Ellipsis and accommodation
The (morphological) case of sluicing

Jeroen van Craenenbroeck
CRISSP/Hogeschool-Universiteit Brussel
zorex@me.com
www.jeroenvancraenenbroeck.com

MAIN TOPIC
Lack of syntactic isomorphism between an ellipsis (sluicing) site and its antecedent

CENTRAL DATA
The interaction between lack of isomorphism and morphological case marking

MAIN GIST OF THE ANALYSIS
An additional constraint on accommodation: an ellipsis remnant has to be compatible with both the actual and the accommodated antecedent

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OUTLINE OF THE TALK

1. Some background: Rooth's (1992) redundancy relations
2. Lack of isomorphism: copular clauses and preposition stranding
3. Lack of lack of isomorphism: morphological case blocks a copular source
4. Lack of lack of lack of isomorphism: copular case matching and syncretism
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1. **Some background: Rooth's (1992) redundancy relations**

(1) $Jerry_1$ should bring his_1 maracas and $Luigi_2$ should <~~bring his_2 maracas~~> too.

central issue: it is clear that a clause containing ellipsis has to be isomorphic/identical to an antecedent at some level and to some extent, but at what level and to what extent?

Rooth (1992): ellipsis resolution involves two identity (or redundancy) relations: one at the level of the ellipsis site (here: VP) and one at a higher level (e.g. the entire clause) (cf. also Fiengo & May 1994)

(2)

redundancy relation 1

$[_{IP_A}$ $Jerry_1$ should $[_{VP_A}$ bring his_1 maracas]] and $[_{IP_E}$ $Luigi_2$ should $[_{VP_E}$ ~~bring his_2 maracas~~]]

redundancy relation 2
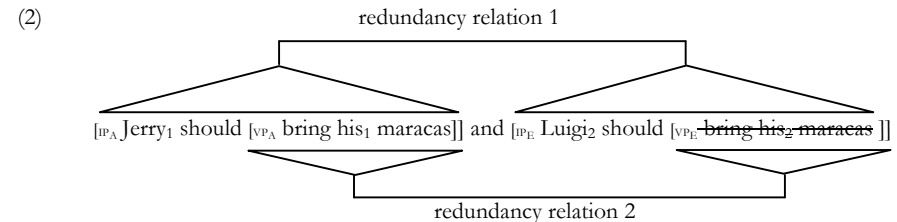
in a nutshell: an ellipsis site e is related to some antecedent site a and some clause E that contains e is related to a clause A that contains a

(3) **redundancy relation 1 = Rooth's Focus-Background Condition (FBC):**
Take an ellipsis site e with an ellipsis antecedent a in the discourse. Ellipsis requires that there be some phrase E containing the ellipsis e and some phrase A containing the ellipsis antecedent a such that $[\![A]\!]$ is or contextually implies a member of F(E). (Hardt 2004:3)

(4) **Focus semantic value of α**
F(α) is the set of denotations produced by replacing all F(ocus)-marked constituents in α by variables of the appropriate type

(5) the FBC applied to (1)/(2):
a. $F(IP_E)$ = the set of denotations of the form *x should bring x's maracas* (*Luigi* is F-marked)
b. $[\![IP_A]\!]$ is a member of this set
c. as a result, the FBC is satisfied

note: given that the FBC is a semantic requirement, it doesn't require E to be structurally isomorphic to A → discrepancies between the two are allowed, in particular in contexts involving implicational bridging/accommodation/inference (cf. the phrase *or contextually implies* in (3))

(6)   [$_{IP_A}$ First John told MARY$_1$ I was [$_{VP_A}$ bad-mouthing her$_1$]] and [$_{IP_E}$ SUE$_2$ heard I was [$_{VP_E}$ ~~bad-mouthing her$_2$~~]]

(7)   the FBC applied to (6):
    a.   F(IP$_E$) = the set of denotations of the form *x heard that I was bad-mouthing x* (*Sue* is F-marked)
    b. $[\![IP_A]\!]$ is *not* a member of this set
    c.   however, given that from *A tells B about C* we can infer *B hears about C*, there is an accommodated antecedent IP$_{A_{AC}}$ of the form *Mary$_1$ heard that I was bad-mouthing her$_1$*
    d. $[\![IP_{A_{AC}}]\!]$ is a member of F(IP$_E$)
    e.   as a result, the FBC is satisfied

(8)   **redundancy relation 2 = Fiengo & May's (1994) syntactic reconstruction:**
    The ellipsis site *e* has to be structurally/syntactically isomorphic to an antecedent site *a* (modulo indices and vehicle change).

(9)   syntactic reconstruction applied to (1)/(2):
    a.   [$_{VP_E}$ bring his$_2$ maracas] is structurally isomorphic to [$_{VP_A}$ bring his$_1$ maracas]] (modulo indices)
    b.   as a result, syntactic reconstruction is satisfied

note: given that syntactic reconstruction is a structural requirement, no discrepancies between ellipsis site and antecedent are allowed

(10)   * First John [$_{VP_A}$ told MARY$_1$ I was bad-mouthing her$_1$] and SUE$_2$ did [$_{VP_E}$ ~~hear I was bad-mouthing her$_2$~~]

(11)   syntactic reconstruction applied to (10):
    a.   [$_{VP_E}$ hear I was bad-mouthing her$_2$] is *not* structurally isomorphic to [$_{VP_A}$ told MARY$_1$ I was bad-mouthing her$_1$]]
    b.   as a result, syntactic reconstruction is not satisfied

in this talk I argue:
-    that accommodation *is* allowed in redundancy relation 2, and hence, that this is a semantic relation as well (cf. Fox 1999, Merchant 2001, Sauerland 2004, Hardt 2004, 2005);
-    that existing constraints on accommodation are not sufficient to capture all the relevant data;
-    that there is an additional accommodation constraint on the ellipsis remnant.

2.   Lack of isomorphism: copular clauses and preposition stranding

2.1   Introduction: Merchant's (2001) P-stranding generalization

(12)   **P-stranding generalization (PSG)** (Merchant 2001:92)
    A language *L* will allow preposition stranding under sluicing iff *L* allows preposition stranding under regular wh-movement.

