

# Bengali Verb-stranding VP Ellipsis and Ellipsis Identity Conditions<sup>1</sup>

Shrayana Haldar

*University of Massachusetts at Amherst*

September 28, 2021

*Since October 10, 2019*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Verb-Stranding VP Ellipsis (VVPE from here out) is a phenomenon in which a VP is elided but the head of that VP is left out as a remnant of the ellipsis. An example is reproduced from Merchant (2018) (his (9)).

- (1) Question: Agorases psomi? Answer: Ne, agorasa.  
          bought.2s bread                    yes bought.1s

‘Did you buy bread?’ ‘Yes, I did. (buy bread)’

Goldberg (2005) documents an elaborate range of languages housing this phenomenon, which I summarize here:<sup>2</sup> it began from Huang (1987, 1988, 1991) for Chinese, Doron (1990) for Hebrew, McCloskey (1991b) for Irish, Laka (1990) for Basque and Otani and Whitman (1991) for Japanese, Korean and Chinese, (Goldberg shows, however, that Japanese and Korean do not have any VVPE). Arguments for the presence of this construction have also been made for Spanish and Italian (López (1994)), European Portuguese (Martins (1994, 2000)), Swahili and Ndendeule (Ngonyani (1996a,b, 1998)), Serbo-Croatian (Stjepanović (1997a,b)), Russian (McShane (2000)), Finnish (Holmberg (1999, 2001)), Hungarian (Bánréti (1994, 2001), Bartos (2000, 2001), Gyuris (2001)) and Tagalog (Richards (2002)). More recent work includes Gribanova (2013a,b, 2017a,b,c) for Russian, Lipták (2012, 2013) for Hungarian, Manetta (2018a,b, 2019) for Hindi-Urdu, Toosarvandani (2006, 2009) for Persian, Tucker (2011) for Egyptian Arabic, and Merchant (2018) for Greek.

Bengali has a construction that shares this physiognomy (2).<sup>3</sup>

1. This paper is the fruition of Kyle Johnson’s and Rajesh Bhatt’s supervisions during the academic year of Fall 2019-Spring 2020. Demands of exposition rather cruelly turn them into footnotes and occasional mentions in this paper which do little to convey to what extent this work has benefitted from them, and so would any hackneyed expression of gratitude. Instead, let “ellipticality” speak in its eminent eloquence. Also thanks to David Pesetsky, who I took a class with at the LSA Summer Institute in 2019 and who directed me to the body of work by Vera Gribanova without reading which I would not have known half of what I know about VVPE. Lastly, I am grateful to all my informants including my parents who carefully listened to strange sentences for months and worried their heads to give me the right grammaticality judgements.

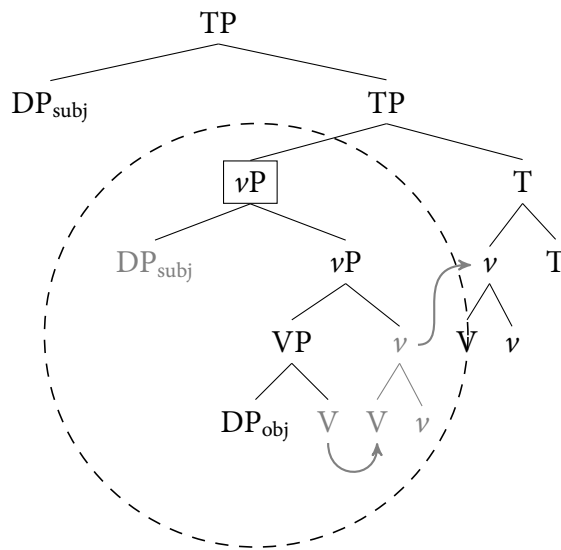
2. See Goldberg (2005: 21-24)

3. All Bengali data are provided in the IPA.

- (2) A: mod<sup>fi</sup>u kobita-ṭa lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM poem.CLSFR.ACC write-PST-3P  
 “Madhu wrote the poem.”  
 B: b<sup>fi</sup>anu-o lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Bhanu.NOM-too write-PST-3P  
 “Bhanu did too.”

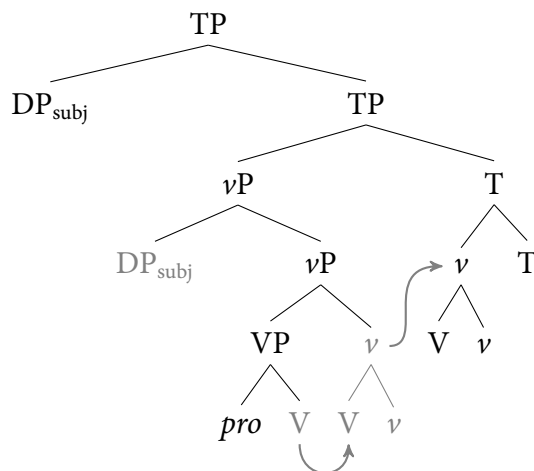
The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that sentences like (2) can be an instance of VP Ellipsis — which, in this case, is VVPE — and, more generally, that VVPE naturally occurs in Bengali. That is, (3) can be one of the derivations underlying (2), where the circled boxed phrase undergoes ellipsis.<sup>4,5</sup>

- (3) VERB STRANDING VP ELLIPSIS (VVPE)



In theory, though, (2) can be derived from another phenomenon which is *pro*-drop. If *pro*-drop derives B’s reply in (2), then the sentence can be schematized as (4).

- (4) *PRO-DROP*<sup>6</sup>



4. Copies of movement are indicated by this shaded font.

5. I will assume, following McCloskey (1991a), Goldberg (2005), Gribanova (2013a,b, 2017a), Manetta (2018a,b, 2019), that the verb escapes the *vP* before VVPE.

The reason for considering *pro*-drop as a possible source of the sentence in question is that *pro*-drop is independently available in Bengali. (5) shows the existence of subject *pro*-drop in Bengali, both in matrix and embedded contexts. Although subject *pro*-drop is, in a way, different from object *pro*-drop, in that the former is generally known to be licensed by sufficiently rich agreement morphology on the verb the *pro* is the subject of while Bengali has no object agreement in Bengali, the very presence of some kind of *pro*-drop in Bengali makes it legitimate to suspect object *pro*-drop to be a source of the sentence in question.

- (5) *pro*<sub>i</sub> t<sup>h</sup>ik kor-et<sup>h</sup>il-am *pro*<sub>i</sub> d̥ʒibɔn-e ar kɔk<sup>h</sup>ono bā-fiat̪-e g<sup>h</sup>oɽi  
*pro*<sub>i</sub> decided do-PFV-PST-1P *pro*<sub>i</sub> life-LOC more ever<sub>NPI</sub> left-hand-LOC watch  
 por-b-o n-a.  
 wear-FUT-1P NEG-IMPFV

“I had decided that I would never wear my wristwatch in the left hand in my life again.”

It has been argued, however, in Simpson, Choudhury, and Menon (2013), that Bengali, along with Hindi and Malayalam, is a language that has a completely different kind of ellipsis process which is generally dubbed Argument Ellipsis (AE, from here out) (6). Notice, especially, that the B in (5) does not commit one to the relative identity between the set of newspapers Amol sells and the ones Charu does (henceforth, the different-referent reading), which is generally considered to be unattainable from *pro*-drop.

- (6) A: ɔmol beʃ kit<sup>h</sup>u k<sup>h</sup>ɔbor-er kagoɽ bik<sup>h</sup>ri kɔr-e.  
 Amol.NOM quite some news-GEN paper sale do-PRES.3P  
 kit<sup>h</sup>u  
 some  
 ɔn̪<sup>h</sup>t̪o<sup>h</sup>o du-t̪o  
 at.least two-CLSFR  
 du-t̪o-r beʃi  
 two-CLSFR-GEN more

“Amol sells several/some/at least two/more than two newspapers?”

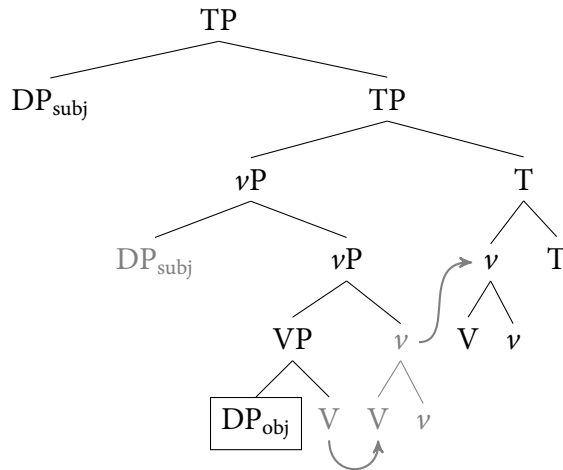
- B: t̪aru-o bik<sup>h</sup>ri kɔr-e.  
 Charu.NOM-too sale do-PRES.3P

“Charu sells several/some/at least two/more than two newspapers too.”

AE can elide syntactically fully present individual arguments independently. This means that if AE derives B’s reply in (2), then (7) would underlie the sentence where the boxed object DP will be elided.

6. It might be argued, independently of a discussion on VVPE, that the verb does not move to T<sup>0</sup> in non-elliptical cases. However, it would then have to be sustained that the verb undergoes an additional movement in elliptical cases, which would make VVPE extraordinary in this respect. To avoid going into this fuzzy area, I would assume, that the verb always raises to T<sup>0</sup> in Bengali (or at least to some head outside the vP).

## (7) ARGUMENT ELLIPSIS (AE)



This process is widely found in East Asian languages and, apart from Bengali, Hindi and Malayalam, has been studied in Japanese (Saito (2007), Takahashi (2011), Sakamoto (2017)), Chinese (Cheng (2013)), Turkish (Takahashi (2014)) and Persian (Sato and Karimi (2016)).<sup>7</sup> In fact, Landau (2018) shows fairly conclusively that the canonical status of Goldberg’s classic account of Hebrew VVPE no longer stands and that it’s actually AE that’s going on in Goldberg’s Hebrew examples.<sup>8</sup> This means that one of the biggest undertakings in demonstrating that Bengali has VVPE is to eliminate the possibility of AE in all relevant scenarios or to show that if AE cannot be eliminated as a theoretical possibility, then the sentence in question exhibits all expected attributes of both VVPE and AE. That is, since Bengali is a language that has AE as well as *pro*-drop, the distinction that needs to be made is tripartite: VVPE needs to be differentiated both from AE and *pro*-drop. My concern here, concretely, is to argue that VVPE has to be one of the sources of B’s reply in (2). In order to do that, I will have to distinguish Bengali VVPE from AE and *pro*-drop in the language, which is why the following sections are devoted, to a large extent, to showing that Bengali has these two other processes as well.

Following is how the paper is organized. § 2 lays out several ways to diagnose VVPE in Bengali. § 2.1 shows that null adjunct readings, that is, interpretations of adverbs not pronounced in the elliptical clause but present in the antecedent clause are preserved in the former, which cannot be explained with AE or *pro*-drop. § 2.2 shows how Bengali complex predicates help disambiguate between AE/*pro*-drop and a process that has to delete a larger phrase, which I argue is VVPE. § 2.3 shows, with left dislocation and ACD, that phrases can be extracted out of the elliptical parts of the sentences I argue involve VVPE. § 2.4 shows that, when modified by *again*, the predicate meaning implied by the silence in the elliptical clause receives only a repetitive reading and the restitutive reading becomes unavailable, which arises only from VP Ellipsis. § 2.5 shows that elliptical sentences of the sort in question can serve as affirmative continuations of disjunctions and from the only possible unelliptical version of these sentences, it becomes clear that the kind of silencing mechanism at work cannot be AE or *pro* and VVPE is the only operation that is able to derive this kind of structure with this kind of meaning. § 2.6 shows that while AE and *pro* cannot explain the behavior of NPIs (§ 2.6.1), generic arguments (§ 2.6.2), quantificational arguments (§ 2.6.3) and idiom chunks (§ 2.6.4), when gone unpronounced as part of the silenced portion of the elliptical sentences. Essentially, these diagnostics are steered towards showing that there must be a process in Bengali that can silence a phrase that is larger than just an argument. This, it becomes quite clear, has to be VVPE. § 2.6.5 is a sidenote on a

7. See Landau (2018), ft. 19.

8. See Landau (2018) for extensive discussion.

certain peculiarity what has been widely treated as AE and submits the phenomenon to future research. § 3.1 introduces the Bengali data that, if described as VVPE, violate the VIR. § 3.2 illustrates, with data from previous literature, that the status of the VIR is extremely dubious. § 3.3 defends the view that these examples are indeed instances of VVPE in which a contrastive focus-marked verbs differing from the one in the antecedent clause is stranded in the elliptical clause, by diagnostics similar as before: null adjunct readings (§ 3.3.1), affirmative continuations of disjunctions (§ 3.3.2) and strained anaphorization (§ 3.3.3). § 4 begins sketching the accounts. § 4.1 presents an analysis of Bengali verb movement and combines that with the *again* facts to synthesize a complete picture of the vanilla VVPE cases of Bengali. § 4.2 invokes Merchant’s (2018) amended e-GIVENNESS conditions to account for the data that violate the VIR. This last subsection also argues how the VIR is illusory — merely epiphenomenal of how pitch accent is inextricably linked to ellipsis identity conditions. § 5 suggests directions for future research. § 6 concludes the paper.

## 2 IDENTIFYING THE EXISTENCE OF VVPE IN BENGALI

The mode of argument in the following sections is somewhat indirect. It involves showing the inadequacy of the AE and *pro*-drop strategies. I take this, at the outset, only to show that there has to be some process in Bengali that has the ability to do what AE and *pro*-drop can’t. Incidentally, there is no other operation in Bengali, apart from VVPE, that can account for these data, which is why I suggest this process has to be VVPE.<sup>9</sup>

### 2.1 NULL ADJUNCT READINGS

The archetypal argument deployed to distinguish VVPE from AE/*pro*-drop has to do with adverb interpretation. Following the terminology in Manetta (2018a,b, 2019), B’s reply in the following example can have a null adjunct reading. That is, the adverb present in the antecedent clause is optionally available in the elliptical clause (8).

- (8) A: mod<sup>h</sup>u      du-g<sup>h</sup>oŋ<sup>h</sup>ta    d<sup>h</sup>ore    æk-ta      kobita    lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM    two-hour    for    one-CLSFR    poem    write-PST-3P

“Madhu wrote a poem for two hours.”

- B: b<sup>h</sup>anu-o      lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Bhanu.NOM-too    write-PST-3P

“Bhanu wrote a poem (for two hours) too.”

There can be the following sources for B’s reply in (8).

- (9) a. VVPE  
 [TP Bhanu.NOM-too [TP [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> two hour for] [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> one-CLSFR poem] [<sub>V<sup>0</sup></sub> t<sub>WRITE-PST-3P</sub>]]] [<sub>V<sup>0</sup></sub> t<sub>WRITE-PST-3P</sub>]]] [T<sup>0</sup> write-PST-3P]]]]
- b. ADVERB DELETION + AE  
 [TP Bhanu.NOM-too [TP [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> two hour for] [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> one-CLSFR poem] [<sub>V<sup>0</sup></sub> t<sub>WRITE-PST-3P</sub>]]] [<sub>V<sup>0</sup></sub> t<sub>WRITE-PST-3P</sub>]]] [T<sup>0</sup> write-PST-3P]]]]

9. The trees in the following subsections are shown to elide a *v*P. Why the elided phrase should be a *v*P receives an explanation only by the end of § 2.4.

- c. ADVERB DELETION + PRO-DROP  
 [TP Bhanu.NOM-too [TP [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [~~PP two-hour for~~] [<sub>VP</sub> *pro* [<sub>V<sup>0</sup></sub> *t*<sub>write-PST-3P</sub>]]] [<sub>v<sup>0</sup></sub> *t*<sub>write-PST-3P</sub>]]]  
 [T<sup>0</sup> write-PST-3P]]]]
- d. AE  
 [TP Bhanu.NOM-too [TP [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [~~DP one-CLSFR poem~~] [<sub>V<sup>0</sup></sub> *t*<sub>write-PST-3P</sub>]]] [<sub>v<sup>0</sup></sub> *t*<sub>write-PST-3P</sub>]]]  
 [T<sup>0</sup> write-PST-3P]]]]
- e. PRO-DROP  
 [TP Bhanu.NOM-too [TP [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *pro* [<sub>V<sup>0</sup></sub> *t*<sub>write-PST-3P</sub>]]] [<sub>v<sup>0</sup></sub> *t*<sub>write-PST-3P</sub>]]] [T<sup>0</sup> write-PST-3P]]]]

(10) helps us appreciate the fact that the adverb can actually be syntactically present ((9a) or (9b) or (9c)): if A corrects B's reply by stating that Bhanu took five hours to write the poem, the discourse is in no way infelicitous. That means that the adverb must be syntactically present, or there would be no linguistic information for A to correct.

- (10) A: mod<sup>h</sup>u      du-g<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>h</sup>ta    d<sup>h</sup>ore æk-ta      kobita lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM two-hour for one-CLSFR poem write-PST-3P  
 “Madhu wrote a poem for two hours.”  
 B: b<sup>h</sup>anu-o      lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Bhanu.NOM-too write-PST-3P  
 “Bhanu wrote a poem for two hours too.”  
 A: na, na, b<sup>h</sup>anu-to    pãtʃ    g<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>h</sup>ta    d<sup>h</sup>ore lik<sup>h</sup>-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 no no Bhanu-TOP FIVE HOUR for write-PFV-PRES.3P  
 “No, no, Bhanu wrote it for FIVE HOURS.”

The impossibility of (9b) and (9c) — where the adverbial and the DP go silent independently — are demonstrable in two ways. Firstly, if they *were* possible, then similar continuations should be felicitous in structures such as (11) because these two processes involve independent dropping of a syntactically present adverbial and so does (11).

- (11) ADVERB DELETION ONLY  
 [TP Bhanu.NOM-too [TP [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [~~PP two-hour for~~] [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> one-CLSFR poem] [<sub>V<sup>0</sup></sub> *t*<sub>write-PST-3P</sub>]]] [<sub>v<sup>0</sup></sub> *t*<sub>write-PST-3P</sub>]]]  
 [T<sup>0</sup> write-PST-3P]]]]

The fact that a continuation of (11) as in (10) is infelicitous demonstrates that such a derivation should not be possible (12).

- (12) A: mod<sup>h</sup>u      du-g<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>h</sup>ta    d<sup>h</sup>ore æk-ta      kobita lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM two-hour for one-CLSFR poem write-PST-3P  
 “Madhu wrote a poem for two hours.”  
 B: b<sup>h</sup>anu-o      æk-ta      kobita lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Bhanu.NOM-too one-CLSFR poem write-PST-3P  
 “Bhanu wrote a poem (# for two hours) too.”  
 A: #na, na, b<sup>h</sup>anu-to    pãtʃ    g<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>h</sup>ta    d<sup>h</sup>ore lik<sup>h</sup>-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 no no Bhanu-TOP FIVE HOUR for write-PFV-PRES.3P  
 # “No, no, Bhanu wrote it for FIVE HOURS.”

To see the second reason, consider the example below and the minimal pair that follows. ((14a) is repeated from (12).). The continuation in (13) ensures that “write” is not being used in an intransitive way.<sup>10</sup>

- (13) A: mod<sup>h</sup>u      du-g<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>h</sup>ta d<sup>h</sup>ore æk-ta      kobita lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM two-hour for one-CLSFR poem write-PST-3P

“Madhu wrote a poem for two hours.”

- B: b<sup>h</sup>anu-o      du-g<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>h</sup>ta d<sup>h</sup>ore lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Bhanu.NOM-too two-hour for write-PST-3P

“Bhanu wrote a poem for two hours too.”

- A: na, na, b<sup>h</sup>anu-to æk-ta      gɔl<sup>h</sup>po lik<sup>h</sup>-et<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 no no Bhanu-TOP one-CLSFR STORY write-PFV-PRES.3P

“No, no, Bhanu wrote a STORY.”

- (14) a. A: mod<sup>h</sup>u      du-g<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>h</sup>ta d<sup>h</sup>ore æk-ta      kobita lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM two-hour for one-CLSFR poem write-PST-3P

“Madhu wrote a poem for two hours.”

- B: b<sup>h</sup>anu-o      æk-ta      kobita lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Bhanu.NOM-too one-CLSFR poem write-PST-3P

“Bhanu wrote a poem (# for two hours) too.”

- A: #na, na, b<sup>h</sup>anu-to pãtʃ g<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>h</sup>ta d<sup>h</sup>ore lik<sup>h</sup>-et<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 no no Bhanu-TOP FIVE HOUR for write-PFV-PRES.3P

# “No, no, Bhanu wrote it for FIVE HOURS.”

- b. A: mod<sup>h</sup>u      du-g<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>h</sup>ta d<sup>h</sup>ore æk-ta      kobita lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM two-hour for one-CLSFR poem write-PST-3P

“Madhu wrote a poem for two hours.”

- B: ar b<sup>h</sup>anu-o      æk-ta      gɔl<sup>h</sup>po lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 and Bhanu.NOM-too one-CLSFR STORY write-PST-3P

“Bhanu wrote a STORY (for two hours) too.”

- A: na, na, b<sup>h</sup>anu-to pãtʃ g<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>h</sup>ta d<sup>h</sup>ore lik<sup>h</sup>-et<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 no no Bhanu-TOP FIVE HOUR for write-PFV-PRES.3P

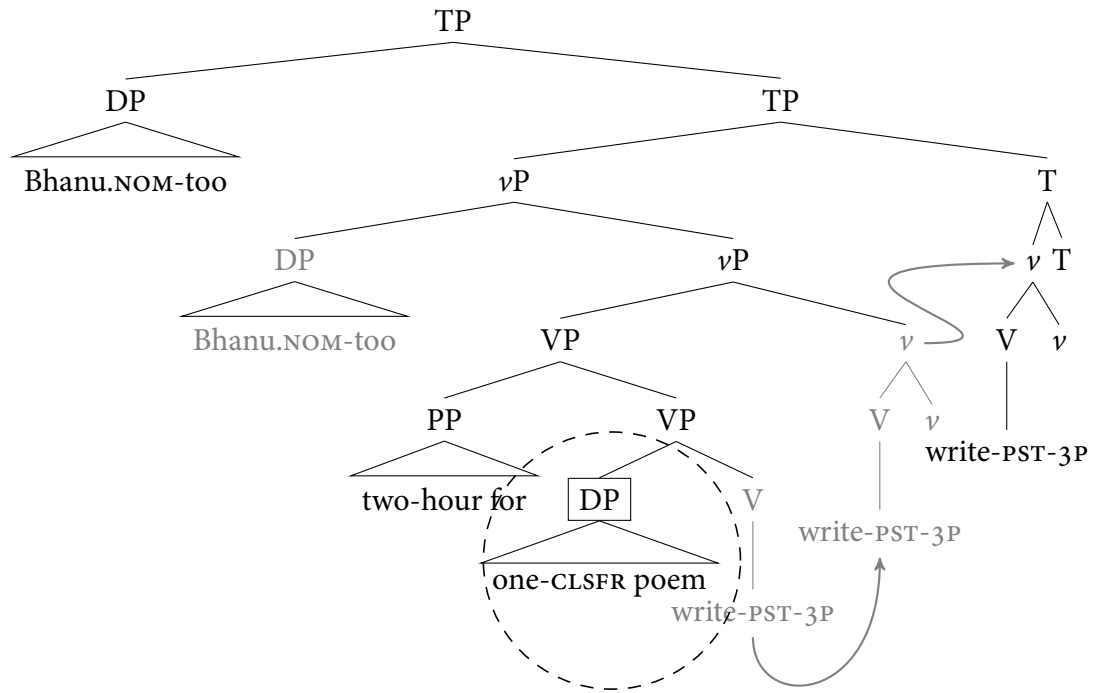
“No, no, Bhanu wrote for FIVE HOURS.”

