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Syntactic identity, Parallelism and accommodated antecedents*

Analyses of the ellipsis identity condition must account for the fact that some syntactic mismatches between an ellipsis site E and its antecedent A are possible while others are not. Previous accounts have suggested that the relevant distinction is between different kinds of heads, such that some heads in the ellipsis site may mismatch while others may not, and they have dealt with this sensitivity to a set of “special heads” with a built-for-purpose syntactic identity condition which holds over and above semantic identity to constrain ellipsis. In this article I argue against this approach and pursue an alternative which holds that identity is syntactic but “loose” in a precisely defined way. I show that the relevant generalization that accounts for syntactic identity effects in sluicing and VP-ellipsis-like constructions concerns the position of variables in the antecedent, rather than the feature content of syntactic heads. I propose an implementation of syntactic identity which allows for the accommodation of additional antecedents, with these being derived by a grammatical algorithm for generating alternatives, and I show that this implementation derives the right kinds of looseness while restricting mismatches with respect to the position of variables, thus deriving both the tolerable and intolerable mismatches between E and A without recourse to a specific condition regulating the content of special heads.

Keywords: ellipsis, syntactic identity, sluicing, VP-ellipsis, Scottish Gaelic, Parallelism

1 Introduction

Much work on the ellipsis identity condition has revolved around the analysis of syntactic mismatches between the ellipsis site E and its antecedent A. These fall into two broad categories: *tolerable mismatches*, and *intolerable mismatches*. The existence of tolerable mismatches indicate that the identity condition cannot be one of strict isomorphism between E and A, but rather something looser, and they have been used by some (e.g. Merchant 2001, Merchant 2005, Potsdam 2007, Thoms 2013) to argue in favour of a strictly *semantic* formulation of the identity condition, which allows the relevant differences in syntactic form.¹ Some examples of quite substantial syntactic mismatches from Merchant (2001) are given in (1):

- (1) a. I remember meeting him, but I don't remember when I ~~met him~~.
b. Decorating for the holidays is easy if you know how ~~to decorate for the holidays~~.

However, recent work (e.g. Chung 2013, Merchant 2013b, Saab to appear) has concentrated on demonstrating the existence of *intolerable* mismatches: that is, mismatches between E and A which seem to cause the identity condition to fail (attested by the ungrammaticality of certain construals of ellipses). The intolerable mismatches in question are of significance because they seem not to be ruled out by semantic identity

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¹See also Barker (2013) for a theory of sluicing which accounts for these examples without making reference to unpronounced silent structure.

33 conditions like Merchant’s (2001) eGIVENness, but rather they seem to involve mismatches in formal con-
34 tent quite similar to the tolerated ones demonstrated by the likes of (1). As such, they seem to demand an
35 identity that is more sensitive to syntactic content than eGIVENness. The task, then, is to reformulate the
36 identity condition so that it affords enough looseness to allow for the tolerable mismatches, while ensuring
37 that it’s also strict enough in the right areas to rule out the intolerable mismatches.

38 There are at least three different ways in which we can do this: (i) restate the semantic identity in terms
39 of tighter semantic relations than entailment relations; (ii) embrace a “hybrid” identity condition which has a
40 localized syntactic condition alongside a version of the semantic identity condition; (iii) find a way to loosen
41 syntactic identity. Each of these options has different theoretical and empirical challenges to meet. Option
42 (i), pursued in Hartman (2009), would seem to struggle to account for a lot of the data used to motivate
43 syntactic identity conditions, since in many cases the mismatches in question make little or no semantic
44 contribution (see especially Lasnik 1995, Chung 2013), and yet they seem to trigger identity mismatches.
45 Option (ii) involves “bolting on” a syntactic identity condition which will ensure precise matches between
46 E and A with respect to some aspects of syntactic structure, while being able to ignore mismatches of the
47 kind seen in (1); the challenge here is not only to hone in on what the relevant bolt-on condition is, but also
48 to justify its existence, since in the absence of a fuller explanation this approach seems cumbersome at best,
49 incoherent at worst. Building on Merchant (2013b), Chung (2013) takes on this challenge, formulating a
50 specific syntactic identity condition which regulates the syntactic content of a subset of syntactic heads,
51 and she provides a sketchy account of why this might follow from an implementation of the LF-Copy
52 approach to ellipsis (Chung et al. 1995). In what follows we will see that this “special heads” account has
53 a number of problems. Option (iii), loosening syntactic identity, looks at first blush like a difficult one
54 to implement, since identity over syntactic representations seems to be somewhat cut-and-dry, involving
55 matching of feature content and the geometric relations between component parts (though see Arregui et al.
56 2006). Implementing the requisite looseness in syntactic identity theories, for instance in the LF Copy
57 approach, is a far from trivial task.

58 In this article I argue for a version of option (iii). I begin by zeroing in on the nature of syntactic identity
59 effects that have been discussed in the literature, and I show that contrary to previous claims, syntactic
60 identity effects cannot be characterised in terms of the feature content of specific heads. Specifically, I show
61 that the “special heads” condition of Chung (2013), which claims that intolerable syntactic mismatches
62 occur only when a certain set of syntactic heads mismatch between E and A with respect to (formal) feature
63 content, is lacking in motivation and directly falsified by a number of tolerable mismatches which involve
64 mismatches which her theory would rule out. In addition, I show that not only is the special heads theory
65 too restrictive, it is also too loose, in that it fails to rule out a large class of intolerable mismatches which do
66 not seem to involve mismatches in terms of the special heads theory she proposes, such as mismatches in
67 the form of verbs which restrict VP-ellipsis and related ellipsis constructions (Lasnik 1995, Potsdam 1997).

68 Re-examining the evidence, I show that the key factor which distinguishes tolerable and intolerable
69 mismatches is not the feature content of mismatching heads, but the *position* of variables dominated by, or
70 created by, these heads (Potsdam 1997). This indicates that the syntactic identity condition should be loos-
71 ened so as to allow mismatches in feature content, while it should be sensitive to the position of variables. I
72 propose that the relevant wriggle-room can be obtained if we adopt the idea in Fox (1999a), Beecher (2008),
73 van Craenenbroeck (2012) and Thoms (2013) that additional versions of the antecedent can be produced by
74 *accommodation*, with the looseness coming from the availability of these additional antecedents in the right
75 contexts. Adapting proposals in Katzir (2007), Singh (2008) and Fox & Katzir (2011), I propose that the
76 accommodation process involved in ellipsis identity makes use of a set of *structurally defined alternatives*,
77 with the structural conditions for creating new antecedents ensuring that only alternatives that are at most
78 as complex as the source structure are generated. The accommodation system allows for the right kinds of
79 looseness with respect to the morphological form of heads in the ellipsis site, but I argue that the complexity
80 condition on alternatives derives the restriction on variables serving as antecedents. The theory thus lets in
81 the right kind of looseness while continuing to account for the core restrictions.

82 The paper is structured as follows. In section 2, I review Chung’s (2013) hybrid identity condition and

83 argue against her syntactic condition, proposing instead that her data may be better accounted for in terms
84 of a syntactic implementation of Parallelism. In section 3 I consider a further set of syntactic identity effects
85 in VP-ellipsis in English and its analogue in Scottish Gaelic, and I show that these effects and the core cases
86 that were accounted for by Parallelism actually fall out of the restriction on variables serving as antecedents.
87 In section 4 I develop the theory of ellipsis identity. Section 5 concludes.

88 2 Chung’s “special heads” condition

89 In this section I critically review the hybrid identity condition proposed by Chung (2013), paying particular
90 attention to the “special heads” component responsible for regulating syntactic identity effects. Chung
91 develops her argument on the basis of analyses of constraints on sluicing in Chamorro and English, which
92 she attributes to mismatches in argument structure or Case-assignment configurations. Since the sluicing
93 examples are good in the absence of ellipsis, she attributes their failure as sluices to the identity condition,
94 and argues that only a syntactic identity condition could handle such mismatches. To this end she proposes
95 the condition in (2), which is given in a more elaborated form in (3).

96 (2) *Limited syntactic identity in sluicing (basic idea)*

97 The interrogative phrase of the sluice must be integrated into a substructure of the syntax in the
98 ellipsis site that is identical to the corresponding substructure of the antecedent clause.

99 (3) *Limited syntactic identity in sluicing (specifics)*

100 a. *Argument structure condition:* If the interrogative phrase is the argument of a predicate in the
101 ellipsis site, that predicate must have an argument structure identical to that of the correspond-
102 ing predicate in the antecedent clause.

103 b. *Case condition:* If the interrogative phrase is a DP, it must be Case-licensed in the ellipsis site
104 by a head identical to the corresponding head in the antecedent clause.

105 We will see in what follows that it is likely that most (but not all) of these cases may be ruled out inde-
106 pendently. In addition, we will also see well-formed examples of sluicing which would be ruled out by the
107 condition as it is formulated, indicating some other generalization must be sought.

108 2.1 Chung’s evidence

109 Chung provides a number of different sources of evidence for the two conditions of (3). The argument for
110 (3a), the condition on argument structure mismatches, is basically a replication in Chamorro of Merchant’s
111 (2013b) point regarding English: sluicing does not tolerate voice mismatches. In English, this is demon-
112 strated by examples like (4), where the presence of a passive structure in the ellipsis site is attested by the
113 fact that the sluicing remnant is a *by*-phrase.

114 (4) *Someone murdered Joe, but we don’t know who by ~~he was murdered~~. (Merchant 2013: 81)

115 The evidence in Chamorro is slightly more indirect. First, Chung demonstrates that extraction of agents
116 from passives in the *realis* mood is impossible in Chamorro, as demonstrated by (5). With this as back-
117 ground, she then shows that sluicing is ungrammatical when the correlate is the agent of a *realis* passive of
118 this kind, as in (6).

119 (5) *Håyi binisita i palão’an?
120 who? AGR.PASS.visit the woman
121 “Who was the woman visited by?”

122 (6) *Esta mang-ginacha’, lao ti in tingu’ hāyi
123 already AGR.PASS.detect but not AGR know who?

122 “*They were caught, but we don’t know who caught them”

123 As Chung notes, if voice mismatches were possible under sluicing, then it should be possible to construe
124 the sluice as active, with extraction of the agent of the active proceeding unimpeded. The fact that such
125 examples are ungrammatical thus indicates that the passive construal is forced for the sluice, and hence
126 ungrammaticality is attested because extraction is banned in these configurations (cf. (5)).² Chung con-
127 cludes, following Merchant (2013b), that the problem in these cases is that the specification of the Voice
128 head in E is different from that in A in all these cases, and such syntactic mismatches are not tolerated by
129 the condition in (3a). Chung and Merchant show that similar argument structure mismatches are also not
130 tolerated in sluicing, indicating that argument structure mismatches are in general banned. As they note,
131 eGIVENness does not rule out such mismatches.

132 Regarding Case, Chung provides three sources of evidence for (3b). Of these, two come from constraints
133 on “sprouting” (sluicing with an implicit correlate). First, Chung shows that while Chamorro allows for
134 extraction of possessors in many configurations, including in sluicing contexts, they cannot be sprouted.
135 This is shown by examples like (7). Note that if the antecedent is changed so that the possessor correlate is
136 realised overtly as an indefinite, the sluice is grammatical.

137 (7) *Ilek-ña si Joe na guaha *påtgun* måtai, lao ti ha sangåni yu’ hån̄i
 say-AGR UM Joe C AGR-exist child.L WH.AGR-die but not AGR say-to me who
138 ‘Joe said that there was a child who died, but he didn’t tell me whose.’

139 Second, oblique complements cannot be sprouted in English and Chamorro. This is seen quite clearly in
140 English in examples like (8a), which contrast minimally with examples where the whole oblique is sprouted
141 (8b). Similar effects are demonstrated for Chamorro, which I leave out here for the sake of space.

142 (8) a. *She’s jealous, but it’s not clear who ~~she’s jealous of t~~
143 b. She’s jealous but it’s not clear of who ~~she’s jealous t~~

144 Chung argues that what these two constraints have in common is that there must be a Case-assigning head
145 present in E which is not present in A: in the sprouted possessor examples, this is a mismatch with respect to
146 features on the (null) D head which assigns Case to the possessor, and in the sprouted oblique complement
147 examples it is a mismatch with respect to the oblique heads, in English the prepositions, which assign
148 Case to their complements (oblique PPs can be sprouted because they are not Case-marked). Chung thus
149 takes these restrictions to motivate the Case constraint in (3b), since in all these cases a semantic identity
150 condition like eGIVENness would not provide the right restriction.

151 Chung’s final argument for the Case condition comes from a restriction on sluicing with nominative
152 subject remnants when the antecedent is an infinitive:

153 (9) *Having to compromise is inevitable, but they have no idea who ~~has to compromise~~.

154 Chung notes that the mismatch between E and A with respect to finiteness is not necessarily the issue, as
155 examples like (1a) (from Merchant 2001) show that such mismatches can be tolerated in principle. However,
156 (9) differs from (1a) in that in the former, the sluicing remnant is Case-marked by a Case-assignor that is not
157 present in the antecedent, namely finite T (which is not present in A). Chung concludes that this is another
158 situation where what counts is that there is a mismatch in the syntactic feature content of a head which does
159 a particular job, in this situation assign Case to the sluicing remnant; (3b) then rules out (9) accordingly.
160 Chung stresses that these show that it is not the case that certain heads count for syntactic identity in all
161 configurations; rather, these heads are only “special heads” which are regulated by the syntactic identity
162 condition when they somehow integrate an ellipsis remnant into the (silent) structure. Thus the feature

²It is not clear whether the lack of repair would be compatible with the LF Copy theory of Chung et al. (1995), as on this approach the *wh*-remnant is not extracted but base-generated in its surface position, yielding island-insensitivity (Ross 1969, but see Barros et al. 2014).

