Perfect and imperfect copies

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Syntactic ontology: A battle for the soul of syntax

= What's in our syntax?

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1. Words and their parts
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3. Constrained relations among these (a system to regulate the combinatorics)

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Non-null hypothesis: 'Abstract' syntax

- Phonologically inactive ('abstract') versions of 1 and 2

What's the evidence for the latter, and how secure are these conclusions?

The battlefield: Ellipsis

Strings of words that appear not to be sentences can have sentential meaning:

(1)   Bill should collect butterflies. Jill should, too.

$$=$$

(2)   Bill should collect butterflies. Jill should collect butterflies, too.

How can *Jill should* mean *Jill should collect butterflies*?

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2. The 'missing VP' is 'recovered' or 'resolved' under *identity* (or under 'parallelism') to an (actual or inferred) antecedent

The battlefield: Ellipsis

Strings of words that appear not to be sentences can have sentential meaning:

(7) Bill should collect butterflies. Jill should, too.

=

(8) Bill should collect butterflies. Jill should collect butterflies, too.

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1. The antecedent VP is *copied* into the elliptical structure.
2. The 'missing VP' is 'recovered' or 'resolved' under *identity* (or under 'parallelism') to an (actual or inferred) antecedent
3. $VP_A = VP_E$ or $[\![\ VP_A\ ]\!] = [\![\ VP_E\ ]\!]$ or $VP_A{}^d = VP_E{}^d$ or $\mu(VP_E) \subset \mu(VP_A)$, or some combination or refinement?

Question: Are copies *perfect*?

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Answer: Apparently not....

40 years of mixed results

Imperfect copies	Perfect copies
voice in English VP-ellipsis	voice in sluicing
ellipsis in code-switching?	ellipsis in code-switching
tense morphology in VPE	Warner's facts about *be*
gerunds=nonfinites etc.	scope facts, Dahl puzzles
copular/cleft/spading analyses (cuál <es con la que habló>, wou da <was da Jef gezien eit>)	structural facts (*Abby hates visiting relatives, and Ben does too*: 2- not 4-ways ambig)
Malagasy voice switches	
category switches (robber vs thief, refusal > refuse)	
implicit arguments in sluicing	
polarity *no/any/some* etc.	
'vehicle change'	
missing expressives	
island repair, extractions	
ϕ-feature agrmt (& sloppy id) (Juan es alto, y Maria también)	

The upshot

If the identity (or 'recoverability') condition on ellipsis includes at least some syntactic identity component (in addition to or instead of a semantic component), then
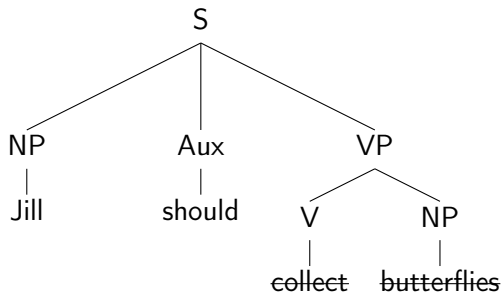
The upshot

If the identity (or 'recoverability') condition on ellipsis includes at least some syntactic identity component (in addition to or instead of a semantic component), then

abstract syntactic structures exist
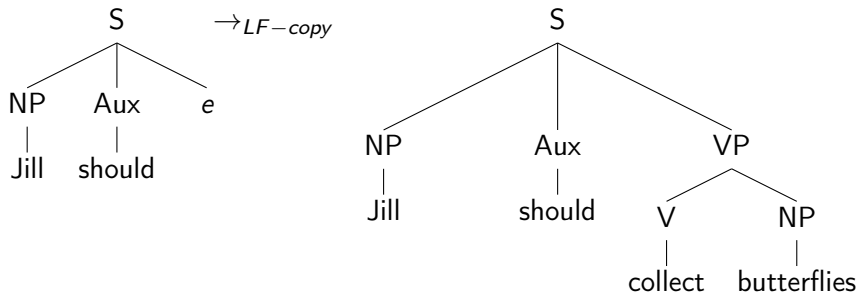
Hypothesis A1: Deletion
Full sentence structure, but part of the sentence is unpronounced.

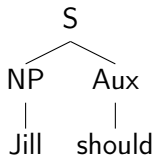The missing words are not really missing.

Hypothesis A2: Structure copying (or LF-copy)
Full sentence structure, but part of the sentence is unpronounced.

The missing words are not really missing.

Hypothesis B: WYSIWYG (or better, WYHIWYG) structure
The missing words are really missing.

S
NP   Aux
Jill should

Context fills in the missing parts of the meaning.

If the deletion/copying analysis is correct, elliptical material has abstract structure, but no pronunciation.

(9) Five domains of evidence:
   a. Agreement
   b. Case (also under code-switching)
   c. Voice mismatches
   d. (Preposition-stranding)
   e. (Syntactic priming)

Subject-verb agreement is a syntactic phenomenon; agreement is not (always) about meaning:

(10) Beth's wedding was in Bond Chapel, and Rachel's wedding was in Rockefeller Chapel.