(13) shows that when the object goes missing by AE/*pro*-drop, the remaining material of the *vP* does not have to bear contrastive focus and the sentence can still preserve the meaning of the unspoken object. But (14) shows that when only the adjunct goes missing leaving out the object, its meaning cannot be interpreted in the elliptical clause unless the object bears heavy contrastive focus. This difference between the behaviors of an object going unspoken and an adjunct going unspoken tells us that the processes involved in these two derivations are not the same. That is, (10) cannot involve (9b) or (9c), and must be derived by (9a), which is VVPE. For the sake of completeness, I would suggest that B’s reply in (14b) has a Pseudogapping-like

10. Uppercase indicates strong contrastive focus marking.

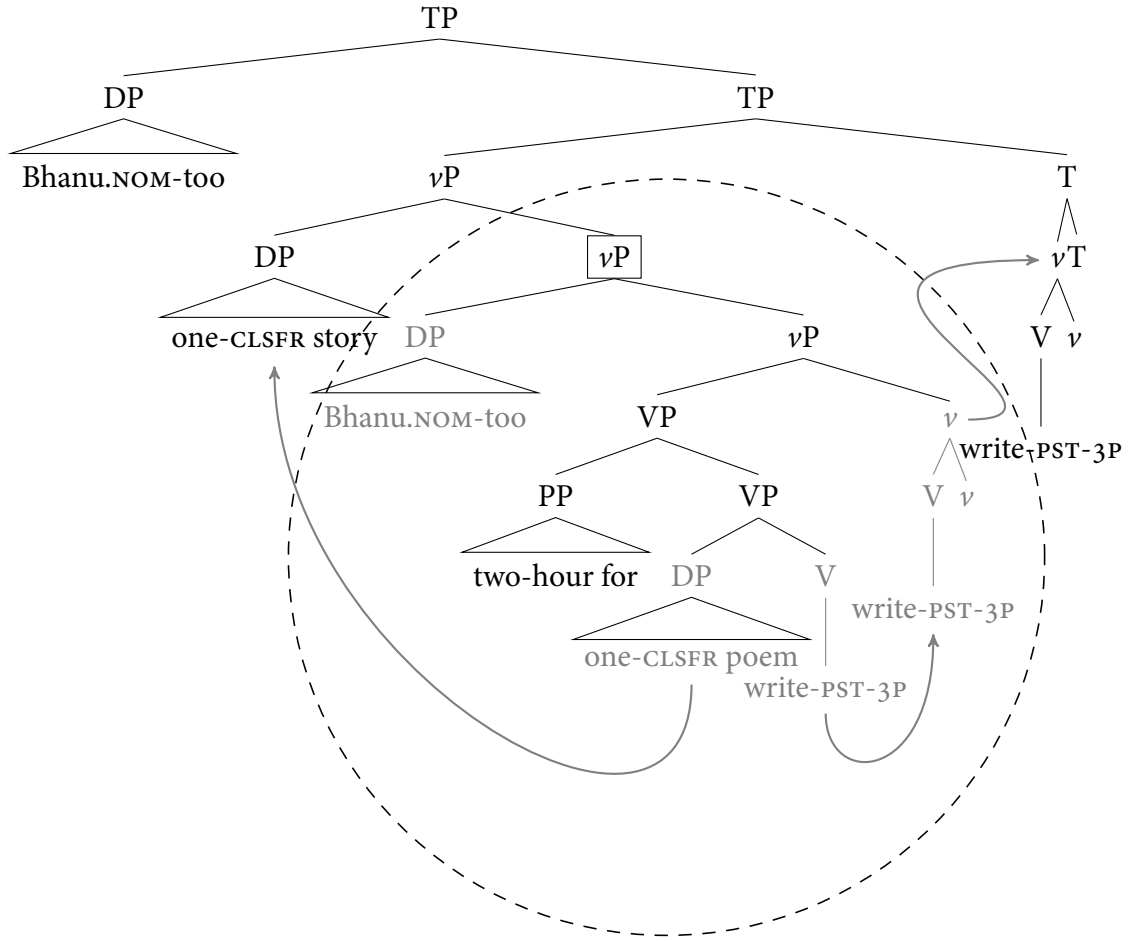
structure, in which the contrastive focus-marked object DP moves out of the  $\nu$ P, after which the lower segment of the  $\nu$ P is elided and the adjunct is left inside the ellipsis site (16). (I adapt the structures in Pesetsky (1982), Jayaseelan (1990), Lasnik (1999), Baltin (2003), Takahashi (2004) and Johnson (2000b, 2009) to a  $\nu$ P Ellipsis structure with  $\nu$ P adjunction of the contrastive focus marked element.) (15), then, underlies (14a). Especially, the existence of (14b) shows that there has to be a process in Bengali which is distinct from processes that allows only objects (and no other  $\nu$ P-internal argument) to go unpronounced. This, as I've suggested, is VVPE (considering that Pseudogapping involves VPE since a VP gets elided in the process).

(15)



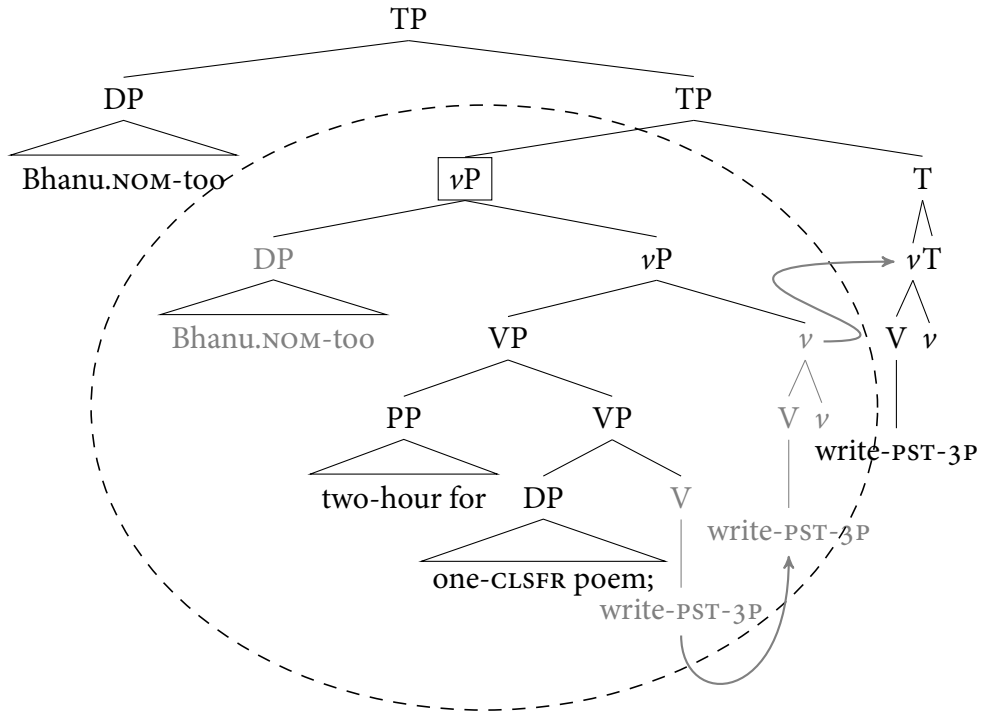


(16)



This means that the derivation of B's reply in (10) must be derived by VVPE as in (17).

(17)



Landau (2019) uses a Hindi example exactly like (14b), which is in (18), to show that the null adjunct reading is preserved when an object is present in the elliptical response (18).

- (18) Amit-ne dhiire-dhiire ek vritt banaayaa.  
 Amit-ERG slowly one circle draw.PRES.M.SG

“Amit drew a circle slowly.”

Gita-ne chaukor banaayaa.

Gita-ERG square draw.PRES.M.SG

“Gita drew a square (slowly).”

(Landau (2019), (10))

Based on this example, he argues that the overt pronunciation of an adjunct is always optional, and even if adjuncts are not present in the syntax, their meaning is extendable from the antecedent. He then uses this fact to argue that examples like (8) are actually instances of AE with the null adjunct reading arising the way it does in (18).

However, given my preceding argument from Bengali, this argument is inadequate, for it disregards the possibility of a Pseudogapping-like derivation presented above in (16), which will make the null adjunct reading in (18) possible. In fact, Landau does not show, for Hindi, what happens when the object pronounced in the elliptical response is the same as the one in the antecedent clause. The object in the elliptical response in (18) is different from the one in the antecedent clause, which makes it reasonable to assume that it's this very difference that sanctions contrastive focus marking on the object, which, in turn, legitimizes the focus-driven movement of this object. If the object is not contrastive focus-marked, then there's nothing to sanction this movement and the ellipsis associated with the Pseudogapping-like derivation fails, along with the null adjunct reading. This is confirmed in (19).

- (19) A: Amit-ne dhiire-dhiire ek vritt banaayaa.  
 Amit-ERG slowly one circle draw.PRES.M.SG

“Amit drew a circle slowly.”

B: Gita-ne-bhii ek vritt banaayaa.

Gita-ERG-TOO one circle draw.PRES.M.SG

“Gita drew a circle too.” (“slowly” cannot be communicated)

(Rajesh Bhatt, p.c., March, 2020)

Similarly, my (14a) shows that if the object in the elliptical response is the same as the one in the antecedent clause, then the null adjunct reading is lost, which makes the status of Landau's examples reproduced in (18) dubious as an argument against VVPE.

It can also be ensured that the differing subject in the elliptical response in my example is not what is responsible, in some way, for this effect of the null adjunct reading being preserved: the null adjunct reading remains available even when the subject in the elliptical clause is, in fact, *pro*-dropped in coreference with the one in the antecedent clause (20). (14a) has been repeated in these examples to show a minimal pair.

- (20) a. A: mod<sup>h</sup>u      du-g<sup>h</sup>bn̄ta d<sup>h</sup>ore æk-ta      kobi<sup>h</sup>ta lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM two-hour for one-CLSFR poem write-PST-3P  
 “Madhu wrote a poem for two hours.”  
 B: ar b<sup>h</sup>anu-o      æk-ta      gɔl̄po lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 and Bhanu.NOM-too one-CLSFR STORY write-PST-3P  
 “Bhanu wrote a STORY (for two hours) too.”  
 A: na, na, b<sup>h</sup>anu-to pãt̄f g<sup>h</sup>bn̄ta d<sup>h</sup>ore lik<sup>h</sup>-et̄<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 no no Bhanu-TOP FIVE HOUR for write-PFV-PRES.3P  
 “No, no, Bhanu wrote for FIVE HOURS.”
- b. A: mod<sup>h</sup>u      du-g<sup>h</sup>bn̄ta d<sup>h</sup>ore æk-ta      kobi<sup>h</sup>ta lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM two-hour for one-CLSFR poem write-PST-3P  
 “Madhu wrote a poem for two hours.”  
 B: æk-ta      gɔl̄po-o      lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 one-CLSFR STORY-too write-PST-3P  
 “He wrote a STORY (for two hours) too.”  
 A: na, na, gɔl̄po-ta-to o      pãt̄f g<sup>h</sup>bn̄ta d<sup>h</sup>ore lik<sup>h</sup>-et̄<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 no no story-CLSFR.ACC-TOP he.NOM FIVE HOUR for write-PFV-PRES.3P  
 “No, no, he wrote the story for FIVE HOURS.”

For the sake of completeness, let’s now ask why the null adjunct reading is optional in (8). Consider (21).

- (21) A: mod<sup>h</sup>u      du-g<sup>h</sup>bn̄ta d<sup>h</sup>ore æk-ta      kobi<sup>h</sup>ta lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM two-hour for one-CLSFR poem write-PST-3P  
 “Madhu wrote a poem for two hours.”  
 B: b<sup>h</sup>anu-o      lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o.  
 Bhanu.NOM-too write-PST-3P  
 “Madhu wrote a poem (for two hours) too.”  
 A: mane      du-g<sup>h</sup>bn̄ta d<sup>h</sup>ore lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o      naki ju<sup>h</sup>d̄ui lik<sup>h</sup>-l-o?  
 meaning two-hour for write-PST-3P or only write-PST-3P  
 “What do you mean? Did he write the poem for two hours or did he just write it, period?”  
 B: na, na, ami bol̄-te t̄e-et̄<sup>h</sup>-i      đe o      æk-ta      kobi<sup>h</sup>ta  
 no no I say-INF want-PFV-PRES.1P that he.NOM one-CLSFR poem  
 lik<sup>h</sup>-et̄<sup>h</sup>-e.      o      afole pãt̄f g<sup>h</sup>bn̄ta d<sup>h</sup>ore lik<sup>h</sup>-et̄<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 write-PFV-PRES.3P he.NOM actually five hour for write-PFV-PRES.3P  
 “No, I meant he wrote a poem. He actually wrote it for five hours.”

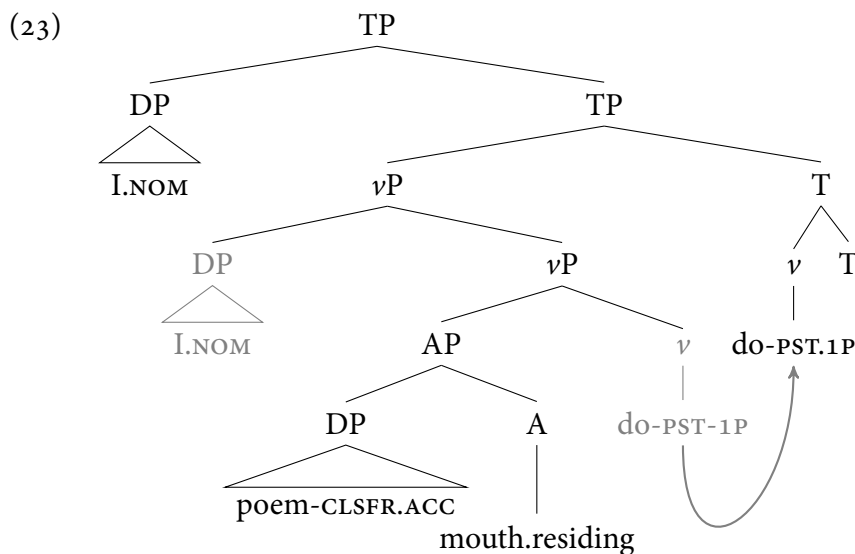
What a discourse of this kind reveals is that B’s reply in (8) is ambiguous between (9a) on one hand and (9d) and (9e) on the other. In the latter two, there is no adverbial in the syntax (*AE/pro-drop*) but in the former, there is (VVPE). This creates the ambiguity in B’s reply in (8) (which is B’s first reply in (21),) and makes the follow-up clarification of A’s in (21) felicitous.

## 2.2 COMPLEX PREDICATES

I will use the term “complex predicate” to refer to verbal predicates that have a light verb which gets inflected and a non-verbal Complement phrase whose head takes the object of this entire transitive verbal predicate as its Complement.<sup>11</sup> (22) is an example and I would assume, following Toosarvandani’s (2006, 2009) work on Persian VVPE, the basic structure in (23) to underlie (22). In this case, the light verb acts as a verbalizer.

- (22) ami kobita-ṭa muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-l-am.  
 I.NOM poem-CLSFR.ACC mouth.residing do-PST.1P

“I memorized the poem.”



To appreciate how complex predicates help us identify a process (VVPE) distinct from any process that, some way or another, allows an internal object of a verbal predicate to go unspoken (AE or *pro*-drop), consider (24).

- (24) A: mod<sup>f</sup>u kobita-ṭa muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM poem-CLSFR.ACC mouth.residing do-PST-3P

“Madhu memorized the poem.”

- B: b<sup>f</sup>anu-o kor-l-o.  
 Bhanu.NOM-too do-PST-3P

“Bhanu memorized the poem too.”

11. I have not been able to find any significant work on Bengali complex predicates. However, Butt and Ramchand (2005) is a fairly extensive work on this kind of predicates in Hindi/Urdu. There are obviously myriad parallels between the Bengali complex predicates and the Hindi/Urdu ones. I would, therefore, refer readers interested in the structure of such predicates to this work. Personally, however, I would not subscribe to their taxonomy of complex predicates, because what I mean by the term is a proper subset of what they mean by it. My understanding of the term is more akin to Toosarvandani’s (2006, 2009).

(25) shows the three possible derivations of (24). (25a) will be VVPE, (25b), AE and (25c), *pro*-drop.<sup>12, 13</sup>

- (25) a. VVPE  
 [<sub>TP</sub> Madhu.NOM [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> poem-CLSFR.ACC] [<sub>A<sup>0</sup></sub> mouth.residing]]] [<sub>v<sup>0</sup></sub> t<sub>do</sub>]]  
 [<sub>T<sup>0</sup></sub> do]]]
- b. AE  
 [<sub>TP</sub> Madhu.NOM [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> poem-CLSFR.ACC] [<sub>A<sup>0</sup></sub> mouth.residing]]] [<sub>v<sup>0</sup></sub> t<sub>do</sub>]]  
 [<sub>T<sup>0</sup></sub> do]]]
- c. *PRO*-DROP  
 [<sub>TP</sub> Madhu.NOM [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> *pro* [<sub>A<sup>0</sup></sub> mouth.residing]]] [<sub>v<sup>0</sup></sub> t<sub>do</sub>]]] [<sub>T<sup>0</sup></sub> do]]]

B's reply in (24) lacks the A<sup>0</sup> part of the complex predicate “mouth.residing do”. The question, then, is how this silence is licensed. It's critical to see, in this context, that these internal, potentially non-verbal predicate parts of the Bengali complex predicates cannot be independently silenced (26a) but that the object of the entire complex predicate can be (26b).

- (26) a. A: moḍḍ<sup>h</sup>u kobita-ta muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM poem-CLSFR.ACC mouth.residing do-PST-3P  
 “Madhu memorized the poem.”  
 B: # b<sup>h</sup>anu-o kobita-ta kor-l-o.  
 Bhanu.NOM-too poem-CLSFR.ACC do-PST-3P  
*intended* → “Bhanu memorized the poem too.”
- b. A: moḍḍ<sup>h</sup>u kobita-ta muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-l-o.  
 Madhu.NOM poem-CLSFR.ACC mouth.residing do-PST-3P  
 “Madhu memorized the poem.”  
 B: b<sup>h</sup>anu-o muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-l-o.  
 Bhanu.NOM-too mouth.residing do-PST-3P  
 “Bhanu memorized the poem too.”

As the preceding discussion of AE and *pro*-drop makes obvious, (26b) can be derived by either of these two processes. But notice that the vP-internal material that survives the silencing mechanism — that is, the lower predicate part of the complex predicate — does *not* have to be contrastive focus-marked. But, as (27) shows us, the vP-internal material left out by the silencing process must bear heavy contrastive focus; otherwise, infelicity obtains (26a).<sup>14</sup>

12. It could actually be argued that, in (25b) and (25c), either AE or *pro*-drop is responsible for the non-pronunciation of the lower potentially non-verbal predicate part of the complex predicate. It's unlikely that, even if there were such a process, it would be *pro*-drop, since, *pro*-drop is a kind of Deep Anaphora, in the sense of Hankamer and Sag (1976), that requires the presence of a highly salient discourse referent, and also because *pro* is essentially a DP. But, as (23) shows, the lower predicate part of the complex predicate is not a DP to begin with; in fact, it's a head. Similar arguments apply for the possibility of AE behind this kind of strings because AE does not elide heads, it elides argument phrases (Ignoring, for the moment, the fact that in cases of non-branching arguments, AE should be able to elide what would essentially be a head according to Bare Phrase Structure of Chomsky (1995).) All things being equal, I will demonstrate that VVPE can be identified regardless of such considerations.

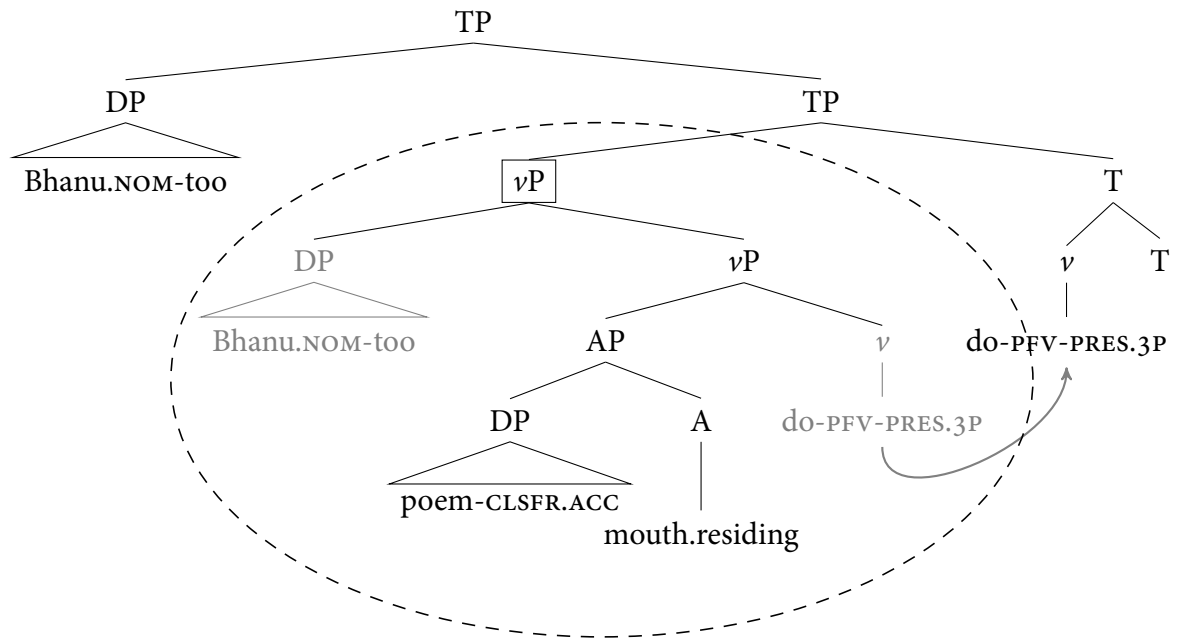
13. (25) involves “eliding” a head individually, whatever the term might imply in that kind of a scenario. It's not my concern here that a process of this sort can, frankly, be non-existent. I consider it only for the sake of completeness, in order to abduce the implication of VVPE with better certainty.

14. Thanks to Kyle Johnson for suggesting this line of inquiry.

- (27) A: mod<sup>h</sup>u      kobiṭa-ṭa      muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o      kor-et<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 Madhu.NOM poem-CLSFR.ACC mouth.residing do-PFV-PRES.3P  
 “Madhu has memorized the poem.”
- B: ar    b<sup>h</sup>anu(-o)      gaṇ-ṭa      kor-et<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 and Bhanu.NOM(-too) SONG-CLSFR.ACC do-PFV-PRES.3P  
 “And Bhanu has memorized the SONG.”

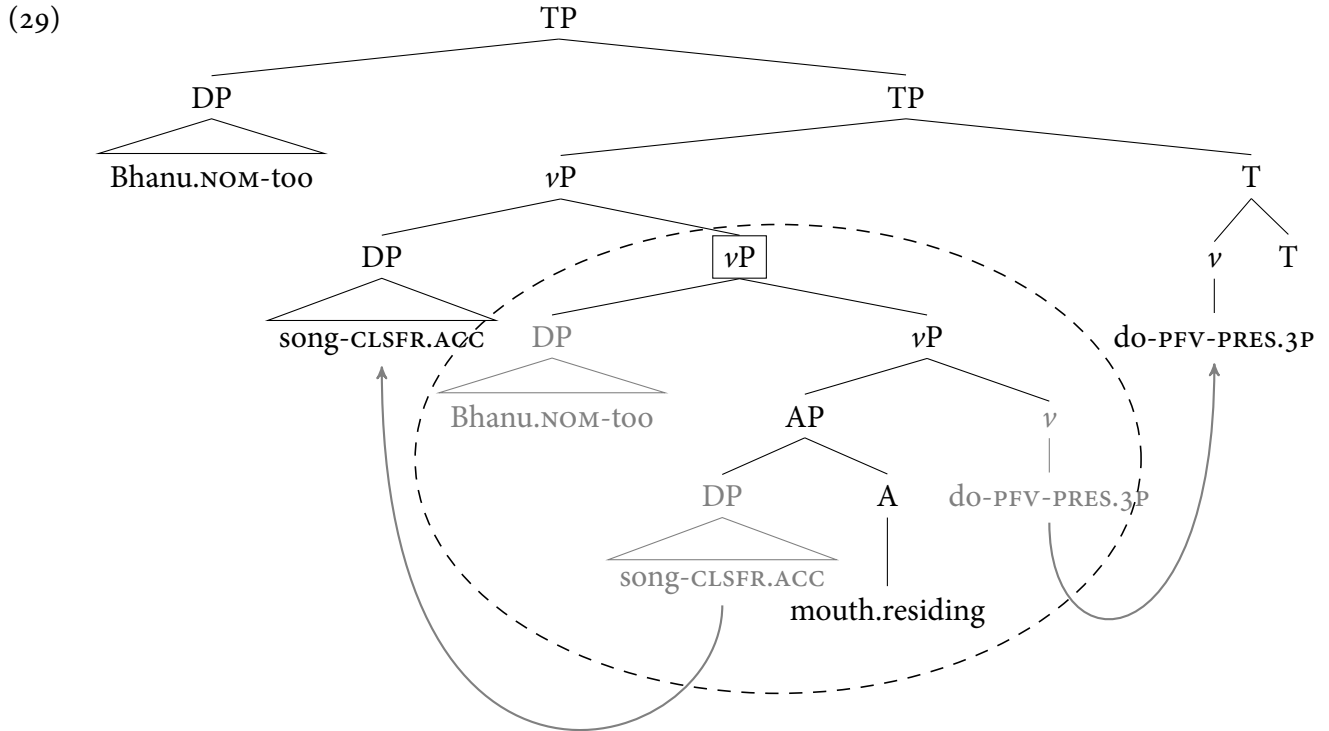
This demonstrates that the derivation for (27) cannot be (25b) or (25c). That means that there has to be a mechanism in Bengali, distinct from AE and *pro*-drop, that can derive B’s reply in (24). I suggest that this is (25a), resulting in VVPE (28).

