

VERB STRANDING ELLIPSIS AND LEXICAL IDENTITY IN HUNGARIAN

Anikó Lipták, LUCL, Leiden University

Topic	the lexical identity condition in V-stranding ellipsis and its consequences for the analysis of head movement
Main claims	the view from Hungarian V-stranding ellipsis shows that lexical identity does not characterize, and thus cannot be used to conclude anything for, head movement (i) the ellipsis type that involves verb movement does not show an ellipsis-specific lexical identity condition (ii) the ellipsis type that does show such a condition does not involve head movement

Contents of this talk

1. Verb stranding ellipsis & lexical identity
2. Introduction to Hungarian
3. V-stranding ellipsis
 - 3.1. Arguments for ellipsis in V-stranding contexts
 - 3.2. Identity in V-stranding ellipsis
4. Preverb-stranding ellipsis
 - 4.1. Basic properties of preverb-stranding
 - 4.2. Identity in preverb-stranding: the basic facts
 - 4.3. Identity in preverb-stranding: syntactic identity?
5. Summary & conclusion

1. Verb stranding ellipsis & lexical identity

Verb stranding ellipsis is ellipsis of a constituent out of which verb movement has taken place.

- (1) a. [TP V_i [v_P —t_i—]] *V-stranding VP ellipsis*
 b. [CP V_i [TP —t_i—]] *V-stranding TP ellipsis*

It occurs in languages where some form of verb-movement (V-to-T, V-to(-T-to)-C, etc.) is attested:

Hebrew (Doron 1991, Goldberg 2005), **Irish** (McCloskey 1991, 2011), **Scottish Gaelic** (Thoms 2014), **Chinese** (Otani and Whitman 1991), **Swahili** (Ngonyani 1996), **Finnish** (Holmberg 2001, 2015), **Hungarian** (Lipták 2012, 2013), **Portuguese** (Martins 1994, Cyrino & Matos 2002, Santos 2009, Peruch Mezari 2016), **Russian** (Gribanova 2013a,b, 2015, to appear), see Holmberg (2015) for a list of other languages

- (2) Q: On-ko Liisa kotona? A: On. (Finnish, Holmberg 2001)
 is-Q Liisa at.home is
 'Is Liisa at home?' 'He is.'

In V-stranding ellipsis, the lexical content of the verb must be identical to that of the antecedent.

THE LEXICAL IDENTITY CONDITION (LIC)

The antecedent- and target-clause main Vs of VP ellipsis must be identical, minimally, in their root and derivational morphology.

(Goldberg 2005, p. 171: 26, under the name *verbal identity condition*)

- (3) Q: Ar cheannaigh siad teach? (Irish, McCloskey 2007)
 C.INT bought they house
 'Did they buy the house?'
 A: Creidim gur cheannaigh.
 believe.1SG C bought
 'I believe they did.'

- (4) Q: Ar mhiss-eáil tú é? (Irish, McCloskey 2005)
 COMP.INTER missed you him
 ‘Did you miss him?’
 A: * Chrothnaigh.
 miss.PAST
 ‘I did.’

Inflectional morphology, tense, mood, finiteness on the verb might vary:

- (5) Q: Tazmini et Dvora la-mesiba? (Hebrew, Goldberg 2005)
 invite.FUT.2FSG A Dvora to.the-party
 ‘(Will) (you) invite Dvora to the party?’
 A: Kvar hizmanti.
 already invite.PAST.1SG
 ‘I already did.’

The LIC does not characterize phrasal material that is A- or \bar{A} -moved out of ellipsis sites:

- (6) a. A: Bill brought a present to Hall. *A-mvt*
 B: Did he_i [_{VP} t_i bring a present to Hall]??
 b. Bill brought a present to Hall, and I_j will [_{VP} t_i bring a present to Hall] _j too.
 (7) a. Nuts, I like. Chocolate_i, I_j don't [_{VP} t_j like t_i]. *\bar{A} -mvt*
 b. I know he has five cats, but I don't know how many DOGS_i [_{TP} ~~he has t_i~~].

when the stranded material is A- or \bar{A} -moved:

- *ellipsis-external* material need not be identical to its correlate in the antecedent
- *ellipsis-internal* material *must* be identical to its correlate, due to (8):

(8) Identity conditions on ellipsis internal material

(i) **E-GIVENness:** Elided constituents are e-GIVEN (Merchant 2001: p. 26, 42)

(a) An expression E counts as e-GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo \exists -type shifting, (i) A entails the *F(ocus)-closure* of E and (ii) E entails the *F-closure* of A.

(b) The F-closure of α is the result of replacing F-marked parts of α with \exists -bound variables of the appropriate type (modulo \exists -type shifting, a type-shifting operation that raises expressions to type $\langle t \rangle$ and existentially binds unfilled arguments).

(ii) **Lexico-syntactic identity of ellipsis sites ('no new words')** (Chung 2006: 84)

Every lexical item in the numeration of the sluice that ends up (only) in the elided IP must be identical to an item in the numeration of the antecedent CP.

(cf. * *They're jealous, but it's unclear whom they are jealous of.*)

- importantly, the LIC does not apply if the stranded verb is contrastive, in a.o. Russian (ex. 9, Gribanova 2013b, 2015), European Portuguese (Santos 2009), Swahili (Ngonyani 1996), Hungarian (Lipták 2013), (but puzzlingly, not in Hebrew and Irish (Goldberg 2005, McCloskey 2007), see Grivanova 2015) — expected since focus constituents are exempted from the calculation of e-GIVENness:

- (9) Kto-to ètu vazu URONIL, i tot fakt, što nikto (eë) ne PODNJAL, menja ogorčaet.
 someone this.A vase.A dropped and the fact that nobody it not picked.up me upsets
 ‘Someone DROPPED this vase, and the fact that no one PICKED (it) up upsets me.’

PUZZLE: Why does a non-contrastive verb moved out of the ellipsis site have to comply with the LIC?

Explanations in the literature:

The stranded verb is *inside the ellipsis site* at the relevant level of interpretation (LF).

- (10) a. [CP [TP V_i [VP —t_i—]]] PF-representation
 b. [CP [TP [VP —V—]]] LF-representation
- e-GIVEN and lexically identical material

Two versions of the explanation:

- ① the verb undergoes head movement **in PF** only, so in LF it is inside the ellipsis site; Schoorlemmer and Temmerman (2012)
- ② the verb moves in overt syntax but it **reconstructs** to its source position in LF; Goldberg (2005)(the claim being that heads of phrases are necessarily given)

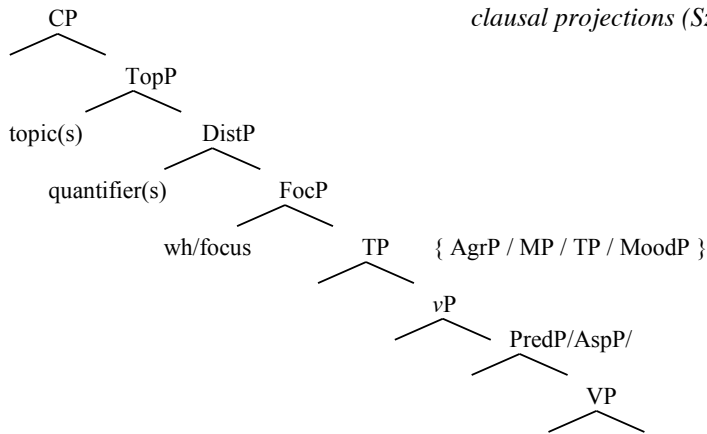
REST OF THE TALK:

- I will exemplify V-stranding ellipsis in Hungarian, and the LIC operating in V-stranding.
- I provide evidence that the LIC should *not* be accounted for with reference to head movement.