(11) Beth's nuptials were in Bond Chapel, and Rachel's nuptials were in Rockefeller Chapel.

Subject-verb agreement is a syntactic phenomenon;
agreement is not (always) about meaning:

(14)   Beth's wedding was in Bond Chapel, and
        Rachel's wedding was in Rockefeller Chapel.

(15)   Beth's nuptials were in Bond Chapel, and
        Rachel's nuptials were in Rockefeller Chapel.

(16)   *Beth's wedding was in Bond Chapel, and
        Rachel's wedding were in Rockefeller Chapel.

(17)   *Beth's nuptials were in Bond Chapel, and
        Rachel's nuptials was in Rockefeller Chapel.

Nominal ellipsis preserves the syntactic properties of agreement:

(18)   Beth's wedding was in Bond Chapel, and
       Rachel's was in Rockefeller Chapel.

(19)   Beth's nuptials were in Bond Chapel, and
   Rachel's were in Rockefeller Chapel.

Nominal ellipsis preserves the syntactic properties of agreement:

(22) Beth's wedding was in Bond Chapel, and
Rachel's was in Rockefeller Chapel.

(23) Beth's nuptials were in Bond Chapel, and
Rachel's were in Rockefeller Chapel.

(24) *Beth's wedding was in Bond Chapel, and
Rachel's were in Rockefeller Chapel.

(25) *Beth's nuptials were in Bond Chapel, and
Rachel's was in Rockefeller Chapel.

Agreement is sensitive to abstract structure (the unpronounced head N, =*nuptials*):
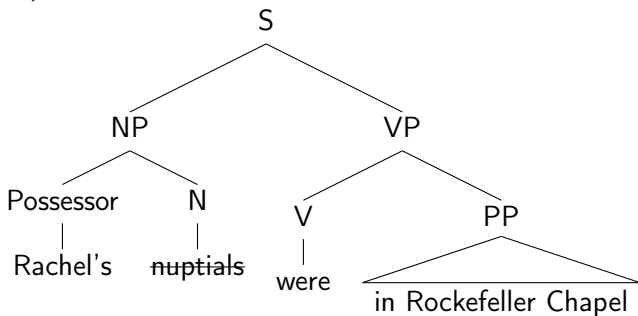
Case in German:

(26)   Anke hat jemandem   gedroht,   aber ich weiss nicht,
       Anke has someone.dat threatened but I   know not
       {wem   / *wen}   sie gedroht   hat.
        who.dat   who.acc she threatened has

       'Anke threatened someone, but I don't know who she threatened.'

(27)   Anke hat jemanden   gelobt, aber ich weiss nicht, {*wem   /
       Anke has someone.acc praised but I   know not   who.dat
       wen}   sie gelobt   hat.
       who.acc she praised has

       'Anke praised someone, but I don't know who she praised.'

Sluicing in German:

(28)   Anke hat jemandem   gedroht,   aber ich weiss nicht,
        Anke has someone.dat threatened but I   know not
        {wem   / *wen}.
         who.dat   who.acc

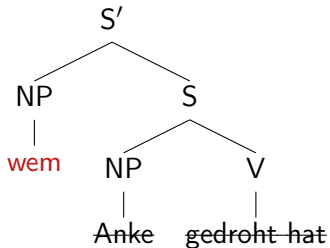   'Anke threatened someone, but I don't know who.'

(29)   Anke hat jemanden   gelobt, aber ich weiss nicht, {*wem   /
        Anke has someone.acc praised but I   know not   who.dat
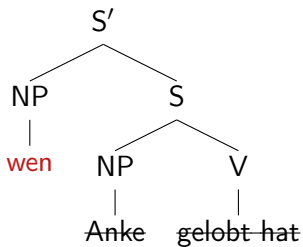   wen}.
        who.acc

        'Anke praised someone, but I don't know who.'

The case of the object is determined by the deleted verb:

wem: dative   *wen*: accusative
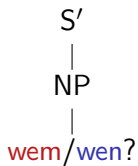
```
            S'                                S'
          /    \                            /    \
        NP      S                         NP      S
        |      / \                        |      / \
       wem   NP   V                      wen   NP   V
             |    |                            |    |
           Anke  gedroht hat                 Anke  gelobt hat
```

In WYSIWYG analysis, the structure is the same in both cases:

$$S'$$
$$|$$
$$NP$$
$$|$$
$$wem/wen?$$

- The verb is not part of the structure, so there's no obvious way to assign the right case to the NP.

In WYSIWYG analysis, the structure is the same in both cases:
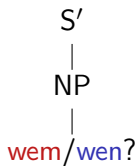
$$S'$$
$$|$$
$$NP$$
$$|$$
wem/wen?