English: P-stranding
(13)   Peter was talking with someone, but I don't know (with) who.
(14)   Who was Peter talking with?

Greek: no P-stranding

(15)	I	Anna	milise	me	kapjon,	alla	dhe ksero	*(me)	pjon.
	the	Anna	spoke	with	someone	but	not I.know	with	who

'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know with who.'

(16)	* Pjon	milise	me?
	who	she.spoke	with

INTENDED: 'Who did she speak with?'   (Greek, Merchant 2001:94)

2.2   Apparent exceptions to the PSG: copular clauses to the rescue

Spanish (Nevins, Rodriguez & Vicente 2007, Vicente 2008)

no P-stranding in regular wh-questions

(17)	* ¿Qué	chica	rubia	ha hablado	Juan	con?
	what	girl	blonde	has talked	Juan	with

INTENDED: 'What blonde girl did Juan talk to?'

P-stranding under sluicing

(18)	Juan	ha hablado	con	una	chica	rubia,	pero	no sé	cuál
	Juan	has talked	with	a	girl	blonde	but	not know	which

'Juan talked to a blonde girl, but I don't know which.'

Vicente (2008): P-stranding violations under sluicing in Spanish do not derive from a regular wh-question, but from an underlying copular clause:

(19) Juan   ha   hablado   con   una   chica
Juan   has   talked   with   a   girl
pero   no sé   cuál   ~~es~~ ~~pro~~.
but   not know   which   is   it
'Juan talked to a girl, but I don't know which girl it was.'

supporting evidence: sluicing and *else*-modification

copular clauses are incompatible with else-*modification*
(20) * Juan   ha hablado   con   una   chica   rubia,   pero   no sé
Juan   has talked   with   a   girl   blonde but   not know
qué   chica   más   es *pro*.
what   girl   else   is   it
*'Juan talked to a blonde girl, but I don't know to what other girl it was.'

no P-stranding under sluicing with else-*modification*
(21) * Juan   ha hablado   con   una   chica   rubia,   pero   no sé
Juan   has talked   with   a   girl   blonde but   not know
qué   chica   más.
what   girl   else
'Juan talked to a blonde girl, but I don't know what other girl.'

control: else-*modification is allowed in regular (= non-P-stranding) sluicing*
(22) Juan   ha   hablado   con   una   chica   rubia,   pero   no sé
Juan   has   talked   with   a   girl   blonde but   not know
con   qué   chica   más.
with   what   girl   else
'Juan talked to a blonde girl, but I don't know to what other girl.'

2.3 Conclusion

Copular clauses can be used in sluicing to circumvent preposition stranding violations. As such, they present a case of an ellipsis site that is not structurally isomorphic to its antecedent site, i.e. a case of accommodation in Rooth's redundancy relation 2.

note: these observations don't just hold for Spanish, but also French, Italian (Vicente 2008), Dutch and possibly Brazilian Portuguese (Nevins, Rodriguez & Vicente 2007, *pace* Almeida & Yoshida 2007)

3. Lack of lack of isomorphism: morphological case blocks a copular source

prediction: if copular clauses are used to circumvent an otherwise unavoidable preposition stranding violation, this should be easily detectable in languages with morphological case marking on wh-phrases

3.1 Introduction: no copular rescue in Greek
(Merchant 2001:94,127; A. Giannakidou p.c., A. Alexiadou p.c., M. Lekakou p.c.)

setting the scene: case, copular clauses and P-stranding in Greek

accusative case for the object of a preposition
(23) Me   pjon   milise?
with   who.ACC   she.spoke
'With whom did she speak?'

nominative case for the pivot of a copular clause
(24) Dhen   ksero   pjos   itan.
not   I.know   who.NOM   it.was
'I don't know who it was.'

no P-stranding in a regular wh-question
(25) * Pjon   milise   me?
who.ACC   she.spoke   with
INTENDED: 'Who did she speak with?'

testing the prediction: P-stranding under sluicing in Greek

P-stranding under sluicing with an accusative wh-phrase
(26) * I   Anna   milise   me   kapjon,   alla dhe ksero   pjon.
the   Anna   spoke   with   someone   but not I.know   who.ACC
INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

P-stranding under sluicing with a nominative wh-phrase
(27) * I   Anna   milise   me   kapjon,   alla dhe ksero   pjos.
the   Anna   spoke   with   someone   but not I.know   who.NOM
INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

note: the ill-formedness of (26) is expected given (25), but the ill-formedness of (27) is puzzling, esp. given the fact that (28) is perfectly well-formed, i.e. Greek has a perfectly acceptable copular clause alternative for the P-stranding violation in (26), but doesn't use it under sluicing.

(28) I   Anna   milise   me   kapjon,   alla dhe ksero   pjos   itan.
      the Anna   spoke   with   someone   but not I.know   who.NOM it.was
      'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who it was.'

3.2 Expanding the data set

3.2.1 Czech (Merchant 2001:96; J. Dotlačil p.c., R. Šimík p.c.)

no P-stranding in regular wh-questions
(29) * Kým   mluvila Anna   s?
      who.INSTR spoke   Anna   with
      INTENDED: 'Who did Anna speak with?'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a non-nominative wh-phrase
(30) * Anna   mluvila s   někým,   ale nevím   kým.
      Anna   spoke   with   someone   but not.I.know who.INSTR
      INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a nominative wh-phrase
(31) * Anna   mluvila s   někým,   ale nevím   kdo.
      Anna   spoke   with   someone   but not.I.know who.NOM
      INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

non-elliptical copular clause alternative
(32) Anna   mluvila s   někým,   ale nevím   kdo   to byl.
      Anna   spoke   with   someone   but not.I.know who.NOM it was
      'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who it was.'

