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What Javanese tells us about types of ellipsis in polar answers

I. Background: Types of ellipsis in polar answers

- ‘Repetition-type’ polar answers:
answers repeating the same content (e.g. verb or auxiliary) as the polar question¹

(1) Q: *Ost-i-ko-Ø* Jussi sen kirjan?
buy-PST-Q-3SG Jussi that book
‘Did Jussi buy that book?’

A: *Ost-i-Ø.* [Finnish]
buy-PST-3SG
‘Yes.’ (Holmberg 2016:72, ex.34)

Polar answers in Javanese (Austronesian; Indonesia)

- Two types of ‘repetition’ affirmative polar answers with a TAM auxiliary:

(2) Q: Kuna’ah **iso** ngelangi toh?
 Kuna’ah CIRC.POS AV.swim FOC
 ‘Can Kuna’ah swim?’

A1: **Iso.** ‘AUX-ONLY’
 CIRC.POS
 ‘Yes.’ (Lit. ‘Can.’)

A2: **Kuna’ah iso.** ‘SUBJ+AUX’
 Kuna’ah CIRC.POS
 ‘Kuna’ah can.’

Table 1.
 East Javanese auxiliaries
 (Paciran, Lamongan)

<i>tau</i> ‘EXIST.PST’	tense
<i>iso</i> ‘CIRC.POS’	
<i>oleh</i> ‘DEON.POS’	modal
<i>kudu</i> ‘ROOT.NEC’	
<i>lagek</i> ‘PROG’	
<i>wes</i> ‘already’	aspect
<i>durung</i> ‘not.yet’	
<i>ape</i> ‘PROSP’	

- Other possibilities are a clause with basic word order S-Aux-V-O, or with a yes/no particle

Background: Types of ellipsis in polar answers

- Assuming 'repetition-type' polar answers have a full syntactic clause structure²

Two main strategies for verb or aux-only answers (cf. Holmberg 2016)

I. IP-DOMAIN ELLIPSIS

$[_{\text{Foc}[+Pol]} \text{Foc}^0 \text{Aux} [_{\text{PolP}} \text{Pol}^0 [_{+Pol} [_{\text{TP}} \text{SUBJ} [\text{AUX} [_{\text{VP}} \text{VERB}]]]]]]$

II. VP-ELLIPSIS

(+ SUBJECT ELLIPSIS)

$[_{\text{PolP}} \text{Pol}^0 [_{+Pol} [_{\text{TP}} [\text{SUBJ}] \text{T}^0 [\text{Aux} [_{\text{VP}} \text{VERB}]]]]$

Cross-linguistic Variation

- Does the verb or auxiliary move? If so, where to?
- Does the language have pro-drop/arg. ellipsis?
- Does the language have VP-ellipsis?

The puzzle: Which derivation strategy is used?

- Two types of ‘repetition’ affirmative polar answers with a TAM auxiliary:

(2) Q: ‘Can Kuna’ah swim?’

A1: Iso. **‘AUX-ONLY’**
CIRC.POS
‘Yes.’ (Lit. ‘Can.’)

A2: Kuna’ah iso. **‘SUBJ+AUX’**
Kuna’ah CIRC.POS
‘Kuna’ah can.’

- In principle, **either derivation is possible for both A1 and A2 answers** since Japanese independently has aux-movement³, VP-ellipsis⁴, and argument ellipsis⁵

Derivational strategies	A1. Aux-only answer	A2. Subj+aux answer
IP-domain ellipsis	<i>Compatible</i>	<i>Compatible</i> <i>(plus subject-movement)</i>
VP-ellipsis	<i>Compatible</i> <i>(plus subject ellipsis)</i>	<i>Compatible</i>

Table 2. Some possible derivational strategies for fragment polar answers

The puzzle: Which strategy is used?

- Two types of ‘repetition’ affirmative polar answers with a TAM auxiliary:

(2) Q: ‘Can Kuna’ah swim?’

A1: Iso. ‘aux-only’
CIRC.POS
‘Yes.’ (Lit. ‘Can.’)

A2: Kuna’ah iso. ‘subj+aux’
Kuna’ah CIRC.POS
‘Kuna’ah can.’

- In principle, **two types of strategies are possible for both A1 and A2 answers** since Javanese independently has aux-movement³, VP-ellipsis⁴, and argument ellipsis⁵

- IP-DOMAIN ELLIPSIS:**

A1. aux-only $[\text{Foc}[+\text{Pol}]] \text{ Foc}^0 \text{ iso } [\text{PolP} \text{ Pol}^\theta_{[+\text{Pol}]} \text{ iso } [\text{TP} \text{ Kuna'ah } [\text{AuxP} \text{ iso } [\text{VP} \text{ ngelangih}]]]]]$

A2. subj+aux $[\text{TopP} \text{ Kuna'ah } [\text{Foc}[+\text{Pol}]] \text{ Foc}^0 \text{ iso } [\text{PolP} \text{ Pol}^\theta_{[+\text{Pol}]} \text{ iso } [\text{TP} \text{ Kuna'ah } [\text{AuxP} \text{ iso } [\text{VP} \text{ ngelangih}]]]]]$

