

Backward deletion viewed systematically

Tabea Reiner

Overview

- ▶ **Starting point**

We need a systematic survey on backward deletion.

- ▶ **Observations**

Anything goes...

...except acceptable backward deletion not observing the BAC!

- ▶ **Provisional conclusion**

Starting point

- ▶ Backward deletion: gap precedes “antecedent”

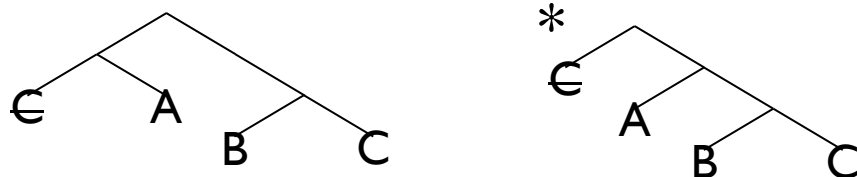
Harry loves ~~pie~~ and Ron hates pie.

- ▶ Coverage of backward deletion in existing literature

- ▶ Right Node Raising (RNR) = Leftward Deletion (LD) Hartmann (2000), Reich (2011)
A B* \in and A B* C

- ▶ Backward Anaphora Constraint (BAC) Langacker (1966)

Gap may precede but not c-command its antecedent



- ▶ Desideratum

Systematic survey on backward deletion varying the following factors

- ▶ Type of ellipsis
- ▶ Type of clause linkage (coordination vs. subordination)
- ▶ In case of subordination: order of constituent clause vs. rest

Observations

Four groups of observations

Backward deletion

1. [+/-] acceptable & [+/-] BAC observed
2. BAC applicable?
3. [-] acceptable & [+] BAC observed
4. [+] acceptable & [-] BAC observed – not found

Observations

I. Backward deletion: [+/-] acceptable & [+/-] BAC observed

Modal Complement Ellipsis (MCE) Aelbrecht (2010)

(1a.i) Coordination [+,+]

Er will heute ~~helfen~~ und er darf morgen helfen.
He wants today ~~help~~ and he may tomorrow help
'He wants to help today and he may help tomorrow.'

(1a.ii) Subordination, constituent clause first [+,+]

Weil er ~~helfen~~ darf, will er helfen.
Because he ~~help~~ may wants he help
'Since he may help, he wants to help.'

(1a.iii) Subordination, constituent clause second [-,-]

**Er will ~~helfen~~, weil er ~~helfen~~ darf.*
He wants ~~help~~ because he help may
'He wants to help since he may help.' (intended)

Observations

I. Backward deletion: [+] acceptable & [+] BAC observed

NP-Ellipsis Lobeck & Sleeman (2017)

(Ib.i) Coordination

Jen kaufte drei ~~Ballons~~ und Jane kaufte vier Ballons.
Jen bought three ~~balloons~~ and Jane bought four balloons
'Jen bought three and Jane bought four balloons.'

(Ib.ii) Subordination, constituent clause first

Während Jane vier ~~Ballons~~ kaufte, kaufte Jen drei Ballons.
While Jane four ~~balloons~~ bought bought Jen three balloons
'While Jane bought four, Jen bought three balloons.'

(Ib.iii) Subordination, constituent clause second

Jen kaufte drei ~~Ballons~~, während Jane vier Ballons kaufte.
Jen bought three ~~balloons~~ while Jane four balloons bought
'Jen bought three while Jane bought four balloons.'

Observations

2. Backward deletion: BAC applicable?

Stripping

Depiante (2000)

(2) Coordination

**Roy nicht, Gonzo aß gestern Fliegenpilze.*

Roy not Gonzo ate yesterday toadstools

'It was not Roy but Gonzo who ate toadstools yesterday.' (intended)

- ▶ Discontinuous gap (*Roy ~~aß~~ gestern nicht Fliegenpilze*)
- ▶ How to evaluate c-command?
- ▶ Global c-command by first conjunct: not an option since gap is local

Observations

3. Backward deletion: [-] acceptable & [+] BAC observed

Gapping

Repp (2009)

(3a) (Pure) coordination

*Gonzo ~~aß~~ die Erbsen und Lola aß die Karotten.
Gonzo ate the peas and Lola ate the carrots
'Gonzo ate the peas and Lola ate the carrots.' (intended)

Pseudogapping

(3b.i) Coordination

*Sue will ~~have~~ the lamb, and John will have the salmon. Coppok (n.y.:3)

(3b.ii) Subordination, constituent clause first

*Although it doesn't ~~take me a long time~~,
it takes Karen a long time to clean the hamster's cage. (Hoeksema 2006:3)

(3b.iii) Subordination, constituent clause second

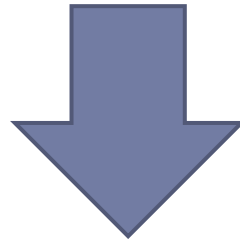
It does Karen ~~take a long time to clean the hamster's cage~~
although it doesn't take me a long time to clean the hamster's cage. ?

Observations

4. Backward deletion: **[+]** acceptable & **[-]** BAC observed – not found

Provisional conclusion

- ▶ The BAC is not able to exclude certain sentences that it should exclude.
- ▶ The reverse problem does not occur.



EITHER...

...the BAC has to be narrowed

OR...

...the BAC has to be complemented by a **further condition.**



**Finite
early?**

References

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Questions for discussion

1. Native speakers of English: How do you judge (3b.ii)?

It does Karen

although it doesn't take me a long time to clean the hamster's cage.

2. Any ideas with respect to...

- ▶ Narrowing the BAC?
- ▶ Further conditions alongside the BAC?

Interesting example (if not RNR + Forward Gapping)

Gonzo hat die Erbsen ~~gegessen~~ und Lola ~~hat~~ die Karotten gegessen.

