

Parasitic Ellipsis

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1. Introduction

This paper sheds light on an underexplored ellipsis process: optional ellipsis of the complement of functional prepositions in the second conjunct in Russian, which is observed most clearly with the preposition *bez* ‘without’. Evidence presented in this study concerns cases where ellipsis of the complement of P follows a contrastive topic argument. This evidence suggests that ellipsis in these cases is parasitic on vP ellipsis. I present a novel account of this process in the general framework of Merchant (2001, 2004). At the core of the account is the proposal that the parasitic dependency in question is in fact a dependency between two E-features: the E-feature that is responsible for ellipsis of the complement of the P head is dependent on the E-feature deleting the vP that contains the PP. More specifically, I propose that the E-feature on *bez* is interpretable but unvalued in the sense that its interpretation is available only in certain syntactic configurations (Chou 2013). Namely, it requires valuation under c-command by the head hosting the E-feature that licenses ellipsis of the vP. The paper also provides support for Albrecht’s (2010) idea that Agree is involved in licensing ellipsis.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives a brief introduction to Russian prepositions and some ellipsis processes. Section 3 presents examples of ellipsis of the complement of *bez* ‘without’ and introduces novel data on this ellipsis. These data point to the conclusion that ellipsis of the complement of *bez* in the cases at hand is parasitic on vP ellipsis. Section 4 compares ellipsis of the complement of *bez* to conjunctive ellipsis and shows that the two are distinct processes, and we need an account for ellipsis of the complement of *bez*. Section 5 introduces the proposed analysis, and Section 6 shows how the analysis works for the examples discussed in the paper. Section 7 concludes the paper and introduces one further issue.

2. Russian prepositions

Before moving on to the main questions of this paper, we need to outline the properties of the relevant class of Russian prepositions - the functional prepositions of Yadroff (1999) and Yadroff and Franks (2001). This class includes underived non-syllabic and monosyllabic prepositions; they are normally unstressed, but stress can be shifted to them if they contain a vowel. These prepositions allow no preposition stranding (Abels 2003, among others), have no adverbial uses, and are arguably clitics (Franks and King 2000, Gribanova 2008, 2009, among others). Thus, functional prepositions obligatorily take an overt object argument. This is in stark contrast to arguments of Russian verbs, which are elided very freely whenever they are recoverable from context.¹ (1) illustrates this contrast between verbs and prepositions:

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¹ It is interesting to observe that the option of ellipsis under some condition of recoverability from the situation is not limited to nominal arguments of verbs in Russian, but is also available to verbs and elements of the CP-domain, as the following examples from Franks (1995) illustrate:

- (i) a. Tebja k telefonu.
you to phone
‘You (are being called) to the phone.’
b. Dima prišel ja eščë ležala.
Dima arrived I still lay
‘Dima arrived (when) I was still in bed.’

- (1) a. Net, ne kupil. (Franks 1995)
 no, not bought
 ‘No, (he) did not buy (it)’
- b. Da, predstavil. (Franks 1995)
 yes, introduced
 ‘Yes, (I) introduced (him) (to her).’
- c. (Where is the puppy?)
 *Papa vernulsja bez.
 Dad returned without
- d. ... Katja krasila nad oknom, a Vasja pod. (based on Gribanova 2009)
 Katja painted above window but Vasja under
 ‘Katja was painting above the window, and Vasja under (it).’

In (1a, b), all external and internal arguments of verbs *kupil* ‘bought’ and *predstavil* ‘introduced’ are elided and recoverable from context. By contrast, the argument of the preposition *bez* ‘without’ in (1c) cannot elide, even though it is recoverable from the context. Finally, (1d) shows that the ban on ellipsis of the object argument of a functional preposition is not absolute; under certain conditions such ellipsis is available. Literature on Russian prepositions mentions cases similar to (1)(1d) but does not propose explicit explanations. Gribanova (2009) observes that for the ellipsis to succeed, the preposition has to contain a vowel. We see from (1c,d), however, that the presence of a vowel is not by itself enough to allow the ellipsis.² In this paper I explore this ellipsis from the syntactic point of view. The discussion centers on examples where the complement of the preposition *bez* ‘without’ is elided because I have found that with this preposition, ellipsis of the complement is the most productive.³

² The presence of a vowel is a necessary condition, but it is not sufficient. Besides the contrast between (1c, d), consider the examples in (iia,b) that show that a preposition with no vowel does not allow ellipsis of its object argument, as expected, but neither does a preposition that consists of a vowel alone.