3.2.2 Slovene (Merchant 2001:97; T. Marvin p.c.)

no P-stranding in regular wh-questions
(33) * Kom   je   govorila Anna   s?
      who.INSTR AUX   spoke   Anna   with
      INTENDED: 'Who did Anna speak with?'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a non-nominative wh-phrase
(34) * Anna   je   govorila z   nekom,   ampak ne vem   kom.
      Anna   AUX   spoke   with   someone   but   not I.know who.INSTR
      INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a nominative wh-phrase
(35) * Anna   je   govorila z   nekom,   ampak ne vem   kdo.
      Anna   AUX   spoke   with   someone   but   not I.know who.NOM
      INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

non-elliptical copular clause alternative
(36) Anna   je   govorila z   nekom,   ampak ne vem
      Anna   AUX   spoke   with   someone   but   not I.know
      kdo   je   to bil.
      who.NOM AUX   it been
      'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who it was.'

3.2.3 Hungarian (A. Lipták p.c.)

no P-stranding in regular wh-questions
(37) * János   kin   kapott híreket keresztül?
      János   who.SUBL   got   news   across
      INTENDED: 'Via who did János get some news?'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a non-nominative wh-phrase
(38) * János   híreket kapott valakin   keresztül,
      János   news   got   someone.SUBL   across
      de nem   tudom kin.
      but not.   I.know who.SUBL
      INTENDED: 'János got some news via someone, but I don't know who.'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a nominative wh-phrase
(39) * János   híreket kapott valakin   keresztül,
      János   news   got   someone.SUBL   across
      de nem   tudom ki.
      but not.   I.know who.NOM
      INTENDED: 'János got some news via someone, but I don't know who.'

non-elliptical cleft alternative

(40) János   híreket kapott valakin   keresztül,
      János   news   got   someone.SUBL   across
      de nem   tudom ki   voltaz, akin   keresztül híreket kapott..
      but not.   I.know who.NOM was thatREL across   news   got
      'János got some news via someone, but I don't know who it was via whom he got
      some news.'

3.2.4 Hindi (Merchant 2001:100; Dave e.a. 2002:29; R. Bhatt p.c.)

no P-stranding in regular wh-questions

(41) * Kis   dukaan John   gayaa   mein?
         which   shop   John   go   to
         INTENDED: 'Which shop did John go into?'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a non-nominative wh-phrase

(42) * Gautamne   kisi   se   baat   kii thii,
         Gatuam.ERG   someone   with   talk   do   PAST
         lekin   mujhe   pataa   nahĩĩ   kis.
         but   I.DAT   knowledge NEG   who.OBL
         INTENDED: 'Gautam spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a nominative wh-phrase

(43) * Gautamne   kisi   se   baat   kii thii,
         Gatuam.ERG   someone   with   talk   do   PAST
         lekin   mujhe   pataa   nahĩĩ   kaun.
         but   I.DAT   knowledge NEG   who.NOM
         INTENDED: 'Gautam spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

non-elliptical copular clause alternative

(44) Gautamne   kisi   se   baat   kii thii,
      Gatuam.ERG   someone   with   talk   do   PAST
      lekin   mujhe   nahĩĩ   pataa   ki vo kaun   thaa.
      but   I.DAT   NEG   knowledge thathe who.NOM   was
      'Gautam spoke with someone, but I don't know who he was.'

3.3 Conclusion

Copular clauses cannot be used to circumvent preposition stranding violations in languages
with morphological case marking on wh-phrases. Informally, it looks like accommodation
inside the ellipsis site is allowed as long as it is not visible in the surface representation.

4. Lack of lack of lack of isomorphism: copular case matching and syncretism

prediction: if a language with morphological case marking allows a non-isomorphic
ellipsis site that yields the same case on the remnant as the isomorphic ellipsis
site, accommodation should re-emerge

4.1 PSG-violations in Polish (Szczegelniak 2005, 2008)

no P-stranding in regular wh-questions

(45) * Którym Anna   tańcczyła   z   mężczyzną?
         which Anna   danced   with   man
         INTENDED: 'Which man did Anna dance with?'

(46) * Którym mężczyzną Anna   tańcczyła   z?
         which man   Anna   danced   with
         INTENDED: 'Which man did Anna dance with?'

P-stranding under sluicing

(47) Anna   tańcczyła   z   jednum mężczyzną ale nie wiem   którym.
      Anna   danced   with   one   man   but not know   which
      'Anna danced with a man, but I don't know which.'

Szczegelniak (2008): P-stranding violations under sluicing in Polish do not derive from
regular wh-questions, but from an underlying cleft:

(48) Anna   tańcczyła   z   jednum mężczyzną ale nie wiem
      Anna   danced   with   one   man   but not know
      którym ~~to z   mężczyzną (ona) tańcczyła.~~
      which it with   man   she   danced
      'Anna danced with a man, but I don't know which (man it was with whom she
      danced.'

supporting evidence: no cleft rescue with simple wh-phrases

no P-stranding under sluicing with simple wh-phrases

(49) * Anna   tańcczyła   z   jednym mężczyzną ale nie wiem   kim.
         Anna   danced   with   one   man   but not know   who
         INTENDED: 'Anna danced with a man, but I don't know who.'

no clefts with simple wh-phrases as pivots

(50) * Kim   to z   ona   tańcczyła?
     who   it with   she   danced
     INTENDED: 'Who was it that she danced with?'

→ at first sight, Polish contradicts the generalization that languages with morphological case-marking do not allow for accommodation inside ellipsis sites

however: the particular cleft strategy that Polish employs is case-sensitive, i.e. it bears the case assigned by the preposition (Szczegelniak 2008:406):

(51) Którym   to z   mężczyzną ona   tańcczyła?
     which.INS it with man   she   danced
     'Which man was it with which she danced?'

→ this shows that accommodation *is* allowed in languages with morphological case marking on wh-phrases, but only when the case assigned by the non-isomorphic ellipsis site is the same as that assigned by the isomorphic one

4.2 Case syncretism

4.2.1 German (T. Klein p.c., L. Marten p.c., M. Zimmermann p.c.)

nominative and accusative are syncretic for the neuter wh-phrase was *'what' in German*

(52) Was   ist passiert?
     what_NOM   is happened
     'What happened?'

(53) An was   hat Rudolf dich   erinnert?
     to what_ACC has R.   you   reminded
     'What has Rudolf reminded you of?'

with this form P-stranding under sluicing is well-formed

(54) Rudolf hat mich an etwas   erinnert, aber   ich weiß   nicht mehr
     R.   has me to something reminded but   I   know   not   anymore
     (an)   was.
     to   what
     'Rudolf has reminded me of something, but I don't recall what.'

nominative and accusative are syncretic for the plural wh-phrase welche *'which' in German*

(55) Welche   Freunde haben dich   gesehen?
     which_NOM friends have you   seen
     'Which friends saw you?'

