On Headless XP Ellipsis and Its Implications for CP Ellipsis in Japanese and Korean
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1. Introduction  As Lasnik (1999) proposes, generally when the X head moves out of XP, headless ellipsis of XP is prohibited, as shown in (1).

(1) a. [VP Y [x-ZP X] WP]
   b. *[VP X-Y [x-ZP] WP]

For example, in sluicing, when T moves to C, TP ellipsis is not possible, as illustrated in (2).

(2) A: Mary will see someone.
   B: *Who will C [Mary will see [Mary will see]]?
   B: Who C [Mary will see [Mary will see]]?

As for possible deletion sites, it has been argued that the deletion sites always target the complement of phase heads (e.g. Takahashi (2002)). Namely, under the traditional idea that phase heads are C and v*, TP and VP are possible deletion sites, respectively. Nevertheless, sluicing is impossible when T to C movement takes place. This phenomenon is called the bleeding effect of head movement in ellipsis (Merchant (2001)). Although some have tried to give solutions to this phenomenon (Merchant (2001), Funkoshi (2012), it has not reached a consensus. Therefore, this presentation will offer a proposal in terms of the correlation between phasehood and head movement.

2. Transition of Phasehood  As for phasehood, Chomsky (2015) proposes that when R(V) undergoes head movement to v*, the phase head feature in v* is inherited to R(V), whereby phasehood is activated on the copy of R, as illustrated in (3).

(3) [R(V)-v* [\text{fr}(V)_{\text{phase}}]]

Extending his idea of transition of phasehood, we assume that this procedure may be extended to the C-T relation, as illustrated in (4).

(4) [T\text{-}C_\text{-} [\text{fr}_{\text{phase}}]]

3. Proposal  Based on the idea of transition of phasehood, we propose that headless XP ellipsis is not possible since deletion targets the complement of a non-phase head due to the transition of phasehood from a phase head to a non-phase head, as shown in (5).

(5) A: Mary will see someone.
   B: *Who will C [Mary will see [Mary will see]]?
   B: Who C [Mary will see [Mary will see]]?

As shown in (5B), after T moves C, phasehood is activated on the copy of T. Therefore, when T to C movement takes place, the C head becomes a non-phase head. As a result, even if C has the E-feature, TP is not a possible deletion site. Meanwhile, in (5B'), since T does not move to C, the complement of C is marked as the deletion site. In addition, since T is now a phase head, its complement can be the target of deletion, as shown in (6).

(6) Mary woke up at 7:00. When did C JOHN [Mary woke up [Mary woke up]]?

(Hartman (2011: 385))

If this analysis is extended to the v*-R(V) relation, we will have the following configurations:

(7) a. *[v\text{-}V-v* [\text{fr}_{\text{phase}}]]
   b. *[v\text{-}V-v* [\text{fr}_{\text{phase}}]]

(7a) is not possible since V moves to v*, whereby V turns to be a phase head. As a result, the complement of v* is not a possible deletion site even if v* has the E-feature. The unavailability of VP as the deletion site comes from the lack of Argument Ellipsis in English, as shown in (8).

(8) *Mary ate a pizza and Tom bought a pizza last night.
On the other hand, when V does not move to v*, phasehood stays in v*. Consequently, the complement of v*, VP, is marked as a deletion site. This is demonstrated by VP-ellipsis in English, as presented in (9).

(9) Mary ate a pizza and Tom did [eat a pizza], too.

Meanwhile, it is expected that when R(V) becomes a phase head, its complement can be the target for deletion. Argument Ellipsis in English, again, may not be derived from this configuration since objects always move to Spec-V, which is an agreement position. Consequently, they escape the deletion site, the complement of V, as shown in (10).

(10) *[v*V V*V*] [vP DP [v[phase] [Misc]]

On the other hand, if complement clauses do not move to Spec-V unlike objects since they do not establish an agreement relation with V, so-called Null Complement Anaphora (NCA) is obtained, as depicted in (11B).

(11) A: Do you know that Mary has a boyfriend?
   B: No, I don’t know [cp Mary has a boyfriend].

Although NCA is often analyzed as Deep Anaphora (Hankamer and Sag (1976)), van Craenenbroeck and Merchant (2013) argue that NCA can be analyzed by the PF-deletion approach. Supposing that that NCA can be accounted for by deletion of complement clauses, the derivation of (11) proceeds, as shown in (11).

(11) [R(V) v*- [hi(V)[phase]] [cp Mary has a boyfriend]]

In (11), since R(V) head moves to v*, phasehood is activated on the copy of R(V). As a result, the copy of the complement of R(V), CP, is marked as the deletion site, yielding (10).

4. Extensions We also show that this proposal can be extended to cross-linguistic variations as for (un)availability of overt complementizers in sluicing in terms head movement, as shown in (12) and (13).

(12) a. They discussed a certain model, but they didn’t know which model that they discussed.
   b. They discussed a certain model, but they didn’t know which model (*that).

(13) John-ga dareka-o aisiteiru rasii ga, boku-wa [dare-o [e] ka]
    John-Nom someone-Acc love seem but I-Top who-Acc Q
    wakara-nai.
    know-not
    ‘Everyone said that John loves someone, but I don’t know who.’

In (12), following Pesetsky and Torrego (2001), we assume that T to C movement occurs, whereby the overt complementizer that emerges. As a result, when that appears the complement TP may not be the possible deletion site since TP is not the complement of a phase head (namely, phasehood is activated on the T head from C). On the other hand, in (13) of the Japanese counterpart, where I assume no T to C movement occurs, TP deletion is permitted. Furthermore, we propose that the transition of the phasehood can also account for several patterns of CP deletion in Japanese and Korean.

   I-TOP Yenghi-NOM Toli-ACC love-PRES-D-C believe-PRES-D
   ‘I believe Yenghi loves Toli.’
   B: Na-to mit-nun-ta.
   I also believe PRES-D
   ‘I also believe.’

(4) Taroo-ga [cp Hanako-ga hon-o kata-to] itta si, Ziroo-mo e2 itta.
   Taroo-NOM Hanako-NOM book-ACC bought-C said and Ziroo-also said
   ‘Taroo said that Hanako bought a book, and Ziroo also said that she bought a book’

Interestingly, in Korean, verbs such as believe allow CP ellipsis while verbs like think do not. On the other hand, Japanese always seems to allow CP ellipsis. From these observations, we propose that CP deletion exists in both languages while variations of the...
availability of CP deletion are attributed to how v* and V merge or whether v* merges or v is selected.