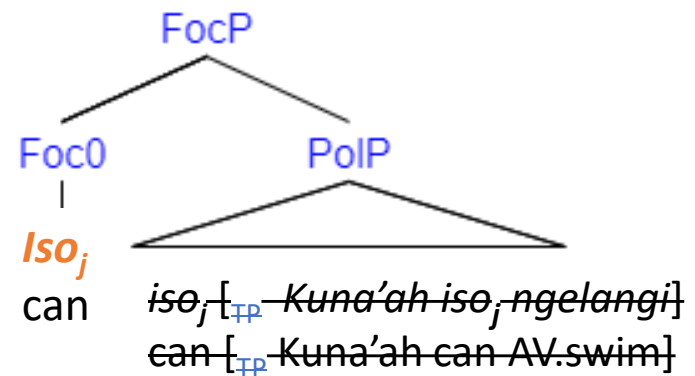
- VP-ELLIPSIS:**

A1. aux-only $[\text{PolP} \text{ Pol}^0_{[+\text{Pol}]} [\text{TP} \text{ Kuna'ah } [\text{AuxP} \text{ iso } [\text{VP} \text{ ngelangih}]]]]]$

A2. subj+aux $[\text{PolP} \text{ Pol}^0_{[+\text{Pol}]} [\text{TP} \text{ Kuna'ah } [\text{AuxP} \text{ iso } [\text{VP} \text{ ngelangih}]]]]]$

Proposal: Japanese A1 'aux-only' and A2 'subj-aux' answers use two distinct strategies

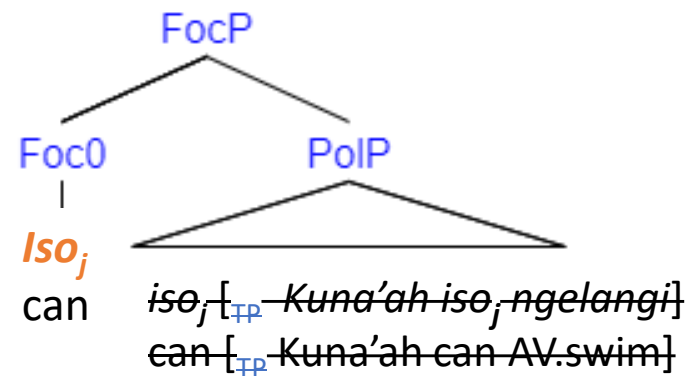
A1. **aux-only** answers use 'IP-domain ellipsis' (à la Holmberg 2016)



- Auxiliary has moved to Focus⁰
- PolP is elided (under identity with the PolP of the polar question)

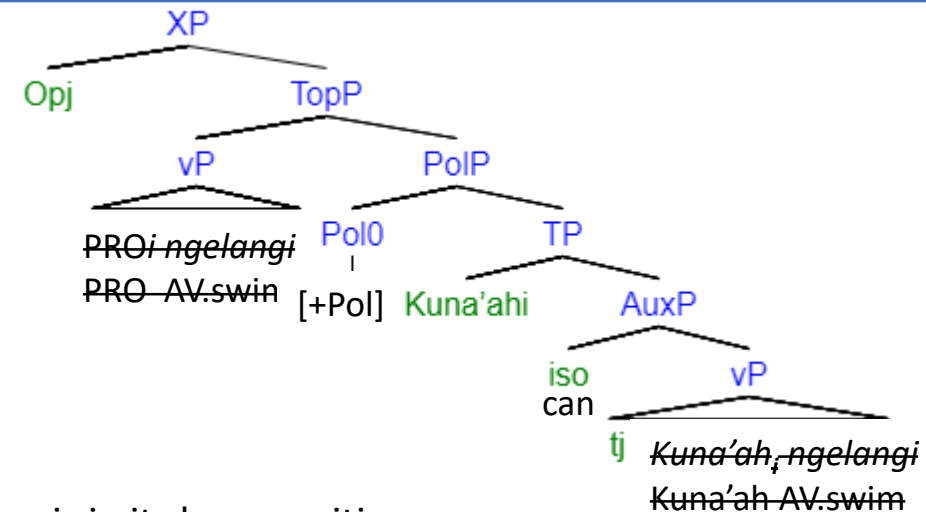
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- PolP is elided (under identity with the PolP of the polar question)

A2. **subj+aux** answers use 'vP-topic-drop' via a Matching Analysis (à la Thoms & Walkden 2019)



- Auxiliary is in its base position
- lower vP is elided under identity with the higher, base-generated vP
- a null operator (base-generated with the subject of lower vP) moves to a position above TopP and links the two vPs
- higher vP is elided (under identity with the vP of the polar question)

Roadmap for this talk

~~I. Introduction~~

II. Evidence for 'aux-only' answers as IP-domain ellipsis

III. Evidence for 'Subj+Aux' answers as VP-ellipsis via Matching

IV. Conclusion: Wider implications of the Javanese data

Roadmap for this talk

~~I. Introduction~~

II. Evidence for ‘aux-only’ answers as IP-domain ellipsis

- Auxiliary moves to a position in the left-periphery
- Auxiliaries can have multiple copies
- Against a derivation of VPE plus subject-ellipsis

III. Evidence for ‘Subj+Aux’ answers as ‘VP-topic-drop’ via Matching

IV. Conclusion: Wider implications of the Japanese data

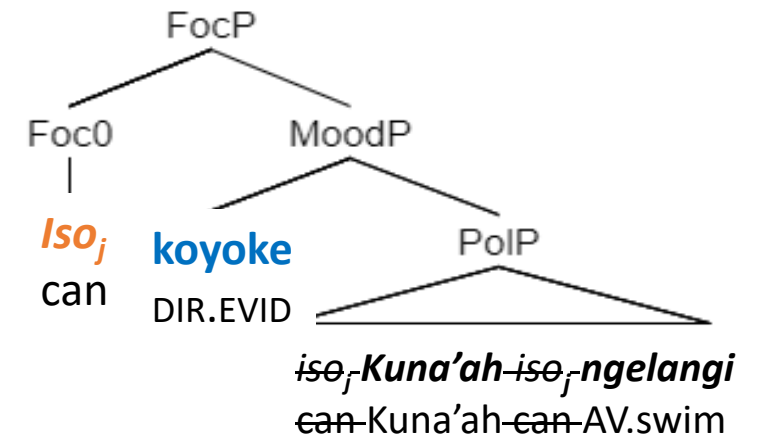
A. Evidence for 'Aux-only' answers as IP-domain ellipsis

- **Support for auxiliary movement** to a position in the Left Periphery:
 - optional overt head-movement of any TAM auxiliary to above an epistemic/evidential adverb
 - This unexpected TAM word order is only licensed in polar answers.¹

(3) Q: 'Can Kuna'ah swim?'

