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The syntax and licensing of Gapping and Fragments

Boone, E.

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Author: Boone, Enrico

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Conclusion and future prospects

1 Summary of the dissertation

This dissertation has been concerned with the syntax and licensing of Gapping and Fragments and the movement of the remnants in these and other kinds of ellipsis, which in many cases involves exceptional movement.

In chapter 2, based on Merchant's (2004) argument for Fragments, I argued that there is syntactic structure in the ellipsis site in Gapping, as well. Moreover, I showed that Gapping, like Fragments, involves movement of the remnants of ellipsis out of the ellipsis site, as illustrated in (1a) for Gapping and (1b) for Fragments.

- (1) a. Max ate the apple and [[[_{DP} Sally]_i [_{DP} the hamburger]_j [_{XP} t_i ate t_j]]]
 b. Who did you see? - [[_{DP} Bill]_i [_{XP} I saw t_i]]

I argued that there is no fixed constituent targeted by Gapping or Fragments. That is, XP in the examples in (1) can be any category (i.e. AP, vP, TP and CP). This flexibility in ellipsis size seems adverse to the severely restricted distribution of Gapping and Fragments. In chapter 3, I showed that Gapping and Fragments cannot be embedded with respect to their antecedent, nor can the antecedent be embedded with respect to the ellipsis site. On the basis of these and some other observations, I argued that Gapping and Fragments are licensed by the condition in (2).

- (2) **Non-hierarchical Licensing Condition on Gapping and Fragments (NLC):**
 Gapping and Fragments are licensed when antecedent and ellipsis are in a non-hierarchical relation in the discourse component.

(2) expresses that Gapping and Fragments cannot be embedded with respect to their antecedent or vice versa, and that Gapping and Fragments cannot be in a hierarchical relation with their antecedent. Interestingly, in the discourse model I adopted in chapter 3 – in which the output of syntax forms the input for the discourse component – (2) explains why the ellipsis site can be of variable size. Under this view, any lexical item or constituent may constitute a discourse unit in principle. Since non-hierarchical relations are not confined to hold between clauses, by (2), ellipsis is also predicted to be licensed when a non-hierarchical relation holds between smaller constituents. (2) thus correctly predicts that ellipsis is licensed when antecedent and ellipsis are in a semantically symmetrical coordination in the syntax. Ellipsis is thus possible in vP, AP, TP and CP coordinations alike (as long as the discourse relation between the conjuncts will be non-hierarchical).

Under the here adopted movement plus deletion approach to ellipsis, Gapping and Fragments involve deletion of the constituent that has been vacated by the remnants of ellipsis. This movement out of the ellipsis site is often exceptional in the sense that the movement is not allowed when no ellipsis takes place. In chapter 4, I have considered what drives movement of remnants out of the ellipsis site and how they are constrained. I showed that movement of remnants has the following properties.

- (3)
- No reordering of remnants is possible under exceptional movement (EM).
 - Remnants always move to a position directly next to the ellipsis site.
 - EM is only possible under ellipsis.

These properties were shown to follow from Fox and Pesetsky's (2005) theory of cyclic linearization in which ordering statements are calculated for each phase and added to an ordering table. The fact that reordering is not possible when remnants move follows from the fact that reordering leads to contradictory ordering statements (and contradictory ordering statements, in turn, lead the derivation to crash). I argued that the reason why remnants have to move to a position next to the ellipsis site has a similar cause. In particular, I showed that if a remnant were to move to a higher position, thereby crossing material that will not be elided, this too will result in a conflicting ordering statement. For this argument to go through, a crucial assumption is that EM happens counter-cyclically. This hypothesis is not without support. First, with this hypothesis in place, the prediction is that the regular ('first-cycle') syntax feeds ellipsis, and possibly exceptional movement. In other words, the prediction is that languages vary as to what kind of movements they allow for under ellipsis, while at the same time the idea can be retained that EM is constant across languages. Secondly, the idea that EM happens counter-cyclically puts it in the realm of Quantifier Raising (QR) which also applies counter-cyclically. Strikingly, EM shares two other properties with QR. First, QR is also clause bound, and second, QR is not feature driven. Rather, QR is driven by the interface goal to express a different meaning. For EM, I argued that the interface goal is recoverability. That is, movement of remnants out of the ellipsis site is allowed, because if they