2. Introduction to Hungarian

- Hungarian is an SVO language, with relatively free word order, due to:
 - free scrambling of arguments (Surányi 2006)
 - free order of constituents in the postverbal field (É. Kiss 2008)
 - discourse configurability: articulated left periphery harboring focus, topics, quantificational material, negation lined up according to scope (É. Kiss 1987, 1994, Brody 1995, Szabolcsi 1997, a.o.)

(11) *clausal projections* (Szabolcsi 1997, Bartos 1999, Surányi 2009a)



- there is general agreement in the literature that the finite verbs moves out of the VP
 - in line with this, Hungarian shows V-stranding ellipsis (see section 3 below)
- ☞ V moves to T⁰ Brody 1995, Kenesei 1998, Olsvay 2004, É. Kiss 2008, Surányi 2009a
- V moves to Pred⁰ Csirmaz 2004, É. Kiss 2006, Surányi 2009b
- but see Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000) for an account in terms of XP movement

Two distinguished relations in the Hungarian clause:

- focus — verb adjacency in clauses with a focus

- (12) János MARIACC *mutatta* be Annának a moziban.
 J. Mari.ACC introduced.3SG PV Anna.DAT the cinema.IN
 ‘János introduced MARI to Anna in the cinema.’

- preverb — verb adjacency in neutral clauses

(13) János **be** \sim *mutatta* Marit Annának a moziban.
 J. PV(PREVERB) introduced Mari.ACC Anna.DAT the cinema.IN
 ‘János introduced Mari to Anna in the cinema.’

PREVERBS (PV, aka *preverbal particles*)

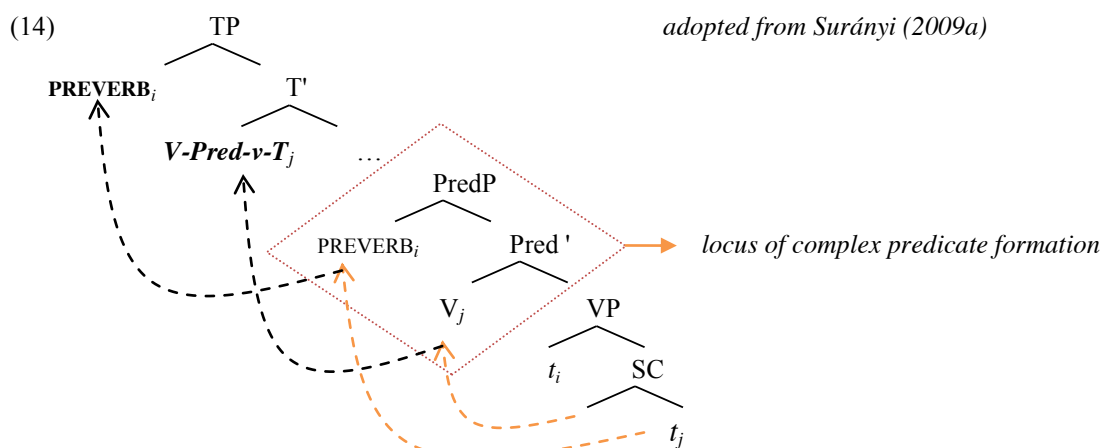
- resultative, terminative and locative particles (of category P, PP, Adv)
- determine lexical/situation aspect; normally, they telicize the event
- list of all preverbs, from Kiefer & Ladányi (2000)
tovább (on), **újra** (again), **végig** (through), **vissza** (back), **alá** (under), **elé** (before), **fölé** (above), **mellé** (next), **mögé** (behind), **utána** (after), **át** (across), **keresztül** (across), **túl** (beyond), **hozzá** (towards), **neki** (to), **rá** (onto), **be** (in/into), **bele** (in/into), **elő** (fore), **fel** (up), **félre** (aside), **hátra** (to the back), **ide** (here), **ki** (out), **le** (down), **körül** (round), **oda** (there), **össze** (inwards), **szét** (outwards), **agyon** (on the brain), **meg** (PRF), **tönkre** (bust)
- preverbs are a subset of *verbal modifiers*, which occur before the verb in neutral clauses:
 directional/locative DPs: *a szobába megy* lit. ‘into the room go’; predicative APs and NPs:
ostobának bizonyul ‘stupid prove’; bare arguments: *elnökké választ* ‘president elect’; infinitival complements: *úszni akar* ‘swim.INF want’

APPROACHES TO PREVERBS

- *lexical accounts*: preverb + verb = morphological word or lexical compound (Ackerman & Webelhuth 1997, see also autolexical account of Farkas and Sadock 1989)
 arguments: some preverb + verb combinations lack compositional meaning
 preverb + verb form input to derivational morphology
- *syntactic accounts*: preverb + verb are syntactically autonomous, independent units (Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, Olsvay 2004, É. Kiss 1994, 2002, 2005, 2006, Surányi 2009a,b,c, among many others)
 arguments: preverb and verb are non-adjacent in many syntactic contexts (cf. 12) ;
 non-adjacent even in seemingly lexical derivations (Lipták & Kenesei 2014)

I follow syntactic accounts, particularly Surányi (2009a), (É. Kiss 2008, Dékány & Hegedűs to appear) in assuming:

- preverbs are phases, originating as e.g. predicates in a small clause inside the VP
- preverbs move to PredP to form a single complex predicate with the verb
- preverbs move on to Spec,TP, while the verb raises to T⁰



☞ preverbs are phrasal constituents (Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, Den Dikken 2004, Surányi 2009a,b)

① PVs can be contrastively topicalized (15) or focused (16), independently of the host verb

(15) **Fel_i** Péter *t_i* ment a lépcsőn. (*fel megy = go up*)

PV(up) Péter went the stairs.ON

lit. 'As far as upwards is concerned, it was Péter who went upwards on the stairs.'

(16) **FEL** ment Péter a lépcsőn, nem **LE**.

PV(up) went Péter the stairs.ON not PV(down)

lit. 'It was upwards that Péter went on the stairs, not downwards.'

② PVs can undergo long distance movement across a CP boundary (cf. 17), just like verbal modifiers of the *evidently* phrasal types (cf. 18) (Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000)

(17) **Fel_i** akard [CP hogy *t_i* *mondjak*]? (*fel mond = resign*)

PV want.2SG that resign.SUBJ.1SG

'Do you want me to resign?'