- (28) VVPE WITH COMPLEX PREDICATES



Again, for the sake of completeness, as in the previous section, I would suggest that B’s reply in (27) has a Pseudogapping-like structure, in which the contrastive focus-marked object DP moves out of the  $vP$ , after which the lower segment of the  $vP$  is elided (29).<sup>15</sup>

15. The argument in this subsection doesn’t demonstrate that what is being elided is a projection of  $vP$  because the data here could be explained by assuming that the Complement of  $v^0$  is what gets elided. § 2.4 will show that it’s actually  $vP$  that elides, not the lower predicate. It’s in anticipation of § 2.4 that all my Bengali VVPEs are shown to conform to this so far unverified ellipsis size.



### 2.3 EXTRACTION

The gold standard test to identify an active structure at the ellipsis site is to show that extraction is possible from it (Merchant (2013a,b, 2016)). This diagnostic is seen in Merchant (2013a) for  $\bar{A}$ -movement from English VP Ellipsis sites, in Merchant (2013b) for A-movement for passives and in Merchant (2018) for Greek VVPE. In Merchant (2018), he uses (30) (his (72)) to illustrate this point in Greek.

- (30) Thelo na miliso ja to proto thema. Ja to deftero, dhe thelo.  
 want.1S SUBJ speak.1S about the first topic about the second not want.1S  
 “I want to speak about the first topic. About the second one, I don’t (want to speak).”

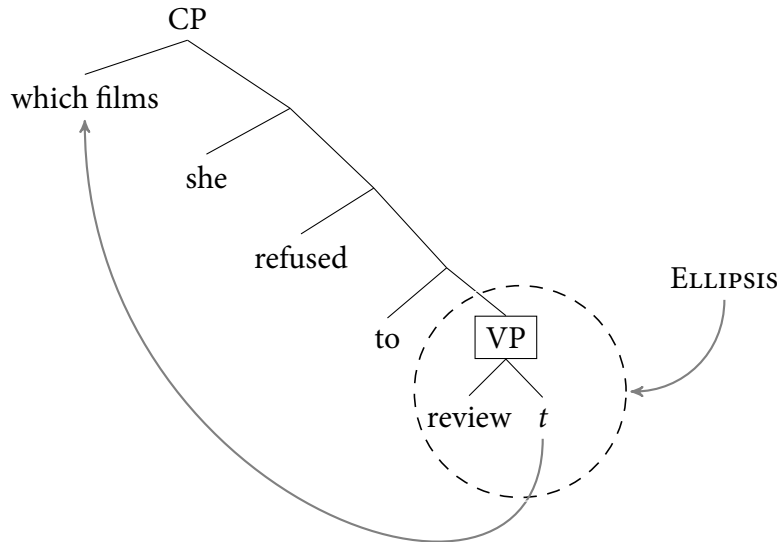
His argument is that *ja to deftero* “about the second one” must be a PP that is an argument of the predicate *milao* “to speak”. If that is the case and this PP appears to be left-dislocated preserving the meaning of the predicate *milao*, then the predicate must have an active syntactic presence which would allow this PP to be base-generated inside a predicate structure in the first place. He concludes from this that (30) is an instance of VVPE in which “thelo” has moved out of its VP to  $T^0$  and that entire VP with the Control infinitive bearing the VP headed by *milao* has been elided. He bases this conclusion, if we look carefully, on the observation that the left-dislocated PP cannot be an argument of “thelo”, which is why there has to be a complete VP structure being elided, which, in turn, is based on data from English that Null Complement Anaphora (NCA) does not allow extraction in English and that extraction out of something unpronounced categorically implies presence of syntactic structure ((31) and (33)). (32) shows the VP Ellipsis structure.

(31) VP ELLIPSIS

- a. We need to know which films Anna refused to review, and which ones she agreed to.
- b. We need to know which films Anna agreed to review, and which ones she refused to.

(Merchant (2018), (69): 248)

(32)



(Merchant (2018), (70): 248)

(33) NULL COMPLEMENT ANAPHORA

- a. We asked Anna to review these five films, and she agreed. (*sc.* to review them)
- b. \*We need to know which films Anna refused to review, and which ones she agreed.

(Merchant (2018), (71): 248)

The following examples from Bengali illustrate the same point with complex predicates. Witness (34).

- (34) ami prot<sup>h</sup>om biḷbe-ṭa nie kḍṭ<sup>h</sup>a bol<sup>l</sup>-ṭe raḍi fio-i  
 I.NOM first subject-CLSFR.ACC about speech say-GER agreeing be-PRES.1P  
 n-i, diṭio biḷbe-ṭa nie fio-eṭṭ<sup>h</sup>-i.  
 NEG-PFV second subject-CLSFR.ACC about be-PFV-PRES.1P

“I didn’t agree to talk about the first topic on Wednesday. About the second topic, I did.”

Since the PP “second subject-CLSFR.ACC about” has to be base-generated inside a predicate structure and since it’s licensed by the verb “speech say”, the predicate must have an active syntactic presence in the ellipsis site, which eliminates an NCA analysis. However, the other possibility



is that what is elided is the clausal Complement of the stranded verb. This won't be tenable, because only the light verb component of the complex predicate is stranded, which means that it has to be VVPE that's generating this example.

The same conclusion can be reached through Bengali Antecedent Contained Deletion (ACD) cases as well. Consider (35).

- (35) a. umapada<sub>o</sub> fei<sub>i</sub> jinduk-ta<sub>i</sub> t<sup>h</sup>eke taka<sub>i</sub> t<sub>u</sub>ri kor-et<sup>h</sup>-e  
 Umapada.NOM that safe-CLSFR from money theft do-PFV-PRES.3P  
 t<sub>e</sub>-ta<sub>i</sub> t<sup>h</sup>eke monda<sub>a</sub> kor-et<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 which-CLSFR from Monda.NOM do-PFV-PRES.3P

“Umapada stole Money from that safe that Monda stole money from.”

- b. t<sub>h</sub>aru amol-ke fei<sub>i</sub> t<sub>u</sub>rna-kolom-ta<sub>i</sub> upohar di-l-o  
 Charu.NOM Amol-DAT that fountain-pen<sub>i</sub>-CLSFR.ACC gift give-PST-3P  
 t<sub>e</sub>-ta<sub>i</sub> monda<sub>j</sub> b<sup>h</sup>eb-et<sup>h</sup>-il-o o<sub>j</sub> de-b-e.  
 which<sub>i</sub> Monda<sub>j</sub> think-PFV-PST-3P she<sub>j</sub> give-FUT-3P

“Charu gifted Amol with the fountain pen that Monda<sub>j</sub> thought she<sub>j</sub> would gift him with.”

- c. b<sup>h</sup>upoti amol-ke fei<sub>i</sub> g<sup>h</sup>dr-ta<sub>i</sub>-e lat<sup>h</sup>i mar-l-o t<sub>e</sub>khane<sub>i</sub>  
 Bhupoti.NOM Amol-ACC that room<sub>i</sub>-CLSFR-LOC kick hit-PST-3P where<sub>i</sub>  
 umapada<sub>o</sub> mer-et<sup>h</sup>-il-o.  
 Umapada.NOM hit-PFV-PST-3P

“Bhupoti kicked Amol in the room where Umapada had.”

These are all instances of ACD. Yet, the VPs “theft do”, “gift give” and “kick hit” are absent in the relative clauses that contain the ellipses except the “theft”, the “give” and the “hit” part. This is because “theft do”, “gift give” and “kick hit” are complex predicates and, as illustrated in § 2.2, only the light verbs “do”, “give” and “hit” get stranded and their Complement parts, which are “do”, “gift” and “kick” are engulfed by ellipsis. This ensures that no kind of argument drop inside the relative clause VP is obfuscating the diagnostics. This example is consistent with the fact that, in order for the relative pronoun to be base-generated, there has to be a predicate to take it as an argument. Thus, this two-way enforcement of VVPE resulting in perfectly grammatical ACD sentences serves as evidence for VVPE in Bengali.

## 2.4 AGAIN: JOHNSON (2004A)

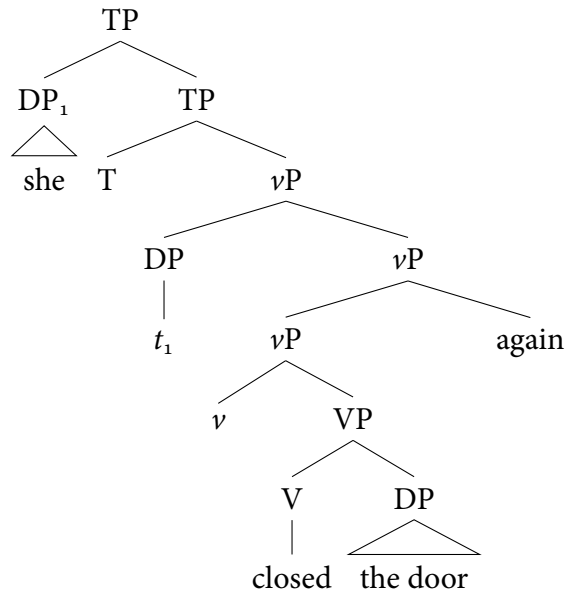
The essence of this test is that it demonstrates whether what is elided in a VP Ellipsis is the verbal constituent denoting the agentive action event of the entire meaning of the predicate (the inchoative phrase) or only the state denoting component of it (the stative phrase). Consider (36).

- (36) She closed the door again.  
 a. She closed the door, and someone had closed it before.  
 b. She closed the door, and it had been in that state before.

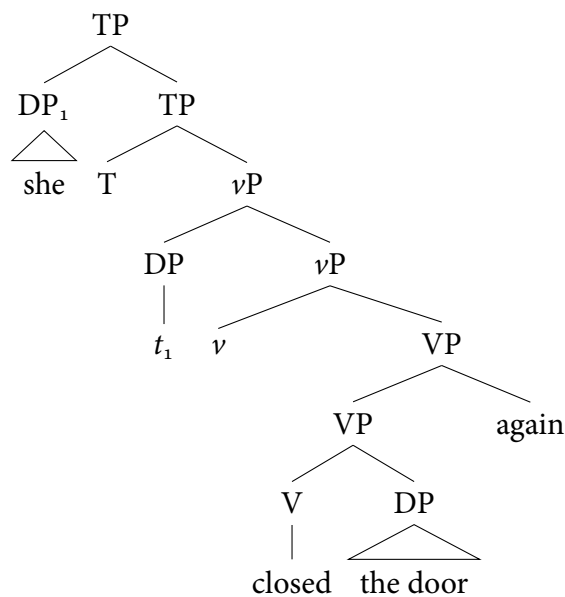
(Johnson (2004a), (24): 8)

Johnson follows von Stechow (1996) and Rapp and von Stechow's (1999) claim that this ambiguity is syntactic and, assuming that *again* has a presupposition that the constituent it modifies has occurred before, he proposes that the repetitive reading arises when *again* modifies an inchoative *vP* that denotes the event of the action of the state denoted by its Complement VP, and the restitutive reading arises when *again* modifies the stative Complement VP that denotes the state. That is, the ambiguity is between the two structures in (37).

(37) a. (Johnson (2004a), (25): 8)



b. (Johnson (2004a), (26): 8)



It appears that only repetitive readings emerge in ellipsis scenarios. Witness (38).

(38) Jane closed the door, and then Maribel did again.

(Johnson (2004a), (29): 9)

The clause in the second conjunct of this sentence is infelicitous in contexts such as (39), which forces the restitutive reading. (40) shows the full discourse with a felicitous restitutive reading in the absence of ellipsis.

(39) \*The wind blew the door open, and no one closed it. Finally, Maribel did again.

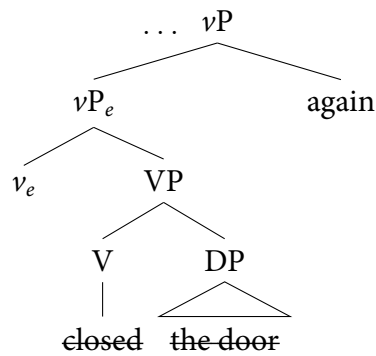
(based on Johnson (2004a, (28): 9))

(40) The wind blew the door open, and no one closed it. Finally Maribel closed it again.

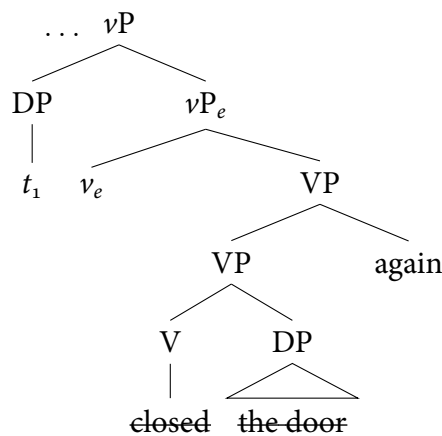
(Johnson (2004a), (28): 9)

This means that only the structure in which a  $\nu$ P goes unpronounced must underlie (40), because only then can the *again* survive the ellipsis by merging with a constituent big enough to modify the action event denoting phrase, which is the  $\nu$ P. That is, (41a) can be the structure of the  $\nu$ P, but (41b) cannot.

(41) a. (Johnson (2004a), (29): 9)



b. (Johnson (2004a), (30): 9)



Apart from adjudicating the size of the elided phrase, what this test is also supposed to reveal is the fact that if the ambiguity between repetitive and restitutive readings is resolved in an elliptical clause, then this resolution must be caused by VP Ellipsis. That is, for instance, if this kind of resolution is possible in Bengali in a clause whose string is ambiguous between VVPE and AE/*pro*-drop, then the process generating the sentence must be VVPE because AE/*pro*-drop would just allow the object of the verb to go unpronounced in their own ways, but would in no way prevent the *again* to modify either the inchoative phrase or the stative one and the ambiguity resolution would not be possible, while the opposite would be the case for VVPE.

It turns out that that Bengali does not allow restitutive readings with the sentences I'm labeling as VVPE. Consider the three following discourses.<sup>16</sup>

---

16. See Toosarvandani (2009) for a similar test in Persian, but with the opposite results. The purpose of his test, however, was to discover which phrase undergoes ellipsis, but not to prove the existence of VVPE.

- (42) a.  $\text{fia}\underset{\circ}{\text{oa}}\text{-e}$   $\text{d}\underset{\circ}{\text{r}}\text{c}\underset{\circ}{\text{a}}\text{-ta}$   $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ul-e}$   $\text{g}\underset{\circ}{\text{a}}\text{-l-o.}$   $\text{keu}$   $\text{b}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{f}}\underset{\circ}{\text{o}}$   
 wind-INSTR door-CLSFR.NOM open-GER go-PST-3P anyone<sub>NPI</sub> closed  
 $\text{kor-l-o}$   $\text{n-a,}$   $\text{t}\underset{\circ}{\text{ai}}$   $\text{ami}$   $\text{abar}$   $\text{o}\underset{\circ}{\text{t}}\text{a}/\text{d}\underset{\circ}{\text{r}}\text{c}\underset{\circ}{\text{a}}\text{-ta}$   $\text{b}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{f}}\underset{\circ}{\text{o}}$   
 do-PST-3P NEG-IMPV so I.NOM again that.ACC/door-CLSFR.ACC closed  
 $\text{kor-l-am.}$   
 do-PST-1P  
 “The wind blew the door open. No one closed it, so I closed it again.”
- b.  $\text{fia}\underset{\circ}{\text{oa}}\text{-e}$   $\text{d}\underset{\circ}{\text{r}}\text{c}\underset{\circ}{\text{a}}\text{-ta}$   $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ul-e}$   $\text{g}\underset{\circ}{\text{a}}\text{-l-o.}$   $\text{keu}$   $\text{b}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{f}}\underset{\circ}{\text{o}}$   
 wind-INSTR door-CLSFR.NOM open-GER go-PST-3P anyone<sub>NPI</sub> closed  
 $\text{kor-l-o}$   $\text{n-a,}$   $\text{t}\underset{\circ}{\text{ai}}$   $\text{ami}$   $\text{abar}$   $\text{b}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{f}}\underset{\circ}{\text{o}}$   $\text{kor-l-am.}$   
 do-PST-3P NEG-IMPV so I.NOM again closed do-PST-1P  
 “The wind blew the door open. No one closed it, so I closed it again.”
- c.  $\text{d}\underset{\circ}{\text{m}}\text{ol}$   $\text{d}\underset{\circ}{\text{r}}\text{c}\underset{\circ}{\text{a}}\text{-ta}$   $\text{b}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{f}}\underset{\circ}{\text{o}}$   $\text{kor-l-o.}$   $\text{ki}\underset{\circ}{\text{t}}\text{h}\text{-u-k}^{\text{h}}\text{on}$   $\text{p}\underset{\circ}{\text{r}}\text{e}$   $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ola}$   
 Amol.NOM door-CLSFR.ACC closed do-PST-3P some-moment after open  
 $\text{d}\underset{\circ}{\text{e}}\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{-e}$   $\text{ami}$   $\text{abar}$   $\text{b}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{f}}\underset{\circ}{\text{o}}$   $\text{kor-l-am.}$   
 see-GER I.NOM again closed do-PST-1P  
 “Amol closed the door. After some time, seeing it open, I closed it again.”
- d. #  $\text{fia}\underset{\circ}{\text{oa}}\text{-e}$   $\text{d}\underset{\circ}{\text{r}}\text{c}\underset{\circ}{\text{a}}\text{-ta}$   $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ul-e}$   $\text{g}\underset{\circ}{\text{a}}\text{-l-o.}$   $\text{keu}$   $\text{b}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{d}}\underset{\circ}{\text{f}}\underset{\circ}{\text{o}}$   
 wind-INSTR door-CLSFR.NOM open-GER go-PST-3P anyone<sub>NPI</sub> closed  
 $\text{kor-l-o}$   $\text{n-a,}$   $\text{t}\underset{\circ}{\text{ai}}$   $\text{ami}$   $\text{abar}$   $\text{kor-l-am.}$   
 do-PST-3P NEG-IMPV so I.NOM again do-PST-1P  
 # “The wind blew the door open. No one closed it, so I did again.”
- e.  $\text{d}\underset{\circ}{\text{m}}\text{ol}$   $\text{f}\underset{\circ}{\text{o}}\text{k}\text{al-e}$   $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{r-ta}$   $\text{pori}\text{f}\text{kar}$   $\text{kor-et}^{\text{h}}\text{i-l-o.}$   $\text{p}\underset{\circ}{\text{r}}\text{e}$   
 Amol.NOM morning-LOC room-CLSFR.ACC clean do-PFV-PST-3P later  
 $\text{ami}$   $\text{abar}$   $\text{kor-l-am.}$   
 I.NOM again do-PST-1P  
 “Amol had cleaned the room in the morning. Later, I did again.”

(42a) can have both the repetitive and the restitutive reading because there is no ellipsis and consequently, *again* is free to modify the lower stative VP or the higher inchoative *v*P. The same is the case in (42b) because, since we’re dealing with a complex predicate “closed do” and both of its parts survive the concision, what we have cannot be VP Ellipsis but can only be either *pro*-drop or AE. That is, it’s exactly (42a), with a silent element in the direct object position. Whatever the silencing process is, then, the *again* is again free to generate the restitutive reading along with the repetitive reading, just as in (42a). (42c) shows that, as long as both the parts of the complex predicate are realized, the repetitive reading is perfectly fine too — in that the *again* in this example modifies the inchoative phrase — because this *again* can be adjoined to that phrase as well. In (42d), however, VP Ellipsis is ensured by stranding only the light verb part of the complex predicate, which, as we have observed above, disables the restitutive reading. But since that is the only reading that is forced by the context (because the door was in the closed state; nothing about someone closing it is mentioned therein), the restitutive reading must be available to create a felicitous discourse. This is what creates a conflict between syntactic feasibility and pragmatic contextualization and, as a result, the discourse is infelicitous. But the repetitive

reading *is* otherwise — that is, without the complexity added by *again* — accessible (42e). This means that, since this kind of ambiguity resolution is possible in this kind of elliptical sentences, it must be VVPE that underlies these sentences. Thus, my sentences stand this test too, which probably unimpeachably demonstrates by now that these are indeed VVPE.

## 2.5 CONJUNCTION AND DISJUNCTION

One innovation in Gribanova (2013a,b) for distinguishing between VVPE and *pro*-drop is the diagnostic of conjunction and disjunction. She shows that, in Russian, when the clause containing the antecedent has a VP whose  $V^0$  part has ATB-Moved out of two conjoined/disjoined VPs, the clause containing the alleged VVPE can strand the  $V^0$  and have none of the remaining elements in the antecedent VP spoken, not even the coordinator ((43), Gribanova’s (2013a) (3) and (5)). She argues that these sentences must be produced by a VP Ellipsis process that deletes everything in the VP after its head moves out of it for independent reasons. She demonstrates this by arguing that these sentences could be described as instances of NP-Ellipsis (NPE)<sup>17</sup> or *pro*-drop only if there were some way of dropping the coordinators in Russian independently. (44) (her (4)), however, shows for conjunctions that such sentences with elided or dropped arguments on both sides of an overt coordinator becomes completely ungrammatical. That is, if the sentences in (43) were instances of NPE/*pro*-drop, then “pen.ACC”, “on table”, “book.ACC” and “on chair” could all be elided/dropped individually in (44) and the coordinator would have to stay overt since it cannot be dropped independently in the language.

(43) a. CONJUNCTION

A: Kažetsja, čto Anja položila ručku na stol, *i* knigu na stol.  
seems that Anya put.PST.SG.F pen.ACC on table *and* book.ACC on chair

“It seems that Anya out the pen on the table and the book on the chair.”

B: Net, ne položila.  
no NEG put.PST.SG.F

“No, she didn’t put (the pen on the table and the book on the chair).”

b. DISJUNCTION

A: Ty položil ručku na stol, *ili* knigu na stol?  
you put.PST.SG.M pen.ACC on table *or* book.ACC on chair

“Did you put the pen on the table or the book on the chair?”

B: Net, ne položil.  
no NEG put.PST.SG.M

“No, I didn’t put (the pen on the table or the book on the chair).”

(44) A: Kažetsja, čto Anja položila ručku na stol, *i* knigu na stol.  
seems that Anya put.PST.SG.F pen.ACC on table *and* book.ACC on chair

“It seems that Anya out the pen on the table and the book on the chair.”

B: \*Net, ne položila *i*.  
no NEG put.PST.SG.F *and*

*intended* → “No, she didn’t put (the pen on the table and the book on the chair).”

17. Which, I believe, can be assimilated to Bengali AE.

She shows that the interpretation of (43b) conforms to De Morgan's laws and represents the interpretation of (43b) as (45) (her (6)). The meaning, she says, that (45) can have is unambiguously the one allowed by De Morgan's laws in which the negation outscopes the disjunction and, as a result, the meaning is of the conjunction of the negated counterparts of the two originally affirmative disjuncts. That is, the meaning of (45) is the one in (46a) (her (7)), not the others in (46) (her (8a-c))

(45)  $\neg$  [put<sub>x</sub> [[VP\_\_\_<sub>x</sub> the pen on the table]  $\vee$  [VP\_\_\_<sub>x</sub> the book on the chair]]]

- (46) a.  $[\neg$  put the pen on the table]  $\wedge$   $[\neg$  put the book on the chair]  $\rightarrow \checkmark$   
 b.  $[\neg$  put the pen on the table]  $\vee$   $[\neg$  put the book on the chair]  $\rightarrow *$   
 c.  $[\neg$  put the pen on the table]  $\vee$  [put the book on the chair]  $\rightarrow *$   
 d. [put the pen on the table]  $\vee$   $[\neg$  put the book on the chair]  $\rightarrow *$

This tells us that (43b) is an instance of true — that is, complete — disjunction, in which the negation outscopes the disjunction. Gribanova takes these facts as evidence for VVPE in Russian.

Applying this insight to Bengali now, if the VPs in the alleged VVPE sentences of Bengali are made to be big VPs with coordinated, lower VPs that the head  $V^0$  has ATB-Moved out of, then the clause housing the ellipsis can leave everything unpronounced except that moved verbal head (47).

(47) a. CONJUNCTION

A: tʃaru            ɔmol-ke    kʰat̪a-t̪a                            ar    mɔn̪ɔ̃da-ke    pan-er  
 Charu.NOM    Amol-DAT    notebook-CLSFR.ACC    and    Monda-DAT    betel-GEN  
           baʃa-t̪a            ɖi-et̪ʰ-e.  
           case-CLSFR.ACC    give-PFV-PRES.3P

“Charu has given the notebook to Amol and the betel case to Monda.”