wouldn't move, they would not be recoverable. The result of EM in Gapping and Fragments is that it creates a partitioning between the focused material (i.e. the remnants) and the given material (i.e. the elided constituent).¹

2 A classification of ellipsis types in light of the results

As discussed in chapter 1, in the literature Gapping has often been set aside from (other) ellipsis types, such as VP ellipsis, Sluicing and NP ellipsis (cf. Lobeck, 1995). Hankamer (1979) puts Gapping and Fragments into one category and VP ellipsis, Sluicing and NP ellipsis in another. The reason why a two-way split in ellipsis types has often been suggested, is that not all ellipsis types pattern the same. In chapter 1, three properties were identified that uniquely distinguish Gapping and Fragments from other types of ellipsis. I repeat these properties (based on Jackendoff, 1971; Hankamer, 1979; Williams, 1977; Chao, 1988; Lobeck, 1995) here in current terminology.

- (4)
- Gapping and Fragments appear to elide non-constituents.
 - Gapping and Fragment clauses must bear a non-hierarchical relation to their antecedent.
 - There is no licensing element in Gapping and Fragments.

The first property in (4), that ellipsis operates on phrasal categories, only distinguishes Gapping and Fragments from other types of ellipsis under the assumption that the remnants of ellipsis do not undergo movement. As shown in (5a) for Gapping, if remnants do not move, ellipsis indeed seems to target a non-constituent (*ate quickly*). If, however, as argued in chapter 2 and 4, remnants of ellipsis do move out of the ellipsis site, ellipsis does target a constituent, as illustrated in (5b). Gapping and Fragments, then, are just like Sluicing, VP ellipsis and NP ellipsis in this respect, see (6).

- (5) **Gapping**
- a. Max ate the apple quickly and Sally ate the hamburger quickly.
 - b. Max ate the apple quickly and $[_{DP} \text{Sally}]_i$ $[_{DP} \text{the hamburger}]_j$ $[_{XP} t_i \text{ ate } t_j \text{ quickly}]$

¹What is still an open question at this point is why ellipsis only targets constituents. The answer likely depends on what ellipsis is, a subject that I haven't touched upon in this dissertation. One view (within the framework of Distributive Morphology) is that ellipsis involves non-insertion of lexical material at Vocabulary Insertion (Bartos, 2000, 2001; Kornfeld and Saab, 2002; Saab, 2009). Under that view, it is not immediately clear why ellipsis has to target a constituent. Under this approach, the question remains why we don't find 'scattered' non-insertion (i.e. non-constituent deletion). Another view of ellipsis is that it involves deletion (either syntactic deletion (e.g. Ross (1967); Sag (1976) or PF deletion e.g. Tancredi (1992); Chomsky and Lasnik (1993); Merchant (2001)). Under this view, it might follow that ellipsis only targets constituents. A crucial assumption is that deletion targets a particular syntactic *node* (one that dominates a constituent that fulfills Parallelism) and that this node is subject to deletion. In that case, it follows that everything dominated by this node will also be deleted.

- (6) **VP ellipsis**
- a. Max ate the apple and Sally did [_{VP} eat the apple]_i, too.
- Sluicing**
- b. Max ate something, but Sally doesn't know what_i [_{TP} Max ate t_i].
- NP ellipsis**
- c. Max ate two apples and Sally ate three [_{NP} apples].