163 content of T can be ignored in examples like (1a), since in that situation it's not Case-marking a remnant.

164 2.2 Against the special heads analysis

165 In all of the cases above, Chung blames the restrictions identified on mismatches in the feature content
166 of heads which integrate the sluicing remnants into the structure in some way; in the argument structure
167 examples, this is the feature content of Voice (passive in one, active in another), and in the Case condition
168 examples, it is the feature content of a Case assigner. However, the problem with this is that there are many
169 other things that could be going wrong in each of the case studies at hand. If it can be shown that there
170 are alternative analyses for the restrictions, and perhaps even that they have a common root, then one could
171 argue that Chung's special heads explanation is to be dispreferred in favour of alternative accounts which
172 have more generality and less theoretical machinery.

173 We can begin to build this case by looking more closely at the English Case-matching data, (9). Recall
174 that the explanation for the badness here is that E contains a Case assigner, finite T, which is not present in
175 A; this predicts that sluicing will always fail when A is an infinitive and E is a finite clause, and the sluice is
176 a nominative subject with a non-nominative correlate in the subject position of the infinitive. However this
177 prediction is not borne out: if we take versions of (1a) and make the correlate the infinitive subject, sluicing
178 is fine even though the *wh*-remnant is extracted from a finite clause and is Case-marked by T like in (9):

- 179 (10) a. I remember someone complaining, but I just can't remember who ~~complained~~.
180 b. I remember something upsetting you greatly, but we can't remember what ~~upset you greatly~~.

181 These should be ruled out for the same reason that (9) is ruled out on Chung's analysis, but they are clearly
182 grammatical. These examples falsify (3b), and they tell us that we need an alternative explanation for (9) and
183 the other Case-matching data. The crucial difference between (9) and (10) is that in (10) the correlates are
184 overtly realized indefinites, whereas in (9) the correlate seems to be the PRO subject. It is well-known that
185 sluicing correlates must take wide scope in parallel to the *wh*-remnants, in order to satisfy *Scope Parallelism*
186 (henceforth *Parallelism*). As a condition on ellipsis,³ *Parallelism* demands that scopal relations in E must be
187 identical to those in A (Tancredi 1992, Rooth 1992, Fiengo & May 1994, Fox 1999a, Fox 2000, Griffiths &
188 Lipták to appear); it follows from this condition that correlates are typically wide-scoping weak quantifiers,
189 like indefinites or foci, so that they scope in parallel with the *wh*-remnant of the sluiced clause. With this
190 in mind, consider the scenario in (9): the arbitrary PRO subject is neither an indefinite nor a focus, so it is
191 not a suitable correlate and hence *Parallelism* is violated in (9) (see also Chung et al. 1995, Romero 1998,
192 Merchant 2001, ch.5). *Parallelism* thus rules out the apparent Case-matching effect described by Chung for
193 (9), all the while admitting the good examples in (10).⁴

194 What the preceding shows is that the badness of certain extractions that would be licit without ellipsis
195 are not always to be attributed to mismatches in the content of certain syntactic heads, but rather they can
196 often be attributed to unrelated identity constraints like *Parallelism*. As it happens, *Parallelism* may actually
197 offer an explanation for rest of the sluicing data which Chung uses to motivate her identity condition, as
198 in all of the relevant cases it seems likely that the correlate and sluicing remnant do not scope in parallel.

³I concentrate on *Parallelism* as a condition on ellipsis here, putting to one side the question of whether the conditions discussed here hold in the same way with deaccenting. Tancredi (1992) argues that this is indeed the case with VP-ellipsis, but there has been very little work on deaccenting in cases of TP-ellipsis to date (the notable exception being a brief discussion in Romero 1998, 28-29), so this has to be left as a topic for future work.

⁴There may be other issues which rule out (9) independently. For instance, a reviewer notes that (i), which has an indefinite *for-to* subject which would be able to satisfy *parallelism*, is also substantially degraded:

- (i) *For someone to have to compromise is inevitable, but we don't know who ~~has to compromise~~.

It is possible that there are semantic differences between E and A here given that *for* infinitives typically have a modal component, but exploring this would take me too far afield here. What seems clear is that the argument for Chung's condition is not as clear-cut as it seemed.

199 This is easy to see with voice mismatches like (4), where the variable created by the wide-scoping correlate
 200 in A is in the subject position but the variable created by *wh*-movement of the sluicing remnant is in the
 201 peripheral position occupied by *by*-phrases:⁵

- 202 (11) A: [_{CP} someone λx [_{TP} x [_{T'} [_{VoiceP} [_{VP} murdered Joe]]]]]
 203 E: [_{CP} [_{PP} by who] λx [_{TP} he [_{T'} was_i [_{VOICEP} t_i [_{VP} [_{VP} murdered —] x]]]]]

204 If Parallelism is ultimately a condition which regulates the position of variables (see e.g. Fox & Lasnik
 205 2003 for such a proposal), then such structures violate this condition and may be ruled out independent of
 206 the content of Voice. A similar explanation would extend to the Chamorro facts, as well as the other related
 207 argument structure mismatches discussed by Merchant (2013b), which all involve non-parallel A'-extraction
 208 of a very similar kind.

209 Regarding the data from sprouted possessors, Parallelism may also provide an explanation. As noted
 210 by Chung et al. (1995, 277-280) and Merchant (2001, 148-149), sprouting is quite restricted, and Merchant
 211 connects this restrictedness to the fact that implicit arguments typically take very narrow scope. Thus he
 212 notes that sprouting is sensitive to scope islands in a way that sluicing with overt correlates are not, as shown
 213 by (12) for negative islands. The failure of (12a) can be characterized as a Scope Parallelism failure: the
 214 implicit correlate cannot take wide scope parallel to the *wh*-remnant.

- 215 (12) a. *No one is eating, but we don't know what ~~no one is eating~~ t
 216 b. No one is eating something, but we don't know what ~~no one is eating~~ t

217 What I would like to suggest is that the same restriction is involved in constraining sprouting of possessors of
 218 Chamorro. Larson (1985) has argued that DP is a scope island in English,⁶ so if similar arguments hold for
 219 Chamorro we may expect that the implicit possessor correlates in Chung's (7) are unable to take wide scope
 220 parallel to the sprouted *wh*-remnants, thus failing to satisfy Parallelism. Further argumentation is needed to
 221 confirm or refute this analysis of Chung's facts (see e.g. Johnson 2001 for interesting complications), but
 222 at the very least this stands as a plausible alternative analysis which needs to be dispensed with in order for
 223 the Case-based analysis to go through.

224 It is less clear whether a similar Parallelism-based explanation can account for the data from sprouted
 225 oblique complements. Consider again Chung's English data, which shows that while the oblique itself can
 226 be sprouted (8b), its complement cannot, as indicated by the fact that the head of the oblique cannot be
 227 stranded.

- 228 (13) a. *She's jealous, but it's not clear who ~~she's jealous of~~ t
 229 b. She's jealous, but it's not clear of who ~~she's jealous~~ t

230 A Parallelism-based analysis of these cases would need to appeal to the fact that in A the correlate is an
 231 implicit oblique PP, whereas in E the remnant is a DP contained within a PP, with these having different
 232 scopal properties which may thus lead to a Parallelism failure. Whether Scope Parallelism as assumed
 233 here is sensitive enough to make these distinctions is not clear at present, but what does seem clear is that
 234 the character of the data is very similar to the other cases above: there is a mismatch between E and A
 235 with respect to the operators which take wide scope, one that may give rise to non-parallelism between the
 236 dependencies. As we have already seen, the mismatch that is responsible is unlikely to be in Case-marking
 237 features, since this sort of condition was falsified by (10). We will return to these cases in more detail
 238 below, but for now I will conclude that they may plausibly be given an alternative analysis not in terms of
 239 mismatches in the content of special heads in E and A, but rather in terms of mismatches in the form of
 240 dependencies which look into positions within them.

⁵As a reviewer notes, this is incompatible with an approach to the passive like Collins (2005), where the *by*-phrase is base-generated in Spec,νP. See Bruening (2012) for a more directly compatible approach to the passive, which argues that the *by*-phrase is generated outside of νP as an adjunct.

⁶Sauerland (2005) disputes this, but his arguments are addressed and countered by Charlow (2010).

241 The preceding discussion skirts a number of issues which require a bit more attention. One such issue
 242 is the comparison of sluicing with VP-ellipsis: why is it that VP-ellipsis can tolerate voice mismatches (in
 243 limited discourse conditions, Kehler 2002), as in (14), whereas sluicing cannot?

244 (14) This can be explained in an informal fashion, and I often do ~~explain it in an informal fashion~~

245 Examples such as this would seem to involve non-parallel extraction of the kind that gives rise to a Par-
 246 allelism violation in (11), at least on the assumption that A-movement creates variable-binding relations
 247 which are visible for the calculation of Parallelism, as in Hartman (2011). This can be seen in the schematic
 248 of (14) in (15), where the variable in the object position of the antecedent is not matched by one in the same
 249 position in the ellipsis site.

250 (15) A: [TP This λx [T can [VOICE be [VP x $\lambda x'$ explained x' ...]]]]
 251 E: [TP I λx [T do [VOICE [VP ~~x explain this ...]]]]~~

252 There are a few options for addressing this issue. Perhaps the best one is to adopt the suggestion in Las-
 253 nik (1995) and Fox (1999b) that A-movement differs fundamentally from A'-movement in that it does not
 254 obligatorily leave copies that are then converted into operator-variable chains at LF, unless it is necessary
 255 for scope reconstruction.⁷ This would mean that there would be no variable binding relations of the kind
 256 schematized in (15), and hence Parallelism would not necessarily be violated with VP-ellipsis voice mis-
 257 matches like these. This makes a degree of sense given that A-moved arguments are not typically analysed
 258 as operators like their A'-moved counterparts are, and it is supported by Messick & Thoms (2014), who
 259 reappraise the arguments in Hartman (2011) and show that the evidence actually weighs against counting
 260 A-traces in the calculation of Parallelism. Presumably this difference would follow from an adequate theory
 261 of the A/A'-distinction, although I am not in a position to provide a full account of how just now.⁸

262 On this account, then, the crucial difference between VP-ellipsis and sluicing on this account is that VP-
 263 ellipsis involves non-Parallel A-dependencies while sluicing and most of the other elliptical constructions
 264 which ban voice mismatches (stripping, fragments, pseudogapping) involve non-Parallel A'-dependencies.
 265 This is quite distinct from the account that is given by Merchant (2013b), where the crucial difference is
 266 the size of the ellipsis site. With VP-ellipsis, the ellipsis site is as small as just the VP, and Voice is external
 267 to the ellipsis site and thus a mismatch in Voice specification between antecedent clause and ellipsis clause
 268 is tolerated; it is not part of what is considered by the ellipsis identity condition, which includes a “special
 269 heads” clause of the kind outlined above. By contrast, sluicing always includes Voice, since it is TP-
 270 ellipsis, and so the identity condition dictates that E and A must have the same voice specification, thus

⁷A second, less elegant option is to follow Hartman (2009) in proposing that voice mismatches in VP-ellipsis are generally bad, and that the exceptions identified by Kehler and Merchant are cases where we “go beyond the grammar” to use flawed antecedents in the right discourse conditions (cf. Arregui et al. 2006).

⁸As a reviewer notes, the proposed account seems to predict that voice mismatches ought not to be compatible with scope reconstruction back into the VP, and (i) indicates that this prediction is unfulfilled as the indefinite seems to allow a non-specific reading.

(i) A prisoner should have been released, but the authorities chose not to.

However this may plausibly be derived by reconstructing the subject to some intermediate position outside of the VP that forms the antecedent, since it is known that A-moved DPs can undergo scope reconstruction to intermediate A-trace positions (Sauerland 2003). It is very difficult to pin down clear evidence for A-reconstruction back into the VP-internal position in passives, and in fact in some cases passivisation seems to preclude reconstruction entirely; for instance, Aoun (1982) notes that with ECM infinitives, passivization of the ECM predicate removes the option to reconstruct the embedded subject:

(ii) a. I believe someone from New York to be likely to win the lottery. *likely*> \exists
 b. Someone from New York is believed to be likely to win the lottery. **likely*> \exists

Quite why A-reconstruction into passivized VPs should be ruled out in these cases is not clear (though see Nevins & Anand 2003 for a proposal), but this fact about passivization and reconstruction lends plausibility to the alternative analysis of (i) as involving intermediate reconstruction. See Fox (2000) for much discussion of the interaction of scope parallelism and reconstruction.

271 ruling out voice mismatches. An adequate comparison of the two accounts would also need to address
272 the various other mismatch restrictions which are discussed by Merchant, but my main objective here is to
273 indicate how the grammatical mismatch data can be rendered compatible with the present account. I do not
274 provide an account of all the VP-ellipsis mismatches that are ruled out, such as those involving transitive-
275 intransitive alternations like causatives. I believe that many of these restrictions may ultimately follow from
276 the discourse conditions which restrict mismatches in VP-ellipsis, as described in detail by Kehler (2002)
277 and more recently Kertz (2010),⁹ but showing this would require a substantial digression which I cannot
278 pursue here.