(18) **Ostobának_i** akard [CP hogy *t_i* *bizonyuljak*]?

stupid.DAT want.2SG that resign.SUBJ.1SG

'Do you want me to prove stupid?'

③ PVs undergo "preverb climbing" across infinitive clusters and scrambled arguments/adjuncts (cf. 19), just like verbal modifiers of the *evidently* phrasal type (cf. 20) (É. Kiss 1994, Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000)

(19) **Fel_i** fogom akarni újra *t_i* *hívni* Marit. (*fel hív = call*)

PV FUT.1SG want.INF again call.INF Mari.ACC

'I will want to call Mari again.'

(20) **A szobában_i** fogok akarni megint *t_i* *maradni*.

the room.IN fut.1SG want.INF again remain.INF

'I will want to remain in the room again.'

④ syntactic autonomy of PVs would be difficult to account for if they are part of the verbal head (dubious nature of excorporation)

(21) János MARIT \sim *mutatta* **be** Annának a moziban.
J. Mari.ACC introduced.13G PV Anna.DAT the cinema.IN
'János introduced MARI to Anna in the cinema.'

3. V-stranding ellipsis

V-stranding ellipsis is attested in contexts with emphatic polarity, i.e. in *responses* to assertions and answers to polar questions (for parallels between these discourse moves, Farkas and Bruce 2010)

◦ answer to a polar question

(22) A: János meg hívta a szomszédokat?

J. PV invited.3SG the neighbours.ACC

'Did János invite the neighbours?'

B: Meg hívta.

PV invited.3SG

'He did.'

◦ (dis)confirmatory response about the polarity of an assertion

- (23) A: János nem hívta meg a szomszédokat.
 J. not invited.3SG PV the neighbours.ACC
 ‘János did not invite the neighbours.’
 B: De, meg hívta. (de = marker of polarity reversal, Farkas 2009)
 DE PV invited.3SG
 ‘That’s not right, he did.’

◦ polarity contrast between two clauses

- (24) János nem hívta meg a szomszédokat, de Mari meg hívta.
 J. not invited.3SG PV the neighbours.ACC DE Mari PV invited.3SG
 ‘János did not invite the neighbours, but Mari did.’

3.1. Arguments for ellipsis in V-stranding contexts (Lipták 2013)

① CONTEXTS WHERE OMITTED OBJECT CANNOT BE *pro*

Objects (animate and non-animate) can be dropped only in the singular, V-stranding nevertheless allows for missing plural objects.

- (25) János látta a szomszédokat. Köszöntötte * (őket).
 J. saw.3SG the neighbours.ACC greeted.3SG they.ACC
 ‘János saw the neighbours. He greeted them.’
 (26) Q: Látta János a szomszédokat? A: Látta.
 saw.3SG J. the neighbours.ACC saw.3SG
 ‘Did János see the neighbours?’ ‘He did.’

② CONTEXTS WHERE OMITTED SUBJECT CANNOT BE *pro*

Reference to existential indefinites cannot be made via pro-drop (Holmberg 2015).

- (27) Q: Jött valaki? A: Jött.
 came.3SG someone came.3SG
 ‘Did anyone arrive?’ ‘Yes.’ (= There came someone).

③ DISJUNCTIVE OMISSIONS (Gribanova 2013a)

Disjunctors or other functional items without pronominal variants can be missing.

- (28) A: Láttad a szomszédokat az utcán vagy a házmestert a folyósón?
 see.2SG the neighbours.ACC the street.ON or the janitor.ACC the corridor.ON
 ‘Did you see the neighbours in the street or the janitor in the corridor?’
 B: Láttam.
 saw.1SG
 ‘I did.’ (= see the neighbours in the street *or* the janitor in the corridor)

④ PARTIAL OMISSION IS BANNED (Kenesei et al 1998)

If the missing material contains multiple constituents, they all have to be missing.

- (29) A: Meg hívta János a szomszédokat a házavatóra?
 PV invited.3SG J. the neighbours.ACC the housewarming.ONTO
 ‘Did János invite the neighbours to the housewarming?’
 B: Meg hívta (* János).
 PV invited.3SG J.

⑤ SLOPPY IDENTITY

Overt and pro-dropped object pronouns allow for strict readings only; our contexts can have a sloppy reading, too (but see the limitations of this argument in Hoji 1998).

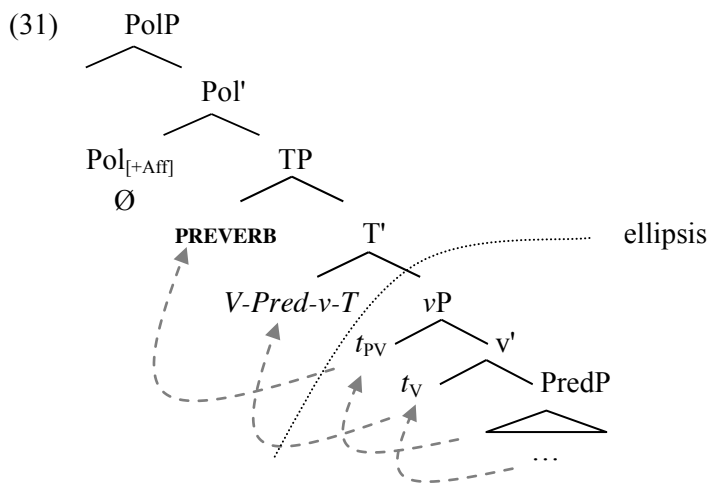
- (30) a. Mari látta az anyját. Péter köszöntötte (őt). [✓strict, *sloppy]
 M. saw.3SG the mother.POSS3SG.ACC Péter greeted 3SG.ACC
 ‘Mari saw her mother. Péter greeted her.’ (= Mari’s mother)

- b. Mari nem látta az anyját, de Péter látta. [✓strict, ✓sloppy]
 M. not saw.3SG the mother.POSS3SG.ACC DE Péter saw
 ‘Mari didn’t see her mother, but Péter saw her.’ (= Mari’s mother / Péter’s mother)

→ tests ①-⑤ indicate that the missing material does not correspond to individual null arguments/adjuncts, but the ellipsis of a constituent *containing* these arguments/adjuncts: this is an instance of *V-stranding ellipsis*

THE SYNTACTIC CONFIGURATION

- all examples involve the polarity projection PolP (Lipták 2013)
- preverb + verb strand in TP and vP elides (see also É. Kiss 2006, Surányi 2009a,b)
 see evidence against remnant VP-movement deriving these facts: Lipták (2013), Holmberg (2015) on Finnish
- ellipsis of vP is licenced by the affirmative Pol⁰ head (via long distance *Agree*, cf. Aelbrecht 2010)



→ the ellipsis of a predicative constituent provides evidence that the verb in Hungarian *does* leave the core VP behind and moves to a higher position (Surányi É. Kiss 2006, 2009b,a)

3.2. Identity in V-stranding ellipsis

Hungarian V-stranding observes the lexical identity condition: the stranded verb has to be lexically identical to its antecedent; while inflectional morphology can vary (Lipták 2012, 2013).