A: **Iso** **koyoke** Kuna'ah ngelangi.
can DIR.EVID Kuna'ah AV.swim

'Kuna'ah can likely swim.'



A. Evidence for ‘Aux-only’ answers as IP-domain ellipsis

(4) Q: Wong Indonesia kudu nggowo paspor reng bandera toh?
person Indonesia ROOT.NEC AV.bring passport to airport FOC
‘Do Indonesians have to bring their passport to the airport?’

A: **Kudu ketok-e** [TP wong Indonesia ~~kudu~~ nggowo paspor].
ROOT.NEC DIR.EVID-NE person Indonesia AV.bring passport
‘Indonesians must, it seems, bring their passport.’

(5) Q: Kuna’ah iso ngelangi toh?
Kuna’ah CIRC.POS AV.swim FOC
‘Can Kuna’ah swim?’

A1: **Iso** { **mungkin** / **paleng** } [TP Kuna’ah ~~iso~~ ngelangi].
CIRC.POS EPIS.POS EPIS.POS Kuna’ah AV.swim
‘Kuna’ah can maybe swim.’

A2: **Iso** { **koyok-e** / **jeken-e** } [TP Kuna’ah ~~iso~~ ngelangi].
CIRC.POS DIR.EVID-NE / DIR.EVID-NE Kuna’ah AV.swim
‘Kuna’ah can, it’s likely, swim.’

The data are robust:
This unexpected TAM
word order is found with
different combinations of
epistemic-evidential
adverbs and TAM auxiliaries.

A. Evidence for ‘Aux-only’ answers as IP-domain ellipsis

(6) Q: Tomo tau mangan rajungan toh?
Tomo EXIST.PST AV.eat crab FOC
‘Did Tomo ever eat crab?’

A1: **Tau jeken-e** [TP Tomo tau mangan rajungan].
EXIST.PST DIR.EVID-NE Tomo AV.eat crab
‘Tomo has, it’s likely, eaten crab.’

(7) Paijo ape melu lombah.
Paijo PROSP AV.join competition
‘Paijo will join a competition.’

Q: Oleh toh?
DEON.POS FOC
‘Is he allowed?’

A: **Oleh ketok-e** [TP Paijo oleh melu].
DEON.POS DIR.EVID-NE Paijo AV.join
‘Paijo is allowed, it seems, to join.’

TAM auxiliaries can independently be in a high position above TP in polar answers

B. Evidence for ‘Aux-only’ answers as IP-domain ellipsis

- Auxiliaries seem to have the same role as yes-no particles in full sentence answers.
 - Under a movement analysis, the TAM auxiliaries are realizations of multiple copies (cf. emphatic affirmation in European Portuguese; Martins 2007)

(8) Context: *Usually, people have to eat everyday. Mr. Arif is able to not eat for 2 days.*

Child: Can Arif not eat for two days?

Opo Arif iso gak mangan rong dino?

Arif's wife: {**Iso / Iyo**}, pak Arif **iso** gak mangan rong dino (offered)
can / yes.PRT Mr. Arif can NEG AV.eat two.LNK day

‘Yes, Mr. Arif is able to not eat for two days.’

- (9) O João **comprou** o carro, **comprou**. [European Portuguese]
the John bought the car bought
‘John DID buy the car.’ (Martins 2007)

C. 'Aux-only' answers are not derived by VPE + subject-ellipsis

- Evidence **against VPE plus subject ellipsis** to derive A1 '**aux-only**' answers:

- Based on distribution of TAM auxiliaries
- VPE analysis predicts that *ape* 'PROSP' would also be possible in A1 aux-only answers.

(10) Adi *ape* lulus SMA, terus Putri yo *ape*.
Adi PROSP succeed high.school then Putri YES.PRT PROSP
'Adi will graduate high school, and Putri will also.'

(11) Q: Opo mbak Nunung *ape* masak kuwe?
q Miss Nunung PROSP AV.cook cake
'Will Nunung bake a cake?'
A: **Ape*.
PROSP
(Int. 'Yes')

East Javanese auxiliaries	A1. Aux-only answer	VP-ellipsis
<i>tau</i> 'EXIST.PST'	✓	✓
<i>iso</i> 'CIRC.POS'	✓	✓
<i>oleh</i> 'DEON.POS'	✓	✓
<i>kudu</i> 'ROOT.NEC'	✓	✓
<i>lagek</i> 'PROG'	✓	✓
<i>wes</i> 'already'	✓	✓
<i>ape</i> 'PROSP'	*	✓

Ape 'PROSP' is also ungrammatical with (i) focus marker *toh* and (ii) focus fronting above mood adverb
→ Compatible with high focus position in 'aux-only' answers as derived via IP-domain ellipsis

C. 'Aux-only' answers are not derived by VPE + subject-ellipsis

- Evidence **against VPE plus subject ellipsis** to derive A1 '**aux-only**' answers:
 - Subject ellipsis is independently possible in Javanese (Ewing 2005; Sato 2015)
 - in polar questions *without* a TAM auxiliary, it is not possible to answer **with the verb alone**: subject ellipsis is impossible in this environment.
- It follows that polar questions *with* TAM auxiliaries are also not derived by subject ellipsis (and VPE)

(12) Context: You are in the living room, and you cannot see in the kitchen, but you hear something.
You ask [this question] to the person in the kitchen, and they respond.

