷ-ai]$_i$ paḷḷi-yil]
Balu-3SGM-DAT   two   teacher.3PL-ACC school-DAT
piḍikk-um   ra:mu-kk-um   piḍikk-um   [*e*]
like-3SG-HAB Ramu-3SGM-DAT-ADD like-3SG-HAB EP
'Balu likes two teachers in the school and Ramu likes too.'

b. ra:mu-kk-um   [[iraṇḍu a:sirijargaḷ-ai]$_j$ paḷḷi-yil]
Ramu-3SGM-DAT-ADD   two   teacher.3pl-acc school-DAT
piḍikk-um.
like-3SG-HAB   EP
'Ramu likes two teachers in the school, too.'

c. ra:mu-kk-um   [*avar-gaḷ-ai*]$_i$ piḍikk-um.
Ramu-3SGM-DAT-ADD 3PL-ACC   like-3SG-HAB
'Ramu likes them too.'

However, if we apply Q–reading test in a NOC$_{DV}$, no ambiguity obtains. The [*e*] in (37a) should refer to the same variable as in the antecedent which means "the two books which Mala bought and Gita read are the same" as given in example (37b).

(37)   a. ma:la: [iraṇḍu putagam]$_i$ ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:ḷ
Mala[3SGF.NOM] two   book-3SGN buy-PST.3SGF

> gi:ta   [*e*] paɖi-tt-a:ɭ
> Gita[3SGF.NOM] EP read-PST.3SGF
> 'Mala bought two books and Gita read.'

     b.   gi:ta   [iraɳɖu putagam]$_i$ paɖi-tt-a:ɭ
>   Gita[3SGF.NOM] two   book-3SGN read-PST.3SF
>   'Gita read two books.

     c.   gi:ta   [at-ai]$_i$ paɖi-tt-a:ɭ
>   Gita[3SGF.NOM it.3SGN-ACC read-PST-3SGF
>   'Gita read it (two books).'

These facts suggest that the two types of the NOC cannot receive the same analysis, as the availability of the Q-reading correlates with a difference in the NOC type: the NOC$_{DV}$ is interpreted like the null counterpart of a full pronoun. This suggests that this type of NOC cannot be derived via ellipsis and that the NOC$_{SV}$ can.

4.1.3.2   Sloppy Readings

We already saw in chapter 1 in §1.2.2 the availability of sloppy readings in the Tamil stripping phenomenon. The Tamil NOC$_{SV}$ behaves like English VP ellipsis in being ambiguous as shown by example (38a). As shown, both a sloppy reading as well as strict reading is available in the elided part in (38b). Unlike in ellipsis, a pronoun only allows strict readings, which means 'Sita loves Ram's mother', as in (39).

(38)   a.   ra:mu$_i$ aʋan   amma:-ʋ-ai$_i$ nesi-kir-a:n
>   Ramu[3SGM.NOM] 3SGM.GEN mother.3SGF-ACC love-PRS-3SGM
>   git:aʋ$_k$-um   ta:n nesi-kir-a:ɭ   [*e*$_{i/k}$]
>   Gita[3SGF.NOM]-ADD TA:N love-PRS-3SGF   EP
>   'Ramu loves his mother and Gita loves, too.'

     b.   [*e*$_{i/k}$]: aʋan/aʋaɭ   amma:ʋ-ai
>   EP: 3SGM.GEN/3SGF.GEN mother.3SGF-ACC
>   = 'Ramu loves Ram's mother and Gita loves Ram's mother too.'
>
>   (strict)
>
>   = 'Ramu loves Ram's mother and Gita loves Gita's mother too'.
>
>   (sloppy)

(39)   ra:mu_i   avan amma:-v-ai_i nesi-kir-a:n
         Ramu[NOM.3SGM] 3SGM mother-ACC love-PRS-3SGM
         gita:v_k-um   ta:n avar-gal-ai_{i/*k} nesi-kir-a:l
         Gita[NOM.3SGF]-ADD TA:N 3SG-HON-ACC love-PRS.3SGF
         'Ramu loves Ram's mother and Gita loves Ram's mother too'.

Now consider the Tamil NOC_DV in example (40a). Note that the object with a possessive pronoun is elided, and receives only a strict reading: 'Lincy wiped Mary's car' *i.e.,* it receives the same interpretation as in (40b) with the overt pronoun. The sloppy reading in a NOC_DV is thus simply unavailable.

(40)   a. me:ri_i   [aval ka:r-ai]_i   kaɻugi-n-a:l
             Mary[3SGF.NOM] she   car.3SGN-ACC wash-PST-3SGF
             linci_j   toḍai-tt-a:l   [e]_{i/*j}.
             Lincy[3SGF.NOM] wipe-PST-3SGF
             'Mary washed her car and Lincy wiped.'

         b. me:ri_i   [aval ka:r-ai]_i   kaɻugi-n-a:l
             Mary[3SGF.NOM] she   car.3SGN-ACC wash-PST-3SGF
             linci_j   at-ai_{i/*j} toḍai-tt-a:l.
             Lincy[3SGF.NOM] it-ACC   wipe-PST-3SGF
             'Mary washed her car and Lincy wiped it.'

However, Runic (2014) observes that object clitics in NP languages (Bošković 2008, 2017) can yield both sloppy and Q–readings under an appropriate context. For instance, we can see the examples from Runic (2014) that object clitics, *ie.,* overt in Serbo–Croatian allow sloppy readings in (41a) and Q–readings in (41b). This makes sloppy and Q-reading an unreliable source to definitely analyse NOC to be derived through ellipsis. Hence, Sakamoto (2015) argues for the use of 'disjunctive reading' to analyse NOC as ellipsis.

(41)   (Bošković 2017:97)

         a. Nicola je   pozvao (svoju) djevojku na slavu a   pozvao ju
             Nicola AUX invited his   girlfriend on slava and invited her.CL
             je   i   Danilo.
             AUX and Danilo
             'Nicola invited his girlfriend to the slava, and Danilo invited her

             too.'   √strict / √sloppy

    b.   Nicola gotivi cetiri nastavnika a   gotivi ih   i   Danilo.
         Nicola likes four teachers   and likes them.CL and Danilo
         'Nicola likes four teachers, and Danilo likes them too.' √E-reading

    / √Q-reading

4.1.3.3 Disjunctive Reading

Arguing that using the availability of sloppy and Q-readings in the Tamil NOC may not be sufficient for establishing an ellipsis analysis (as they are not ellipsis specific) Sakamoto (2015) introduces the scope interaction of "disjunction and negation" in Japanese as a further cross-linguistic diagnostic for ellipsis. Following him, Lee (2016) argues that the disjunctive reading is a more reliable signal for ellipsis analysis to account for null objects in Korean and Japanese. His argument is based on the interesting observation that English pronouns anaphoric on disjunction only yield the Disjunctive E-type (DE) as given in (42b) reading and not the pure disjunctive NP reading (D-reading) of 'either Mary or Nancy' in example (42c).

(42)   *English*   (Lee 2016:4)

    a.   John scolded [either Mary or Nancy].

    b.   Bill scolded her, too.   (√DE-reading/*D-reading)

    c.   Bill did [$_{\text{VP}}$ *e*] too.   (√D-reading)

    In Tamil, when an overt pronoun is used only the DE reading obtains. Specifically, the pronoun 'her' in (43) can only be understood as the one that John scolded. ,

(43)   jɔːn   meːrij-ai   illa siːtaːʋ-ai   tiʈʈi-n-aːn
         John[3SGM.NOM Mary.3SGF-ACC DISJ Sita-3SGF-ACC scold-PST.3SGM
         bil-um   aʋaḷ-ai tiʈʈi-n-aːn
         Bill[3SGM.NOM]-ADD she-ACC scold-PST.3SGM
         'John scolded either Mary or Sita. Bill scolded her too.' (√DE-reading)

However, in the NOC$_{SV}$ in (44), the D-reading available where the second con-

junct is interpreted as Bill scolded 'either Mary or Sita'. This suggests that the NOC$_{SV}$ must be analyzed as involving ellipsis rather than a null pronominal elements.

(44)   ɟɔːn   meːrij-ai   illa siːtaːʋ-ai
             John[3SGM.NOM] Mary.3SGF-ACC DISJ Sita.3SGF-ACC
             tiʈʈi-n-aːn   bil-um
             scold-PST.3SGM Bill[3SGM.NOM]-ADD
             ~~meːrij-ai illa sːitaː-ʋ-ai~~   tiʈʈi-n-aːn.
             Mary.3SGF-ACC DISJ Sita-3SGF-ACC scold-PST.3SGM
             'John scolded either Mary or Sita. Bill scolded either Mary or Sita too.'

             (√D-reading)

However, in the NOC$_{DV}$, only the DE-reading obtains. As example (45) shows we only get DE-reading like overt pronouns in (43).

(45)   ɟɔːn   meːrij-ai   illa siːtaːʋ-ai   kuːppi-ʈʈ-aːn
             John[3SGM.NOM] Mary.3SGF-ACC DISJ Sita.3SGF-ACC call-PST.3SGM
             bill   ~~meri-j-ai illa sitaːʋ-ai~~
             Bill[3SGM.NOM] **Mary.3SGF-ACC DISJ Sita-3SGF-ACC**
             tiʈʈi-n-aːn.
             scold-PST.3SGM
             'John called either Mary or Sita. Bill scolded her too.'   (√DE-reading)

Consolidating the discussion thus far, the facts summarised in table 4.3 strongly suggest that postulating ellipsis in the derivation of the NOC$_{DV}$ would make the wrong predictions.

Properties	NOC$_{SV}$	NOC$_{DV}$
Q-reading/E-type reading	Q-reading (36b)	E-type reading (37b)
Strict/Sloppy reading	Both (38b)	Strict reading (40b)
D-reading/DE-reading	D-reading (44)	DE-reading (45)

Table 4.3: NOC$_{SV}$ vs NOC$_{DV}$ in Tamil

While it still remains to be determined as to what the licensing conditions for

such object *pros* in general are, given our discussion in section 4.1.1, I will take these facts to indicate that the NOC$_{DV}$ involves a null pronominal (rather than a null argument) in object position. The syntactic representation of example (11a), repeated below as (46a) would therefore be (46b).

(46)   a.   ra:mu   putagam ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n   si:ta:
            Ramu[3SGM.NOM] book   buy-PST-3SGM Sita[3SGF.NOM]
            (putagam) paɖi-t-a:ɭ.
                       read-PST-3SGF
            'Ramu bought book and Sita read.'

       b.   ra:mu putagam ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n si:ta: *pro* paɖi-t-a:ɭ.

The NOC$_{SV}$ would, on the other hand, be more amenable to an ellipsis analysis, and this is a subject we turn to next, noting in conclusion that examples (10) and (11) involve entirely different syntactic derivations despite their superficial similarity is not a novel one. Gribanova (2013b) in fact argues that Russian displays both argument drop as well as VSVPE.

4.2   Towards a VSVPE analysis: The Tamil NOC$_{SV}$

Let us now consider the viability of a VSVPE analysis for the Tamil NOC$_{SV}$. Goldberg (2005b) in his cross-linguistic study of VSVPE provides a list of syntactic diagnostics to determine whether a language has VSVPE. Subsequently, researchers like Gribanova (2013b) and Manetta (2019), have added to this list of diagnostics and in this section, I consider Tamil NOC$_{SV}$ in light of both the composite set of diagnostics proposed and the discussion of them that other researchers have undertaken.

4.2.1   Verbal Identity

Goldberg's verbal identity requirement on VP Ellipsis mandates strict identity in root and derivational morphology between the verb of the antecedent and

target clause. The discussion in the foregoing section has demonstrated that the VIR holds in Tamil, as the NOC$_{DV}$, a case where the VIR is not respected, is not an elliptical construction. Rather, as we have proposed, the referential identity between the antecedent object and the null object is achieved by using a null pronominal in the latter. As I have argued above, the findings from the sloppy reading, Q-reading and disjunctive reading diagnostics applied, suggest that an elliptical analysis is at play in the NOC$_{SV}$.

4.2.2   Omissability of arguments as a unit

Goldberg (2005b) argues that if DP and PP arguments can go missing at the same time in a language, the language shows/has VSVPE. Although Manetta modifies this diagnostic to accommodate languages like Hindi-Urdu, which allow PPs to elide separately (Davison 2005, Manetta 2019) as in (47b), Tamil is not like Hindi-Urdu.

(47)   *Hindi*   (Simpson *et al.* 2013:107)

    a.   Amit-ne   apni mez-par   ek kita:b rakh-i.
            Amit-ERG self's table-LOC a   book put-PFV.F.SG.3
            'Amit$_k$ put a book on his$_k$ desk.'

    b.   Ravi-ne   bhi [*e*] ek kita:b rakh-i.
            Ravi-ERG also EP a   book put-PFV.F.SG.3
            'Ravi$_m$ also put a book (on his$_m$ desk).'

    c.   Ravi-ne   bhi [*e*] rakh-i.
            Ravi-ERG also EP put-PFV.F.SG.3
            'Ravi$_m$ also put a book (a book on his$_m$ desk).'

In Tamil, unlike Hindi-Urdu, the PP argument cannot be elided independently, shown by (48b). Rather the DP and PP argument together (which will be the whole vP layer) have to be elided as in (48c), thereby making a strong argument for a VSVPE analysis of the NOC$_{SV}$.

(48)   a.   so:mu   aʋan-uɖaya me:dʒai-yil oru puttagatt-ai
               Somu[3SGM.NOM] 3SGM-GEN   table-LOC   one book-ACC
               ʋai-tt-a:n.
               keep-PST-3SGM
               'Somu$_i$ kept a book on his$_i$ table.'

     b.   *ra:muʋ-um   [$_{PP}e$]   oru puttagatt-ai ʋai-tt-a:n.
               Ramu[3SGM.NOM]-ADD   EP one book-ACC   keep-PST-3SGM
               'Ramu kept a book, too (on his table).'

     c.   ra:muʋ-um   ʋai-tt-a:n   [$_{vP}e$].
               Ramu[3SGM.NOM]-ADD keep-PST-3SGM   EP
               'Ramu$_j$ kept, too (a book on his$_j$ table).'

4.2.3   Insensitivity to Islands

Manetta (2019) points out that ellipsis occurs only in the presence of an overt linguistic antecedent, as missing objects relying on a pragmatic antecedent favour a null pronominal analysis. Putting this fact together with the fact that ellipsis in insensitive to islandhood — as is true for English VPE — Manetta develops a diagnostic that allows us to distinguish the presence of an elliptical construction. The diagnostic predicts that if a language lacks VSVPE, it will not allow meaning to be recovered from a pragmatic antecedent if the gap occurs in an island.

     The way Manetta's diagnostic works is illustrated in examples (49) and (50). The Hindi-Urdu utterance in (49a) is unacceptable as it cannot get its meaning from the pragmatic antecedent given in (49). We might then assume the missing part gets null pronominal interpretation with pragmatic antecedent. However the sentence has islands, and therefore such recovery is not possible. Hence, (49a) is unacceptable utterance and cannot get the expected interpretation.

(49)   **Context**: Meena pulls up to the curb in a shiny vehicle while the two
         conversants watch. The speaker says:

     a.   ?aap yeh baat jaante   haiN ki   Manu-ne bhi [e]
            PL   that fact know-HAB.PL AUX   that Manu-ERG also EP

kharid-ii   thii?
buy-PFV.F AUX.F
'Do you know the fact that Manu also bought (a new car)?'

Manetta (2019) shows (49a) can be made acceptable, as in (50b) with a salient linguistic antecedent like (50a). The missing part gets it meaning from the linguistic antecedent which was uttered before. The pronominal analysis fails as the utterance is complex NP island. This is exactly what happens in English VPE.

(50)   a. Meena-ne   nayii gaaRii aaj   kharid-ii   thii.
            Meena-ERG new.F car.F   today buy-PFV.F AUX.F
            'Meena bought a new car today.'

        b. kyaa aap yeh baat jaante   haiN ki   Manu-ne   bhi
            Q   2.PL that fact know-HAB.PL AUX that Manu-ERG also
            kharidii   thii.
            buy-PFV.F AUX.F
            'Do you know the fact that Manu also bought (a new car today)?'

The Tamil NOC$_{SV}$ is like Hindi-Urdu, insensitive to islands. Example (51a) has the antecedent for the elided part in (51b). As example (51b) shows, in Tamil ellipsis is permitted inside the adjunct island:

(51)   a. ba:lu   mi:ra:-kku   parisu kuḍu-tt-a:n.
            Balu[3SGM.NOM] Meera.3SGF-BENF gift   give-PST-3SGM
            'Balu gave the gift to Meera.'

        b. ena-kku [$_{TP}$ me:rij-um   kuḍu-tt-a:ḷ-a:-nu
            1SG-DAT   Mary.3SGF.NOM]-ADD give-PST-3SGF-COND-COMP
            e] sande:gama: iru-kku.
            EP doubtful   be-PRS
            'I am doubtful that if Mary also gave (the gift to Meera).'

Moreover, just like Hindi-Urdu, in such NOCs in Tamil, the pragmatic antecedent in (52) cannot give the meaning for the null object [*e*] in (52a). Further, the null object cannot be a null pronominal as the utterance is a complex NP island.

(52)   **Context**: Meera takes out her new laptop from her bag and two of her friends saw it. One of them says:

    a. ?una-ku ba:luʋ-um   [*e*] ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n   endɽ-a
       2PL-DAT Balu[3SGM.NOM]-ADD EP buy-PST-3SGM COMP-REL
       ʋiʃayam teriy-um-a:?
       matter know-HAB-Q
       'Do you know the matter that Balu also bought (a new laptop)?'

With the linguistic antecedent in (53a), the missing parts in (52a) becomes acceptable, as shown in (53b).

(53)   a. mi:ra   tan   taŋgai-kku pudu le:pʈo:p
       Meera[3SGF.NOM] REFL.3SG sister-BEN new laptop
       ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:ɭ.
       buy-PST.3SGF
       'Meera bought new laptop for her sister.'

    b. una-kku ba:luʋ-um   [*e*] ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n   endɽa
       2PL-DAT Balu.3SGM.NOM-ADD EP buy-PST.3SGM COMP-REL
       ʋiʃayam teriy-um-a:?
       matter know-HAB-Q
       'Do you know the matter that Balu also bought (a new laptop for his sister)?'

We can therefore conclude that null objects in Tamil favour a VSVPE analysis by this diagnostic as well.

4.2.4   Availability of the Adjunct Reading

Park (1997) and Oku (1998) were the first to examine the availability of the ellipsis with the 'adjunct test' in the Japanese NOC, and Goldberg (2005b) demonstrates its cross-linguistic applicability. The test is used to diagnose the availability of a VSVPE analysis by considering the availability of adjunct interpretations such as manner adverbs in the ellipsis site based on their occurrence in the antecedent. Drawing on Oku's observations for Japanese, as given in (54b), and Şener and Takahashi's (2010) observations for Turkish NOCs, the test cor-

relates the non-availability of the adjunct interpretation in the NOC with the impossibility of a VSVPE analysis.

(54)   *Japanese*   (Funakoshi 2016:117)

    a.   Bill-wa   kuruma-o teineini   arat-ta.
            Bill-TOP car-ACC   carefully wash-PST
            'Bill washed the car carefully.'

    b.   (*)John-wa [*e*] araw-anak-atta.
            John-TOP   EP wash-NEG-PST
            (*Intended*): 'John didn't wash the car carefully.'

Manetta (2019) and Simpson et al. (2013) have shown that adjunct interpretation is available in Hindi, Bangla and Malayalam NOCs. Based on a cross-linguistic study of these languages using the adjunct test, they argue that all of these languages instantiate VSVPE. This test is exemplified by Hindi-Urdu in example (55b), where the adjunct interpretation is included when it is elided with the internal arguments. But in (55c), if the internal argument is pronounced, the adjunct reading is not available.

(55)   *Hindi*   (Simpson *et al.* 2013:112)

    a.   Ram-ne   Chomsky-ka   naya lekh   do baar paRh-a.
            Ram-ERG Chomsky-GEN new writing two time read-PFV.M.SG
            'Ram read the new paper by Chomsky twice.'

    b.   Raj-ne   bhi [*e*] paRh-a.
            Raj-ERG also EP read-PFV.M.SG
            'Raj also read (the paper twice).'

    c.   Raj-ne   bhi ʋo lekh   paRh-a.
            Raj-ERG also that writing read-PFV.M.SG
            'Raj also read the paper.' NOT communicated: 'twice'

However, as Rasekhi (2014) notes, the adjunct reading in NOCs is not available when the elided clause is in a downward entailing context like negation. These observations have also been made for Hindi-Urdu by Manetta (2019) and for Hebrew by Landau (2020b). Nevertheless, Manetta (2019) does not consider

this as sufficient counter evidence for a VSVPE analysis of Hindi-Urdu, claiming that even under negation, given an appropriate context, the adjunct reading is still available for some speakers. Example (56b) illustrates this claim.

(56)   *Hindi*   (Manetta 2019:923)

    a.   Ram-ne   Chomsky-ka   naya lekh   dhyaan-se paR-a.
          Ram-ERG Chomsky-GEN new writing carefully   read-PFVM.SG
          'Ram read the new paper by Chomsky carefully.'

    b.   Raj-ne   [*e*] nahiiN paRh-a.
          Raj-ERG EP NEG   read-PFVM.SG
          'Raj did not read (the new paper by Chomsky (??carefully)).'