(56) Auf welche   Freunde wartest du?
     on which_ACC   friends wait   you
     'Which friends are you waiting for?'

with this form P-stranding under sluicing is significantly better than with the non-syncretic genitive

(57) Rudolf wartet auf einige Freunde, aber   ich weiß   nicht ?(auf)welche.
     Rudolf waits on some   friends but   I   know   not   on which_NOM/ACC
     'Rudolf is waiting for some friends, but I don't know which.'

(58) Rudolf ist statt   einiger Freunde augetreten, aber   ich weiß   nicht
     Rudolf is instead.of some   friends performed but   I   know   not
        *(statt)   welcher.
        instead.of   which_GEN
     'Rudolf has performed instead of some friends, but I don't know which.'

4.2.2 Zurich German (M. Salzmann p.c.)

in Zurich German the non-neuter wh-word wëër *'who' is syncretic between Nom and Acc, but not Dat*

(59) Wëër   hät mit   em Hans   gredt
     who_NOM has with   the Hans spoken
     'Who was talking to Hans?'

(60) Für wëër   hät de Hans   kocht?
     for who_ACC has the Hans cooked
     'Who did Hans cook for?'

(61) Mit   wem   hät de Hans   gredt?
     with   who_DAT has the Hans talked
     'Who was Hans talking to?'

P-stranding under sluicing is allowed with prepositions assigning Acc, but not with those assigning Dat

(62) De Hans   hät für öppert   kocht, aber   ich wäiss nöd ?(für)wëër
     the Hans has for someone   cooked, but   I   know not   for who_NOM/ACC
     'Hans cooked for someone, but I don't know who.'

(63) De Hans hät mit öppertem gredt, aber ich wäiss nöd *(mit) wem.
the Hans has with someone talked, but I know not with who.$_{DAT}$
'Hans talked to someone, but I don't know who.'

4.2.3 Russian (V. Gribanova p.c., M. Gouskova p.c.)

Nom and Acc are syncretic for čto *'what', but not for* kto *'who'*

(64)

	who	what
Nom	kto	čto
Acc	kogo	čto

P-stranding under sluicing is more acceptable with čto *than with* kto/kogo

(65) On vystrelil vo čto -to, no ja ne znaju ??(vo) čto.
he shot at something$_{ACC}$ but I not know at what$_{NOM/ACC}$
'He shot at something, but I don't know what.'

(66) On vystrelil v kogo-to, no ja ne znaju ?*(v) kogo.
he shot at someone$_{ACC}$ but I not know at who$_{ACC}$
'He shot at someone, but I don't know who.'

4.2.4 Greek (A. Giannakidou p.c.)

nominative and accusative are syncretic with the neuter wh-phrase ti *'what' in Greek*

(67) Ti egine?
what$_{NOM}$ happened
'What happened?'

(68) Se ti anakateftikes?
in what$_{ACC}$ mixed.up.2SG
'What did you get mixed up in?'

with this form P-stranding under sluicing is well-formed

(69) O Giannis anakateftike se kati, ala dhen ksero ?(se) ti.
the Giannis mixed.up.3SG in something but not I.know in what
'Giannis got mixed up in something, but I don't know what.'

4.2.5 Case syncretism: conclusion

The possibility of P-stranding under sluicing in languages with morphological case marking is sensitive to case syncretism. This confirms that accommodation inside ellipsis sites is only allowed in such languages when (the case on) the wh-phrase is simultaneously compatible with an isomorphic and a non-isomorphic antecedent

caveat: Judgments concerning (syncretism and) morphological case are notoriously subtle and subject to inter-speaker variation (cf. Pullum & Zwicky 1986:759, Ingria 1990:203). Moreover, in this particular case, various other—possibly orthogonal—factors sometimes interfere with the judgments, including:
- the possibility of alternative irrelevant readings (e.g. the direct object reading in (65))
- the effect of D-linking/structural complexity (cf. also Nevins, Rodriguez & Vicente 2007, Barros 2008, Van Craenenbroeck 2004:40-42 for related discussion)
- the presence or absence of NP-ellipsis in the sluicing remnant (*which* vs. *which boy*)

4.3 Conclusion

Accommodation is allowed in languages with morphological case marking if the surface form of the sluiced wh-phrase is simultaneously compatible with both the isomorphic and the non-isomorphic antecedent.

5. The analysis: accommodation is restricted by the licensing potential of the antecedent

5.1 Restrictions on accommodation

note: recent accounts of the interaction between ellipsis and accommodation (Fox 1999, 2000, Sauerland 2004, Hardt 2004, 2005) assume that ellipsis licensing via accommodation does not come for free

question: can any of the existing restrictions/constraints on accommodation account for the data pattern outlined above?

the short answer: no

5.1.1 Fox (1999, 2000): accommodation requires accommodation-seeking material

central idea: accommodation needs a lexical trigger

(70) Accommodation has a trigger when S [= the ellipsis-containing clause, jvc] contains accommodation-seeking material, i.e., when S contains pronounced non-F-marked material which is absent in A [= the clause containing the antecedent, jvc].

example: abstract cause subject alternations with *prove*

the verb to prove *allows either an agent or an abstract cause as its subject*
(71) a. John proved that I'm innocent with fingerprints.
  b. Fingerprints proved that I'm innocent.

these two readings are not interchangeable under ellipsis…
(72) a. * John proved that I'm innocent. [Fingerprints]$_F$ did, too.
  b. * Fingerprints proved that I'm innocent. [John]$_F$ did, too.