B: na,    dæ-ɐ                            n-i.  
 no    give-PRES.3P    NEG-PFV

“No, she hasn't.”

b. DISJUNCTION

A: tʃaru            ɔmol-ke    kʰat̪a-t̪a                            ba    mɔn̪ɔ̃da-ke    pan-er  
 Charu.NOM    Amol-DAT    notebook-CLSFR.ACC    or    Monda-DAT    betel-GEN  
           baʃa-t̪a            ɖi-et̪ʰ-e.  
           case-CLSFR.ACC    give-PFV-PRES.3P

“Charu has given the notebook to Amol or the betel case to Monda.”

B: na,    dæ-ɐ                            n-i.  
 no    give-PRES.3P    NEG-PFV

“No, she hasn't.”

Besides, just as in Russian, the interpretation of B's reply in (47b) seems to obey De Morgan's laws. While it can have the interpretation in (49a), it cannot have the other ones in (49).

(48)  $\neg$  [gift<sub>x</sub> [[VP\_\_\_<sub>x</sub> the notebook to Amol]  $\vee$  [VP\_\_\_<sub>x</sub> the betel case to Monda]]]

- (49) a.  $[\neg \text{give the notebook to Amol}] \wedge [\neg \text{gift the betel case to Monda}] \rightarrow \checkmark$   
 b.  $[\neg \text{gift the notebook to Amol}] \vee [\neg \text{gift the betel case to Monda}] \rightarrow *$   
 c.  $[\neg \text{gift the notebook to Amol}] \vee [\text{gift the betel case to Monda}] \rightarrow *$   
 d.  $[\text{gift the notebook to Amol}] \vee [\neg \text{gift the betel case to Monda}] \rightarrow *$

This argument is actually not completely sound. Consider the following sentences in English (50).<sup>18</sup>

- (50) a. CONJUNCTION:  
 A: It seems that Ann put the wine bottle on the shelf and and the pillow on the couch.  
 B: No, she didn't put them there.
- b. DISJUNCTION:  
 A: It seems that Ann put the wine bottle on the shelf or the pillow on the couch.  
 B: No, she didn't put them there.

(50) shows that “the wine bottle” and “the pillow” in A's opening sentences can get combined into the salient discourse referent that “them” refers to in B's replies and, similarly “on the shelf” and “on the couch” in A's sentences can be combined into what “there” in B's replies refer to. This means that the replies in (47) could actually have structures as in (50), only with covert versions of the DP “them”, in which case, the non-pronunciation of the coordinator will no longer remain an issue. The sentences with the overt pronouns are shown in (51).

- (51) a. CONJUNCTION  
 A: tʃaru            ɔmol-ke    kʰaʈa-ʈa                            ar    mɔn̩ṛ̩ḍa-ke    pan-er  
    Charu.NOM   Amol-DAT   notebook-CLSFR.ACC   and   Monda-DAT   betel-GEN  
    baʈa-ʈa            ɖi-etʃʰ-e.  
    case-CLSFR.ACC   give-PFV-PRES.3P  
    “Charu has given the notebook to Amol and the betel case to Monda.”  
 B: na, o-ɖerke            ogulo    dæ-e                            n-i.  
    no (s)he-PL.DAT   those   give-PRES.3P   NEG-PFV  
    “No, she hasn't given them those.”
- b. DISJUNCTION  
 A: tʃaru            ɔmol-ke    kʰaʈa-ʈa                            ba    mɔn̩ṛ̩ḍa-ke    pan-er  
    Charu.NOM   Amol-DAT   notebook-CLSFR.ACC   or   Monda-DAT   betel-GEN  
    baʈa-ʈa            ɖi-etʃʰ-e.  
    case-CLSFR.ACC   give-PFV-PRES.3P  
    “Charu has given the notebook to Amol or the betel case to Monda.”  
 B: na, o-ɖerke            ogulo    dæ-e                            n-i.  
    no (s)he-PL.DAT   those   give-PRES.3P   NEG-PFV  
    “No, she hasn't given them those.”

18. Thanks to Kyle Johnson for pointing out examples like (50). Also, Gribanova (2013a) mentions in her footnote 2 how the following confound can be sidestepped in Russian.

This tells us that this test is not an unassailable diagnostic of VVPE in Bengali.<sup>19</sup>

This problem can be averted, though, if, instead of negative ones, affirmative continuations are used with disjunction. This will not turn the disjunction into a conjunction under negation, as per De Morgan's laws. Yet, if it turns out that the disjunction meaning is preserved, then the otherwise possible derivations indicated in (50) will be disqualified. Manetta (2019), astutely enough, uses such affirmative continuations for Hindi/Urdu and emphasizes its disjunctive meaning. Witness (52) (her (13) and (14)).

- (52) a. A: kyaa Ram-ne Sita-ko santaraa yaa Mina-ko amruud diy-aa  
           Q Ram-ERG Sita-DAT orange or Mina-DAT guava give-PERF.M  
           thaa?  
           AUX.PST.M

“Had Ram given an orange to Sita or a guava to Mina?”

- B: HaaN, Ram-ne \_\_\_ diy-aa thaa.  
    Yes, Ram-ERG \_\_\_ give-PFV.M AUX.PST.M

“Yes, Ram had given (an orange to Sita or a guava to Mina).” [crucially true even if Ram only gave a guava to Mina]

- b. A: kyaa Nadiyaa-ne Mina-ko xat yaa Sita-ko paise bhej-ee  
           Q Nadiya-ERG Mina-DAT letters or Sita-DAT money send-PERF.PL  
           thee  
           AUX.PST.PL

“Had Nadia sent letters to Mina or money to Sita?”

- B: HaaN, Nadiya-ne \_\_\_ bhej-ee thee.  
    Yes, Ram-ERG \_\_\_ send-PFV.PL AUX.PST.PL

“Yes, Nadia had sent (letters to Mina or money to Sita).” [crucially, true even if Nadia only sent letters to Mina]

(Manetta (2019), (13)-(14))

The same kind of example for Bengali is in (53). The minimal pair in (54) shows that the meaning of B's elliptical reply in (53) is preserved when there is no ellipsis with overt disjunction (54a) but it's lost when overt pronouns as in B's replies in (50) are used (54b). This shows that the structure underlying the example in (53) has to be the ellipsis of the coordinated VP.

19. Also see Landau (2020) who presents more reasons to consider against arguments for VVPE based on coordinations.



## (53) DISJUNCTION

A: tʃaru ki ɔmol-ke kʰaʈa-ʈa ba mɔn̩ṛ̩ḍa-ke pan-er  
 Charu.NOM Q Amol-DAT notebook-CLSFR.ACC or Monda-DAT betel-GEN  
 baʈa-ʈa ḍi-etʃʰ-e?  
 case-CLSFR.ACC give-PFV-PRES.3P

“Has Charu given the notebook to Amol or the betel case to Monda?”

B: hæ, ḍi-etʃʰ-e.  
 yes give-PFV-PRES.3P

“Yes, she has.” (true, crucially, even if Charu has executed the action denoted by only one of the disjuncts, without specifying which conjunct it is)

(54) A: tʃaru ki ɔmol-ke kʰaʈa-ʈa ba mɔn̩ṛ̩ḍa-ke pan-er  
 Charu.NOM Q Amol-DAT notebook-CLSFR.ACC or Monda-DAT betel-GEN  
 baʈa-ʈa ḍi-etʃʰ-e?  
 case-CLSFR.ACC give-PFV-PRES.3P

“Has Charu given the notebook to Amol or the betel case to Monda?”

a. B: hæ, tʃaru ɔmol-ke kʰaʈa-ʈa ba mɔn̩ṛ̩ḍa-ke pan-er  
 yes Charu.NOM Amol-DAT notebook-CLSFR.ACC or Monda-DAT betel-GEN  
 baʈa-ʈa ḍi-etʃʰ-e.  
 case-CLSFR.ACC give-PFV-PRES.3P

“Yes, Charu has given the notebook to Amol or the betel case to Monda.” (true, again, even if Charu has executed the action denoted by only one of the disjuncts, without specifying which conjunct it is)

b. B: hæ, tʃaru o-ḍer ogulo ḍi-etʃʰ-e.  
 yes Charu.NOM they.DAT those.ACC give-PFV-PRES.3P

“Yes, Charu has given those to them.” (not true, crucially, if Charu has executed the action denoted by only one of the disjuncts in A’s initial question; she has to have done both)

Thus affirmative continuations of disjunctions suggest that the elliptical continuation must be an instance of an ellipsis process big enough to elide a VP with two conjoined or disjoined VPs. This has to be VP Ellipsis. Since the V<sup>0</sup> ATB-Moves out of the conjunction/disjunction, it turns out to be VVPE.

## 2.6 STRAINED ANAPHORIZATION

Gribanova (2013a,b) use some other machinery to distinguish between some kind of argument drop and VVPE. Merchant (2018) makes heavy use of them for Greek. It turns out, Bengali passes all these tests as well. These diagnostics involve not easily anaphorizable object arguments. What emerges to be the fact is that, despite infelicitous anaphorizations creating starkly strained meanings, strings that could be generated by VVPE turn out to comprise perfectly felicitous discourses.

2.6.1 *NPIs*

(55) shows that if there is a negation or interrogative involving NPI in the antecedent clause, then that NPI interacts productively with the negation or affirmation in the putative VVPE.

- (55) a. A: tʃaru kono kobita lek<sup>h</sup>e n-i.  
 Charu.NOM any<sub>NPI</sub> poem.ACC write-PRES.3P NEG-PFV  
 “Charu hasn’t written any poem.”  
 B: ɔmol-o lek<sup>h</sup>e n-i.  
 Amol.NOM-either write-PRES.3P NEG-PFV  
 “Amol hasn’t [~~written any poem~~] either.”
- b. A: p<sup>h</sup>elu kono futro pe-l-o?  
 Felu.NOM any<sub>NPI</sub> clue.ACC get-PST-3P  
 “Did Felu find any clue?”  
 B: pe-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 get-PFV-PRES.3P  
 “He has [~~found a clue~~].”

Critically, these NPI interpretations become unavailable once the ellipsis site is filled with overt pronouns (56). It should be noted that these are not just infelicitous, but absurd, because the negation involving NPI in the antecedent does not make any referent salient in the discourse that the overt pronoun — a Deep Anaphor in Bengali, in the sense of Hankamer and Sag (1976) — can refer back to.

- (56) a. A: tʃaru kono kobita lek<sup>h</sup>e n-i.  
 Charu.NOM any<sub>NPI</sub> poem.ACC write-PRES.3P NEG-PFV  
 “Charu hasn’t written any poem.”  
 B: # ɔmol-o oʃa lek<sup>h</sup>e n-i.  
 Amol.NOM-either that write-PRES.3P NEG-PFV  
 # “Charu hasn’t written it either.”
- b. A: p<sup>h</sup>elu kono futro pe-l-o?  
 Felu.NOM any<sub>NPI</sub> clue.ACC get-PST-3P  
 “Did Felu find any clue?”  
 B: # fiã, oʃa pe-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 yes, that get-PFV-PRES.3P  
 # “Yes, he has found it.”

This means that Bengali Deep Anaphors cannot take as antecedent NPI DPs like “any<sub>NPI</sub> poem.ACC” and “any<sub>NPI</sub> clue.ACC” since they do not establish a salient discourse referent which a Deep Anaphor can refer back to. If that is the case, then whatever the unpronounced material in B’s replies in (55) is, they cannot be dropped *pros* because they should make the sentences ungrammatical which they are not.

The question of whether these could be instances of AE is subtler. Consider (57).

- (57) A: tʃaru kono kobita muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-e n-i.  
 Charu.NOM any<sub>NPI</sub> poem.ACC mouth.residing do-PRES.3P NEG-PFV  
 “Charu hasn’t memorized any poem.”
- a. B: ɔmol kor-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 Amol.NOM do-PFV-PRES.3P  
 “Amol has [~~memorized some/a certain poem~~].”
- b. B: #ɔmol muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 Amol.NOM mouth.residing do-PFV-PRES.3P  
*intended* → “Amol has [~~memorized some/a certain poem~~].”

Notice that I have used the complex predicate “mouth.residing do” in these examples and, in (57a), only the light verb part of the predicate surfaces. This allows the sentence to be fine. (57b), though, really isn’t, in the strictest sense of the term. The feeling that B’s reply in (57b) creates in the hearer’s mind is one of non-conveyance of information, that is, an “informationlessness” about the object of “mouth.residing do”. This is so subtle a judgement that I cannot believe it would strike a speaker in everyday speech, for the context would be saturated with pragmatic cues that would impalpably kick in to fill in the gaps left by syntactic dysfunction; but careful reflection makes me susceptible of this judgement. It’s not my intent to investigate the source or the nature of this infelicity and, since this is only a judgement, I am unable to further evince it in a way that would render it more palpable to an English speaker, but this difference, no doubt, between (57a) and (57b) shows that the process in the latter cannot be the one generating the sentences in (55) because they are perfectly fine. Since we have already discovered in § 2.2 that if an ellipsis process strands only the light verb part of a complex predicate, then it has to be an instance of VVPE and not AE, and since (57a) is felicitous as opposed to (57b), we can reach the conclusion that the sentences in (55) cannot be derived by AE/*pro*-drop, which strengthens the argument for the existence of VVPE in Bengali.

### 2.6.2 Generic arguments

When bare singular nominals are used in Bengali, they come to have a generic meaning that has no specific discourse referent. These bare nominals do not interfere destructively with the putative VVPE constructions (58) but they do not license Deep Anaphora by overt pronouns for understandable reasons (59).

- (58) A: tʃaru kobita lek<sup>h</sup>-e n-a.  
 Charu.NOM poem.ACC write-PRES.3P NEG-IMPFV  
 “Charu doesn’t write poems.”
- B: ɔmol-o lek<sup>h</sup>-e n-a.  
 Amol.NOM-either write-PRES.3P NEG-IMPFV  
 “Amol doesn’t [~~write poems~~] either.”

- (59) A: tʃaru kobita lek<sup>h</sup>-e n-a.  
 Charu.NOM poem.ACC write-PRES.3P NEG-IMPFV  
 “Charu doesn’t write poems.”  
 B: #ɔmol-o oʃa lek<sup>h</sup>-e n-a.  
 Amol.NOM-either that write-PRES.3P NEG-IMPFV  
 # “Amol doesn’t write it either.”

If *pro*-drop were possible, then replacing the dropped argument with an overt pronoun (59) should have been felicitous, but since it isn’t, *pro*-drop is not the force at work here. The possibility of AE can be taken care of in the same way as in § 2.6.1. Consider (60) and note the use of the complex predicate “mouth.residing do”.

- (60) A: tʃaru kobita muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-e n-a.  
 Charu.NOM poem.ACC mouth.residing do-PRES.1P NEG-IMPFV  
 “Charu doesn’t memorize poems.”  
 a. B: ɔmol-o kor-e n-a.  
 Amol.NOM-too do-PRES.3P NEG-IMPFV  
 “Amol doesn’t [~~memorize poems~~] either.”  
 b. B: #ɔmol-o muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-e-n-a.  
 Amol.NOM-too mouth.residing do-PRES.3P  
*intended* → “Amol doesn’t [~~memorize poems~~] either.”

Considerations similar to the ones in § 2.6.1 would reach the conclusion that VVPE has to be the process generating (58), not AE/*pro*-drop. (This means, as a sidenote, that AE is not compatible with NPI-to-PPI-shifting arguments under alternation between affirmation and negation and with generic arguments.) I would only like to add here, for the sake of conviction about the data on this kind of “informationlessness”, that the judgement, for some reason, is stronger for me in (61) than in (60).<sup>20</sup>

- (61) A: ɔmol lok<sup>7</sup>-ke protarona kor-e.  
 Amol.NOM man-ACC betrayal do-PRES.3P  
 “Amol betrays people.”  
 B: #tʃaru-o protarona kor-e.  
 Charu.NOM-too betrayal do-PRES.3P  
*intended* → “Charu betrays people too.”

### 2.6.3 Quantificational arguments

The matter of Bengali quantificational arguments is quite aligned with Merchant’s (2018) observation for Greek. It turns out that quantificational arguments can marginally engender pronominal anaphora in Bengali, unlike Greek — in which Merchant reports it’s natural (62). (Unlike his (55), I keep NPIs and null determiners creating generic meaning out of this example.)

20. This strengthening of the judgement, I would intuitively impute to some property specifically of [lok] “people” unknown to me.

- (62) A:  $\text{ɔmol}$        $\text{ki}$      $\text{bef}$   $\text{kit}^{\text{h}}\text{u}$                        $\text{boj}$        $\text{en-ef}^{\text{h}}\text{-e}?$   
          Amol.NOM Q    quite some                      book.ACC bring-PFV-PRES.3P  
                                   $\text{kit}^{\text{h}}\text{u}$   
                                  some  
                                   $\text{ɔn}^{\text{h}}\text{toto}$   $\text{du-tɔ}$   
                                  at.least two-CLSFR  
                                   $\text{du-tɔ-r}$   $\text{befi}$   
                                  two-CLSFR-GEN more

“Has Amol brought several/some/at least two/more than two books?”

B:  $\text{hæ}$ , (?ogulo)  $\text{en-ef}^{\text{h}}\text{-e}$ .  
 yes (them) bring-PFV-PRES.3P

( “Yes, he has.”  
 ?“Yes, he has brought them.” )

The definite meaning of the quantificational arguments in B’s reply can only arise if the quantificational argument in the antecedent sentence is understood to establish a salient set of referent books in the discourse. Because it’s only under this scenario that the overt pronoun in B’s reply can pick up the reference of those books. The other meaning is the one that’s relevant. This is the meaning that arises when there’s no overt pronoun in the elliptical sentence. In this case, all the antecedent sentence does is establish a quantificational meaning there: A does not establish a salient antecedent for an overt pronoun as the one within the parentheses in B’s reply. The kind of meaning without this overt pronominal object is only available through Surface Anaphora of quantificational arguments. There’s still one impediment, though, to concluding right away that these have to be VVPE, because of AE. That can be taken care of too, actually, using complex predicates, as § 2.2 teaches us (63).

- (63) A:  $\text{ɔmol}$        $\text{ki}$      $\text{bef}$   $\text{kit}^{\text{h}}\text{u}$                        $\text{boj}$        $\text{fedeks}$   $\text{kor-ef}^{\text{h}}\text{-e}?$   
          Amol.NOM Q    quite some                      book.ACC fedex do-PFV-PRES.3P  
                                   $\text{kit}^{\text{h}}\text{u}$   
                                  some  
                                   $\text{ɔn}^{\text{h}}\text{toto}$   $\text{du-tɔ}$   
                                  at.least two-CLSFR  
                                   $\text{du-tɔ-r}$   $\text{befi}$   
                                  two-CLSFR-GEN more

“Has Amol fedexed several/some/at least two/more than two books?”

B:  $\text{hæ}$ ,  $\text{kor-ef}^{\text{h}}\text{-e}$ .  
 yes do-PFV-PRES.3P

“Yes, he has fedexed several/some/at least two/more than two books.”

As § 2.2 teaches us, when the ellipsis affects a complex predicate, the light verb must be stranded alone and if its Complement part shows up as well, then those ellipses turn out to be AE. Here in these examples, crucially, it’s now impossible to have that definite argument reading because in order for that overt pronoun to be pronounced, the VVPE needs to not happen, because if it does, then the process will wipe out everything from pronunciation. But since only the light verb of the complex predicate “fedex do-PFV-PRES.3P” shows up, it can’t be any kind of argument drop; it has to be VVPE. This example ensures many things, then: that we’re not dealing with AE, any kind of argument drop and that it’s actually the ellipsis of the entire VP, *i.e.*, VVPE

here, that's taking place. Putting these in a different way, that the ellipsis process in action here is VVPE is demonstrated in two ways: by using a complex predicate and by showing that the quantificational reading is available here.

#### 2.6.4 *Idiom chunk arguments*

Finally, Bengali has a whole repertoire of idiom chunks that consist of a verb and an object selected by it that does not permit pronominal anaphora created by the use of overt pronouns. (64b) shows that such pronominal anaphora — which is Deep Anaphora — sounds absolutely absurd for pragmatic reasons to begin with and when that's ignored, the meaning that emerges involves a definite reading of the object which creates an amusing literal meaning out of the idiom. However, (64a) shows that the putative ellipsis sentences preserve the idiomatic meaning of these expressions.

- (64) a. A:  $\text{Amiyanath.NOM}$   $\text{pointed.gourd}$   $\text{pick.up-PFV-PRES.3P}$   
 “Amiyanath has died.”  
 B:  $\text{Mondar.NOM-too}$   $\text{pick.up-PFV-PRES.3P}$   
 “Mondar has too.”
- b. A:  $\text{Amiyanath.NOM}$   $\text{pointed.gourd}$   $\text{pick.up-PFV-PRES.3P}$   
 “Amiyanath has died.”  
 B:  $\# \text{Mondar.NOM-too}$   $\text{it}$   $\text{pick.up-PFV-PRES.3P}$   
 $\#$  “Mondar has picked it up too.”

This elliptical effect of preserving the entire idiomatic meaning without creating any literal meaning is illustrated in a more elaborate way in (65) for a richer idiom.

- (65) A:  $\text{Bhupoti.NOM}_i$   $\text{milk}$   $\text{banana}$   $\text{with}$   $\text{catastrophe.snake}$   $\text{domesticate-PFV-PRES.3P}$   
 “Bhupoti<sub>i</sub> has cherished a serpent in his<sub>i</sub> bosom.”  
 B:  $\text{Charu.NOM}_j\text{-too}$   $\text{domesticate-PFV-PRES.3P}$   
 “Charu<sub>j</sub> has [~~cherished a serpent in her<sub>j</sub> bosom~~] too.”

This example must be an instance of VVPE because it cannot be argument drop for reasons elucidated in (64) and it cannot be AE because AEs can affect only arguments while the meaning that comes with “milk banana with” is really one of an adjunct, yet it goes unspoken in B's reply. There is in fact one way, though, to show that neither AE nor *pro*-drop can preserve the idiomatic meaning the way VVPE is argued to be able to. Consider (66).

- (66) A: b<sup>h</sup>upoti<sub>i</sub>      d̥ud̥<sup>h</sup> kɔla      d̥ie kalʼʃap      puʃ-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 Bhupoti.NOM<sub>i</sub> milk banana with catastrophe.snake domesticate-PFV-PRES.3P  
 “Bhupoti<sub>i</sub> has cherished a serpent in his<sub>i</sub> bosom.”  
 B: #tʃaru<sub>j</sub>-o      d̥ud̥<sup>h</sup> kɔla      d̥ie puʃ-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 Charu.NOM<sub>j</sub>-too milk banana with domesticate-PFV-PRES.3P  
 # “Charu<sub>j</sub> has [cherished a serpent in her<sub>j</sub> bosom] too.”

B’s reply, in theory, can be derived by either of AE and *pro*-drop. But whatever the derivation is, the sentence means that Charu has actually taken a snake, fed it milk and banana and thus domesticated it. This means that neither AE nor *pro*-drop can be the source for B’s reply in (65) and it has to be VVPE that is at work here.<sup>21</sup>

21. Rajesh Bhatt (p.c.) points out that here is something that can be said about the ungrammaticality of (66). (65) is fine as VP Ellipsis arguably because when a VP is elided, a prerequisite is a certain completeness of meaning of this phrase. However, the two examples in question imply that this completeness condition that is at stake cannot be of the entire constituent being elided because their external arguments differ in the antecedent and the elided verbal projection and yet the ellipsis is allowed. That is, only the projection containing all the internal arguments of the verbal predicate is the phrase whose completeness cannot be ruptured. This phrase, in Bengali, is VP. That means that, in Bengali, the completeness of the VP’s meaning cannot be compromised for the ellipsis of the *v*P (which is shown later in this paper to be the phrase that is elided in Bengali VVPE.) As peculiar as this inference about VPs — as opposed to *v*P’s — is, this condition is easily met in case of the VP Ellipsis in (65) since the entire idiomatic VP is elided and this idiomatic meaning is not broken by the stranding of anything originating within this VP. Unlike this VP Ellipsis case, however, the AE/*pro*-drop derivation of (66) does suppress the pronunciation of [kalʼʃap] “catastrophe.snake”, which individuates the meanings of the components of the idiom and thus runs afoul of this ostensible condition because it’s more than intuitive that idiom chunks do not convey the composition of the lexical meanings of their components and thus, semantics not giving two hoots about human metaphorical fecundity, no part of their idiomatic meaning is actually conveyed by the apparently corresponding part of them (although the ungrammaticality of this example can be explained by appealing to the fact that the material that survives the ellipsis — except the verb — which is the part [d̥ud̥<sup>h</sup> kɔla d̥ie], “with milk and banana”, is not contrastive focus-marked. This does not allow a focus-driven movement of the material and Pseudogapping-like derivation.) The following example in (i) from Hindi provides further evidence for the existence of such a condition since the movement of the VP-internal PP, as opposed that of the external argument *ju*~: “louse”, causes the ellipsis to lose its idiomatic meaning.

- (i) A: Us=ke      kaan=me      ju~: tak      nahi~:      re gii.  
 (s)he-GEN ear-LOC lice even NEG crawl-FUT

*literal* → “Not even lice will crawl in his/her ears.”