279 **2.3 Syntactic mismatches?**

280 We have seen that the facts taken by Chung to argue in favour of a “special heads” based approach to
281 syntactic identity may in fact be analysed in terms of some version of Parallelism. Given that there are
282 clear counter-examples to Chung’s own version of the special heads condition, in particular for the Case
283 condition, this parallelism-based analysis seems to be the right way to go. But if this is correct, we then need
284 to consider how Parallelism should be implemented or formulated in order to capture these facts. Many of
285 the phenomena attributed to Parallelism can be reduced to a semantic identity condition like eGIVENness;
286 for instance, Merchant (2001) shows that the sensitivity of sprouted arguments to negative islands follows
287 from the fact that “nobody is eating” does not entail “there is something that nobody is eating,” as would
288 be required for (12a) (and which is available for (12b)). The impossibility of sluicing with unfocused
289 definite correlates, invoked to explain (9) above, is explained in terms of GIVENness (which is folded into
290 Merchant’s ellipsis-specific condition) by Romero (1998), so these cases could also be explained without
291 recourse to syntactic identity.

292 However it is not obvious that all of the other cases of apparent Parallelism failures, in particular the ar-
293 gument structure mismatches and the constraint on sprouting oblique complements, can be explained away
294 in terms of semantic identity, since in these cases eGIVENness seems to be satisfied (the correlates should be
295 able to take wide scope).¹⁰ What these cases seem to call for is a syntactic implementation of Parallelism,
296 along the lines of that proposed in Fox & Lasnik (2003), Griffiths & Lipták (to appear) and others, accord-
297 ing to which it is effectively an LF-isomorphism condition of sorts. On some implementations, such as Fox
298 (1999a), this follows from making the ellipsis identity condition one of strict syntactic isomorphism, but
299 we know now that this won’t work for our own purposes. An alternative is that Parallelism is an additional
300 constraint which is bolted on to regular semantic identity (much like with Chung’s approach); this is what
301 is proposed by Griffiths & Lipták (to appear), who propose the condition in (16). This exact formulation
302 would not do for all of the data discussed so far, as it only regulates the positions of the binders, not the
303 variables, but we could restate the condition in a much stronger form to account for this. Such a restatement
304 is given roughly in (17).

305 (16) Parallelism (adapted from Griffiths & Lipták to appear): variables in the elided constituent E must
306 be bound from parallel positions in its antecedent constituent A.

307 (17) Parallelism (revised): an elided constituent E and its antecedent A must be isomorphic with respect
308 to variable binding configurations.

309 Although this condition may get the right results, a worry is that its overlap with a condition like eGIVENness
310 is suspiciously large, and its theoretical status is also questionable. Given this, one may be tempted to
311 go back to the drawing board with Chung’s condition, perhaps to reconsider how ellipsis remnants are
312 “integrated” into the substructure in the ellipsis site. However in the next section I develop further arguments
313 for analysing syntactic identity effects in terms of a condition like (17).

⁹I thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing the significance of Kertz’s work to my attention.

¹⁰A relevant test here is whether the *deaccented* versions of the sluices are well-formed. Unfortunately there is little discussion of IP-deaccenting in the literature, barring a brief mention in Romero (1998, 28-29); filling in this picture would take us too far afield here.

3 IP-level identity effects

In this section I consider a set of tolerable and intolerable syntactic mismatches in the IP-domain, namely the English morphological mismatch effects discovered by Warner (1993) and then made famous by Lasnik (1995). Building on insights in Potsdam (1997), I show that these effects also do not follow from an identity condition which regulates the content of a special set of syntactic heads (like Chung’s), but they do follow from a Parallelism-based explanation of the type discussed above, with the position of variables again being crucial for whether or not mismatches are possible. However I then consider very similar effects in Scottish Gaelic, where an explanation in terms of a condition like (17) is not so straightforward. This will take us in the direction of a more specific constraint, which I then derive in section 4.

3.1 Warner’s auxiliary verb generalization

We begin with a well-known generalization from Warner (1993) regarding ellipsis of *be* in English. The key observation is this: while VP-ellipsis¹¹ may optionally delete *be* and *have* when the same form occurs in A, as in (18), this is often restricted when a different form occurs in A, as in (19).

- (18) a. John has been fired, and Mary has (been) too
b. John should be fired, and Mary should (be) too.
c. John might have been feeling sick, and Mary might have (been) too.
d. John should be downstairs, and Mary should (be) too.
- (19) a. John was fired, and Mary will *(be), too.
b. Chris has been to Rome and his wife might *(have), as well. (Potsdam 1997)
c. I am confused by this, and Mary has *(been) for a long time.
d. John was here, and Mary will *(be), too. (Lasnik 1995)
e. John is happy today, and he often has *(been) in the past. (Warner, 1993, 52)

This restriction on deletion of non-identical forms of the verb is particularly interesting since it only seems to hold of *be* and *have*: lexical verbs may differ in their form between E and A, as shown by (20). On the basis of this, Warner proposes the generalization in (21).

- (20) a. John has slept, and now Mary will **sleep**.
b. I didn’t steal the cake, although I could have **stolen** the cake.
c. Are they arguing? They always do **argue** (Potsdam (1997))
- (21) Warner’s Auxiliary Verb Generalization (Warner 1993: 56)
In cases of ellipsis of a VP headed by an auxiliary verb, the auxiliary must have the exact same morphological form as its antecedent.

Warner’s Generalization presents another challenge for those aiming to formulate the identity condition, since on the surface it looks like another set of tolerable and intolerable syntactic identity effects; that is, morphological identity is required with *be* and *have*, but not with lexical verbs.

Perhaps the best-known account of Warner’s Generalization is Lasnik’s (1995) early Minimalist analysis, which takes as crucial the fact that *be* and *have* typically raise to T whereas lexical verbs don’t. Building on proposals in Chomsky (1995), Lasnik proposes a partially Lexicalist analysis of the English auxiliary system, where auxiliaries and lexical verbs are taken to be fundamentally different in their morphosyntax: auxiliaries enter derivation fully inflected, but lexical verbs do not, instead combining with their affixes by affix hopping (he calls this a “hybrid” approach to verbal morphology). Assuming that the ellipsis identity is one of strict syntactic identity, and that even copies left by movement must match between E and A,

¹¹I use the term “VP-ellipsis” here for the sake of keeping with traditional descriptions. In many cases this would seem to be inaccurate, for instance when a projection containing auxiliary *be* is deleted. Sag (1976, 53) introduced the term “post-auxiliary ellipsis,” but that would not be adequate for describing the Scottish Gaelic data in section 3.3.

355 Lasnik thus derives the ungrammaticality of examples like (19a) from the fact that the lower copy of head
356 movement in A, *was*, is non-identical to the unraised nonfinite form in the same position in E, *be*.

357 (22) *John was fired, and Mary will ~~be~~ fired, too.

358 A: [TP John was [VoiceP was [VP fired]]]

359 E: [TP Mary will [VoiceP ~~be~~—[VP fired—]]]

360 Lexical verbs differ on this account because they do not enter the derivation fully inflected, but rather they
361 combine with their affixes via affix hopping. (23) schematizes (20a), where we see that the form of the
362 lexical verb is identical in the LFs of E and A.

363 (23) John has slept, and now Mary will sleep.

364 A: [TP John has + en [VP sleep]]]

365 E: [TP Mary will [VP sleep—]]]

366 Thus Lasnik's system derives the core content of Warner's Generalization.¹² An important characteristic
367 of this analysis is that it does not treat the different classes of verb differently with respect to ellipsis
368 identity, that is, it is not a "special heads" kind of theory. Rather, it derives the difference between them
369 from the fact that they differ with respect to raising to T.

370 However, subsequent work has identified a number of problems for Lasnik's analysis of the morpholog-
371 ical mismatches in English VP-ellipsis (Potsdam 1997, Omaki 2007). Particularly relevant here is Potsdam
372 (1997), which challenges the basic generalization in (21). As Potsdam notes, many cases of mismatches
373 are acceptable or at least a lot better when *be* in both E and A is non-finite. His data is in (24), which he
374 presents without precise judgments but the comment that "many of the examples seem fully acceptable,
375 though others are degraded" (p.8).

376 (24) a. John is being examined, but Jack really should ~~be~~ examined also.

377 b. He might be attending AA sessions, I know his mother has ~~been~~ attending AA sessions

378 c. John may be questioning our motives, but Peter hasn't ~~been~~ questioning our motives

379 d. [Snoopy talking to Woodstock, *Peanuts* cartoon]

380 You and I are a lot alike... just a common bird and a common dog. Of course, if we wanted to
381 ~~be~~ great, we could have been great... but we didn't need to ~~be~~ great.

382 Potsdam emphasises that while some of these examples are not perfect, there is a strong contrast between
383 these and those cases where the form of *belhave* in A is finite, which are fully ungrammatical. I and
384 my informants agree with Potsdam's assessment of the data, and in (25) below I provide a number of
385 additional examples which further demonstrate that deleting mismatching forms of *be* is very often fully
386 grammatical.¹³

387 (25) a. A: John is being very cautious.

388 B: Well you would ~~be~~ very cautious if you were in his shoes!

¹²Lasnik notes an apparent problem for this analysis with examples like (i): since the affix is not combined with the verb, it seems to violate the stray affix filter.

(i) John will sleep, and Mary has slept already.

A: [TP John will [VP sleep]]]

E: [TP Mary has +en {VP sleep—}]]

This problem can be avoided if we assume that affix hopping is a postsyntactic process, with identity condition being calculated over LF representations. In this case, there is no stray affix violation, as the affixes combine in morphology, but this does not create a problem for the identity condition, since this compares the pre-combined forms. For relevant discussion see Harwood (2013).

¹³These examples with copula *be* seem to be particularly good. One possible explanation for this difference may be that such examples are not ambiguous between parses that do and do not have *be* in the ellipsis site; for instance, (24b) has the reading *his mother has attended AA sessions*, where there is no *be* mismatch, but this isn't an option in (25a)-(25b).

- 389 b. He might be rude to the guests; I know he has ~~been~~ ~~rude to the guests~~ in the past!
- 390 c. The president should be pressured into taking a vote; if he hasn't ~~been~~ ~~pressured into taking~~
- 391 ~~a vote~~ by the end of the week, the coalition will have failed.
- 392 d. Everyone thought John should have been fired, but we all knew that he wouldn't ~~be~~ ~~fired~~ when
- 393 it came down to it as he's the boss' son.

394 In all these examples, *be* is in different form in E and A but it can be deleted with little or no degradation.

395 What this tells us is that Warner's Generalization is not quite right, and it follows from this that Lasnik's

396 account, which imposes strict syntactic identity between E and A, is not going to work for this data. More

397 significantly, this shows the key difference between the good mismatch cases and the truly ungrammatical

398 cases in (19), where the *belhave* in A is finite and in T, is the position of corresponding elements in A, rather

399 than their morphological form. As with Chung's sluicing mismatches, this seems to invite an explanation

400 in terms of Parallelism.

401 3.2 A Parallelism-based analysis

402 In this section I will argue that the Warner/Potsdam facts can be accounted for in terms of the Parallelism-

403 based analysis outlined earlier. To see this, consider the following schematics of the relevant good and

404 bad cases discussed above. (26a) exemplifies the bad mismatch examples identified by Warner, in which

405 deleting a non-finite form of *belhave* in E is deleted under (non-)identity with a finite form in A; as we

406 can see, in these cases *be* is extracted from the antecedent site, and so in A a trace occupies a position

407 corresponding to a nonfinite form of *be* in E. (26b) is representative of Potsdam's good mismatches, where

408 different forms of *be* occupy the same position in the inflectional layer. Finally, (27a) demonstrates the good

409 cases where the inflectional layers of E and A are fully parallel. For concreteness, I assume the auxiliary

410 system proposed in Bjorkman (2011), in which auxiliaries are inserted directly into inflectional projections

411 (TP, PerfP, AspP, VoiceP) to bear inflectional morphemes.

- 412 (26) a. *John was fired, and Mary will ~~be~~ ~~fired~~, too.
- 413 A: [TP John T+be_i [VOICEP t_i [VP fired]]]
- 414 E: [TP Mary T+will [~~VOICEP be~~ [~~VP fired~~]]] = (19a), core data from Warner
- 415
- 416 b. John is being examined, but Jack really should ~~be~~ ~~examined~~, also.
- 417 A: [TP John T+be_i [ASPP t_i [VOICEP being [VP examined]]]]
- 418 E: [TP Jack T+should [~~VOICEP be~~ [~~VP examined~~]]] = (24a), Potsdam's good cases
- 419
- 420 c. John has been fired, and Mary has ~~been~~ ~~fired~~, too.
- 421 A: [TP John T+has_i [PERFP t_i [VOICEP been [VP fired]]]]
- 422 E: [TP Mary T+has_j [PERFP t_j [~~VOICEP been~~ [~~VP fired~~]]]] = (18a), fully parallel cases

423 The crucial difference between the bad (26a) and the good (26b)-(26c) is that only in (26a) are E and A

424 distinct with respect to the position of variables and their binders (assuming with Lechner 2007 and Hartman

425 2011 that head movement chains are represented as variable binding relations just like A'-movement).