Q: Sampean mangan toh?

2 AV.eat FOC

'Are you eating?'

A: *Mangan.

AV.eat

(intended: 'Yes' / Lit. 'Eat.')

Q: Sampean mangan toh?

2 AV.eat FOC

'Are you eating?'

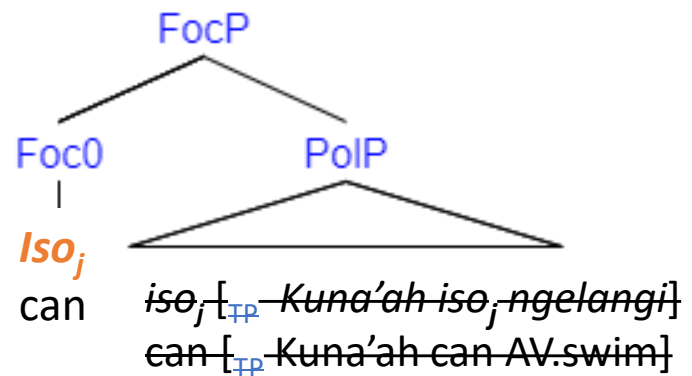
A: Iyo, [~~aku~~] mangan.

Yes, 1 AV.eat

'Yes, I am eating.' (Lit. 'Yes, eating')

Proposal: Japanese A1 'aux-only' and A2 'subj-aux' answers use two distinct strategies

A1. **aux-only** answers use 'IP-domain ellipsis' (à la Holmberg 2016)



- Auxiliary has moved to Focus⁰
- PolP is elided (under identity with the PolP of the polar question)

Summary of supporting evidence

- Auxiliary movement to the left periphery (above Mood adverb) independently shown with full answers
- Realization of multiple copies
- Against subject-ellipsis & VPE:
 - VPE predicts *ape* 'PROSP' to be possible
 - Subject ellipsis is not possible in 'verb-only' answers.

Roadmap for this talk

~~I. Introduction~~

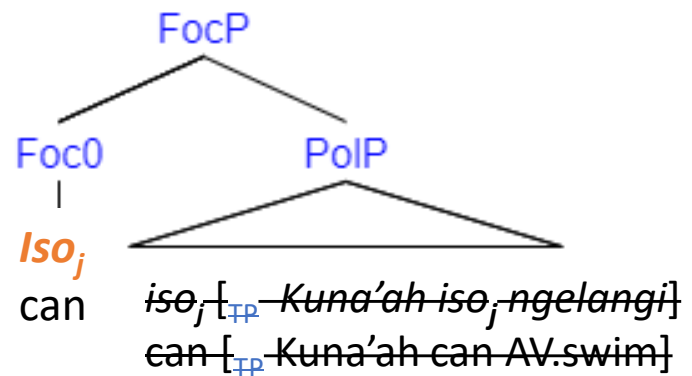
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III. Evidence for 'subj+aux' answers as 'VP-topic-drop' via Matching

IV. Conclusion: Wider implications of the Javanese data

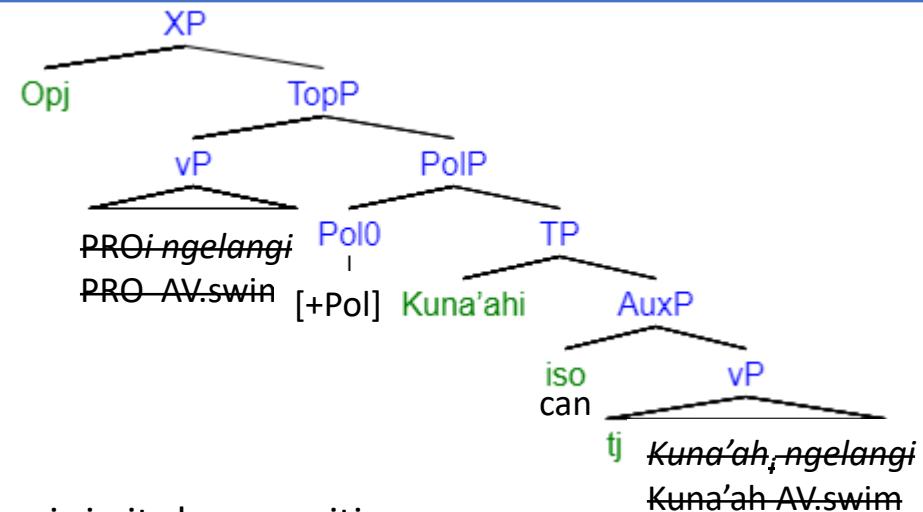
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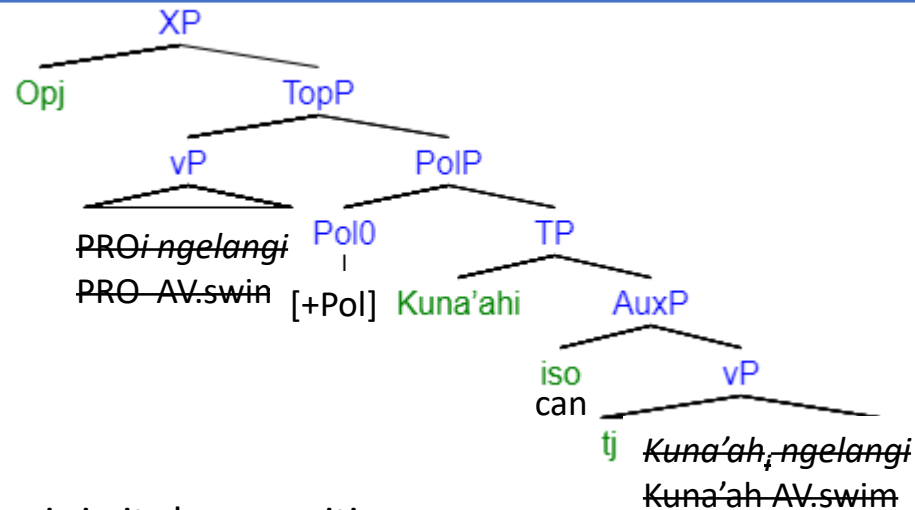
A2. **subj+aux** answers use 'vP-topic-drop' via a Matching Analysis (à la Thoms & Walkden 2019)