- The verb is not part of the structure, so there's no obvious way to assign the right case to the NP.
- A non-obvious way: Introduce a special constructional feature for sluicing, put in on the NP_1, call it 'SAL(ient)-UTT(erance)' and let it range over correlate NPs and their features, then impose a requirement for the sluicing-construction that there be a correlate NP_2 and that the feature value of $CASE(SAL-UTT(NP_2))=CASE(NP_1)$ (Ginzburg and Sag 2000)

Important point: Other anaphoric devices (e.g., pronouns) do not agree in case with their antecedents:

(30) Anke hat jemandem$_1$ gedroht,   aber ich weiss nicht, ob
      Anke has someone.dat threatened but I   know not   whether
      er$_1$ reagiert hat.
      he.nom reacted has

      'Anke threatened someone, but I don't know whether he reacted.'

(31) Anke hat jemanden$_1$ gelobt, aber ich weiss nicht, ob
      Anke has someone.acc praised but I   know not   whether
      er$_1$ reagiert hat.
      he.nom reacted has

      'Anke praised someone, but I don't know whether he reacted.'

Code-switching

Code-switching: switching from one language system to another, typically within a single sentence or utterance:

(32) Juan amenazó   a alguien,   aber ich weiss nicht, wem
     Juan threatened someone.acc but I   know not   who.dat
     Juan gedroht   hat.
     he   threatened has

(33) Juan amenazó   a alguien,   aber ich weiss nicht, wen
     Juan threatened someone.acc but I   know not   who.acc
     Juan amenazó.
     Juan threatened

     'Juan threatened someone, but I don't know who Juan threatened.'

Gonzalez and Ramos (2012): Tested speakers' ratings for sluiced, Spanish, and German continuations:

Test sentences:

(34) Juan amenazó   a alguien,   aber ich weiss nicht, wem.
      Juan threatened someone.acc but I   know not   who.dat

(35) Juan amenazó   a alguien,   aber ich weiss nicht, wen.
      Juan threatened someone.acc but I   know not   who.acc

      'Juan threatened someone, but I don't know who.'

Results:

Table 1. Verbs that assign accusative in Spanish (ratings on a 1-5 Likert scale,

M=mean, SD=standard deviation)

	NOM		ACC		DAT	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Sluiced	1.38	0.58	4.00	1.29	2.08	1.21
Spanish	1.21	0.66	4.00	1.25	2.17	1.43
German	1.13	0.34	1.71	0.81	5.00	0.00

(36) *Juan amenazó   a alguien,   aber ich weiss nicht, wem
      Juan threatened someone.acc but I   know not   who.dat
      ~~Juan gedroht   hat~~.
      Juan threatened has

(37) Juan amenazó   a alguien,   aber ich weiss nicht, wen
      Juan threatened someone.acc but I   know not   who.acc
      ~~Juan amenazó~~.
      Juan threatened

   'Juan threatened someone, but I don't know who.'

(38) **Hypothesis:** All cross-language ellipses involve code-switching at
      the ellipsis site (into the language of the antecedent).

(41) **Hypothesis:** All cross-language ellipses involve code-switching at the ellipsis site (into the language of the antecedent).

(42) (Copy implementation:)
The elided material is a *perfect copy* of its antecedent

(44) **Hypothesis:** All cross-language ellipses involve code-switching at the ellipsis site (into the language of the antecedent).

(45) (Copy implementation:)
The elided material is a *perfect copy* of its antecedent

(46) (Deletion implementation:)
An XP ϵ may be deleted only if ϵ is e'-GIVEN, where

    a. an expression ϵ is *e'-GIVEN* iff ϵ has a salient antecedent A such that A and E have the same meaning representation (modulo focus) and the same syntactic representation

Ineffable phrases and Late Insertion

(47) Greek-English bilinguals

    a. *Mother:* Pinás?
               hunger.2s.pres
      'Are you hungry?'

    b. *Daughter*: Yes, I do.

(48) * Yes, I do *pináo.*
              hunger.1s.pres

Ineffable phrases and Late Insertion

(49)
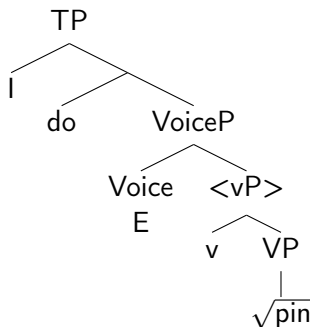
(50) a. $\sqrt{pin} \leftrightarrow pin$ / _ T[+past]

b. No elsewhere Vocabulary Item such as: $\sqrt{pin} \leftrightarrow pin$

(51) [A son attempts to turn on the air-conditioning one morning]

a. *Mother:* To proí   ðe xriázete
                the morning neg *need*.nonact.imperf.pres.*3sg*
                klimatizmó.
                air-conditioning.acc
                'In the morning there's no need for air-conditioning.'
b. *Son:*   Yes, it does!
c. *Mother:* Éxi   ðrosúla.
                have.act.imperf.pres.*3sg* *coolness*.dim
                'It's a little cool.'
d. *Son:*   No, it doesn't.