Turning to Tamil, the second conjunct also gets the reading 'Mary also went home quickly in a car', as shown in example (57).[4]

(57)   ɟɔːn   [ʋiːʈʈu-kku siːkirama kaːr-la] poː-n-aːn
      John.[3SGM.NOM] house-DAT quickly   car-LOC go-PST-3SGM
      meriy-um   poː-n-aː ɭ.
      Mary.[3SGF.NOM]-ADD go-PST-3SGF
      'John went home quickly in car and Mary went too'.

This is because additive *-um* that forces the parallelism between the antecedent and the target clause (the elided part). This phenomenon has also been attested in Japanese, where also an additive particle *-mo* ('also') strongly favours the null adjunct reading. Funakoshi (2016) claims that this is because the *-mo* additive marker enables the elided clause to be interpreted as parallel to the antecedent clause.

    In Tamil, unlike standard VSVPE, the adjunct interpretation appears to be

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[4]Note that (i) has an obligatory *-um*. Uttering it without it renders the sentence incomplete.

(i)   *ɟɔːn   [ʋiːʈʈu-kku siːkirama kaːr-la] poː-n-aːn   meri
       John.[[3sgm.nom] house-DAT quickly   car-LOC go-PST-3SGM Mary-[3SGF.NOM]
       poː-n-aː ɭ.
       go-PST-3SGF
       'John went home quickly in car and Mary went'.

possible in ASVPE constructions in the downward entailing context too without any prosodic stress on the adjuncts, as shown by the contrast in (58b).

(58)   a.   ra:muʋ-a:la   [ʋe:gama: ʋaɳɖi   o:ʈʈ-a   muɖi-gir-adu]
             Ramu.3SGM-INS quickly   car.3SGN drive-INF can-PRS-3SGN
             si:t:aʋ-a:lay-um [*e*] muɖi-kir-adu.
             Sita.3SGF-INS-too EP can-PRS-3SGN
             'Ramu can drive car quickly and Sita can (drive car quickly) too.'

        b.   ra:muʋ-a:la   [ʋe:gama: ʋaɳɖi   o:ʈʈ-a   muɖi-gir-adu]
             Ramu.3SGM-INS quickly   car.3SGN drive-INF can-PRS-3SGN
             a:na: si:ta:ʋ-a:la   muɖi-y-ila [*e*].
             but   Sita.3SGF-INS can-NEG   EP
             'Ramu can drive car quickly but Sita can't (drive car quickly).'

However, data such as these are actually not problematic, because the main verb is not pronounced, and as a consequence, the scope of negation is on the auxiliary and not on the main verb. Thus the predicate is not negated, leaving the adverb reading available.

    Potential problems are presented by the exceptions in Tamil to the interpretation of manner adjuncts, which being merged low in the VP are interpreted along with other VP items in ellipsis site. It is therefore surprising to observe that manner reading is not available when negation appears in the ellipsis part. To see this, consider the examples below, where (59b) shows that the adjunct reading is available when the first conjunct is negated and the ellipsis site is not. When the ellipsis site is negated, the adjunct reading is not available.

(59)   a.   ra:mu   [ʋe:gama: ʋaɳɖi o:ʈʈi-n-a:n]   a:na:
             Ramu[3SGM-NOM] quickly   car   drive-PST-3SGM but
             ba:lu   o:ʈʈ-a-la.
             Balu[3SGM.NOM] drive-INF-NEG
             'Ramu drove car quickly but Balu didn't drive car.'

        b.   ra:mu   [ʋe:gama: ʋaɳɖi o:ʈʈ-a-la]   a:na:
             Ramu[3SGM.NOM] quickly   car   drive-INF-NEG but
             ba:lu   o:ʈʈi-n-a:n.
             Balu[3SGM.NOM] drive-PST-3SGM
             'Ramu didn't drive car quickly but Balu drove.'

To analyse this, I adopt Kuno's (1982) 'Ban Against Partial Discourse Deletion.

(60)   *Ban Against Partial Discourse Deletion*:   (Kuno 1982:84-85)

"If discourse deletion of recoverable constituents is to apply, apply it across the board to non focus constituents. Non–focus constituents which are left behind by partial discourse deletion will be reinterpreted, if possible, as representing contrastive foci."

When we apply this condition to VSVPE in Tamil, the main verb which survives ellipsis site can be reinterpreted as focus. Based on Kuno's (1982) 'Ban Against Partial Discourse Deletion' Oku (2016) says the inherent focus on negation, negates the main verb. Thus the reading obtained will be 'Balu didn't drive at all' which doesn't imply 'Balu drove the car quickly'. This is why the adjunct reading is not possible. However, when there is prosodic focus on the adverb, the adjunct reading is possible even in negated predicates. When there is focus on the adverb, the scope of negation is on the focused constituent, yielding a 'quickly didn't drive' reading as in (61b).

(61)   a.   ʋe:gama: [ʋaɳɖi o:ʈʈ-a-la].
              quickly   car   drive-PST-NEG
              'QUICKLY didn't drive the car.'

         b.   ʋaɳɖi [ʋe:gama: o:ʈʈ-a-la].

              car   quickly drive-PST-NEG

              didn't drive THE CAR quickly.'

In making this analysis, I follow the line initiated by Winkler (2005) and Kolokonte (2008) (see also McCloskey 2011) in suggesting that information structure parallelism between the correlate and remnant plays a licensing role in ellipsis. My analysis extends the proposal that IS parallelism must hold between the antecedent clause and ellipsis site in Tamil.

4.2.5   Availability of the restitutive/repetitive reading of 'again'

The research literature has observed the availability of ambiguous readings such as *restitutive* and *repetitive* of the adverb 'again' in ellipsis. Johnson (2004) is the first who observes that 'again' interpretation in ellipsis in English VPE is indicative of the size of the elided part. It is well known that the adverb 'again' receives ambiguous readings, as in example (62).

(62)   She closed the door again.   (Johnson 2004:8)

    a.   She closed the door, and someone had closed it before. (repetitive reading)

    b.   She closed the door, and it had been in that state before. (restitutive reading)

(63)   *restitutive reading*   (Johnson 2004:9)
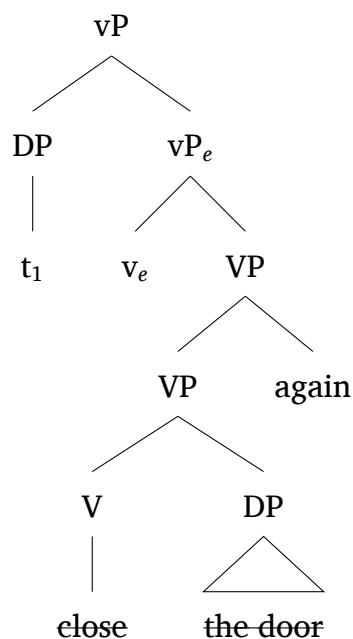
Johnson (2004) argues the consequence of the fact that it may either (a) adjoin to the lower VP, as in (63), and receive a restitutive reading, modifying the 'resultant state' of the event, or (b) it may adjoin to the vP as in (64), and receive a repetitive reading, modifying the whole event. He points out that the fact that in VPE, 'again' can get only repetitive reading, thus proving that what

is elided is a vP constituent.

(64)   *repetitive reading*   (Johnson 2004:9)

```
                            vP
                           /  \
                          /    \
                       vP_e    again
                      /   \
                     /     \
                   v_e     VP
                          /  \
                         /    \
                        V      DP
                        |      /\
                        |     /  \
                      close  the door
```
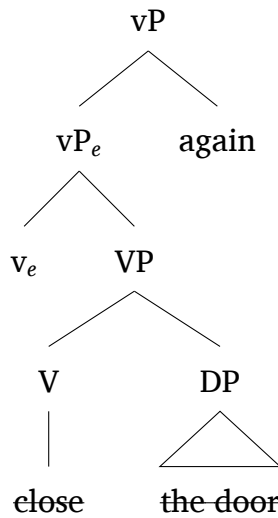
Following Johnson (2004), Manetta (2019) shows the availability of repetitive reading for Hindi-Urdu NOC, thereby strengthening the argument for vP constituent deletion. We will see how NOC works with 'again' in Tamil. In example (65a) *tirumbaʋum* gets both readings like English and Hindi-Urdu. In the elliptical utterance (65b) moreover, only the repetitive reading is available.

(65)   a.   ma:tu   kadaʋ-ai   tirumbaʋum tiran-t-a:ɭ
              Mathu[3SGF.NOM] door.3SGN-ACC again   open-PST-3SGF
              = 'Mathu opened the door again and she opened it before also.'

              (repetitive)

              = 'Mathu opened the door again and it was open before but it was

              not fully opened.'   (restitutive)

         b.   me:ry-um   tiran-t-a:ɭ   ~~kadaʋ-ai tirumbaʋum~~
              Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD open-PST-3SGF **door.3SGN-ACC again**
              = 'Mary also opened the door again and she opened it before also.

              (repetitive)

              = *'Mary also opened the door again and it was open before but

              it was not fully opened.'   (restitutive)

Summing up, all the diagnostics thus far suggest that the Tamil NOC$_{SV}$ satisfies

the diagnostics of a VSVPE construction. In the final section of this chapter, I turn to the diagnostic of verb raising, which I have not discussed as yet.

4.3   Tamil verb raising and the VSVPE analysis

Cross-linguistically, there is good evidence from VO languages that show that VSVPE is contingent on verb raising to T or to a projection outside the VP. The situation in OV languages is however not so straightforward as word order is not a reliable cue and *do*-support is not a universal phenomenon.

Although Tamil has rich agreement inflection as well as tense inflection, thus favouring a V to T movement analysis of the language (Biberauer and Roberts 2006), the head final nature of the language makes it difficult to use the word order facts of the language to develop an obligatory V to T raising analysis. In this section, I will therefore follow Manetta's (2019) lead in using the facts of Tamil complex predicates to argue that just like Hindi-Urdu, the data from these constructions provides us evidence that in Tamil too, the predicate must raise out of the vP.

4.3.1   The argument from Complex Predicates for Verb Raising in Tamil

As is well known, many South Asian languages make extensive use of mono-clausal light verb constructions (Butt 1995), both of the V-V kind as well as the N-V kind. In most influential analyses, the light verb is analysed as merged in v (Adger 2003; Butt and Ramchand 2005; Bhatt 2008; Mahajan 2012) with the main verb at V.

Manetta (2019) argues that complex predicates provide a crucial diagnostic for syntactic verb movement in Hindi-Urdu. Just like with simplex verbs, Hindi-Urdu allows internal arguments to go missing in complex predicates as well, as shown by example (66a), constructions which she demonstrates must be

analysed as VSVPE. Crucially, these constructions require that both the main verb and the light verb be stranded, as in (66b), with the alternative in which the light verb alone is stranded, as in (66c), being unacceptable.

(66)   *Hindi*   (Manetta 2019:928)

    a.   Kabir-ne   us   kitaab-ko pahli baar paR liiy-aa.
        Kabir-ERG this book-ACC first   time read take-PFV.M
        'Kabir managed to read this book for the first time.'

    b.   Meena-ne   bhi [*e*] paR liiy-aa.
        Meena-ERG also EP read take-PFV.M
        'Meena also managed to read (this book for the first time).'

    c. ?*Meena-ne   bhi [*e*] liiy-aa.
        Meena-ERG also EP take-PFV.M
        lit: 'Meena also took.'

Manetta argues that the unacceptability of light verb stranding alone shows that the main verb (merged at V) and the light verb (merged at v) must obligatorily move out of the vP. Following earlier proposals in the language, she claims that this movement is to a functional head Asp merged above vP. Her analysis is represented in (67).

(67)
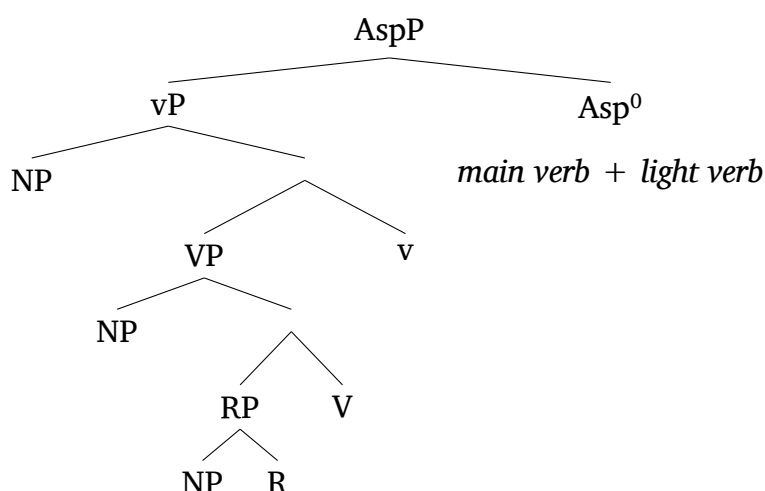
The case of N-V complex predicates is more varied with some predicates, Manetta points out, showing the same intolerance to eliding only the main verb and its arguments as the V-V complex predicates above, but others being more accom-

modating of it. Manetta traces the internal differences in the N-V predicate class to a difference in the way the two sub-classes of complex predication are formed.

Like Gribanova (2013b) for Russian, Manetta (2019) claims that Hindi-Urdu instantiates V-movement to an Asp head outside the vP, but this argument is based on the particular facts of Hindi-Urdu.

4.3.2   Tamil Complex Predicates and VSVPE analysis

Turning to Tamil, as noted by Sarveswaran and Butt (2019) there are no descriptive work on complex predicates in Tamil except, by Annamalai (2013). Other works don't distinguish between complex predicates, serial verb constructions (Steever 2005, Fedson 1981), complex verbs (Agesthialingom 1971), and compound verbs (Agesthialingom 1971, Nuhman 1999, Fedson 1981, Paramasivam 2011). We will briefly see how complex predicates in Tamil are formed based on Sarveswaran and Butt's (2019) discussion.

Tamil allows for combinations for both Verb-Verb (V-V) and Noun-Verb (N-V) complex predicates in which the light verb is the final unit which carries all the functional information such as tense and phi-features. The verbal units that combine with the terminal verbal part can be either an adverbial or infinitival form. Complex predicates are used to express wide range of semantic information such as causative, passive, permissive, negation, aspectual information, mood and modality, including obligation vs. possibility (Sarveswaran & Butt 2019).

Butt (2010) and Annamalai (2013) differentiate light verbs (LVs) from main verbs in terms of their syntactic distribution and lexical semantics. Main verbs can stand alone and predicate independently, but light verbs are dependent on the existence of another predicative element in the clause. Example (68a) shows a simple verb construction, which can also have complex predicate forms, as in (68b) and (68c). The light verb in (68b) gives 'causative' reading (and not its

lexical meaning 'keep') when combined with another verbal unit. In example
(68c) the light verb 'do' gives an emphatic reading.

(68) a. mi:ra   pa:ṭṭu pa:ḍi-n-a:ḷ.
          Meera[3SGF.NOM] song   sing-PST-3SGF
          'Meera sang a song.'

      b. mi:ra   aʋan-ai   pa:ṭṭu pa:ḍ-a ʋai-tt-a:ḷ.
          Meera[3SGF.NOM] 3SGM-ACC song   sing-INF keep-PST-3SGF
          'Meera made him sing a song.'

      c. mi:ra   pa:ṭṭu pa:ḍ-a   sei-t-a:ḷ.
          Meera[3SGF.NOM] song   sing-INF do-PST-3SGF
          'Meera DID sing a song.'

In example (69) we can see in the complex predicate sequence, in which the
complex predicate is an infinitival structure and the finite verb belongs to the
matrix clause. The optional elements belong to the matrix clause.

(69) mi:ra   [$_{TP}$ aʋan-ai   pa:ṭṭu pa:ḍ-a   ʋaikk-a]
      Meera[3SGF.NOM]   3SGM-ACC song   sing-INF keep-INF
      (enn-iḍam) son-n-a:ḷ
      1SG-DAT   tell-PST-3SGF
      'Meera told (me) to make him sing a song.'

Like Hindi-Urdu, Farsi and other languages, Tamil also can have null objects
in complex predicate construction. Unlike Farsi and just like Hindi-Urdu (cf.
Manetta 2019), in Tamil, the complex predicate has to be stranded as a unit
in null objects. Example (70a) is a complex predicate which could serve as the
antecedent clause for immediate elided utterance in (70b). While the deletion is
allowed, the causative function of *vai* is no longer preserved when it is stranded
without the main verb *eṛu.*

(70)   a.   mi:ra   aʋan-ai   kaɖitam   eɽu-da
              Meera[3SGF.NOM] 3SGM-ACC letter-3SGN write-INF
              ʋai-tt-a:ḷ.
              keep-PST-3SGF
              'Meera made him write a letter.'

        b.   na:n-um ʋai-tt-e:n   [*e*].
              1SG-ADD keep-PST-1SG EP
              '(lit): I also kept.'

              '*I also made (him write a letter).'

Thus NOCs with Tamil V-V complex predicates are just like those in Hindi-Urdu, requiring strict adjacency between the main and light verbs and stranding as a unit. Therefore I will adopt Manetta's analysis of an obligatory raising of the V-V complex predicate for Tamil, although the language does not present the same kind of support for an identification of raising to an Asp head as Hindi-Urdu and Russian (Gribanova 2009, 2013b) do. The strictly post-verbal nature of negation in Tamil means that negation attaches only to the main verb so we cannot use sentential negation as diagnostic to test verb movement. In the absence of any compelling evidence for the height to which the verbal complex raises, I will just leave the reader with the conclusion that this raising must be to beyond the vP projection.

Tamil however differs from Hindi-Urdu in allowing light verbs to strand in N-V complex predicates across-the-board. As the example in (71a) shows, the light verb *sej-t-e:n* is stranded after ellipsis of the internal arguments and the nominal (*sama-yal*) part of N-V complex predicate.

(71)   a.   me:ri   madiya   uɳaʋu-kku sama-yal   sej-t-a:ḷ
              Mary[3SGF.NOM] afternoon food-DAT   cook-NOMZ do-PST.3SGF
              na:n-um sej-t-e:n   [*e*].
              1SG-ADD do-PST.1SG EP
              'Mary did cooking for lunch and I did too.'

        b.   [*e*]: madiya-uɳaʋu-kku samay-al.
              EP: afternoon-food-DAT cook-NOMZ
              'cooking for lunch.'

These facts indicate that a smaller chunk than the vP may undergo ellipsis in Tamil as well.

For the Tamil N-V complex predicate, I will adopt the structure in (72) following Folli *et al.* (2005) and Toosarvandani (2009). The structure in (72) is for Tamil N-V complex predicate *samayal-sej* in which the nominal part of the complex predicate is the NP complement of the light verb 'v'..

(72)

As further support for the postulation of verb raising in Tamil, we see a pattern whereby the verb that carries the inflection always seems to escape the ellipsis site. For example, in a biclausal structure where the matrix verb takes an infinitival TP complement, it is the matrix verb that raises. As a consequence, the elided part is a big chunk, comprising the infinitival TP and the direct object of the matrix verb, as given in (73c).

(73) a. [$_{CP}$ mi:ra   [$_{TP}$ aʋan-ai   kaḍitam   eɽu-da
            Meera[3SGF.NOM]   3SGM-ACC letter-3SGN write-INF
            ʋaikk-a] so:mu-ʋiḍam   son-na:]].
            keep-INF Somu.3SGM-DAT tell-PST-3SGF
            'Meera told Somu to make him write a letter.'

      b. na:n-um son-n-e:n   [*e*].
            1SG-ADD tell-PST-1SG EP
            'I also told (Somu to make him write a letter).'

      c. [*e*]: [[$_{TP}$ aʋan-ai   kaḍitam   eɽu-da   ʋaikk-a]
            EP   3SGM-ACC letter-3SGN write-INF 2SG-DAT
            so:mu-ʋiḍam].

That such a large chunk of structure elides as a unit is best described by the economy principle of 'MaxElide' proposed by Takahashi and Fox (2005), Merchant (2008) and Hartman (2011) which argues that the largest deletable constituent must be targeted for deletion. The 'MaxElide supports the bigger ellipsis (VSVPE) over smaller ellipsis (AE) (cf. Landau 2020b).

Further support comes from the observation (*e.g.* Landau 2020b) that languages that lack the English-type VPE, nevertheless allow certain auxiliaries to strand followed by deletion of the rest of the vP. This phenomenon of Aux-Stranding VP Ellipsis is allowed in Tamil too. The modal auxiliaries such as '*muḍiyum*' (can/able) - '*muḍiya:tu*' (cannot/not able), '*ma:ṭṭ-a:ḷ*' (NEG.FUT-3SGF) as in example (74a) can strand and all the vP internal arguments along with the main verb can elide.[5]

(74)   a.   so:mu   puḍiya ka:r   va:ŋgu-ʋ-a:n   a:na:
               Somu[3SGM.NOM] new   car.3SGN buy-FUT-3SGM but
               ma:du   ma:ṭṭ-a:ḷ   [*e*].
               Mathu[3SGF.NOM] NEG.FUT-3SGF EP
               'Somu will buy a new car but Mathu won't.'

        b.   [*e*]: puḍiya ka:r   va:ŋg-a
              EP: new   car.3SGN buy-INF
              'buy a new car.'

In Tamil, the future marker in an assertive clause is marked by the morpheme *-ʋ/-p* rather than an auxiliary, and this plays a role in blocking the ellipsis of the entire vP, as in (75a). Rather, it is the main verb that strands and only the internal arguments inside VP is elided. Hence, we can conclude that only

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[5]Aelbrecht (2012) observes few examples from Dutch as in (ia) and French as in (ib) that are not instances of VP-Ellipsis, because what is elided is the complement of a (root) modal verb, i.e. a unit larger than a VP. She therefore names it Modal Complement Ellipsis (MCE). It is just like how VPE works in English in which the licensor for VPE in English are termed as 'Aux' members (Lobeck 1995). The ASVPE and MCE shows similar properties with the licensor in eliding the big vP chunk.

