

ON A NONARGUMENT FOR CLEFT
SOURCES IN SLUICING

Luis Vicente
Matthew Barros
Troy Messick
Andrés Saab

Abstract: On the basis of certain semantic intuitions, Barros (2012) argues that ellipsis does not require structural isomorphism between elided structure and its antecedent. We tackle this claim. Semantic intuitions cannot be a pointer to the analysis of silent structure. We provide empirical evidence that raises the question of to what extent semantic intuitions about plausible articulable syntax must inform one’s analysis of silent structure. We conclude that the answer to this question must be crosslinguistically informed. We conjecture that ellipsis introduces ellipsis-specific interpretive mechanisms, so that intuitions about “how the unelided structure would be interpreted” are not empirically relevant.

Keywords: sluicing, contextual restriction, ellipsis identity, inheritance of content

This squib is dedicated to the memory of Luis Vicente, who many knew to be a passionate, inspiring, and brilliant friend and colleague.

1 A Semantic Argument for Nonisomorphic Ellipsis

A flurry of studies over the last two decades has provided crosslinguistic support for the idea that clefts and copular clauses can underlie certain instances of clausal ellipsis (see, among many others, Merchant 1998, Potsdam 2007, Rodrigues, Nevins, and Vicente 2009, Van Craenenbroeck 2010, Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2012, Paul and Potsdam 2012, Griбанова 2013, Barros 2014, Griбанова and Manetta 2016, and references). Among these studies, Barros 2012 stands alone in developing a purely semantic argument in favor of a cleft source. Barros’s argument is based on the observation that the incongruence of the nonelliptical *wh*-question in (1a) (called a *pre-sluice*) disappears under sluicing (1b). We will refer to this particular repair-by-ellipsis effect as a *Barros effect*.

- (1) Jack kissed Sally, and he also kissed someone else . . .
 - a. #. . . but I don’t know who he kissed.
 - b. . . . but I don’t know who.

For many extremely helpful comments, judgments, discussions, and support on this project, we thank Klaus Abels, Ramiro Caso, Lisa Cheng, Veneeta Dayal, Bob Frank, Eduardo García Ramírez, Kyle Johnson, Hadas Kotek, Anikó Lipták, Nicolás Lo Guercio, Jason Merchant, Eleonara Orlando, Cilene Rodrigues, three anonymous reviewers, and audiences at Multiple Questions about Sluicing (a workshop at Yale University), the Philosophy of Language Group (at Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Filosófico), Grasping Ellipsis (a workshop at UNICAMP), and finally, the memorial workshop for our late first author, Luis Vicente, held at Leiden University in July 2018. We take full responsibility for any mistakes herein.

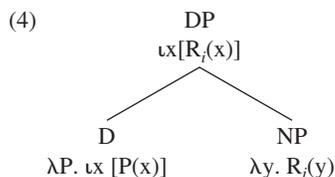
The source of incongruence in (1a) is easy to pinpoint. If one says *I don't know who he kissed*, one is asserting ignorance of the identity of all of the people that Jack kissed (Romero 1998 and references). However, this is inconsistent with the speaker's previous assertion, *Jack kissed Sally*, which commits the speaker to knowing the identity of at least one such person. The congruence of the minimally different (2) supports this analysis: here, the assertion that the speaker knows some of the people Jack kissed is not contradicted by the subsequent assertion of Peter's ignorance.

- (2) I know that Jack kissed Sally, and that he then kissed someone else, but Peter doesn't know who Jack kissed.

To explain why ellipsis repairs the incongruence of (1a), Barros proposes that (1b) does not stem from deletion in (1a); rather, it stems from deletion of the cleft in (3), which is independently felicitous. The cleft pre-slucice is congruent because it is possible to write a semantics for *it* that is roughly paraphrasable as 'the person other than Sally that Jack kissed'.

- (3) Jack kissed Sally, and he also kissed someone else, but I don't know who it is.