- (32) Q: Kedveled a szomszédokat? [near equivalence: *kedvel* vs. *szeret* ‘like’]
 like₁.2SG the neighbours.ACC
 ‘Do you like the neighbours?’

A: Kedvelem. / * Szeretem.
 like₁.1SG / like₂.1SG
 ‘I do.’

- (33) Q: Meg csinál-ná-d a házi feladataimat?
 PV do-COND-2SG the homework.POSS1SG.PL.ACC
 ‘Would you do my homeworks?’

A: Meg csinál-hat-om.
 PV do-POT-1SG
 ‘I may do (them).’

Focused verbs do not comply with the LIC (Lipták 2013, Gribanova 2015) — in line with (10):

- (34) János KÖSZÖNTÖTTE a szomszédokat, Mari pedig MEG HIVTA.
 J. greeted.3SG the neighbours.ACC M. PRT PV invited.3SG
 ‘János GREETED the neighbours, and Mari INVITED (them).’

Further investigation, however, shows that the LIC is *not a condition on ellipsis*.

LIC can be violated by non-contrastive verbs when they are accompanied by an affirmative particle:

- (35) Q: **Be rak-tad** a matekkönyveket a táskádba?
 PV put₁-PAST.2SG the mathbooks.ACC the bag.POSS.2SG.INTO
 'Did you put the mathbooks in your bag?'
- A1: ✓ **Be rak-tam.** 'verb only' response: identity is required
 PV put₁-PAST.1SG
- A2: ?* **Be tet-tem.**
 PV put₂-PAST.1SG
- A3: ✓ **Be tet-tem, igen.** verb + AFF particle: no identity required
 PV put₂-PAST.1SG yes
- A4: ✓ **Igen, be tet-tem.**
 yes PV put₂-PAST.1SG
 'I did.'

Importantly, the affirmative particle in A3 is an *afterthought*, it does *not* part of the elliptical clause (*igen* might also introduce an elliptical clause on its own, cf. Kramer and Rawlins 2009)

structure of A3: Be tet-tem [_{VP} a matekkönyveket a táskámba], igen.
 PV put₂-PAST.1SG the mathbooks.ACC the bag.POSS.1SG.INTO yes
 'I did, yes.'

Qualtrics survey of LIC-violating verb mismatches

Test items: simplex and complex verbs (varying preverb only, verb only and preverb + verb) with near-identical denotations; in two conditions

- (36) A: **Néz-ed** az árfolyamokat minden nap?
 look-2SG the exchange.rate.PL.ACC every day
 'Do you look at the exchange rates every day?'
- B1: **Figyel-em** [_{VP} őket minden nap]. condition 1: 'verb only' answer
 watch-1SG them every day
 'I do watch (them every day).'
- B2: **Figyel-em** [_{VP} őket minden nap], igen. condition 2: verb + polarity particle
 watch-1SG them every day yes
 'I do watch (them), yes.'

Table 1. Mean judgements of mismatches in V-stranding (N= 15, 1-to-5 scale)			'verb only' elliptical answer	verb+polarity particle elliptical answer
VERB PAIRS		PATTERN		
fél ad / el küld	'to post'	PV ₁ V ₁ / PV ₂ V ₂	3.07	4.13
el szállít / el visz	'take away'	PV ₁ V ₁ / PV ₁ V ₂	3.20	4.40
be rak / be tesz	'put into'	PV ₁ V ₁ / PV ₁ V ₂	3.80	4.40
bérbe ad / ki ad	'rent'	PV ₁ V ₁ / PV ₂ V ₁	2.73	4.20
össze tör / szét tör	'break'	PV ₁ V ₁ / PV ₂ V ₁	2.29	2.86
néz / figyel	'look'	V ₁ / V ₂	3.47	4.13

- 'verb only' answers are degraded; compare: good control, full matching, 'verb only' answer: 4.60
- verb + polarity particle answers improve significantly compared to 'verb only' answers, in most cases to full acceptability, *despite the fact that they also involve V-stranding ellipsis*

→ the LIC is not a condition on ellipsis in Hungarian
 → the LIC is not due to the special status of head movement out of an ellipsis site

In fact, non-identical verb pairs cause degradation in *non-elliptical responses* as well, if they appear without an affirmative particle.

(i) answer using *verb + overt object*

- (37) A: **Néz-ed** az árfolyamokat minden nap?
 look-2SG the exchange.rate.PL.ACC every day
 'Do you look at the exchange rates every day?'
 B: **Figyel-em** őket. condition 1: 'V + obj only' answer
 watch-1SG them
 B': **Figyel-em** őket, **igen.** condition 2: V+obj+polarity particle
 watch-1SG them yes
 'I watch them, yes.'

(i) answer using a *verb + covert object*

- (38) A: **Néz-ed** a forint árfolyamát minden nap?
 look-2SG the forint.POSS3SG exchange.rate.ACC every day
 'Do you look at the exchange rate of the Forint every day?'
 B: **Figyel-em** *pro_{obj}*. condition 1: 'V+pro only' answer
 watch-1SG
 B': **Figyel-em** *pro_{obj}*, **igen.** condition 2: V+pro+polarity particle answer
 watch-1SG yes
 'I watch it, yes.'

Table 2. Mean judgements of mismatches		ELLIPTICAL ANSWERS	NON-ELLIPTICAL ANSWERS	
		<i>verb-stranding</i> N = 15, from Table 1	V + covert object N = 12	V + overt object N = 12
fel ad ~ el küld 'post'	'V(P) only'	3.07	3.25	3.58
	V(P) + igen	4.13	4.50	4.58
el szállít ~ el visz 'take away'	'V(P) only'	3.20	3.42	3.42
	V(P) + igen	4.40	4.58	4.83
be rak ~ be tesz 'put into'	'V(P) only'	3.80	3.67	3.58
	V(P) + igen	4.40	4.58	4.50
bérbe ad ~ ki ad 'rent'	'V(P) only'	2.73	2.92	3.25
	V(P) + igen	4.20	4.75	4.67
össze tör ~ szét tör 'break'	'V(P) only'	2.29	2.67	3.08
	V(P) + igen	2.86	3.50	3.67
figyel ~ néz 'watch'	'V(P) only'	3.47	4.00	3.83
	V(P) + igen	4.13	4.25	4.42

- without an affirmative particle, mismatching responses are degraded across the board: in elliptical answers and in non-elliptical ones
 (see Peruch Mezari 2016 for similar results, comparing in Brazilian Portuguese mismatches in V-stranding VPE and null objects)

- differentiating between verb-only utterances = 'echo-responses' ('echo answer' from Holmberg 2015) vs. responses consisting of the verb + affirmative particles

(39) Lexical Identity Condition, formulated for Hungarian
 If a response utterance contains only V(P)-material, the antecedent- and target verb must be identical, minimally, in their root and derivational morphology.

- if the LIC is not triggered by the presence of ellipsis, what is it about, then, in Hungarian?

Possible pragmatic explanation (see also Peruch Mezari 2016 for a similar approach):

In echo responses, the sole discourse move is that of affirmation of polarity.