- (ii) a. *V pervye tri mesjaca Pëtr žil po sosedstvu s Sergeem, a Ivan – u.
 In first three months Pëtr lived on neighbourhood with Sergej, but Ivan at.
 Intended: ‘During the first three months, Pëtr lived next to Sergej, but Ivan – with Sergej.’
- b. *Inna položila korobku pod knižnyj škaf, a Tanja – v.
 Inna put box under book case, but Tanja into
 Intended: ‘Inna put the box under the book case, but Tanja – into the book case.’

³ For the Russian speakers I consulted, only two functional prepositions besides *bez* (*pod* ‘under’ and *nad* ‘above’) produced grammatical parasitic ellipsis, and these speakers are in the minority. The following examples illustrate the parasitic ellipsis pattern for these prepositions and give the number of speakers tested who accepted it.

- (iii) a. *Maša sprjatala podarok za divanom, a Vasja pokupki pod.
 Maša hid gift behind couch, but Vasja purchases under
 ‘Maša hid the gift behind the couch, but Vasja hid purchases under (the couch).’
- b. *Maša sprjatala podarok za divanom, a Vasja sprjatal pod.
 Maša hid gift behind couch, but Vasja hid under
- c. ?Maša sprjatala podarok za divanom, a Vasja pod. (1 out of 6 speakers; but see also (1d))
- (iv) a. ??Samolët proletel pod mostom, a vertolët proletel nad.
 Plane flew under bridge but helicopter flew above
- b. Samolët proletel pod mostom, a vertolët nad. (2 out of 6 speakers)

This lack of consensus is surprising because examples like (iiic) and (ivb) are not difficult to find in Russian. I speculate that the explanation for these differences in judgment may lie in language acquisition and exceptional status of *bez* ‘without’ that fails to generalize to other functional prepositions for many speakers.

3. Examples of ellipsis of the complement of *bez* ‘without’

All the speakers in this study including myself agree that ellipsis of the complement of *bez* ‘without’ is optionally allowed in the second conjunct of a contrastive coordination. Example (2a), where this ellipsis occurs, and (2b), where it does not, have exactly the same meaning:

- (2) (Situation: the cat and the dog conspire to get sausage and ask a human for help with part of the plan)
- a. ?*Koška ukrala kolbasu s Mašinoj pomošč’ju, a sobaka – bez.*
 Cat stole sausage with Maša’s help, but dog without
 ‘The cat stole the sausage with Maša’s help, but the dog (stole the sausage) without (Maša’s help).’
- b. *Koška ukrala kolbasu s Mašinoj pomošč’ju, a sobaka – bez Mašinoj pomošč’i.*
 cat stole sausage with Maša’s help, but dog without Maša’s help
 ‘The cat stole the sausage with Maša’s help, but the dog (stole the sausage) without Maša’s help.’

I propose that ellipsis of the complement of *bez* in (2a) is parasitic. As we will see below in (4), it is dependent on ellipsis of the vP containing the PP; moreover, we saw in (1c) above that it is not allowed in the absence of contrastive coordination. Thus, in agreement with Richards’ (1998) definition of parasitic dependencies, ellipsis of the complement of *bez* ‘without’ is ill-formed unless the PP is found in the second conjunct and the vP containing the PP headed by *bez* elides.⁴

Let us take a look at ellipses that are possible in the second conjunct of a contrastive coordination in (3), leaving ellipsis of the complement of *bez* ‘without’ aside till (4). The second conjunct contains a contrastive topic on the left and a contrastively focused constituent following it. Depending on the discourse structure as presented in the first conjunct, several possibilities for ellipsis are open in the second conjunct. The verb and the direct object can both elide (3a); the verb can elide alone, stranding the direct object (3b). The direct object can elide while leaving the verb intact (3c).