This analysis is based on the fact that E-type pronouns like those found in cleft constructions can be consistently paraphrased with definite descriptions containing a relative clause that tracks the meaning of the clause that contains the antecedent of the pronoun (Cooper 1979, Evans 1980, Heim 1990, Neale 1990, Heim and Kratzer 1998, Elbourne 2005). This can be done by introducing a contextually sensitive variable in the subject DP of the cleft sentence, R, which picks up salient properties in the discourse. R will compose with the determiner and hence the entire DP will denote the unique individual that has that salient property. This is shown in (4).



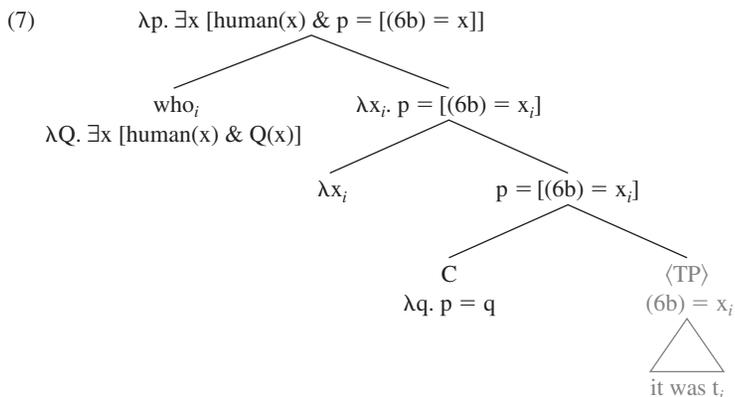
Let us take the antecedent sentence from (1) (repeated here).

- (5) Jack kissed Sally, and he also kissed someone else . . .

Given this antecedent, the cleft pronoun would denote the property in (6a). That is the property of being kissed by Jack and, assuming an exceptive semantics for *else* (von Stechow 1994), the property of not being Sally. Embedding that property into the structure of the pronoun in (4) will yield the meaning in (6b), that is, a unique individual that Jack kissed and is not Sally.

- (6) a. $\llbracket R_i \rrbracket^g = \lambda x. [x \neq \text{Sally} \ \& \ \text{Jack kissed } x \ \& \ \text{human}(x)]$
 b. $\llbracket \text{it} \rrbracket^g = \iota x [x \neq \text{Sally} \ \& \ \text{Jack kissed } x \ \& \ \text{human}(x)]$

Barros then assumes the LF structure for the elided cleft in (7) for Barros sentences, adopting a standard Hamblin/Karttunen semantics for questions (Hamblin 1973, Karttunen 1977). *Wh*-movement of *who* λ -binds its trace via predicate abstraction, and interrogative C^0 introduces a propositional variable that may then be abstracted over,¹ generating a set of propositions.²



Once we plug in the meaning of the cleft pronoun, we end up with (8), which is paraphrasable as ‘who the unique non-Sally human that Jack kissed is’.

$$(8) \ \lambda p. \exists x [\text{human}(x) \ \& \ p = \iota z[z \neq \text{Sally} \ \& \ \text{Jack kissed } z \ \& \ \text{human}(z)] = x]$$

Now, compare this with the noncleft pre-slucice in (9). Remember that this continuation is unacceptable because it imposes inconsistent knowledge states on the speaker; the speaker denies knowledge of the question *who Jack kissed* while committing to knowing a partial answer (that Jack kissed Sally) in the same breath.

$$(9) \ \# \text{Jack kissed Sally, and he kissed someone else too, but I don't know who Jack kissed.}$$

With a cleft, however, R picks up the property contributed by *else* (the property of being distinct from Sally); hence, we are claiming we don't know the answer to the question “Who is the non-Sally individual that Jack kissed?” and then the infelicity does not arise.

Here, we show on morphosyntactic grounds that Barros's cleft analysis is untenable. We argue that it is the noncleft pre-slucice that is elided in (1b). The question, then, is how a noncleft pre-slucice manages to receive a cleft-like semantics in sluicing, so that it may

¹ Barros follows Bittner (1998) and Dayal (2016) in having the abstraction over the proposition variable *p* happen at the root node. This is accomplished by Bittner's (1998:8, 16) Binding Rule. For relevant discussion, see also Dayal 2016:8–9, 27–30.