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- higher vP is elided (under identity with the vP of the polar question)

Main arguments

- A2. '**subj-aux**' answers share the same licensing conditions as **VP-preposing** (restricted compared to **VPE**)
 - TAM markers
 - syntactic environment
- Against IP-domain ellipsis (plus topic-movement of subject)
 - Predicts the wrong word order possibilities with mood adverbs

A. Evidence for 'Subj+Aux' answers as VP-ellipsis via Matching

- A2 '**Subj+Aux**' answers share the same licensing conditions as with vP-preposing, in contrast to:

- A1. '**Aux+only**' answers
- VP-ellipsis

Table 3. Distribution of TAM auxiliaries

East Javanese auxiliaries	A1. Aux-only answer	A2. Subj+Aux answer	Overt VP-Preposing	VP-ellipsis
<i>tau</i> 'EXIST.PST'	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>iso</i> 'CIRC.POS'	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>oleh</i> 'DEON.POS'	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>kudu</i> 'ROOT.NEC'	✓	x	x	✓
<i>lagek</i> 'PROG'	✓	x	x	✓
<i>wes</i> 'already'	✓	x	x	✓
<i>Ape</i> 'prosp'	x	x	x	✓

- Argues against a VPE analysis (without further requirements)

VP-ELLIPSIS: $[_{PolP} Pol^0_{[+Pol]} [_{TP} \text{SUBJECT} [_{AuxP} \text{AUX} [_{vP} \text{VERB}]]]]$

- Argues against an IP-domain ellipsis (without further requirements)

IP-DOMAIN ELLIPSIS: $[_{TopP} \text{SUBJECT} [_{Foc[+Pol]} Foc^0 \text{AUX} [_{PolP} Pol^0_{[+Pol]} \text{AUX} [_{TP} \text{SUBJECT} [_{AuxP} \text{AUX} [_{vP} \text{VERB}]]]]]]]$

A. Evidence for ‘Subj-Aux’ answers as VP-ellipsis via Matching

- A2 ‘Subj+Aux’ answers share the exact same auxiliary restrictions as with vP-preposing in Javanese

Vander Klok 2012

(1) Q: Kuna’ah iso ngelangi toh?

Kuna’ah CIRC.POS AV.swim FOC
‘Can Kuna’ah swim?’

A1: **Iso.**

CIRC.POS
‘Yes.’ (Lit. ‘Can.’)

A2: Kuna’ah **iso.**

Kuna’ah CIRC.POS
‘Kuna’ah can.’

(13) Q: Bu Nana lagek masak toh?

Mrs. Nana PROG AV.cook FOC
‘Is Nana cooking/starting to cook?’

A1: **Lagek.**

PROG
‘Yes.’

A2: * Bu Nana **lagek.**

Mrs. Nana PROG
(‘Nana is./N. just started.’)

(14) nggotong watu-ne, cak Kholiq **iso**
AV.lift rock-DEF Mr. Kholiq CIRC.POS
‘Lift the stone, Kholiq can.’

(15) * toko beras, pak Suwanan **lagek**
buy raw.rice Mr.Suwanan PROG
(‘Buying rice, Pak Suwanan is just.’)

East Javanese auxiliaries	A1. Aux-only answer	A2. Subj+Aux answer	Overt VP-Preposing
<i>tau</i> ‘EXIST.PST’	✓	✓	✓
<i>iso</i> ‘CIRC.POS’	✓	✓	✓
<i>oleh</i> ‘DEON.POS’	✓	✓	✓
<i>kudu</i> ‘ROOT.NEC’	✓	×	×
<i>lagek</i> ‘PROG’	✓	×	×
<i>wes</i> ‘already’	✓	×	×

A. Evidence for ‘Subj-Aux’ answers as VP-ellipsis via Matching

(16) Q: Salsa oleh toko rok anyar toh?
Salsa DEON.POS buy skirt new FOC
‘Can Kuna’ah swim?’

A: Salsa **oleh**.
Salsa DEON.POS
‘Salsa may.’ (Vander Klok 2012:166)

(17) Q: Cak Ali kudu mbayar dendo toh?
Mr. Ali ROOT.NEC AV.pay fine FOC
‘Does Ali have to pay the fine?’

A: * Cak Ali **kudu**.
Mr. Ali ROOT.NEC
‘(Mr. Ali must.)’ (Vander Klok 2012:167)

(18) Q: Can Jozi wear pants to *ngaji*?

A: Nganggo celono reng ngaji,
av.wear pants to *ngaji*

Jozi **oleh**.

Jozi DEON.POS
‘Wear pants to the reciting of the Holy
Qur’an, Jozi may.’ (Vander Klok 2012:152)

(19) * mbayar dendo, Gayus **kudu**.