The second property of Gapping and Fragments that sets these apart from other ellipsis types is that the ellipsis and antecedent must be in a non-hierarchical relation. This property of Gapping and Fragments is illustrated in (7). Sluicing, VP ellipsis and NP ellipsis, on the other hand, are fine in embedded contexts, even if a non-hierarchical relation holds between the (clause embedding the) antecedent and the (clause embedding the) ellipsis, as shown in (8).

- (7) **Gapping**
- a. * Harry has invited Sue and I know that Bill Mary.
- b. Max ate the apple, because Sally the hamburger.
- Fragments**
- c. A: Who has John invited?
B: * I know Mary.
- d. * A: [_{S1} John has red hair.]
B: (Of course) [_{S2} His parents ~~have red hair.~~]
- (8) **Sluicing**
- a. John has invited someone, although I don't know who ~~John has invited.~~
- VP ellipsis**
- b. Harry has invited Sue, after he found out that Bill has ~~invited Sue,~~ too.
- NP ellipsis**
- c. Harry bought two books, after Mary had bought four ~~books.~~

The third property that sets Gapping and Fragments apart from other ellipsis types is that there is no licensing element in Gapping and Fragments, as noted in chapter 3. In Sluicing, VP ellipsis and NP ellipsis, ellipsis is only possible when the ellipsis is headed by a particular lexical item, the licenser. The licenser in Sluicing is a *wh*-phrase heading an interrogative clause, see (9). Sluicing is not licensed by complementizers (10a) or *wh*-phrases that head relative clauses (10b) or clefts (10c).

- (9) Jack bought something, but I don't know **what**.

- (10) a. * Even though Mary hopes **that**, she wonders if anyone interesting is speaking tonight.
 b. * Someone has done the dishes, but I don't know the person **who**.
 (Kim, 1997a, p.157)
 c. * Somebody stole the car, but noone knew that it was Ben **who**.
 (Merchant, 2001, p.59)

VP-ellipsis is licensed by an 'AUX-element' (Lobeck, 1995; Johnson, 2001), such as auxiliaries, modals and infinitival *to*, see the examples in (11). Lexical verbs or light verbs do not license ellipsis, as shown in (12).

- (11) a. José Ybarra-Jaegger likes rutabagas, and Holly **does**, too.
 b. José Ybarra-Jaegger ate rutabagas, and Holly **has**, too.
 c. José Ybarra-Jaegger is eating rutabagas, and Holly **is**, too.
 d. Mag Wildwood wants to read Fred's story, and I also want **to**.
 (Johnson, 2001)
- (12) a. * Sally Tomato started running down the street, but only after José **started**.
 b. * Sally Tomato made Mag laugh, and then José **made**. (Johnson, 2001)
 c. * Fire began pouring out of the building, and then smoke **began**.
 (Bresnan, 1976)

Finally, NP ellipsis is licensed by the quantifiers *most*, *some*, *all*, *each* and numerals, see (13a). Plural demonstratives and the possessive suffix 's also license NP ellipsis, as shown in (13b) and (13c). The examples in (14) show that NP ellipsis is not possible with the definite determiner (14a), the indefinite determiner (14b), singular demonstratives (14c) and the universal quantifier *every* (14d).

- (13) a. The students attended the play, but **most/some/all/each/two** students went home disappointed.
 b. Although she might order **these** books, Mary won't buy those books on Egyptian art.
 c. The fact that John's **analysis** was poorly presented made the committee adopt Mary's analysis instead. (Lobeck, 1995, p.42)
- (14) a. * A single protestor attended the rally because **the** protestor apparently felt it was important.
 b. * Mary toyed with the idea of buying a windsurfer, then decided she didn't want **a** windsurfer at all.
 c. * Although John doesn't like **this** air conditioner that he bought at Sears, he likes that new air conditioner that Mary got at K-mart.
 d. * John called out the children's names, and **every** child answered.
 (Lobeck, 1995, p.44,45)

The examples in (9)-(14) show that Sluicing, VP ellipsis and NP ellipsis are only licensed when the ellipsis site is headed by a particular lexical item, a ‘licensor’. This property sets Sluicing, VP ellipsis and NP ellipsis apart from Gapping and Fragments.