426 (27a)-(27b) schematize (26a) and (26b) in a little more detail to make this clear:

- 427 (27) a. A: [TP John T+be λx [VOICEP x [VP fired]]]
- 428 E: [TP Mary T+will [~~VOICEP be~~ [~~VP fired~~]]]
- 429
- 430 b. A: [TP John T+be λx [ASPP x [VOICEP being [VP examined]]]]
- 431 E: [TP Jack T+should [~~VOICEP be~~ [~~VP examined~~]]]

432 Non-isomorphism with respect to variable binding relations in the elided constituent and its antecedent

433 causes a violation of the Parallelism constraint in (17), so (27a) would be ruled out correctly. (27b) is

434 different: the constituent that is elided, VoiceP, and its corresponding constituent in the antecedent clause do
 435 not differ with respect to variable binding (though there are differences in the surrounding clause structure),
 436 so (17) does not rule this out. Thus the Parallelism condition accounts for the English VP-ellipsis mismatch
 437 facts without appealing to strict morphological identity, which we know to be too strict independent of
 438 these facts (cf. (1)), or indeed the “hybrid” Lexicalist approach to the auxiliary system, which has its own
 439 theoretical hurdles to cross (Omaki 2007; see also Baker 1988, Marantz 1997, Bobaljik 2012).

440 3.3 Syntactic mismatches in Scottish Gaelic “verbal ellipsis”

441 In this section I introduce a new set of IP-level morphological mismatches from a VP-ellipsis-like construc-
 442 tion in Scottish Gaelic, which I will call “verbal ellipsis” (for reasons that will become clear). These facts
 443 provide further evidence for the picture sketched for English above, in particular the ban on configurations
 444 like (27a), as well as the possibility of a number of mismatches in the form of a head within (or originating
 445 within) the ellipsis site. However, we will see that Scottish Gaelic (henceforth Gaelic) verbal ellipsis also
 446 allows for mismatches which the Parallelism condition in (17) would rule out, specifically where there are
 447 variables in E that do not correspond to parallel variables in A. We thus arrive at a more refined picture of
 448 which mismatches are tolerated and which ones aren’t.

449 Before we proceed, it is necessary to be clear about the analysis of Gaelic clause structure which we will
 450 be working with. As is well-known, Gaelic is a head-initial VSO language from the Goidelic branch of the
 451 Celtic language family, and like its neighbouring languages, Gaelic VSO is derived from an underlying SVO
 452 structure by movement of the finite verb to some head position to the left of the subject (Adger 1994, 2000;
 453 Ramchand 1997); this is evidenced by the fact that in clauses where the finite verb is an auxiliary, the lexical
 454 verb appears in a position to the right in an SVO configuration. As one may expect, the analysis of the exact
 455 position of the verb depends on where we locate the subject, and developments in the proper analysis of
 456 this matter has been tied up with wider developments in generative syntax on comparative clause structure.
 457 Early work like Emonds (1978) and Stowell (1981) proposed that the Celtic subject position is the same one
 458 that the English subject occupies, in modern terms Spec,TP, with the verb moved to C like in the Germanic
 459 V2 languages (see also Carnie 1995, Duffield 1996). This “V1-analysis” fell out of favour as McCloskey
 460 (1991; 1996) showed that the VP-internal subject hypothesis (not available to Emonds or Stowell) made
 461 Celtic VSO compatible with an analysis where the verb is moved just to T like in French. McCloskey
 462 argued that this turn away from the V1 analysis to what we may call a “V-to-T” analysis was supported by
 463 the fact that Celtic verb movement past the subject was unlike the verb movement past subjects in Germanic
 464 V2, in that the former occurred in embedded clauses and in the presence of overt complementizers while
 465 the latter did not.

466 However, in later work McCloskey (1997) demonstrated that the subject in Irish VSO finite clauses is
 467 not in its base position within the vP, but rather in some derived position higher in the IP-domain (these facts
 468 were replicated for Gaelic by Adger 2000). This is shown by the fact that it occurs to the left of clause-
 469 medial adverbs (McCloskey 1997, Adger 2000), as in Gaelic examples like (28) (the reverse subject-adverb
 470 order is not possible).

- 471 (28) Bhiodh bana-bhuidsich gu tric a’ briseadh nan sguaban aca
 472 be-COND witches often IMP break-VN the broomsticks at-3PL
 “Witches would often break their broomsticks.” Adger (2010)

473 Adger (2010) strengthened the case for taking this subject position to be a derived position in Gaelic by
 474 showing that the subject occurs to the *right* of these adverbs just when the sentence has an existential
 475 interpretation, as in (29) (the reverse order is again impossible on this interpretation). Given that subjects
 476 typically stay low in existentials, this indicates that subjects in examples like (28) are indeed moved to a
 477 derived position, rather than generally being base-generated in some specifier above the adjunction position
 478 for such adverbs.

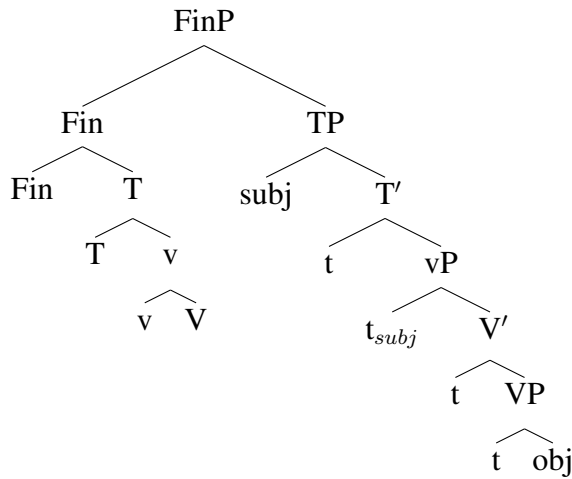
479 (29) Bhiodh gu tric bana-bhuidsich a' briseadh nan sguaban aca aig an àm sin
 be-COND often witches IMP break-VN the broomsticks at-3PL at the time that
 480 "There would often be witches breaking their broomsticks at that time." Adger (2010)

481 Regarding the location of this derived subject position, McCloskey (1997) proposed that it is an agreement-
 482 related projection below TP, resisting the temptation to unify the subject raising in VSO with that seen
 483 in English and other languages; as he noted, this seems to be justified by the fact that the conditions on
 484 subject realization in VSO are distinct from those in English, for instance with respect to the obligatoriness
 485 of expletive insertion when there is no derived subject in the subject position (cf. (29) and its English
 486 translation). This kept constant the assumption that verb is in T, from McCloskey (1991, 1996), which also
 487 seemed to force locating the subject in a lower specifier.

488 However, the V-to-T analysis has been challenged in work since then, with some further arguments
 489 emerging in favour of the V1 analysis. Hendrick (2000) showed that McCloskey's (1996) arguments against
 490 the V1 analysis, which hinged on the proposal that the verb cannot occupy the highest head position in the
 491 clause, are undermined if we adopt Rizzi's (1997) cartographic model of the left periphery, according to
 492 which there are several head positions above TP; in addition Hendrick also showed that the wider range of
 493 facts from the other Celtic languages actually supported adopting the V1 analysis over the V-to-T analysis
 494 (see also Roberts 2005). More recently, Thoms (2014b) has provided an argument for the V1 analysis by
 495 comparing constraints on extraction from ellipsis in Gaelic and English, also known as "MaxElide" con-
 496 straints (Takahashi & Fox 2005, Merchant 2008, Hartman 2011).¹⁴ Thoms also points out that McCloskey's
 497 argument regarding the conditions on subject realization, or "EPP effects," only works with the support of
 498 an explicit theory of EPP effects, yet it is not clear that any contemporary theory supports this argument in
 499 the right way.¹⁵ Other arguments of varying degrees of directness have been put forward in Carnie et al.
 500 (2000), McCloskey (2011a), Thoms (to appear, 2014a) for different variants of the V1 analysis, while few if
 501 any new arguments for the V-to-T analysis (as opposed to the V1 analysis) have been brought forward since
 502 McCloskey (1996). Taken together, this all indicates that the V1 analysis for Celtic VSO may in fact be the
 503 right way to go. I will therefore assume that the V1 analysis is right for Gaelic VSO structures, with the
 504 subject in Spec,TP and the finite verb in the left-peripheral projection which I identify as FinP (following
 505 Hendrick 2000). This is schematized below for clarity.

¹⁴In short, Thoms points out (building on Hartman 2011) that the interaction of *wh*-adjunct extraction and "VP-ellipsis" in Gaelic VSO clauses closely resembles the same interaction in English clauses with verb movement to C (matrix clauses in Standard English and embedded clauses in Irish English dialects) and differs from minimally different cases where the verb stays in situ (embedded clauses in Standard English and matrix clauses in Indian English dialects). Thoms provides an analysis of these facts in terms of the Parallelism-based analysis in Hartman (2011); that implementation of MaxElide is not directly compatible with the approach to Parallelism effects in the discussion of voice mismatches in VP-ellipsis at the end of section 2.2, but the same conclusion is arrived at if we adopt the implementations of MaxElide in Merchant (2008) or Messick & Thoms (2014).

¹⁵Specifically, McCloskey's proposal requires a theory that predicts that the EPP condition on T always requires that its specifier be filled, but the EPP condition on the lower AgrP projection to which Celtic subjects raise (on this analysis) has no such filled specifier component. I know of no theory of the EPP which makes this distinction.



507 With this background established, we can return to the matter of ellipsis in Gaelic. Like Irish, Gaelic
 508 has an ellipsis process which has typically been described as “VP-ellipsis” which involves eliding the con-
 509 stituent which is dominated by the initial finite verb; the elided constituent includes the subject, aspectual
 510 particles and all other vP material. This is used primarily in response to questions (31) (also known as
 511 “responsive ellipsis”), but it can also be used in coordinate structures or other embedded contexts (32).

512 (31) Q: An do dh’ith thu feòil?
 C-Q PST PST-eat 2SG meat
 513 “Did you eat meat?”

514 A: Dh’ith mi feòil
 PST-eat
 515 “I did”, lit. “ate I meat”

516 (32) Cha do dh’ith mi feòil Diardaoin, ach dh’ith mi feòil an-raoir
 C-NEG PST PST-eat 1SG meat Thursday but PST-eat last-night
 517 “I didn’t eat meat on Thursday, but I did eat meat last night”

518 The use of the term “VP-ellipsis” stems from McCloskey’s early work, in which it was assumed that the
 519 subject was in situ in VP, but since we are assuming a V1 analysis, with the subject in Spec,TP, it makes
 520 more sense to describe this ellipsis process as “TP-ellipsis,” but to avoid confusing this with sluicing and
 521 its kin I will describe the Gaelic ellipsis process neutrally as *verbal ellipsis*. Verbal ellipsis is possible with
 522 any verb which can occur in the initial position, though we will see that not every combination of ellipsis
 523 sites and antecedents is possible.

524 Now let us consider the range of tolerable and intolerable mismatches between E and A in Gaelic verbal
 525 ellipsis.¹⁶ A first point to note about Gaelic verbal ellipsis is that it is possible for the verb that “heads”
 526 the ellipsis site in E to have a different Tense specification from the one in A (see also McCloskey 2011b).
 527 This is shown by (33)-(34) for lexical verbs, where future tense verbs can provide antecedents for past tense
 528 verbs and vice versa.

529 (33) **Ithidh** mi feòil a-màireach, ach cha **do dh’ith** an-raoir
 eat-FUT 1SG meat tomorrow but C-NEG eat-PST last-night
 530 “I’ll eat meat tomorrow, but I didn’t eat meat last night”

¹⁶One kind of mismatch which I ignore in what follows is the alternation between dependent and independent forms of the verb (represented in the glosses as IND/DEP). This is an alternation in the verb form which is conditioned by the form of the complementizer that immediately dominates the verb; I ignore this here since it does not implicate the feature content of heads within the ellipsis site, and so it does not speak directly to the matter at hand.

531 (34) **Dh'ith** mi feòil an-raoir, ach chan **ith** a-màireach
 eat-PST 1SG meat last-night but C-NEG eat-FUT tomorrow
 532 “I ate meat yesterday, but I won’t eat ~~meat~~ tomorrow”

533 The same is seen when the initial verbs are both auxiliary *bith*, in that various combinations of mismatching
 534 tense are possible. (35)-(36) demonstrates just two of the options.

535 (35) **Bha** mi ag ithe feòil an-raoir, ach chan **eil** an-dràsta
 be-PST-IND 1SG IMP-ASP eat-VN meat last-night but C-NEG be-PRES-DEP now
 536 “I wasn’t eating meat last night, but I am ~~eating meat~~ now” *Past A, present E*

537 (36) **Bithidh** mi ag ithe feòil a-màireach, ach cha **robh** an-raoir
 be-FUT-IND 1SG IMP-ASP eat-VN meat tomorrow but C-NEG be-PST-DEP last-night
 538 “I’ll be eating meat tomorrow, but I wasn’t ~~eating meat~~ last night” *Future A, past E*

539 All of these examples involve extraction of formally distinct heads from E and A, but they are completely
 540 grammatical. This shows that head movement out of ellipsis is just like A'-movement, in that it allows for
 541 mismatches so long as extraction is parallel (contra Potsdam 1997).