…unless the ellipsis-containing clause contains pronounced non-F-marked material that is absent in A
(73) a. John proved that I'm innocent. *Fingerprints that* [Bill]$_F$ *presented* did, too.
  b. * Fingerprints that Bill presented proved that I'm innocent. [John]$_F$ did, too.

back to sluicing: in order to determine if (70) is applicable to the sluicing data reviewed above, we need to determine if a case suffix is part of the F-marked material or not (cf. Fox 1999:19n10 on the possibility of F-marking below the lexical level)

**option #1: case suffixes on sluiced wh-phrases are not F-marked**

(74) * I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero pjos.
  the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know who.NOM
  INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

(75)
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        CP
       /  \
     KP    …
    /  \
   K    DP_F
   -s    △
        pjo-
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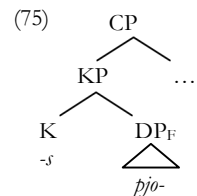
problem: under this hypothesis, the case ending on *pjos* 'who$_{NOM}$' would count as accommodation-seeking material by (70) (it is pronounced, non-F-marked and absent in A) and should license a copular source for sluicing, contrary to fact

option #2: case suffixes on sluiced wh-phrases are F-marked

(76) * I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero pjos.
  the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know who.NOM
  INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

(77)
```
        CP
       /  \
     KP_F   …
    /   \
   K     DP_F
   -s     △
         pjo-
```
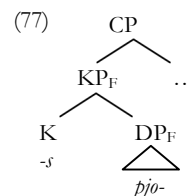
→ there is no accommodation-seeking material; as a result, a copular source for sluicing is not licensed and neither is the nominative on the sluiced wh-phrase

problem: this same line of reasoning predicts there to be no accommodation in non-case-marking languages like Spanish, *quod non*:

(78) Juan ha hablado con una chica
  Juan has talked with a girl
  pero no sé cuál ~~es pro~~.
  but not know which is it
  'Juan talked to a girl, but I don't know which girl it was.'

→ there is no accommodation-seeking material; as a result, a copular source for sluicing should not be licensed, contrary to fact

conclusion: Fox's (1999, 2000) restriction on accommodation in terms of accommodation-seeking material does not suffice to account for the sluicing data discussed above (and cf. Sauerland 2004, Hardt 2005 for additional problems with this restriction)

5.1.2 Sauerland (2004)/Hardt (2004, 2005): accommodation as repair

central idea: accommodation is only allowed when the actual antecedent violates some principle

Hardt (2005): accommodation is possible in ellipsis if and only if there is a semantically visible violation

example: agreement mismatches (cf. Webber 1978)

accommodation can be used to avoid agreement mismatches in the ellipsis site…
(79) Irv and Martha wanted to dance together, but Martha couldn't, because her husband was there.
    a. * Martha couldn't ~~dance together~~.
    b. Martha couldn't ~~dance with Irv~~.

…but it is disallowed when there is no risk of such a mismatch
(80) Irv and Mary wanted to dance together, but Tom and Susan didn't want to.
    a. Tom and Susan didn't want to ~~dance together~~.
    b. * Tom and Susan didn't want to ~~dance with Irv~~.

question: what are 'semantically visible violations'?

Hardt (2006): they include violations of parallelism (quantifier scope) and agreement mismatches, but not case mismatches

(81) * John traf jemanden, aber ich weiss nicht wer ~~traf John~~.
    John met someone$_{ACC}$, but I know not who$_{NOM}$ met John
    INTENDED: 'John met someone, but I don't know who met John.'

→ *to meet someone* is a symmetric predicate (*John met someone* is semantically equivalent to *someone met John*), so if accommodation were allowed here, the nominative on the sluiced wh-phrase should be licensed

however: a case mismatch like the one in (82) is not semantically visible, and as a result, accommodation is not allowed in (81) and the nominative is not licensed

(82) * Ich weiss nicht wer John traf.
    I know not who$_{NOM}$ John met
    INTENDED: 'I don't know who John met.'

back to P-stranding under sluicing: the fact that accommodation is possible in the Spanish example in (83) indicates that P-stranding violations are semantically visible (which ties in with the fact that they cannot be repaired under sluicing)

(83) Juan ha hablado con una chica
    Juan has talked with a girl
    pero no sé cuál ~~es pro~~.
    but not know which is it
    'Juan talked to a girl, but I don't know which girl it was.'

problem: by that same token, accommodation should be allowed in the Greek example in (84): the P-stranding violation is semantically visible; as a result, accommodation is licensed and the copular source should yield a nominative

(84) * I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero pjos.
    the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know who.NOM
    INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

5.1.3 Conclusion

While existing constraints on accommodation might very well be necessary conditions on accommodation in ellipsis, they are not sufficient. In particular, they fail to make the correct empirical distinction between contexts where a copular source for sluicing is allowed and those where it isn't.

5.2 A new constraint: the licensing potential of the antecedent clause

5.2.1 Introduction: Licensing Potential

sprouting: sluicing in which the sluiced wh-phrase has no overt correlate

(85) John was eating, but I don't know what.

Chung, Ladusaw & McCloskey (1995:249-250): "sprouting is not an unconstrained operation. Rather, it is limited by the requirement that the new material added to the copy of the antecedent IP respect the *licensing potential* of that IP, as regards both arguments and adjuncts, and in all its fine detail." [my italics, jvc]

(86) **Licensing Potential** (Barros 2009:13)
For a syntactic object A, its Licensing Potential is the set of categories B such that if A and [a member of, jvc] B merge, the resulting structure will meet the legibility conditions at the interfaces (the resulting structure is convergent).

5.2.2 The new proposal

> (87) **The LP-constraint on accommodation in ellipsis**
> Accommodation of an ellipsis antecedent is only allowed if the ellipsis remnant is a member of the Licensing Potential of both the actual and the accommodated antecedent.

intuition behind the proposal: even when an ellipsis site is not isomorphic with its antecedent, there still has to be a formal (morphological) link with that antecedent

the constraint in (87) at work:

case #1: lack of isomorphism

(88) Juan ha hablado con una chica
Juan has talked with a girl
pero no sé cuál ~~es pro~~.
but not know which is it
'Juan talked to a girl, but I don't know which girl it was.'