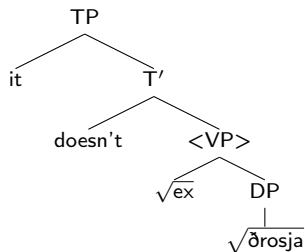(52)   A: Éxi   ðrosúla.
          have.nonpast.imperf.act.3s coolness.dim
          'It's a little cool.'

        N: No, it doesn't.
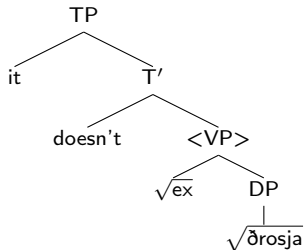
        a. *No, it doesn't be a little cool.
        b. #No, it doesn't have a little coolness.
        c. *No, there doesn't be a little coolness.
        d. #No, there isn't a little coolness.
        e. *No, it doesn't éxi   ðrosúla.
                              have.pres.3sg coolness.dim
        f. #No, there isn't.
        g. #No, it isn't. (*viz.* kind of cool)
        h. No, it isn't kind of cool.

(53)   A: Éx-i   ðrosúla.
          have.**act.imperf-nonpast**.3s coolness.dim
          'It's a little cool.'

     N: No, it doesn't.

(55) A: Éx-i   ðrosúla.
         have.**act.imperf-nonpast**.3s coolness.dim
         'It's a little cool.'

      N: No, it doesn't.

```
                    TP
                  /    \
                it      T′
                      /    \
                doesn't    <VP>
                          /    \
                        √ex     DP
                                 |
                              √ðrosja
```

(56) a. *It's a little cool today, but it didn't yesterday.
      b. *It'll be a little cool today, but it didn't yesterday.

Root identity, not morphological identity

In general, English verbs in $VP_A \sim VP_E$ pairs (both regular and irregular) don't require morphological identity

(57) a. Emily played beautifully at the recital and her sister will, too. <play beautifully at the recital>

b. Emily took a break from her studies, and her sister will, too. <take a break from her studies>

c. Emily sang the song {because|the way} she wanted to. <sing the song>

d. Emily underwent the procedure because she wanted to. <undergo the procedure>.

(58)   a. Maria will be at the party, and her sister will, too. <be at the recital>

b. *Maria was at the party and her sister will, too.

c. Maria was at the party, and her sister will be, too.

d. Maria was at the party, and her sister was, too.

Warner/Lasnik/Potsdam facts

(59)   a.   I   Maria tha agapai   to spiti, and her
            the Maria fut love.imperf.nonpast.3s the house
            sister will, too.

       'Maria will love the house...'

      b.   I   Maria agapai   to spiti, and her sister
            the Maria love.imperf.nonpast.3s the house
            will, too.

       'Maria loves the house...'

      c.   I   Maria agapuse   to spiti, and her sister will,
            the Maria love.imperf.past.3s the house
            too.

       'Maria loved the house...'

Warner/Lasnik/Potsdam facts

(60) a. I   Maria tha ine   sto   spiti, and her
          the Maria fut be.imperf.nonpast.3s in.the house
          sister will (be), too.

          'Maria will be at home...'

      b. I   Maria ine   sto   spiti, and her sister
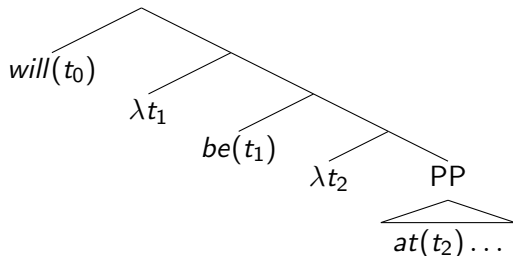   the Maria be.imperf.nonpast.3s in.the house
          will *(be), too.

          'Maria is at home...'

      c. I   Maria itan   sto   spiti, and her sister will
          the Maria be.imperf.past.3s in.the house
          *(be), too.

          'Maria was at home...'

Nonparallel binding relations (of the tense variables). (Cf. Dahl puzzles.)

(61) $\text{will}(t_0 : t_1)\ \text{be}(t_1 : t_2)\ \text{at}(t_2)$ (the party...)

(62)

Voice mismatches in VP-ellipsis

(Sag 1976, Hardt 1993, Kim, Kobele & Runner 2011, Merchant 2013)

(63) *Paul denied the charge, but the charge wasn't by his friends.

(64) *John had observed many of the enemy's soldiers, but hadn't been by them.

Voice mismatches in VP-ellipsis

(Sag 1976, Hardt 1993, Kim, Kobele & Runner 2011, Merchant 2013)

(68) *Paul denied the charge, but the charge wasn't by his friends.

(69) *John had observed many of the enemy's soldiers, but hadn't been by them.