542 In addition to allowing for mismatches in the form of heads extracted from the ellipsis site, Gaelic also
 543 allows for mismatches in the content of aspect heads contained in the ellipsis site. (37) demonstrates a case
 544 where A contains the perfect aspect particle *air* while E clearly gets an imperfective interpretation (forced
 545 by adverbs, tense), with the imperfective particle *a(g)* in the corresponding position.¹⁷

546 (37) Tha mi **air** a dhol a Dhun Eidean an-diugh, ach cha **bhi** **a'**
 be-PRES-IND 1SG PERF PRT go-VN to Edinburgh today but C-NEG be-FUT-DEP IMP
 547 ~~dol a Dhun Eidean~~ a-màireach
 go-VN to Edinburgh tomorrow
 548 “I have gone to Edinburgh today, but I won’t ~~be going to Edinburgh~~ tomorrow”
 549

550 This indicates that the feature content of the Aspect head can also differ between E and A, another substan-
 551 tial mismatch in the IP-domain which the identity condition must allow for.

552 The final set of mismatches I will consider are where E and A differ with respect to whether the initial
 553 position is occupied by a lexical verb or an auxiliary. These are in principle testable in contexts with changes
 554 in tense or aspect, since we know that E and A can differ with respect to these kinds of syntactic content,
 555 but they would seem to involve substantial Parallelism violations, since extracted lexical verbs would leave
 556 variables within *vP* that would not be matched by extracted auxiliaries. Somewhat surprisingly, a subset
 557 of these mismatches are in fact possible, specifically those cases where a lexical verb is extracted from E
 558 but not A. This is demonstrated for two of the possible permutations below (I use question-answer pairs to
 559 create the optimal discourse conditions for such mismatches).¹⁸ In (38), a future lexical verb is extracted
 560 from the VP in E, with a present auxiliary extracted from A; in (39), the lexical verb is changed to past
 561 tense, with the same antecedent.

562 (38) Q: A **bheil** thu a' faighinn leabharaichean bho Fheargais an-dràsta?
 C-Q be-PRES-IND 2SG IMP get-VN books from Fergus just-now
 563 “Are you getting books from Fergus just now?”

¹⁷The aspect particle *a(g)* (represented orthographically as *a'* before consonants) is often glossed as “progressive” in traditional grammars, but Ramchand (1997) argues forcefully that it is better understood as an imperfective aspect marker. See also Reed (2012).

¹⁸These examples have implications for how we conceive of the Verbal Identity Requirement (Goldberg, 2005), although I will not get into this here; see also the discussion at the end of section 3.4.

564 A: Chan **eil**, ach **gheibh** mi leabharaichean bho Fheargais a-màireach!
 C-NEG be-PRES-DEP but get-FUT-IND I books from Fergus tomorrow
 565 “I’m not ~~getting books from him~~, but I will ~~get books from him~~ tomorrow!”

566 (39) Q: A **bheil** thu a’ faighinn leabharaichean bho Fheargais an-dràsta?
 C-Q be-PRES-IND 2SG IMP get-VN books from Fergus just-now
 567 “Are you getting books from Fergus just now?”

568 A: Chan **eil**, ach **fhuair** mi leabharaichean bho Fheargais an-dè!
 C-NEG be-PRES-DEP but get-PST-IND I books from Fergus tomorrow
 569 “I’m not ~~getting books from him~~, but I did ~~books from him~~ yesterday!”

570 Here E and A don’t just differ with respect to functional elements like aspect particles and the specification
 571 of Tense, but they even differ with respect to the presence of the infinitival form of the verb, which is present
 572 in A but not in E.

573 Importantly, the above cases contrast strongly with the reverse configuration, where the lexical verb is
 574 extracted from the VP in A but there is no parallel extraction in E, with the initial position being occupied
 575 by the auxiliary. Ellipsis is not possible in such circumstances, as shown by the following, where past and
 576 present forms of the auxiliary are used (all configurations of this kind fail).

577 (40) Q: An **dh’fhuair** thu leabharaichean bho Fheargais?
 C-Q get-PST-DEP 2SG books from Fergus
 578 “Did you get books from Fergus?”

579 A: Cha **dh’fhuair**, *ach **tha** mi a’ faighinn leabharaichean bho Fheargais
 C-NEG get-PST-DEP but be-PRES-IND I IMP get-VN books from Fergus
 580 an-dràsta!
 now
 581 “I didn’t ~~get books from him~~, but I am ~~getting books from him~~ now!”

582 (41) Q: Am **faigh** thu leabharaichean bho Fheargais a-màireach?
 C-Q get-FUT-DEP 2SG books from Fergus tomorrow
 583 “Will you get books from Fergus tomorrow?”

584 A: Cha **faigh**, *ach **bha** mi a’ faighinn leabharaichean bho Fheargais
 C-NEG get-FUT-DEP but be-PST-IND I IMP get-VN books from Fergus-GEN
 585 an t-seachdain ’sa chaidh!
 last-week
 586 “I won’t ~~get books from him tomorrow~~, but I was ~~getting books from him~~ last week!”

587 As we can see from the struckthrough material, E and A differ in these cases not only in the position of
 588 variables but also in the presence of the imperfective head, which is present in E but not in A in these cases.
 589 However we have already seen in (37) that mismatches in the content of the aspect head are permissible
 590 independently in Gaelic, so this cannot be the source of the badness of (40)-(41). Given the reverse config-
 591 uration is a possible E-A pair (as in (38)-(39) above), the fact that these cases are ungrammatical indicates
 592 is evidence of an asymmetry between extraction from E, which need not be matched perfectly by parallel
 593 extraction, and extraction from A, which always requires parallel extraction.

594 **3.4 Is Parallelism syntactic?**

595 The data in (38)-(41) should give us cause to reassess the Parallelism condition in (17), which we used
 596 earlier to provide account for both Chung’s sluicing data and the English VP-ellipsis mismatch. First of all,
 597 let’s consider the key Gaelic data in abstract. (42) provides schematics of the key cases in Gaelic.

- 598 (42) a. A: $[_{FINP} T_{[fut]}+V_i \quad [_{TP} \text{subj } t_i \dots \quad [_{VP} t_i \dots]]]$ fully parallel,
 599 E: $[_{FINP} T_{[past]}+V_i \quad \{[_{TP} \text{subj } t_i \dots \text{---}[_{VP} t_i \dots]]\}]$ different T specification, i.e. (33)
 600
 601 b. A: $[_{FINP} T_{[past]}+bith_i \quad [_{TP} \text{subj } t_i \dots \quad [_{VP} V \dots]]]$ fully parallel,
 602 E: $[_{FINP} T_{[pres]}+bith_i \quad \{[_{TP} \text{subj } t_i \dots \text{---}[_{VP} V \dots]]\}]$ different T specification, i.e. (35)
 603
 604 c. A: $[_{FINP} T_{[pres]}+bith_i \quad [_{TP} \text{subj } t_i \dots \quad [_{VP} V \dots]]]$ AuxSVOX
 605 E: $[_{FINP} T_{[fut]}+V_i \quad \{[_{TP} \text{subj } t_i \dots \text{---}[_{VP} t_i \dots]]\}]$ VSOX, i.e. (38)
 606
 607 d. A: $[_{FINP} T_{[past]}+V_i \quad [_{TP} \text{subj } t_i \dots \quad [_{VP} t_i \dots]]]$ VSOX
 608 E: * $[_{FINP} T_{[pres]}+bith_i \quad \{[_{TP} \text{subj } t_i \dots \quad [_{VP} V \dots]]\}]$ AuxSVOX, i.e. (40)

609 This pattern is not predicted by our Parallelism condition in (17), which would rule out all of (38)-(41).¹⁹
 610 Rather, it seems that non-parallel extraction is possible, but only when extraction is from E, with the trace
 611 of the verb in E corresponding to an unmoved variant of the verb in the base position in A, as in (42c).
 612 If the verb is in situ in E and there is a trace in the parallel position in A, as in (42d), then the result is
 613 ungrammaticality. As it happens, the latter configuration is also what we see with Warner’s English data;
 614 that is, (42d) and (26a) (repeated here as (43)) are broadly similar, with traces of verb movement in A
 615 corresponding to in situ verbs in E.

- 616 (43) *John was fired, and Mary will ~~be~~ fired, too.
 617 A: $[_{TP} \text{John } T+\text{be}_i \quad [_{VOICEP} t_i \quad [_{VP} \text{fired }]]]$
 618 E: $[_{TP} \text{Mary } T+\text{will} \quad \{[_{VOICEP} \text{be} \text{---}[_{VP} \text{fired }]]\}]$ = (19a)

619 This indicates that the ban on a trace being the antecedent for ellipsis of a corresponding non-trace is quite
 620 general, and thus it is something that our replacement for the Parallelism condition must capture.²⁰

¹⁹It is less clear whether any of the alternative theories of ellipsis identity discussed earlier would handle this data. Chung’s theory only concerns sluicing, and piecing together what kind of predictions an extended version would make for VP-ellipsis and its kin is not trivial. Lasnik’s theory is specific to English, so we would need to be sure of how this theory would analyse the morphology of Gaelic auxiliaries before developing predictions.

²⁰An anonymous reviewer makes the very interesting observation (prefigured, as noted by another review, in Merchant 2001: 21) that this generalization seems to run into problems when it comes to cases of sluicing in V2 languages like German. Consider the following example, where the strikethrough indicates the standard verb-final order that is typically attested in embedded clauses of this kind.

- (i) Etwas überraschend hat Anna gesagt, aber ich weiß nicht was genau ~~Anna gesagt hat~~.
 something surprising has Anna said but I know not what exactly Anna said has
 “Anna said something surprising, but I don’t know what exactly.”

The trouble here is that there is verb movement of the auxiliary *hat* to the V2 position in E; on the assumption that the structure of the elided clause is the same as it is without ellipsis, this derives a configuration much like the ungrammatical English one in (43). The fact that such examples are grammatical thus seems to undermine the present account, and indeed many other approaches to ellipsis which assume some degree of syntactic isomorphism (as noted by Merchant 2001: 21).

One possible line of attack here could be to deny the claim that the structure underlying the ellipsis site lacks V-to-C of the auxiliary, claiming instead that this is an instance of embedded V2 which is hidden by ellipsis; in this case, there would be no non-parallelism. At the very least, the word order facts would be compatible with this analysis, since it is well-known that elements which are base-generated or moved to C are elided in sluicing; this is Merchant’s (2001) “sluicing-*comp* generalization,” and it has been explained as the result of sluicing being ellipsis of the structural complement of the moved operator by Thoms (2010) in the context of a theory of ellipsis licensing. This may well require allowing embedded V2 in a wider set of contexts than is

621 Now let us consider whether this constraint is also active in sluicing. For concreteness, the formulation
 622 we have been working with so far is stated in (44); here I restate it in terms of variables rather than traces
 623 for the sake of arriving at a more general rule, which recalls a very similar condition proposed in Potsdam
 624 (1997); I leave off discussion of Potsdam's proposal until the end of this section.²¹

625 (44) A variable cannot provide an antecedent for ellipsis of a non-variable.

626 So far we have only seen this in action in accounting for mismatches with variables left by head movement
 627 (cf. Potsdam 1997), but we will see that (44) will account for the key constraints on sluicing discussed in
 628 section (5). A good candidate for such an explanation is the case of voice mismatches, as we can see from
 629 (45), which schematizes one of the key examples, where a passive clause is elided under identity with an
 630 active counterpart.

631 (45) *Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know by whom he was murdered-t
 632 A: [_{CP} someone λx [_{TP} x [_{T'} T [_{VOICEP} [_{VP} murdered Joe]]]]]
 633 E: [_{CP} [_{PP} by whom] λy [_{TP} he [_{T'} was [_{VOICEP} [_{VP} murdered] y]]]]

634 Particularly important here is the indefinite correlate, which takes scope at the CP-level parallel to the *wh*P
 635 (Chung et al. 1995), binding its variable in the subject position. Since there is no corresponding variable in
 636 the subject position of the E-clause, this violates (44) and so it is correctly ruled out. This analysis would
 637 extend to the other argument structure mismatch examples, as in all of these involve the indefinite correlate
 638 in A binding a variable in a position that does not correspond to the variable bound by the *wh*-operator in
 639 the sluice.

640 The analysis of sprouted oblique complements is similar, though the details depend on our exact analysis
 641 of sprouting. I will assume that implicit arguments and obliques are syntactically represented as (free or
 642 bound) variables, with implicit obliques being of category P (see Martí 2006, 2011). The variable introduced
 643 by sprouted obliques will be existentially bound at the CP-level, just like a trace of PP-movement.

644 (46) *She's jealous, but it's not clear who she's jealous of-t
 645 A: [_{CP} λx [_{TP} she is [_{VP} [_{AP} jealous x_{PP}]]]]
 646 E: [_{CP} who λy [_{TP} she is [_{VP} [_{AP} jealous [_{PP} of y_{DP}]]]]]]

647 This would also be ruled out by (44): in A, there is a variable *x* which stands as the antecedent for ellipsis of
 648 a non-variable, which is the *PP of DP* in E (the fact that the DP contained within the PP is itself a variable
 649 must be irrelevant for our condition). Note that this problem would not persist if it was a PP that was
 650 extracted in E, so it does not rule out sprouting in general. And as before, this explanation also does not
 651 need to appeal to a condition which regulates the content of prepositional heads in E and A.

652 Before moving on, we should pause to consider the difference between the condition proposed here and
 653 the very similar condition in Potsdam (1997), to which the present work owes a substantial debt. Potsdam

normally allowed in overt syntax in German (on which see Vikner 1995), possibly with some appeal to some notion of repair by
 ellipsis, but I have to leave this and the other challenges raised by V2 for the present approach (and related analyses of ellipsis
 parallelism) for another time. In the absence of further defense of the EV2 approach, the German data remains a challenge for
 the present account.