→ *cuál* 'which' is a member of the LP of the accommodated antecedent (it can be the postcopular constituent in a specificational copular clause) and of the actual antecedent (it can be the object of the preposition *con* 'with') → the LP-constraint is respected and accommodation is allowed

case #2: lack of lack of isomorphism

(89) * I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero pjon.
the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know who.ACC
INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

→ *pjon* 'who$_{ACC}$' is a member of the LP of the actual antecedent (it can be the object of the preposition *me* 'with'), but not of the accommodated antecedent (it cannot be the postcopular constituent in a specificational copular clause) → the LP-constraint is violated and accommodation is disallowed

(90) * I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero pjos.
the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know who.NOM
INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

→ *pjos* 'who$_{NOM}$' is a member of the LP of the accommodated antecedent (it can be the postcopular constituent in a specificational copular clause), but not of the actual antecedent (it cannot be the object of the preposition *me* 'with') → the LP-constraint is violated and accommodation is disallowed

case #3: lack of lack of lack of isomorphism

(91) Rudolf hat mich an etwas erinnert, aber ich weiß nicht mehr
R. has me to something reminded but I know not anymore
was.
what
'Rudolf has reminded me of something, but I don't recall what.'

→ *was* 'what' is a member of the LP of the accommodated antecedent (it can be the postcopular constituent in a specificational copular clause) and of the actual antecedent (it can be the object of the preposition *an* 'to') → the LP-constraint is respected and accommodation is allowed

note: the notion "ellipsis remnant" refers to the element typically licensing the ellipsis operation (e.g. the wh-phrase in sluicing, T° in VP-ellipsis; cf. Aelbrecht in prep for recent discussion of ellipsis licensing).

summing up: the constraint in (87) makes the correct empirical split for the sluicing data reviewed above

moreover: it provides a straightforward account for a number of other cases of lack of isomorphism under sluicing (cf. also Barros 2009):

no active/passive mismatches under sluicing (Merchant 2007)

(92) * Someone mugged Joe, but we don't know by who ~~Joe was mugged~~.

→ *by who* is a member of the LP of the accommodated antecedent (it can be the *by*-phrase in a passive sentence), but not of the actual antecedent (it is not licensed in an active sentence) → the LP-constraint is violated and accommodation is disallowed

(93) * Joe was mugged, but we don't know who ~~mugged Joe~~.

→ *who* is a member of the LP of the accommodated antecedent (it can be the subject of the active sentence), but not of the actual antecedent → the LP-constraint is violated and accommodation is disallowed

no sprouted stranded prepositions inside an ellipsis site (Chung 2005)

(94) * She's jealous, but she won't say who ~~she is jealous of~~.

→ *who* is a member of the LP of the accommodated antecedent (it can be the object of the preposition *of*), but not of the actual antecedent → the LP-constraint is violated and accommodation is disallowed

6.　Support for the analysis (I): pragmatically controlled sluicing

prediction:　if there is no actual antecedent for a particular elliptical construction, half of the LP-constraint is trivially satisfied and only the LP-requirements of the accommodated antecedent should be reflected in the ellipsis remnant

6.1　Introduction: pragmatic control

Merchant (2004):　when used without an explicit linguistic antecedent (i.e. in DI*lang*-contexts = Hankamer & Sag's 1976 pragmatic control), fragments are derived from copular structures

(95)　[Abby and Ben are at a party. Abby sees an unfamiliar man with Beth, a mutual friend of theirs, and turns to Ben with a puzzled look on her face. Ben says:]
Some guy she met at the park.

(96)　[Abby and Ben are arguing about the origin of products in a new store on their block, with Ben maintaining that the store carries only German products. To settle their debate they walk into the store together. Ben picks up a lamp at random, upends it, examines the label (which reads *Lampenwelt GmbH, Stuttgart*), holds the lamp out towards Abby, and proudly proclaims to her:]
From Germany! See, I told you!

(95)'　[some guy she met at the park]ᵢ [~~ₜₚ he is tᵢ~~]
(96)'　[from Germany]ᵢ [~~this is tᵢ~~]

(97)　"The contexts are rich enough to make a certain entity salient (a guy and a lamp, respectively), and to make a certain question manifest, namely the question as to the identity or the country of origin of the entity. (..) this is enough to license anaphoric devices like *he* and *this*. Further we can be sure that these contexts also make the existence predicate *be* manifest (..) In short, I'm proposing a kind of 'limited ellipsis' analysis, one in which a demonstrative (such as *this*/*that* or a pronoun in a demonstrative use) or expletive subject and the copula are elided – given the appropriate discourse context, which will be almost any context where the speaker can make a deictic gesture, and where the existence predicate can be taken for granted (and it's hard to imagine a context where this wouldn't be the case)" (Merchant 2004:724-725)

rephrasing:　in a DI*lang*-context only a copular clause can be accommodated as ellipsis antecedent

supporting evidence (I): case matching

*DI*lang*-fragments occur in nominative case*
(98)　[context: same as in (95)]
Kapjos　　　/　*Kapjon　　　　pu　　gnorisi　　sto　　parko.
someone.NOM　/　someone.ACC　that　she.met　in.the　park

this is the case that we find in copular clauses
(99)　Aftos　ine　{kapjos　　　　/　*kapjon}　　pu gnorisi　　sto　　parko.
he　　is　　someone.NOM　/　someone.ACC　that she.met　in.the　park

ᴺᴱᵂ supporting evidence (II): tag questions

*DI*lang*-fragments can be combined with tag questions consisting of* it *and a copula*
(100)　[Upon meeting someone in the park:]
Nice weather, isn't it?

(101)　[While shaking the hand of a business associate one is meeting in person for the first time:]
How do you do? John Smith, is it?

these tag questions show that there is a clausal source underlying these fragments and that the source is copular
(100)'　~~it is~~ nice weather, isn't it?
(101)'　~~it is~~ John Smith, is it?

6.2　Pragmatically controlled sluicing

note:　given that there is no actual (i.e. linguistic) antecedent in this case, the sluicing remnant should only be sensitive to the LP of the accommodated antecedent; given that this accommodated antecedent is copular, the wh-phrase should show up in the nominative:

*DI*lang*-sluicing in Greek triggers nominative…*
(102)　[A contestant of a game show has to choose which one of her two closest friends she wants to take on a luxury cruise. She is explained this choice at the very beginning of the game show, after which the whole show takes place and deals with completely unrelated topics. No mention whatsoever is made of the required choice. After an hour and a half, at the very end of the show, the game show host walks up to the contestant holding a picture of friend A in his left hand and a picture of friend B in his right hand; he says:]
Pjos?　　　/　*Pjon
who.NOM　/　who.ACC

…just like the copular version…
(103)　Pjos　　　/　*Pjon　　　tha　　ine?
who.NOM　/　who.ACC　FUT　be.3SG
'Who will it be?'