*idiomatic* → “(S)he won’t pay heed to anything.”

- B: #Mere      kaan=me      bhii      nahi~:      re gii.  
 I.GEN ear-LOC either NEG crawl-FUT

*literal* → “Not even one louse will crawl in my ears either.”

# *idiomatic* → “I won’t pay heed to anything either.”

(Rajesh Bhatt, p.c., March, 2020)

It’s to be noted, though, that this line of reasoning does not explain why generic arguments do not seem to be able to undergo AE in Bengali ((60b) and (61)) because generic arguments are complete in their own meanings. However, that does not militate against this putative prerequisite of semantic completeness because it would be perfectly legitimate to argue that the impossibility of this particular kind of AE arises from some peculiarity of the operation of AE itself, which § 2.6.5 will indicate below.

## 2.6.5 A sidenote: availability and nature of AE

It should be emphasized, as a sidenote, that AE does not always result in grammatical sentences with the ellipsis of any argument indiscriminately. For instance, AE of NPIs, generic arguments and internal arguments in idioms chunks. The relevant examples are repeated here from the preceding sections in § 2.6.

- (67) A: tʃaru kono kobita muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-e n-i.  
 Charu.NOM any<sub>NPI</sub> poem.ACC mouth.residing do-PRES.3P NEG-PFV

“Charu hasn’t memorized any poem.”

- a. B: dmol kor-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 Amol.NOM do-PFV-PRES.3P

“Amol has [~~memorized some/a certain poem~~].”

- b. B: #dmol muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 Amol.NOM mouth.residing do-PFV-PRES.3P

*intended* → “Amol has [~~memorized some/a certain poem~~].”

- (68) A: tʃaru kobita muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-e n-a.  
 Charu.NOM poem.ACC mouth.residing do-PRES.1P NEG-IMPV

“Charu doesn’t memorize poems.”

- a. B: dmol-o kor-e n-a.  
 Amol.NOM-too do-PRES.3P NEG-IMPV

“Amol doesn’t [~~memorize poems~~] either.”

- b. B: #dmol-o muk<sup>h</sup>ost<sup>h</sup>o kor-e n-a.  
 Amol.NOM-too mouth.residing do-PRES.3P NEG-IMPV

*intended* → “Amol doesn’t [~~memorize poems~~] either.”

- (69) A: dmol lok<sup>7</sup>-ke proṭarona kor-e.  
 Amol.NOM man-ACC betrayal do-PRES.3P

“Amol betrays people.”

- B: #tʃaru-o proṭarona kor-e.  
 Charu.NOM-too betrayal do-PRES.3P

*intended* → “Charu betrays people too.”

- (70) A: b<sup>h</sup>upoti<sub>i</sub> duḍ<sup>h</sup> kḍla die kal<sup>7</sup>ʃap puʃ-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 Bhupoti.NOM<sub>i</sub> milk banana with catastrophe.snake domesticate-PFV-PRES.3P

“Bhupoti<sub>i</sub> has cherished a serpent in his<sub>i</sub> bosom.”

- B: #tʃaru<sub>j</sub>-o duḍ<sup>h</sup> kḍla die puʃ-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 Charu.NOM<sub>j</sub>-too milk banana with domesticate-PFV-PRES.3P

#“Charu<sub>j</sub> has [~~cherished a serpent in her<sub>j</sub> bosom~~] too.”



A VVPE analysis is not possible here because, in (67), (68) and (69), both the light verb component and the lower predicate component of the complex predicate involved survive the ellipsis, and in (70), VP-internal elements apart from the AE'd argument are left out and these overt elements are the same as the ones in the antecedent sentence, as it has to be, in order to preserve the idiom chunk, which means that they are not being moved out of the ellipsis site prior to the ellipsis — an analysis that would have been possible if they were contrastive focus marked and different from the corresponding elements in the antecedent clause, as in my Pseudogapping-like examples earlier. And a *pro*-drop analysis is not available either because the antecedents to the arguments going unspoken do not establish a salient discourse referent which is necessary to license *pro*-drop. This means that it's only the option of AE that's left, but since the sentences are infelicitous, it must be the case that there's no derivation that can generate them. That means that AE cannot be producing them either. This leads us to conclude that these are some environments which interferes destructively with the process of AE.

Given the general wisdom about ellipsis, this selective unavailability of AE makes it seem that the nature of the AE process is different from that of the other, more standard, ellipsis phenomena, like, for instance, English VP Ellipsis, Sluicing, Stripping, NP Ellipsis *et cetera*. This intuition is bolstered by some observations made in Sakamoto (2017). Consider (71) and (72).

- (71) a. SLUICING  
John bought something, but I don't know [<sub>CP</sub> what<sub>1</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> he bought \_\_\_\_<sub>1</sub>]].
- b. NP ELLIPSIS  
You criticized John's novel, and I criticized [<sub>DP</sub> Bill's [<sub>NP</sub> novel]].
- (72) a. SLUICING  
\*John thinks that Mary kissed someone, but I don't think [<sub>CP</sub> that [<sub>TP</sub> Mary kissed someone]]. .
- b. NP ELLIPSIS  
\*John criticized a novel, and Bill criticized [<sub>DP</sub> a [<sub>NP</sub> novel]] too.

(Sakamoto (2017), (3)-(4): 3)

Sakamoto points out two requirements for ellipsis licensing: the elided projection being the Complement of a functional head and that functional head undergoing Spec-Head agreement (Lobeck (1990, 1995), Saito and Murasugi (1990)). With the minimal pair in (71)-(72), he argues that in (71a), C<sup>0</sup> and in (72a), D<sup>0</sup>, undergo Spec-Head agreement, while in (71b) and (72b), they don't, which makes (72) ungrammatical. Based on this, he points out that the AE'd material — a full argument — is the Complement of a lexical head V<sup>0</sup> which doesn't undergo Spec-Head agreement. These differences, coupled with the infelicitous discourses from Bengali repeated in this section, are indicative of the fact that there is some profound demarcation between AE and the other ellipsis processes we are familiar with. This might even lead some to pursue the thesis that AE doesn't really consist of the standard ellipsis process (as in, for instance, Hoji (1998), who suggested that AE is actually *pro*-drop which feigns sloppy readings just by coreference and not binding). These are subject to further research. It's important to keep in mind, in this regard, the examples like (67), (68), (69) and (70).

### 3 A PUZZLE: CONTRASTIVE FOCUS-MARKED VERBS

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The certainty the diagnostics involving null adjunct readings and complex predicates make possible, disintegrates when we consider a certain kind of ellipticality. Witness (73).

- (73) A:  $\text{dmol}_i$        $\text{ni}\check{\text{c}}_i\text{-er}$      $\text{boi-}\check{\text{t}}_a$                        $\text{du-g}^{\text{h}}\text{d}\check{\text{n}}\check{\text{t}}_a$      $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ore}$      $\text{bãd}^{\text{h}}\text{a-l-o}$ .  
          Amol.NOM<sub>i</sub>    self<sub>i</sub>-GEN    book-CLSFR.ACC    two-hour    during    bound-PST-3P  
          “Amol<sub>i</sub> bound his<sub>i</sub> own book for two hours.”  
 B:  $\text{ar}$      $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{aru}_j$                        $\text{m}\check{\text{o}}\text{la}\check{\text{t}}$                        $\text{d}\check{\text{i}}\text{-l-o}$ .  
          and Charu.NOM<sub>j</sub>    BOOK.COVER    give-PST-3P  
          “And Charu<sub>j</sub> COVERED his<sub>i</sub>/her<sub>j</sub> own book (for two hours).” (“for two hours” optionally communicated)

Several things to note here:

- The predicate in the elliptical clause is strong contrastive focus marked.
- The adverbial in A’s sentence can be optionally interpreted in B’s elliptical response.
- “book.cover give” is a complex predicate in Bengali and both its components — the light verb “give” and its Complement part “book.cover” surface in B’s ellipsis.

This confronts us with a problem: the interpretation of the adverbial in B’s response and the availability of sloppy identity suggest that the phenomenon at work here is VVPE. But both the light verb part of a complex predicate and its Complement part surface in B’s elliptical reply, which suggests that it cannot be VVPE. The conflict doesn’t end here: it turns out that this kind of ellipticality exhibits all traits of VP Ellipsis. I’m going to argue that this is indeed VP Ellipsis. But before that, it’s necessary to review Goldberg’s (2005) Verbal Identity Requirement.

#### 3.2 THE VERBAL IDENTITY REQUIREMENT: GOLDBERG (2005)

Goldberg (2005) maintains that the post-VVPE remnant verb in the elliptical clause must be lexically identical in its root to the one in the antecedent clause. Goldberg extensively argues this VIR to be cross-linguistically valid based on the PF-deletion approach to VVPE that she espouses. She provides the following example from Irish and attributes it to a work by Jim McCloskey in preparation (74).

- (74) \* $\text{Léigh}$        $\text{mé}$      $\text{án}$      $\text{dán}$      $\text{ach}$      $\text{níor}$        $\text{thuig}$ .  
          read[PAST] I    the poem but not[PAST] understand[PAST]  
          lit. “Read I the poem, but not understand [I the poem].”

(Goldberg (2005), (4.23): 183, cited in Potsdam (1998), (2.32a-b))

Another more recent example is from McCloskey (2017).

- (75) \*Níor cheannaigh mé teach ariamh, ach dhíol.  
 NEG.PAST buy I house ever but sold

“I never bought a house, but I sold one.”

(McCloskey (2017), (53a): 22)

However, she admits being unable to fill one gap. She cites the Swahili example (76) from Ngonyani (1998), which she describes as “(Putative) VPE with *Non-Identical Overt Main Vs*”, since she could not verify the data with Ngonyani (Goldberg (2005): 184).

- (76) M-kuruzengi a-li-omb-a wazee wa-tembele-e ki-wanda ch-ote  
 1-director 1SU-Past-ASK-MV them 2Su-VISIT-Subjctv 7-factory 7-all  
 lakini meneja a-li-amuru.  
 but 1-manager 1Su-Past-COMMAND

“The director told them to visit the entire factory, but the manager commanded (~~them to visit the entire factory~~).”

(Goldberg (2005), (4.25): 184, taken from Ngonyani (1998), (6))

This uncertainty lingers and VIR has been challenged repeatedly. Gribanova (2013b) has provided examples from Russian that exactly resemble the ones I provide from Bengali, especially because of the contrastive focus in her examples. Witness (77).<sup>22</sup>

- (77) a. Kto-to ètu vazu **uronil**, i tot fakt, što nikto  
 some this.ACC vase.ACC dropped.SG.M, and the fact that no-one  
 (eë) ne **podnjaj**, menja ogorčæet.  
 (lit.ACC) NEG *under*-hold.SG.M me.ACC upsets.3SG

“Someone **dropped** this vase, and the fact that no one **picked (it) up** upsets me.”

- b. Kto-to eti džinsy **razorval**, no sejčas pridët čelovek,  
 someone these jeans *apart*-tore.SG.M but now come.3SG.FUT person  
 kotoryj (ix) **zaš''ët**.  
 who.NOM (them.ACC) *behind*-sew.3SG.FUT

“Someone **ripped** these jeans, but soon a person will come who will **sew (them) up**.”

22. Merchant (2018) also cites an example he says is example (39) from Gribanova (2017a). However, I haven't been able to trace it back. This is given in (i).

- (i) Našel li Paša knigu v biblioteke? Net, poterjal.  
 find.PST.SG.M Q Paša book.ACC in library.PREP No lose.PST.SG.M

“Did Pasha find a book in the library? No, he lost one there.”

(Merchant (2018), (86): 253)

The locative *v biblioteke* “in the library”, can be interpreted in the elliptical response to the question (the null adjunct reading), which means that this example must be an instance of VVPE.

(Gribanova (2013b), (65)-(66): 119)

Gribanova's way to ensure that (77) has examples of VVPE comes from her own diagnostic that, while *pro*-drop is impossible inside islands, VVPE isn't. She follows Hankamer and Sag's (1976) way of telling apart Surface Anaphors from Deep Anaphors, which is to manipulate linguistic antecedence as in (78). It has been established since Hankamer and Sag (1976) that Surface Anaphora like VP Ellipsis requires linguistic antecedence, while Deep Anaphora like *do it/so* anaphora doesn't. Hankamer and Sag's (1976) original example is reproduced below ((78), their (3) and (4), for absence of linguistic antecedence (79), their (5), for when linguistic antecedence is present.)

- (78) a. SURFACE ANAPHORA  
 [Hankamer attempts to stuff a 9-inch ball through a 6-inch hoop]  
 Sag: #It's not clear that you'll be able to.
- b. DEEP ANAPHORA  
 [Same context]  
 Sag: it's not clear that you'll be able to do it.

(Hankamer and Sag (1976), (3)-(4): 392)

- (79) SURFACE ANAPHORA WITH LINGUISTIC ANTECEDENCE  
 Hankamer: I'm going to stuff this ball through this loop.  
 Sag: It's not clear that you'll be able to.

(Hankamer and Sag (1976), (5): 392)

She then uses this insight to distinguish between Russian *pro*-drop and VVPE. The following are her examples which show that *pro*-drop is ungrammatical inside islands (80a) but VVPE isn't (80b).

- (80) a. [A young man with ripped jeans enters the room.]  
 #Ne volnujsja, sejčas pridët čelovek, kotoryj zaš''ët  
 NEG worry.2SG now come.3SG.FUT person who.NOM behind-sew.3SG.FUT  
 —.  
 —

*intended*: "Don't worry, soon someone who will sew (them) up will come."

- b. Menja volnuet, što nikto ne zašil džinsy.  
 me.ACC worries.3SG that no-one.NOM NEG-IMPV *behind*-sew.SG.M jeans  
 "It worries me that no one sewed up the jeans."  
 Ne volnujsja, sejčas pridët čelovek, kotoryj zaš''ët  
 NEG worry.2SG now come.3SG.FUT person who.NOM behind-sew.3SG.FUT  
 —.  
 —

"Don't worry, soon someone who will sew (them) up will come."

(Gribanova (2013b), (33): 108, (39): 110)

Thus, in (77), whatever the ellipsis process is in these examples, it's inside islands (a complex NP island (77a) and a relative clause island (77b)), which means that it cannot be *pro*-drop, according to Gribanova's own diagnostics. From this, it appears rather plausible to treat these sentences as instances of VVPE.<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, Lipták (2013) cites a Hungarian example in her footnote 13 and attributes it to Bánréti (2007: 25).

- (81) Én VETTEM drága autót, te meg ELADTÁL.  
 I bought expensive car.A you VM sold  
 "I BOUGHT an expensive car, and you SOLD one."

(Lipták (2013), ft. 13, (i))

Plus, Lipták (2013) and Gribanova (2017a) both refer to Santos (2009) who reports this kind of example to be grammatical in Brazilian Portuguese. Merchant (2018), following the examples in Gribanova (2017a), furnishes the Greek examples in (82), which show the exact same pattern with the focus-marking.

- (82) a. Vrike<sub>F</sub> o Petros ena vivlio sti vivliothiki? Oxi, exase<sub>F</sub>.  
 found.3s the Petros a book in.the library no lost.3s  
 "Did Petros FIND a book in the library? No, he LOST one/it there."  
 b. O Petros dhen VRIKE<sub>F</sub> ena vivlio sti vivliothiki — EXASE<sub>F</sub>.  
 the Petros not found.3s a book in.the library — lost.3s  
 "Petros didn't FIND a book in the library — he LOST one there."

(Merchant (2018), (87) and (90): 253-254)

It's completely clear, then, that the status of Goldberg's (2005) VIR has been thoroughly questioned and challenged and it wouldn't be a surprise if Bengali sentences like (73) were actually derived by VVPE.

### 3.3 VP ELLIPSIS TRADEMARKS

Given the dubious status of Goldberg's VIR, it becomes a valid possibility that the Bengali examples in (73) are actually VVPE with the contrastive focus-marked verb in the elliptical clause moving out of the ellipsis site as usual, the focus allowing it to be different from the verb in the antecedent clause. The following subsections are dedicated to showing that. This will be done using the tests already laid out above in § 2.1, § 2.5 and § 2.6: null adjunct readings, affirmative continuations of disjunction and strained anaphorization.

#### 3.3.1 *Null adjunct reading*

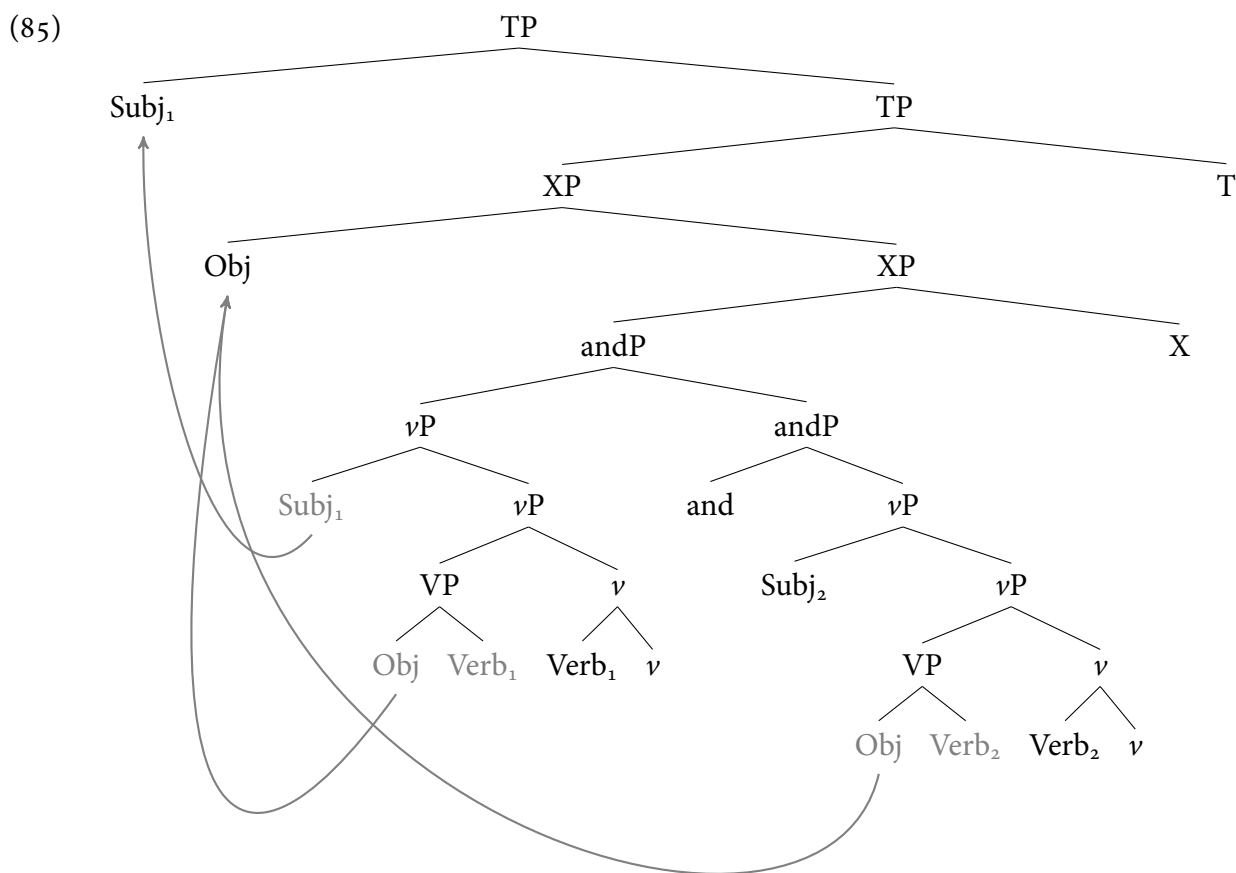
(73) has already shown that null adjunct readings are optionally available. (83) provides a wider range of facts.

23. She also provides two other reasons for this fact. See the paper for more.

- (83) a. MANNER ADVERBIAL: *hurriedly*  
 A: ɔmol                      boi-ta                      tarafuɔ kor-e      skæn kor-l-o.  
    Amol.textscnom    book-CLSFR.ACC    rush                do-GER    scan    do-PST-3P  
    “Amol scanned the book hurriedly.”  
 B: ar    fʃaru                print kor-l-o.  
    and Charu.NOM    PRINT    do-PST-3P  
    “And Charu PRINTED it (hurriedly).” (“hurriedly” optionally communicated)
- b. FREQUENCY ADVERBIAL: *twice*  
 A: ɔmol                      boi-ta                      du-bar      skæn kor-l-o.  
    Amol.NOM    book-CLSFR.ACC    two-time    scan    do-PST-3P  
    “Amol scanned the book twice.”  
 B: ar    fʃaru                print kor-l-o.  
    and Charu.NOM    PRINT    do-PST-3P  
    “And Charu PRINTED it (twice).” (“twice” optionally communicated)

(84) shows that the fact that B’s replies in (83) begins with a coordinator doesn’t leave out the possibility of a cross-speaker Gapping like structure as in (85) since it’s eliminated by (84) which has no coordination. (I have adapted the structures in Johnson (2000a, 2004b, 2009) and Lin (2002) to one in which there needs to be some position for the ATB-moving object to move to.)

- (84) a. MANNER ADVERBIAL: *hurriedly*  
 A: ɔmol                      ɔæmon    boi-ta                      tarafuɔ kor-e      skæn  
    Amol.textscnom    as                book-CLSFR.ACC    rush                do-GER    scan  
    kor-l-o,    fʃaru-o                tæmon print kor-l-o.  
    do-PST-3P    Charu.NOM-too    thus                PRINT    do-PST-3P  
    “Just as Amol scanned the book hurriedly, Charu PRINTED it (hurriedly).” (“hurriedly” optionally communicated)
- b. FREQUENCY ADVERBIAL: *twice*  
 A: ɔmol                      ɔæmon    boi-ta                      du-bar      skæn kor-l-o,  
    Amol.NOM    as                book-CLSFR.ACC    two-time    scan    do-PST-3P  
    fʃaru-o                tæmon print kor-l-o.  
    Charu.NOM-too    thus                PRINT    do-PST-3P  
    “Just as Amol scanned the book twice, Charu PRINTED it (twice).” (“twice” optionally communicated)



Since the meaning of the adverbial is available in the elliptical clause, although optionally, this very availability signals that the process that generates the null adjunct reading is neither *pro*-drop nor AE. Again, this conflicts with the presence of both the components of the complex predicates used in the examples (“scan do” and “print do”).

### 3.3.2 Affirmative continuations of disjunction

The diagnostic involving disjunction in Gribanova (2013a,b), improved by the insight in § 2.5, reinforces the problem. Witness (86).

- (86) A:  $\text{ɔmol}$        $\text{kobit̪a-ʈa}$        $\text{bɔʃ-a-r}$        $\text{gʰɔr-e}$        $\text{ba}$        $\text{gɔl'po-ʈa}$   
 Amol.NOM    poem-CLSFR.ACC    sit-INF-GEN    room-LOC    or    story-CLSFR.ACC  
 $\text{ʃob-a-r}$        $\text{gʰɔr-e}$        $\text{likʰ-etʃʰ-e}$ .  
 lie-INF-GEN    room-LOC    write-PFV-PRES.3P

“Amol has written the poem in the living room or the story in the bedroom.”

- B:  $\text{ar}$        $\text{ʈaru}$        $\text{ʈuk-etʃʰ-e}$ .  
 and Charu.NOM    COPY-PFV-PRES.3P

“And Charu has COPIED the poem in the living room or the story in the bedroom.”  
 (true, crucially, even if Charu has executed the action denoted by only one of the disjuncts, without specifying which conjunct it is)

Simply the fact that the entire disjointed phrase can be interpreted in B's reply makes it clear that an entire predicate is going unpronounced. Moreover, if either of *pro*-drop and AE were possible, then (86) would have to be ungrammatical. Thus, just as in § 2.5, these cases vindicate the possibility of an ellipsis phenomenon targeting a phrase at least as large as the one targeted by Bengali VVPE, with a remnant verb in the elliptical clause that differs from the verb in the antecedent clause. The following is the example that eliminates the possibility of a Gapping-like structure.

- (87) A:  $\text{ɔmol}$   $\text{ɕæmon}$   $\text{kobita-ta}$   $\text{bɔʃ-a-r}$   $\text{gʱɔr-e}$   $\text{ba}$   $\text{gɔl'po-ta}$   
 Amol.NOM as poem-CLSFR.ACC sit-INF-GEN room-LOC or story-CLSFR.ACC  
 $\text{ʃob-a-r}$   $\text{gʱɔr-e}$   $\text{lik}^h\text{-etʃ}^h\text{-e,}$   $\text{ʃaru-o}$   $\text{tæmon}$   
 lie-INF-GEN room-LOC write-PFV-PRES.3P Charu.NOM-too thus  
 $\text{ʃuk-etʃ}^h\text{-e.}$   
 COPY-PFV-PRES.3P

“Just as Amol has written the poem in the living room or the story in the bedroom, Charu has COPIED the poem in the living room or the story in the bedroom.”

