# **Return to Vehicle Change**

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#### 1. Vehicle Change

- Definition (cf. Fiengo and May 1994:218)
  Vehicle Change is the selection of a different morphological guise for a noun phrase contained in a reconstructed elliptical constituent ('pronominal correlate')
- (2) Mary loves <u>John</u> and <u>he</u> thinks Susan does  $\langle sc \text{ love } John > him \rangle$  too
  - > trigger: looming Condition C violation
  - > condition: invariance of indices

in Kluck 2011:243

(3) <u>Bob</u> kissed <u>he</u> said it was only one other woman  $\langle$  that <u>Bob > he</u> kissed  $\rangle$ 

#### Question: do we really need it?

#### Some history of the discussion

- i. Some variation in reconstructed ellipsis must be allowed (Bouton 1970)
- (4) Mary stops to look at every pretty flower she stumbles onto, and so does Bob
- ii. Vehicle change may (even) introduce variables (Vanden Wyngaerd & Zwart 1991, Fiengo & May 1994:219)
- (5) John kissed Mary, but I wonder who Harry did  $\langle sc kiss [e] \rangle$

> obviates the need for Quantifier Raising in Antecedent Contained Deletion

- (6) Antecedent Contained Deletion
- a. Dulles suspected everyone Angleton did
- b. with QR

[everyone Angleton did] Dulles suspected [e]

- c. *without QR* Dulles suspected <u>everyone OP Angleton did</u> (suspect <u>everyone etc. > [e]</u>)
- iii Minimalism (bottom up Merge, ellipsis = spellout): no need for reconstruction ('Antecedent-contained deletion as deletion', VandenWyngaerd & Zwart 1999), hence no Vehicle Change
  - > varied ellipsis constituent is base-generated as such (focus-related topic)

iv But: in the context of a top-down split-merge model (Zwart 2011), reconstruction (and Vehicle Change) might make a come-back

> WYSIWYG-approach: ellipsis site is unstructured empty category (Williams 1977)

(7) John loves Mary and Bill does tooNumeration: { [John loves Mary], and, Bill, does, [e], too } (hypothetical)

### 2. Scope of Vehicle Change

### Fiengo & May 1994

- (8) a. Vehicle Change
  - i introduction of a variable for an R-expression (cf. (5))
  - ii introduction of a pronominal correlate (cf. (2))
  - iii variation of pronominal features under invariance of indices (9)
  - b. variation, but no Vehicle Change
    iv alternations of the *him/himself* type (10)
- (9) I turned in <u>my</u> assignment, but most of the other students didn't  $\langle \dots \underline{my} > \underline{their} \dots \rangle$
- (10) strict reflexives

John loves <u>himself</u> more than Mary does ( love <u>himself > him</u> )

 > α-occurrence of the index, i.e. identical with but not bound by the antecedent (cf. Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd 2011 'the self as other' idea)

>  $\beta$ -occurrence: only sloppy reading (reflexive bound by local antecedent)

- (11) *'himself' is basically 'him' with a syntactic marker ('self')* [him]-self
- NB, sometimes strict reflexives do require type (8iii) vehicle change (Fiengo & May 1994:101)
- (12) If every student revises <u>his</u> paper, then I won't have to  $\langle \dots \underline{his} > \underline{their} \dots \rangle$

#### 3. Introducing a variable under ellipsis

- (12) top-down approach
  - a. there is no movement > variables are not traces
  - b. solution: wh-words are 'double atoms' with parts merged at different stages
  - c. condition: only within a single derivation layer > locality effects
- (13) Who did you see [e]?
  - a. Numeration = { (who,[e]), did, you, see }
  - b. Split Merge: (who, { [e], did, you, see } ), ( who, ( did, {[e], you, see} )), etc. until: (who (did (you (see, {[e]} )))) and then the variable is merged last.

(14) John kissed Mary, but I wonder who Harry did
 > WYSIWYG Numeration: { ..., (who,[e]), Harry, did }
 > output: (who, (Harry, (did, ([e]))))

### Non-island sensitivity of sluicing (cf. Merchant 2001) follows

(15) They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which

> in the absence of further overt material, the variable is merged rightaway.

(=(5))

Carries over to Andrews amalgams under Kluck's (2011) analysis

(16) They want to hire someone who speaks you'll never guess which language

Conclusion: type (8i) vehicle change not needed in a top-down derivation

## 4. Introducing a pronominal correlate to avoid a binding theory violation

(17) Mary loves <u>John</u> and <u>he</u> thinks Susan does  $\langle sc \text{ love } John > him \rangle$  too (=(2))

### Principle C waived

- (18) non-*de se* contexts (Evans 1980)
  - If everyone hates John, then surely John must hate John
    - > John is not a self-hater but a John-hater

# Demirdache (2000): R-expressions not used to express self-oriented dependency

- (19) \* <u>He</u> thinks <u>John</u> is an idiot (*de se*)
  > [John is an idiot] is the content of the subject's thinking ('owned' by *he*)
- (20) Everyone thinks <u>John</u> is an idiot and so in fact does <u>he</u> (*de dicto*)
  > [John is an idiot] is 'owned' by *everyone*, not by *he*

### Carries over to Kluck's (2011:243) example

- (21) <u>Bob</u> kissed <u>he</u> said it was only one other woman  $\langle \text{that } \underline{\text{Bob}} > \underline{\text{he}} \text{ kissed } \rangle$ > Bob said: 'I kissed only one other woman'
  - > elliptical part outside the scope of what Bob said (*de re*)

# What about Principle C in a top-down approach?

- (22) a. Binding as a function of merge:
  - i antecedent marks its sister as dependent
  - ii dependency must be spelled out
  - iii R-expressions not suitable (at least in English, Dutch, etc.)
    ((19) will not occur under the reflexive reading)
  - b. WYSIWYG-ellipsis: unclear what happens at the CI-interface, but if reconstruction, then the above (Principle C waiver) applies

### 5. Variation of pronominal features

(23) I turned in <u>my</u> assignment, but most of the other students didn't  $\langle ... \underline{my} > \underline{their} ... \rangle$ 

### Contextually determined features of pronouns

(24) Starting point: Numeration has only PRON (a single semi-referential N/D-element) > Vehicle Change not needed for the spell-out variation of pronominal features

Vehicle change with strict reflexives is perhaps more complicated

- (25) Every student thinks <u>he</u> is a genius, but the professor doesn't (think <u>they</u> are)
  > vehicle change SG>PL, but also
  - > bound variable pronoun > E-type pronoun (Fiengo & May 1994:101)

Elbourne type analysis with quantification over situations (cf. Elbourne 2005)

- (26) In every situation s.t. there is a student
  - that student thinks that **he** is a genius but the professor doesn't (think that **he** is a genius)
  - > in fact no variation needed at all

### 6. Reconstructing reconstruction

#### Conclusion

(27) in a top-down WYSIWYG-approach to ellipsis, Vehicle Change may not be needed

#### How is the ellipsis interpreted?

- (28) Starting from the Numeration in (7) { [John loves Mary], and, Bill, does, [e], too }
  - > there is a (derivationally determined) partitioning in the antecedent clause between focus and a focus-related topic (Tancredi 1992)
  - > the parallelism in ellipsis constructions between the foci turns the ellipsis site (or its place-holder do) into a counterpart to the focus-related topic
  - > ideally, that means it is the same focus-related topic (which, in Tancredi's proposal, is a predicate with open positions)

#### References

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