² For space reasons, we abbreviate the denotation of the cleft pronoun in (7) by making explicit reference to (6b), so that, for example, “(6b) = x_i ” in TP should be read as “ $\iota x [x \neq \text{Sally} \ \& \ \text{Jack kissed } x \ \& \ \text{human}(x)] = x_i$.”

avoid the infelicity characteristic of noncleft pre-slucices in paradigms like (1).

From the above discussion, clearly the ability of R to pick out salient properties plays a crucial role in the cleft analysis of Barros sentences. We suggest that R may be introduced into the semantics of elided material as an ellipsis-specific reflex, and furthermore, that Barros effects can be seen as a special case of inheritance-of-content effects (Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey 1995, Romero 1998), where sluices inherit aspects of the interpretation of their antecedents.

2 A Problem for Barros's Account: Matching Effects

Barros's proposal, while intuitive, lacks generality: Lipták (2013) and Saab (2015) show that paradigms analogous to (1) can be constructed in environments where a cleft source like (3) is not available. In both cases, this is accomplished by using sluicing remnants that are illicit cleft pivots. Saab, for example, exploits the distribution of Spanish DPs bearing the differential object marker (DOM) *a*. Examples (10a) and (10b) are analogous to (1a) and (1b), respectively, and need no additional comment. The interesting example is (10c), which shows that *a*-marked objects may not function as cleft pivots. The ungrammaticality of (10c) then implies that (10b) cannot stem from deletion of an underlying cleft.

- (10) Juan besó a María, y también besó a alguien
Juan kissed DOM María and also kissed DOM someone
más . . .
else
a. # . . . pero no sé a quién besó.
but not know.1SG DOM who kissed
b. . . . pero no sé a quién.
but not know.1SG DOM who
c. * . . . pero no sé a quién es.
but not know.1SG DOM who is

Additionally, the Barros effect in (10b) cannot be analyzed in terms of a covert 'else'. Borrowing an argument from Lipták (2013), we note that the unsluiced version of this sentence in (11) has a different meaning—that is, where the *wh*-phrase alludes to a third person that Juan kissed, in addition to María and the unspecified *alguien más* 'someone else' of the antecedent.³

³ An anonymous reviewer asks about the possibility of a covert *also* or an *also* included in the ellipsis site. This type of analysis runs into problems because *also* is infelicitous in typical information-seeking *wh*-questions (as is its German counterpart *auch*) (Umbach 2012, Grubic 2017, Theiler to appear). Instead, *wh*-questions with *also* are said to give rise to special interpretations, referred to as *showmaster questions* and *summoning questions*. While exploring the exact nature of these questions goes beyond the scope of the squib (see the citations above for further discussion), it is important to note that the sluicing examples we discuss do not have either of these interpretations. This suggests that the sluicing site does not contain *also* (or its counterparts in other languages).

- (11) Juan besó a María y también besó a alguien
Juan kissed DOM María and also kissed DOM someone
más, pero no sé a quién más besó.
else but not know DOM who else kissed
'Juan kissed María, and he also kissed a second person, but
I don't know which third person he kissed.'

Importantly, the paradigm in (10) is not a quirk of Spanish. As Saab (2015) points out, it can be replicated across languages with any type of phrase that constitutes a licit sluicing remnant but not a licit cleft pivot. The paradigm in (12) illustrates this pattern with Hungarian accusative-marked objects (12), and the one in (13), with German PPs.

- (12) Mari meg hívta Jánost, és meg hívott még
Mari PV invited Janos.ACC and PV invited also
valakit . . .
someone.ACC
a. # . . . de nem tudom kit hívott meg.
but not know.ISG who.ACC invited PV
b. . . . de nem tudom kit.
but not know.ISG who.ACC
c. * . . . de nem tudom kit volt az.
but not know.ISG who.ACC was that
(Lipták 2013:2)
- (13) Hans hat mit Maria gesprochen, und er hat auch mit
Hans has with Maria talked and he has also with
jemand anderem gesprochen . . .
someone else.DAT talked
a. # . . . aber ich weiß nicht, mit wem er
but I know not with who.DAT he
gesprochen hat.
talked has
b. . . . aber ich weiß nicht, mit wem.
but I know not with who.DAT
c. * . . . aber ich weiß nicht, mit wem es ist.
but I know not with who.DAT it is

It is also worth noting that the Barros effects in (10)–(13) cannot be accommodated by assuming that sluicing exceptionally licenses otherwise illicit cleft pivots, as Elliott and Murphy (2019) propose for sluices embedded under *egal* 'no matter' in German. This line of attack would fail to account for the fact that Barros effects also obtain in Romanian, which lacks clefts entirely (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994).