- using an identical verb: expresses unambiguous affirmation
- using a non-identical verb: signals some kind of correction, which is difficult to interpret in the absence of further linguistic material

Another contexts where the LIC disappears: *verbal answer followed by another assertion*

- (40) Q: **Be rak-tad** a matekkönyveket a táskádba?
 PV put₁-PAST.2SG the mathbooks.ACC the bag.POSS.2SG.INTO
 'Did you put the mathbooks in your bag?'
- A1: ?* **Be tet-tem.**
 PV put₂-PAST.1SG
 'I did.'
- A2: ✓ **Be tet-tem,** de nem biztos, hogy kelleni fognak holnap.
 PV put₂-PAST.1SG but not sure that need.INF FUT.3pl tomorrow
 'I did, but I am not sure they will be needed tomorrow.'

→ the LIC comes into play in utterances where affirmation of polarity is the only discourse move

Summary of findings about V-stranding

- the LIC that holds in V-stranding in Hungarian most likely has a pragmatic explanation
- the LIC that holds in V-stranding in Hungarian is not a condition on ellipsis, thus it should not be explained with reference to ellipsis, or head movement out of ellipsis sites

4. Preverb-stranding ellipsis

4.1. Basic properties of preverb-stranding

V-stranding ellipsis can yield a short response pattern: stranding only the preverb.

- affirmative answer to a polar question; confirmation of the polarity of an assertion

- (41) A: János **meg** hívta a szomszédokat?
 J. PV invited.3SG the neighbours.ACC
 'Did János invite the neighbours?'
- B: **Meg.**
 PV
 'He did.'

(42) A: A fiúk **meg** hívták a szomszédokat?
 the boys PV invited.3PL the neighbours.ACC
 ‘Did the boys invite the neighbours?’

B: János **meg**.
 J. PV
 ‘As far as János is concerned, he did.’

◦ antecedent of preverb-stranding cannot contain negation — see appendix

(43) A: János nem hívta **meg** a szomszédokat?
 J. not invited PV the neighbours.ACC
 ‘Did János not invite the neighbours?’

B: * (De), **meg**.
 DE PV
 ‘That’s not right, he did.’

Table 3. Arguments for ellipsis V-stranding-type ellipses (see Lipták 2012)	V-stranding	preverb-stranding
contexts where omitted object cannot be <i>pro</i>	✓	✓
contexts where omitted subject cannot be <i>pro</i>	✓	✓
disjunctive omissions	✓	✓
partial omission is banned	✓	✓
sloppy identity	possible	possible

THE SYNTACTIC CONFIGURATION:

Preverb-stranding differs from V-stranding in that ellipsis bleeds V-movement out of the vP (see van Craenenbroeck & Lipták 2008 for other cases of bleeding)

(44) structural configuration of preverb-stranding (Lipták 2012)

Preverbs are phrasal items when stranded:

- the fact that ellipsis can leave them behind as single fragments is in fact another evidence for their phrasal status and attests to their syntactic autonomy (should preverb + verb form a lexical unit, preverb-stranding would violate *Lexical Integrity*, Selkirk 1982, Booij 1985)
- stranding is possible in contexts where there is *undoubtable* evidence that the preverb is a phrase: cf. long distance-moved preverbs in (17) above

- (45) Q: **Fel_i** akarod [_{CP} hogy t_i *mondjak*] ?
 PV want.2SG that resign.SUBJ.1SG
 'Do you want me to resign?'
 A: **Fel** ~~akarom~~ [_{CP} ~~hogy~~ t_i ~~mondjál~~].
 PV want.1SG that resign.SUBJ.2SG
 'I do.' (want you to resign).'

Preverb-stranding strands a phrasal item, not a head.

4.2. Identity in preverb-stranding: the basic facts

- lexical differences between stranded preverb and its correlate are not tolerated (Lipták 2012)

össze 'inwards' / *szét* 'outwards': identical meaning in combination with *tör* 'break':

- (46) Q: **Össze** törte János a poharakat? *össze tör / szét tör = break*
 PV₁ broke.3SG J. the glasses.ACC
 'Did János break the glasses?'
 B1: **Össze.** *mean = 4.87 (N= 15)*
 PV₁
 'He did.'
 B2:* **Szét.** *mean = 1.53 (N= 15)*
 PV₂

bele 'in(to)' / *be* 'in(to)': identical lexical (directional) meaning, also in combination with *fér* 'fit':

- (47) Q: **Bele** fért az autóba az összes csomag? *mean = 1.69 (N = 13)*
 in₁.3SG fit. 3SG the car.IN the all luggage
 'Did all the luggage fit into the car?'
 A: **Bele.** / * **Be.**
 in₁ in₂
- (48) Q: **Be** fért az autóba az összes csomag? *mean = 2.0 (N = 13)*
 in₂ fit the car.IN the all luggage
 'Did all the luggage fit into the car?'
 A: **Be.** / * **Bele.**
 in₂ in₁.3SG

If the LIC is a pragmatic condition in Hungarian, this is not surprising: we have an echo response ('preverb only') here, so we expect that the echo response requires lexically identity.

But this is not all: preverb-stranding shows an identity restriction to a stronger degree than V-stranding:

- judgements receive a *lower* score than in the case of V-stranding (compare Table 1)
 - addition of affirmative particle does not improve the judgements *at all*
- (49) Q: **Össze** törte János a poharakat?
 PV₁ broke.3SG J. the glasses.ACC
 'Did János break the glasses?'
 B1: **Össze.** *mean = 4.87 (N= 15)*
 PV₁
 B2:* **Szét.** *mean = 1.53 (N= 15)*
 PV₂
 B3:* **Szét,** igen. *mean = 1.60 (N= 15)*
 PV₂ yes

→ preverb-stranding shows a kind of lexical identity restriction that is not *pragmatic* in nature

QUESTION: What kind of lexical identity restriction characterizes preverb-stranding?

4.3. Identity in preverb-stranding: syntactic identity?

I. Identity as a PHONOLOGICAL condition?

Preverb-stranding is not PF-copying of a preverb, so the identity condition here is *not phonological*.

- Adpositional (locative) preverbs express an argument of the verb and show overt agreement with that argument in number and person (Marác 1985).

Inflectional paradigm of adpositional preverb rá 'onto'

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
1 person	(én)- rá-m I-P-POSS.1SG 'onto me'	(mi)- rá-nk we-P-POSS.1PL 'onto us'
2 person	(te)- rá-d you-P-POSS.2SG 'onto you'	(ti)- rá-tok you-P-POSS.2PL 'onto you (pl)'
3 person	(ő)- rá 3sg-P-POSS.3SG 'onto him/her'	(ő)- rá-juk 3sg-P-POSS.3PL 'onto them'

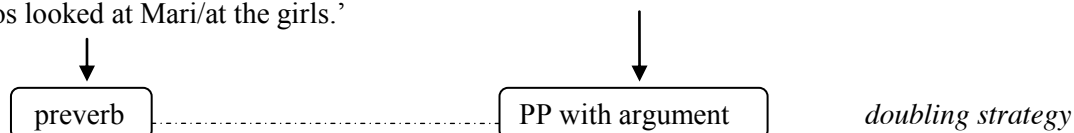
Such preverbs allow for inflectional mismatches under preverb-stranding → we are *not* dealing with a phonological identity condition of sorts:

- (50) Q: **Rá-d** nézett János?
 ONTO-2SG looked.3SG J.
 'Did János look at you?'
 A: **Rá-m.**
 ONTO-1SG
 'He did.'