²¹There are two immediate benefits from stating the condition in terms of variables. First, it allows us to continue to ignore
 traces left by A-movement, which were assumed to be irrelevant for the identity condition in the discussion at the end of section
 2.2. Second, it allows to account for another kind of tolerable mismatch between E and A, namely a class cases of cases where
 extraction from A is not in fact matched by extraction from E. As noted by Merchant (2001, 204-205), sluicing examples of this
 kind are well-formed, as shown by (ia). Merchant's analysis of these cases is that the sluiced TP would contain a pronoun
 in the position corresponding to the object gap in A; specifically, it is an E-type pronoun which covaries with the *wh*P in the
 antecedent, as in (ib). These can be understood as conforming to (44) if E-type pronouns are variables.

- (i) a. They want to know what he stole, and why.
 b. They want to know what_i John stole t_i, and why he stole it_i.

654 proposes the condition in (47) on the basis of the English VP-ellipsis data discussed in section 3.1. This
655 condition is more specific than the one proposed in (44) above, and so it does not immediately generalize to
656 account for the other parallelism data discussed in this section, not least since Potsdam makes it clear that
657 no such condition holds of phrasal movement.

658 (47) A trace of verb movement cannot serve as an antecedent for ellipsis.

659 This condition correctly rules out the key mismatches from Warner (1993) and Potsdam (1997), where a
660 trace of verb movement in the antecedent corresponds to a verbal element in the antecedent. Potsdam's
661 proposal is also similar to the analysis sketched here so far (and different from that of Lasnik 1995 in the
662 same way) in that it does not require there to be identity of morphological form between corresponding
663 heads in E and A; this is the case for Potsdam because he assumes a Lexicalist approach to verbal mor-
664 phology (Chomsky 1995) and it follows from this approach that the verbal morphology is not syntactically
665 represented and so not visible for syntactic identity. Thus Potsdam's theory does not distinguish between
666 different forms of *be*, although it does distinguish between *be* and other auxiliaries like *have*.

667 As it is stated in (47), Potsdam's theory seems to disallow ellipsis VPs containing traces of verb move-
668 ment which are parallel to traces of verb movement in the antecedent, such as the core cases verbal ellipsis
669 in SG and Irish. To account for this, Potsdam posits that "corresponding X^o traces must have the same
670 binder in both the antecedent and the target [elided, AUTHOR] clause," and he argues that "the empirical
671 reflex of this restriction is that the raised verbs in ellipsis antecedent and target clauses must be the same"
672 (p.13). This empirical reflex is realised as the *Verbal Identity Requirement*, the requirement that any verb
673 which is extracted from E must be from the same root as the corresponding verb which is extracted from
674 A; this condition is seen in action in ellipsis constructions like SG verbal ellipsis and related ellipsis con-
675 structions (Goldberg 2005, Gribanova 2013).²² However it is not clear that the so-called Verbal Identity
676 Requirement should be stated as a condition which is specific to extracted *verbs*, as Lipták (2012) has
677 shown that similar effects hold of very similar particle-stranding ellipsis constructions in Hungarian where
678 the stranded element is clearly phrasal. In addition, Gribanova (2013) has noted that the VIR is not so strict
679 in all languages, as it may be ameliorated in Russian when the different verbs are contrastively focussed
680 even though no such amelioration obtains in Celtic. This is not the place for a substantial digression on
681 VIR effects, but it should suffice to say that the mere existence of the VIR effect in some languages does
682 not support Potsdam's X^o-specific condition in (47).

683 A simpler problem for Potsdam's analysis comes from the data in section 3.3, specifically the cases of
684 SG verbal ellipsis where the evacuated constituent contained a trace of a head which did not have the same
685 binder. These are the examples in (35)-(39), where the T head extracted from A is formally distinct from
686 the one extracted from E; (48) repeats (38), which shows one of the more drastic mismatches where the
687 verb extracted from A is an auxiliary (with the lexical verb in situ in the VP in nonfinite form) and the one
688 extracted from E is a finite form of the lexical verb.

²²Potsdam proposes that the same condition holds in British English with extraction of non-parallel verbs in those cases where it can be tested, namely, when a possessive with verb movement serves as the antecedent for ellipsis of the postcopular constituent in a copular construction. Both cases putatively involve extraction of the verb from VP, and VP-ellipsis is bad in this case.

(i) *Have_i you t_i a good dentist? Yes, my cousin is_j t_j ~~a good dentist~~.

It seems that (i) may be bad for reasons independent of (47) however. Consider (ii), where a possessive serves as the antecedent for ellipsis of a nominal predicate in a copular construction, but there but there is no verb movement from A; here the ellipsis is still bad, even though there is no reason that (47) would rule it out as there is no verb movement from A, and related examples like (iii) are well-formed.

(ii) *John doesn't have a best man yet; his brother has been ~~a best man~~ several times for other people, but they aren't close.

(iii) John hasn't been a best man yet, although his brother has been ~~a best man~~ several times for other people.

It seems likely that this is some sort of definiteness effect in the possessive construction, but the precise nature of this is unclear to me at present (though see Keenan 1987 and Tham 2006 for relevant discussion).

689 (48) Q: A **bheil** thu a' faighinn leabharaichean bho Fheargais an-dràsta?
 C-Q be-PRES-IND 2SG IMP get-VN books from Fergus just-now
 690 "Are you getting books from Fergus just now?"

691 A: Chan **eil**, ach **gheibh** mi leabharaichean bho Fheargais a-màireach!
 C-NEG be-PRES-DEP but get-FUT-IND I books from Fergus tomorrow
 692 "I'm not getting books from him, but I will get books from him tomorrow!"

693 Here the different traces of head movement would not have the same binder, so something else would have
 694 to be added to the Lexicalist theory to account for the fact that it is grammatical. Given these issues, as
 695 well as the other well-known problems for Lexicalist theories of morphology more generally (e.g. Marantz
 696 1997, Bobaljik 2012), it seems fair to put this approach to one side, though not without noting that the
 697 approach advocated here is very similar in spirit.

698 To summarize, we have seen that the condition in (44) is capable of accounting for the data syntactic
 699 mismatch data previously accounted for by Parallelism, ruling out the intolerable mismatches with respect to
 700 the position of variables in A, while allowing (in the absence of further stipulation) the tolerated mismatches
 701 with respect to the form of heads in E and A, or indeed the position of variables in E. The question, now,
 702 is what the status of (44) actually is, and what kind of theory of the identity condition it calls for. One
 703 possibility is that (44) is simply a standalone syntactic identity constraint which must be satisfied in addition
 704 to some semantic identity relation for ellipsis to be resolved; this would be another version of Chung's
 705 proposal, with (44) replacing (3). But this is unsatisfying in the absence of some explanation of the status
 706 of (44), which is nothing other than a quite ugly stipulation; for instance, it cannot be understood as a
 707 localized identity condition like Chung's (3), as it is asymmetric, only regulating variables in A. Rather, a
 708 better way to think about (44) is as a condition on the syntactic structure of possible antecedents, with those
 709 antecedents which create the undesired configuration either being unusable or ungenerable. This seems to
 710 pull us towards a theory of ellipsis identity which considers numerous possible antecedents, with syntactic
 711 constraints regulating the spread of possible candidates and syntactic identity relating the elided constituent
 712 and the (set of) antecedents. In the next section I propose a theory of ellipsis identity which has just this
 713 character.

714 4 Structurally defined alternatives and the identity condition

715 In this section I propose that the ellipsis identity relation is one of strict syntactic isomorphism, but that this
 716 relation need not hold between E and the overt antecedent A; rather, the relation may also hold between E
 717 and some additional antecedent A' which is *accommodated* into the discourse for the purpose of satisfying
 718 ellipsis resolution (Fox 1999a, Thoms 2013, van Craenenbroeck 2012; see also Beecher 2008 and Miller
 719 & Hemforth 2014 for related proposals). Accommodation involves using a set of alternatives to A, all of
 720 which need to be semantically identical to A, but they may be syntactically distinct in a number of ways.
 721 Crucially, I adopt the proposal in Katzir (2007) that the set of alternatives is *structurally defined*, with a
 722 grammatical algorithm determining the set of possible alternatives to A. This algorithm takes the original
 723 structure A and manipulates it with a number of tree-altering processes, like substitution and node deletion,
 724 to create a set of alternative structures {A', A''...}, which may then be used for a variety of purposes, such
 725 as generating scalar implicatures, focus implicatures, or indeed satisfying ellipsis identity. Crucially, the
 726 algorithm is constrained to creating alternatives that are *at most as complex as* the original structure A,
 727 and this means that when A contains a variable, it cannot be replaced by a non-variable, since all other
 728 replacements would be more complex. This derives the condition in (44), and thus it accounts for the key
 729 intolerable mismatches while allowing for a large class of mismatches elsewhere.

730 I begin by outlining the theory of structurally defined alternatives from Katzir (2007), before then show-
 731 ing how this applies in the case of ellipsis identity, and how it derives the data discussed above.

732 4.1 Structurally defined alternatives: Katzir 2007

733 Computing the meaning of a linguistic object X often involves accessing a set of alternative objects {X'} that
734 are distinct from X in some way. A famous example of this is the calculation of scalar implicatures (SIs).
735 SIs are a set of non-assertive meanings which are inferred from sentences containing scalar expressions
736 like quantifiers which strengthen the meaning of the sentence beyond what is asserted (Grice (1989), Horn
737 (1989), Gazdar (1979), Sauerland (2004b) a.o.). For instance, a sentence containing a quantifier like *some*
738 such as (49):

739 (49) John ate some of the peas.

740 This is said to give rise to the scalar implicature *it is not the case that John ate all of the peas*, as uttering
741 (49) would be somewhat anomalous and uninformative in a scenario where John ate all of the peas (even
742 though it is compatible with that scenario). Calculating this implicature requires making reference to the
743 alternative *John ate all of the peas*, and work on scalar implicature has concentrated on the question of how
744 these alternatives are accessed and used. For a long time, the majority view has been that this is all done
745 by the pragmatics, with general principles of conversational reasoning producing the alternatives and using
746 them to derive the implicatures, but in recent years a number of authors have proposed a radical revision of
747 the majority view: that scalar implicatures may in fact be derived grammatically (Landman 2000, Chierchia
748 2006, Fox 2007, Chierchia et al. 2008²³). Katzir's (2007) contribution to this movement is to argue that the
749 process which creates the set of alternatives is a grammatical process, with the set of alternatives created
750 for a given sentence X being derived from the structure of X, and not just its meaning. The specifics of this
751 theory of structurally defined alternatives will be crucial for what follows, so I will briefly walk through
752 Katzir's key argument; for more detail and further arguments in favour of this approach, see Singh (2008,
753 2010), Fox & Katzir (2011) and Bale & Khanjian (2014).

754 One of the key issues for the theory of scalar implicature is the fact that the process which generates the
755 implicatures seems to make reference to a limited set of alternatives. Take (49) again. The basic contribution
756 of a scalar implicature is that the speaker did not use a stronger alternative to the scalar term because this
757 would not be true; we can arrive at this by assuming that she is being maximally cooperative, and intends her
758 utterance to be as informative as possible but not untrue. Thus the procedure for producing the implicature
759 *it is not the case that John ate all of the peas* for (49) is to take a stronger alternative which entails it,
760 specifically *John ate all of the peas*, and negate that alternative, with the precondition for its use being that
761 the SI derived is compatible with the main assertion. Although such a procedure seems intuitively correct,
762 Kroch (1972) notes that it does not work in the absence of constraints on which alternatives are used, since
763 in some cases we may find that two stronger alternatives to X, X' and X'', will contradict each other when
764 negated, and so the procedure for generating SIs will wrongly predict that these are contradictory. Returning
765 to our example again, *John ate some but not all of the peas* is stronger than (49) and does not contradict it
766 when negated, so *it is not the case that John ate some but not all of the peas* would seem to be a viable SI,
767 yet this would contradict the other SI, *it's not the case that John ate all of the peas*. This has become known
768 as the *symmetry problem*, and the crux of the matter seems to be to constrain the set of alternatives which
769 are used to ensure that unwanted ones (like *John ate some but not all of the peas*) are excluded.

770 Katzir's solution to this problem is to propose that we generate alternatives to X by taking the structure
771 and subjecting it to a set of structure-changing operations to create a set of structural alternatives, $A_{str}(X)$,
772 with one crucial condition: the structures that are generated must be *at most as complex as X*. The algorithm
773 for modifying the source tree X makes use of three structure-altering operations:

774 (i) *deletion*, which involves removing edges and nodes in the tree;

²³As a reviewer notes, the grammatical approach to scalar implicatures is still the majority view, and a number of criticisms of the grammatical approach have been raised in Swanson (2010) and Geurts (2011) (see also Abbott 2012 for some broader concerns about the use of accommodation in this literature). However the system used here has been extended to other empirical domains such as association with focus (Fox & Katzir 2011) and the interpretation of number (Bale & Khanjian 2014), so these challenges to Katzir's original proposal need not undermine this system entirely.

- 775 (ii) *contraction*, which involves removing an edge and identifying its edge nodes
- 776 (iii) *substitution* of one terminal element in X for another terminal element from a defined substitution
- 777 source (i.e. the lexicon of the language).