…but unlike the implied full wh-question.

(104) Pjon / *Pjos tha dialeksis?
who.ACC / who.NOM FUT choose.2SG
'Who will you choose?'

6.3 Conclusion

The LP-constraint predicts that the (morphological) nominative of a copular source for sluicing should emerge when there is no actual antecedent. This prediction is borne out in the case of pragmatically controlled sluicing.

7. Support for the analysis (II): spading and morphological case

this section in a nutshell: the LP-constraint on accommodation can account for intricate morphological case patterns in a dialect Dutch variant of sluicing

7.1 Introduction: spading

spading: **S**luicing **P**lus **A** **D**emonstrative **I**n **N**on-insular **G**ermanic (Van Craenenbroeck 2004/to appear)

(105) A: Jef ei gisteren iemand gezien. B: Wou da?
Jeff has yesterday someone seen who that
'A: Jeff saw someone yesterday. B: Who?' (Wambeek Dutch)

Van Craenenbroeck 2004/to appear:
- spading derives from an underlying cleft
- spading involves IP-ellipisis/sluicing (i.e. it is not a case of pseudosluicing)

7.2 Spading derives from an underlying cleft

claim: the spading example in (106)a derives not from the full wh-question in (106)b, but rather from the cleft in (106)c

(106) a. A: Ik em iemand gezien. B: Wou da?
I have someone seen who that
'A: I saw someone. B: Who?'
b. Wou ejje gezien?
who have.you seen
'Who did you see?'

c. Wou is da da ge gezien etj?
who is that that you seen have
'Who is it that you saw?' (Wambeek Dutch)

7.2.1 Modification of the wh-phrase by negation and affirmation

sluiced wh-phrases can be modified by negative or affirmative particles

(107) A: Lewie ei me bekan iederiejn geklapt. B: Me wou nie?
Louis has with almost everyone spoken with who not
'A: Louis has spoken with almost everyone. B: With whom didn't he speak?'

(108) A: Lewie ei me bekan niemand geklapt. B: Me wou wel?
Louis has with almost nobody spoken with who AFF
'A: Louis has spoken with almost no-one. B: With whom DID he speak?'

such modification is not allowed in clefts

(109) Me wou <*nie> was da <*nie> da Lewie geklapt ou?
with who not was that not that Louis spoken had

(110) Me wou <*wel>was da <*wel> da Lewie geklapt ou?
with who AFF was that AFF thatLouis spoken had

spading patterns with clefts, not with regular sluicing

(111) A: Lewie ei me bekan iederiejn geklapt.
Louis has with almost everyone spoken
B: * Me wou <nie> da <nie>?
with who not that not

(112) A: Lewie ei me bekan niemand geklapt.
Louis has with almost nobody spoken
B: * Me wou <wel> da <wel>?
with who AFF that AFF

7.2.2 Multiple wh

(dialect) Dutch allows for (a limited type of) multiple sluicing

(113) Iederiejn stond me iemand te klappen, mo kweet nie wou me wou.
everyone stood with someone to talk but I.know not who with who
'Everyone was talking to someone, but I don't know who to whom.'

(non-echo) multiple wh is disallowed in clefts

(114) * Wou was da da me wou stond te klappen?
who was that that with who stood to talk

spading patterns with clefts, not with regular sluicing

(115) Iederiejn stond me iemand te klappen,
everyone stood with someone to talk
mo kweet nie wou (*da) me wou (*da).
but I.know not who that with who that
'Everyone was talking to someone, but I don't know who to whom.'

7.2.3 Pragmatic control

sluicing can be pragmatically controlled

(116) [A contestant of a game show has to choose which one of her two closest friends she wants to take on a luxury cruise. She is explained this choice at the very beginning of the game show, after which the whole show takes place and deals with completely unrelated topics. No mention whatsoever is made of the required choice. After an hour and a half, at the very end of the show, the game show host walks up to the contestant holding a picture of friend A in his left hand and a picture of friend B in his right hand; he says:]
Wou?
who
'Who?'

clefts with da *'that' as subject cannot be pragmatically controlled*

(117) [context: same as in (116)]
Wou is da da ge gotj kiezn?
who is that that you go choose
'Who is it that you will choose?'

spading patterns with clefts, not with regular sluicing

(118) [context: same as in (116)]
Wou da?
who that
'Who?'

7.2.4 *else*-modfication

else-modification is allowed in sluicing

(119) A: Jef ei nie alliejn Lewie gezien. B: Nieje? Wou nog?
Jeff has not just Louis seen no who else
'A: Jeff hasn't just seen Louis. B: No? Who else (has he seen)?'

else-modification is not allowed in clefts

(120) * Wou <nog> was da <nog> da Jef gezien ou?
who else was that else that Jeff seen had

spading patterns with clefts, not with regular sluicing

(121) A: Jef ei nie alliejn Lewie gezien.
Jeff has not just Louis seen
B: * Nieje? Wou <nog> da <nog>?
no who else that else

7.2.5 Exhaustivity

sluiced wh-phrases are not necessarily exhaustive

(122) A: 'k Em e puir van a kammeruite gezien.
I have a couple of your friends seen
B: Wou onder andere?
who among others
'A: I saw a couple of your friends. B: Who among others?'

the pivot of a cleft is necessarily exhaustive

(123) * Wou <onder andere> is dad < onder andere> dat ge gezien etj?
who among others is that among others that you seen have

a spaded wh-phrases is necessarily exhaustive

(124) A: 'k Em e puir van a kammeruite gezien.
I have a couple of your friends seen
B: * Wou <onder andere> dad < onder andere>?
who among others that among others

7.2.6   Summary

	SLUICING	SPADING	CLEFTS
modification by NEG and AFF	ok	*	*
multiple wh	ok	*	*
non-overt antecedent	ok	#	#
modification by *nog* 'else'	ok	*	*
exhaustivity requirement	no	yes	yes

conclusion: there is ample empirical evidence supporting the claim that spading derives from an underlying cleft

7.3   Spading does not involve pseudosluicing

(125)   pseudosluicing =$_{def}$ An elliptical construction that resembles a sluice in having only a wh-XP as remnant, but has the structure of a cleft, not of a regular embedded question (Merchant 1998:91). The fact that the cleft is unpronounced is due to the combined effect of pro-drop and copula drop.

