

Sluicing and Modal Mismatches

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Document Version Final published version

Publication date: 2019

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Citation for published version (APA): Hardt, D., & Rudin, D. (2019). *Sluicing and Modal Mismatches.* Poster session presented at Sluicing and Ellipsis at 50, Chicago, Illinois, United States.

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Download date: 04. Jul. 2025













Modal Mismatches

- The baseball player went public with [his de-(1)sire to be traded]. He doesn't care where <he $\{\text{would be}\}$ traded>. (Rudin 2018, 21(b)).
- Sally knows that there is always the potential (2)for [awful things to happen], but she doesn't know when <awful things { might} happen>. (Rudin 2018, 23(a)).

(677 examples of Modal Mismatch in Santa Cruz Ellipsis Dataset)

Syntactic Identity of Eventive Core

Mismatches outside the "Eventive Core" are permitted in sluicing.

Lexical material within EC (\approx the vP of the elided TP) is subject to a condition relating it to its "correlates" in the antecedent TP (p 11): • (a) correlates must be lexically identical or

- (b) they must be coindexed

(Rudin 2018)

Anaphora Condition

Someone ate at [five burger restaurants]¹, (3)but I don't know who <ate at them₁>

them is not lexically identical to five burger restaurants, they are coindexed.

- Many prominent congressmen still have not (4)endorsed the candidate]. In a moment, two of them will explain why < they still have not endorsed the candidate>
- ▷ they not coindexed with Many prominent congressman

Proposal: anaphoric elements *exempt* from lexical identity. (Fiengo and May 1994, Rooth 1992, Hardt et al. 2013)

Sluicing and Modal Mismatches

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Modals are Anaphoric

- Sally knows that (5)potential^w for [awfi she doesn't know w happen>.
- \triangleright might is anaphoric (Ston indicates set of possible r things happen.
- ⊳tense mismatch is similar (Merchant 2001, Rudin 2018).

Same Discourse Referents

- (6)committed a crime. two distinct discourse referents
- (7)committed a crime>.
- (8) $\langle say she was smart \rangle$ too.

Sloppy readings very natural for VP ellipsis -(nearly) impossible for sluicing (Merchant 2001).

Proposal: No New Eventualities

Sluicing cannot introduce a new eventuality into the discourse context.

- Mismatches only possible when necessary to enforce same-eventuality.
- Modal mismatch, pronominal mismatches, and also categorical mismatches.
- (9)be>

Same eventuality – hypothetical presidential race.

at there is always the ful things to happen], but when $<$ awful things might _w	(10)	(Geru "[I] w matte
ne 1997) – index <i>w</i> worlds in which awful	(11)	(Sma porta WAS
	(12)	(Imp

Jill asked where someone had committed a crime, and Jack asked when someone had

Jill asked where someone had committed a crime, and Jack asked when <someone had

same discourse referent (Chung et al. 2011)

A girl said she was smart. Another girl did

Bradley said that he has not shut the door to [a presidential race], though he would not say when <a presidential race might

Other Mismatches

(Gerun
"[I] was
matter
(Small
portab
WAS g
(Imper

rative) Always [save some of each paycheck]. When you're older, you'll understand why <you should save some of each paycheck>.

(13)	Have t
	or exp
	desk b

 \triangleright in p \lor q, not p is presupposed when q is evaluated. (Kroll 2018) \triangleright Sluice can negate antecedent event only if context

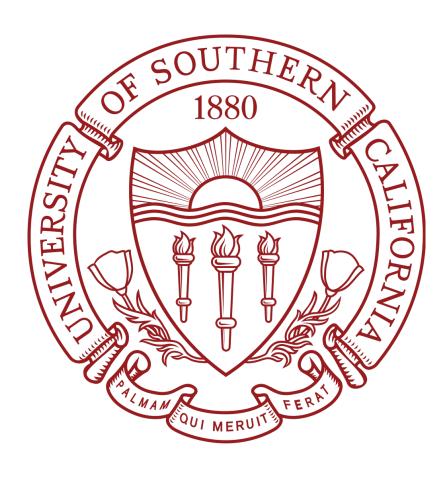
requires it.

Chung's Generalization

(14)	They'n <they< th=""></they<>
(15)	* The <they< td=""></they<>

Is some form of syntactic identity still required? Or is eventuality-identity sufficiently fine-grained to account for this?

Selected References: Chung, S., Ladusaw, W., McCloskey, J. 2011. Sluicing(:) Between Structure and Inference. Fiengo R. and May, R. 1994. Indices and Identity. Hardt, D., N. Asher, and J. Hunter. 2013. VP ellipsis without indices. Kroll, M. 2018. Polarity reversals under sluicing. Rudin, D. 2018. Head-based syntactic identity in sluicing. Stone, M. 1997. The anaphoric parallel between modality and tense.



nd) "As a teacher," he once explained, as interested in [tutoring], and it didn't what subject <I WAS tutoring>."

clause) I saw [one cop guarding a ole john]. I didn't ask why <one cop guarding a portable john>.

Polarity Mismatch

those documents on my desk by 8am plain why <you don't have them on my desk by 8am>!

> 're jealous but it's unclear of who y're jealous>

> ey're jealous but it's unclear who ey're jealous of>