778 The bulk of the work of interest to us is done by (iii), which effectively replaces a given node with other
779 lexical items of the same category, thus producing variants of the structure X with slightly different syntactic
780 content. Notably, this algorithm lacks an operation of *addition*, which we can conceive of as an operation
781 which inserts new lexical items into unfilled positions, typically specifier or adjunction positions. This
782 prevents the algorithm from generating every possible structure from X, as we are ultimately restricted to
783 working with the basic “frame” of the source structure. Katzir shows that this basic algorithm deals with
784 the symmetry problem for SIs as exemplified by examples like (49): substitution can create the relevant
785 alternative by replacing *some* with *all*, but it cannot create the unwanted alternative because *some but not*
786 *all* is not a lexical item but rather a complex determiner which is (necessarily) more complex than *some*; as
787 such, this would require something like addition, which is not available, and so the unwanted SI is blocked.
788 Fox & Katzir (2011) argue that this system should also be used for the generation of alternatives for the
789 computation of focus inferences (Rooth 1985), since they show that symmetry problem arises with focus
790 alternatives; I refer the reader to that work for the details of the argument.

791 The notion of “as most as complex as” is important for what follows so let us consider it in more detail.
792 Katzir (2007, 678-679) proposes a procedural definition, such that an alternative Y is defined as at most as
793 complex as X if Y can be obtained from X by a finite number of applications of the operations in (i)-(iii).
794 This entails that substitution should itself never increase complexity, and hence that all lexical items which
795 can substitute for each other are equally complex with respect to the system. Although this is a pleasingly
796 simple definition, things become tricky when we consider how substitution works when it may have the
797 appearance of addition, such as cases where what is replaced is null or unspecified. Consider sentences
798 with implicit arguments in a sentence like *John read*, which we have taken to be syntactically represented
799 minimal constituents of the relevant category, in effect variables (following Martí 2006, 2011). The system
800 above would seem to predict that it should be possible to generate alternatives for *John read* which replace
801 the implicit argument variable with full arguments, and hence it should generate scalar implicatures like the
802 ones we would generate from a sentence like *John read something* by substituting the variable with relevant
803 elements (i.e. *everything*). But this would not be the right result, as such sentences seem not to give rise
804 to such an SI in all circumstances. To see this, consider the following scenario. John and Mary have had
805 a party which has left their kitchen in a huge mess, and they spend the morning putting off cleaning it up.
806 Mary heads out briefly and then comes home to find John in the kitchen wearing rubber gloves, with the
807 whole kitchen completely clean. In this context, it would be perfectly appropriate for John to say “you’ll
808 be glad to see that I have cleaned,” just like it would be appropriate for him to say “you’ll be glad to see
809 that I have cleaned everything;” however, it would be less appropriate (and somewhat comical) if he said
810 “you’ll be glad to see that I’ve cleaned something.” This indicates that the implicit argument in *John has*
811 *cleaned* does not give rise to the SI *it is not the case that John has cleaned everything*, and hence it indicates
812 that implicit indefinite arguments differ from their overt counterparts with respect to SIs. If the system for
813 generating SIs is as described above, then this is unexpected, at least if we may generate alternatives which
814 replace the implicit arguments with overtly realized arguments in the generation of alternatives.

815 Given this, what I would like to propose is that the “at most as complex as” condition on the generation
816 of alternatives should be extended to constrain substitution. Specifically, we may say that substitution
817 of a node N in X with a different node N' is only possible if N' is at most as complex as N, and we
818 may distinguish (at least) two levels of complexity which this calculation may make reference to, namely
819 *specified* and *unspecified*. The vast majority of possible substitutions for a node will be *specified*, containing
820 lexical information and feature content of the kind which is visible for syntactic operations; I will assume
821 that all such nodes in a given category are equally complex in this sense, since their feature content will
822 vary along set parameters (i.e. all will be specified for [\pm F]).²⁴ Nodes which are *unspecified* are different:

²⁴It may be possible to distinguish further levels of complexity among the specified class. For instance, if a feature F is not

823 these have no feature content other than their categorial features, and as such these are minimally complex
 824 syntactic nodes. Variables are the unspecified nodes *par excellence*, since they provide clear evidence of
 825 being unspecified in interpretation for features which they seem to bear on the surface (cf. *only I did my*
 826 *homework*), but other elements may also be taken to be unspecified, such as heads which are said to be
 827 present syntactically but syntactically “inactive.” If we assume that variables are unspecified, and adopt the
 828 modification proposed here, then it follows that variables cannot be substituted with specified nodes of the
 829 same category by the alternative generation algorithm, since this would create alternatives that are more
 830 complex than the target for substitution. This would derive the fact that constituents containing implicit
 831 arguments do not have alternatives which realize the argument overtly, and it predicts that it will generally
 832 not be possible to replace variables in the generation of alternatives. This specific aspect of the alternative-
 833 generating algorithm’s sensitivity to complexity will be crucial in what follows.

834 4.2 Structurally defined accommodation

835 Now we can turn to the specifics of the proposal for the ellipsis identity condition. The proposal is this: the
 836 identity relation between E and A is one of strict syntactic isomorphism, but when A is not identical to E it
 837 is possible to accommodate additional antecedents on the basis of A. This condition is given in (50):

838 (50) **Syntactic identity in ellipsis:** an ellipsis constituent E must be identical (at LF) to an antecedent
 839 constituent A or an accommodated additional antecedent A’.

840 The crucial component here is the process by which additional antecedents are accommodated, which is
 841 similar to what is proposed in Fox (1999a) and Thoms (2013) (see also Singh 2008, 2010 on presupposition
 842 accommodation). The accommodation process work as follows: given an antecedent A which is semanti-
 843 cally but not syntactically identical to E, generate the set of semantically identical alternatives of A. The set
 844 of additional antecedents obtained by this procedure, Ad(A), is the set of accommodated antecedents, and
 845 ellipsis is only possible if one of these alternatives is syntactically identical to E. This is given in detail in
 846 (51):

847 (51) **Accommodating alternative antecedents for ellipsis**

848 a. the set of additional antecedents, Ad(A), may be accommodated on the basis of of the original
 849 (overt) antecedent A, if A is not identical to E (Fox’s economy condition on accommoda-
 850 tion).²⁵

851 b. The members of Ad(A) are alternatives derived from A by applications of

852 (i) deletion,
 853 (ii) contraction and
 854 (iii) substitution (Katzir’s algorithm).

855 c. All members of Ad(A) are at most complex as A (Katzir’s system, modified as above).

856 d. All members of Ad(A) must be semantically identical to A under some variable assignment,
 857 i.e. $\llbracket A \rrbracket = \llbracket A' \rrbracket$ (Hartman’s (2009) semantic identity condition).

858 This procedure thus allows for the generation of a set of syntactically distinct set of additional antecedents
 859 which can satisfy the identity condition, allowing E and A to be non-isomorphic just in those cases where
 860 we can accommodate an A’ that *is* isomorphic with E.²⁶ But this is constrained by semantic identity all

binary but privative, then a node N which is specified for F could be said to be more complex than a node N’ in the same category which is not specified for F. I leave this for future research.

²⁵As a reviewer notes, Fox’s own condition is actually stronger than what is presented here, as it holds that the accommodation must be *minimal* in a sense defined precisely therein. As far as I can tell, nothing would stand in the way of substituting (51a) with the condition from Fox’s paper, although it is an empirical question as to whether this is the right way to go.

²⁶Note that the proposed condition differs from alternative proposals like Chung (2006) in allowing substantial lexical mismatches between E and A, at least in those cases where the mismatch would not fall foul of semantic identity. One class of cases where this condition gets the right result and Chung’s condition does not is those where E and A differ with respect to the lexical

861 the way, since the members of Ad(A) are required by (51d) to be semantically identical to A. This is the
862 semantic condition which defines the usable set of alternatives. Here I am repurposing the semantic identity
863 condition from Hartman (2009) (proposed there as the ellipsis identity condition tout court), where semantic
864 identity of A and A' is required to hold under some variable assignment.²⁷

865 In outline, this proposal is much like other theories of ellipsis identity which try to combine syntactic
866 and semantic identity relations, but it differs in some important ways too. For instance, Rooth (1992)
867 proposes that there are two 'redundancy relations' which regulate ellipsis, one being syntactic (holding of
868 the pair E and A) and the other semantic (holding of the pair of constituents which are or contain E and A),
869 whereas on the present approach syntactic identity holds between E and A or A', while semantic identity
870 is required to hold between A, A' and E. On Rooth's theory, semantic identity between the constituents
871 containing E and A must hold for ellipsis to be licensed, whereas on this approach semantic identity is part
872 of the condition on the usability of the set of syntactic alternatives. This usability condition is analogous to
873 other such conditions which constrain the use of alternatives in other uses of alternatives, for instance, the
874 one used in the computation of scalar implicatures (on Katzir's account described above) which states that
875 the usable alternatives must entail the assertion. That the usability condition for accommodating ellipsis
876 antecedents is one of (semantic) identity ought not to be surprising, although it remains something of a
877 stipulation here.

878 One final point to note is that there may be other options for how one accommodates additional an-
879 tecedents in addition to this. What I have spelled out here is a process for accommodating near-identical
880 versions of A which will allow the right kind of looseness in form while not allowing just anything to serve
881 as the antecedent for ellipsis. This is just one set of mechanisms, however. Thus one can imagine that there
882 may additionally be the option of accommodating non-isomorphic antecedents which are available in "ev-
883 ery context," such as cleft-based antecedents or copular clauses of the kind discussed in Merchant (2004).
884 Alternatively, there may also be ways of combining distinct antecedents to create larger ones which may
885 serve as the antecedent for ellipsis of a larger constituent, for instance with cases of split antecedents (Web-
886 ber 1978) or "sloppy VP-ellipsis" as discussed by Hardt (1999) and Schwarz (2000). The accommodation
887 mechanisms are worryingly powerful, though, so any move to provide the system with such power ought to
888 show how it can be constrained to avoid wild overgeneration. I have to leave this as a topic for future work,
889 not least since the empirical picture with much of these topics is still very sparse (e.g. typically focusing on
890 VP-ellipsis only).²⁸

891 Having introduced the system, let us now consider the two classes of mismatches which we have focused
892 upon above to show it in action.

items used to express modality; see Merchant (2001) and Thoms (2013).

²⁷Merchant's (2001) eGIVENNESS would also suffice in many cases, although not all: see footnote 30.

²⁸I leave off discussion of the radical departure from isomorphism represented by "pseudosluicing," where an apparent sluice is actually derived an underlying copular sentence of the kind used in clefts, where the subject is a predicate anaphor, the object is extracted to be the *wh*-remnant (see e.g. Erteschik-Shir 1977, van Craenenbroeck 2010).

(i) John kissed someone, but I don't know who ~~it~~ was ~~t~~.

In his discussion of sentence-initial fragments, Merchant (2004) argues that copular parses of this kind are freely available in any discourse and as such are not subject to the requirement that there be an identical antecedent in the discourse for them to be elided. If so, we need not allow our identity condition to account for these, since they do not require accommodation of a version of the overt antecedent.

As a reviewer notes, the facts regarding when pseudosluicing is available for the resolution of ellipsis are more complicated than one might expect if it were true that copular clause sources for ellipsis sites were always available as a matter of course, as there are many circumstances in which they seem not to be available (see e.g. Rodrigues et al. 2009). However it strikes me that many of the conditions on pseudosluicing may derive from the properties of clefts (see Rodrigues et al. 2009) or specific restrictions on the morphological form of ellipsis remnants (see Barros et al. 2014) rather than the identity condition itself. See Barros (2014) for much discussion of these issues.

893 **4.3 Deriving tolerable mismatches**

894 The system in (50)-(51) is capable of accounting for syntactic mismatches between E and A by virtue of the
 895 accommodation process which generates the set of formally distinct antecedents, Ad(A). To see how this
 896 would work, consider a case where the only difference between E and A is in the form of the participle:

897 (52) John has slept, and now Mary will sleep too.

898 Since E and A are not identical, accommodation is required to create a usable version of A. To this end,
 899 we take the VP and create a set of alternatives; this may include VPs containing different predicates (like
 900 *dozed*), but these will be excluded by the semantic identity condition on Ad(A). This set includes A', the bare
 901 VP *sleep*, which is obtained by substituting the V which bears features encoding the participial morphology
 902 with a bare form of V, the infinitive; since this additional antecedent A' is syntactically identical to E, (50)
 903 is satisfied and so ellipsis is possible.

904 Now let us consider one of the key tolerable mismatches from section 3.1, where we saw that the form
 905 of *be* could mismatch between E and A. (53) repeats (24a) (from Potsdam 1997):

906 (53) John was being examined, but Jack really should ~~be-examined~~ also. = (24a)

907 What needs to be changed here is the form of *be*, so this requires us to take the antecedent constituent A
 908 and generate alternatives by substituting the *-ing* form of *be* for a bare form to create an A' which will
 909 be identical to E. This is of course straightforward, but an issue that needs to be addressed regarding (53)
 910 and those related examples is why they are often of marginal or slightly degraded status. Here I believe
 911 the answer lies in the fact that taking the option to elide *be* with the rest of the VP requires us to do
 912 accommodation in order to satisfy (50), which is presumably a computationally costly procedure;²⁹ this
 913 would be avoided if we chose the option to elide the slightly smaller constituent which excludes *be*, and
 914 since there is no obvious semantic or discourse structure-based reason for choosing one option or another,
 915 some very general constraint on minimizing effort is violated, leading to some degradation. Note that the
 916 claim here is not that ellipsis is always degraded when accommodation is invoked, but rather that ellipsis
 917 is degraded when accommodation is invoked when it seems clear it could have been avoided. For instance,
 918 there is no way to avoid accommodation with (52), so no penalty is incurred.