- (14) Ivan a tucat-o pe Maria, a tucat și pe
Ivan has kissed-CL ACC Maria has kissed and ACC
altcineva . . .
someone.else
a. # . . . dar nu știu pe cine Ivan a tucat.
but not know.ISG ACC who Ivan has kissed
b. . . . dar nu știu pe cine.
but not know.ISG ACC who

3 Barros Effects as Inheritance of Content

The hypothesis that underlies this squib is that Barros effects are part of a larger class of sluices that exhibit a cleft- or copula-like interpretation, even in languages and environments where such underlying clefts and copular clauses are demonstrably unavailable. In particular, we propose that Barros effects form a natural class with *inheritance of content*—that is, the fact that sluicing remnants inherit the restriction of their indefinite correlates, even if *wh*-items in the corresponding unsluiced questions do not (Ginzburg 1992, Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey 1995, Romero 1998). The unsluiced question in (15a) means that Jack didn't see any of the people who left the party early, whether they were students or not. In contrast, the sluice in (15b) means that Jack didn't see any of the students who left early, without any assertion about whether he failed to see any nonstudent early-leavers.

- (15) Some students left the party early . . .
a. . . . but Jack didn't see who left the party early.
b. . . . but Jack didn't see who.
(Barros 2014:160)

Weir (2014) and Jacobson (2016) discuss an analogous pattern with fragment answers. Just as above, the nonelliptical reply in (16B) does not entail that the Germans dancing in the quad were students (if anything, this meaning is a conversational implicature); in contrast, the fragment in (16B') necessarily comes with this entailment. For conciseness, we will focus on the sluicing case and assume that our analysis carries over to fragments (this much is uncontroversial under an analysis of fragments along the lines of Merchant 2004 and Weir 2014, where the fragment moves to a left-peripheral position prior to TP-deletion, just as *wh*-words do under sluicing).

- (16) A: Which students were dancing in the quad?
B: Some Germans were dancing in the quad.
B': Some Germans.

It is tempting to analyze inheritance of content by requiring (15b) to stem from a copular clause like (17), which is also a question exclusively about students. Here, *they*, like *it* in (3), gives a meaning paraphrasable as 'the students just mentioned'.

- (17) Some students left the party early, but Jack didn't see who they were.

However, this analysis suffers from the same lack of generality as Barros's cleft-based account of Barros effects. To begin with, it forces us to say that (17) is the only source for (15b), and while English does allow copular clauses along the lines of (17) to be sluicing sources, it does not restrict sluices to just these sources (see especially Merchant 2001:sec. 4.2, 2010). Moreover, we can use the same line of argumentation we deployed in (10)–(14) to show that inheritance of content

is not contingent on the availability of an underlying copular source. The Spanish examples (18a) and (18b) have the same meanings as (15a) and (15b), respectively; however, they cannot be derived from a copular clause because *a*-marked phrases are illicit copular pivots (18c). Just as is the case with Barros effects, comparable examples in other languages can be constructed with any phrase that is a licit sluicing remnant and an illicit cleft/copular pivot.