(70) It engaged them in a way that I did not think they could be that early in the morning.[1]

(71) "No-one can hypnotize me."
      "Usually the people who are certain they can't be are the easiest to do it to."[2]

(72) This problem was to have been looked into, but obviously nobody did.

Voice mismatches in sluicing

(73) Sluicing:
   a. *Joe was murdered, but we don't know who.
   b. *Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know by whom.
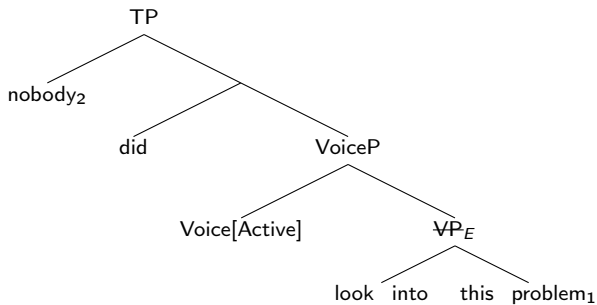
(74) Nonelliptical controls:
   a. Joe was murdered, but we don't know who murdered him.
   b. Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know by whom he was murdered.

(75) This problem was to have been looked into, but obviously nobody did.

This problem₁ was to have ...
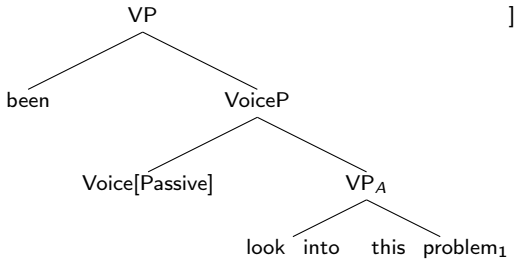
$$
\begin{array}{l}
\text{VP} \\
\quad \diagdown \\
\text{been} \qquad \text{VoiceP} \\
\qquad\qquad \diagdown \\
\qquad \text{Voice[Passive]} \qquad \text{VP}_A \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad \diagdown \\
\qquad\qquad \text{look\_into} \quad \text{this\_problem}_1
\end{array}
$$

]

(76) This problem was to have been looked into, but obviously nobody did.

```
                    TP
                   /  \
          nobody₂
                   did      VoiceP
                           /      \
                  Voice[Active]    ̶V̶P̶_E
                                  /     \
                          look_into   this_problem₁
```
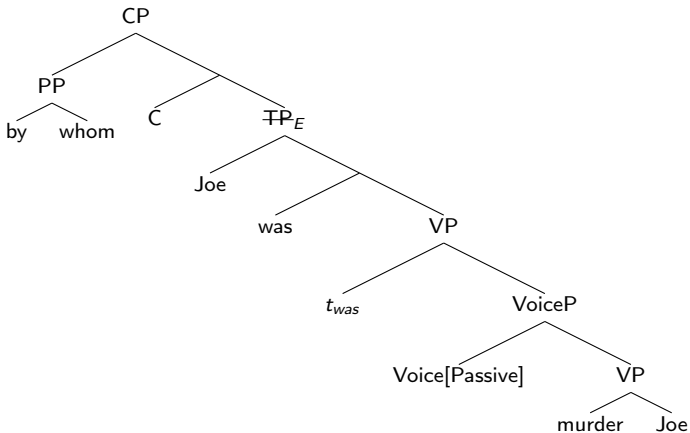
1. A structural difference between VP-ellipsis and sluicing: amount of missing structure

(77) *Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know by whom.
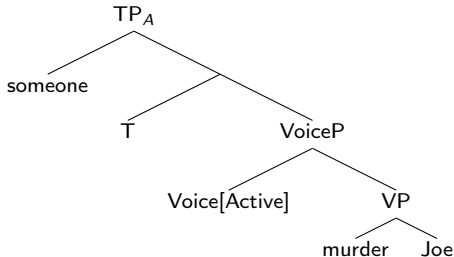
1. A structural difference between VP-ellipsis and sluicing: amount of missing structure
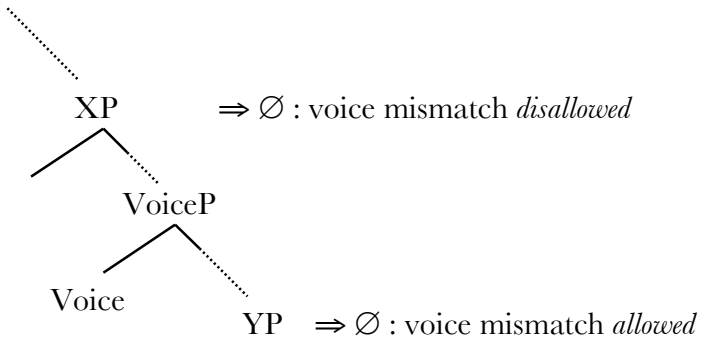
(78) *Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know by whom.