3 Towards a unified theory of ellipsis licensing

Ideally, we would like to somehow relate the three properties that uniquely distinguish Gapping and Fragments from Sluicing, VP ellipsis and NP ellipsis (cf. (4)). In chapter 3, I have shown for Gapping and Fragments that they are licensed when a discourse relation holds between ellipsis and antecedent. In this section, I explore for Sluicing the possibility that this ellipsis type is licensed in the same way. That is, I explore the possibility that Sluicing is licensed when a discourse relation holds between ellipsis and antecedent. In section 3.3, I show that, if on the right track, this proposal sheds light on the properties in (4) that set Gapping and Fragments apart from other ellipsis types.

3.1 López’ (2000) account of licensing Sluicing

In chapter 3, I discussed López’ (2000) account of ellipsis licensing in which ellipsis licensors are functional categories that have the property of connecting with a discourse topic. According to López, the functional head that licenses Sluicing is C. Licensors in López’ conception are D-linking, which is syntactically encoded with a D-linking feature on the licensing head. In Sluicing, C is equipped with a D-linking feature that instructs the interpretative component to ‘connect with a discourse topic’. It is not exactly clear to me what constitutes a ‘discourse topic’. Therefore, I set this point aside here, and characterize the D-linking relation in different terms below.

The elliptical category is an X^0 pro-form. This pro-form has to adjoin to the licensing head. This is shown in (15) for Sluicing.

- (15) [Ann invited someone] but I don’t know who [pro_i C_[D-linking]] t_i]
-

The adjunction of *pro* to C locates the pro-form in the checking domain of C. Consequently, the pro-form is resolved by the discourse topic that the D-linking feature on the licensing head links to. The guiding idea here is that a null pronoun cannot retrieve an antecedent in and of itself. The licensing head mediates the necessary link between pro-form and antecedent.

The attractiveness of López’ proposal is that it attempts to explain the licensing condition from the independent principle of recoverability. As noted in chapter 3, López’ specific implementation is incompatible with some of the assumptions I have made in this dissertation. The idea of ellipsis being a pro-form, for example, is incompatible with the view that there is a full-fledged syntactic structure in the ellipsis site (cf. chapter 2). As noted in chapter 3 section 3.2.3, the idea of the

ellipsis site moving to the licensing element means that elided constituent would have to move to a head position. Another problematic assumption is that if C is present in Sluicing, this predicts that material in C can survive ellipsis, which is not the case (Merchant, 2001; Thoms, 2010), observe the contrast between (16a) and (16b). These facts strongly suggests that C is part of the ellipsis site in Sluicing and is therefore unlikely to be the licensor.

- (16) A: John bought something.
 a. B: [_{CP} What [_C ~~did John buy~~]]?
 b. B': * [_{CP} What did [_{TP} ~~John buy~~]]?

Stripping down López' proposal to its essentials, the main idea is that ellipsis sites are unable to retrieve an antecedent in and of themselves and that therefore this retrieval must be mediated by a D-linking licensor. We can retain this basic idea even if we assume that it is the licensor itself that D-links the ellipsis site to the antecedent.

In the next section, I present some data involving Sluicing that support the hypothesis that D-linking the ellipsis to an antecedent licenses ellipsis.

3.2 Sluicing and D-linking

One piece of data supporting López' D-linking account is the impossibility of Sluicing with aggressively non D-linked *wh*-phrases, see (17). By assumption, the *wh*-phrase does not have the ability of D-linking in this case and thus also lacks the ability to mediate the link between pro-form and antecedent. Ellipsis, therefore, cannot be resolved (see Sprouse (2006) for an alternative explanation of the ungrammaticality of Sluicing with aggressively non-D-linked *wh*-phrases).