### 3.3.3 Strained anaphorization

Reapplying Merchant's (2018) diagnostics involving strained anaphorization, it becomes clear that these examples with a contrastive focus marked verb cannot be instances of either AE or *pro*-drop. Witness (88).

- (88) a. NPI  
 A:  $\text{ʃaru}$   $\text{kono}$   $\text{kobita}$   $\text{lek}^h\text{-e}$   $\text{n-i.}$   
 Charu.NOM any<sub>NPI</sub> poem.ACC write-PRES.3P NEG-PFV  
 “Charu hasn't written any poem.”  
 B:  $\text{ar}$   $\text{ɔmol}$   $\text{pɔʃ-e}$   $\text{n-i.}$   
 and Amol.NOM READ-PRES.3P NEG-PFV  
 “And Amol hasn't READ any poem.”
- b. GENERIC ARGUMENTS  
 A:  $\text{ʃaru}$   $\text{kobita}$   $\text{lek}^h\text{-e}$   $\text{n-a.}$   
 Charu.NOM poem.ACC write-PRES.3P NEG-IMPV  
 “Charu doesn't write poems.”  
 B:  $\text{ar}$   $\text{ɔmol}$   $\text{pɔʃ-e}$   $\text{n-a.}$   
 and Amol.NOM READ-PRES.3P NEG-IMPV  
 “And Amol doesn't READ poems.”



c. QUANTIFICATIONAL ARGUMENTS

A: ɒmol        beʃ kiʃ<sup>h</sup>u                    boi        feɔeks    koʀ-ef<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 Amol.NOM    quite some                    book.ACC    fedex    do-PFV-PRES.3P  
                   kiʃ<sup>h</sup>u  
                   some  
                   ɒn̩<sup>h</sup>ʔoʔo ɔ̩-ʔo  
                   at.least two-CLSFR  
                   ɔ̩-ʔo-r beʃi  
                   two-CLSFR-GEN more

“Amol has fedexed several/some/at least two/more than two books.”

B: ar    ɒmol        priŋʈ    koʀ-ef<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 and Amol.NOM    PRINT    do-PFV-PRES.3P

“And Amol has PRINTED several/some/at least two/more than two books/them.”

Again, if overt pronouns are used to fill in the position of the unpronounced objects, different kinds of readings emerge, which are either infelicitous or create same-referent readings (89).

(89) a. NPI

A: ʃaʀu        kono    kobita    lek<sup>h</sup>-e        n-i.  
 Charu.NOM    any<sub>NPI</sub>    poem.ACC    write-PRES.3P    NEG-PFV

“Charu hasn’t written any poem.”

B: #ar    ɒmol        oʃa    pɔʈ-e        n-i.  
 and Amol.NOM    that    READ-PRES.3P    NEG-PFV

“And Amol hasn’t READ it.”

b. GENERIC ARGUMENTS

A: ʃaʀu        kobita    lek<sup>h</sup>-e        n-a.  
 Charu.NOM    poem.ACC    write-PRES.3P    NEG-IMPFV

“Charu doesn’t write poems.”

B: #ar    ɒmol        oʃa    pɔʈ-e        n-a.  
 and Amol.NOM    that    READ-PRES.3P    NEG-IMPFV

#“And Amol doesn’t READ it.”

c. QUANTIFICATIONAL ARGUMENTS

A: ɒmol        beʃ kiʃ<sup>h</sup>u                    boi        feɔeks    koʀ-ef<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 Amol.NOM    quite some                    book.ACC    fedex    do-PFV-PRES.3P  
                   kiʃ<sup>h</sup>u  
                   some  
                   ɒn̩<sup>h</sup>ʔoʔo ɔ̩-ʔo  
                   at.least two-CLSFR  
                   ɔ̩-ʔo-r beʃi  
                   two-CLSFR-GEN more

“Amol has fedexed several/some/at least two/more than two books.”

B: ar    ɒmol        ogulo    priŋʈ    koʀ-ef<sup>h</sup>-e.  
 and Amol.NOM    them    PRINT    do-PFV-PRES.3P

“And Amol has PRINTED them.”

It's clear from (89) that the kind of meaning pronouns can create in these Bengali sentences is not the one we get in (88). In (89a) and (89b), the meanings created by the overt pronoun are strange and infelicitous, while the pronoun in (89c) makes the different-referent reading completely impossible, although the sentence isn't outright infelicitous. But, as we can see in (88c), the different-referent reading is perfectly available, in fact, it's the predominant reading. We're again faced with the same dilemma, then, because of the VVPE traits and differing remnant verbs cooccur. And here, again, are the examples that eliminate the possibility of a Gapping-like structure.

(90) a. NPI

A: tʃaru            ɕæmon    kono    kobita    lek<sup>h</sup>-e            n-i,  
 Charu.NOM    as            any<sub>NPI</sub>    poem.ACC    write-PRES.3P    NEG-PFV  
                  ɔmol-o            tæmon    pɔɽ-e            n-i.  
                  Amol.NOM-too    thus        READ-PRES.3P    NEG-PFV

“Just as Charu hasn't written any poem, Amol hasn't READ any poem.”

b. GENERIC ARGUMENTS

A: tʃaru            ɕæmon    kobita    lek<sup>h</sup>-e            n-a,            ɔmol-o  
 Charu.NOM    as            poem.ACC    write-PRES.3P    NEG-IMPV    Amol.NOM-too  
                  tæmon    pɔɽ-e            n-a.  
                  thus        READ-PRES.3P    NEG-IMPV

“Just as Charu doesn't write poems, Amol doesn't READ poems.”

c. QUANTIFICATIONAL ARGUMENTS

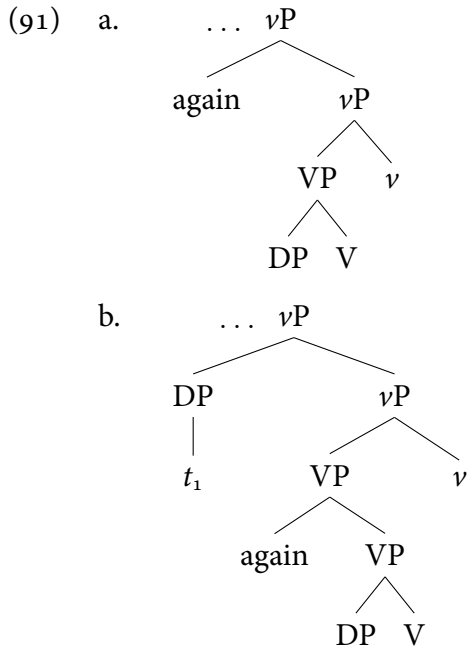
A: ɔmol            ɕæmon    beʃ    kitʃ<sup>h</sup>u                            boi            feɕeks    koɾ-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e,  
 Amol.NOM    as            quite    some                            book.ACC    fedex    do-PFV-PRES.3P  
                                             kitʃ<sup>h</sup>u  
                                             some  
                                             ɔn̩<sup>˩</sup> t̩o<sup>˩</sup>o    ɔu-t̩o  
                                             at.least two-CLSFR  
                                             ɔu-t̩o-r    beʃi  
                                             two-CLSFR-GEN    more  
                  ɔmol-o            tæmon    print̩    koɾ-etʃ<sup>h</sup>-e.  
                  Amol.NOM-too    thus        PRINT    do-PFV-PRES.3P

“Just as Amol has fedexed several/some/at least two/more than two books, Charu has PRINTED several/some/at least two/more than two books.”

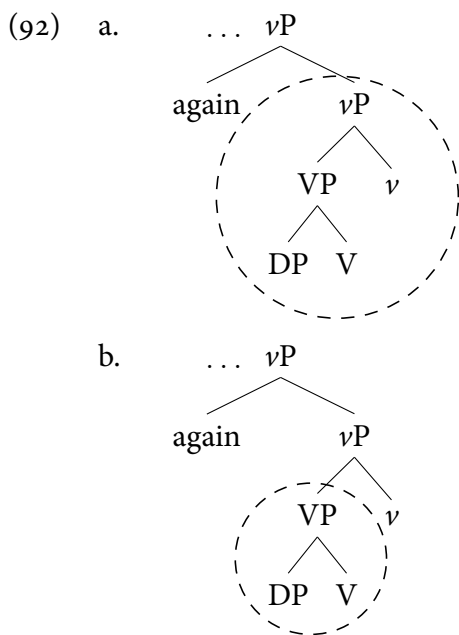
## 4 TOWARDS AN ACCOUNT

## 4.1 THE STANDARD CASES

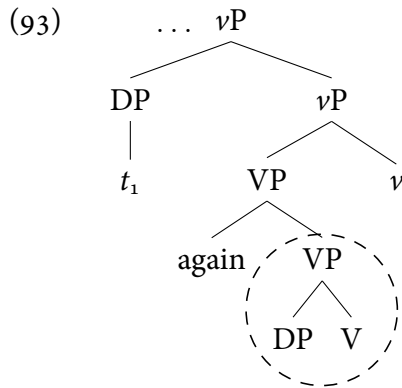
It's been shown in § 2.4 that Bengali VVPE with *again* modifying the elided verbal projection loses the restitutive reading and preserves only the repetitive reading. That is, for reasons already described in that section, (91a) is the only possible schematization of the merging of *again*, and (91b) is not the possible schematization.



Now, there are two possible ellipsis sizes that need to be considered for (91a). There are given in (92).



One of the tacit assumptions that this particular analysis of VP Ellipsis is based on is that any projection of a deletable phrase can be deleted. This means that, if a VP could be deleted, then any of its projections could as well. This means that if (92b) is the structure that underlies the Bengali VVPE structures with *again*, then there is no imaginable way to prevent the following derivation in (93).



But this is the very derivation that would make the restitutive reading available under VP Ellipsis. Since that reading is unavailable there, it must be the case that VPs cannot be deleted in Bengali. That leaves us with the only other option that it's *vPs* that elide in Bengali. That is, a phrase at least as big as *vP* must be able to elide in Bengali.

Now, in order to figure out which phrase actually elides in Bengali, we need to know which head the stranded verb moves up to. In order to do that, we need to have a relatively fine-tuned clausal skeleton for Bengali. Baker's (1985) MIRROR PRINCIPLE (94) can help us do exactly that. Consider (95).

- (94) THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE  
Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa).

(Baker (1985), (4): 375)

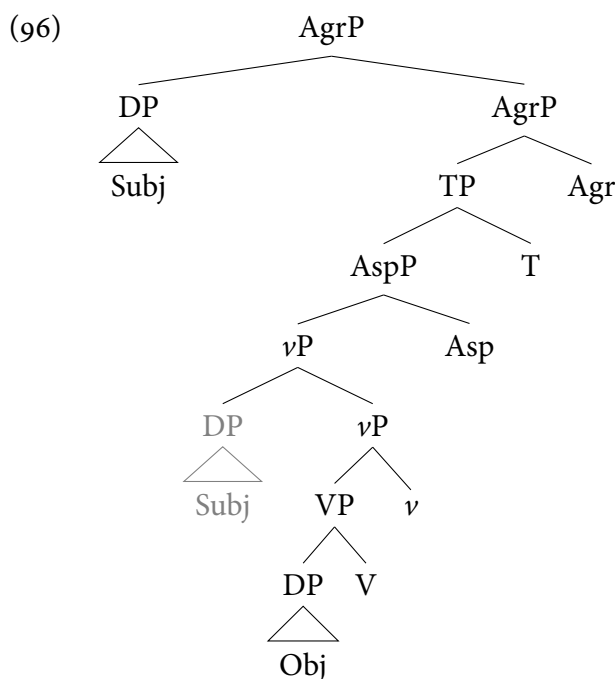
(95)

	PRESENT	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	PRESENT PERFECT
1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON	kor-i	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -i	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -i
2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON	kor-o	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -o	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -o
2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON, INFORMAL	kor-ijʃ	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -ijʃ	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -ijʃ
2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON, HONORIFIC	kor-en	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -en	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -en
3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON	kor-e	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -e	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -e
3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON, HONORIFIC	kor-en	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -en	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -en
	do-PRES.1/2/3P V-T-Agr	do-PROGR-PRES.1/2/3P V-Asp-T-Agr	do-PFV-PRES.1/2/3P V-Asp-T-Agr

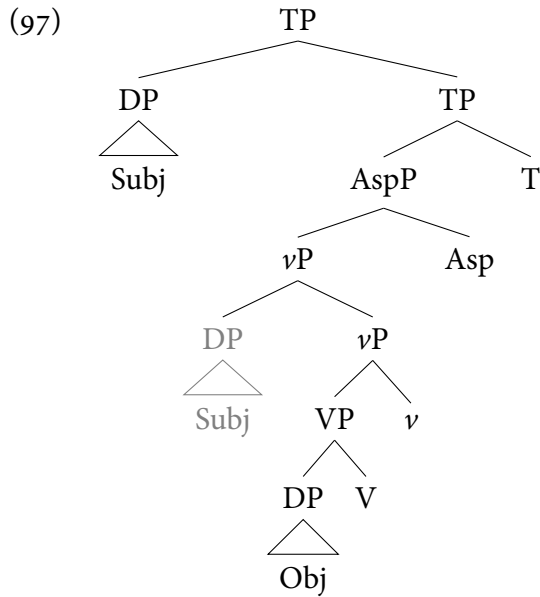
	PAST	PAST PROGRESSIVE	PAST PERFECT	PAST HABITUAL
1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON	kor-l-am	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-am	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-am	kor-t̃-am
2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON	kor-l-e	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-e	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-e	kor-t̃-e
2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON, INFORMAL	kor-l-i	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-i(j)	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-i(j)	kor-t̃-i(j)
2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON, HONORIFIC	kor-l-en	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-en	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-en	kor-t̃-en
3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON	kor-l-o	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-o	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-o	kor-t̃-o
3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON, HONORIFIC	kor-l-en	kor-tʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-en	kor-etʃ <sup>h</sup> -il-en	kor-t̃-en
	do-PST-1/2/3P V-T-Agr	do-PROGR-PST-1/2/3P V-Asp-T-Agr	do-PFV-PST-1/2/3P V-Asp-T-Agr	do-HABIT.PST-1/2/3P V-Asp-T-Agr

Note: As the glosses should have made it lucid, Bengali verbs do not inflect for number.

These two tables show the morphological architecture of enough Bengali inflected verb forms — especially the ones that are most informative — to show that, according to THE MIRROR PRINCIPLE, the structure of Bengali affirmative clauses will be as in (96). Especially, although the data in the first column are not perfectly informative, it's clear from the second table, that the aspect morpheme is the closest to the verb stem and the tense morphology is right between the tense morpheme and the person agreement morpheme.



Since AgrP will not be relevant to my structures, we could safely ignore it to simplify the exposition (97).

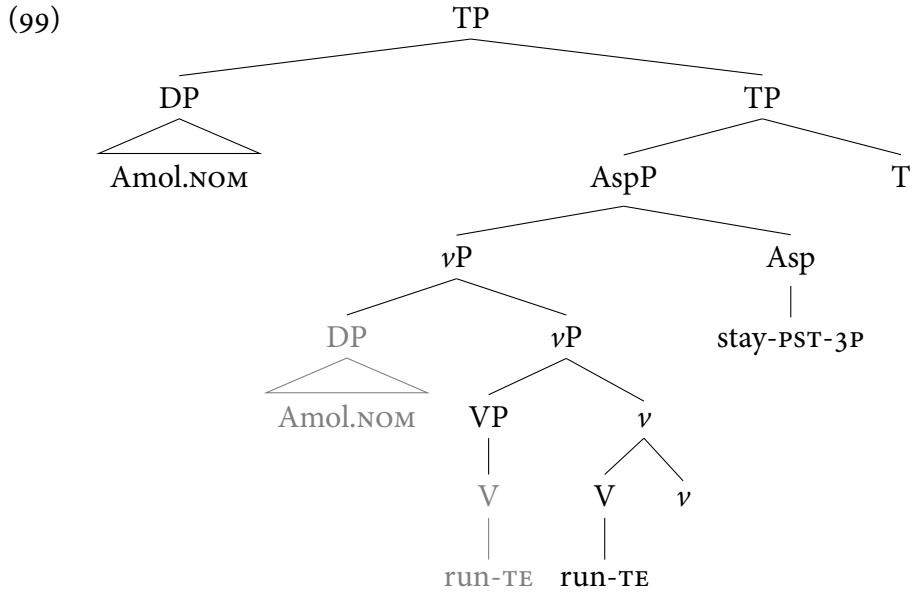


Moving on to Head Movement in Bengali now, VP Topicalization in the language provides an interesting instrument to discover which head the main verb in Bengali moves to in a finite clause.<sup>24</sup> But before going into the examples themselves, it's wise to become aware of a verbal element that works as an aspectual marker in Bengali and, thus, can be legitimately assumed to be base-generated in the Asp<sup>0</sup> of a clause. This verbal element is [t<sup>h</sup>aka], which, literally, means “to stay” and creates the progressive aspect of a verbal predicate. Following are a few examples to show what kind of meaning it confers and how (98). The morpheme attached to the main verb of the clause that I gloss as “TE” can be taken to be a suffix that needs to be attached to the main verb when they combine with [t<sup>h</sup>aka].

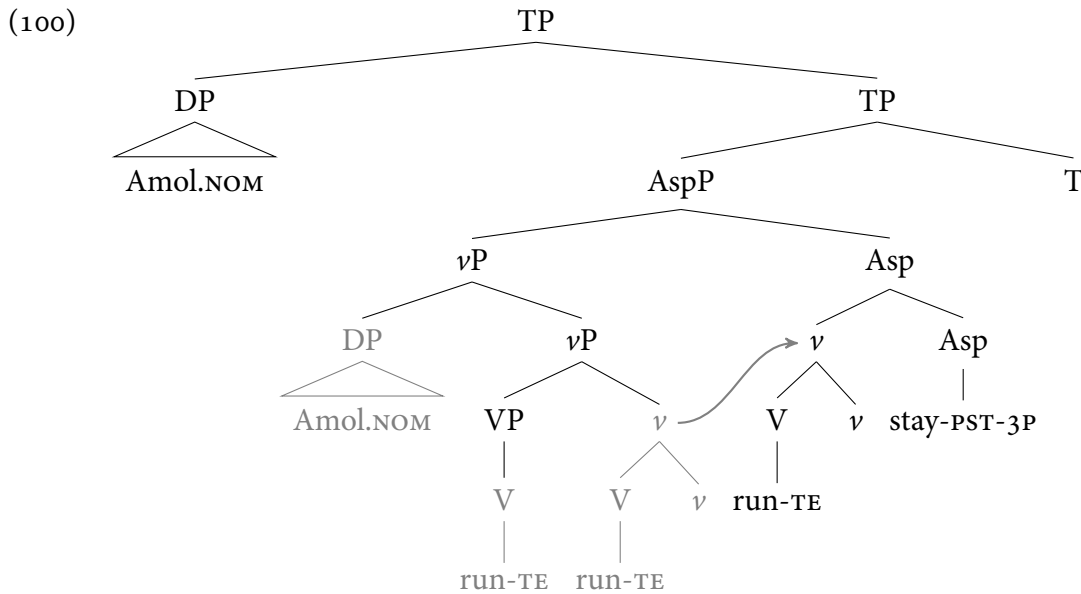
- (98) a.  $\text{amol} \quad \text{dour-o-te} \quad \text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ak-l-o.}$   
 Amol.NOM run-TE stay-PST-3P  
 “Amol kept running.”
- b.  $\text{amol} \quad \text{dour-o-te} \quad \text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ak-b-e.}$   
 Amol.NOM run-TE stay-FUT-3P  
 “Amol will keep running.”
- c.  $\text{amol} \quad \text{dour-o-te} \quad \text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ak-t-o.}$   
 Amol.NOM run-TE stay-HABIT-3P  
 “Amol used to keep running.”
- d.  $\text{amol} \quad \text{dour-o-te} \quad \text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ak-t}^{\text{h}}\text{-il-o.}$   
 Amol.NOM run-TE stay-PFV-PST-3P  
*literally* → “Amol kept keeping running.”

Thus, it is probable that [t<sup>h</sup>aka] is an aspectual element, which means that we can safely assume it's base-generated at Asp<sup>0</sup>. So, an initial parse for (98a) will be as in (99).

24. These tests are inspired by the Japanese VP Topicalization examples used by Koisumi (2000) to show that there is indeed Verb Movement in the language.



Now, for implementational purposes, it needs to be shown that the main verb in Bengali finite clauses moves outside the  $vP$ . I'm going to show that it moves up to  $Asp^0$  as in (100).



This requires showing that the main verb and the aspectual elements form a verb cluster the components of which cannot be separated in any way. This can be done by showing that the main verb in Bengali finite clauses at least moves to  $Asp^0$ . This is the way that involves Topicalization of a projection in the clausal skeleton à la Koisumi (2000). Consider (101).

- (101) a. \* $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}} \text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}\text{t}^{\text{a}} \text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{e}} \text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}\text{r}^{\text{o}}\text{-t}^{\text{e}} \text{a}^{\text{m}^{\text{a}}}\text{-r} \text{m}^{\text{o}^{\text{h}}}\text{-e} \text{ɦ}^{\text{b}}\text{-e} \text{o}$   
 ten hour for run-TE I-GEN mind-LOC be-PRES.3P (s)he.NOM  
 $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{k}-\text{t}^{\text{e}} \text{p}^{\text{a}}\text{-b-e} \text{n-a.}$   
 stay-TE can-FUT-3P NEG-IMPV

*intended* → “I think (s)he won’t be able to keep running for ten hours.”

- b.  $\text{d̪ɔʃ} \text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔŋt̪a} \text{d̪}^{\text{h}}\text{ore} \text{d̪ouɾo-te} \text{t̪}^{\text{h}}\text{ak-te} \text{ama-r} \text{mon-e} \text{ɦɔ-e}$   
 ten hour for run-TE stay-TE I-GEN mind-LOC be-PRES.3P  
 o par-b-e n-a.  
 (s)he.NOM can-FUT-3P NEG-IMPV

“I think (s)he won’t be able to keep running for ten hours.”

(101a) shows that when the projection containing only the main verb “run-TE” is topicalized, the result is ungrammatical, but when the projection containing both the main verb “run-TE” and “stay-TE” is topicalized, the sentence is no longer ungrammatical. This shows that “run-TE” and “stay-TE” have to constitute a unit — that is, a verb cluster — which can happen by Verb Movement. This demonstrates that Verb Movement in Bengali finite clauses happens up to  $\text{Asp}^0$  as in (100).

For the sake of completeness, let’s take a look at what happens in sentences with complex predicates. It turns out that only the light verb part of the complex predicate has to move to the  $\text{Asp}^0$ . This is visible in (102), for reasons already elaborated.

- (102) a.  $\text{d̪ɔʃ} \text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔŋt̪a} \text{d̪}^{\text{h}}\text{ore} \text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔr-t̪a} \text{poriʃkar} \text{ama-r} \text{mon-e} \text{ɦɔ-e}$   
 ten hour for room-CLSFR.ACC clean I-GEN mind-LOC be-PRES.3P  
 o kor-te t̪<sup>h</sup>ak-te par-b-e n-a.  
 (s)he.NOM do-TE stay-TE can-FUT-3P NEG-IMPV

“I don’t think (s)he will be able to keep cleaning the room for ten hours.”

- b. \* $\text{d̪ɔʃ} \text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔŋt̪a} \text{d̪}^{\text{h}}\text{ore} \text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔr-t̪a} \text{poriʃkar} \text{kor-te} \text{ama-r} \text{mon-e}$   
 ten hour for room-CLSFR.ACC clean do-TE I-GEN mind-LOC  
 $\text{ɦɔ-e} \text{o} \text{t̪}^{\text{h}}\text{ak-te} \text{par-b-e} \text{n-a.}$   
 be-PRES.3P (s)he.NOM stay-TE can-FUT-3P NEG-IMPV

*intended* → “I don’t think (s)he will be able to keep cleaning the room for ten hours.”

- c.  $\text{d̪ɔʃ} \text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔŋt̪a} \text{d̪}^{\text{h}}\text{ore} \text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔr-t̪a} \text{poriʃkar} \text{kor-te} \text{t̪}^{\text{h}}\text{ak-te} \text{ama-r}$   
 ten hour for room-CLSFR.ACC clean do-TE stay-TE I-GEN  
 $\text{mon-e} \text{ɦɔ-e} \text{o} \text{par-b-e} \text{n-a.}$   
 mind-LOC be-PRES.3P (s)he.NOM can-FUT-3P NEG-IMPV

“I don’t think (s)he will be able to keep cleaning the room for ten hours.”