- (3) a. *Koška ukrala kolbasu s Mašinoj pomošč’ju,*
 Cat stole sausage with Maša’s help
 a *sobaka ~~ukrala kolbasu~~ [pp bez Mašinoj pomošč’i].*
 but dog stole sausage without Maša’s help
- b. *Koška ukrala indjuka s Mašinoj pomošč’ju,*
 Cat stole turkey with Maša’s help
 a *sobaka ~~ukrala kolbasu~~ [pp bez [NP Mašinoj pomošč’i]].*
 but dog stole sausage without Maša’s help
- c. (?)*Koška vybrala kolbasu s Mašinoj pomošč’ju,*
 Cat picked sausage with Maša’s help
 a *sobaka ~~ukrala kolbasu~~ [pp bez [NP Mašinoj pomošč’i]].*
 but dog stole sausage without Maša’s help

⁴ In this paper I do not discuss the structure of the Russian vP and do not commit to a particular theory of it. I also abstract away from the details of vP ellipsis.

The examples in (3) present well-known facts about Russian. The truly novel observation that sheds light on ellipsis of the complement of *bez* is presented in (4). From the contrast between (4a-c) and (4d), we see that ellipsis of the complement of *bez* is possible only when the whole vP that contains it is elided:

- (4) a. ... *a sobaka ukrala kolbasu [PP bez [NP Mašinoj pomošč'i]].
 but dog stole sausage without Maša's help
 b. ... *a sobaka ukrala kolbasu [PP bez [NP Mašinoj pomošč'i]].
 but dog stole sausage without Maša's help
 c. *a sobaka ukrala kolbasu [PP bez [NP Mašinoj pomošč'i]].
 but dog stole sausage without Maša's help
 d. ... ?a sobaka ukrala kolbasu [PP bez [NP Mašinoj pomošč'i]].
 but dog stole sausage without Maša's help

We are thus led to the conclusion that (in cases where the PP follows the contrastive topic in the second conjunct) ellipsis of the complement of *bez* is licensed only in the presence of vP ellipsis.⁵

4. Ellipsis of the complement of *bez* vs conjunctive ellipsis

Optional ellipsis of the complement of functional prepositions in Russian is not the first type of parasitic ellipsis found in the second conjunct. Williams (1997) proposed a theory of coordinate ellipsis to capture the English pattern in (5), and Akema and Szendroi (2002) showed that this pattern extends to determiner sharing and classified it as parasitic ellipsis. Williams's account includes the following theoretical statements and empirical observations: (i) the coordination in question is double-headed, and the second head is projected as 0 (5b); (ii) once this head is projected as 0, it may have a domino effect on subsequent heads, resulting in ellipsis chains of various lengths (5c); (iii) if the head of the second conjunct is not elided, any other ellipses are ungrammatical (5d, e).

- (5) a. John wants to decapitate Fred, and Bill wants to hamstring Pierre.
 b. John wants to decapitate Fred, and Bill 0_V to hamstring Pierre.
 c. John wants to decapitate Fred, and Bill 0_V 0_T 0_V Pierre.
 d. *John wants to decapitate Fred, and Bill wants to 0_V Pierre.
 e. *John wants to decapitate Fred, and Bill wants 0_T hamstring Pierre.

Ellipsis of the complement of *bez* is similar to Williams's and Akema and Szendroi's conjunctive parasitic ellipsis in that it occurs in the second conjunct and depends on another ellipsis happening in

⁵ In the examples in the body of the text, contrastive topics are argument NPs. It is also possible for the head verb or an adverbial to realize the contrastive topic and thus survive the vP ellipsis that licenses ellipsis of the complement of *bez* (v).

- (v) a. (??) Inna varila soup s udovol'stvie, a ela bez.
 Inna cooked soup with pleasure but ate without
 'Inna cooked soup with pleasure but ate (it) without (pleasure).'
 b. (??) Inna na rabotu xodit s makijažem, a v magazin bez.
 Inna to work goes with makeup but to store without
 'Inna wears makeup to work, but not to the store.'