AV.pay fine Gayus ROOT.NEC
‘Pay a fine, Gayus must.’ (Vander Klok 2012:153)

East Javanese auxiliaries	A1. Aux-only answer	A2. Subj+Aux answer	Overt VP-Preposing
<i>tau</i> ‘EXIST.PST’	✓	✓	✓
<i>iso</i> ‘CIRC.POS’	✓	✓	✓
<i>oleh</i> ‘DEON.POS’	✓	✓	✓
<i>kudu</i> ‘ROOT.NEC’	✓	x	x
<i>lagek</i> ‘PROG’	✓	x	x
<i>wes</i> ‘already’	✓	x	x

A. Evidence for ‘Subj-Aux’ answers as VP-ellipsis via Matching

(20) Q: Nunung tau lungo reng Jakarta toh?
Nunung E.PST go to Jakarta FOC
‘Did Nunung go to Jakarta?’

A: Nunung **tau**.
Nunung E.PST
‘Nunung did.’ (Vander Klok 2012:166)

(21) Q: Pak Singgih wes mangan toh?
Mr. Singgih already AV.eat FOC
‘HAS Mr. Singgih already eaten?’

A: * (iyo) Pak Singgih **wes**.
yest Mr. Singgih already
((yes), Mr. Singgih has.)
(Vander Klok 2012:166)

(22) Q: *Opo Jozi tau reng Jakarta?*
Did Jozi ever go to Jakarta?

A: Reng Jakarta, Jozi **tau**.
to Jakarta Jozi E.PST
‘Went to Jakarta, Jozi one did.’
(Vander Klok 2012:153)

(23) Q: *Opo Bu Nunung wes ngenyang regane?*
Did Mrs Nunung already haggle the price?

A: * ngenyang rega-ne, Nunung **wes**.
AV.haggle price-DEF Nunung already
‘Haggle the price, Nunung has already.’
(Oct30-2020-Fina)

East Javanese auxiliaries	A1. Aux-only answer	A2. Subj+Aux answer	Overt VP-Preposing
<i>tau</i> ‘EXIST.PST’	✓	✓	✓
<i>iso</i> ‘CIRC.POS’	✓	✓	✓
<i>oleh</i> ‘DEON.POS’	✓	✓	✓
<i>kudu</i> ‘ROOT.NEC’	✓	x	x
<i>lagek</i> ‘PROG’	✓	x	x
<i>wes</i> ‘already’	✓	x	x

A. Evidence for ‘Subj+Aux’ answers as VP-ellipsis via Matching

- A2 ‘**Subj+Aux**’ answers share the same licensing conditions as with vP-preposing, in contrast to:

- A1. ‘**Aux+only**’ answers
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<i>kudu</i> ‘ROOT.NEC’	✓	x	x	✓
<i>lagek</i> ‘PROG’	✓	x	x	✓
<i>wes</i> ‘already’	✓	x	x	✓
<i>Ape</i> ‘prosp’	x	x	x	✓

- What about VP-movement feeding ellipsis?
 - Under a hypothesis that vP-preposing is A’-movement, the licensing conditions on vP-preposing would be different from other A’-movement:
 - No such conditions exist for topicalization of arguments/adjuncts
 - E.g., P-stranding is ungrammatical in Javanese in wh-questions (Wang 2012)

B. Evidence for ‘Subj+Aux’ answers as VP-ellipsis via Matching

- Support that ‘Subj+Aux’ answers are derived via a ‘Matching analysis’ (instead of VP-preposing feeding VP-ellipsis; cf. Johnson 2001)
 - VP-preposing and ‘subj-aux’ answers occur in a subset of environments compared to VP-ellipsis** (cf. Aelbrecht and Haegeman 2012)

VP-ellipsis	VP-Preposing	‘Subj-aux’ answers
<ul style="list-style-type: none">(embedded) coordinated /uncoordinated CPssyntactic islands	<ul style="list-style-type: none">answers	<ul style="list-style-type: none">answers

(24) Mbak Arim gak iso ngelangi, tapi mbak Salsa iso.
Miss Arim NEG CIRC.POS AV.swim but Miss Salsa CIRC.POS
‘Arim cannot swim, but Salsa can.’

VP-ellipsis in Javanese
(Vander Klok 2016)

(25) Mbak Titis wes mangan awan, tapi aku lagek.
Miss Titis already AV.eat mid-day but 1SG PROG
‘Titis has eaten lunch already, but I am currently eating/ just eating.’

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- Support that ‘Subj+Aux’ answers are derived via a ‘Matching analysis’ (instead of VP-preposing feeding VP-ellipsis; cf. Johnson 2001)
 - **VP-preposing and ‘subj-aux’ answers occur in a subset of environments compared to VP-ellipsis** (cf. Aelbrecht and Haegeman 2012)

(26) Tak kiro Ipul tau mepe klambi, tapi ibu-ku ngiro-ne [**Ipul orak tau.**]
1SG think Ipul E.PST AV.hang.dry clothes but mother-my AV.think-DEF Ipul NEG E.PST
‘I thought Ipul hung the clothes to dry, but my mother thinks that Ipul did not.’ (11-2019-D)

VP-ellipsis possible
in embedded
contexts

(27) Q: *Opo Siti iso nulungi muride seng diajari Pak Jono?* Can Siti help the student that is taught by Mr. Jono?
A: * Nulung-i murid-e seng di-ajar-i Pak Jono, aku ngomong [**Siti iso**].
AV.help-APPL student-DEF REL PASS-teach-APPL Mr. Jono, 1SG AV.say Siti can
(Intended for: Help the student that is taught by Mr. Jono, I said that Siti can.)