919 Let us now consider in more detail the most dramatic departure from syntactic identity between E and
 920 A that we saw above: the Gaelic cases where verbal ellipsis of a constituent containing a trace of the verb
 921 takes a TP with the verb in situ as its antecedent.

922 (54) Q: A **bheil** thu a' faighinn leabharaichean bho Fheargais an-dràsta?
 C-Q be-PRES-IND 2SG IMP-ASP get-VN books from Fergus just-now
 923 "Are you getting books from Fergus just now?"

924 A: Chan **eil**, ach **fhuair** an-dè!
 C-NEG be-PRES-DEP but get-PST-IND tomorrow

925 "I'm not ~~getting books from him~~, but I did ~~get books from him~~ yesterday!" = (39)

926 In this case E and A do not just differ in the feature specification of corresponding heads, but also in whether
 927 or not they are present, as E hosts a successive-cyclic head movement chain which leaves variables in (at
 928 least) V, Asp and T; in A, V is filled by the infinitive form of the verb, Asp is filled by an aspectual particle,
 929 and T is occupied by the variable left by movement of T+*bith* to Fin. This is schematized in (55) (A and E
 930 underlined) with variables in bold:

931 (55) $[_{\text{FINP}} \text{bheil } \lambda x [_{\text{TP}} \text{thu } x [_{\text{ASPP}} \text{a'} [_{\text{VP}} \text{faighinn leabharaichean ... }]]]]$
 932 $[_{\text{FINP}} \text{fhuair } \lambda y [_{\text{TP}} \text{mi } y [_{\text{ASPP}} \text{y} [_{\text{VP}} \text{y leabharaichean ... }]]]]$

²⁹This idea is also prefigured by Potsdam (1997, 8-9), although it is put in different terms there.

933 What is required here, then, is that A be manipulated to create an A' that has variables in Asp and V. This
 934 may be done with three iterations of (51b-iii), two to replace verbal heads with variables (to be bound by
 935 the binder of the variable in T, here all *x*) and one to replace *thu* with *mi* (vehicle change of the subject).

- 936 (56) a. $A = [_{TP} \text{thu } x [_{ASPP} a' [_{VP} \text{faighinn leabharaichean ... }]]]$
 937 b. Step 1: replace *faighinn* with *x* (by (51b-iii))
 938 $A' = [_{TP} \text{thu } x [_{ASPP} a' [_{VP} x \text{ leabharaichean ... }]]]$
 939 c. Step 2: replace aspect head *a'* with *y* (by (51b-iii))
 940 $A' = [_{TP} \text{thu } x [_{ASPP} x [_{VP} x \text{ leabharaichean ... }]]]$
 941 d. Step 3: replace *thu* with *mi* (by (51b-iii))
 942 $A' = [_{TP} \text{mi } x [_{ASPP} x [_{VP} x \text{ leabharaichean ... }]]]$

943 The usability condition (51d) would be satisfied here³⁰ since $\llbracket A \rrbracket = \llbracket A' \rrbracket$ given a variable assignment like *x*
 944 = *fhuaire* (with an appropriate semantics for verb movement chains) and the shift in deictic centre (*mi* and
 945 *thu* both mapping onto the same individual). Since this accommodated antecedent A' would be identical to
 946 E, the ellipsis identity condition would be satisfied. Thus the system allows for mismatches in extraction in
 947 those cases where the extraction is from E and not from A, as well as the cases where the content of heads
 948 within E and A are different.

949 The proposed system allows us to account a number of other mismatches between E and A in a similar
 950 fashion, although some issues remain to be explored more fully. Mismatches with respect to the form
 951 of negative polarity items (Sag 1976, Merchant 2013a) like (57) can be dealt with by replacing the NPI
 952 determiner *any* with its corresponding PPI *some* to create an isomorphic antecedent. Importantly, this
 953 system should also be able to deal with trickier cases like (58), from Sauerland (2004a), where the NPI
 954 is idiomatic and does not alternate with a non-PPI form in the same way.³¹ With these, substituting the
 955 idiomatic object with a full DP like *some money* ought to be allowed by the semantic conditions, since the
 956 alternative VP which this derives would have the same meaning as the NPI version, although it remains to
 957 be established exactly what the procedure would be for substituting *some money* in here, since it is not a
 958 lexical item.³²

959 (57) John didn't bring **any** wine, but Mary did bring ~~some~~ wine.

960 (58) I don't have **a red cent**, but Kazuko might have ~~some~~ money.

961 Vehicle change cases like (59) would be derived straightforwardly by substituting pronouns in the appro-
 962 priate places, just like was demonstrated for replacement of *thu* by *mi* in (54) above, again subject to
 963 satisfaction of the condition which ensures that the reworked antecedent is semantically identical to both

³⁰ As a reviewer notes, a semantic identity condition like eGIVENNESS would not suffice here as A' doesn't actually entail A here (even after existential closure of the head trace variables). The same problem would hold if we simply took eGIVENNESS to be our ellipsis identity condition, since E would not entail A. As such, examples of this type – or more precisely, the fact that they are grammatical while the opposite configuration with asymmetric head extraction from A is ungrammatical – present a problem for eGIVENNESS in the absence.

³¹In the context of an alternative account of polarity mismatches in terms of syntactic identity, Merchant (2013a) analyses examples with polarity-sensitive minimisers like *a wink* in *sleep a wink* as involving no actual mismatch; rather the ellipsis site is taken to be identical, as in (i). Merchant points out that non-elided counterparts are grammatical, at least when they have an 'echoic' flavour, as in (ii).

(i) John didn't sleep a wink, but Mary did sleep ~~a wink~~.

(ii) John didn't sleep a wink, but Mary *did* sleep a wink – in fact, she slept all morning!

It is less clear to me that this works for (58), as *Kazuko might have a red cent* seems very strange to me even in an echoic context. However it is also my own judgment that (i) and Merchant's other examples with more familiar minimizers are much more well-formed than (58), so this may be a non-issue for Merchant's account if such judgments hold across speakers.

³²Note that mismatches of this kind would be ruled out by a condition like Chung's (2006) "no new words" condition. See also Hartman (2009) for other reasons to reject Chung's lexicocentric approach.

964 the source antecedent and the elided constituent.

965 (59) They want to hire **John**_i, and he_i knows they do want to hire ~~him~~₇ too.

966 Whether it is wise to allow the substitution process to replace one nominal with any other nominal so long
967 as it satisfies semantic identity will have to remain an open issue for now. As a reviewer notes, this system
968 seems to predict that a pronoun or r-expression could be substituted by an anaphor, but this doesn't seem
969 to be generally possible, as (60) shows (Fiengo & May 1994). One might try to explain these as cases of
970 a failure of semantic identity, with the reflexivized predicate having a different interpretation, appealing to
971 the fact that the opposite configuration (61) also fails to yield the switched (strict) interpretation for most
972 speakers as well (though see Kennedy & Lidz 2001 for a remarkable class of principled exceptions).

973 (60) *They like **him**_i, and he_i does like ~~himself~~₇, too.

974 (61) *?John_i likes **himself**_i, and Bill does like ~~him~~₇

975 Clearly this and related matters of strict/sloppy identity requires more attention than I can afford it here, but
976 it seems likely that the relevant restrictions will fall out of the semantic component of the theory rather than
977 restrictions on the generation of syntactic alternatives.³³

978 4.4 Restricting intolerable mismatches

979 The accommodation procedure in (51) allows for a wide range of syntactic mismatches between E and A,
980 but it does not allow for any old pairing. The primary restriction on accommodation is the semantic condi-
981 tion in (51d), which ensures that accommodation only creates semantically identical additional antecedents.
982 But in addition, we also have the restrictions on accommodation, which is restricted to manipulating the
983 structure which it starts with a small set of operations and creating additional antecedents that are at most as
984 complex as the source structure. This dictates that it should generally be impossible for E to be a structurally
985 expanded version of A, since there is no operation of *addition* for adding nodes to A; but in most cases this
986 would be handled by the semantic component of the identity condition, since in most cases expanding A
987 would create semantically distinct structures.

988 However, the more interesting cases are where *substitution* is restricted from applying. Recall from
989 earlier that I argued that substitution of one node for another in A in the creation of alternatives was restricted
990 to applying only if the A' that is created is at most as complex as A; this was taken to be a reflex of the
991 general constraint on creating alternatives which are more complex than A. This blocked cases where we
992 tried to substitute a maximally simple node, such as a variable, for a more complex node, such as head of
993 the relevant category which is specified for lexical content. An immediate consequence of this is that it
994 derives the syntactic identity constraint in (44), repeated here.

995 (62) A variable cannot provide an antecedent for ellipsis of a non-variable.

996 In deriving this constraint, we thus derive the key syntactic mismatch data from above, such as Warner's
997 *be*-deletion cases, the broadly similar restriction on Gaelic verbal ellipsis, Merchant's constraint on voice
998 mismatches in ellipsis with A'-extraction and Chung's constraint on sprouting oblique complements.

999 Let us demonstrate this by considering one of Warner's key cases of *be*-deletion once more:

1000 (63) *John was punished, and you should too. = (19)

1001 Here E contains the unraised nonfinite *be* VoiceP, so ellipsis will only be possible if an identical VoiceP can
1002 be found in the context. The VoiceP in the antecedent A will not do here, however, it has a variable in the

³³Recently Elliott et al. (to appear) have argued against traditional approaches to strict/sloppy in terms of structural conditions on parallel binding, proposing instead that the relevant conditions may follow from discourse conditions, adapting Robert's (2012) "Question Under Discussion" model. Whether their model accounts for the reflexive data remains to be established.

1003 head position in the VoiceP, left by head movement of *be* to T.

1004 (64) A: [TP John [T' T+be λy [VoiceP y [VP punished]]]]
1005 E: [TP you [T' T+should [VoiceP *be* [VP punished]]]]

1006 Accommodation would not work here, as it would not be possible to generate an additional antecedent A'
1007 which would be syntactically identical to E as this would require replacing the variable in VoiceP in A'
1008 with the fully specified head *be*. Since such an alternative cannot be generated (it involves creating a more
1009 complex alternative), the identity condition cannot be satisfied and so ellipsis.

1010 The same problem would obtain in all the other cases above, where a variable needs to be replaced
1011 by a lexical verb (the Gaelic cases), a full argument (the voice mismatches), or by a complex XP of the
1012 same category (sprouted oblique complements). In all cases, accommodation cannot create the relevant
1013 alternatives, since they are more complex than the source structure, and so accommodation fails to create an
1014 additional antecedent that is identical to the elided constituent. The system proposed here thus derives the
1015 core set of syntactic identity restrictions from the complexity condition on the generation of alternatives,
1016 rather than from some specific constraint on what kinds of syntactic material need to be identical like the
1017 “special heads” condition of Chung (2013). In effect, this corner of recalcitrant data falls out as a quirk of
1018 how the alternative generation procedure works, with all of the other major restrictions on ellipsis identity
1019 following from the semantic condition on the usable alternatives.

1020 5 Conclusion

1021 In this article I have re-examined the set of tolerable and intolerable syntactic mismatches between an elided
1022 constituent E and its antecedent A and argued against Chung’s (2013) “special heads” condition on ellipsis,
1023 which states that syntactic identity is required to hold between a specific set of syntactic heads. First, I
1024 showed that the common factor with the intolerable mismatches considered by Chung is not non-identity of
1025 a set of special heads, but non-identity with respect to the position of variables, an effect which I described
1026 in terms of Parallelism. Considering a wider set of intolerable mismatches, in particular with respect to
1027 elements in the IP-domain, I then showed that Parallelism was too restrictive, and instead we saw that the
1028 core constraint that lies behind the intolerable syntactic mismatch is in fact a condition on variables serving
1029 as antecedents for ellipsis of non-variables.

1030 I then proposed a syntactic implementation of the ellipsis identity condition which allows for “loose-
1031 ness” of identity between E and A by way of accommodation which, I argued, is structurally conditioned
1032 and semantically restricted. I argued that this accommodation process is unable to replace variables in A
1033 with more complex elements, due to a general complexity constraint on accommodation, and I thus showed
1034 that this derived the restriction on variables serving as antecedents for non-variables without recourse to
1035 the statement of some independent constraint. The loosened syntactic identity condition thus allows for the
1036 tolerable mismatches, but it is restricted so that it rules out the intolerable mismatches. A great deal of work
1037 remains to be done here, with open questions remaining about the semantic component of the identity con-
1038 dition, the different kinds of complexity which the alternative-generating procedure is sensitive to, and the
1039 similarities and differences between ellipsis and deaccenting. At the very least, I hope to have carved out
1040 an alternative generalization regarding the nature of syntactic identity effects and shown that this is better
1041 understood in terms of a syntactic identity theory which is loose in some areas but strict in others.

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1246 **Highlights:**

- 1247 • Syntactic identity effects are not caused by the feature content of “special heads”
- 1248 • The core effects are derived from a condition on the position of variables
- 1249 • Ellipsis identity is syntactic, but additional antecedents can be accommodated
- 1250 • Accommodation is structurally conditioned, and this derives syntactic identity effects