However, speakers in my study disagree on the degree of acceptability (va,b), some finding it worse than (4d) in the body of the text, and others finding it better than (4d). As judgments are more uniform with respect to cases where the contrastive topic is an NP argument, I concentrate on examples like (4d) in this paper, leaving the details of (v) aside till all interfering factors causing differences in judgments are identified.

that conjunct. However, there are also noticeable differences between the two ellipsis processes. First, the conjunctive ellipsis does not allow for skipped heads, whereas ellipsis of the complement of *bez* skips the P head. Second, ellipsis of the complement of *bez* is highly exceptional in Russian in that functional prepositions are not allowed to be followed by silent constituents of any kind anywhere in the grammar but in parasitic ellipsis contexts. Thus, ellipsis of the complement of *bez* cannot be reduced to conjunctive parasitic ellipsis. In the following two sections I will propose an account for it.

5. The proposed account

At the heart of the account of optional ellipsis of the complement of *bez* that I propose in this section is the intuition that it is licensed while the contrastively focused PP is still inside the vP ellipsis site. Importantly, the PP vacates the vP ellipsis site before it makes vP ellipsis ungrammatical.⁶ In short, parasitic ellipsis of the complement of *bez* has expert timing.

As the first ingredient of the account, I propose that when contrastively focused, *bez* 'without' can carry an E-feature (Merchant 2001, 2004), which causes non-pronunciation of the complement of *bez* at LF if that complement is e-given.

Next, we need to capture the observation that ellipsis of the complement of *bez* is dependent on clausemate vP ellipsis. I propose that this dependence is in fact E-feature valuation dependence. More concretely, the E-feature on *bez* 'without' is interpretable but unvalued, meaning that the interpretation of this E-feature is only accessible in certain syntactic configurations. This idea goes back to Chou's (2013) treatment of fronted of objects in raising modal constructions in Mandarin Chinese in the framework of Pesetsky and Torrego (2007). Details irrelevant to the topic of the current paper omitted, Chou argues that the fronting of the object in (6b) is A-movement to Spec, TP accompanied by interpretative effects of topicalization. The Top feature on the moving object NP is interpretable but unvalued in the sense that its interpretation is available only when this NP c-commands the Topic feature on T (7).

- (6) a. Akiu yinggai zhunbei.hao wancan le (Chou 2013)
 Akiu should prepare.done dinner. PERF
 'Akiu should have prepared the dinner.'
 b. Wancan yinggai Akiu zhunbei.hao le
 dinner should Akiu prepare.done.PERF
 'The dinner should have been prepared by Akiu.'

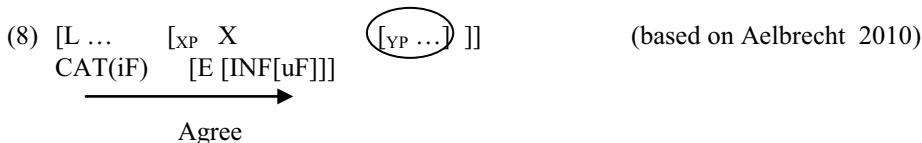
- (7) ... T ... NP ... → NP T ...
 uTopic[+] i Topic[] i Topic[+] uTopic[+]

Are E-features amenable to checking and valuation? That E-features can undergo Agree is an integral part of the proposal in Aelbrecht (2010). For Aelbrecht, the E-feature (bundle) contains an uninterpretable inflectional feature that is checked under Agree with a matching interpretable

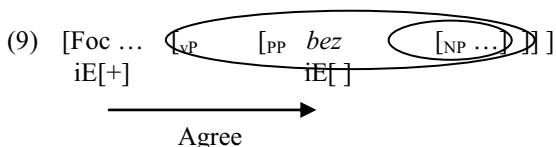
⁶ An analysis in terms of P-movement out of the ellipsis site is not viable because functional P heads cannot move out of their PPs, as (vi) illustrates:

- (vi) a. Ivan nam pomog [_{PP} bez vsjakiz voprosov].
 Ivan us helped without any questions
 'Ivan helped us without asking any questions.'
 b. *Ivan bez nam pomog [_{PP} vsjakiz voprosov]
 Ivan without us helped any questions

categorial feature on a c-commanding head. Schematically, Aelbrecht’s proposal is presented in (8). YP is the ellipsis site, and X is the head that carries the E-feature. The E-feature’s inflectional uF is checked under c-command by head L, which carries the corresponding categorial iF.