- (17) * I know Pat wants to buy something, but I don't know what the hell.
 (López, 2000, p.185)

The idea that Sluicing involves a *wh*-phrase that D-links the ellipsis clause to an antecedent does not immediately rule out the cases of Sluicing in relative clauses and clefts in (10b,c), repeated here as (18). If the D-linking account of ellipsis licensing is on the right track, these examples must be ungrammatical because the *wh*-phrase is not D-linking. Therefore, ellipsis cannot be resolved.

- (18) a. * Someone has done the dishes, but I don't know the person [_{who}]_i [_{TP} ~~has done the dishes~~]
 b. * We thought it was Abby who stole the car, but it was Ben [_{who}]_i [_{TP} ~~stole the car~~]

One thing to note is that interrogative *wh*-phrases (e.g. *what* in (16a)) have a different feature specification than the *wh*-phrases in (18). This can be established from the fact that languages may spell them out differently. In Dutch, for example, the interrogative *wh*-phrase corresponding to 'who' is *wie*, as shown in (19a). In the Dutch examples in (19b,c) corresponding to (18a,b), however, a relative pronoun shows up that is homophonous with the singular demonstrative.

- (19) a. Iemand heeft de afwas gedaan, maar ik weet niet **wie**.
 Someone has the dishes done but I know not who
- b. Iemand heeft de afwas gedaan, maar ik ken de persoon **die** dat
 Someone has the dishes done but I know the person that has
 heeft gedaan niet.
 that done not
- c. Wij dachten dat het Abby was die de auto stal, maar het was Ben **die**
 We thought that it Abby was that the car stole but it was Ben that
 dat had gedaan.
 that had done

The examples in (19) show that interrogative *wh*-phrases and relative pronouns differ in their feature specification. One could speculate that this difference stems from the presence of a D-linking feature in the *wh*-phrases versus the absence of this feature in relative pronouns, but in lack of further support, I lay this speculation to rest.

AnderBois (2011) presents some interesting facts that support the idea that interrogative *wh*-phrases are D-linking. In particular, he notes a restriction on Sluicing much similar to the ban on Sluicing with non D-linked *wh*-phrases. The restriction Anderbois observes is that Sluicing cannot occur when the antecedent is in an appositive clause.

- (20) a. * Joe, who once killed a man in cold blood, doesn't even remember who.
 b. * Amy, who coined a new word last night, forgot what.

Anderbois explains these facts in the framework of inquisitive semantics. I sketch here the basic idea. A crucial ingredient of Anderbois' account is the idea from Kratzer and Shimoyama (2002) and others that one of the core semantic properties of indefinites is to evoke a set of alternatives. This set of alternatives is said to introduce an *issue* into the discourse as to which alternative holds. According to Anderbois, an interrogative clause anaphorically retrieves this issue. In other words, there is an anaphoric discourse link between the interrogative *wh*-phrase and the indefinite correlate. We can represent this idea as follows.

- (21) a. John bought *something* but I don't know *what*
- ↑
 anaphoric D-link
- b. ISSUE evoked by *something* = $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{John bought } x \\ \text{John bought } y \\ \text{John bought } z \end{array} \right\}$

Collins et al. (2014) experimentally tested whether Sluicing can retrieve an antecedent from an appositive clause. They found that, although the examples in (20) are indeed degraded, they are not systematically ruled out. Collins et al. (2014) also tested examples like (22) with *which*-phrases ('contentfull' in their terminology). Interestingly, these examples were judged better than the variants with a regular *wh*-phrase in (20).

- (22) a. ? Joe, who once killed a man in cold blood, doesn't even remember which man.
 b. ? Amy, who coined a new word last night, forgot which word.