II. Identity as a SYNTACTIC condition?

- Inflected locative preverbs show up in two strategies: a *doubling* strategy and a 'simple' strategy (Surányi 2009b,c, É. Kiss 2002)
- the *doubling strategy* is used with lexical arguments

- (51) János **rá** nézett { **Mari-ra** / **a lányok-ra** }.
 J. ONTO.3SG looked.3SG Mari-ONTO the girl.PL-ONTO
 'János looked at Mari/at the girls.'



structure: [ArgP [PP [φ P *pro*] -rá]]]

[PP [DP **Mari**] -ra]

pro- φ P: non-argumental weak pronoun
 (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999)

- (52) a. * János **ő-rá** nézett **Mari-ra.**
 János 3sg-ONTO.3SG looked.3SG Mari-ONTO
 'János looked at Mari.'
 b. * János **RÁ** nézett **Mari-ra.**
 J. ONTO.3SG looked.3SG Mari-ONTO
 'It was her/Mari that János looked at.'

- *simple strategy* is used with pronominal arguments
 inflected preverb spells out full argument:

- (53) a. János **rá-m** nézett (* **rá-m**). *simple strategy*
 J. ONTO-1SG looked.3SG ONTO-1SG
 'János looked at me.'
 b. János **én-rá-m** nézett.
 J. I-ONTO-1SG looked.3SG
 'idem'
 c. János **RÁ-M** nézett, (... nem **RÁ-D**).
 J. ONTO-1SG looked.3SG not ONTO-2SG
 'It was me who János looked at (not you).'

structure:

- (54) János [ArgP [PP [DP *pro*]-rá-m]] nézett.
 J. *pro*-ONTO-1SG looked.3SG
 'János looked at me.'

- Identity with inflected preverbs (non-contrastive contexts)

- simple strategy in both antecedent and ellipsis clause: 2 → 1 switch: tolerated

- (55) A: **Rá-d** nézett valaki?
 ONTO-2SG looked.3SG someone
 'Did someone look at you?'
 B: **Rá-m.**
 ONTO-1SG
 'Someone did.'

- doubling strategy in antecedent, simple strategy in ellipsis clause: 3SP → 1SP switch: *not* tolerated

- (56) A: **Rá** nézett **Ön-re** valaki?
 ONTO.3SG looked.3SG You.3SG-ONTO someone
 'Did someone look at You?'
 B: * **Rá-m.** (compare V-stranding: ✓ **Rá-m** nézett.)
 ONTO-1SG ONTO-1SG looked.3SG
 'Someone did.'

3SP → 3PL switch: *not* tolerated

- (57) A: **Rá** nézett **a lányok-ra** valaki?
 ONTO.3SG looked.3SG the girls-ONTO someone
 'Did someone look at the girls?'
 B1: * **Rá-juk.** (compare V-stranding: ✓ **Rá-juk** nézett.)
 ONTO-3PL ONTO-3PL looked.3SG
 B2: ✓ **Rá.**
 ONTO.3SG
 'Someone did.'

→ The doubling strategy cannot antecede the simple strategy.

configuration:

(58) Q:	[TP	[ArgP [PP [ϕ P <i>pro</i>]-rá]]]	[PredP	<i>t</i>	V	[VP	[PP [DP a lányok]-ra]]]]
A:	[TP	[ArgP [PP [DP <i>pro</i>]-rá-juk]]]	[PredP	<i>t</i>	V	[VP	<i>t</i>]]]

⊗ preverb and its correlate are non-identical:

- (i) *pro*- ϕ P and *pro*-DP are different lexical items
- (ii) *pro*- ϕ P and *pro*-DP differ in syntactic category, and syntactic 'size' (DP < ϕ P)

→ Possibly, if we follow (ii), we can phrase this as a *syntactic identity condition (SIC)*:

In preverb-stranding, the stranded preverb and its correlate show full syntactic isomorphism (lexical and structural identity).

- at least some *lexical mismatches* also entail *syntactic differences* of the above type between preverbs mismatch (cf. 47/48): *bele* 'in(to)' preverb containing a nominal complement
be 'in(to)' intransitive preverb, fully grammaticalized adpositional PV
 (V. Hegedüs, p.c)

(59) Q:	Bele	fért	az autóba	az összes	csomag?	<i>doubling</i>
	in ₁ 3SG	fit.3SG	the car.IN	the all	luggage	
	'Did all the luggage fit into the car?'					
A: *	Be.					<i>intransitive preverb</i>
	in ₂					

(60) Q: *	[TP	[ArgP [PP [ϕ P <i>pro</i>]-bele]]]	V	[PredP	<i>t</i>	[VP	[PP [DP az autó]-ba]]]]
A:	[TP	[PP [P <i>be</i>]]]	V	[PredP	<i>t</i>	[VP	<i>t</i>]]]

⊗ non-isomorphic preverbs

less clear: how to explain the mismatch between *össze* vs. *szét* (cf. 46)

(61) Q:	Össze	<i>törte</i>	János	a poharakat?
	PV ₁	broke.3SG	J.	the glasses.ACC
	'Did János break the glasses?'			
B1:	Össze.	B2:*	Szét.	(both of the adverbial category)
	PV ₁		PV ₂	

5. Summary and conclusions

- Hungarian has two V-stranding ellipsis types: (full) V-stranding and preverb-stranding
- V-stranding and preverb-stranding are different when it comes to the lexical identity condition:
 - V-stranding ellipsis is characterized by a lexical identity condition that is *pragmatic* in nature
 - this condition does not say anything about ellipsis, or head movement out of ellipsis sites
 - preverb-stranding is characterized by a syntactic identity condition requiring syntactic isomorphism
 - this condition is an ellipsis-specific condition
 - this condition does not say anything about head movement, as stranded preverbs are *phrases*

Take home message for the study of head movement:

The lexical identity effects observed in Hungarian are not related to head movement.
Lexical identity effects cannot be taken as *diagnostics* for head movement.

Take home message for the study of ellipsis:

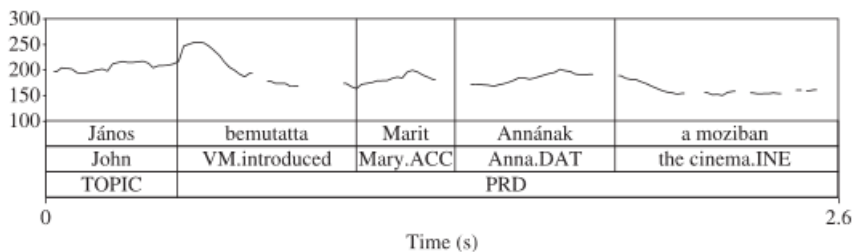
There are various types of identity conditions operative in V-stranding in a single language.
It's plausible that there are various types of identity conditions operating *across languages*, too, which might help understand the cross-linguistic variation we observe.