(126)   Dareka-ga   sono   hon-o   yonda   ga, watashi-wa dare   ka   wakaranai.
         someone$_{NOM}$ that   book$_{ACC}$ read   but I$_{TOP}$ who   Q   know.not
         'Someone read that book, but I don't know who.'   (Japanese)

(127)   [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ *pro* dare   ~~da~~   ] ka]   (Kizu 1997)
              it   who   be$_{PRES}$ Q
         ' …who it is.'

→   the fact that the cleft in (127) is reduced to its pivot is due to (a) pro-drop of the expletive subject of the cleft, and (b) copula drop

pseudosluicing ≠ sluicing a cleft
(128)   sluicing =$_{def}$ A case of clausal ellipsis that leaves a wh-phrase as remnant
                     (though see Van Craenenbroeck & Lipták 2006, 2009 for a modification).

(129)   sluicing a cleft =$_{def}$ An instance of sluicing applied to an underlying cleft.

back to spading: dialect Dutch is neither pro-drop nor copula drop → the non-pronunciation of the verb in spading cannot be due to copula drop → instead, spading involves TP-ellipsis, just like regular sluicing → spading is involves sluicing of a cleft

supporting evidence: declarative pseudosluicing

Japanese pseudosluicing is not restricted to interrogative contexts
(130)   a.   John-ga   dareka-o   kubinisita   rasii   kedo,
               John$_{NOM}$ someone$_{ACC}$ fired   seem   but
               boku-wa   Bill   ka dooka   siranai.
               I$_{TOP}$ Bill   whether   know.not
               'It seems that John fired someone, but I don't know whether it was Bill.'
         b.   John-ga   dareka-o   kubinisita   rasii   kedo,
               John$_{NOM}$ someone$_{ACC}$ fired   seem   but
               boku-wa   Bill   to   omou.
               I$_{TOP}$ Bill   that   think
               'It seems that John fired someone, and I think that it was Bill.'   (Japanese)

but spading is
(131)   a.   *   Jef   eid iemand   ontsluigen, mo ik   weet   nie of Lewie   da.
                    Jeff   has someone   fired   but I   know   not if Louis   that
         b.   *   Jef   eid iemand   ontsluigen en   ik paus   da   Lewie   da.
                    Jeff   has someone   fired   and   I   think   that   Louis   that

7.4   Interim summary

Spading is a case of sluicing that necessarily contains an underlying cleft. Given that the antecedent of a spading example does not need to contain a cleft, they involve accommodation. As a result, the LP-constraint in (87) should be applicable here as well.

7.5 Spading and morphological case

7.5.1 Introduction: morphological case in Waubach Dutch (Hinskens 1992, F. Hinskens p.c.)

subject wh-questions: only nominative
(132) {Wea / * Wem } kemp noa 't fees?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$ comes to the party
'Who is coming to the party?'

object wh-questions: accusative and—more markedly—nominative
(133) { ??Wea / Wem } has-te gezieë?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$ have.you seen
'Who did you see?'

subject clefts: only nominative
(134) {Wea / * Wem } is dat dea noa 't fees kemp?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$ is that REL to the party comes
'Who is it that is coming to the party?'

object clefts: only nominative
(135) {Wea / * Wem } is dat dea-s-te gezieë has?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$ is that REL-CA-you seen have
'Who is it that you saw?'

7.5.2 Morphological case and ellipsis in Waubach Dutch (F. Hinskens p.c.)

prediction: given that spading involves accommodation, the morphological case of a spaded wh-phrase should be subject to the LP-constraint in (87)

subject spading: only nominative
(136) A: 't Kumt murrege inne noa 't fees.
it comes tomorrow someone to the party
B: { Wea / * Wem } dat?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$ that
'A: Someone is coming to the party tomorrow. B: Who?'

→ both the actual and the accommodated antecedent only yield nominative → the only case allowed in spading is nominative

object spading: only—and markedly—nominative
(137) A: Ich han inne gezieë.
I have someone seen
B: { ?? Wea / * Wem} dat?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$ that
'A: I saw someone. B: Who?'

→ the accommodated antecedent only yields nominative, the actual antecedent yields accusative and—more markedly—nominative → the only form for the spaded wh-phrase that satisfies the LP-constraint in (87) is—markedly—nominative

note: regular sluicing tracks the case patterns found in non-elliptical wh-questions (i.e. (132)-(133)):

subject sluicing: only nominative
(138) A: 't Kumt murrege inne noa 't fees.
it comes tomorrow someone to the party
B: { Wea / * Wem}?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$
'A: Someone is coming to the party tomorrow. B: Who?'

object sluicing: accusative and—more markedly—nominative
(139) A: Ich han inne gezieë.
I have someone seen
B: { ?? Wea / Wem}?
who$_{NOM}$ / who$_{ACC}$
'A: I saw someone. B: Who?'

7.5.3 Conclusion

The LP-constraint in (87) accounts for the distribution of morphological case on spaded wh-phrases in Waubach Dutch.

8.   Summary and conclusions

- copular clauses can be used to circumvent preposition stranding violations under sluicing

- this repair fails when it involves changing the morphological case ending of the sluiced wh-phrase

- this failure to repair can be overcome by using surface forms of the wh-phrase that are compatible both with a copular source and with an isomorphic one (case-matching copular clauses or syncretism)

- these facts show that accommodation of an ellipsis antecedent is allowed

- this accommodation is subject to a restriction on the ellipsis remnant, which has to be in the licensing potential of both the actual and the accommodated antecedent

- this implies that the recoverability requirements of ellipsis cannot be entirely reduced to those on deaccenting

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