The difference in acceptability between (20) and (22) suggests that D-linking is involved in Sluicing. Since the content of appositives is less 'at issue' than the content of the main clause, retrieving an issue from an appositive is more difficult than retrieving an issue from a main clause. *Which*-phrases have a strong link to the discourse (Pesetsky, 1987), and are therefore better equipped to establish an anaphoric link with an issue raised in an appositive than regular *wh*-phrases. This might be because the contentful noun helps establish this relation.² The idea that it is the *wh*-phrase itself that establishes the anaphoric relation with the antecedent correctly predicts the contrast between (20) and (22).

The idea that the *wh*-phrase in Sluicing establishes a link with the indefinite correlate in the antecedent is further supported by examples such as the one in (23) (from Ginzburg (1992, p.301-302) via López (2000)). This example shows that Sluicing can only retrieve an antecedent which contains an issue raised by an indefinite. This holds for the antecedent in (23a), where the issue of which students John likes is retrieved by the *wh*-phrase. The absence of the interpretation in (23b) shows that it is not possible for the sluice to be resolved by an antecedent that does not involve the issue raised by the indefinite.

- (23) John likes some students, but I don't know who.
 a. = I don't know who the students that John likes are.
 b. ≠ I don't know who John likes.

The example in (24) provides another illustration that the idea that the *wh*-phrase must be D-linked to an indefinite in the antecedent is on the right track. In (24), there is no indefinite correlate in the antecedent at all. The fact that Sluicing is ungrammatical in this case firmly supports the idea that the *wh*-phrase in Sluicing is anaphoric and must D-link to an antecedent in which an indefinite raises an issue.

- (24) * John whispered that he liked the movie, but I couldn't hear what ~~John~~ whispered.

In the next section, I move on to discuss how the three properties in (4), that set apart Gapping/Fragments from other ellipsis types, follow from the theory of licensing ellipsis through D-linking.

3.3 Towards a unified theory of ellipsis licensing

It can be concluded from the above discussion that Sluicing is dependent on an anaphoric relation between the sluice and an antecedent. If López (2000) is correct, this dependency follows from the general condition that an ellipsis must be D-linked to an antecedent in order to be licensed. I state this hypothesis in (25).

²Compared to aggressively non-D-linked *wh*-phrases, *which*-phrases can thus be viewed as sitting on the opposite end of the spectrum when it comes to how strongly they link to the discourse. Regular *wh*-phrases fall somewhere in between.

(25) **Discourse licencing condition on ellipsis**

Ellipsis is licensed when the ellipsis site can be D-linked to an antecedent.

As said, the intuition behind the hypothesis in (25) is that ellipsis is unable to retrieve an antecedent in and of itself. I have argued in chapter 2 that ellipsis sites are full-fledged syntactic structures subject to deletion. The fact that ellipsis sites must be D-linked might follow then from these two factors: first, ellipsis sites are silent. Therefore, there is no overt indication that could be taken as an instruction as to how to link the ellipsis to the discourse. The second reason ellipsis sites must be D-linked is that, unlike pronouns, they are not indexical expressions. Ellipsis sites lack the property/feature of pronouns to instruct the grammar to D-link them to an antecedent or referentially anchor them to an event or individual in the context. An advantage of (25), then, is that it attempts to explain ellipsis from the D-linking property of the licenser (the *wh*-phrase in Sluicing) and the lack of this property of the ellipsis site. In other words, (25) is not an ellipsis specific licencing condition. In fact, given (25), ellipsis can be taken to apply freely. The only requirement on ellipsis is that the ellipsis can be D-linked to an antecedent. Rather than an ellipsis specific requirement, (25) follows from a general requirement on recoverability.

Let us now turn to the question why there is no licencing element in Gapping and Fragments. In (26) I present the licencing condition on Gapping and Fragments as formulated in chapter 3.

(26) **Non-hierarchical Licencing Condition on Gapping and Fragments (NLC):**

Gapping and Fragments are licensed when antecedent and ellipsis are in a non-hierarchical relation in the discourse component.