I propose the structure in (9) for ellipsis of the complement of *bez* that is very similar to Aelbrecht’s proposal summarized in (8). The crucial difference is that the Agree relation in question is not checking – the E-feature on *bez* is interpretable. Rather, the relevant process is valuation in the sense of Chou (2013): the interpretable E-feature on *bez* is unvalued, in the sense that its interpretation becomes available only when that feature finds itself at some point in the derivation inside a vP ellipsis site, which is itself defined by a valued E-feature.^{7, 8} The two ellipsis sites are shown in (9) by circles.



Valuation of the unvalued E-feature under c-command is one of the two processes that make ellipsis of the complement of *bez* ‘without’ possible. The other process is focus movement to a position outside of the ellipsis site. As the reader will remember, ellipsis of the complement of *bez* is acceptable only when *bez* marked for contrastive focus. It is held in the literature that contrastive material is not allowed inside ellipsis sites (Merchant 2001, Gengel 2006, among others). Thus, the PP headed by the contrastively focused preposition *bez* has to vacate the vP ellipsis site.

With respect to the question of independent motivation for this movement and its landing site, I will follow the intuition that there is a functional projection dominating the vP that hosts focus-marked material, which is an assumption that has been made in the literature (see for example Gengel 2006 and references cited there). I will refer to it as FocP. Ample evidence exists that in spoken Russian, (contrastively) focused constituents tend to front to the middle field or to the left periphery (but not to a position preceding contrastive topics; see Dyakonova 2009 and references cited there for discussion). (10) and (11) below illustrate this for an object NP argument and for a PP, respectively.

(10) (Context: What did his parents give Nikita for his birthday?) (based on Dyakonova 2009)

- a. Oni emu $[_{NP} \text{ščenka}]_i$ podarili t_i .
They him puppy gave.PL
- b. Oni $[_{NP} \text{ščenka}]_i$ emu podarili t_i .
They puppy him gave.PL
- c. $[_{NP} \text{Ščenka}]_i$ oni emu podarili t_i .
Puppy they him gave.PL
‘They gave him a PUPPY.’

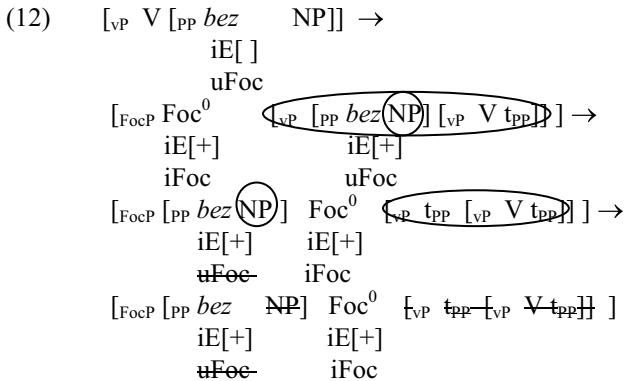
⁷ Ellipsis of the complement of *bez* is thus always possible when *bez* is contrastively focused but its interpretation will not be accessible if the E-feature is not valued. Ungrammaticality of (4a-c) is due to a crash at the interface with semantics: these constructions are not interpretable because in each case the E-feature is not valued hence its interpretation is not available.

⁸ Another way to achieve this result would be to be more faithful to Chou’s discussion and propose that the E-feature on *bez* is valued when it c-commands the interpretable valued E-feature licensing ellipsis of the vP. I choose not to follow this route because there is no empirical support for it for the topic at hand – only low adverbials (manner, location) are attested so far in this parasitic ellipsis construction.