Figure: The basic geometry of licit vs. illicit voice mismatches

ϕ-features under ellipsis

(79) I gynaika   ine eksipni, kai o   antras   episis ine.
     the woman.fem is   smart.fem and the man.masc also   is
     'The woman is smart, and the man is, too.'

(80)
```
            aP
          /    \
     a[fem]   √eksipn−
```

ϕ-features under ellipsis

(81) You think you're going to win, but so does [everybody else in the race]$_2$ <think they$_2$'re going to win>.

(82) 'It's like tickling. You can't really nauseate yourself.'
      'I can,' said Bean. <nauseate myself> (Orson Scott Card, *Shadow Puppets*, Tor: New York, 2002, p.312)

ϕ-features under ellipsis

(84) You think you're going to win, but so does [everybody else in the race]$_2$ <think they$_2$'re going to win>.

(85) 'It's like tickling. You can't really nauseate yourself.'
'I can,' said Bean. <nauseate myself> (Orson Scott Card, *Shadow Puppets*, Tor: New York, 2002, p.312)

(86) Only I did my homework.
   a. SS: [Only I$_5$]$_8$ did my$_8$ homework.
   b. LF: [$_{DP}$ only I$_5$] $\lambda 8$ t_8 did 8's homework

ϕ-features under ellipsis

(87) a. **Feature transmission under variable binding:**
       Transmit features of a moved phrase to all variables it binds.
       (Kratzer 2006)

   b. **Feature deletion under semantic binding:**
       Delete the features to all variables that are semantically bound.
   (LF) (von Stechow 2003)

ϕ-features under ellipsis

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       Delete the features to all variables that are semantically bound.
       (LF) (von Stechow 2003)

(90) a. D[+p, ϕ:2s] $\rightsquigarrow$ *you*

   b. You think [$_{DP}$ D[+p, ϕ:_]] be going to win, but so does
       [everybody else in the race]$_2$ <think [$_{DP}$ D[+p, ϕ:_]]$_2$ be going
       to win>.

ϕ-features under ellipsis

Q: Are all pronouns (syntactically) 'bound'? (Cf. Speas and Tenny 2003)
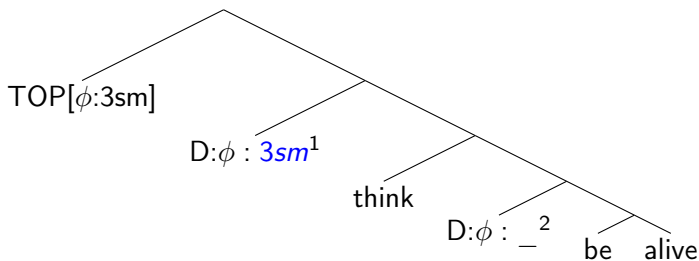
(91) a. He thinks he's alive.
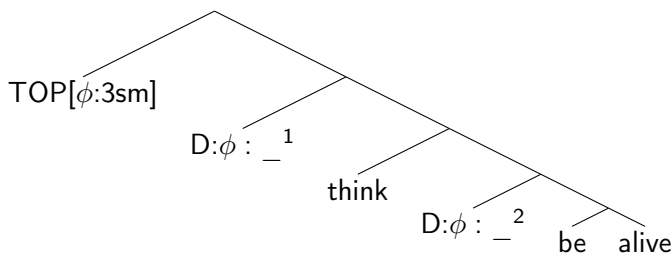
b.

TOP[ϕ:3sm]

D:ϕ : _ ^{1}

think

D:ϕ : _ ^{2} be   alive

c. Agree(TOP[ϕ:3sm], [D:ϕ:_]^1;ϕ) $\rightsquigarrow$ [D:ϕ:3sm]^1

ϕ-features under ellipsis

Q: Are all pronouns (syntactically) 'bound'? (Cf. Speas and Tenny 2003)

(92) a. He thinks he's alive.

b.

TOP[ϕ:3sm]

D:ϕ : $3sm^1$

think

D:ϕ : $\_^2$ be   alive

c. Agree(TOP[D:ϕ:3sm]^1, [D:ϕ:$\_$]^2;ϕ) $\rightsquigarrow$ [D:ϕ:3sm]^2

ϕ-features under ellipsis

Q: Are all pronouns (syntactically) 'bound'? (Cf. Speas and Tenny 2003)

(93) a. He thinks he's alive.

b.

TOP[ϕ:3sm]

D:ϕ : $3sm^1$

think

D:ϕ : $3sm^2$

be alive
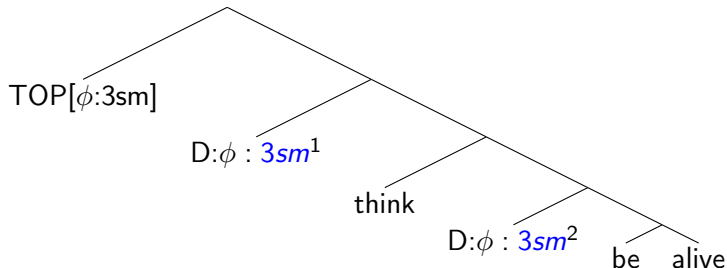
'Vehicle change'

(94) *He_1 thought they wouldn't arrest the man_1.