- (18) Rosa vio a unos estudiantes en la fiesta . . .
Rosa saw DOM some students in the party
- a. . . . pero Carmen no sabe a quién(es) vio Rosa
but Carmen not knows DOM who.PL saw Rosa
en la fiesta.
in the party
[= Carmen doesn't know who (whether student or not)
Rosa saw at the party]
- b. . . . pero Carmen no sabe a quién(es).
but Carmen not knows DOM who.PL
[= Carmen doesn't know which students Rosa saw at
the party]
- c. * . . . pero Carmen no sabe a quién(es) eran.
but Carmen not knows DOM who.PL were

Another analysis of Barros effects is that of Saab (2015), who proposes that the sluicing site takes the entire coordination in (10) as its antecedent, with the *wh*-phrase undergoing asymmetric extraction from the second conjunct (19). (See Saab's paper for a discussion of the semantics of this structure.) Note that the syntax in (19) should yield a Coordinate Structure Constraint violation: though Saab takes this as support for the hypothesis that ellipsis can repair locality violations (contra the conclusions reached by Abels (2011), Barros, Elliott, and Thoms (2014), and especially Merchant (2001:sec. 5.4.3) for the narrow case of Coordinate Structure Constraint violations).

- (19) no sé [a quién]_i [[Juan besó a María] y
not know.1SG DOM who Juan kissed DOM María and
[besó _{t_i} también]
kissed also

There are many reasons to consider alternatives to Saab's proposal. First, it does not offer a way to group Barros effects together with inheritance of content as instantiations of a more general phenomenon. Another problem stems from Saab's implicit hypothesis that the congruence of (10b) is contingent on the congruence of (19). In this light, consider (20B), which a number of speakers (including the first author of this squib) find congruent under the indicated reading.⁴

⁴ Those speakers who do not accept the indicated reading interpret (20B) as a denial of (20A)—that is, 'It is not the case that Juan kissed María and someone else; the only person he kissed at all was Susana'. We do not have anything interesting to say about why this division exists.

(20) A: Juan besó a María, y también besó a
Juan kissed DOM María and also kissed DOM
alguien más.
someone else

B: Sólo a Susana.
only DOM Susana
(= Susana is the only person besides María that Juan
kissed)

Under Saab's analysis, (20B) would be derived from deletion of (21B). Notably, (21B) is incongruent: one cannot assert that Juan kissed María and then follow up with an assertion that he only kissed Susana. Given that the contradiction inherent to (21B) is not a locality problem, one would have to assume a semantic repair mechanism on top of the island repair mechanism that Saab already assumes.

(21) A: Juan besó a María, y también besó a
Juan kissed DOM María and also kissed DOM
alguien más.
someone else

B: #Juan besó a María y besó sólo a Susana.
Juan kissed DOM María and kissed only DOM Susana

An account that treats Barros effects as a subtype of inheritance of content, on the other hand, does not encounter this problem. The indicated reading of (20B) can be derived in the same manner as (10b)—that is, by deletion of *Juan besó sólo a Susana*, where the ellipted clause inherits the property of being someone other than María that Juan kissed. This results in the restriction of Susana's focus alternatives in (20B) to non-María alternatives, yielding the intuitively correct interpretation, where the only non-María individual that Juan additionally kissed was Susana.

4 Inheritance of Content Meets Barros Effects

By treating inheritance of content and Barros effects as different manifestations of the same underlying phenomenon, we predict the existence of apparent semantic repair under deletion in inheritance-of-content environments as well. In other words, we predict that sluicing can rescue incongruent questions even when the correlate is not modified by *else*. This prediction is borne out. First, consider (22) and (23).⁵

- (22) Jane saw Sally, and then she saw a colleague . . .
a. # . . . but I don't know who she saw.
b. . . . but I don't know who.

⁵ An anonymous reviewer finds (22a) only mildly degraded (assigning a question mark) and suggests that perhaps some speakers (including themselves) allow for a kind of "covert adverbial" to be accommodated in the nonelliptical question. For (22a), this could be something with an interpretation like 'then' or 'on that second occasion', whose semantics would render (22a) congruent and felicitous.

- (23) Rosa vio a María y luego vio a un colega . . .
Rosa saw DOM María and then saw DOM a colleague
a. # . . . pero no sé a quién vio.
but not know.1SG DOM who saw
b. . . . pero no sé a quién.
but not know.1SG DOM who

The same repair effect observed with *else*-modification appears to be available under sluicing. The pre-sluice is incongruent because the antecedent already constitutes a partial answer, just as in the Barros example in (1);⁶ (1b) shows that sluicing can repair this incongruence. As (24) illustrates, repair cannot be attributed to deletion of an underlying cleft.