Appendix

The fact that preverb-stranding shows syntactic isomorphism might be linked to the fact that it is picky with respect to other properties as well: it needs phonological parallelism with a correlate in the antecedent clause.

- preverbs bear nuclear / sentence stress (Varga 1998, Szendrői 2001, É. Kiss 2002), illustration: Mycock (2010), her ex. (19)

(19) János be-mutat-t-a Mari-t Anná-nak a
John.NOM VM-introduce-PAST-DEFO.3SG Mary-ACC Anna-DAT the
mozi-ban.
cinema-INE
 'John introduced Mary to Anna at the cinema.'



- preverb-stranding leaves behind the most prominent item in the elliptical clause (see for comparable effects in other languages Dvořák 2007, Elfner et al 2015)

(62) A:

*
*

 $(t_{\varphi} (\omega \text{ be}) (\omega \text{ mutat-t-a})) (\varphi (\omega \text{ Mari-t})) (\varphi (\omega \text{ Anná-nak})) (\varphi (\omega \text{ a mozi-ban}))$

B: $(t_{\varphi} (\omega \text{ be}) (\omega \text{ mutat-t-a})) (\varphi (\omega \text{ Mari-t})) (\varphi (\omega \text{ Anná-nak})) (\varphi (\omega \text{ a mozi-ban}))$

- the need for PF-parallelism shows up in that PV-stranding *cannot have an antecedent in which the preverb is not the most prominent item*, i.e. it is not in immediately preverbal position

- the antecedent cannot be in the progressive: *V... PV* order

(63) A: Épp mentél fel a lépcsón, amikor hívtalak?
 just go.PST.2SG PV the stairs.ON when call.PST.1SG
 ‘Were you going up the stairs when I called?’
 B1: * Épp fel. B2: ✓ Épp mentem.
 just PV just go.PAST.1SG
 ‘I was.’ ‘I was.’

- the antecedent cannot be an existential statement with a *V... PV* order

(64) A: Mentek már fel ezen a lépcsón mások?
 go.PAST.3PL already PV this the stairs.ON others
 ‘Have there been others going up these stairs?’
 B1: * (Igen,) fel. B2: ✓ Igen, mentek.
 yes PV yes go.PAST.3PL
 ‘Yes, there have.’

- the antecedent cannot contain negation (either with the inner or outer reading): *nem V ... PV* order

(65) A: János nem hívta meg a szomszédokat?
 J. not invited.3SG PV the neighbours.ACC
 ‘Did János not invite the neighbours?’ / ‘Didn’t János invite the neighbours?’
 B1: * (De), meg. B2: ✓ (De), meg hívta.
 DE PV DE PV invited.3SG
 ‘That’s not right, he did.’

- importantly, V-stranding does not require PF-parallelism (65 B2), neither does it show a need for syntactic isomorphism as described in 4.3.