(i)   a.   Ik wil   wel helpen, maar ik kan niet.   (Dutch)
              I want PRT help   but   I can not
        b.   Je veux bien aider mais je ne peux pas.   (French)
              I want PRT help but I NE can   not

lexical auxiliaries, and not the bound morphemes, may strand in ellipsis.

(75) a. so:mu   puɖiya ka:r   ʋa:ŋg-a ma:ʈʈ-a:n
        Somu[3SGM.NOM] new   car.3SGN buy-INF NEG.FUT-3SGM
        a:na: ma:du   ʋa:ŋgu-ʋ-a:ɭ [*e*].
        but   Mathu[3SGF.NOM] buy-FUT-3SGF EP
        'Somu won't buy a new car but Mathu will.'

   b. [*e*]: puɖiya ka:r
      EP: new   car.3SGN
      'a new car.'

Another example for ASVPE in Tamil is which (76a) shows that the whole vP complement of TP gets elided while the 'Negative Aux' *muɖij-a:tu* strands.

(76) a. ena-kku [udaʋ-a] ʋenɖum a:na: enn-a:l muɖij-a:tu   [*e*].
        1SG-DAT help-INF want   but   1SG-INS can-NEG-3SN [EP]
        'I want to help but I can't.'

   b. [*e*]: utaʋ-a
      EP: help-INF
      'help'

In Tamil, the sentential negation *illai* is a copula negation. To function as sentential negation it combines with the main verb and forms complex predicate. We can see from ellipsis that when it strands alone without the main verb, it loses the predicate negation meaning and gives the copula negation interpretation in (77a). When the main verb and negation survives together in ellipsis the predicate negation meaning retains as in (77b).

(77) a. na:n a:ppiɭ   ʋa:ŋgi-n-e:n a:na: me:ri
        1SG apple.3SGN buy-PST-1SG but   Mary[3SGF.NOM]
        ~~a:ppiɭ ʋa:ŋg-a-ʋ~~   illai [*e*].
        apple.3SGN buy-INF-ʋ NEG EP
        'I bought an apple but Mary is not.'

   b. [na:n a:ppiɭ   ʋa:ŋgi-n-e:n a:na: me:ri
       1SG apple.3SGN buy-PST-1SG but   Mary[3SGF.NOM]

a:ppiɬ   ʋa:ŋg-a-ʋ-illai [*e*].
apple.3SGN buy-INF-ʋ-NEG EP
'I bought an apple but Mary didn't buy an apple.'

From the above examples, I claim when the copula negation strands, it gives Aux-stranding interpretation and when it strands along with the main verb as complex form, it is VSVPE. The table 4.4 shows a brief of the diagnostics we applied so far for VSVPE analysis in Tamil.

| Properties	AE	VSVPE
Verbal Identity (Goldberg 2005a)	No	Yes
V-T movement (Goldberg 2005b)	No	Yes
Island constraint	No	Yes
Adjunct reading (Park 1997, Oku 1998)	No	Yes
Restitutive reading (Manetta 2019)	No	Yes

Table 4.4: Properties of AE vs VSVPE

4.4   Conclusion

This chapter has argued for two types of Tamil null object constructions—those formed with identical verbs in the antecedent and the remnant and those with differing ones. It advances detailed arguments to motivate the former type as involving VSVPE and analyses the latter as involving a null pronominal. The analyses I have proposed for the two central examples (10) and (11) that this chapter set out to analyse are given below. The tree in (79) illustrates the structure of (10a) (repeated here in (78)) and the one in (81) illustrates the structure of example (11a) (repeated here in (80) as *pro* in null object position).

(78) ɟɔːn   ʋiːʈʈu-kku po:-n-aːn meːrij-um
John[3SGM.NOM] house-DAT go-PST-3SGM Mary[3SGF.NOM]-ADD
po:-n-aːɭ *[e].*
go-PST-3GSF EP
'John went home and Mary went (home) too.'

(79)
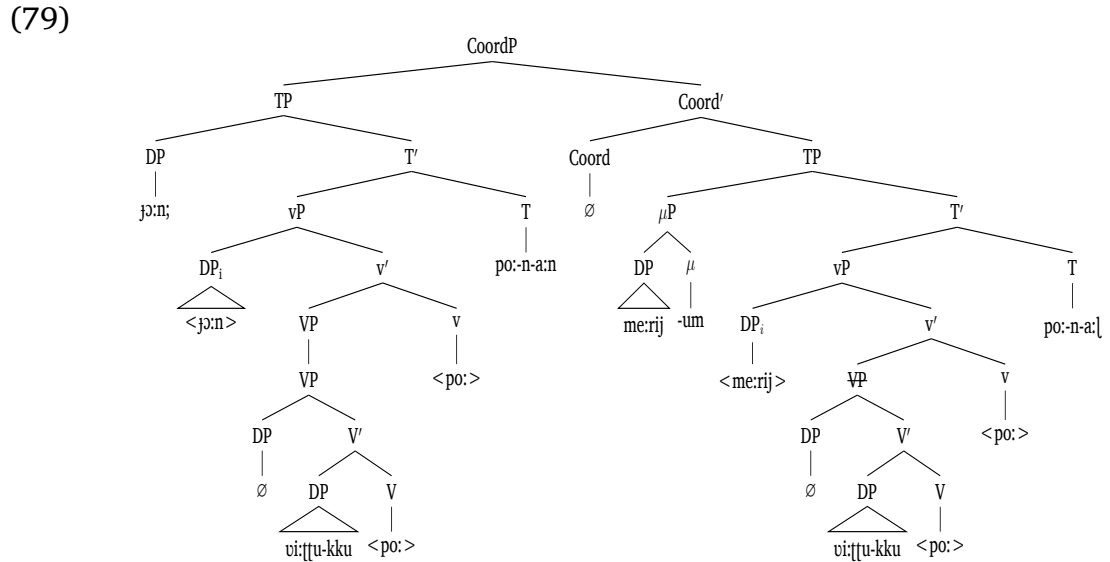
(80) raːmu   [DP oru putagam]ᵢ ʋaːŋgi-n-aːn siːtaː
Ramu[3SGM.NOM] one book buy-PST-3SGM Sita[3SGF.NOM]
proᵢ paɖi-t-aːɭ.
read-PST-3SGF
'Ramu bought a bookᵢ and Sita read (a bookᵢ) .'

(81)
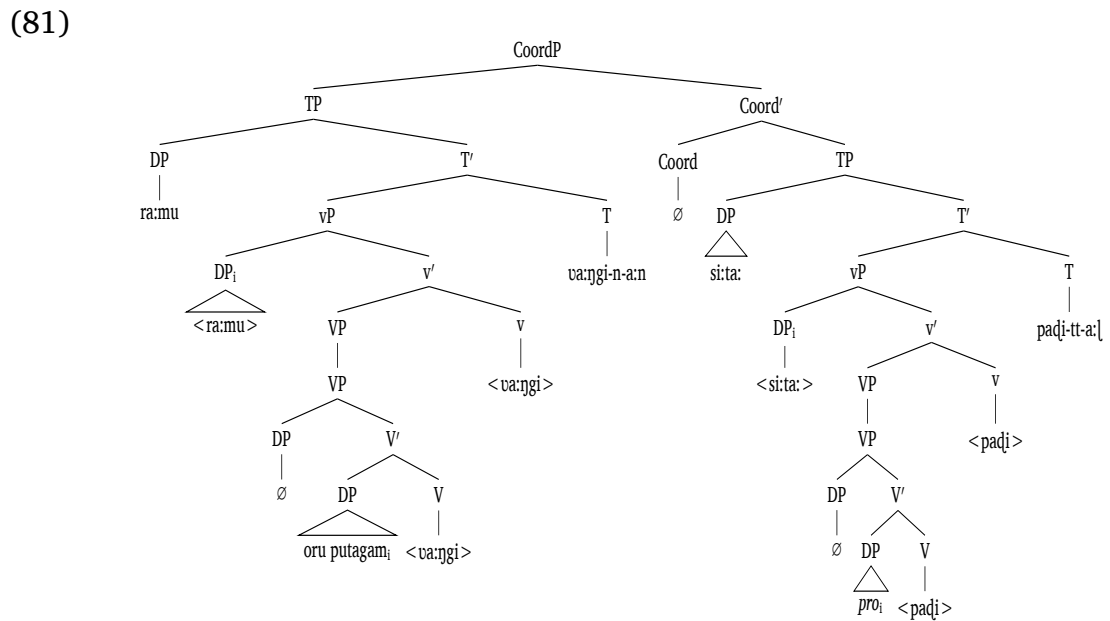
Chapter 5

Sluicing

This chapter studies an elliptical phenomenon called Sluicing, identified by Ross (1969), which is exemplified in the English construction in (1b). Ross argues that (1a) is transformed to (1b) by sluicing away a clause under identity. In the example (1b), we get the interpretation 'guess who [just left]' (the sluice in indicated in brackets) as we get in the fully uttered sentence in (1a).

(1)   a.   Somebody just left – guess who just left.
   b.   Somebody just left – guess who.

Ross (1969) describes sluicing as in (2).

(2)   *Sluicing*   (Ross 1969:252)

        "This rule has the effect of deleting everything but the pre-posed con-
        stituent of an embedded question, under the condition, that the remain-
        der of the question is identical to some other part of the sentence, or of
        a preceding sentence."

Merchant (1999, 2006b) has made perhaps the most influential proposals re-
garding the analysis of sluicing in English. Merchant's basic argument is that
languages that have *wh*-movement also necessarily exhibit the sluicing phe-
nomenon. In such languages, after *wh*-movement, the TP is deleted as there is

an identical antecedent TP which is pronounced in the utterance. In (3), we can see the syntactic structure of sluicing site in English. The *wh*-remnant is moved from its base position to check the *wh* feature in the CP (as happens in simple interrogatives in the language). After the *wh*-movement, and because of the availability of an identical antecedent, the TP is deleted in the PF component.

(3)
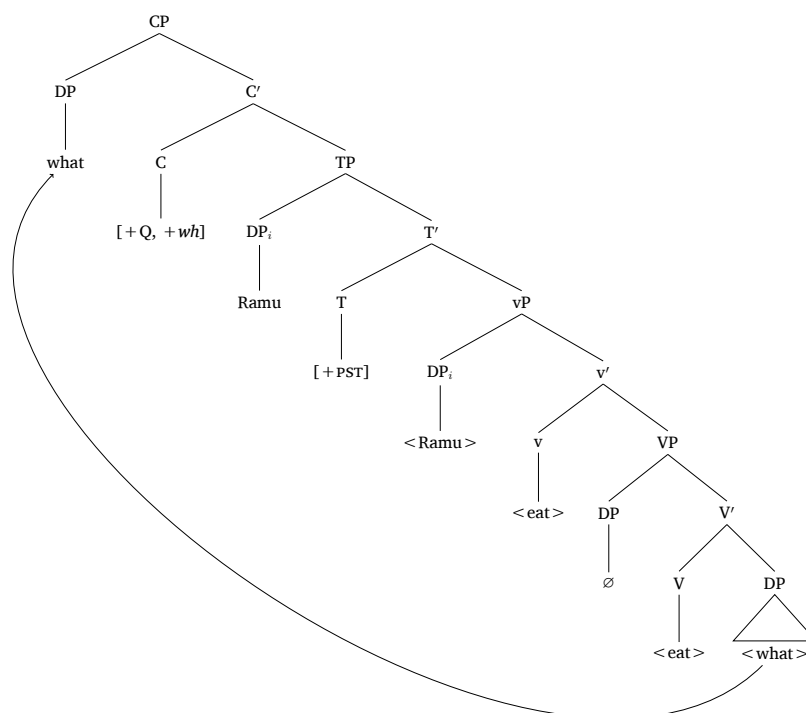
Although Merchant's analysis restricts sluicing to just languages with overt *wh*-movement, scholars working on *wh*-in-situ languages have isolated syntactic constructions that are remarkably similar to the English ones, *e.g.,* Manetta (2013), Paul and Potsdam (2012), Balusu (2016) and Gribanova (2013a). Following this literature, I will use the term 'Sluicing Like Construction' (SLC) to differentiate it from the English-type sluicing (genuine sluicing / Ross's sluicing).

Tamil, a *wh*-in-situ language, also shows a construction (5a) that is similar to the English sluicing construction in (4).

(4) a. John bought something$_i$ but I don't know what$_i$ [e].

  b. [e]: John bought <*what$_i$*>.

For Tamil, Leung (2018) distinguishes two kinds of sluicing namely case marked (CM) sluicing and non-case marked (NCM) sluicing. In the CM type, the *wh*-remnant obligatorily bears a Case marker identical to its correlate in the antecedent, as in (5), whereas in the NCM type, no Case-marking on the *wh*-remnant is allowed, as in (5b).

The CM type takes obligatory case marker on the *wh*-remnant in the sluice clause that matches with its correlate in the antecedent. The NCM type can't take case marker on the *wh*-remnant in the sluice clause.

(5) a. so:mu   jar-aij-o:$_i$ santi-tt-a:n.
        Somu[3SGM.NOM] who-ACC-DISJ meet-PST-3SGM.
        ja:r-ai$_i$-nu   [e] soll-u.
        who-ACC-COMP EP tell-IMP
        'Somu met someone. Tell who (Somu met).'   (CM)

  b. so:mu   jar-aij-o:$_i$ santi-tt-a:n.   ja:r$_i$-nu   [e]
        Somu[3SGM.NOM] who-ACC-DISJ meet-PST-3SGM. who-COMP EP
        soll-u.
        tell-IMP
        'Somu met someone. Tell who (it is).'   (NCM)

Any analysis of Tamil sluicing must therefore address the question of how SLCs are to be derived in a *wh*-in-situ language. This question guides my attempts in this chapter to describe and derive the properties of the Tamil SLC. I build on the work of Bhattacharya and Simpson (2012) for Hindi and Bangla, Manetta (2013) for Hindi/Urdu, Balusu (2016) for Telugu and other Dravidian languages, and importantly Leung (2018), whose detailed work on the Tamil SLC is particularly helpful here. In what follows, I will propose a modified version of Leung's analysis to one of the sluicing types he discusses in Tamil.

Leung (2018) argues that CM type sluice clause in Tamil has full interrogative structure and therefore is suited to a PF-deletion analysis (Merchant 1999,

2001). However in Tamil, unlike English, the *wh*-remnant lands in the CP domain through leftward scrambling and not for *wh* feature checking. We will discuss this in detail in 5.2.4.

My analysis of the NCM type however differs from Leung's, in that I argue it to be a reduced equative copula clause, whereas he proposes it to be a slightly different variety of Dutch spading, *i.e.,* sluicing plus a demonstrative. I do not concur with Leung's analysis because in my understanding the *adu* involved in this construction is not in fact the distal demonstrative but the (homophonous) third person neuter pronoun, 'it', as shown in (6a). As (6b) shows the NCM construction freely allows other gender pronouns to be used instead of *adu.*

(6)   a.   ... ja:r   adu-nu   sollu
                who.NOM 3SGN-COMP tell-IMP
             'who it (is)?'

       b.   ... ja:r   aʋan/aʋaɭ-nu   sollu
                who.NOM 3SGM/3SGF-COMP tell-IMP
             'who he/she (is)?'

The chapter is structured as follows: In Section 5.1. I discuss prominent issues in the analysis of sluicing and the SLC crosslinguistically, highlighting major differences in the predictions made by the movement vs. the copula centred approaches. In section 5.2, I discuss several recent proposals for the analysis of the SLC in *wh*-in-situ languages in light of the Tamil data, and identify two possible candidates that appear to be amenable to a sluicing analysis, which are discussed by Leung (2018) as CM and the NCM type. Section 5.3 presents the analyses I propose for these two constructions and argue that while the CM construction does involve sluicing and the NCM type is actually not an elliptical construction at all.

5.1 Issues in the analysis of sluicing and the SLC

At the outset, let us recall from the previous chapters the concepts that are important for the discussion. In the study of sluicing, the terms *remnant* and *correlate* refer to particular lexical categories, namely, '*wh*-phrase' and 'indefinite expression'. Let us see example (4a) which is repeated here in (7). The first clause in (7) the antecedent which consists of the 'indefinite expression' (*correlate*), and the second clause is known as the 'sluice', which consists of '*wh*-phrase' (*remnant*) and the 'sluicing site' is none other than ellipsis site which we represent as [*e*] in other types of ellipsis. It consists of the trace of a *wh*-remnant, according to the Ross/Merchant analysis.

(7)   John bought $[something]_i$ but I don't know $[what]_{i\,remnant/wh-word}$ $[<what>_i ...]$
$\underbrace{}_{correlate/indefinite}$ $\underbrace{\phantom{[what]_{i\,remnant}[<what>_i]}}_{sluicing-site}$
$\underbrace{\phantom{but I don't know [what]_{i\,remnant/wh-word}[<what>_i ...]}}_{sluice}$

In the introduction to this chapter, we presented only two sub-types of sluicing phenomena (the 'genuine' Ross-type and the 'apparent' SLC), but as Vicente (2018) has shown, there are actually several sub-types. Figure 5.1 presents Vicente's taxonomy of the sluicing types. Although I will not explore each type in the discussion in this chapter, it is presented here to illustrate the variety of sluicing phenomena.
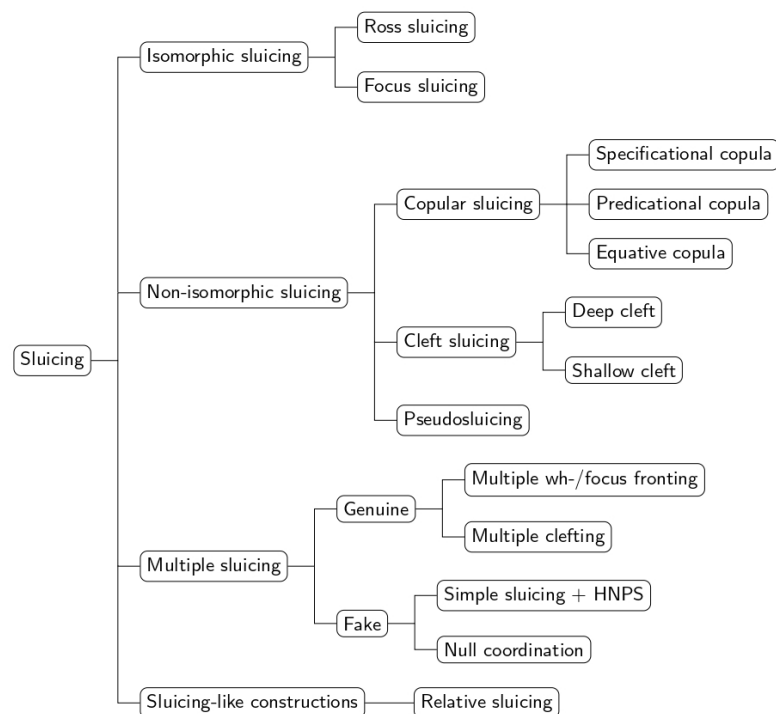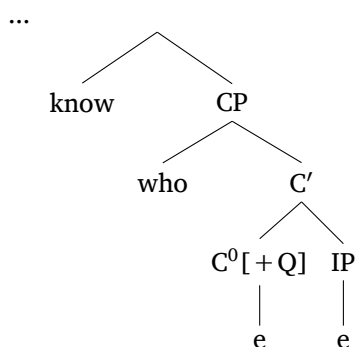

Figure 5.1: A non-exhaustive taxonomy of sluicing (Vicente 2018)

As with other elliptical phenomena, two distinct approaches to the study of sluicing and SLCs can be identified in the literature. The first is the structural approach (Ross 1969), which argues that there is regular syntactic structure in the sluice as given in (8) and, the other is a non-structural approach as given in (9) (Van Riemsdijk 1978, Ginzburg 1992). In my discussion of the various existing analyses of SLCs, I will however not discuss the latter type of analysis, which claims that the *wh*-word to be a direct argument of the overt verb present in the second clause, given Merchant's 1999 arguments that the sluice must necessarily be a clause rather than just a DP argument (cf. §2.1 from Merchant (1998:53))

(8)   Sluices as interrogative CPs   (Merchant 1999:54)

...
```
          /\
         /  \
      know   CP
            /  \
          who   C'
               /  \
            C⁰[+Q]  IP
              |      |
              e      e
```

(9)   Sluices as '*wh*-fragments':   (Merchant 1999:54)

...
```
        /\
       /  \
    know   DP
           /\
          /__\
          who
```
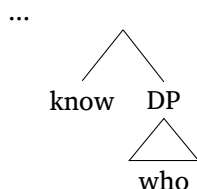
Rather than revisiting the arguments for a non-structural approach to sluicing I shall first set the stage for a discussion of SLCs in *wh*-in-situ languages by outlining the two types of arguments put forth by structural approaches. The first class of arguments suggests that just as in simple interrogatives, the *wh*-phrase in a sluicing construction raises from its base position to the C-domain to check a *wh*-feature, after which the TP is deleted (Ross 1969, Merchant 1999, 2001). The second class of arguments however suggests that the sluice is a null copula or clefted clause in which all items are left unpronounced except the *wh*-word.