I argue that (26) can actually be taken as a more specific version of (25). That is, (26) captures a subset of the ellipsis types that (25) captures. In the model of discourse adopted in chapter 3, discourse relations between two discourse units can be established in two ways. Either there is a direct relation between the discourse units, which may be established by a connective, as in (27a,b), or a relation is established anaphorically through the use of discourse adverbials, as the relation between S1 and S3 in (28a,b).

- (27) a. S1 (*connective*) S2
 b. [_{S1} John left] because [_{S2} Mary arrived.]

- (28) a. S1 S2 [_{S3} ... *adverbial* ...]
 ↑
 b. [_{S1} Because Fred is ill] [_{S2} you will have to stay home.] [_{S3} Whereas *otherwise* the two of you could have gone to the zoo.] (Webber et al., 2003)

In the previous section, we established that the *wh*-phrase in Sluicing establishes a discourse relation between the ellipsis and an antecedent anaphorically. The *wh*-phrase can therefore be considered a discourse adverbial. As said, retrieving an antecedent is necessary for ellipsis to be resolved, since ellipsis, unlike pronouns, does

not have the property of D-linking to an antecedent in the discourse. Therefore, D-linking must be mediated. This is what (25) expresses. (26), on the other hand, states that ellipsis in Gapping and Fragments is licensed when ellipsis and antecedent are in a non-hierarchical relation in the discourse. In this configuration, too, there is a discourse relation between ellipsis and antecedent, though the relation here is direct and not anaphorically established. Given this, we can see that (26) merely expresses a more specific licensing configuration than (25). If we view Gapping and Fragments in light of (25), it follows that there is no licensing element because the ellipsis site is directly D-linked to the antecedent. Hence, no licensing element is necessary to D-link the ellipsis to an antecedent.

It remains to be seen whether the D-linking account of ellipsis licensing in (25) can capture VP ellipsis and NP ellipsis, as well. In order for the D-linking account to successfully capture those ellipsis types, one needs to show that the ellipsis licensors in VP ellipsis and NP ellipsis (cf. (11) and (13), respectively) are D-linking. I refer the reader to López (2000) for some preliminary ideas.

If the D-linking account in (25) is on the right track, the properties in (4), repeated here as (29), can be shown to be related.

- (29)
- Gapping and Fragments appear to elide non-constituents.
 - Gapping and Fragment clauses must bear a non-hierarchical relation to their antecedent.
 - There is no licensing element in Gapping and Fragments.

The fact that Gapping and Fragments, as opposed to Sluicing, VP ellipsis and NP ellipsis, appear to elide a non-constituent, is because these ellipsis types delete the whole phrase that is in a non-hierarchical relation to its antecedent. This means that everything that is not *given* within the constituent targeted for ellipsis must vacate this constituent. In Sluicing, VP ellipsis and NP ellipsis, on the other hand, what is deleted is the sister of the licensing element. This phrase may be deleted if this phrase is given. In case this phrase is given, no movement of remnants is necessary. The second and third property follow straightforwardly from (25). If ellipsis must be D-linked, it follows that, in the absence of a D-linking licensor, there must be a direct relation between ellipsis and antecedent. Of course, the opposite also holds. In the case of NP ellipsis, VP ellipsis and Sluicing, the presence of a D-linking licensor allows ellipsis to take place in a phrase that does not bear a direct relation to the antecedent.

Summing up, if the hypothesis that elliptical phrases must be D-linked in order to be retrievable is correct, the two-way split in ellipsis types follows from the fact that there are two ways of D-linking, either the elliptical phrase bears a direct relation to its antecedent or this relation is established anaphorically. More research is needed to see whether this hypothesis is correct. Importantly, if this theory proves to be on the right track, the fact that there is a two-way split in ellipsis types does not warrant the conclusion that ellipsis itself is not a uniform phenomenon.