- (24) Sé que Rosa vio a un colega . . .
know.1SG that Rosa saw DOM a colleague
a. # . . . pero no sé a quién vio.
but not know DOM who saw
b. . . . pero no sé a quién.
but not know DOM who
c. * . . . pero no sé a quién fue.
but not know DOM who was

Similarly, consider the contrast in (25), modeled after (2) (the following judgments also hold for English). Example (25a) is grammatical for the same reason as (2); that is, the assertion that I know the identity of some of the people that Juan kissed is not contradicted by Pedro's ignorance. Note, however, that this example means that Pedro is unaware of the identity of any of the people Juan kissed, whereas the sluiced counterpart (25b) means that Pedro is unaware of the identity of the non-María individual that Juan kissed. Again, this asymmetry can be accounted for by assuming that the sluice is contextually restricted; as in the prototypical Barros effect examples, the meaning for (25b) is paraphrasable as 'Pedro doesn't know the identity of the individual x, where x is not María, such that Juan kissed x'.

- (25) Sé que Juan besó a María y que también
know.1SG that Juan kissed DOM María and that also
besó a alguien más . . .
kissed DOM someone else
a. . . . pero Pedro no sabe a quién besó Juan.
but Pedro not knows DOM who kissed Juan
b. . . . pero Pedro no sabe a quién.
but Pedro not knows DOM who

⁶ Dayal and Schwarzschild (2010:108) provide a comparable English example (*Joan was talking to a phonologist, but I don't know who (exactly) she was talking to*) and claim it is felicitous. The speakers we have consulted disagree with this judgment, although the infelicity of this example seems to be less strong than that of (24a). We have nothing to say about why English and Spanish judgments differ in this way.

We conclude that inheritance of content and Barros effects are simply different manifestations of the same general phenomenon and should receive a unified analysis. We have independently shown Barros's (2012) cleft analysis to be untenable; even though inheritance of content in sluices lends them a cleft-like interpretation, they do not have a cleft-like syntax.

Before ending, we consider a possible analysis for inheritance of content that does not rely on a cleft syntax. In previous analyses of inheritance of content, Romero (1998) and Barros (2013:208) take the remnant to be the target of contextual restriction; compare Barros's (2012) characterization of R as part of the cleft pronoun. Barros's (2013) analysis is sketched in (26). If there were an antecedent like that in (1), just as in the previous discussion R would pick up the property in (6a), repeated here. This would result in the entire question having the meaning in (27), which is once again paraphrasable as 'who the non-Sally human that Jack kissed is'.

$$(26) \llbracket \text{who} \rrbracket^g = \lambda Q[\exists x[\text{human}(x) \ \& \ Q(x) \ \& \ R_f(x)]]$$

$$(6a) \llbracket R_f \rrbracket^g = \lambda x. [x \neq \text{Sally} \ \& \ \text{Jack kissed } x \ \& \ \text{human}(x)]$$

$$(27) \lambda p. \exists x [\text{human}(x) \ \& \ x \neq \text{Sally} \ \& \ p = \text{Jack kissed } x]$$

This analysis does allow us to take the crucial semantic contribution of the cleft pronoun—namely, the contextual restriction of R—and divorce it from the cleft syntax; however, by treating contextual restriction as a property of *wh*-items, it predicts incorrectly that inheritance-of-content effects will also arise freely in unelided sentences, so long as a suitably salient antecedent is available. A way to rein in this overgeneration is to tie the presence of R directly to ellipsis licensing.