As stated in the introduction, one of the most significant proposal for the derivation of sluicing has been given by Ross (1969), Merchant (1999, 2001, 2006b), Fox and Lasnik (2003), Stjepanovic (2003), amongst others. These authors propose that sluicing occurs by deleting the clause that contains the *wh*-phrase after the regular *wh*-movement to the CP projection. This deletion takes place at PF as there is an identical antecedent available in the preceding

clause, which includes an indefinite expression that co-refers with the moved *wh*-phrase from the sluice clause. This approach supports the presence of full-fledged syntactic structure in the sluice site, and because it results in a clausal deletion, sluicing is also known as TP ellipsis or clausal ellipsis (Ross 1969, Merchant 1999, 2001, Lasnik 2001). The example in (10) shows the sluicing derivation in English via *wh*-movement and deletion of TP at PF.

(10)   Ram bought something$_i$ but I don't know [$_{CP}$ what$_i$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Ram bought <what>$_i$~~]]

A strong argument for the presence of isomorphic syntactic structure in sluicing analysis comes from the non-default case marking on the *wh*-phrase in the ellipsis site, as the *wh*-phrase must bear the same case marking as its correlate. Merchant (1999, 2001) examines this requirement in more than nine languages (German, Basque, Hindi, Greek, Russain, Polish, Czech, Slovene, Finnish, and Hungarian) and proposes the *Form Identity Generalisation* on *Case-Matching*: "The sluiced *wh*-phrase must bear the case that its correlate bears". Example (11a) illustrates this generalisation in German. He also shows the case on *wh*-phrase being same in its counterpart of non-elliptical embedded clause too in (11b).

(11)   *German*   (Merchant 1999:122-123)

       a.   Er will   jemanden   loben, aber sie   wissen nicht, [*wer   / wen   /
            he wants someone.ACC praise but   they know   not   [who-NOM / who-ACC /
            *wem].
            who-DAT]
            'He wants to flatter someone but they don't know who.'

       b.   Sie   wissen nicht, [*wer   / wen   / *wem],   er loben will.
            they not   know [who-NOM / who-ACC / who-DAT] he praise wants
            'They don't know who he wants to praise.'

Further evidence for a clausal syntactic structure of the elided conjunct comes from the fact that both conjuncts display a significant correlation between the availability of *wh*-movement in general and the availability of sluicing. For example, languages like English, which do not allow multiple *wh*-movement, also disallow multiple *wh*-sluicing, as in (12b). As example (12a) shows, when an interrogative sentence has multiple *wh*-phrases, only one *wh*-phrase can move to the clause-initial position, and other *wh*-phrases remain in-situ.

(12)   a.   *[$_{CP}$ Who what [$_{TP}$ <who> bought <what>]].

        b.   Someone bought something but I don't know who$_i$ *(what$_j$) [<who>$_i$ came with

              <what>$_j$]

However, languages like Romanian and Bulgarian (Rudin 1985, 1988, Boskovic 2002, Richards 2001), which have multiple overt *wh*-movement as given in (13a) - (14b), also allow multiple sluicing as in (15).

(13)   *Bulgarian*: Simple interrogative   (Merchant 1999:147)

    a.   [CP koj   kogo [IP *e*   vidjal]].
           who whom   AUX seen
           'Who saw who?'

    b.   *Koj *e* vidjal kogo?

(14)   *Bulgarian*: Embedded interrogative   (Merchant 1999:147)

    a.   Ne znam   [CP koj   kogo [IP *e*   vidjal]].
           not I.know   who whom   AUX seen
           'I don't know who saw who.'

    b.   *Ne znam Koj *e* vidjal kogo.

(15)   Njakoj   *e*   vidjal njakogo, no ne znam   [CP koj kogo [IP *e* vidjal]].
        someone AUX seen   someone, but not I.know   who whom   AUX seen
        'Someone saw someone, but I don't know who saw who.'   (Merchant 1999:147)

While the Ross/Merchant scheme of analysing sluicing has been very influential, the research literature also contains at least one other significant alternative analysis, which I dub the copula-centred analysis. This analysis type has two flavours, the first of which is a null copula/copula reduction in a clause and second type is a reduced cleft analysis.

One variant of the copula based analysis argues that the sluice clause has a copula, a pronoun, a *wh*-phrase, and a process by which the copula and the pronoun come to be phonetically unpronounced after the *wh*-phrase moves to the Spec of CP. For example, Erteschik-Shir (1973) argues that in English sluicing, (16a) results from a process of TP-deletion in a non-identical clause, after the *wh*-phrase in that clause has moved to [Spec, CP]. In her analysis, the underlying form for the English sluicing construction in (16a) is (16b). The non-elided sentence will be 'Guess who it is'. In (16a), the *wh*-phrase has moved to Spec of CP, and the TP got deleted.

(16)   a.   Someone from Delhi is coming to dinner. Guess who.

    b.   Someone from Delhi is coming to dinner. Guess [CP who$_i$ [TP it is <who>$_i$]].

Another variant of this type of copula reduction analysis is the kind offered by Nishiyama et al. (1996) for Japanese. These authors argue that in Japanese sluices the *wh*-phrase occurs in a clause with an optional null pronominal subject and an optionally null copula as the main

verbal predication, as in (17b). (See also Adams (2004), Wei (2004), Adams and Tomioka (2012) for similar observations about Chinese.)

(17)   *Japanese*   (Fukaya 2007:434)

    a.   Minna-wa [John-ga   dareka-ni   atta to] itta ga, boku-wa [dare-ni (da)
          they-TOP John-NOM someone-DAT met that said but I-TOP   who-DAT (COP)
          ka] wakaranai.
          Q   know.not
          'Everyone said John met someone, but I don't know who.'

    b.   ... boku-wa [*pro* dare-ni   (da) ka]   wakaranai.
          I-TOP   who-DAT COP Q   know.not
          'I don't know who (that is).'

The second type of copula-centred analysis for sluicing is a reduced cleft one given by Hoji & Fukaya (1999), Shimoyama (1995), Saito (2004). This analysis results in the deletion of the CP clause, where *wh*-movement is to the cleft focus position, followed by the deletion of the copula and the pronominal subject. Their reduced cleft analysis for sluicing looks like in (18b).

(18)   *Japanese*   (Fukaya 2007:436-437)

    a.   Minna-wa   [John-ga dareka-o   aisiteiru to] itta ga, boku-wa
          everyone-TOP John-NOM someone-ACC love   that said but I-TOP
          [dare-o   ka] wakaranai.
          who-ACC Q   know.not
          'Everyone said John loves someone, but I don't know who.'

    b.   boku-wa [[[John-ga   *t* aisiteiru no]-ga dare-o   da] ka] wakaranai.
          I-TOP   John-NOM love   C -NOM who-ACC COP Q   know.not
          'I don't know who it is that John loves.'

Given that the copula-centred analysis does not rely on the obligatory existence of overt *wh*-movement in a language, this framework has the potential for explaining the occurrence of SLCs in *wh*-in-situ languages. However, in the existing studies of SLCs in South Asian languages, the analysis is not automatically preferred, and at least for Bangla and Hindi have been actively discounted. In the next section, I discuss the major analyses that have been offered thus far of Hindi, Bangla, Telugu and Tamil.

5.2   Major analyses of SLCs in *wh*-in-situ languages

5.2.1   Bhattacharya & Simpson (2012)

Bhattacharya and Simpson's (2012) analysis of sluicing in Bangla builds on their previous work (Simpson & Bhattacharya 2003), in which they argue that although Bangla has been traditionally thought to be a *wh*-in-situ languages, it in fact shows obligatory *wh* movement. Arguing that Bangla is a SVO language at the base, they analyse the examples in (19) as follows: (19a) is ungrammatical because the *wh*-phrase is in-situ, and therefore must displace. The grammaticality and wide scope of the *wh*-word in example (19b) indicate that *wh*-expressions may displace to a position in the matrix clause below the subject. (19c) instantiates displacement of the whole clause to this same position.

(19)   *Bangla*   (Bhattacharya & Simpson 2012:184-185)

    a.   *jOn bhablo [ke cole gEche].
         John thought who leave gone

    b.   jOn ke$_i$ bhablo [cole t_i gEche].
         John who thought leave gone

    c.   jOn [ke cole gEche]$_i$ bhablo t_i.
         John who leave gone   think
         'Who did John think left?'

Following Simpson and Bhattacharya's (2003) conclusion that the Bangla facts indicate that overt *wh*-movement does not necessarily entail movement to a clause-initial position alone and therefore Bangla is an overt *wh*-movement language. Adopting the *wh*-movement argument in Bangla and Hindi, Bhattacharya and Simpson (2012) argue that the apparently sluicing-like construction in Bangla given in (20) is simply English-type sluicing.

(20)   Mini-r   dokan-theke keu   ek-Ta boi curi-koreche, kintu ami jani na ke.
        Mini-GEN shop-from   someone one-CL book stole   but   I   know not what
        'Someone stole a book from Mini's shop, but I don't know who.'

(*Bangla*, Bhattacharya & Simpson 2012:186)

In Bhattacharya and Simpson's (2012) analysis, the details of which I will not present here, Bangla exhibits overt movement of *wh*-phrases to the C domain and sluicing constructions are effected by TP ellipsis post such overt movement. As evidence for this analysis, they point to the availability of the core diagnostic of a correspondence in case-matching between the indefinite antecedent and the *wh*-phrase. This is shown by example (21a) from Bangla, where the *wh*-remnant *kake* must case match the indefinite pronoun.

(21)   *Bangla*   (Bhattacharya & Simpson 2012:195)

    a.   Raam kawke   kichu   diyeche, kintu ami jani na ka-ke   ki.
         Ram someone.DAT something give.has but   I   know not whom-DAT what
         'Ram has given someone something, but I don't know what and to whom.'

    b.   *Raam kawke   kichu   diyeche, kintu ami jani na se-gulo
         Ram someone.DAT something give.has but   I   know not they
         ka-ke   ki   (chilo).
         whom-DAT what was
         ('Ram has given someone something, but I don't know what and to whom.')

Equally importantly for my present purposes, Bhattacharya and Simpson (2012) present extensive arguments that Bangla sluicing examples cannot be analysed by either form of the copula-centred analysis. They make the claim that Bangla is a language that lacks cleft constructions altogether, and that consequently, the case/P-matching that is found in sluices cannot be attributed to any reduced-cleft form.

Further, the distribution of null copula in Bangla vis-a-vis tense rules out a null copula analysis for sluicing construction, while Bangla does have a null present tense copula, it occurs freely in non-sluiced *wh*-questions. Further, despite the fact that it is obligatorily non-null in the past tense, sluices can freely occur in the past tense, as shown by example (21a) above. Moreover, Bhattacharya & Simpson demonstrate that the Bangla past tense copula cannot co-occur with and license DPs in different case-forms, and only licenses *wh*-phrases in the nominative case. Yet, in sluicing, multiple *wh*-phrases in accusative, dative or genitive case are allowed the presence of a null or overt copula makes it ungrammatical, as shown by example (21b) above, indicating that source of the Bangla sluicing construction cannot be a null copula structure.

(22)   keu   jonaki-ke Thokiechilo, kintu ami jani na je Se ke   chilo.
        someone Jonaki-ACC had.cheated but   I   know not C s/he who-NOM was
        'I heard that someone had cheated Jonaki, but I don't know who it was.'

                               (*Bangla,* Bhattacharya & Simpson 2012:186)

5.2.2   Manetta (2013)

Manetta (2013) also agrees with Merchant's (1999, 2001) analysis for English sluicing, where he claims that sluicing involves a simple interrogative sentence in which the *wh*-phrase moves to CP and the TP is subsequently deleted. Her proposal for an analysis of sluicing in Hindi exploits the fact that *wh*-movement generates two copies of the *wh*-phrase (Groat & O'Neil 1996, Bošković & Nunes 2007, Boškovic 2011) to argue that while in a regular Hindi interrogative the lower copy gets pronounced, in a Hindi sluicing construction it is the higher copy of the *wh*-phrase that comes to be overtly realised. In other words, Manetta adapts Landau's (2006)

argument that "sluicing is an exceptional instance of the pronunciation of the higher copy in the *wh*-chain (located in Spec, CP) under pressure from p-recoverability, which requires that a member of a chain associated with phonetic content be pronounced. Following TP-deletion, a sluicing construction obtains. The examples given in (23) illustrate this core proposal for Hindi sluicing, by which the 'regular-*wh*' in (23a) the deletion of the higher copy of the *wh*-phrase entails that the surviving *wh*-phrase in the lower copy surfaces in the pronounced string as *wh*-in-situ. In the 'sluice' in (23c) however, it is the lower copy of the *wh*-phrase that gets deleted along with other items in the clause.

(23)   *Hindi-Urdu*   (Manetta 2013:4)

    a.   I saw someone there, but I don't know ...

    b.   ... ~~kis＝ko~~ mãĩ＝ne yahãã kis＝ko dekh-aa..   (Regular *wh*)

    c.   ... kis＝ko   ~~mãĩ＝ne   yahãã kis＝ko~~   ~~dekh-aa.~~.
        ... who.OBL＝ACC 1SG＝ERG here   who.OBL＝ACC see-PFV.M.SG
        '... who (I saw there)'.   (Sluice)

In support of her proposals, Manetta shows that Hindi sluicing satisfies the canonical diagnostics for the presence of regular syntax in the Hindi sluice. First, she demonstrates the existence of case connectivity between the correlate and the remnant in Hindi sluicing, as in example (24). The case connectivity effect is one of the main arguments for the presence of regular syntax in the sluice given by Merchant (1999).

(24)   mãĩ＝ne   yahãã **kisi＝ko**   dekh-aa,   par mujhe   nahĩĩ
        1SG＝ERG here   someone.OBL＝ACC see-PFV.M.SG but 1SG.DAT not
        pat-aa   **kis＝ko**/*kis＝ne/ *kaun.
        know-PFV.M.SG who.OBL＝ACC/   *who.OBL＝ERG/ *who.NOM
        'I saw someone there, but I don't know who.'   (*Hindi-Urdu*, Manetta 2013:5)

Another argument for the presence of syntactic structure is the pied-piping of postpositions in simple sentences, a pattern that is applied to the sluice. In the Hindi plain interrogative in (25a), postpositions are obligatorily pied-piped along with *wh*-phrases (cf. the ungrammaticality of (25b)). The same facts obtain in Hindi sluicing in (26), where the postposition has to be obligatorily pied-piped as well with the *wh*-remnant.

(25)   *Hindi-Urdu*   (Manetta 2013:5)

    a.   kis＝ke   saath aap kaam   kar-te   hãĩ.
        who＝GEN.OBL with 2PL work.M.SG do-HAB.M.OBL be.PRS.3.PL

b. *kis   aap=ke   saath kaam   kar-te hãĩ.
    who.OBL 2PL=GEN.OBL with work.M.SG do-HAB be.PRS.3.PL
    'Who do you work with?'

(26) sita khaana   pak-aa   rah-ii   hai,   par ali=ko   nahĩĩ
      Sita food.M.SG cook-CAUS PROG-F.SG be.PRS.3SG but Ali.M=DAT NEG
      pa-taa   kis=ke   liye / *kis   / *kaun.
      know-HAB.M.SG who=GEN.OBL for / who.OBL / who.NOM
      'Sita is cooking but Ali doesn't know for whom.'   (Manetta 2013:5)

Manetta's conclusion is that the size of the sluicing site is the TP. She supports this claim with two kinds of evidence: (1) the scope of sentential negation inside the sluicing site, and (2) the interpretation of TP adjoined adverbials inside the sluicing site. The first argument is that negation is interpreted in the sluice, as shown by (27a) - (27c).

(27)   *Hindi-Urdu*   (Manetta 2013:6)

a. arjun   kisi=se   is daftar=mẽ   nahĩĩ mil sak-aa,   par
    Arjun.M.SG someone=with this office.M.SG=in NEG   meet can-PRF.M.SG but
    mujhe   nahĩĩ pataa kis=ko.
    1SG.DAT NEG   know who.OBL=ACC
    'Arjun couldn't meet with someone in that office, but I don't know who.'

b. = Arjun couldn't meet with someone in that office, but I don't know who Arjun couldn't meet with in that office.

c. ≠ Arjun couldn't meet with someone in that office, but I don't know who Arjun could meet with in that office.

Manetta assumes that, as studies have shown, that the Neg head in Hindi must be located between TP and vP. This rules out an analysis of the *wh*-remnant in a preverbal focus position (Butt & King 1995, Kidwai 1999, 2000), or in any other head between TP and vP. But as we know from the default position for *wh*-phrase with the wide scope is a preverbal position. The preservation of the negation in the sluice thus argues for an analysis of Hindi sluicing in which the *wh*-remnant moves to a position higher than the TP projection.

The second argument comes from the fact that TP-adjoined adverbials are interpreted inside the sluicing site, as in (28a). The adverb *bhaagya=se* 'fortunately' modifying the embedding predicate *pataa* 'know' in (28b) is ungrammatical.

(28)   *Hindi*   (Manetta 2013:7)

a. bhaagya=se kisi=ne   gaaṛii=ko   dekh-aa,   par mujhe
    fortunately   someone.OBL=ERG car.F.SG=ACC saw-PRF.M.SG but 1SG.DAT

nahı̃ı̃ pataa kis=ne.
NEG   know who.OBL=ERG
'Fortunately someone saw the car, but I don't know who.'

= Fortunately someone saw the car, but I don't know who fortunately saw the car.

b. ?*bhaagya=se kisi=ne   gaaṛii=ko   dekh-aa,   par mujhe
     fortunately   someone.OBL=ERG car.F.SG=ACC saw-PRF.M.SG but 1SG.DAT
     nahı̃ı̃ pataa bhaagya=se kis=.ne
     NEG   know fortunately   who.OBL=ERG
     'Fortunately someone saw the car, but I don't know who it was, fortunately'.

Following Bell (2012), Manetta argues that adjuncts left-adjoined to TP cannot strand along with the *wh*-remnant. This claim comes from Bhatia's (2006) argument that in Hindi, certain modal adverbs (*bhaagya=se* 'luckily/fortunately') adjoin higher in the clause (cf. Manetta 2013) for detailed discussion). Therefore, given that TP-adjoined adverbials receive an interpretation inside the sluicing site, the elided clause is larger than TP.

5.2.3   Balusu (2016)

Balusu (2016) provides a detailed account for the SLC in Telugu (and other Dravidian languages) in which he shows that just like Hindi and Bangla, Telugu shows case matching effects in the SLC. Consider the examples in (29) from Telugu, where the remnant must bear exactly the same case as the correlate.

(29)   *Telugu*   (Balusu 2016:73)

a.   raamu pustakamu deeni pakka-noo daaceeDu. kaani deeni pakka-n-oo naa-ku
      Ramu book   which next-DISJ hid.   But   which next-DISJ, I-DAT
      tel-iyadu.
      know-not
      'Ramu hid the book next to something, but I don't know next to which.'

b.   raamu ninna   raattiraa pustakamu cadiveeDu. kaani eppuDu vara-k-oo
      Ramu yesterday night   book   read.   But   when   till-k-DISJ,
      naa-ku tel-iyadu.
      I-DAT   know-not
      'Ramu read the book last last night. But I don't know till when.'

Balusu argues the best analysis of SLCs is one that sources the sluice from a long-distance cleft construction, with the *wh*-remnant occurring in the cleft pivot position. The proposal he advances is that the Telugu SLCs in (30a) and (30b), are derived from the structure in (31).

(30)   *Telugu*   (Balusu 2016:64)

    a.   raamu eed-oo   konnaaDu. — avunaa?! eemiTi?
           Ramu what-DISJ bought.   Really   what
           'Ramu bought something. — Really?! What?'

    b.   raamu eed-oo   konnaaDu, kaani eemiT-oo naa-ku tel-iyadu.
           Ramu what-DISJ bought,   but   what-DISJ I-DAT   know-not
           'Ramu bought something, but I don't know what.'

(31)   The specification of the [E]-feature in Dravidian   (Balusu 2016:79-80)
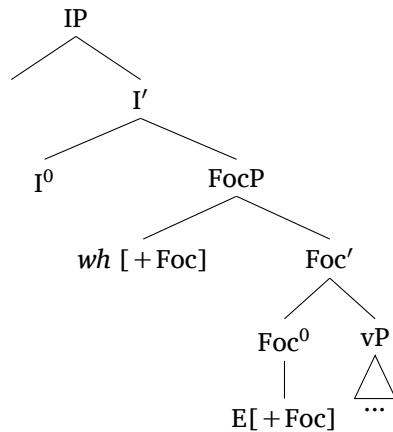
Balusu's conclusion that this is the only viable analysis of the Telugu SLC is based on the following argumentation. First, the facts indicate that all although Telugu and Dravidian languages in general exhibit the property of null copula and *pro*-drop (cf. the examples in (32)), the copula centred analysis has to be ruled out as the subject in copular structure can only bear the nominative case and not the accusative, as shown by the examples in (33).

(32)   *Telugu*   (Balusu 2016:66)

    a.   vacc-eeDu.
           came-3SGM
           '(He) came'

    b.   idi pustakamu.
           this book
           'This is a book'

(33)   *Telugu* (Balusu 2016:66)

    a.   naa-ku rendu carlu.
           I-DAT two   cars
           'I have two cars'

    b. *nannu president.
           I-ACC president
           'Me, President'

Second, Balusu considers a possible analysis of the Telugu SLC in which the *wh*-remnant from

its base-generated position by a movement that is other than *wh*-movement. Like many other Dravidian languages, one option is to consider the *wh*-remnant to be raised to a preverbal focus position, which Jayaseelan (2001a) has analysed as an IP-internal, vP left-adjacent FocusP, with the SLC involving vP-deletion after such raising. Such an analysis would make incorrect empirical predictions, given that the position of negation in Telugu is below the TP. As the data in examples (34) show, negation has to be interpreted in the ellipsis site and cannot appear outside it, as in (35).