(11) (Context: Maša's sister studies at the university.) (based on Dyakonova 2009)

- a. Net! [_{PP} V školu]_i ona eščě xodit t_i.
 No to school she still goes
 'No! She still goes to SCHOOL.'
- b. A eě brat [_{PP} V školu]_i xodit t_i.
 and her brother to school goes
 'And her brother goes to SCHOOL.'

We are now finally in position to see how optional ellipsis of the complement of *bez* takes advantage of the contradictory conditions *bez* is in: (i) an unvalued E-feature that is valued while the PP is still inside the ellipsis site and (ii) focus movement that will move the PP out of that ellipsis site. The process is schematically illustrated in (12).



The feature bundle of *bez* includes the interpretable but unvalued E-feature. *Bez* also carries the feature that I will refer to as uFoc that drives the movement of the PP headed by the contrastively focused *bez* to the mid-clausal FocP. The E-feature on *bez* is valued by the E-feature licensing ellipsis of the vP before the PP leaves the ellipsis site. The PP headed by *bez* is contrastively focused and will keep moving until it reaches Spec, FocP. Crucially, at the point when the Foc head carrying the E-feature enters the structure and the vP is scheduled for ellipsis, the PP headed by *bez* is still inside the vP and thus in the c-command domain of the Foc head. The E-feature on the Foc head values the E-feature on *bez*. Ellipsis of the complement of *bez* could already take place at this point in the derivation, but ellipsis of the vP cannot because the vP still contains contrastive focus-marked material: the PP headed by *bez*. When the PP moves out of the vP, the vP can elide. Both ellipses are marked by strikethrough in the last line of (12). In the next section, I go through partial derivations of three examples to illustrate the proposed account.

6. Examples

This section provides partial (up to the mid-clausal FocP, ignoring the contrastive topic) derivations for three of the examples given earlier in the paper. The first example, (13), corresponds to (3a) above. In this case, the PP headed by the contrastively focused *bez* escapes the vP ellipsis site, and the ellipsis of the complement of *bez* does not take place. Example (14) corresponds to the grammatical ellipsis of the complement of *bez* in example (4d). Here, once the Foc head enters the structure, the E-feature on *bez*, which at this stage is still inside the vP, is valued. Ellipsis of the complement of *bez* can happen already. vP ellipsis cannot happen yet, however, because of the presence of contrastive focus-marked *bez* in the potential ellipsis site. The PP headed by *bez* will keep moving to reach the focus-licensing position Spec, FocP in the middle field. After this movement, vP ellipsis also becomes possible. Finally, (15) corresponds to the ungrammatical (4a). *Bez* carries the interpretable unvalued E-feature but the vP is not scheduled for deletion (there is no Foc head with a

valued E-feature corresponding to vP ellipsis), so the E-feature on *bez* remains unvalued. This means that ellipsis of the complement of *bez* may take place but the resulting structure will be uninterpretable because the interpretation of the E-feature has not been made available by valuation.