There are a few possible ways to make the presence of R contingent on ellipsis licensing. For instance, perhaps *wh*-phrases with R must be checked in an agreement relationship with Merchant's (2001) E-feature on C along the lines of an agreement-based approach to ellipsis licensing (Aelbrecht 2010 et seq.). With this relation between R and the E-feature, we overcome the shortcomings of Romero's (1998) and Barros's (2013) analyses because the presence of R is directly tied to the feature that licenses ellipsis. This way, R is introduced only when the E-feature is present; hence, inheritance of content only ever occurs when ellipsis occurs.⁷

⁷ Interestingly, a very similar idea is found in Elbourne 2008, where it is independently argued that ellipsis sites in NP-ellipsis and VP-ellipsis are embedded under a functional head THE that in turn also introduces the R variable. Elbourne (2008:202) also suggests that THE may in fact be Merchant's (2001) ellipsis-licensing E-feature, and Bentzen, Merchant, and Svenonius (2013) extend this analysis to account for deep predicate anaphora in Norwegian. Once again, the presence of the R variable then is directly tied to the element licensing ellipsis.

5 Conclusion

To conclude, we showed in this squib that Barros effects, despite appearing to necessitate a cleft syntax in the ellipsis site, do not constitute an argument for cleft sources in sluicing. We also showed that such constructions do not provide an argument for an island repair mechanism in ellipsis (contra Saab 2015). Instead, we demonstrated that Barros effects are just a manifestation of inheritance-of-content effects. As such effects seem obligatory in sluicing and are rare if not impossible in unelided pre-sluices,⁸ we suggested that the R variable that provides the contextual restriction that underlies inheritance of content is present only when the element that licenses ellipsis is present.

References

- Abels, Klaus. 2011. Don't repair that island! It ain't broke. Ms., University College London.
- Aelbrecht, Lobke. 2010. *The syntactic licensing of ellipsis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Barros, Matthew. 2012. *Else-modification as a diagnostic for pseudosluicing*. Ms., Rutgers University. <http://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/001761>.
- Barros, Matthew. 2013. Harmonic sluicing: Which remnant-correlate pairs work and why. In *Proceedings of SALT 23*, ed. by Todd Snider, 295–315. <https://journals.linguisticsociety.org/proceedings/index.php/SALT/issue/view/85>.
- Barros, Matthew. 2014. *Sluicing and identity in ellipsis*. Doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University.
- Barros, Matthew, Patrick D. Elliott, and Gary Thoms. 2014. There is no island repair. Ms., Rutgers University, University College London, and University of Edinburgh. <http://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/002100>.
- Bentzen, Kristine, Jason Merchant, and Peter Svenonius. 2013. Deep properties of surface pronouns: Pronominal predicate anaphors in Norwegian and German. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 16:97–125.
- Bittner, Maria. 1998. Cross-linguistic semantics for questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 21:1–82.

⁸ Though see the discussion in footnote 5. It appears that some speakers do allow limited contextual restrictions outside of sluicing. Note that in these cases such a restriction is not obligatory, unlike the sluicing examples discussed throughout the squib. We tentatively suggest that contextual restriction can come from two distinct means: grammatical encoding via an R variable in the syntax/semantics as in sluicing or via an optional pragmatic mechanism. See Cappelen and Lepore 2004 for discussion of a similar idea.