(34)   *Telugu*   (Balusu 2016:67)

      a.   raamu eed-oo   kon-a-leedu. eemiT-oo naaku teliy-adu.
             Ramu what-DISJ buy-NEG.   what-DISJ I-DAT know-NEG
             'Ramu did not buy something. I don't know what.'

      b.   = Ramu did not buy something. I don't know what Ramu did not buy.

      c.   ≠ Ramu did not buy something. I don't know what Ramu bought.

(35)   raamu eed-oo   kon-a-leedu. *eemiTi kaad-oo naaku teliy-adu.
       Ramu what-DISJ buy-NEG.   what   not-DISJ I-DAT know-NEG
   'Ramu did not buy something. I don't know what not.' (Balusu 2016:67)

If vP deletion was the source of the SLC, then neither of these conditions should hold.

    Balusu also discounts TP-deletion as a source for the Telugu SLC, by arguing that Telugu cannot be analysed as having *whs* move to a focus position high in the CP domain, as has been argued for Farsi (Toosarvandani 2008) and Turkish (Ince 2012). For these languages, it has been claimed that the special information structure requirements involved in sluicing necessitates raising of the *wh*-word to check a [focus] feature in the CP domain. Balusu suggests such an analysis finds little motivation for Telugu, as typically the unmarked position for both interrogative and non-interrogative focus in Dravidian is low, immediately preceding the clause-final verb. Furthermore, Telugu instantiates a distinct pattern from these languages empirically. While Farsi (Toosarvandani 2008) allows for complementizers to survive in the SLC, Telugu does not.

    By this process of elimination, Balusu concludes that Telugu SLCs must involve deletion of a CP, making the only available source for the SLC a 'long-distance' Dravidian cleft, as analysed by Jayaseelan and Amritavalli (2005). Without going into the details of Balusu's motivation of this analysis here, the basic proposal is that the source of the sluice is a structure like (36), where the *wh*-word is a cleft pivot.

(36)   Jayaseelan and Amritavalli (2005) structure for the Dravidian long-distance cleft

(Balusu 2016:77)

IP
pro⇒   I′
I⁰   FocP
*evari-ni*ᵢ   Foc′
Foc⁰   VP
V   CP
∅   Ravi [Ramu tᵢ koTTeeDu] ani ceppinadi
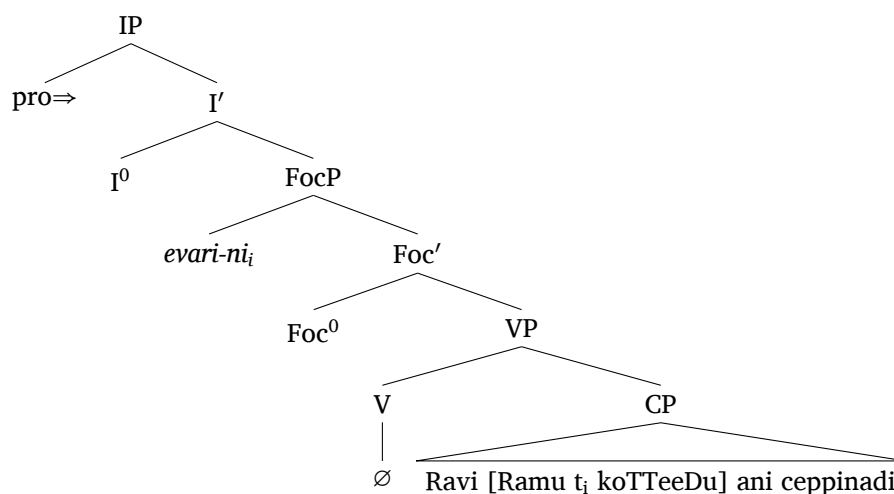
For SLCs, Balusu suggests that the [E]-feature in Dravidian contains a [Foc] feature, as does the *wh*-word, which therefore survives as the *wh*-remnant. Subsequent deletion of the CP yields the SLC, which Balusu argues must not be seen as a kind of focus-sluicing, applying to any element the occurs in the cleft pivot (rather than merely restricted to *wh*-word). As the examples in (37a) - (37c) (taken from Balusu 2016) show, such focus sluicing can apply to referential NPs, adverbs, or PPs:

(37)   *Telugu*   (Balusu 2016:80)

    a.   raamu evari-n-oo   koTTeeDu, neenu ravi-ni   anukunnaanu.
           Ramu who-ACC–DISJ hit-PST,   I   Ravi-ACC thought
           'Ramu hit someone, I thought Ravi.'

    b.   raamu America velleeDu, neenu ninna   ani anukunnaanu.
           Ramu America go-PST, I   yesterday that thought
           'Ramu went to America, I thought that yesterday.'

    c.   raamu evari-too-noo velleeDu, naaku ravi-too   ani tel-iyadu.
           Ramu who-with-DISJ go-PST,   I-DAT Ravi-with that know-not
           'Ramu went with someone, I didn't know that with Ravi.'

5.2.4 Leung (2018)

Leung (2018) classifies Tamil SLCs as Case Marked (CM) versus Non-Case Marked (NCM) sluicing, based on the form of the *wh*-remnant in the sluice. Consider the examples in (38a) and (38b), where in (38a), the *wh*-remnant carries the case that is associated with the indefinite expression. In (38b), which instantiates the NCM case, the *wh*-remnant is in the nominative, and it does not case-match with the correlate in the antecedent.

(38) a. kuma:r   ba:luʋ-ukku   et-aij-o: koḍu-tt-a:n,   a:na:
          Kumar[3SGM.NOM] Balu.3SGM-DAT what-ACC-DISJ give-PST.3SGM but
          et-ai   enḍru terij-a-ʋillai.
          what-ACC COMP know-INF-NEG
          'Kumar gave Balu something, but I don't know what (Kumar gave Balu.)'

      b. kuma:r   ba:luʋ-ukku   et-aij-o: koḍu-tt-a:n,   a:na: enna
          Kumar[3SGM.NOM] Balu.3SGM-DAT what-ACC-DISJ give-PST.3SGM but   what
          enḍru terij-a-ʋillai.
          COMP know-INF-NEG
          'Kumar gave Balu something, but I don't know what (it is).'

Leung points out that the occurrence of *enḍru* in both CM and NCM SLCs, as can be seen in both (38a) and (38b), indicates that both types involve CP constituents. In Tamil, the overt complementizer *enḍru* (or its reduced form *-nu* in spoken Tamil) is obligatory in declarative (cf. (39a) and interrogative (cf. (39b)) embedded clauses.

(39)   *Tamil*   (Leung 2018:52)

      a. kuma:r   ardʒuna-ʋ-ai ʋeru-kir-a:n   *(enḍru) ena-kku teriyum.
          Kumar[3SGM.NOM] Arjuna-ʋ-ACC hate-PRS-3SGM   that   1SG-DAT know
          'I know that Kumar hates Arjuna.'

      b. ja:r ardʒuna:-ʋ-ai santi-tt-a:n   *(enḍru) ena-kku terij-a-ʋillai.
          who Arjuna-ʋ-ACC meet-PST-3SGM   that   1SG-DAT know-INF–NEG
          'I don't know who met Arjuna.'

As further support for the CP source of the sluice, Leung provides evidence from the fact that the embedded clause that contains the *wh*-remnant can scramble in Tamil. The argument he gives is as follows: first, he demonstrates that although Tamil embedded clauses can occur in the canonical complement position in the SOV order, as in (40a), the more common use in spoken Tamil is one in which the embedded clause is positioned initially, *i.e.* in the OSV order, as in (40b).

(40)   a. ba:lu   [ra:mu   sku:l-kku   po:-ʋa:n-nu]
            Balu[3SGM.NOM] Ramu[3SGM.NOM] school-DAT go-FUT-3SGM-COMP
            ninai-tt-a:n.
            think-PST-3SGM
            'Balu thought that Ramu will go to school.'   (SOV)

      b. [ra:mu   sku:l-kku   po:-ʋa:n-nu]   ba:lu
          Ramu[3SGM.NOM] school-DAT go-FUT-3SGM-COMP Balu[3SGM.NOM]
          ninai-tt-a:n.
          think-PST-3SGM
          'Balu thought that Ramu will go to school.'   (OSV)

Embedded clauses may also be positioned clause peripherally, *i.e.* in the SVO order.

(41) ba:lu   ninai-tt-:an   [ra:mu   sku:l-kku po:-ʋ-a:n-nu].
      Balu[3SGM.NOM] think-PST-3SGM Ramu.3SGM.NOM school-DAT go-FUT-3SGM-COMP

      'Balu thought that Ramu will go to school'.   (SVO)

Just like embedded CPs, sluice clauses may be right-dislocated as well — all the orders of the sluiced clause in (42) are possible realisations of the sluice, and example (42c) instantiates an order in which the *wh*-remnant occurs post-verbally. This is an order which is otherwise disallowed in Tamil simple interrogatives (cf. (43)).

(42) a. ʋi:ṭṭu-kku   ja:r-o: ʋa-nt-a:ŋka   a:na:l [CP ena-kku [TP
          house.3SGN-DAT who.NOM-DISJ come-PST.3SG.HONR but   1SG-DAT
          ja:ru-nu   *e*] terij-a-la].
          who.NOM-COMP EP know-INF-NEG
          'Someone came to the house but I don't know who.'   (SOV)

      b. ʋi:ṭṭu-kku   ja:r-o: ʋa-nt-a:ŋka   a:na:l [CP[TP
          house.3SGN-DAT who.NOM-DISJ come-PST.3SG.HONR but
          ja:ru-nu   *e*] ena-kku terij-a-la].
          who.NOM-COMP EP 1SG-DAT know-INF-NEG
          'Someone came to the house but I don't know who.'   (OSV)

      c. ʋi:ṭṭu-kku   ja:r-o: ʋa-nt-a:ŋka   a:na:l [CP ena-kku
          house.3SGN-DAT who.NOM-DISJ come-PST.3SG.HONR but   1SG-DAT
          terij-a-la   [TP ja:ru-nu   *e*]].
          know-INF-NEG   who.NOM-COMP EP
          'Someone came to the house but I don't know who.'   (SVO)

      d. [*e*]: [TP ʋi:ṭṭu-kku   <ja:ru>   ʋa-nt-a:ŋka].
          [EP]:   house.3SGN-DAT <who.NOM> come-PST.3SG.HONR
          '(who) came to house.'

(43) *ʋi:ṭṭu-kku   ʋa-nt-a:n   ja:ru?
        house.3SGN-DAT come-PST.3SGM who
        'came to the house who?'

Although the examples (42) illustrate only the case for CM sluices, scrambling is available for NCM sluicing as well. The NCM sluicing example in (44) shows the same property of the post-verbal positioning of the *wh*-remnant.

(44) murugan   ja:r-ai-o: santi-tt-a:n   a:na:l ena-kku
      Murugan[3SGM.NOM] who-ACC-INDEF meet-PST-3SGM but   1SG-DAT
      teriy-a-ʋillai ja:ru-nu   [*e*].
      know-INF-NEG who-COMP EP
      'Murugan met someone, but I don't know who.'   (*Tamil*, Leung 2018:51)

Further, just as in English, CM sluicing in Tamil can repair islands. In (45), we illustrate the Complex NP constraint in Tamil, from which wide scope of *wh*-phrase is impossible. However,

as (46a) shows, the *wh*-remnant from the sluice clause can escape the ellipsis site. Merchant (2006b) claims that the source of such island repairs is due to the island being deleted at PF.

(45)   [NP[TP ra:mu   ja:r-ai   aḍi-tt-a:n]   enḍr-a   unmaj-ai]
            Ramu.3SGM.NOM who-ACC hit-PST-3SGM COMP-INF truth-ACC
        ba:lu   ke:-ṭṭ-a:n.
        Balu[3SGM.NOM] say-PST-3SGM-COMP
        'Balu asked the truth that Ramu hit whom.'

(46)   a.   [NP₁[TP ra:mu   ja:r-ai-o:ᵢ   aḍi-tt-a:n]   enḍr-a   unmaj-ai]
                  Ramu[3SGM.NOM] who-ACC-DISJ hit-PST-3SGM COMP-INF truth-ACC
              ba:lu   ke:-ṭṭ-a:n   a:na:l ja:r-aiᵢ   nu   [NP₂[TP e]] ena-kku
              Balu[3SGM.NOM] say-PST-3SGM but   who-ACC COMP   EP 1SG-DAT
              terij-a-ʋillai.
              know-INF-NEG
              'Balu asked the truth that Ramu hit someone but I don't know whom.'

        b.   [e]:   [NP₂[TP ra:mu   <ja:r-aiᵢ>   aḍi-tt-a:n]   enḍr-a
              [EP]:   Ramu[3SGM.NOM] <who-ACC> hit-PST-3SGM COMP-INF
              unmaj-ai] ba:lu   ke:-ṭṭ-a:n.
              truth-ACC Balu[3SGM.NOM] say-PST-3SGM-COMP
              'Balu asked the truth that Ramu hit (whom).'

This is also true of NCM sluicing, as example (47a) indicates:

(47)   a.   [NP₁[TP so:mu   ja:ru-kk-o:ᵢ   paṇam koḍu-tt-a:n]   enḍr-a
                  Somu[3SGM.NOM] who-DAT-DISJ money give-PST-3SGM COMP-INF
              ʋiʃajatt-ai] mano: ʋisa:ri-tt-a:ḷ   a:na:l ja:ruᵢ nu   [NP₂[TP e]]
              matter-ACC Mano[3SGF.NOM] enquire-PST-3SGF but   who COMP   EP
              ena-kku terij-a-ʋillai.
              1SG-DAT know-INF-NEG
              'Mano enquired the matter that Somu gave money to someone but I don't know who.'

        b.   [e]:   [NP₂[TP so:mu   <ja:ru-kku>   paṇam koḍu-tt-a:n]   enḍr-a
              EP: Somu[3SGM.NOM] <who-DAT>   money give-PST-3SGM COMP-INF
              ʋiʃajatt-ai] mano: ʋisa:ri-tt-a:ḷ.
              matter-ACC Mano[3SGF.NOM] say-PST-3SGF
              'Mano enquired the matter that Somu gave money to (who).'

Barring the difference in case-matching, it would seem that both NCM and CM sluices thus show similar behaviour. The obligatory presence of the complementizer and the identical availability of post-verbal *wh*-words indicate, as (Leung 2018:50) points out, that in both type of SLCs, the *wh*-sluice is contained within an embedded interrogative CP. However, there are two further distinctions between the types. The first is that only the CM type of SLC allows for multiple *wh*-sluices (cf. (48a)), whereas multiple sluices are barred in the NCM type (cf. (48b)).

(48)   a.   so:mu   **ja:ru-kk-o:** **yet-aij-o:**   kuɖu-tt-a:n   a:na:
                   Somu[3SGM.NOM] who-DAT-DISJ what-ACC-DISJ give-PST-3SGM but
                  ja:ru-kku yet-ai-nu   ena-kku terij-a-ʋillai [*e*].
                   who-DAT what-ACC-COMP 1SG-DAT know-INF-NEG EP
                   'Somu gave something to someone but I don't know whom, what.'

    b.   *so:mu   **ja:ru-kk-o:** **yet-aij-o:**   kuɖu-tt-a:n   a:na: **ja:r**
                   Somu[3SGM.NOM] who-DAT-DISJ what-ACC-DISJ give-PST-3SGM but   who
                  yenna-nu ena-kku terij-illa   [*e*].
                   what   1SG-DAT know-NEG EP
                   'Somu gave something to someone but I don't know who, what.'

Multiple sluicing is held to be available in languages in *wh*-in-situ languages via the mechanism of scrambling. In Tamil, the observation made by Merchant (2006b) that only in *wh*-movement languages does multiple sluicing show sensitivity to superiority effects holds true. Unlike English and other *wh*-movement languages (cf. the contrast in English (49a) and Greek in (49b))[1] , in Tamil, a multiple sluice shows no sensitivity to superiority, as shown by examples in (50).

(49)   *English and Greek*   (Merchant 2006:285)

    a.   *Everyone brought something (different) to the potluck, but I couldn't tell you what who.

    b.   *Kapjos   idhe kapjon,   alla dhe ksero pjon   pjos.
           someone.NOM saw someone.ACC but not I.know who.ACC who.NOM
           (*lit.*) 'Someone saw someone, but I don't know whom who.'

(50)   a.   yeth-ai-j-o:ⱼ   ja:r-o:ᵢ   ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:ŋga   a:na: yeth-aiⱼ
            which-ACC-J-DISJ who.NOM-DISJ buy-PST-3SG.HON but   which-ACC

---

[1]Merchant (2006b) observes that only few speakers including himself and Bolinger (1978) accepts multiple sluicing in English only when the antecedent has a generator providing obligatory pair-list reading as in (ia). Example (ib) is not possible in English but it is available in German, Dutch, and Greek as given in (iia) - (iic).

(i)   *English*   (Merchant 2006:284)
    a.   ?Everyone brought something, but I couldn't tell you who what.
    b.   Someone hit someone first, but we couldn't determine (who hit who first/*who who).

(ii)   (Merchant 2006:285)
    a.   Jemand hat was   gesehen, aber ich weiβ nicht, wer was.
           someone has something seen   but I   know not   who what
           (*lit.*) 'Someone saw something, but I don't know who what.'   (German)
    b.   Iemand heeft iets   gezien, maar ik weet niet wie wat.
           someone has   something seen   but I   know not who what
           (*lit.*) 'Someone saw something, but I don't know who what.'   (Dutch)
    c.   Kapjos   idhe kapjon,   alla dhe ksero pjos   pjon.
           someone.NOM saw someone.ACC but not I.know who.NOM who.ACC
           (*lit.*) 'Someone saw someone, but I don't know who whom.'   (Greek)

ja:ru$_i$-nu   [*e*] terij-a-ʋilla.
who.NOM-COMP EP know-NEG
(*lit*): 'Something someone bought but I don't know which one who bought.'

b.   [*e*]:   <jeth-ai$_j$> <ja:r$_i$> ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:ŋa.
      [EP]: which-ACC who.NOM buy-PST-3SG.HON
      (*lit*): 'which one who bought.''

Tamil allows scrambling of constituents and the scrambled order in (49b) as *wh*-words are recorded to be identical to the antecedent clause. If the scrambled order in the sluice clause is not identical to its antecedent, multiple sluicing is unacceptable (for me) as shown by (51).

(51)   ?jeth-ai-j-o:$_j$ ja:r-o:$_i$ ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:ŋa   a:na: ja:ru$_i$
        who.NOM-DISJ which-ACC-J-DISJ buy-PST-3SG.HON but   which-ACC
        jeth-ai$_j$-nu   [*e*] terij-a-ʋillai.
        who.NOM-COMP EP know-NEG
        (*lit*): 'Something someone bought but I don't know which one who bought.'

Given that both types of SLCs in Tamil allow *wh*-scrambling (see (42) and (44)), this difference between CM and NCM sluicing is unexpected if they both involve exactly the same derivational source.

The second important difference between CM and NCM sluicing, Leung claims, is the optional presence of a pronounced demonstrative *adu/atu* in the latter, an occurrence strictly banned in the former. Examples in (52) illustrate this contrast, with (52a) illustrating the case for NCM sluicing.

(52)   a.   murugan   ja:r-ai-o   santi-tt-a:n   a:na: ena-kku
              Murugan[3SGM.NOM] who-ACC-DISJ meet-PST-3SGM but   1SG-DAT
              teriy-a-ʋillai *adu*   **ja:r** nu.
              know-INF-NEG that.3SGN.DEM who COMP
              'Murugan met someone, but I don't know who it is.'

        b.   *murugan   ja:r-ai-o: santi-tt-a:n   a:na: ena-kku
              Murugan[3SGM.NOM] who-ACC-DISJ meet-PST-3SGM but   1SG-DAT
              teriy-a-ʋillai *adu*   **ja:r-ai** nu.
              know-INF-NEG that.3SGN.DEM who-ACC COMP
              'Murugan met someone, but I don't know who it is.'

In NCM SLCs, this demonstrative can be used with any NCM *wh*-sluice, as illustrated in the examples in (53).

(53)   *Tamil*   (Leung 2008:57)

        a.   arɟuna kumaar-ai santi-tt-aan,   aanal atu eŋge: enɖru teriya-ʋillai.
              Arjuna Kumar-ACC meet-PST-3SGM but   DEM where COMP know-INF-NEG
              'Arjuna met Kumar, but I don't know where that is.'

> b. arɟuna kumaar-ai aDi-TT-aan, aanal atu yeːn enɖru teriya-ʋillai.
> Arjuna Kumar-ACC beat-PST-3SGM but DEM why that know-INF-NEG
> 'Arjuna beat Kumar, but I don't know why that is.'

The three distinctions between CM and NCM SLCs—the impossibility of Case-matching and multiple *wh*-sluicing, and the use of a demonstrative leads to conclude that while both types of SLCs are derived from an underlying CP structure (Leung 2008:61-62), the derivation of the two types of sluicing are distinct. I will not go into the details of his exact analyses of the two types here as I discuss it in the next section when building my own analysis of the type beyond noting the core proposal. Leung suggests that the *wh*-sluice in CM SLCs is the result of leftward scrambling of the *wh*-remnant to the CP domain of the clause, followed by TP domain deletion at the level of PF.