(95) They arrested the man_1, thought he_1 thought they wouldn't.

'Vehicle change'

(100) *He$_1$ thought they wouldn't arrest the man$_1$.

(101) They arrested the man$_1$, thought he$_1$ thought they wouldn't.
Perfect copy:

(102) ... he$_1$ thought they wouldn't <arrest the man$_1$>.

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(106) *He$_1$ thought they wouldn't arrest the man$_1$.

(107) They arrested the man$_1$, thought he$_1$ thought they wouldn't.
Perfect copy:

(108) ... he$_1$ thought they wouldn't <arrest the man$_1$>.
Imperfect copy:

(109) ... he$_1$ thought they wouldn't <arrest the man$_1$>.

(110) Observation:
Nonpronominal DPs can be equivalent to (that is, license the deletion of) pronouns inside ellipsis sites

(111) $[_{DP}$ the man$]_A$ = he$_E$
This equivalence is known as 'vehicle change' (Dalrymple 1991, Fiengo and May 1994)

'Vehicle change' is the name of the **problem**, not the solution.

'Vehicle change'

Claim: Pronouns are ('minimally' spelled out) definites (Postal 1966, Evans 1977, Elbourne 2005, Kratzer 2006)

Apollonios Dyscolos's (2nd c. AD) 'On the pronoun' (Περὶ ἀντωνυμίας):

(112)   καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ὁ Θρᾷξ Διονύσιος καὶ ἄρθρα δεικτικὰ τὰς ἀντωνυμίας ἐκάλεσαν.
      'both Apollodoros the Athenian and Dionysios Thrax also called the pronouns deictic articles'

"pronominalization" (spelling out [the [R pro]] or [the <NP>] as *it, his*, etc.

(113)   Heim and Kratzer (1998: 290–93)
      [**the** [$R_{<7,<e,et>>}$ **pro**$_{<1,e>}$]]

'Vehicle change'

Two ingredients to making perfect copies work here:

1. Traces of QRed DPs have to be complex, in particular like definites
2. Pronouns have to be complex, like definites

(114)   Elbourne 2005:180 (ch. 6)

      a. Mary talked to no senator before the senator|he was lobbied.

      b. [$_{DP}$ [$_D$ the i] [$_{NP}$ senator]]

      c. [$_{DP}$ [$_D$ the i] < [$_{NP}$ senator] >] ⤳ *he*

[+/−pronominal, anaphoric] are 'inflectional' features: valued by Agree
(Cf. Aoun and Nunes 2002)

'Vehicle change'

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2. Pronouns have to be complex, like definites

Traces of QR show 'vehicle change' effects as well:

(115)   a.   Since you are allergic to bis disulfide, you should drink no wine
             if its label says you shouldn't.

        b.   [no wine][λ_1[you should drink [[the 1] wine]]]

        c.   if its label says you shouldn't <drink [[the 1] wine]]]>

(116)   a. I met with every suspect$_1$, though most$_2$ later claimed I hadn't.

       b. Everyone$_1$ helped, though most$_2$ weren't sure why.

(118)   a. I met with every suspect$_1$, though most$_2$ later claimed I hadn't.
        b. Everyone$_1$ helped, though most$_2$ weren't sure why.

The trace of QR in the antecedent is 'rebound' by the new QP in the clause containing the ellipsis:

(119)   a. ... most$_2$ claimed I hadn't [met with them$_2$].
        b. ... most$_2$ weren't sure why [they$_2$ helped].

Rebinding is possible only if the restriction of new binder is a subset of the restriction of the original binder:

(120) I met with every suspect$_1$, though most cops$_2$ claimed I hadn't.

    a. = [met with {every suspect/them$_1$}]

    b. ≠ [met with x$_2$]

(121)   I met with every inmate$_1$, though {many/most} lifers$_2$ said I hadn't.

      a. = [met with them$_1$], or

      b. = [met with them$_2$]

(122)   VP$_A$ = [meet with [[the 1] inmate]]

(123)   most lifers λ_2 said I hadn't <met with [[the 2] inmate]>

Accommodation: lifer → inmate, so the projected presupposition of the definite article is satisfied

Consequences: Rebinding: *lifer $\subset$ inmate*

(127) I met with every inmate$_1$, though {many/most} lifers$_2$ said I hadn't.

     a. = [met with them$_1$], or

     b. = [met with them$_2$]

(128) VP_A = [meet with [[the 1] inmate]]