- Cappelen, Herman, and Ernie Lepore. 2004. *Insensitive semantics: A defense of semantic minimalism and speech act pluralism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chung, Sandra, William Ladusaw, and James McCloskey. 1995. Sluicing and Logical Form. *Natural Language Semantics* 3: 239–282.
- Cooper, Robin. 1979. The interpretation of pronouns. In *Syntax and semantics 10: Selections from the Third Groningen Round Table*, ed. by Frank Heny and Helmut Schnelle, 61–92. New York: Academic Press.
- Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van. 2010. *The syntax of ellipsis: Evidence from Dutch dialects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dayal, Veneeta. 2016. *Questions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dayal, Veneeta, and Roger Schwarzschild. 2010. Definite inner antecedents and *wh*-correlates in sluices. In *Rutgers working papers in linguistics 3*, ed. by Peter Staroverov, Daniel Altshuler, Aaron Braver, Carlos A. Fasola, and Sarah Murray, 92–114. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Linguistics Graduate Students Association.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1990. Clitic doubling, *wh*-movement, and quantification in Romanian. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:351–397.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1994. *The syntax of Romanian*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Elbourne, Paul. 2005. *Situations and individuals*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Elbourne, Paul. 2008. Ellipsis sites as definite descriptions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39:191–220.
- Elliott, Patrick D., and Andrew Murphy. 2019. Unconditional sluicing: An ellipsis identity puzzle. *Snippets* 35:3–5.
- Evans, Gareth. 1980. Pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 11:337–362.
- von Stechow, Kai. 1994. Restrictions on quantifier domains. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Ginzburg, Jonathan. 1992. Questions, queries, and facts: A semantics and pragmatics for interrogatives. Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University.
- Gribanova, Vera. 2013. Copular clauses, clefts, and putative sluicing in Uzbek. *Language* 89:830–882.
- Gribanova, Vera, and Emily Manetta. 2016. Ellipsis in *wh*-in situ languages: Deriving apparent sluicing in Hindi-Urdu and Uzbek. *Linguistic Inquiry* 47:631–668.
- Grubic, Mira. 2017. Two strategies of reopening QUDs – Evidence from German *auch* and *noch*. In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 21*, ed. by Robert Truswell, Chris Cummins, Caroline Heycock, Brian Rabern, and Hannah Rohde, 517–534. <https://semanticsarchive.net/Archive/DRjNjViN/index.html>.
- Hamblin, C. L. 1973. Questions in Montague English. *Foundations of Language* 10:41–53.

- Heim, Irene. 1990. E-type pronouns and donkey anaphora. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 13:137–177.
- Heim, Irene, and Angelika Kratzer. 1998. *Semantics in generative grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hiraiwa, Ken, and Shinichiro Ishihara. 2012. Syntactic metamorphosis: Cleft, sluicing, and in-situ focus in Japanese. *Syntax* 15: 75–88.
- Jacobson, Pauline. 2016. The short answer: Implications for direct compositionality and vice versa. *Language* 92:331–375.
- Karttunen, Lauri. 1977. Syntax and semantics of questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1:3–44.
- Lipták, Anikó. 2013. A note on overt case marking as evidence for pseudosluicing. Ms., Leiden University.
- Merchant, Jason. 1998. Pseudosluicing: Elliptical clefts in Japanese and English. In *ZAS papers in linguistics 10*, ed. by Artemis Alexiadou, Nanna Fuhrhop, Paul Law, and Ursula Kleinhenz, 88–112. Berlin: Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft.
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Merchant, Jason. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27:661–738.
- Merchant, Jason. 2010. Three kinds of ellipsis. In *Context-dependence, perspective and relativity*, ed. by François Recanati, Isidora Stojanovic, and Neftalí Villanueva, 141–192. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Neale, Stephen. 1990. *Descriptions*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Paul, Ileana, and Eric Potsdam. 2012. Sluicing without *wh*-movement in Malagasy. In *Sluicing: Cross-linguistic perspectives*, ed. by Jason Merchant and Andrew Simpson, 164–182. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Potsdam, Eric. 2007. Malagasy sluicing and its consequences for the identity requirement on ellipsis. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25:577–613.
- Rodrigues, Cilene, Andrew Nevins, and Luis Vicente. 2009. Cleaving the interactions between sluicing and P-stranding. In *Romance languages and linguistic theory 2006*, ed. by Danièle Torck and W. Leo Wetzels, 245–270. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Romero, Maribel. 1998. Focus and reconstruction effects in *wh*-phrases. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Saab, Andrés. 2015. A note on *someone (else)*: An island repair solution and its competitors. *Linguistic Inquiry* 46:553–568.
- Theiler, Nadine. To appear. When additive particles can associate with *wh*-phrases. In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 23*.
- Umbach, Carla. 2012. Strategies of additivity: German additive *noch* compared to *auch*. *Lingua* 122:1843–1863.
- Weir, Andrew. 2014. Fragments and clausal ellipsis. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Luis Vicente
Universität Potsdam

Matthew Barros
Department of Linguistics
Washington University in St. Louis
matthew.barros@wustl.edu

Troy Messick
Department of Linguistics
Rutgers University
troy.messick@rutgers.edu

Andrés Saab
IIF-SADAF-CONICET
Universidad de Buenos Aires
al_saab75@yahoo.com.ar