For the NCM, he proposes that it does not involve any scrambling, but rather is an instantiation of what Van Craenenbroeck (2010) has called *Spad* (Sluicing Plus A Demonstrative) in Dutch, which is a bi-clausal construction in which the *wh*-phrase and the demonstrative are in separate clauses. Leung observes that although in Dutch this bi-clausal construction is a cleft, for Tamil, the structural properties of clefts do not admit such analysis (see section 5.3 for further discussion). He does not however, discuss how this bi-clausal structure arises, merely stipulating that "it involves a bi-clausal configuration in which the *wh*-sluice is coupled by a demonstrative in the consequent clause, following a complete antecedent clause" (Leung 2008:48)

5.3 Analysing the Tamil SLC

In the section preceding this one, I have sketched a range of approaches to the SLC from Hindi-Urdu, Bangla, Farsi and Telugu. In this section, I discuss the core properties of the Tamil SLC and discuss which of these analyses, if any, can be applied to the Tamil SLC.

5.3.1 A focus driven *wh*-raising analysis of the Tamil SLC

Tamil is a *wh*-in-situ language in both root (cf. (54) and (55)) and embedded contexts (cf. (56)). As indicated, only matrix *wh*-word have wide scope in (56c).

> (54) a. soːmu et-ai ʋaːŋgi-n-aːn?
> Somu[3SGM.NOM] what-ACC buy-PST-3SGM
> 'What did Somu buy?'

b. et-ai   so:mu   ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n?
    what-ACC Somu[3SGM.NOM] buy-PST-3SGM
    'What did Somu buy?'

(55)   a. so:mu   eŋga me:rij-ai   pa:r-tt-a:n?
            Somu[3SGM.NOM] where Mary.3SGF-ACC see-PST-3SGM
            'Where did Somu see Mary?'

        b. so:mu   me:rij-ai   eŋga pa:r-tt-a:n?
            Somu[3SGM.NOM] Mary.3SGF-ACC where see-PST-3SGM
            'Where did Somu see Mary?'

(56)   a. ja:ru   [TP so:mu   ka:r   ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n]-nu
            Who.NOM   Somu[3SGM.NOM] car.3SGN buy-PST-3SGM-COMP
            son-n-a:ŋga?
            tell-PST-3SG.HON
            'Who said that Somu bought a car?'

        b. [TP so:mu   ka:r   ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n]-nu   ja:ru
               Somu[3SGM.NOM] car.3SGN buy-PST-3SGM-COMP Who.NOM
            son-n-a:ŋga?
            tell-PST-3SG.HON
            'Who said that Somu bought a car?'

        c. [TP so:mu   enna ʋa:ŋgi-n-a:n]-nu   ja:ru   son-n-a:?
               Somu[3SGM.NOM] what buy-PST-3SGM-COMP who.NOM tell-PST-3SG
            (lit): '*Who* said Somu bought what?.'

Thus, unlike what has been claimed for Malayalam (Jayaseelan 2001), *wh*-phrases do not need
to move to a preverbal focus position obligatorily in Tamil. *Wh*-phrase placement is relatively
free, with the only bar being a post-verbal placement the examples in (57) show the in-situ
position (italicized), possible scrambling positions (in brackets) and post verbal position as
ungrammatical (*) for different *wh*-words in Tamil.

(57)   a. (enna) so:mu   *enna* mi:ra:-kku   (enna) koɖu-tt-a:n
            (what) Somu[3SGM.NOM] what Meera.3SGF-DAT (what) give-PST-3SGM
            (*enna)?

            'What did Somu give Meera?'

        b. (eŋga) so:mu   (eŋga) mi:ra:ʋ-ai   *eŋga* pa:r-pp-a:n
            (where) Somu[3SGM.NOM] (where) Meera.3SGF-ACC where see-FUT-3SGM
            (*eŋga)?

            'Where will Somu meet Meera?'

        c. *ja:ru*   so:muʋ-ai   (ja:ru) aɖi-ʃʃ-a: (*ja:ru)?
            Who[3sg.nom] Somu.3SGM-ACC (who) hit-PST-3SG
            'Who hit Somu?'

        d. (epɖi) ra:mu   *epɖi* ʋi:ʈʈu-kku (epɖi) po:-n-a:n   (*epɖi)?
            (how) Ramu[3SGM.NOM] how house-LOC (how) go-PST-3SGM
            'How did Ramu go to house?'

In Tamil, while *wh*-phrases may also optionally scramble inside the embedded clause, scrambling does not alter the scopal interpretations of the *wh*-phrases. Such scrambling is always optional and never obligatory.

Given these properties of *wh*-scrambling and *wh*-scope, it does not seem feasible to consider even the Tamil elliptical structures that instantiate case-matching (cf. example (58)) as instances of the English-type sluicing, as Bhattacharya and Simpson (2012) and Manetta's (2013) analyses do. Further even Leung's analysis for CM SLCs as involving *wh*-scrambling cannot be presumed to be correct, as scrambling is optional. Rather, the evidence from the obligatory presence of the complementizer leads me to propose that the Tamil CM SLC, as shown by example (58), is derived exactly like the Farsi one, shown in example (59), as proposed by Toosarvandani (2008).

(58)   kuma:r   et-aiy-o: eḍu-tt-a:n   a:na: [$_{FocP}$ et-ai$_1$
        Kumar3SGM.NOM what-ACC-DISJ take-PST.3SGM but   what-ACC
        [$_{TPe}$ kuma:r <et-ai$_1$> eḍu-tt-a:n]   nu]   ena-kku terij-a-la.
            Kumar3SGM.NOM what-ACC take-PST.3SGM COMP 1SG-DAT know-INF-NEG
        'Kumar took something, but I don't know what (Kumar took.)'

(59)   rāmin ye chiz-i   xaride.   hads bezan [$_{FP}$ chi [$_{TP}$ rāmin <chi> xaride]].
        Ramin one thing-IND bought.3SG guess hit.2SG   what   **Ramin bought.3SG**
        'Ramin bought something. Guess what.'   (*Farsi*, Toosarvandani 2008:700)

In Tamil, both the CM and NCM types of sluicing have obligatory complementizer *enḍru/nu* in sluice clause. This might go against Merchant's (1999) 'Sluicing-COMP-generalisation' (60)[2], but he himself has noted for Hungarian which can take optional complementizer as shown by (61) and a few other languages as exceptions in taking complementizers along with *wh*-remnants in sluicing.

(60)   **The sluicing-COMP generalization**

        "In sluicing, no non-operator material may appear in COMP".   (Merchant 1999:84)

(61)   A   gyerekek tala'lkoztak valakivel   de nem emle'kszem, (hogy) kivel.
        the children met   someone.with but not I.remember that   who.with
        'The kids met someone, but I don't remember who.' (*Hungarian*, Merchant 1999:111)

---

[2]Merchant (1999) describes that in Dutch and many other languages the complementizer that can occur in interrogative clauses cannot occur in sluicing. Consider Dutch example in (i) which shows ungrammaticality when complementizer is added in sluicing.

(i)   Hij heef iemand gezien, maar ik weet niet wie (*of) (*dat).
        he has someone seen   but I know not who if   that
        'He saw someone, but I don't know who.'   (Merchant 1999:102)

Farsi, as Toosarvandani (2008) shows, also exhibits exactly the same pattern as Tamil, as shown by (62). In Toosarvandani's analysis this is because *wh*-raising for wide scope targets a Focus projection located between CP and TP. As a consequence, when PF-deletion of the TP takes place post the raising of the *wh*-word to this FocP projection, the complementiser also does not delete.

(62)   *Farsi*   (Toosarvandani 2008:701)

    a.   mahin mixād ye chiz-i bexare vali yād-esh ne-miyād ke
        Mahin want.3SG one thing-IND buy.3SG but memory-her NEG-come.3SG that
        chi.
        what
        'Mahin wants to buy something, but she doesn't remember what.'

    b.   bābā-m injā nist. xod-et miduni ke cherā.
        dad-my here NEG.is self-your know.2SG that why
        'My dad isn't here. You yourself know why.'

In Toosarvandani's analysis then, the sluicing-COMP generalisation holds only for languages that have overt *wh*-movement to the C domain. I would like to suggest that his claims and overall analysis extend to Tamil as well. To see that Tamil *wh*-words do indeed move to a projection below the C, consider the case of embedded sluicing. A simple finite embedded clause in Tamil is obligatorily headed by the *-nu* complementiser, as shown in (63). This entire complex can serve as the antecedent in an elliptical construction such as the VSVPE one in (64).

(63)   [_TP so:mu-kku   [_CP [_TP me:ri/ja:r-o: inippu sa:ppi-ṭṭ-a:ḷ]
        Somu.3SG-DAT   Mary[3SGF.NOM]/who.NOM-DISJ sweets eat-PST-3SGF
        nu]   terij-um].
        COMP know-HAB
        'Somu knows that Mary/someone ate sweets.'

(64)   [_TP ena-kk-um   terij-um [_CP [_TP me:ri inippu sa:ppi-ṭṭ-a:ḷ] nu]   ].
        1SG-DAT-ADD know-HAB **[_CP [_TP Mary sweets eat-PST-3SGF] COMP**]
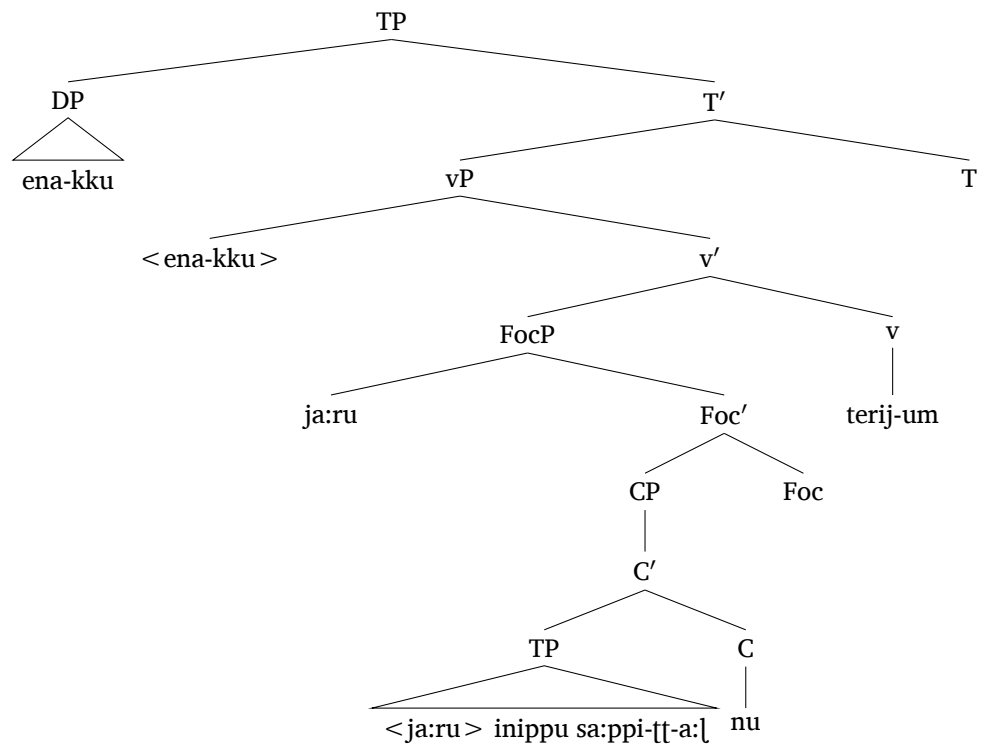   'I know (that Mary ate sweets), too.

Note that in the ellipsis structure the complementiser *-nu* does not survive PF-deletion. This is because in the VSVPE structure, as per my proposals in the previous chapter as shown in (65), the matrix subject and verb raise out of the matrix vP, and the entire embedded complement clause (CP) including *-nu* is deleted by PF-deletion.

(65)

```
                                    TP
                      ┌─────────────┴───────────────┐
                     μP                              T′
                  ┌───┴───┐              ┌───────────┴────────┐
                 DP       μ             vP                    T
                 △       │        ┌──────┴──────┐            │
              ena-kku   -um   <ena-kku>         v′         terij-um
                                          ┌─────┴────┐
                                         CP          v
                                         │           │
                                         C′      <terij-um>
                                    ┌─────┴────┐
                                   TP          C
                                 ┌──┴──┐       │
                        me:ri inippu sa:ppi-ṭṭ-a:ḷ  nu
```
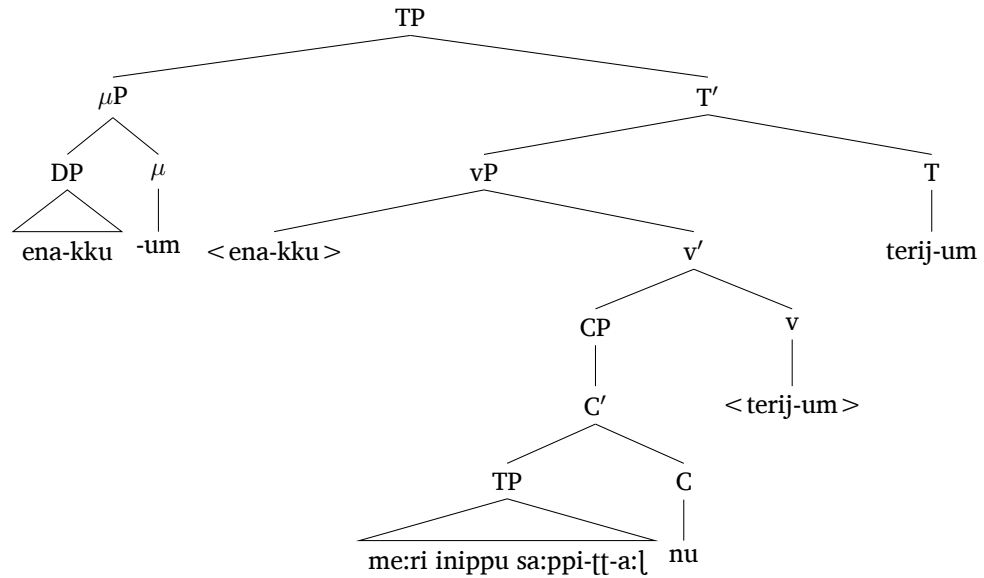
(66) ena-kk-um   terij-um   ja:ru₁   <ja:ru₁> inippu sa:ppi-ṭṭ-a: nu.
     1SG-DAT-ADD know-HAB who.NOM <who>   sweets eat-PST-3SG COMP
     I know that (who ate sweets), too

(67)

```
                                    TP
                    ┌───────────────┴───────────────────┐
                   DP                                    T′
                 ┌──┴───┐               ┌────────────────┴────────┐
                 △                      vP                        T
              ena-kku               ┌────┴──────┐
                              <ena-kku>         v′
                                          ┌──────┴──────┐
                                        FocP            v
                                   ┌─────┴──────┐       │
                                 ja:ru        Foc′   terij-um
                                          ┌────┴────┐
                                         CP        Foc
                                         │
                                         C′
                                    ┌─────┴────┐
                                   TP          C
                                 ┌──┴──┐       │
                        <ja:ru> inippu sa:ppi-ṭṭ-a:ḷ  nu
```

As can be seen in (66), in this elliptical slc construction, it is the focused embedded *wh*-remnant and the C that survives TP deletion because the embedded *wh*-remnant has raised to the Focus projection in the embedded clause. Thereafter, PF-deletion targets the lowest TP, leaving all the material outside this embedded TP, *i.e.*, the *wh*-word and the C intact.

5.3.2   The Tamil SLC does not involve a reduced cleft

Toosarvandani also explicitly argues against the sluiced clause being a reduced cleft, an analysis that I will now argue also cannot apply to Tamil. It will be recalled that Balusu (2016) argues that the Telugu CM is a reduced 'long-distance' cleft, a prototypical example of which is given in (68). As Telugu is a null copula language, Balusu argues that the sluice clause consists of full CP in which the subject has been *pro*-dropped and the embedded subject and verb has been elided. The *wh*-pivot has moves to a Focus projection, as proposed for Malayalam by Jayseelan and Amritavalli (2005).

(68)   ..., kaani [~~*pro*~~[TopicP[CP ~~ram u t~~ᵢ ~~konnadi~~]]   [FocusP eemiTᵢ]-oo] naa-ku tel-iyadu.
          ..., but   **Ramu *t* bought**   what -DISJ I-DAT   know-not
          'Ramu bought something, but I don't know what (it is that Ramu bought).'   (Balusu
          2016:79)

Balusu's main motivation for the reduced cleft analysis of sluicing comes from the fact that the language does not allow 'contrast sluicing', as exemplified by the English examples (69).

(69)   a.   I only know when she left ; I don't know WHY.   (Romero 1998:36)

          b.   She met RINGO, but I don't know who else.   (Merchant 2001:36)

Pointing out that Telugu prohibits such contrast sluicing in (70b), Balusu concludes that the source of the Telugu SLC must be the long distance cleft, given that Jayaseelan and Amritavalli's (2005) analysis predicts the absence of contrast in such derivations.

(70)   *Telugu*   (Balusu 2016:79)

          a.   raamu siita-ki   bommalu icceeDu. *inkaa evari-k-oo   naa-ku tel-iyadu.
                 Ramu Sita-DAT toys   gave.   still who-DAT-DISJ I-DAT know-not
                 'Intended: Ramu gave toys to Sita. I don't know to who else.'

          b.   *ravi naa-ku raamu koTTeeDu ani ceppin-(a)-di ramesh-ni   kuuDaa.
                 Ravi I-DAT Ramu hit   that said-REL-CLM Ramesh-ACC also
                 'Intended: It is also Ramesh that Ravi told me that Ramu hit.'

The facts of Tamil are parallel to those of Telugu with respect to the availability of contrast sluicing. Example (71) from Tamil is ungrammatical, as the second clause has contrastive *wh*-remnant phrase *ve:ra enna-lla:m* - 'what else'.

(71)   ba:lu   BOMMAI-GAɭ va:ŋgi-n-a:n. *ve:ra enna-lla:m-nu [*e*] enakku
          Balu[3SGM.NOM] toy-PL   buy-PST-3SGM. else   what-all   EP 1SG-DAT

terij-a-la.
know-INF-NEG
'Balu bought toys. I don't know what else (Ramu bought).'

Balusu's long distance cleft analysis cannot however be adopted for Tamil as the language does not share the other relevant syntactic properties of Telegu. First of all, the cleft construction is not the natural and most preferred way of asking questions in Tamil, but it is in Telugu. The examples in (72) and (73) show this, where the (72a) example gives the natural/ preferred form, and the (72b) one records the other acceptable variant.

(72)   *Telugu*   (Balusu 2016:75)

   a.   raamu koTT-in-di   evari-ni?
        Ramu hit-PST-CLM who-ACC
        'Who is it that Ramu hit?'

   b.   evari-ni   raamu koTT-in-di?
        who-ACC raamu hit-PST-CLM
        'Who is it that Ramu hit?'

(73)   ra:mu   ja:r-ai   aɖi-tt-a:n?
       Ramu[3SGM.NOM] who-ACC hit-PST-3SGM
       'Who did Ramu hit?'

Following established analyses for Malayalam clefts (Jayaseelan 1991, 2001), Balusu considers the *wh*-cleft in Telugu to be derived as follows: The *wh*-cleft moves to a focus projection dominating VP. As Dravidian has both null copula and subject drop, the V is null and subject position is filled with *pro*.

(74)   Telugu cleft structure   (Balusu 2016:75)
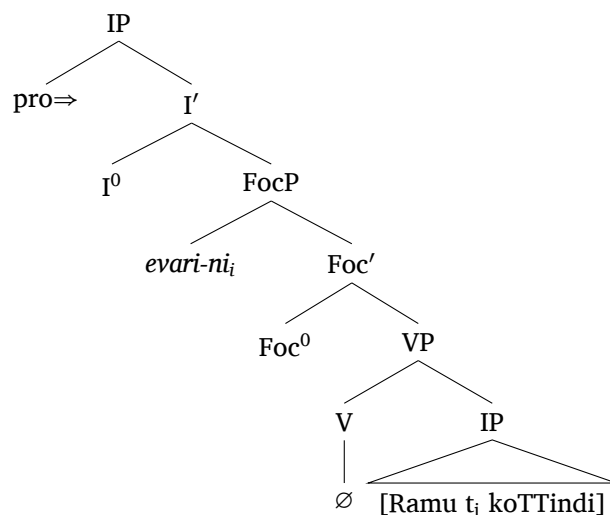
In Tamil, however, although *wh*-cleft for interrogatives are allowed the conclusion is only good with non-case marked *wh*-words as in (75a).

(75) a. ra:muʋ-ai   pa:r-tt-a-du   ja:ru?
          Ramu.3SGM-ACC see-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ who.NOM
          'Who saw Ramu?'

      b. ?ra:mu   pa:r-tt-a-du   ja:r-ai?
          Ramu[3SGM.NOM] see-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ who-ACC
          'Whom did Ramu see?'

Given that *wh*-clefts are not the preferred construction for questions in Tamil, and that we have not found any motivation for the general preverbal positioning of foci in general in Tamil (cf. chapter 3), postulating obligatory raising of foci to a Focus projection immediately dominating VP is not motivated for the language. Adopting the Balusu style long distance cleft analysis for the source in Tamil therefore does not find much independent support from the other properties of the language.

Additional objections to adopting the long distance cleft analysis can be made as well. The stipulation regarding an obligatorily null copula in all tenses would need special justification, as Tamil in fact only allows the copula to be null only in the present tense. Further, as Leung (2018) has shown, both nominalising *adu* and demonstrative *adu* cannot co-occur, as in example (76), but this would be unexpected if the cleft was a source of the Tamil SLC.