VP-preposing does
not seem to be
possible in
embedded contexts

C. Against an analysis of IP-domain ellipsis plus topic-movement of subject

Recall that 'subj+aux' type answers could have a similar derivational strategy as 'aux-only' answers.

(2) Q: Kuna'ah **iso** ngelangi toh?
 Kuna'ah CIRC.POS AV.swim FOC
 'Can Kuna'ah swim?'

A1: Iso.
 CIRC.POS
 'Yes.' (Lit. 'Can.')

'AUX-ONLY'

A2: Kuna'ah iso.
 Kuna'ah CIRC.POS
 'Kuna'ah can.'

'SUBJ+AUX'

- IP-DOMAIN ELLIPSIS:**

A1. **aux-only** $[\text{Foc}[+\text{Pol}]] \text{ Foc}^0 \text{ iso } [\text{PolP} \text{ Pol}^\theta [\text{TP} \text{ Kuna'ah } [\text{AuxP} \text{ iso } [\text{VP} \text{ ngelangi}]]]]]$

A2. **subj+aux** $[\text{TopP} \text{ Kuna'ah } [\text{Foc}[+\text{Pol}]] \text{ Foc}^0 \text{ iso } [\text{PolP} \text{ Pol}^\theta [\text{TP} \text{ Kuna'ah } [\text{AuxP} \text{ iso } [\text{VP} \text{ ngelangi}]]]]]$

Evidence from the word order of auxiliaries and mood adverbs suggest that IP-domain ellipsis is not used for 'subj+aux' answers in Javanese

C. Against an analysis of IP-domain ellipsis plus topic-movement of subject

If 'subj+aux' type answers were derived as 'aux-only' answers, the auxiliary necessarily moves to a high position in the left-periphery

- **IP-DOMAIN ELLIPSIS:**

A1. **aux-only**

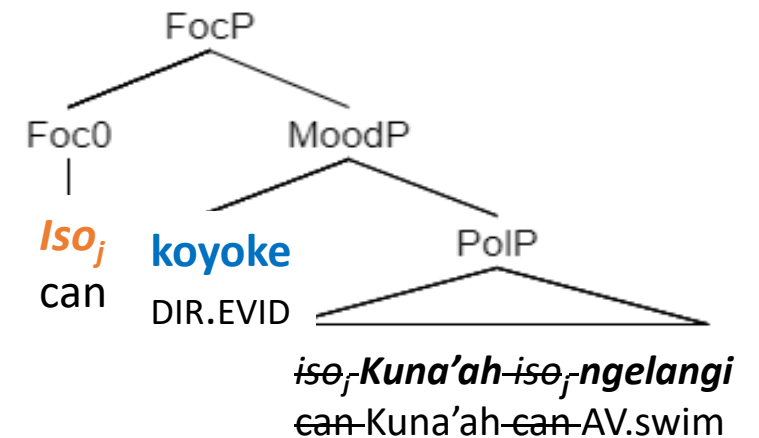
[_{Foc}[+Pol] Foc⁰ *iso* [_{PolP} Pol^θ [_{TP} *iso* [_{TP} *Kuna'ah* [_{AuxP} *iso* [_{VP} *ngelang*]]]]]]

A2. **subj+aux**

[_{TopP} *Kuna'ah* [_{Foc}[+Pol] Foc⁰ *iso* [_{PolP} Pol^θ [_{TP} *iso* [_{TP} *Kuna'ah* [_{AuxP} *iso* [_{VP} *ngelang*]]]]]]]

- This obligatory auxiliary movement predicts that mood adverbs would *not* be located above FocusP in 'subj-aux' polar answers:

- Prediction *[Subject > {mood adverb} > Aux]



C. Against an analysis of IP-domain ellipsis plus topic-movement of subject

- **Prediction** *[Subject > {mood adverb} > Aux] based on obligatory auxiliary movement is not borne out.

(28) Q: *Pak Fatihul iso nyanyi lagu dangdut toh?* 'Can Mr. Fatihul sing a dangdut song?'

A: Nyanyi lagu dangdut, Fatihul ketoke **iso**.
AV.sing song *dangdut* Fatihul DIR.EVID can
'Sing a dangdut song, Fatihul likely can.'

A2: Fatihul ketoke **iso**.
Fatihul DIR.EVID can
'Fatihul likely can.'

(29) Q: *Jozi tau mangan iwak enus toh?* 'Has Jozi eaten eel?'

A: Mangan iwak enus, Jozi koyoke **tau**.
Av.eat fish eel Jozi DIR.EVID E.PST
'Eaten eel, Jozi likely has.'

A2: Jozi koyoke **tau**.
Jozi DIR.EVID E.PST
'Jozi likely has.'

(30) Q: *Bu Mida lagek ndelok sinetron toh?* 'Is Mrs. Mida watching soaps?'

A: * Ndelok sinetron, Mida koyoke **lagek**.
Av.see soap.opera Mida DIR.EVID PROG
(Intended for: 'Watching soaps, Mida likely is.')