Note, in this regard, that it can also be concluded from these examples that the Head Movement does not extend to  $T^0$  in the Topicalization cases because [<sub>T<sup>h</sup></sub>aka] and [para] (inflected as [par-b-e]), the latter of which, being a modal, can be assumed to reside in  $T^0$ , can be separated from each other through Topicalization ((101b) and (102c)).<sup>25</sup>

These observations are consistent with the fact that VP Ellipsis cases where the ellipsis strands only [<sub>T<sup>h</sup></sub>aka] and elides the main verb can be explained by the obligatory movement of the main verb up to the  $\text{Asp}^0$  with [<sub>T<sup>h</sup></sub>aka] (103). In the grammatical case, the meaning of the adjunct in the verbal projection becomes optional because there are two possible derivations for this sentences: one with VVPE and the other with no ellipsis, that is, with no adjunct either.

25. Rajesh Bhatt (p.c.) points out, though, that there’s still a possibility, as tenuous as it might seem, of optional movement of  $\text{Asp}^0$  to  $T^0$  only in sentences in which the  $\text{AspP}$  isn’t fronted as in (98) and (102a). However, it should be kept in mind that, given the data in this paper, such a possibility is unfalsifiable.

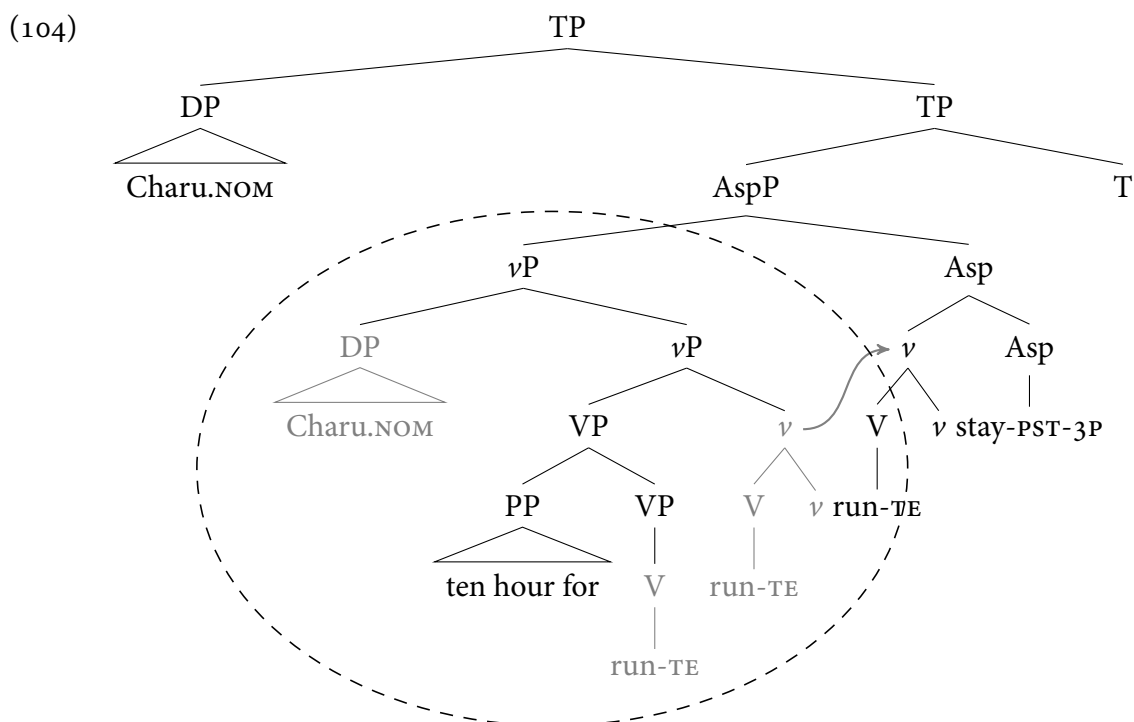


- (103) A:  $\text{Amol.NOM}$   $\text{ten}$   $\text{hour}$   $\text{for}$   $\text{run-TE}$   $\text{stay-PST-3P}$ .  
 Amol.NOM ten hour for run-TE stay-PST-3P

“Amol kept running for ten hours.”

- a. B:  $\text{Charu.NOM-too}$   $\text{stay-PST-3P}$ .  
 Charu.NOM-too stay-PST-3P  
*intended* → “Charu kept running for ten hours too.”
- b. B:  $\text{Charu.NOM-too}$   $\text{run-TE}$   $\text{stay-PST-3P}$ .  
 Charu.NOM-too run-TE stay-PST-3P  
 “Charu kept running (for ten hours) too.”

This means that the VVPE derivation for (103b) is as in (104).



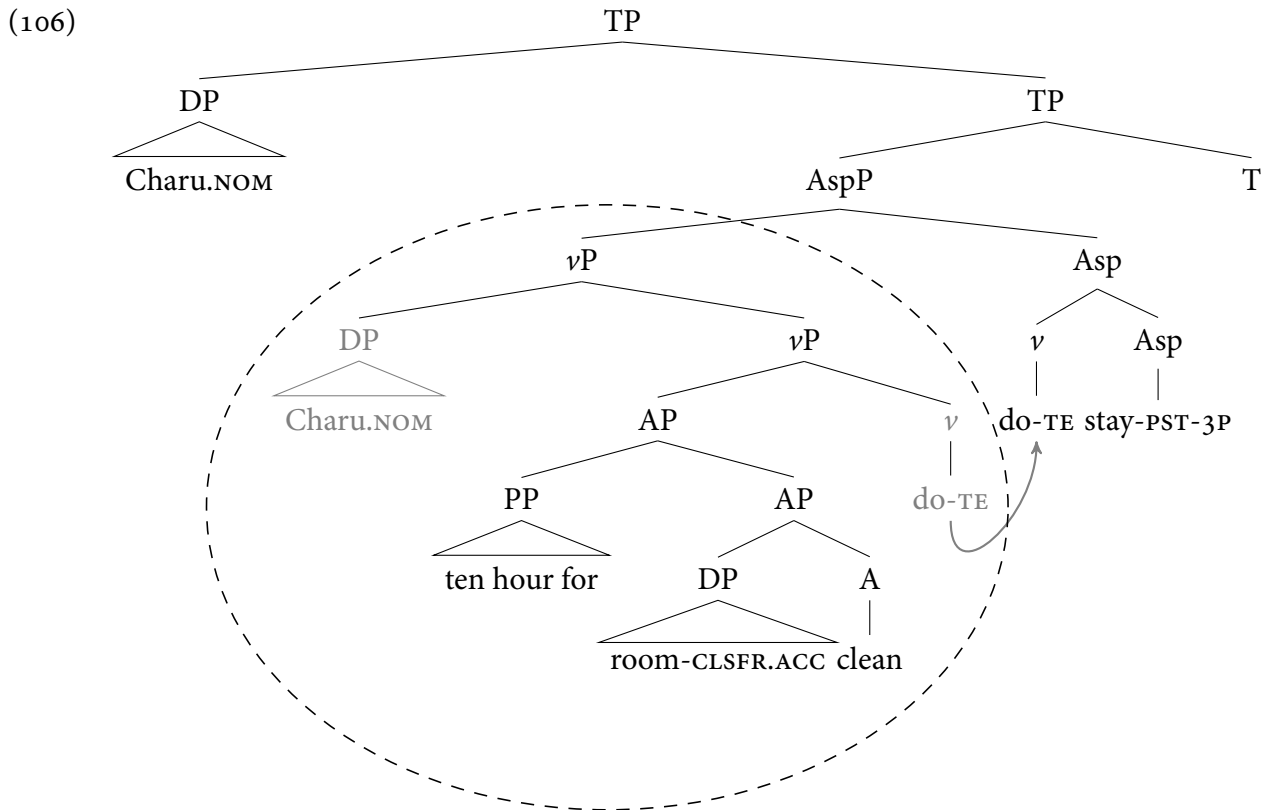
The same conclusions can be reached with regard to complex predicates: it’s only when the light verb and  $[\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{aka}]$  are stranded together that the ellipsis is sanctioned (105).

- (105) A:  $\text{Amol.NOM}$   $\text{ten}$   $\text{hour}$   $\text{for}$   $\text{room-CLSEFR.ACC}$   $\text{clean}$   $\text{do-TE}$   $\text{stay-PST-3P}$ .  
 Amol.NOM ten hour for room-CLSEFR.ACC clean do-TE stay-PST-3P

“Amol kept cleaning the room for ten hours.”

- a. B:  $\text{Charu.NOM-too}$   $\text{stay-PST-3P}$ .  
 Charu.NOM-too stay-PST-3P  
*intended* → “Charu kept cleaning the room for ten hours too.”
- b. B:  $\text{Charu.NOM-too}$   $\text{do-TE}$   $\text{stay-PST-3P}$ .  
 Charu.NOM-too do-TE stay-PST-3P  
 “Charu kept cleaning the room (for ten hours) too.”

The parse for (105b) is in (106).



In fact, it can be shown that the  $vP$  can be moved independently. Consider (107).

- (107) a. abar  $\text{d̪ɔʃ}$   $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔŋt̪a}$   $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔre}$   $\text{o}i$  æk  $\text{ɕ}i\text{n}iʃ$  ami  $\text{pɔɾ}\text{-te}$   $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ak}\text{-te}$   
 again ten hours for that same thing.ACC I.NOM read-TE stay-TE  
 par-b-o n-a.  
 can-FUT-1P NEG-IMPFV  
 “I can’t read that same thing for ten hours again.”
- b. abar  $\text{d̪ɔʃ}$   $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔŋt̪a}$   $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ɔre}$   $\text{o}i$  æk  $\text{ɕ}i\text{n}iʃ$   $\text{muk}^{\text{h}}\text{ost}^{\text{h}}\text{o}$  ami  
 again ten hours for that same thing.ACC mouth.residing I.NOM  
 $\text{kor}\text{-te}$   $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ak}\text{-te}$  par-b-o n-a.  
 do-TE stay-TE can-FUT-1P NEG-IMPFV  
 “I can’t memorize that same thing for ten hours again.”

Notice that everything that the preceding discussion predicts should remain inside the  $vP$  is relocated to the left, for instance, the lower part of the complex predicate in (107b). Furthermore, observe that the repetitive reading — which is the dominant, if not the only, reading available in this context — is perfectly interpretable in both of these examples, which means that *again* must have been attached to the inchoative  $vP$ . This, in turn, shows that it must be the  $vP$  that is being Topicalized, since *again* moves to the left too. We thus see that  $vPs$  can Topicalize only when they don’t take the unmoved  $v^0$  part with them (107), but can’t, when they do ((103) and (105)). This shows conclusively that it’s the unity of the verb and the aspectual element that rules out the latter examples and the verb moves up to  $\text{Asp}^0$ .

It can thus be concluded from all these examples that the head in which the verbal cluster resides in Bengali is  $Asp^0$ , and according to the standard theory of ellipsis, what's elided in Bengali VVPE, should be the Complement of  $Asp^0$ , that is,  $\nu P$ . This, again, has already been shown with the *again* facts. Thus, what the preceding facts do is to show that it's  $\nu P$  that's both the smallest and the largest, and as a result, the only phrase that can possibly be elided in Bengali VVPE.

## 4.2 FOCUS-MARKED VERBS

The account of the VVPE cases with differing stranded verb in § 3 is actually the standard account of VP Ellipsis, which is Merchant's (2001) original account, as given in (108) and (109).

- (108) e-GIVENNESS  
An expression E counts as e-GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo  $\exists$ -type shifting,
- a. A entails F-clo(E), and
  - b. E entails F-clo(A)

(Merchant (2001), (1.42): 26)

- (109) FOCUS CONDITION ON VP ELLIPSIS  
A VP  $\alpha$  can be deleted only if  $\alpha$  is e-GIVEN.

(Merchant (2001), (1.43): 26)

For reasons having to do with certain problems arising because of the entailment requirement, Merchant (2018) changed this account to (110) and (111). Specifically, he changed the  $\exists$ -type shifting operation to a  $\lambda$ -type shifting operation, and the mutual entailment condition to a mutual inclusion condition.<sup>26</sup>

- (110) e-GIVENNESS  
An expression E counts as e-GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent (expressed or implied) A, and, modulo  $\lambda$ -type-shifting,
- a.  $\llbracket A \rrbracket \in \llbracket E \rrbracket^f$ , and
  - b.  $\llbracket E \rrbracket \in \llbracket A \rrbracket^f$ .

(Merchant (2018), (107): 259)

- (111) FOCUS CONDITION ON VP ELLIPSIS  
An XP can be elided only if XP is e-GIVEN.

(Merchant (2018), (108): 259)

To show how it would work, here are the inclusion conditions for a simple example with differing contrastive focus-marked verbs.

26. See the paper for more detailed discussion of why he made these changes. See especially section 5 and footnotes 10 and 13.

- (112) A:  $\text{ɔmol}$   $\text{boi-t̪a}$   $\text{ɖu-bar}$   $\text{skæn}$   $\text{kor-l-o}$ .  
 Amol.NOM book-CLSFR.ACC two-time scan do-PST-3P

“Amol scanned the book twice.”

- B:  $\text{na}$ ,  $\text{o}$   $\text{prin̪t}$   $\text{kor-l-o}$ .  
 no he.NOM PRINT do-PST-3P

“No, he PRINTED it (twice).” (“twice” optionally communicated)

- (113) THE MUTUAL INCLUSION CONDITIONS

- a.  $\llbracket [_{\nu P} \text{Amol scanned the book twice}] \rrbracket \in \{[\text{Amol } V'd \text{ the book twice}] : V \in D_{\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle}\}$   
 b.  $\llbracket [_{\nu P} \text{Amol printed the book twice}] \rrbracket \in \{[\text{Amol } V'd \text{ the book twice}] : V \in D_{\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle}\}$

The subject could be imagined as interpreted inside the elided  $\nu P$  because the copy is still left there. If the subject were contrasted too, then that would be abstracted over by  $\lambda$ -type-shifting. Consider the following example repeated from (83b) and its inclusion conditions.

- (114) A:  $\text{ɔmol}$   $\text{boi-t̪a}$   $\text{ɖu-bar}$   $\text{skæn}$   $\text{kor-l-o}$ .  
 Amol.NOM book-CLSFR.ACC two-time scan do-PST-3P

“Amol scanned the book twice.”

- B:  $\text{ar}$   $\text{ʃaru}$   $\text{prin̪t}$   $\text{kor-l-o}$ .  
 and Charu.NOM PRINT do-PST-3P

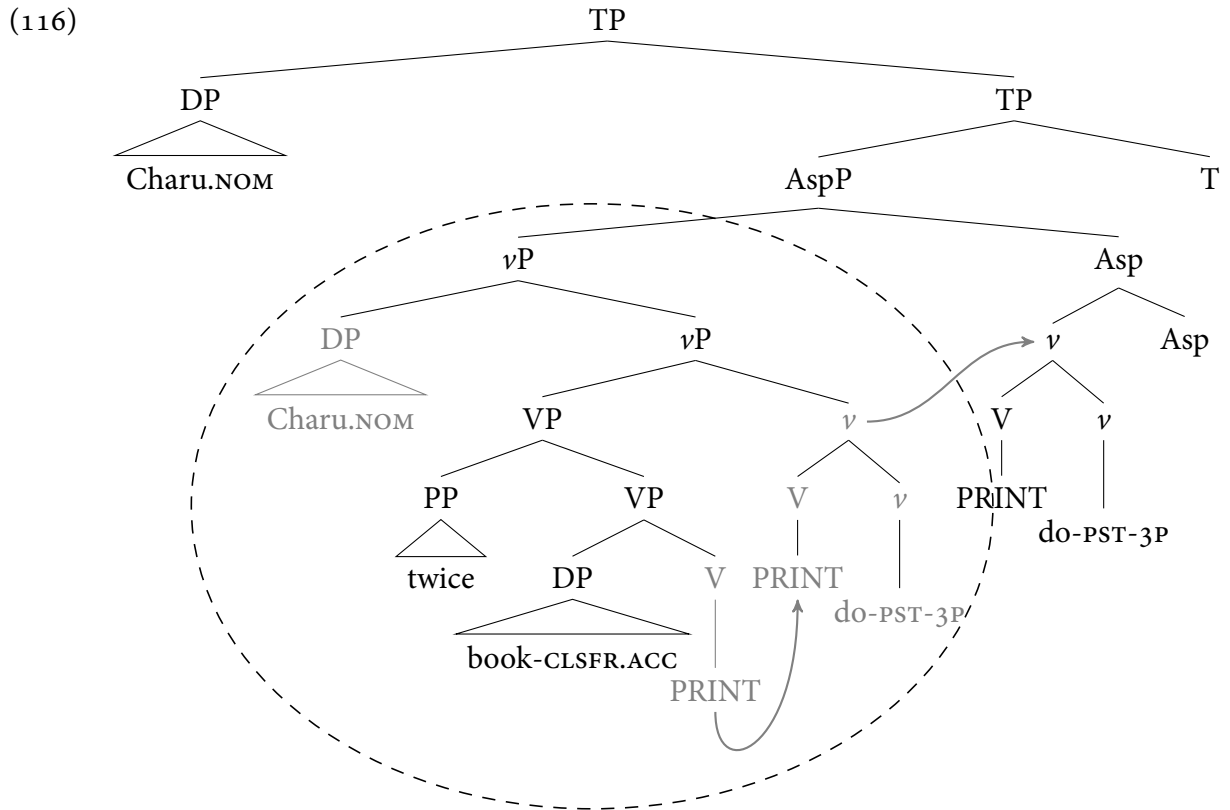
“And Charu PRINT it (twice).” (“twice” optionally communicated)

- (115) THE MUTUAL INCLUSION CONDITIONS

- a.  $\llbracket [_{\nu P} \text{Amol scanned the book twice}] \rrbracket \in \{[x V'd \text{ the book twice}] : V \in D_{\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle}, x \in D_e\}$   
 b.  $\llbracket [_{\nu P} \text{Charu printed the book twice}] \rrbracket \in \{[x V'd \text{ the book twice}] : V \in D_{\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle}, x \in D_e\}$

Thus, the conditions in Merchant (2018) account for the VVPE examples with differing stranded verbs that are contrastive focus-marked.

However, the fact that both parts of the complex predicate in (114) surface in the elliptical sentence is the last piece of inconsistency given my previous argument that, in ellipsis cases, only the light verb part of the complex predicate survives the ellipsis. This could be easily solved, as the appearance of both parts of the complex predicate can be explained by focus-driven Head Movement of the lower part of the predicate as in (116), which shows the structure for B's reply in (114), ignoring the coordinator(-like element) that introduces the contrast.



This leaves us with the question why this way of reasoning fails for Irish which does not allow violations of VIR. Because it's not unexpected for elements moving out of ellipsis sites to differ from their correlates in the antecedent clause, which is the case in Bengali *inter alia*. That is, it's actually the VIR that's unexpected and needs to be explained. (74) and (75) for Irish are repeated here in (117) and (118) respectively.

- (117) \*Léigh mé an dán ach níor thuig.  
 read[PAST] I the poem but not[PAST] understand[PAST]  
 lit. "Read I the poem, but not understand [I the poem]."

(Goldberg (2005), (4.23): 183, cited in Potsdam (1998), (2.32a-b))

- (118) \*Níor cheannaigh mé teach ariamh, ach dhíol.  
 NEG.PAST buy I house ever but sold  
 "I never bought a house, but I sold one."

(McCloskey (2017), (53a): 22)

Merchant (2018) offers an explanation for this by appealing to the grammar of pitch accent of Irish. In Irish, it's impossible for the verb stem to bear focal stress, which is why various other elements have to intervene to salvage the pitch accent associated with focus. (119) encapsulates the facts presented in Merchant (2018).

- (119) a. A: An ngéillfidh siad?  
 Q yield.FUT they  
 “Will they yield on this?”  
 B: Caithfidh siad.  
 must they  
 “They HAVE to.”
- b. An rabhadar ann? Bhíodar.  
 Q be.PAST.3pl in.it be.PAST.3pl  
 “Were they present? They certainly were.”
- c. A: An raibh Colm ann?  
 Q be.PAST Colm there  
 “Was Colm there?”  
 B: Bhí muis.  
 be.PAST PARTICLE  
 “He was indeed.”

(Merchant (2018), (112)-(114): 261)

Merchant reports that in (119a), the pronoun *siad* “they” bears the pitch accent, in (119b), the inflectional ending and not the stem, bears it, and in (119c), *muis*, a discourse particle whose meaning, according to Merchant, is unclear, does. Thus, since the verb stems in Irish cannot bear focal stress, it’s easily explainable why the VIR cannot be violated in the language.

However, this approach has been shown to be ineffective. Portlance (2019) has shown for Lithuanian that, despite the fact that Lithuanian verbs can bear focal stress, the VIR cannot be violated in the language.<sup>27</sup> (120) shows this for standard cases and (121), for the cases that she identifies as AE.<sup>28</sup>

- (120) A: Ar Žmonės jų nemėgo?  
 Q People.NOM 3PL.GEN NEG.like.PST.3PL  
 “Do people dislike them?”  
 B: Ne, jie GARBINO juos.  
 no 3PL.NOM respect.PST.3PL 3PL.ACC  
 “No, they RESPECT them.”

(Portlance (2019), (29): 7)

- (121) a. Vakar Andrius Liną APKABINO, o šiandien PABUČIAVO  
 Yesterday A.NOM L.ACC PERF.hug.PST.3SG, but Today PERF.kiss.PST.SG  
 <Liną>.  
 L.ACC  
 “Yesterday, Andrius hugged Lina and today he kissed (her).”

27. Thanks to Kyle Johnson for making me aware of this work.

28. See the paper for more on how she distinguishes VVPE from AE.

- b. \*Iš pradžių, jis ASPIMETĖ viršininku, bet  
 from first.GEN, 3SG.NOM PERF.REFL.pretend.PST.3SG boss.INS but  
 po to jis TAPO <viršininku>.  
 afterwards 3SG.NOM become.PST.3SG boss.INS

“At first, he pretended-being boss, but afterwards he became (boss).”

(Portlance (2019), (30)-(31): 8)

For this reason, she resorts to the account of the VIR found in Schoorlemmer and Temmerman (2012) for Lithuanian. Their account, in short, is that the ellipsis identity condition is checked before Head Movement in narrow syntax and Head Movement happens after narrow syntax, in PF. This is the reason the verbs cannot differ between the antecedent and the ellipsis clause because the verbs are still inside the ellipsis site at that stage of the derivation. She then extends this account to a bifurcated theory of the VIR. She says that in languages like Irish and Lithuanian, the account in Schoorlemmer and Temmerman (2012) is what prohibits the stranded verbs from being different. For languages like Russian, Hungarian and Greek, she proposes that the regular syntactic movement account be espoused. This, she suggests as an application of the analysis in Harizanov and Gribanova (2019), who argue for a system in which the phenomenon of Verb Movement is ramified into post-syntactic head amalgamation — an equivalent of PF Head Movement — and regular syntactic movement of heads.

But it’s not clear how this suggestion solves the issue. What *does* seem to, however, is whether focus-marked materials are moving out of ellipsis sites in narrow syntax. Let’s lay out how the account in Schoorlemmer and Temmerman (2012) would handle the ellipsis in (121b). According to the amended version of the antecedent conditions in Merchant (2018), here are the final inclusion conditions for (121b).

(122) THE MUTUAL INCLUSION CONDITIONS

- a.  $[[[{}_{\nu P} \text{ he pretended-being boss}]]] \in \{[\text{he } V'd \text{ boss}] : V \in D_{\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle}\}$   
 b.  $[[[{}_{\nu P} \text{ he became boss}]]] \in \{[\text{he } V'd \text{ boss}] : V \in D_{\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle}\}$

This means that, regardless of whether the focus-marked verb moves in narrow syntax or in PF, the ellipsis should be licensed, which is plainly false.<sup>29</sup> That is to say, simply the fact that, in languages with PF Head Movement, the antecedent conditions are checked with the focus-marked verbs inside the constituents being considered cannot be the reason why the VIR is observed in such languages because whether the verb is inside the relevant constituents or outside doesn’t seem to influence the licensing.<sup>30</sup> This, it should be noted, crucially implies that, if the focus-marked element has emigrated from within the ellipsis site, as, for instance, in DP movement from Spec $\nu P$  to SpecTP, then the lower copy of the moved material which is inside the ellipsis

29. Thanks to Kyle Johnson for turning my attention to this.

30. Originally, Schoorlemmer and Temmerman (2012) adopted Merchant’s (2001) original antecedent conditions for ellipsis licensing, that is, the ones in (108) and (109). So, here are the two  $\exists$ -type-shifted  $\nu P$ s that will be involved in calculating the antecedent conditions for (121b). (“” denotes  $\exists$ -type-shifting.)