In chapter 3, I had adopted the structure proposed by Selvanathan (2017) structure for the Tamil cleft, given in (77). This structure therefore cannot be the source of the Tamil sluice.

(76) ?ra:muʋ-ai   pa:r-tt-a-du   (*adu) ja:r   a:g-a   irukk-um.
      Ramu.3SG-ACC see-PST.PTCP-REL-NOMZ 3SGN   who.NOM become-INF be-FUT
      'Who would it be that saw Ramu?'

(77)
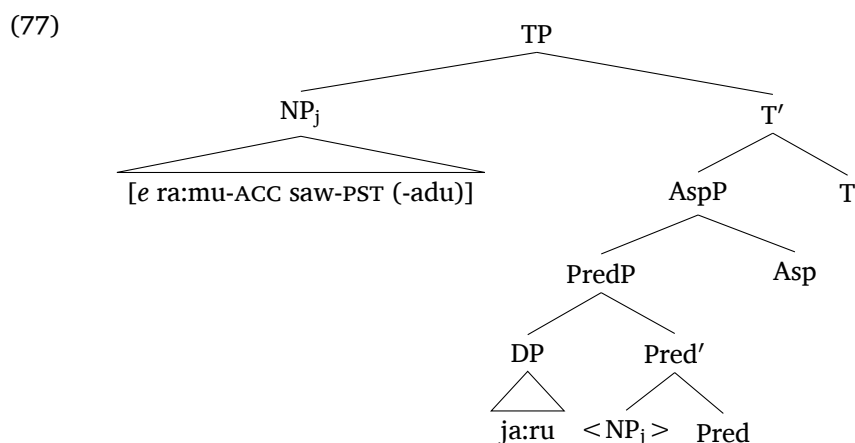
The Tamil cleft, not being analogous in its structure or derivation to the Telugu/Malayalam

one, cannot be posited as the source of the Tamil SLC. I would therefore like to adopt the Toosarvandani/Leung analysis of *wh*-raising to a high FocP above TP to account for it.

The only obstacle to this analysis is that Tamil differs from Farsi in lacking contrast sluicing. Note however, that the difference between the two languages is not too great. As the examples from Toosarvandani (2008) in (78) show, Farsi allows both for contrastive focus in (78b), as well as parallel focus on both correlate and the remnant, as in a manner similar to English.

(78)   *Farsi*   (Toosarvandani 2008:703)

    a.   man midunam ke sohrāb ye ketāb xaride   va rāmin midune   CHE
         I   know.1SG that Sohrab one book bought.3SG and Ramin know.3SG what
         ketāb-i.
         book-IND
         'I know that Sohrab bought a book, and Ramin knows what book.'

    b.   sohrāb be man goft   che ketāb-i-ro   dust dāre   vali na-goft
         Sohrab to me said.3SG what book-IND-OBJ friend have.3SG but NEG-said.3SG
         che   FILM-i-ro.
         what movie-IND-OBJ
         'Sohrab told me what book he likes, but he didn't say what movie.'

Tamil, even as it disallows contrastive sluicing, allows for parallel focus, as shown by example (79).

(79)   so:mu   ETAI-O: eɻuti-n-aːn   aːna: ET-AI-nu   [*e*]
      Somu[3SGM.NOM] what-ACC-DISJ write-PST-3SGM but   what-ACC-COMP 1SG-DAT
      ena-kku   terij-a-la.
      know-INF-NEG
      'Somu wrote SOMETHING but I don't know WHAT Somu wrote.'

The crucial difference between the barred construction of contrastive sluicing in Tamil in (71) (repeated here as (80)) and (79) is that the *wh*-remnant is not identical to the antecedent in contrastive sluicing.

(80)   ba:lu   BOMMAI-GAɭ ʋaːŋgi-n-aːn.   *ʋeːra enna-llaːm-nu [*e*] enakku
      Balu[3SGM.NOM] toy-PL   buy-PST-3SGM. else what-all   EP 1SG-DAT
      terij-a-la.
      know-INF-NEG
      'Balu bought toys. I don't know what else (Ramu bought).'

In chapter 4, I had proposed that focus parallelism is an important requirement in Tamil VSVPE (cf. Winkler 2005 and Kolokonte 2008), and thus seeing this condition that the correlate and the remnant must both have parallel focus hold in another elliptical construction is not unexpected. I would like to propose that in Tamil, raising to this TP-external Foc head is motivated not by

interrogative feature checking, but for checking the E feature on the Foc head. In Farsi (and other *wh* in situ languages that have such contrast sluicing), raising to the Foc head checks the interrogative feature, therefore allowing the *wh*-phrāse in the remnant to be distinct from the correlate.

Sluicing in Farsi differs from Tamil in that the identity condition between the remnant and the correlate seems to be relaxed in some way.

In support of his argument that Farsi bundles together [E uwh], Toosarvandani points to the ungrammaticality of (82), in which the moved remnant is a non interrogative DP. Such a DP, lacking a *wh* feature, cannot check the [E, u*wh*] feature on Foc, as shown by (81b). This leads to a crash because in the configuration in (81b), the u*wh* cannot delete.

(81)   a.
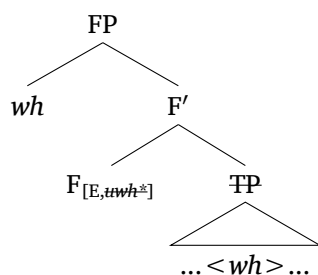
         b.
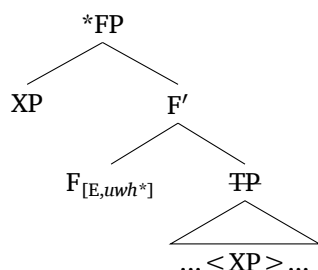
(82)   *midunam ke   sohRĀB [$_{TP}$ <sohrabm> otāq-esh-o   tamiz kard]   vali
         know.1SG that Sohrab   room-his-OBJ clean did.3SG but
         ne-midunam   ke   [$_{FP}$ roSTAM F$_{[E, uwh*]}$ [$_{TP}$ <rostam> otāq-esh-o tamiz kard]].
         NEG-know.1SG that   Rostam   **Rostam room-his-OBJ clean did.3SG**
         Intended: 'I know that Sohrab cleaned his room, but I don't know whether Rostam
         did.'

In Tamil, when the non-interrogative DP moves out of the ellipsis site, unlike in Farsi, it doesn't become ungrammatical. In this case also, the DP moves to [Spec, FocP] but the [E] on F^0 will be [E, uF*] as it is not *wh*-phrase. With this example, I propose Tamil CM sluicing also has same [E] bundle as for non-interrogative ellipsis clause example in (83).

(83)   ...a:na:[$_{TP}$ ena-kku terij-um   me:ri   [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ <me:ri> inippu sa:ppi-tt-a:]]
         ...but   1SG-DAT-ADD know-HAB Mary.[3SGF.NOM]

nu]].
[_{CP} [_{TP} **Mary sweets eat-PST-3SGF**] COMP]
'...but I know that Mary (ate sweets).'

Toosarvandani (2008) shows the differences between English and Farsi sluicing structure as in (84). He therefore claims that language differs with [E] feature and it helps to analyse the syntax of each language through this feature in ellipsis.

(84)   (Toosarvandani 2008:713)

    a.   English: C[Q, uwh*] + [E, uwh*] → C[Q, E, uwh*]

    b.   Farsi: F + [E, uwh*] → F[E, uwh*]

As Tamil *wh*-remnant in sluice clause and non-interrogative DP remnant in embedded ellipsis clause don't show any difference, I propose the [E] feature bundle for Tamil CM sluicing as given in (85a). The tree in (85b) is the structure for Tamil CM sluicing. The *wh*-remnant moves to [Spec, FocP] as [E, uF*] Foc⁰ triggers movement. At PF, the TP deletes under the availability of an identical antecedent.

(85)   a.   Tamil CM sluicing: F + [E, uF*] → F[E, uF*]

    b.
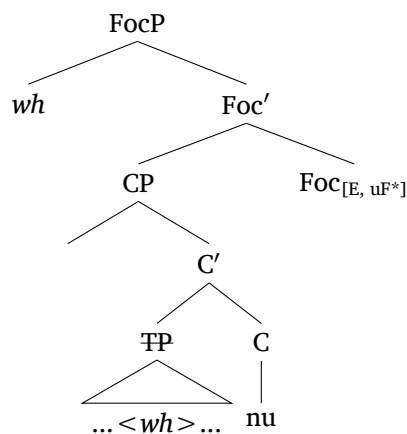
5.3.3   The Tamil NCM sluice

Turning finally to NCM sluicing constructions, recall that of all the works reviewed, the only one to postulate its existence is Leung (2018) and he terms it as *Spad* (Sluicing Plus A Demonstrative) claims it to be identical to Dutch Spading, in which the *wh*-remnant carries a demonstrative *that* as shown by examples in (86). Van Craenenbroeck (2010) argues spading to take a cleft structure as it is source.

(86)   *Dutch*   (Van Craenenbroeck 2010:13)

a. Jef eid iemand   gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
    Jef has someone seen   but I know not who that
    'Jef saw someone, but I don't know who.'

b. A: Jef ei gisteren   iemand   gezien. B: Wou da?
      Jeff has yesterday someone seen   who that
    'A: Jeff saw someone yesterday. B: Who?'

As indicated already, I do not consider, the NCM construction to involve sluicing at all. Rather, (87) is an instantiation of a copula reduction configuration, which obtains in Tamil equative and predicational constructions.

(87)   me:ri   ja:r-ai-o: ku:ppi-ʈʈ-a:ɭ a:na: ja:r-nu   ena-kku terij-a-la
        Mary[3SGF.NOM] who-ACC-DISJ call-PST-3SGF but   who-COMP 1SG-DAT know-NEG
        [*e*].
        EP
        'Mary called someone but I don't know who.'

I make this conclusion because the resemblance of NCM sluicing to Spading is Tamil has a null copula in the present tense and the fact that Leung misanalyses *adu* as a demonstrative when it is in fact a III person pronoun that may inflect for gender as well. As (88b) shows, other gender pronouns are allowed.

(88)   a. ra:mu   ja:r-kk-o: parisu koɖu-tt-a:n   a:na: adu ja:r
            Ramu[3SGM.NOM] who-DAT-DISJ gift   give-PST-3SGM but   3SGN who
            a:g-a   iru-kk-um-nu   terij-a-lla.
            become-INF be-FUT-3SGN-COMP know-INF-NEG
            'Ramu gave gift to someone but I don't know who it would be.'

        b. ra:mu   ja:r-kk-o: parisu koɖu-tt-a:n   a:na: aʋan/aʋal ja:r
            Ramu[3SGM.NOM] who-DAT-DISJ gift   give-PST-3SGM but   3SGM/3SGF who
            a:g-a iru-kk-um-nu   terij-alla.
            be-INF be-FUT-3SGN-COMP know-INF-NEG
            'Ramu gave gift to someone but I don't know who it will be.'

Owing to these facts, I follow Gribanova (2013) in analysing the NCM SLC as an instance of a reduced equative copula clause rather than an instance of sluicing/SLC. As Gribanova details, in Uzbek, neither equative nor predicational copular clauses can bear accusative case on the pivot. The predicational copular clause differs from the equative however in allowing inherently case marked nominal and APs. The examples in (89), adapted from Gribanova (2013), illustrate these facts for Uzbek:

(89)   *Uzbek*   (Gribanova 2013:853)

a. Farhod kim-dir   bilan gaplash-yap-ti, va …
    Farhod some-one with talk-PROG-3SG and
    'Farhod is talking to someone, and … '

b. (u-ning)   Hasan (e-kan)-lig-i-ni   bil-a-man.
    (3sg-gen) Hasan (COP-kan)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
    'I know that (he) is Hasan.'

c. (u-ning)   pul   kerak bo'l-gan   kishi   (e-kan)-lig-i-ni
    (3SG-GEN) money need COP-PST.PTCP person (COP-kan)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC
    bil-a-man.
    know-PRS-1SG
    'I know that ((s)he) is a person who needs money.'

The Tamil NCM construction patterns like a equative/predicational reduced copula construction (RCC), as the examples in (90) show, as the *wh*-remnant can only bear nominative case in (90b).

(90) a. ra:mu   ja:r-kk-o: paɳam koɖu-tt-a:n.
          Ramu[3SGM.NOM] who-DAT-DISJ gift   give-PST-3SGM
          'Ramu gave money to someone.

      b. (adu) ja:r   a:ga   iru-kk-um-nu   ena-kku terij-um.
          (3SGN) who.NOM become-INF be-FUT-3SGN-COMP 1SG-DAT know-HAB
          'I know that who it is.'

      c. (adu) ma:du   a:ga   iru-kk-um-nu   ena-kku terij-um.
          (3SGN) Mathu[3SGF.NOM] become-INF be-FUT-3SGN-COMP 1SG-DAT know-HAB
          'I know that it is Mathu.'

Further support for this comes from the fact that the Tamil NCM constructions parallel the Uzbek RCC in other aspects. Gribanova notes that the Uzbek RCC, not being an SLC at all, is expectedly not restricted to just *wh*-remnants, as shown in (91). As the examples in (93) show, the Tamil NCM behaves just like Uzbek in this regard.

(91)   *Uzbek*   (Gribanova 2013:842)

        a. A: Farhod kim-dir   bilan gaplash-di.
                Farhod some-one with talk-PST.3SG
            'Farhod talked to someone.'

        b. B: Hasan (bilan)-lig-i-ni   bil-a-man.
                Hasan (with)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-PRS-1SG
            'I know that (it's) (with) Hasan.'

(92)   a. A: ra:mu   jar:r-kiʈʈaij-o: pe:si-n-a:n.
                Ramu[3SGM.NOM] who-with-DISJ talk-PST-3SGM
            'Ramu talked to someone.'

     b.   B: so:mu   kiʈʈai nu   ena-kku terij-um.
               Somu[3SGM.NOM] with COMP 1SG-DAT know-HAB
               'I know that (it's) with Somu.'

Further, as we saw in chapter 4, elliptical constructions require a linguistic antecedent (Hankamer and Sag 1976). However, as Gribanova points out, this constraint does not hold in the examples in Uzbek in (93), because what is involved here is 'deep' anaphora, *i.e.* licensing by context and therefore pragmatic control.

(93)   *Uzbek*   (Gribanova 2013:843)

     a.   [showing   someone   a mysterious object:]
           Nima-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
           what-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG

           'I don't know what (that is).'

     b.   [showing   someone   a present:]
           Kim(-ga)-lig-i-ni bil-ma-y-man.
           who(-DAT)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG

           'I don't know who that's for.' (lit. 'I don't know to who (that is).')

The Tamil facts are exactly parallel to the Uzbek ones in not requiring a linguistic antecedent, thereby suggesting that no elliptical construction is to be identified in Tamil either.

    Finally, Gribanova observes that in Uzbek, an important restriction holds for CM sluicing: in such constructions, the *wh*-remnant cannot co-occur with a pronounced pronominal subject in the embedded clause (94a). This condition does not however, as (94b) shows, hold for the Uzbek RCC.

(94)   U-lar kim-dir   bilan gaplash-a-di-lar, lekin…
        3SG-PL some-one with talk-PRS-3-PL   but
        'They speak to someone, but…'

     a.   (*u-ning)   kim bilan (e-kan)-lig-i-ni   bil-ma-y-man.
           (*3SG-GEN) who with (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
           'I don't know who (it is) with.'

     b.   (u-ning)   kim (e-kan)-lig-i-ni   bil-ma-y-man.
           (3SG-GEN) who (COP-KAN)-COMP-3SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PRS-1SG
           'I don't know who ((s)he is).'   (*Uzbek*, Gribanova 2013:844)

Once again, the exact same facts obtain for Tamil, which also does not allow the *wh*-remnant to be accompanied by an overt subject in the embedded clause in CM sluices, but freely allows the two to co-occur in the NCM ones.

    For all the above mentioned reasons, I conclude that the NCM 'sluices' are not in fact

elliptical constructions at all, and are best analysed as Reduced Copular constructions.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the analysis and derivation of the sluicing-like construction in Tamil. It presents extensive arguments for a sluicing analysis for constructions with obligatory case-matching between the the *wh*-remnant and the correlate. I demonstrate that the source of this SLC cannot be traced to either an underlying cleft or overt *wh*-movement but rather implicates overt raising to a high Foc head in the narrow syntax. Finally, the chapter also argues that in the constructions in which case connectivity is not maintained, no ellipsis is involved.

Chapter 6

Concluding Remarks

This dissertation set out to explore and analyse the types of elliptical phenomena in Tamil, a major Dravidian language spoken in Tamil Nadu, India. A relatively understudied language in the field, particularly for its syntactic phenomena, my first task was to determine exactly which of the types of the elliptical phenomena attested in the world's languages are actually found in Tamil.

Using the descriptions and analyses available in the literature of the properties of various elliptical constructions as a base, Chapter 1 presents an overview of the types of ellipsis identifies the potential candidates in Tamil that appear to involve instances of ellipsis that have been identified cross-linguistically and presents a brief synopsis of the diagnostics and theoretical treatments the phenomenon of ellipsis has received. The discussion in the chapter (and at some other points in the dissertation) yields the following list of elliptical constructions in Tamil that need further investigation.

1. VP ellipsis

2. V-stranding VP ellipsis – NOC_{SV}, NOC_{DV}, Aux-stranding VP ellipsis.

3. Bare argument ellipsis – Coordinate stripping, Non-coordinate/Fragment stripping, Negative contrast, Subordinate stripping.

4. Gapping, Pseudo-gapping

5. Sluicing – SLC case marked (CM), SLC non-case marked (NCM), Swiping, Spading, Relative pronoun deletion.

6. NP ellipsis, Pronominalisation, NP ellipsis in comparatives

The subsequent chapters discuss the evidence for analysing the Tamil constructions as elliptical phenomena and develop syntactic analyses for the ones that do, in terms of the general

framework offered by Merchant (1999, 2001, 2003, 2005). In this concluding chapter, I will not recap the details of the analyses offered for individual kinds, but will rather present a synopsis of the conclusions that the dissertation reaches with regards to the class of elliptical constructions available in Tamil.

6.1   A Summary of Ellipsis Types in Tamil

The discussion in Chapters 2 and 3 explores the case of Stripping/Bare Argument Ellipsis and its subtypes in Tamil. It demonstrates that only the coordinate and fragment cases can be analysed as elliptical constructions, and argues that the construction identified as possibly a case of negative contrast cannot be analysed as involving PF-deletion. Rather it must be derived through the leftward ATB movement of the nominalised clause out of the two TP conjuncts.

Chapter 4 examines the two cases of apparent VSVPE in Tamil to demonstrate that while constructions in which the predicate in the antecedent and the remnant are identical must be analysed as involving VSVPE, the ones in which different predications are used do not involve an ellipsis at all, but as I propose, a base generated null pronominal. The chapter also discusses the availability of Aux stranding VP Ellipsis in Tamil and posits this as an additional elliptical construction in the language.

Chapter 5 discusses the sluicing like construction in Tamil, the potential candidates for which are identified as CM and non case marked. In the chapter I argue that while the case marked constructions do constitute an elliptical construction (VSVPE), the NCM construction is a copula reduction construction.

Table 6.1 summarises the conclusions the discussion in this dissertation has reached with regards to the available ellipsis types in Tamil and the proposed structural analysis that is proposed.

Types of Ellipsis	Sub-Type	Availability in Tamil	Analysis
VP-Ellipsis		×	–
VSVPE	Same Verb (NOC$_{SV}$	✓	V-T movement; vP elides; V-stranding VP Ellipsis
	Different Verb (NOC$_{DV}$	✓	Null object licensed by *pro*
	Aux-Stranding	✓	Licensor: T^0 lexically filled with Aux members; vP elides; Aux-stranding VP ellipsis
Bare Argument Ellipsis	Coordination Stripping	✓	[E$_{Stripping}$]-[uF*,uConj]; E-feature on Foc^0; Subject remnant to [Spec, FocP]; TP deletes
	Fragment Stripping	✓	[E$_{Fragment}$]-[uF*]; E-feature on Foc^0; Subject remnant to [Spec, FocP]; TP deletes
	Negative Contrast	✓	Identical NPs move out of both TP conjuncts via ATB movement
	Subordinate Stripping	×	–
Gapping		×	–
	Pseudo-gapping	×	–

Types of Ellipsis	Sub-Type	Availability in Tamil	Analysis
Sluicing	SLC-CM	✓	$[E_{\text{SLC-CM}}]$-$[uF^*]$; E-feature on Foc^0; *wh*-remnant to [Spec, FocP]; TP deletes
	SLC-NCM	✓	Copular clause with *wh*-remnant as the pivot; Reduced copular clause
	Swiping	✓	Same analysis as for SLC-CM
	Spading	×	–
	Relative pronoun deletion	×	–
NP-Ellipsis		✓	Q/Num license its complement NP to delete - null NP is NP-ellipsis
	Pronominalisation	✓	Adjectives take its NP complement as pronominal suffix - null NP is *pro*-form
	NP-Ellipsis in Comparatives	×	–

Table 6.1: Elliptical constructions in Tamil and their analysis

In the course of developing the analysis of Tamil elliptical constructions, the dissertation proposes several analyses to hitherto poorly understood syntactic phenomena of Tamil. These include: polysyndetic and asyndetic coordination, disjunction, additive marking, comparative constructions, right-node-raising, clause coordination, cleft clause, ATB movement, V-T movement and *wh*-movement.