References

- Aelbrecht, Lobke. 2010. *The syntactic licensing of ellipsis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ackerman, Farrel and Gert Webelhuth. 1997. *A theory of predicates*. GSLI Publications.
- Bartos, Huba. 1999. *Morfoszintax és interpretáció. A magyar inflexió jelenségek szintaktikai háttere*. Doctoral dissertation, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.
- Booij, Geert E. 1985. Coordination reduction in complex words: A case for prosodic phonology. In: Harry van der Hulst, Norval Smith (eds), *Advances in nonlinear phonology*, 143–60. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Brody, Mihály. 1995. Focus and Checking Theory. In I. Kenesei (ed.), *Approaches to Hungarian 5*. Szeged: JATE Press. 29-44.
- Brody, Mihály. 2000. Word order, restructuring and mirror theory. In P. Svenonius (ed.), *The derivation of OV and VO*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam - Philadelphia, 27-43.
- Chung, Sandra. 2006. Sluicing and the lexicon: The point of no return. In Rebecca T. Cover and Y. Kim (eds), *Proceedings of BLS*, Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society. 73-91.
- Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van & Anikó Lipták. 2008. On the Interaction between Verb Movement and Ellipsis: New Evidence from Hungarian. In: Charles B. Chang & H. J. Haynie (eds), *Proceedings of the 26th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. 138-146.
- Csirmaz, Anikó. 2004. Particles and phonologically defective predicates. In É. Kiss, K. & H. van Riemsdijk (eds.) *Verb Clusters. A Study of Hungarian, German and Dutch*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. 225-252.
- Cyrino, Sonia M.L. & Gabriela Matos. 2002. VP ellipsis in European and Brazilian Portuguese – a comparative analysis. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 1, 177-195.
- Dikken, Marcel den 2004. Agreement and ‘clause union’. In K. É. Kiss, & H. van Riemsdijk (eds.) *Verb Clusters. A Study of Hungarian, German and Dutch*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. 445-498.
- Dékány, Éva and Vera Hegedűs. to appear. Two positions for verbal modifiers. Evidence from derived particle verbs. In H. van der Hulst & A. Lipták (eds), *Approaches to Hungarian 15*. John Benjamins.
- Doron, Edith. 1991. V-movement and VP-ellipsis. Ms., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Dvořák, Bostjan. 2007. Slovenian clitic pronouns and what is so special about them. *Slovene Linguistic Studies* 6. 209-233.
- É. Kiss, Katalin. 1987. *Configurationality in Hungarian*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- É. Kiss, Katalin (ed), 1994. *Discourse configurational languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- É. Kiss, Katalin. 2002. *The syntax of Hungarian*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- É. Kiss, Katalin. 2005. First steps towards a theory of the verbal particle. In Christopher Pinon & Peter Siptar (eds): *Approaches to Hungarian 9*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest. 57–88.
- É. Kiss, Katalin. 2006. The function and the syntax of the verbal particle. In K. E. Kiss (ed.), *Event structure and the left periphery*. *Studies in Hungarian*. Springer, Dordrecht. 17–56.
- É. Kiss, Katalin. 2008. Free word order, (non-)configurationality, and phases. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39 (3), 441–475.
- É. Kiss, Katalin (ed), 2009. *Adverbs and adverbial adjuncts at the interfaces*. Mouton de Gruyter. Berlin / New York.
- Elfner, Emily, Ryan Bennett & Jim McCloskey. 2015. Prosody, focus and ellipsis in Irish. Yale, University of British Columbia and University of California, Santa Cruz, Ms.
- Farkas, Donka F. 2009. Polarity particles in Hungarian. In M. den Dikken & R. M. Vago (eds), *Approaches to Hungarian 11*. 95–118.
- Farkas, Donka F. and Kim B. Bruce 2010. On Reacting to Assertions and Polar Questions. *Journal of Semantics* 27(1), 81–118.
- Farkas, Donka F. and Jerrold Sadock. 1989. Preverb climbing in Hungarian. *Language* 65 (2), 318–338.
- Goldberg, Lotus. 2005. *Verb-Stranding VP-Ellipsis: A Cross-Linguistic Study*. PhD diss., McGill University.
- Gribanova, Vera. 2013a. A new argument for verb-stranding verb phrase ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44 (1), 145–157.
- Gribanova, Vera. 2013b. Verb-stranding verb phrase ellipsis and the structure of the Russian verbal complex. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 31 (1), 91–136.
- Gribanova, Vera. 2015. On the role of head movement in word formation. Talk given at *Mayfest 2015, Morphest*. University of Maryland.
- Gribanova, Vera. to appear. Head movement and ellipsis in the expression of Russian polarity focus. *Natural language and linguistic theory*.
- Hoji, Hajime. 1998. Null object and Sloppy Identity in Japanese. *Linguistic Inquiry*. 29(1), 127–152.
- Holmberg, Anders. 2001. The syntax of yes and no in Finnish. *Studia Linguistica* 55, 141–174.
- Holmberg, Anders. 2003. Yes/no-questions and the relation between tense and polarity in English and Finnish. In P. Pica (ed.), *Linguistic Variation Yearbook 3*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 43–68.
- Holmberg Anders. 2007. Null subjects and polarity focus. *Studia Linguistica* 61(3), 212–236.
- Holmberg Anders. 2015. *The syntax of yes and no*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Kenesei, István. 1998. Adjuncts and arguments in VP-focus in Hungarian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 45, 61–88.
- Kenesei, István. 2009. Quantifiers, negation and focus on the left periphery in Hungarian. *Lingua* 119, 564–591.
- Kiefer, F. & M. Ladányi. 2000. Az ige-kötők. In F. Kiefer (ed.), *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest. 453–518.
- Kenesei, István, Rob M. Vago, Anna Fenyvesi. 1998. *Hungarian*. Routledge. London/New York.
- Koopman, Hilda and Anna Szabolcsi. 2000. *Verbal complexes*. Cambridge, MIT Press.
- Kramer, Ruth & Kyle Rawlins. 2009. Polarity particles: an ellipsis account. In S. Lima, K. Mullin, B. Smith (eds), *NELS 39 Proceedings*. GSLA 11.
- Lipták, Anikó. 2012. V-stranding ellipsis and verbal identity: the role of polarity focus. In Marion Elenbaas and Suzanne Aalberse (eds), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 2012*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 82–96.
- Lipták, Anikó. 2013. The syntax of positive polarity in Hungarian: evidence from ellipsis. In A. Breitbarth, K. De Clercq and L. Haegeman (eds), *Emphatic polarity*. Special issue of *Lingua* 128, 72–94.
- Lipták, Anikó & István Kenesei. 2014. A putative multifunctional affix: the case of *-ható* (-able) in Hungarian. Ms., Leiden University and RIL HAS.
- Martins, Ana Maria. 1994. Enclisis, VP-deletion and the nature of Sigma. *Probus* 6, 173–205.
- Marác, László. 1985. A magyar névutós csoportról. *Nyelvtudományi közlemények* 87, 173–180.
- McCloskey, James 1991. Clause structure, ellipsis and proper government in Irish. *Lingua* 85, 259–302.
- McCloskey, James. 2005. On Goldberg. Workshop in Identity in Ellipsis. Paper presented at the University of California Berkeley.
- McCloskey, James. 2007. A language at the edge: Irish and the theory of grammar. Paper presented at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- McCloskey, James. 2011. The Shape of Irish Clauses. In A. Carnie (ed), *Formal Approaches to Celtic Linguistics*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 143–178.
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands and the theory of ellipsis*. Oxford: OUP.
- Mycock, Louise. 2010. 'Prominence in Hungarian: the syntax–prosody interface'. In Louise Mycock & Nigel Vincent (eds.) *The Prosody–Syntax Connection*, thematic issue of *Transactions of the Philological Society* 108: 265–297.
- Ngonyani, Deo. 1996. VP ellipsis in Ndendeule and Swahili Applicatives. In E. Garrett & F. Lee (eds), *Syntax at Sunset: UCLA Working Papers in Syntax and Semantics* 1. UCLA. 109–128.

Verb stranding ellipsis and lexical identity in Hungarian

- Olsvay, Csaba. 2000. Formális jegyek egyeztetése a magyar nemsemleges mondatokban. In: László Büky and Márta Maleczki (eds), *A mai magyar nyelv leírásának újabb módszerei*. Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem. 419–151.
- Olsvay, Csaba. 2004. The Hungarian verbal complex: An alternative approach. In Katalin É. Kiss and Henk van Riemsdijk (eds), *Verb clusters*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 291-333.
- Olsvay, Csaba. 2006. Negative universal quantifiers in Hungarian. *Lingua* 116(3), 245–270.
- Otani, Kazuyo and John Whitman. 1991. V-raising and VP ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22(2), 345-358.
- Peruch Mezari, Meiry. 2016. Lexical identity in VP ellipsis in Brazilian Portuguese: an experimental approach. Paper presented at *Ellipsis across borders*, Sarajevo, 20-21 June.
- Piñón, Christopher. 1992. Heads in the focus field. In István Kenesei and Csaba Pléh (eds.), *Approaches to Hungarian 4*. Szeged: JATE. 99–121.
- Santos, Ana Lúcia 2009. *Minimal Answers. Ellipsis, syntax and discourse in the acquisition of European Portuguese*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Selkirk, Elizabeth. 1982. *The Syntax of Words*. Cambridge MA, MIT Press.
- Schoorlemmer, Erik and Tanja Temmermann. 2012. Head movement as a PF- phenomenon. Evidence from identity under ellipsis. In Jaehoon Choi (ed), *Proceedings of the 29th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. 232-240.
- Suranyi, Balazs 2002. *Multiple operator movements in Hungarian*. Doctoral dissertation, LOT, Utrecht.
- Surányi, Balázs. 2006. Scrambling in Hungarian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 53(4), 393-432.
- Surányi, Balázs. 2009a. Verbal particles inside and outside vP. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 56(2-3), 201-249.
- Surányi, Balázs. 2009b. Locative particle and adverbial incorporation at the interfaces. In É. Kiss, Katalin (ed.), *Adverbs and adverbial adjuncts at the interfaces*. Mouton de Gruyter. Berlin - New York.
- Surányi, B. 2009c. Adpositional preverbs, chain reduction, and phases. In M. den Dikken & R. Vago (eds), *Approaches to Hungarian 11*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 217-250.
- Surányi, Balázs. 2011. An interface account of identificational focus movement. In T. Laczkó and C. O. Ringen (eds), *Approaches to Hungarian 12*. John Benjamins. 163-208.
- Szabolcsi, Anna. 1997. *Ways of scope taking*. Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Thoms, Gary. 2014. MaxElide and clause structure in Scottish Gaelic. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45:1, 158-168.

This research is funded by NWO (*Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research*). I thank Lisa Cheng, Marcel den Dikken and István Kenesei for discussions on this topic.