(i)  $\exists$ -TYPE-SHIFTING FOR THE OPEN VARIABLES

- a.  $\nu P_A' = \exists x.x \text{ pretended-being boss}$  (because this  $\nu P$  has an open variable corresponding to the subject, which requires the  $\exists$ -type-shifting)  
 b.  $\nu P_E' = \exists x.x \text{ became boss}$  (the same reason necessitates the  $\exists$ -type-shifting)

The following are the F-closures.

site, although still bearing focus-marking, will not incur ungrammaticality. This makes it quite lucid that whatever is responsible for the purported VIR on Lithuanian cannot be reduced to the focus-marking of the verb left inside the ellipsis site which, having no semantic consequences on the calculation of the e-GIVENNESS condition, fails to make any distinction between the copy of a moved focus-marked element and the unmoved focus-marked element. And that is precisely the distinction that needs to be made.

The property of the focus-marked head that does seem to have the right sort of information is prosody — in this particular case, the pitch accent of the focus-marked material in question. It has been advocated by Merchant (2018) that an elided constituent cannot bear pitch accents, such as on focus-marked material. For instance, adverbials triggering obligatory pitch accent on their associate cannot take as their associate material engulfed by ellipsis (123).

- (123) Abby will only play [the flúte]<sub>F</sub> at the recital, not the piano.  
 a. Ben also will only play [the flúte]<sub>F</sub> at the recital.  
 b. \*Ben also will only play [the flúte]<sub>F</sub> at the recital.

(Merchant (2018), (119); 264)

It now becomes fascinating to notice the parallel between (123) and (121b). In the former, there is something focus-marked inside an ellipsis site that bears pitch accent and, if we grant Portlance’s assumption based on Schoorlemmer and Temmerman (2012) that Lithuanian verbs do not Head Move in narrow syntax, then the focus-marked verb inside the ellipsis site bears pitch accent. Thus, Merchant’s (2018) idea seems to extend to these Lithuanian examples too. This makes this idea more consequential that whether a phrase can be elided is contingent on whether it hosts pitch accent.

Let’s fully flesh out what prevents examples like (121). As has been accepted by Portlance, Lithuanian verbs do not Head Move in narrow syntax. The verb in the elliptical sentence in (121b) *tapo* “became” is contrastive focus-marked and bears pitch accent. Since it does not Head Move in narrow syntax, the pitch accent cannot escape the ellipsis site. This is what makes the example ungrammatical.

To illustrate how this might contrast with a violation of VIR, as in Bengali (73), Bengali verbs have been shown in § 4.1 to Head Move in narrow syntax. Thus, the contrastive focus-marked verb with a pitch accent in the elliptical response in this example [mɔlaʃ d̪ilo] “covered” manages to vacate its ellipsis-internal site before ellipsis. This removal of pitch accent salvages the ellipsis, despite the fact that the focus-marked copy persists therein. (In fact, it’s *because of* this focus-marking that the ellipsis is licensed, or this verb will not be abstracted over by λ-type-

---

(ii) THE F-CLOSURES

- a.  $F\text{-clo}(vP_A) = \exists x \exists V.x V'd \text{ boss}$  (because “pretended-being” is focus-marked here)  
 b.  $F\text{-clo}(vP_E) = \exists x \exists V.x V'd \text{ boss}$  (because “became” is focus-marked here)

This means that, as is shown in the following example, the mutual entailment conditions definitely hold.

(iii) THE MUTUAL ENTAILMENT CONDITIONS

- a. “ $\exists x.x$  pretended-being boss” (=  $vP_A'$ ) entails “ $\exists x \exists V.x V'd \text{ boss}$ ” (=  $F\text{-clo}(vP_E)$ )  
 b. “ $\exists x.x$  became boss” (=  $vP_E'$ ) entails “ $\exists x \exists V.x V'd \text{ boss}$ ” (=  $F\text{-clo}(vP_A)$ )

This means that, regardless of which of Merchant’s accounts is espoused, the ellipsis should be licensed, which is clearly not the case.



shifting.)<sup>31</sup> Thus, the typology of VVPE languages with regard to whether they have the VIR can be represented with the following table in (124).

(124)

	VERBAL STEMS CAN BEAR FOCAL STRESS	VERBAL STEMS CANNOT BEAR FOCAL STRESS
POST-SPELL-OUT HEAD MOVEMENT	VIR observed — Lithuanian	VIR observed — Irish
SYNTACTIC HEAD MOVEMENT	VIR — not observed — Bengali, Russian, Greek, Hungarian	VIR observed — ?

If the preceding discussion and the typology suggested above are correct, then the cell in (124) with a “?” would be exceptionally difficult to detect. This is so because, in order to do that, it needs to be understood whether Head Movement happens at narrow syntax or at PF in that language, which will be the most formidable challenge given the subtleties and controversies surrounding the semantics of Head Movement (Matushansky (2006), Lechner (2007, 2017), Iatridou and Zeijlstra (2013), Keine and Bhatt (2016), Sato and Maeda (2017), Homer and Bhatt (2020)).

## 5 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This view of ellipsis has two particular implications. One is that the ellipsis identity conditions must be checked in narrow syntax. The other implication, though, is hardly ever admitted anywhere: that narrow syntax can see prosody. This comes up as an inference from the focus-related data presented in this paper because of the behavior of pitch accent. If prosody were invisible in narrow syntax, then so would it be to the ellipsis mechanism working in narrow syntax. Thus, the only characteristic shared by the data relating to whether something focus-marked is inside or outside the ellipsis — that is, the prosody of pitch accent that is frequently concomitant with this specific semantic signal — would be lost and we would have no way of constraining ellipsis exactly the way it seems to need to be constrained. It’s only if prosody is visible to narrow syntax, then, that ellipsis identity conditions can be described as sensitive to pitch accent. This is an unorthodox thought to entertain, to say the least, nor is it understood how and exactly to what extent prosody should be married to narrow syntax. But acknowledging that we might have to think along these lines seems, so far, to be a step in the right direction. Moreover, even if we are eventually able to build prosody into narrow syntax in the right way, the still-looming question would be why ellipsis seems to be vulnerable only to pitch accent but not to the rest of the phonology.

Beyond that, though, things are even more complicated. It seems that not all kinds of pitch accents are disallowed within ellipsis sites.<sup>32</sup> For instance, following are two examples of this kind, which are perfectly felicitous.

31. The consequences of this focus-marking, by the way, are exactly what Schoorlemmer and Temmerman (2012) runs afoul of.

32. Thanks to David Pesetsky and Rajesh Bhatt for bringing this to my attention.

- (125) a. Marcel agreed to draw only the HAWTHORNS, Gilberte did ~~{agree to draw only the HAWTHORNS}~~ too.
- b. A: WHO bought WHAT?  
 B: JOE bought A WATERMELON, SMITTY did too, and IRVING bought a CAMERA.

What gets elided in (125a) is *agree to draw only the HAWTHORNS* and, as the uppercase indicates, *HAWTHORNS* has focus and pitch accent. In (125b), it's *bought a WATERMELON* that gets elided and *WATERMELON* gets focus and pitch accent. But these ellipses are felicitous anyway and thus run afoul of the expectation that arises from the data presented so far.

There's again another kind of potential worry, although whether it should be one, it seems, doesn't defy comprehension as much. The following discourse is infelicitous.<sup>33</sup> ([smok kɔra] is a term used for code-switching between Bengali and English, which means the same as [d̪ʱumʔpan kɔra] — “to smoke”).

- (126) A: ɔmol        d̪u-gʱɔŋʈa d̪ʱore smok kor-l-o.  
 Amol.NOM two-hour for smoke do-PST-3P  
 “Amol smoked for two hours.”
- B: #ar    ʈaru-o        d̪ʱumʔpan        kor-l-o.  
 and CHARU.NOM-too smoke.drinking do-PST-3P  
*Intended* → “And CHARU smoked for two hours too.”

The ellipsis in (126) should be felicitous because of the following mutual inclusion conditions.

- (127) THE MUTUAL INCLUSION CONDITIONS
- a.  $[[_{\nu P} \text{Amol smoked for two hours}]] \in \{[x \text{ smoked for two hours}] : x \in D_e\}$
- b.  $[[_{\nu P} \text{Charu smoked for two hours}]] \in \{[x \text{ smoked for two hours}] : x \in D_e\}$

This is because the  $\nu P$ s are  $\lambda$ -abstracted over only with respect to the  $\nu P$ -internal copies of the subjects which, because of the contrast, are focus-marked and since the two complex predicates with no focus-marking mean the same thing — “to smoke” — the mutual inclusion condition should be satisfied. That means that the infelicity of the discourse should not be accounted for. Still, arguments can be made along the lines of a prerequisite of structural isomorphism of the non-focused material inside an ellipsis, which using the complex predicate [d̪ʱumʔpan kɔra] in the ellipsis clause would fail to satisfy. I would leave these issues for future research.

## 6 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper was to demonstrate two claims: that Bengali has VVPE and that Bengali VVPE violates the VIR of Goldberg (2005). Existence of VVPE in Bengali can be seen in the presence of null adjunct readings, behaviors of complex predicates, possibility of extractions from elided verbal projections, the unavailability of restitutive reading in verbal predicates when modified by *again*, the preservation of the meanings of disjunctive verbal phrases that go unpronounced and the behavior of strained anaphorization, as in NPIs, generic arguments, quantificational arguments and idiom chunks. This diagnostic involving *again* also indicates that what is

33. Thanks to David Pesetsky for pointing this out to me.

elided in Bengali VVPE must be at least as big as the  $\nu$ P and Topicalizations of verbal projections show that it cannot be larger than the  $\nu$ P. That is, what undergoes the ellipsis is the  $\nu$ P.

The other object of this paper — to implicate VVPE to explain examples in which an elliptical clause has, in its verbal part, only a verb which is different from the one in the antecedent clause and nothing else from inside the unpronounced part of the sentence — was achieved by pointing out the VVPE characteristics of such examples — which are the same as the ones used to demonstrate the existence of VVPE in Bengali — null adjunct readings, affirmative continuations of disjunctions and strained anaphorization. It was also shown that the status of the VIR as a property of VVPE has been thoroughly contended against by examples from various languages.

Given the widely acknowledged characteristic of ellipsis that focus-marked elements relocate outside the phrase to be elided, I've argued here that Goldberg's (2005) VIR was a literal illusion and it never existed. That is, just as a contrastive focus-marked subject, a contrastive focus-marked verb that differs from the verb in the antecedent clause is capable of moving out of the ellipsis site prior to ellipsis. The explanation that I have proposed in this paper for what has been perceived as a requirement of VVPE and dubbed the "VIR" is one that has already been proposed for other ellipsis scenarios in Merchant (2018): that an ellipsis site cannot host any pitch accent. Since an unmoved contrastive focus-marked verb inside an ellipsis site preserves pitch accent there, the ellipsis is ungrammatical. However, if that verb Head Moves out of the ellipsis site, the pitch accent is no longer in its base position and the ellipsis is no longer ungrammatical. This leaves us with the implication that narrow syntax must be able to see prosody since the ellipsis identity conditions are met in narrow syntax and that there must be something different about pitch accent — as opposed to other kinds of phonology which do not interfere with VP Ellipsis. The other implication that has been noted tangentially is the strong possibility that AE is not a regular ellipsis operation, as we know it, which might be responsible for some of its behaviors that are surprising of an ellipsis mechanism. These I leave for future research to investigate.

## REFERENCES

- Baker, Mark. 1985. The mirror principle and morphosyntactic explanation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 16.3:373–415.
- Baltin, Mark. 2003. The interaction of ellipsis and binding: Implications for the sequencing of Principle A. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21.2:215–246.
- Bánréti, Zoltán. 1994. Coordination. In *Syntax and semantics 27: The syntactic structure of Hungarian*, ed. Ferenc Kiefer and Katalin É. Kiss, 355–414. Academic Press, San Diego.
- Bánréti, Zoltán. 2001. Multiple lexical selection and parallelism in Hungarian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 48.1-3:25–58.
- Bánréti, Zoltán. 2007. *A mellérendelés és az ellipszis nyelvtana a magyarban*. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó.
- Bartos, Huba. 2000. VP-ellipsis and verbal inflection in Hungarian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 47.1-4:3–24.
- Bartos, Huba. 2001. Sound-form non-insertion and the direction of ellipsis. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 48.1-3:3–24.

- Butt, Miriam, and Gillian Catriona Ramchand. 2005. Complex aspectual structure in Hindi/Urdu. In *The syntax of aspect*, ed. Nomi Erteschik-Shir and Tova Rappaport, 117–153. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cheng, Hsu-Te. 2013. Argument ellipsis, classifier phrases and the DP parameter. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Connecticut at Storrs.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. Bare phrase structure. In *Government binding theory and the minimalist program*, ed. Gert Webelhuth, 383–439. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Doron, Edit. 1990. V-Movement and VP ellipsis. Master's thesis, Department of English, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Goldberg, Lotus Madelyn. 2005. Verb-stranding VP ellipsis: A cross-linguistic study. Doctoral Dissertation, McGill University, Montreal.
- Gribanova, Vera B. 2013a. A new argument for verb-stranding verb phrase ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44:145–157.
- Gribanova, Vera B. 2013b. Verb-stranding verb phrase ellipsis and the structure of the Russian verbal complex. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 31:91–136.
- Gribanova, Vera B. 2017a. Head movement and ellipsis in the expression of Russian polarity focus. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 35:1079–1121.
- Gribanova, Vera B. 2017b. Head movement, ellipsis and identity. Ms., Stanford University.
- Gribanova, Vera B. 2017c. Roots in ellipsis and multidominance. In *Asking the right questions: Essays in honor of Sandra Chung*, ed. Jason Ostrove, Ruth Kramer, and Joseph Sabbagh, 1–16. Santa Cruz, California: Linguistics Research Center Publications.
- Gyuris, Béata. 2001. Semantic licensing of VP ellipsis. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 48.1-3:59–78.
- Hankamer, Jorge, and Ivan Sag. 1976. Deep and surface anaphora. *Linguistic Inquiry* 7:391–428.
- Harizanov, Boris, and Vera B. Gribanova. 2019. Whither head movement? *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 37:461–522.
- Hoji, Hajime. 1998. Null object and sloppy identity in Japanese. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29:127–152.
- Holmberg, Anders. 1999. Yes and no in Finnish: ellipsis and cyclic spell-out. In *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 33: Papers on Morphology and Syntax, Cycle One*, ed. Karlos Arregi, Benjamin Bruening, and Vivian Lin, 88–110.
- Holmberg, Anders. 2001. The syntax of yes and no in Finnish. *Studia Linguistica* 55.2:141–175.
- Homer, Vincent, and Rajesh Bhatt. 2020. Restructuring and the scope of negation in Hindi-Urdu. *Glossa* 5.1:1–36.
- Huang, C.-T. James. 1987. Verb-second in German and some AUX phenomena. In *Chinese-Western encounter: Studies in linguistics and literature: festschrift for Franz Giet, SVD on his 85th birthday*, Asian Library Series no. 44. Chinese Materials Center Publications, Taipei, Taiwan.

- Huang, C.-T. James. 1988. Comments on Hasegawa's paper. In *Proceedings of Japanese Syntax Workshop: Issues on empty categories*, ed. Tawa Wako and Mineharu Nakayama, 77–93. Japanese Program at Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut.
- Huang, C.-T. James. 1991. Remarks on the status of the null object. In *Principles and parameters in comparative grammar(20)*, ed. Robert Freidin, 56–76. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Iatridou, Sabine, and Hedde Zeijlstra. 2013. Negation, polarity, and deontic modals. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44:529–568.
- Jayaseelan, K. A. 1990. Incomplete VP deletion and Gapping. *Linguistic Analysis* 20:64–81.
- Johnson, Kyle. 2000a. Few dogs eat Whiskers or cats Alpo. In *University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers (23)*, ed. Kiyomi Kusumoto and Elisabeth Villalta, 47–60. Amherst, Massachusetts: UMOP.
- Johnson, Kyle. 2000b. How far will quantifiers go? In *Step by step*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 187–210. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Johnson, Kyle. 2004a. How to be quiet. In *Proceedings from the 40th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*, ed. Nikki Adams, Adam Cooper, Fey Parrill, and Thomas Wier, 1–20. Chicago, Illinois: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Johnson, Kyle. 2004b. In search of the English middle field. Unpublished manuscript.
- Johnson, Kyle. 2009. Gapping is not (VP-) ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40.2:289–328.
- Keine, Stefan, and Rajesh Bhatt. 2016. Interpreting verb clusters. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 34.4:1445–1492.
- Koisumi, Masatoshi. 2000. String vacuous overt verb raising. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 9:227–285.
- Laka, Itziar. 1990. Negation in syntax: on the nature of functional categories and their projections. Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Landau, Idan. 2018. Missing objects in Hebrew: Argument ellipsis, not VP ellipsis. *Glossa* 3.1:1–37.
- Landau, Idan. 2019. On the non-existence of Verb-stranding VP-ellipsis. Accepted at *Linguistic Inquiry*.
- Landau, Idan. 2020. Ellipsis with a coordinated antecedent: An alternative to V-stranding VP-ellipsis. Under review.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1999. On feature strength: three minimalist approaches to overt movement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30.2:197–217.
- Lechner, Winfried. 2007. Interpretive effects of Head Movement. URL <http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/000178>.
- Lechner, Winfried. 2017. In defense of semantically active head movement. Handout of a talk presented in the “Workshop for Martin Prinzhorn”, Technical University of Vienna.

- Lin, Vivian. 2002. Coordination and sharing at the interfaces. Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Lipták, Anikó. 2012. V-stranding ellipsis and verbal identity: the role of polarity focus. In *Linguistics in the Netherlands 2012*, ed. Marion Elenbaas and Suzanne Aalberse, 82–96. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lipták, Anikó. 2013. The syntax of emphatic positive polarity in Hungarian: evidence from ellipsis. *Lingua* 128:72–92.
- Lobeck, Anne. 1990. Functional heads as proper governors. In *NELS 20*, ed. Juli Carter, Rose-Marie Dé-chaine, Bill Philip, and Tim Sherer, 348–362. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, Graduate Linguistic Student Association.
- Lobeck, Anne. 1995. *Ellipsis: Functional heads, licensing and identification*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- López, Luis. 1994. The syntactic licensing of VP-ellipsis: A comparative study of Spanish and English. In *Issues and theory in Romance linguistics: Selected papers from the linguistic symposium on Romance languages XXIII*, ed. Michael L. Mazzola, 333–354. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Manetta, Emily Walker. 2018a. The structure of complex predicates in Hindi-Urdu: evidence from verb-phrase ellipsis. In *Trends in Hindi linguistics*, ed. Ghanshyam Sharma and Rajesh Bhatt, 47–83. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Manetta, Emily Walker. 2018b. We say ‘How high?’: Adverbs, negation, and verb movement in a verb-final language. In *A reasonable way to proceed: Essays in honor of Jim McCloskey*, ed. Jason Merchant, Line Mikkelsen, Deniz Rudin, and Kelsey Sasaki, 211–227. Linguistics Research Center, Santa Cruz, California.
- Manetta, Emily Walker. 2019. Verb-phrase ellipsis and complex predicates in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 37.3:915–953.
- Martins, Ana-Maria. 1994. Enclisis, VP-deletion and the nature of sigma. *Probus* 6:173–206.
- Martins, Ana Maria. 2000. A minimalist approach to clitic climbing. In *Portuguese syntax*, ed. João Costa, 169–190. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Matushansky, Ora. 2006. Head movement in linguistic theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37.1:69–109.
- McCloskey, James. 1991a. Clause structure, ellipsis and proper government in Irish. *Lingua* 85:259–302.
- McCloskey, James. 1991b. Verb fronting, verb second and the left edge of IP in Irish. In *Seventh Workshop on Comparative Germanic Syntax*. Stuttgart.
- McCloskey, James. 2017. Ellipsis, polarity, and the cartography of verb-initial orders in Irish. Manuscript, University of California, Santa Cruz.
- McShane, Marjorie. 2000. Verbal ellipsis in Russian, Polish and Czech. *Slavic and East European Journal* 44:195–233.

- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence: sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merchant, Jason. 2013a. Diagnosing ellipsis. In *Diagnosing Syntax*, ed. Lisa L.-S. Cheng and Norbert Corver, 537–542. Oxford University Press.
- Merchant, Jason. 2013b. Voice and ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44.1:77–108.
- Merchant, Jason. 2016. Ellipsis: a survey of analytical approaches. In *The Oxford handbook of ellipsis*, ed. Jeroen van Craenenbroeck and Tanja Temmerman, 19–45. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merchant, Jason. 2018. Verb-stranding predicate ellipsis in Greek, implicit arguments, and ellipsis-internal focus. In *A reasonable way to proceed: Essays in honor of Jim McCloskey*, ed. Jason Merchant, Line Mikkelsen, Deniz Rudin, and Kelsey Sasaki, 228–269. Linguistics Research Center, Santa Cruz, California.
- Ngonyani, Deo. 1996a. The Morphosyntax of Applicatives (Bantu, Ndendeule, Swahili). Doctoral Dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles.
- Ngonyani, Deo. 1996b. VP ellipsis in Ndendeule and Swahili applicatives. In *Syntax at sunset, UCLA working papers in syntax and semantics*, ed. Edward Garrett and Felicia Lee, 109–128. UCLA.
- Ngonyani, Deo. 1998. V-to-I movement in Kiswahili. In *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapeire*, ed. Rose Mary Beck, Thomas Geider, and Werner Graebner, volume 55 of *Swahili Forum V*, 129–144. Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln, Köln, Germany.
- Otani, Kazuyo, and John Whitman. 1991. V-raising and VP-ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22:345–358.
- Pesetsky, David. 1982. Paths and categories. Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Portlance, Eva. 2019. Genuine verb stranding vP-ellipsis in Lithuanian. 50<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the North East Linguistic Society.
- Potsdam, Eric. 1998. *Syntactic issues in the English imperative*. Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Rapp, Irene, and Arnim von Stechow. 1999. Fast “almost” and the visibility parameter for functional adverbs. *Journal of Semantics* 16:149–204.
- Richards, Norvin. 2002. Tagalog ellipsis. Invited talk, AFLA 9, Cornell University.
- Saito, Mamoru. 2007. Notes on East Asian argument ellipsis. *Language Research* 43:203–227.
- Saito, Mamoru, and Keiko Murasugi. 1990. N<sup>0</sup>-deletion in Japanese: A preliminary study. In *Japanese/Korean linguistics*, ed. Hajime Hoji, volume 1, 258–301. CSLI Publications.
- Sakamoto, Yuta. 2017. Escape from silent syntax. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Connecticut at Storrs.

- Santos, Ana Lúcia. 2009. *Minimal answers: Ellipsis, syntax, and discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sato, Yosuke, and Simin Karimi. 2016. Subject-object asymmetries in Persian argument ellipsis and the anti-agreement theory. *Glossa* 1:1–31.
- Sato, Yosuke, and Masako Maeda. 2017. Syntactic head movement in Japanese: Evidence from verb-echo answers and negative scope reversal. Manuscript, National University of Singapore and Kyushu Institute of Technology.
- Schoorlemmer, Erik, and Tanja Temmerman. 2012. Head movement as a PF-phenomenon: Evidence from identity under ellipsis. In *Proceedings of WCCFL XXIX*, 232–240. Somerville, Massachusetts: Cascadilla Press.
- Simpson, Andrew, Arunima Choudhury, and Mythili Menon. 2013. Argument ellipsis and the licensing of covert nominals in Bangla, Hindi and Malayalam. *Lingua* 134:103–128.
- von Stechow, Arnim. 1996. The different readings of *wieder* “again”: A structural account. *Journal of Semantics* 13:87–138.
- Stjepanović, Sandra. 1997a. VP ellipsis in a verb raising language and implications for verbal morphology. In *‘Is the logic clear?’: papers in honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. Jeong-Seok Kim, Satoshi Oku, and Sandra Stjepanović, number 8 in University of Connecticut working papers in linguistics, 287–306.
- Stjepanović, Sandra. 1997b. VP ellipsis in a verb raising language: implications for verbal morphology. In *Proceedings of ESCOL 1997*, ed. Jennifer Austin and Aaron Lawson, 192–203.
- Takahashi, Daiko. 2011. Elliptic arguments in Japanese and Malayalam. Talk presented at Nanzan University.
- Takahashi, Daiko. 2014. Argument ellipsis, anti-agreement and scrambling. In *Japanese syntax in comparative perspective*, ed. Mamoru Saito, 88–116. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Takahashi, Shoichi. 2004. Pseudogapping and cyclic linearization. In *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth meeting of the North East Linguistic Society*, ed. Keir Moulton and Matthew Wolf, 571–585. University of Massachusetts at Amherst: Graduate Linguistic Student Association.
- Toosarvandani, Maziar. 2006. *v*-stranding VPE: Ellipsis in Farsi complex predicates. Unpublished manuscript.
- Toosarvandani, Maziar. 2009. Ellipsis in Farsi complex predicates. *Syntax* 12:60–92.
- Tucker, Matthew A. 2011. Verb-stranding verb-phrase ellipsis in Egyptian Arabic. Paper presented at the 25<sup>th</sup> Arabic Linguistic Symposium/UCSC Structure of Arabic, Tucson, Santa Cruz. March 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