By way of concluding the dissertation, I would like to explore one important consequence for future research that this study provides is that it serves to set a baseline comparison for the study of elliptical phenomena in other Dravidian languages. Although the predominant tendency is to assume that all Dravidian languages pattern similarly with respect to clausal phenomena, Leung argues that this presupposition is not well founded. He remarks (Leung, 2018): "While it is true that Tamil and Telugu (and other Dravidian languages) possess similar syntactic and morphological strategies (*e.g.* right dislocation to express pragmatic effect, clefts formed by nominalized verbs, etc), the morpho-phonological variation can be very salient and systematic which leads us to reconsider whether a single linguistic system for Dravidian should be maintained. Detailed study of individual Dravidian languages (and the dialects of each branch language) is mandatory even though Dravidianists may sometimes find the discovery unsurprising."

6.2 Ellipsis types in other Dravidian languages

My own preliminary investigations with regards to the Tamil elliptical phenomena reveal that even as there is significant variation to be found even in the few major Dravidian languages - Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam (hereafter, TKM) that I have surveyed (with respect to the phenomena studied in this dissertation) there are also similarities.

Similar to Tamil and many other languages we discussed in the thesis, TKM also exhibit null objects (cf. NOC_{SV} examples (1) - (3)). One can also find NOC_{DV} in these three languages. Simpson *et.al.* (2013) show that Malayalam has NOC_{DV} and analyse it as an argument ellipsis as adjunct reading is not available in it.

(1)   *Telugu*   (pc., Sreekar Raghotham)

    a.   John [school-ki veḷḷ-ææ-ḍu] kaani Bill vella-leedu [*e*].
         John school-DAT go-PST-3MSG but   Bill go-NEG   EP
         'John went to school but Bill didn't go'

    b.   Sam [banḍi tondaragaa naḍip-ææ-ḍu]   kaani Bill naḍapa-leedu [*e*].
         Sam car   quickly   drive-PST-3MSG but   Bill drive-NEG   EP
         'Sam drove the car quickly but Bill didn't drive'

         ✓ Sam drove the car quickly but Bill didn't drive the car quickly

         ✓ Sam drove the car quickly but Bill didn't drive the car at all.

    c.   Sam [english maaṭlaaḍu-taa-ḍu]. Bill kuuḍa maaṭlaaḍu-taa-ḍu [*e*].
         Sam english speak-NPST-3MSG. Bill also   speak-NPST-3MSG EP
         'Sam speaks English and Bill speaks, too'

(2)   *Kannada*   (p.c., Akshay Patil)

    a.   john [shaalege ho-da-nu]   aadare Bill hoga-l-illa [*e*].
         John school-DAT go-PST-3SGM but   Bill go-PST-NEG EP
         'John went to school but Bill didn't go.'

    b.   sam veegavaagi car-annu odisidanu   aadare Bill odisalilla   [*e*].
         Sam quickly   car-ACC drive-PST-3SGM but   Bill drive-PST-NEG EP
         'Sam drove the car quickly but Bill didn't drive.'

         ✓ Sam drove the car quickly but Bill didn't drive the car quickly

         ✓ Sam drove the car quickly but Bill didn't drive the car at all.

    c.   sam English   maatadu-ttaa-ne mattu Bill kooda maatadu-ttaa-ne [*e*].
         Sam English.ACC speak-PERF-3SGM and   Bill too   speak-PERF-3SGM EP
         'Sam speaks English and Bill speaks, too.'

(3)   *Malayalam*   (Arya Navya A V.)

    a.   jɔ:n [sku:l-il   po:ji]. paktʃe bill po:j-illa: [*e*].
         John school-LOC went   but   Bill went-NEG EP
         John went to school but Bill didn't (go).

    b.   sa:m [ka:r ʋ:ega-til/ʋe:gam oḍiču]. paktʃe bill oḍič-illa   [*e*].
         Sam car speed-LOC/fast drove   but   Bill drove-NEG EP
         'Sam drove the car quickly but Bill didn't drive.

         ✓ Sam drove the car quickly but Bill didn't drive the car quickly

         ✓ Sam drove the car quickly but Bill didn't drive the car at all.

    c.   sa:m [iŋglitʃ-il   samsa:rikkum]. bill-um samsa:rikkum [*e*].
         Sam English-LOC will.speak   Bill-too will.speak   EP
         'Sam speaks English and Bill speaks ,too.'

With regard to ASVPE, it would appear at first glance that Malayalam and Kannada both have ASVPE, just like in Tamil. However, note that in both languages, the element stranded is not a lexical auxiliary but the 'do' light verb of the complex predicate. Telugu, as illustrated in the examples in (4), employs the same type of construction but does not allow ASVPE. A more in-depth study of complex predicates with regards to ellipsis is therefore needed in order to determine whether the phenomenon is Aux-stranding VP ellipsis or V-stranding VP ellipsis.

(4) *Telugu*   (pc., Sreekar Raghotham)

  a. nenu [vaaḍi-ki   sahaayam čeya-gala-nu] kaani Meera čeeya-lee-du [*e*]
      1SG 3MSG-DAT help   do-CAN-1SG but   Meera do-NEG-3FSG EP
      'I can help him but Meera cannot'

  b. nenu [vaaḍi-ki   sahaayam čees-taa-nu] kaani meera čeyya-∅-du   [*e*]
      1SG 3MSG-DAT help   do-NPST-1SG but   meera do-NEG-3FSG EP
      'I will help him but Meera won't'

  c. nenu [vaaḍi-ki   sahaayam čeyya-∅-nu] kaani meera čees-tun-du   [*e*]
      1SG 3MSG-DAT help   do-NEG-1SG but   meera do-NPST-3FSG EP
      'I wont help him but Meera will'

(5) *Kannada*   (p.c., Akshay Patil)

  a. naanu [avanige sahaaya maada-bahudu] aadare Meera-ge   sadhyavilla.
      1SG   him   help   do-can   but   Meera-DAT possible-NEG [*e*]
      'I can help him but Meera can't.'

  b. naanu [avanige sahaaya maadu-ttene] aadare Meera maduvud-illa [*e*].
      1SG   him   help   do-PERF.1SG but   Meera do-NEG   EP
      'I will help him but Meera won't.'

  c. naanu [avanige sahaaya maduvud-illa] aadare Meera maadut-taa-Le [*e*].
      1SG   him   help   do-NEG   but   Meera do-PERF-3SGF EP
      'I won't help him but Meera will'.

(6) *Malayalam*   (p.c., Arya Navya A V.)

  a. en-ikku [avan-e saha:jikk-a:n paṭṭum]. pakt∫e mi:ra-kku   paṭṭ-illa [*e*].
      1SG.DAT he.ACC help-INF   can   But   Meera-DAT can-NEG EP
      I can help him but Meera can't.

  b. ŋa:n [avan-e saha:jikkum, pakt∫e mi:ra sahajikk-illa   /čey-illa [*e*].
      1SG he-ACC will.help   but   Meera will.help-NEG /do-NEG EP
      I will help him but Meera won't.

  c. ŋa:n [avan-e saha:kikk-illa] pakt∫e mi:ra   saha:jikkum/čeyyum [*e*].
      1SG he-ACC will.help-NEG but   Meera will.help/will.do   EP
      'I won't help him but Meera will'.

With regards to Bare Argument Ellipsis, Malayalam patterns with Tamil in taking the -um suffix, whereas in Telugu and Kannada, the additive marker is *kuuda/kooda*. This marker is not homophonous with the additive particle in these two languages. Furthermore, the discourse particle *ta:n* we find in Tamil fragment stripping is not available in Telugu (7b), Kannada (8b) or Malayalam (9b). Negative stripping is also not possible in TKM as negation *illa* functions in the same manner in all four Dravidian languages. TKM show negative contrast like Tamil using a cleft clause, but in Telugu the cleft clause can appear rightwards (cf. example (7d)) which is not the case in Tamil. It therefore remains to be seen if the ATB analysis will fit for negative contrast in Telugu as well.

(7)   *Telugu*   (p.c., Sreekar Raghotham)

     a.   john-ki   [*e*][football ištam]. Bill-ki kuuḍa   [*e*]
         john-DAT football   likes   .   Bill-DAT also EP
         'John likes football. Bill, too.'   (Stripping)

     b.   A: Sam kotta car konn-aa-ḍu.   B: Mary kuuḍa [*e*]
         Sam new car buy-PST-3MSG.   Mary also   EP
         'A: Sam bought a new car. B: Mary, too'   (Fragment)

     c.   *John [school-ki veḷ-ææ-ḍu] kaani Bill leedu [*e*].
         John school-DAT go-PST-3MSG but   Bill NEG EP
         'John went to school but not Bill.'   (Negative stripping)

     d.   John [school-ki veḷ-in-di]. Bill kaadu [*e*].
         John school-DAT go-PST-3NS .   Bill   NEG EP
         'It is John who went to school. Not Bill.'   (Negative contrast)

(8)   *Kannada*   (p.c., Akshay Patil)

     a.   john [football   ishtapadut-taa-ne], Bill kooda [*e*].
         John football.ACC like-PERF-3SGM   Bill too   EP.
         John likes football and Bill, too.   (Stripping)

     b.   A: sam [hosa car-annu khareedisi-da-nu]. B: Mary kooda [*e*].
         Sam new car-ACC buy-PST-3SGM.   Mary too   EP.
         A: 'Sam bought a new car.' B: 'Mary, too.'   (Fragment)

     c.   *john [shaale-ge hodanu]   aadare Bill illa [*e*].
         John school-DAT go-PST-3SGM but   Bill NEG EP
         John went to school but not Bill.   (Negative stripping)

     d.   [shaale-ge hog-id-du]   John, Bill alla [*e*].
         school-DAT go-PST-3SGN John, Bill not EP
         'It is John who went to school, not Bill.'   (Negative contrast)

(9) *Malayalam* (p.c., Arya Navya A V.)

    a. ɟɔ:n-inu [fu:ʈba:l itʃʈam-a:nu]. bill-in-um [*e*].
        JohnDAT football like-be.PERF Bill-DAT-too EP
        'John likes football and Bill, too.' (Stripping)

    b. A: Sam oru puthiya car vangi. B: Mari-yum [*e*].
           Sam one new car bought. Mary-too EP
        A: 'Sam bought a new car.' B: 'Mary, too'. (Fragment)

    c. *ɟɔ:n sku:l-ile:kku po:ji. paktʃe bill illa [*e*].
        John school-to went. But Bill went-NEG EP
        'John went to school but not Bill'. (Negative stripping)

    d. ɟɔ: :anu sku:l-ile:kku po:jatu. bill alla [*e*].
        John be.PERF school-to go.NMLZ Bill be.NEG EP
        'It is John who went to school, not Bill'. (Negative contrast)

Like in Tamil, subordinate stripping is not possible in TKM. The main verb has to be pronounced,

as the subordinate marker is suffixed to the verb as illustrated in examples (10a) - (10c).

(10) a. John [inṭi-ki veḷḷ-ææ-ḍu] ani nenu *(veḷdl-ææ-nu) kuuḍa
        John home-DAT go-PST-3MSG COMP 1SG go-PST-1SG too
        (lit): 'Since John went home, I too.' (Telugu)

    b. siteyu car-annu kondida-kke ramanu kooda
        Sita[3SGF.NOM] car-ACC bought-because Ramu[3SGM.NOM] too
        *(kondanu) [*e*].
        bought
        'Sita bought a car because Ram *(bought) (car), too.' (Kannada)

    c. si:tajum *(kaɽiču-ʋeŋkilum) ra:mu [oru appil kaɽiču].
        Sita-too ate-though Ramu one apple ate.
        'Ramu ate an apple though Sita *(ate) (an apple) also.' (Malayalam)

Given the correlation between availability of VP ellipsis and gapping, we would expect that

like Tamil, TKM would not allow for gapping/pseudo-gapping constructions either. However,

surprisingly, Telugu seems to have a gapping construction, despite not having VPE and pseudo-

gapping.

(11) *Telugu* (p.c., Sreekar Raghotham)

    a. Ramu oka apple [tinn-aa-ḍu] mattu Sita oka orange [*e*].
        Ramu one apple eat-PST-3MSG and Sita one orange EP
        'Ramu ate an apple and Sita (ate) an orange.' (Gapping)

b.   Ramu niiḷḷu [taag-ææ-ḍu].   Sita coffee *(taag-ææ-ḍu).
     Ramu water drink-PST-3MSG. Sita coffee drink-PST-3FSG
     'Ramu drank water and Sita did *(drink) coffee.'   (*Pseudo-gapping)

(12)   *Kannada*   (p.c., Akshay Patil)

a.   Ramu   seb-annu   [tindanu]   mattu Sita
     Ramu[3SGM.NOM] apple-ACC eat-PST-3SGM and   Sita[3SGF.NOM]
     kittaley-annu *(tindalu).
     orange-ACC   eat-PST-3SGF
     'Ramu ate an apple and Sita *(ate) an orange.'   (*Gapping)

b.   Ramu   neeru   kudidanu   mattu Sita
     Ramu[3SGM.NOM] water-ACC   drink-PST-3SGM and   Sita-[3SGF.NOM]
     coffee   *(kudidalu).
     coffee-ACC drink-PST-3SGF
     'Ramu drank water and Sita *(did drink) coffee.'   (*Pseudo-gapping)

(13)   *Malayalam*   (p.c., Arya Navya A V.)

a.   ra:mu oru appil [kaɽiču]. Sita oru o:raŋu *(kaɽiču).
     Ramu one apple ate.   Sita one orange   ate
     'Ramu ate an apple and Sita *(ate) one orange.'   (*Gapping)

b.   Ramu vellam [kudichu]. Sita kaapi *(kudichu).
     Ramu water drank.   Sita coffee   drink
     'Ramu drank water and Sita *(drink) coffee.'   (*Pseudo-gapping)

With regard to sluicing, although Balusu (2016) does not indicate whether the complementi

can occur in the the sluice clause, the following data shows the presence of a C element *-oo* (cf.

Krishnamurthi 2003:418) in Telugu in (14a) in a sluice clause. Example (14b) demonstrates

the co-occurrence of the C *ani* in the SLC in Telugu.

(14)   *Telugu*   (p.c., Sreekar Raghotham)

a.   nenu [evari-noo   čoos-ææ-nu] kaani evar-oo   [*e*] teliyadu
     1SG   WH.HUM.ACC-DUB see-PST-1SG but   WH.HUM-DUB EP know.NEG
     'I saw someone but I don't know who.'

b.   [okaru ed-oo   konn-aa-ru] kaani evaru   edi   ani   [*e*] teliyadu.
     ONE.3PL WH-DUB buy-PST-3PL but   WH.HUM WHAT COMP EP know.NEG
     'Someone bought something but I don't know who what.'

Balusu (2016) also does not remark on the distinction between CM and NCM SLCs in Telugu,

and it is necessary to investigate whether the NCM is available cross-linguistically. Kannada

is also interesting, because while a C does not appear in the SLC, a demonstrative *antha* is

present and *wh*-remnants have no case markers. Consider examples in (15). The correlate has accusative case marker but the *wh*-sluice does not. Is this an instance of NCM type like in Tamil? From the data I have present here it appears as if there is no CM type SLC in Kannada.

(15)   *Kannada*   (p.c., Akshay Patil)

   a.   naanu [yaar-ann-o   nod-i-de]   aadare yaaru antha [*e*] gott-illa.
               someone-ACC-DISJ see-PST-1SG but   who   that   EP know-NEG
         'I saw someone but I don't know who'.

   b.   [yaar-o   en-ann-o   khareedisi-da-ru] aadare nana-ge
         Someone.NOM-DISJ something-ACC-DISJ buy-PST-3PL   but   me-DAT
         yaaru enu   antha [*e*] gottilla.
         who   what that   EP know-NEG
         'Someone bought something but I don't know who what'.

Malayalam SLCs are interesting because there is overt an copula *anu* in the sluice clause along with the *wh*-remnant and complementizer (cf. (16)). Even in multiple sluicing, the copula repeats with each *wh*-remnants as in example (16b). From Jayseelan (1999, 2001) we know that Malayalam can get wide scope *wh*-interpretation through cleft and preverbal focus position. In Malayalam clefts, the copula is obligatory. Therefore, one can assume that sluicing in Malayalam is derived through a cleft clause.

(16)   *Malayalam*   (p.c., Arya Navya A V.)

   a.   ŋa:n [a:re-jo   kanɖu] paktʃe a:re   a:n-ennu   [*e*] arij-illa.
         1SG who.ACC-Q saw   but   who.ACC be.PERF-COMP EP know-NEG
         I saw someone but I don't know who.

   b.   [a:ro: ento: ʋa:ŋgi], paktʃe a:r-a:(nu)   ent-a:(nu)   ennu [*e*] arij-illa.
         Who-Q what-Q bought   but   who-be.PERF what-be.PERF COMP EP know-NEG
         Someone bought something but I don't know who what.

NP-ellipsis in all four languages varies based on the syntactic head of the DP. Telugu, Kannada and Tamil numerals can license NP to elide (cf. Telugu (17a) and Kannada (18a)). But in Malayalam, the NP is substituted by *ennam* 'number', which looks like *pro*-form of an NP. Further, the NP complement to Adj is *pro*-form in all four languages including Tamil. In all four languages the 'third person pronoun' suffixes to the adjective as illustrated in example (17b) for Telugu, (18b) for Kannada and (19b) for Malayalam.

In TKM we cannot drop NP in the comparatives which is also same in Tamil (cf. examples (17c) to (19c)). The table 6.2 shows the availability of the elliptical phenomena in Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam.

(17)   *Telugu*   (p.c., Sreekar Raghotham)

a.   Ramu [aidu čokkaalu] konn-aa-ḍu.   Somu naalugu [*e*] konn-aa-ḍu
       Ramu five   shirts   buy-PST-3MSG. Somu four   EP buy-PST-3MSG
       'Ramu bought five shirts and Somu bought four (shirts).'

b.   nenu   pedda illu   konn-anu.   Ramu činna-di   konn-aa-ḍu
       [1SG.NOM] big   house buy-PST-1SG. Ramu small-3SGN
       I bought a big house and Ramu bought a small one.'

c.   ramu čellelu somu *(čellelu) kanṭe poḍavu
       ramu y.sister somu   y.sister   CMPR tall
       'Ramu's younger sister is taller than Somu's younger *(sister).'

(18)   *Kannada*   (p.c., Akshay Patil)

a.   Ramu   [aidu angi-gal-annu] kondanu   mattu
       Ramu[3SGM.NOM] five   shirt-PL-ACC   buy-PST-3SGM and
       Somu   naalku [*e*] kondanu.
       Somu-[3SGM.NOM] four   EP buy-PST-3SGM
       'Ramu bought five shirts and Somu bought four (shirts).'

b.   naanu   ondu dodda mane-yannu ko-nd-e   mattu raamu
       [1SG.NOM] one big   house-ACC   buy-PST-1SG and   Ramu[3SGM.NOM]
       ondu chikka-du   ko-nd-anu.
       one   small-3SGN buy-PST-3SGM
       'I bought a big house and Ramu bought a small one.'

c.   Ramu-vina thangi Somu-vina *(thangi)-gintha ettara idd-aale.
       Ramu-GEN sister Somu-GEN sister-CMPR   tall   be-3SGF
       'Ramu's sister is taller than Somu's *(sister).'

(19)   *Malayalam*   (p.c., Arya Navya A V.)

a.   ramu [aɳʃu shirt] ʋa:ŋgi. so:mu na:lu [NP eɳɳam] ʋa:ŋgi.
       Ramu five   shirt bought. Somu four   numbers bought
       'Ramu bought five shirts and Somu bought four numbers (of shirts).'

b.   ɳa:n   oru valija ʋi:ḍu ʋa:ŋgi. ra:mu   oru čerija-du   ʋa:ŋgi.
       [1SG.NOM] a   big   house bought. Ramu[3SGM.NOM] a   smll-3SGN bought.
       'I bought a big house and Ramu bought a small one.'

c.   ra:muʋ-inṭe če:tʃi-kku so:muʋ-inṭe *(če:čije)-kka:l ujaram-uɳḍu.
       Ramu-GEN sister-DAT Somu-GEN sister-CMPR   tall-BE.PRS
       'Ramu's sister is taller than Somu's.'

       (*lit*: Ramu's sister has more height than Somu's *(sister).

Table 6.2 summarises the results of this very brief survey of the elliptical phenomena in the four Dravidian languages.

Types of Ellipsis	Sub-Type	Tamil	Telugu	Kannada	Malayalam
VP-Ellipsis		×	×	×	×
NOC	Same Verb	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Aux-Stranding	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bare Argument Ellipsis	Stripping	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Fragment	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Negative Contrast	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Subordinate	×	×	×	×
Gapping		×	✓	×	×
	Pseudo-gapping	×	×	×	×
Sluicing	SLC	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Multiple Sluicing	✓	✓	✓	✓
NP-Ellipsis		✓	✓	✓	×
	Pronominalisation	✓	✓	✓	✓
	NP-Ellipsis in Comparatives	×	×	×	×

Table 6.2: Comparative of Elliptical phenomena in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam

On examining this table and the data behind it, in light of Leung's remarks quoted earlier, one can see two things: one, the cognate languages exhibit a great deal of typological similarity overall. However, there also appears to be significant variation between these languages in the way in which the elliptical constructions are derived. In addition to investigations of individual languages of the kind that this dissertation has attempted, it is in this range of variation that the most fertile ground for future research (by others and myself) on elliptical constructions in Dravidian lies.

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