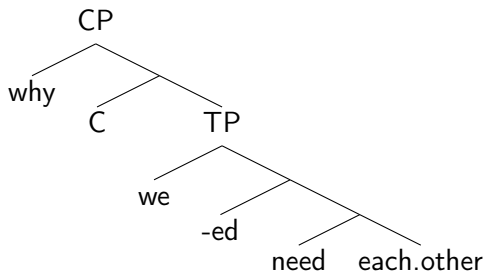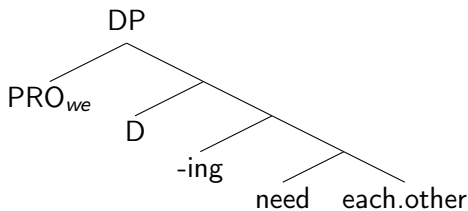(129) most lifers λ_2 said I hadn't <met with [[the 2] inmate]>

Accommodation: lifer $\rightarrow$ inmate, so the projected presupposition of the definite article is satisfied

(130) I met with every lifer$_2$, though {many/most} inmates$_1$ said I hadn't.

     a. = [met with them$_2$]

     b. $\neq$ [met with them$_1$]

(131) VP_A = [meet with [[the 2] lifer]]

(132) most inmates λ_1 said I hadn't <met with [[the 1] lifer]>
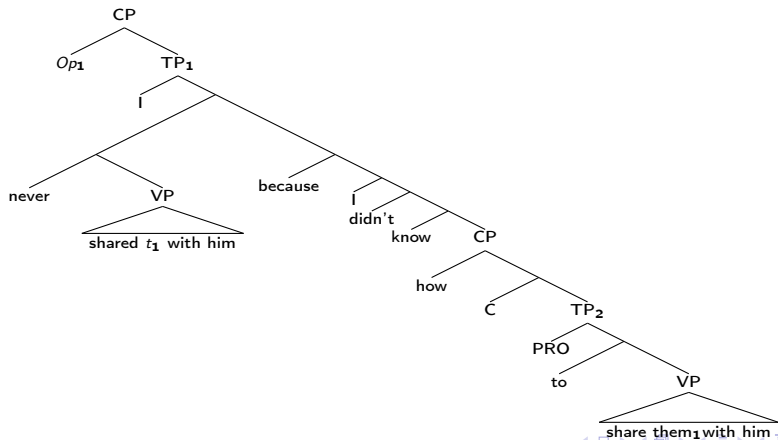
$\rightsquigarrow$ Accommodation fails

Other structurally imperfect copies

(133)   And yet we still kept at it, year after year ... of needing each other
and not knowing why. (Vu Tran, *Dragonfish*, 2015, p. 29)

(134)   I had written six pages, recounting ... thoughts I never shared with him because I did not know how. (Vu Tran, *Dragonfish*, 2015, p. 193)

Conclusions

Conclusions: The properties of sentences cannot be modeled solely by treating them as strings of words. We need 'abstract' structures:

- Unpronounced nodes (and entire syntactic structures), with their usual properties, can explain the properties of ellipsis.
- Identity is at least partially sensitive to the *abstract* syntactic form of the antecedent: most ellipsis copies are perfect after all

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- Identity is at least partially sensitive to the *abstract* syntactic form of the antecedent: most ellipsis copies are perfect after all
- Some elided material has no possible morphological realization: it *must* be elided. Such phrases are ineffable.
- There is no succor in surfacism.

The end

Thank you!

1. Kehler 2000: the distinction between the attested licit voice mismatches in VP-ellipsis and those that have been judged unacceptable by linguists is due to discourse conditions:

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2. *Prediction*: The effect should be the same in both elliptical and non-elliptical conditions

Voice (mis)matches, big vs. small ellipses, and discourse relations (resemblance vs. cause/effect):

SanPietro, Xiang, and Merchant 2012
80 16-condition items, 40 fillers, Latin Square, N = 51, 1-7 scale, MTurk

(135)   Jean was trying to sell her car. I know that someone bought it,
       Nonelliptical conditions

       a. and Lisa knows who bought it.   (big, resemb., match)

       b. and Lisa knows who it was bought by.   (big, resemb., mismatch)

       c. because she told me who bought it.   (big, cause/eff., match)

       d. because she told me who it was bought by.   (big, cause/eff., mismatch)

       e. and Lisa also knows that someone bought it.   (small, resemb., match)

       f. and Lisa also knows that it was bought.   (small, resemb., mismatch)

       g. because she told me that someone bought it.   (small, cause/eff., match)

       h. because she told me that it was bought.   (small, cause/eff., mismatch)

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(136)   Jean was trying to sell her car. I know that someone bought it,
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a.	and Lisa knows who.	(big, resemb., match)
b.	and Lisa knows by who.	(big, resemb., mismatch)
c.	because she told me who.	(big, cause/eff., match)
d.	because she told me by who.	(big, cause/eff., mismatch)
e.	and Lisa also knows that someone did.	(small, resemb., match)
f.	and Lisa also knows that it was.	(small, resemb., mismatch)
g.	because she told me that someone did.	(small, cause/eff., match)
h.	because she told me that it was.	(small, cause/eff., mismatch)