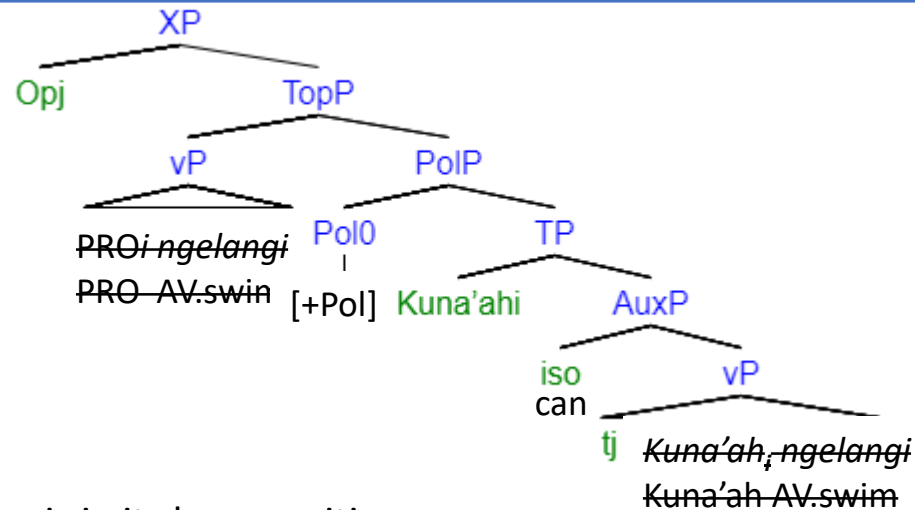
A2: * Mida koyoke **lagek**.
Mida DIR.EVID PROG
(Intended: 'Mida likely is.')

(Oct30-2020-F)

Provides a second argument that IP-domain ellipsis plus topic-movement of subject does not derive 'subj+aux' answers in Javanese

Proposal: Japanese A1 'aux-only' and A2 'subj-aux' answers use two distinct strategies

A2. **subj+aux** answers use 'vP-topic-drop' via a Matching Analysis (à la Thoms & Walkden 2019)



- Auxiliary is in its base position
- lower vP is elided under identity with the higher, base-generated vP
- a null operator (base-generated with the subject of lower vP) moves to a position above TopP and links the two vPs
- higher vP is elided (under identity with the vP of the polar question)

Summary of supporting evidence

- A2. 'subj+aux' answers share the same licensing conditions as **VP-preposing** (restricted compared to **VPE**)
 - TAM markers
 - syntactic environment
- Against IP-domain ellipsis (plus topic-movement of subject)
 - Predicts the wrong word order possibilities with mood adverbs

Roadmap for this talk

- ~~I. Introduction~~
- ~~II. Evidence for 'aux-only' answers as IP-domain ellipsis~~
- ~~III. Evidence for 'Subj+Aux' answers as VP-ellipsis via Matching~~
- IV. Conclusion: Wider implications of the Javanese data

Conclusions

- A1 ‘**aux-only**’ and A2 ‘**Subj+Aux**’ answers are argued to have two distinct strategies:
 - **A1** as IP-domain ellipsis (cf. Holmberg 2016)
 - **A2** as ‘VP-topic-drop’ via Matching (cf. Thoms & Walkden 2019)
→ **adds to the syntactic typology of how polar answer types are derived**
 - **Javanese** widens the diversity of VP-ellipsis as ‘Matching’.
 - **English** tag questions and emphatic retorts involve ellipsis (Sailor 2014) and are amenable to a Matching Analysis (Thoms & Walkden 2019):
 - Answers: polarity particle encodes an anaphoric dependency between the elliptical constituent and the antecedent
 - Ellipsis process is obligatory
 - Subject of the elided clause covaries with the subject of the antecedent clause
- (31) A: John won a race.
 B: NO, he didn’t!

Wider implications of the Javanese data

- But neither use **VP-ellipsis plus argument ellipsis** as a strategy, despite their independent availability (Ewing 2005; Sato 2015; Vander Klok 2016)
- **VP-ellipsis** in Javanese occur with contrastive subjects plus an additive particle, or contrastive subjects and predicates; whereas **VP-preposing and subject-auxiliary answers** require subject-matching.
 - Further suggests that the information-structure mapping is crucial to understand how the different ellipsis strategies are licensed (e.g., Kehler 2002; Kertz 2013; Sailor 2014)
 - But can be tricky, because the same auxiliary split is also found in ‘subj+aux’ fragment answers to content questions in Javanese.

(32) Q: Sopo sing lagek njahit rok iku? A: * Aku lagek.
 who REL PROG AV.sew skirt DEM 1SG PROG
 ‘Who is sewing that skirt?’

(33) Q: Sopo sing iso nyopir sepeda montor? A: Aku iso.
 who REL CIRC.POS AV.drive bike motor 1SG CIRC.POS
 ‘Who can drive a motorbike?’ ‘I can.’



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Thank you!



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mbak Rohmah



mbak Fina



mbak Titis



bu Zumaroh



mbak Ulum



bu Haris



pak Faiz

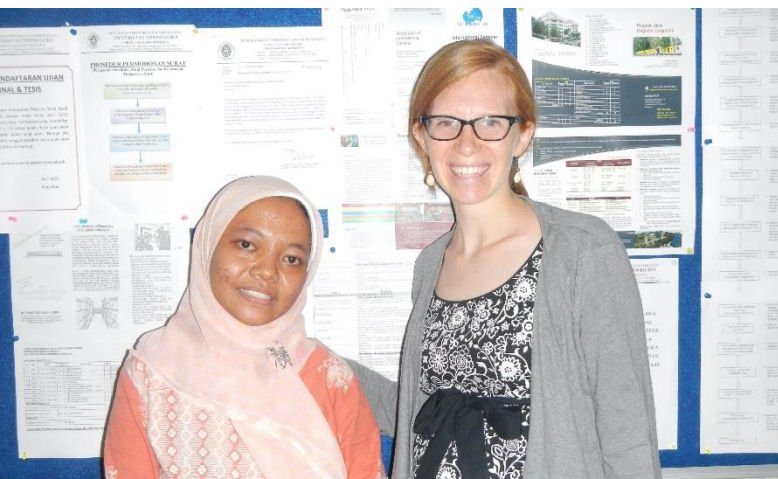


pak Nasrul



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