- (13) a. ... a sobaka ~~ukrala kolbasu~~ bez Mašinoj pomošč'i. (3a)
 but dog stole sausage without Maša's help
- b. ... [_{VP} ukrala kolbasu [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i]] →
 stole sausage without Maša's help
 uFoc
- ... [_{VP} [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i] [_{VP} ukrala kolbasu t_{PP}]] →
 without Maša's help stole sausage
 uFoc
- ... [Foc [_{VP} [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i] [_{VP} ukrala kolbasu t_{PP}]]] →
 iFoc without Maša's help stole sausage
 iE[+] uFoc
- ... [_{FocP} [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i] Foc [_{VP} t_{PP} [_{VP} ukrala kolbasu t_{PP}]]] →
 without Maša's help stole sausage
 uFoc iFoc
 iE[+]
- ... [_{FocP} [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i] Foc [_{VP} t_{PP} [_{VP} ~~ukrala kolbasu t_{PP}~~]]] →
 without Maša's help stole sausage
 uFoc iFoc
 iE[+]
- (14) a. ... ?a sobaka ~~ukrala kolbasu~~ [_{PP} bez [_{NP} ~~Mašinoj pomošč'i~~]]. (4d)
 but dog stole sausage without Maša's help
- b. ... [_{VP} ukrala kolbasu [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i]] →
 stole sausage without Maša's help
 uFoc
 iE[]
- ... [_{VP} [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i] [_{VP} ukrala kolbasu [t_{PP}]]] →
 without Maša's help stole sausage
 uFoc
 iE[]
- ... [_{FocP} Foc [_{VP} [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i] [_{VP} ukrala kolbasu t_{PP}]]] →
 iFoc uFoc
 iE[+] iE[+]
- ... [_{FocP} [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i] [Foc [_{VP/VP} t_{PP} [_{VP} ukrala kolbasu t_{PP}]]]] →
 without Maša's help stole sausage
 uFoc iFoc
 iE[+] iE[+]
- ... [_{FocP} [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i] [Foc [_{VP} t_{PP} [_{VP} ~~ukrala kolbasu t_{PP}~~]]]] →
 without Maša's help stole sausage
 uFoc iFoc
 iE[+] iE[+]

- (15) a. ... *a sobaka ukrala kolbasu [_{PP} bez [_{NP} Mašinoj pomošč'i]]. (4a)
 but dog stole sausage without Maša's help
- b. [_{VP} ukrala kolbasu [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i]]] →
 stole sausage without Maša's help
 iE[]
- ...* [_{VP} ukrala kolbasu [_{PP} bez Mašinoj pomošč'i]]] →
 stole sausage without Maša's help
 iE[]

7. Conclusion and a further question

I presented the first discussion of an underexplored ellipsis process: optional ellipsis of complements of functional prepositions in the second conjunct Russian, which is observed most clearly with the preposition *bez* 'without'. I presented evidence concerning cases where ellipsis of the complement of P follows a contrastive topic argument and argued that this ellipsis is parasitic on clausemate vP ellipsis. The paper offers a novel account of this process in the general framework of Merchant (2001, 2004). At the core of the account is the proposal that the parasitic dependency in question is in fact a dependency between two E-features: the E-feature that is responsible for ellipsis of the complement of the preposition is dependent on the E-feature deleting the vP that contains the PP. More specifically, I propose that the E-feature on *bez* is interpretable but unvalued in the sense that its interpretation is available only in certain syntactic configurations (Chou 2013). It requires valuation under c-command by the head hosting the E-feature that licenses ellipsis of the vP. The paper also provides support for Albrecht's (2010) idea that Agree is involved in licensing ellipsis.

Due to space limitations, some important questions remained outside the scope of the paper. One of them is the possibility of other clausemate ellipsis licensing optional ellipsis of the complement of *bez*. The available evidence seems to suggest that clausal ellipsis but not nominal ellipsis can license ellipsis of the complement of *bez*, as the contrast in acceptability between (16) and (17) demonstrates.

- (16) a. ?V etu laboratoriju možno xalodit' v xalate i bez.
 In this laboratory can enter in coat and without
 'One can enter this laboratory in a lab coat or without.'
- b. ?V dožd' lučše xodit' s zontom, čem bez.
 In rain better walk with umbrella than without
 'When it rains, it is better to go with an umbrella than without.'
- c. ?Ja často revu po povodu i bez.
 I often cry for reason and without
 'I often cry, for a reason and for no reason.'
- (17) a. ???Vorkug stojali vrači v xalatax i bez.
 Around stood doctors in coats and without
 'Doctors in lab coats and without stood around.'
- b. ?Ja videla ljudej s zontami i bez.
 I saw people with umbrellas and without
 'I saw people with umbrellas and without.'
- c. ???Odin iz priznakov beskul'tur'ja – mat po povodu i bez.
 One of signs lack of culture profanity for reason and without
 'One of the signs of lack of culture (in a person) is using profanity a reason and for no reason.'

This is an important question bearing on the mechanism of parasitic ellipsis licensing, and I will return to it in further research.

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