Even More Semantics, followed by a quiz review
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

VP-ellipsis:

John bought a book, and Mary did ___ too.
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

VP-ellipsis:

John bought a book, and Mary did ___ too.

"buy a book"
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

**identity condition on VP-ellipsis:**

John bought a book, and Mary did ___ too.

"buy a book"

"sell an okapi"
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

VP-ellipsis:

John bought a book, and Mary did ___ too.

"buy a book"

John dislikes his father, and Bill does ___ too.
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

VP-ellipsis:

John bought a book, and Mary did ___ too.

"buy a book"

John dislikes his father, and Bill does ___ too.

"dislike his (J or B's) father"
Quantifiers and Ellipsis
Antecedent Contained Deletion (ACD)
John visited every city [that Mary did ___]
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

Antecedent Contained Deletion (ACD)

John visited every city [that Mary did __]
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

IP

NP I'

\(\Delta\) I VP

-\(\text{ed}\) V' V NP

visit every city that Mary did ___
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

IP

NP  I'

John  I

-ed

VP

V'

V  NP

visit  every city that Mary did
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

IP

NP   I'

\[\text{John} \quad \text{I}\]

\[-\text{ed}\]

\[\text{VP}\]

\[\text{V}'\]

\[\text{V}\]

\[\text{NP}\]

\[
\text{visit} \\
\text{every city that Mary did} \\
\text{[visit every city that Mary did __]} 
\]
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

IP

NP I'

John I -ed

VP

V' V

NP

visit

every city that Mary did [visit every city that Mary did ___]
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

This Way Lies Madness!

John [ed]

VP

V'

V

NP

visit every city that Mary did [visit every city that Mary did __]
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

IP

NP  I'

John  I  VP

-ed

V'

V  NP

visit  every city that Mary did __
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

IP

NP I'

John I VP

-ed V' V NP

visit every city that Mary did __

Quantifier Raising
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

```
IP
 /   
NP     NP I'
\      /  
 every city    John -ed
    /\     /  
   NP    VP
      /  
     V'
      /  
     V  
    visit

every city that Mary did __
```
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

every city John
that Mary

did __

IP

NP

NP

I'

VP

V'

V

visit
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

This Way Lies Sanity!

every city John
that Mary

V' visit
V visit
VP
I' ed
I
John
NP
NP
NP
IP

did [visit]
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary visited.
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary visited.

> John said, "I won't visit every city Mary visited"

> John said, "I won't visit Paris, London, or Tuscaloosa"
   (and those are the cities Mary visited)
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

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Quantifiers and Ellipsis

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Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary did ___.
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary did ___.

"visited"

"refused to visit"
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary did ___.

2 ambiguities:
• "visit" vs. "refuse to visit"
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary did ___.

2 ambiguities:
- "visit" vs. "refuse to visit"
- John's refusal mentions "every city", or not.
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary did ___.

2 ambiguities:
- "visit" vs. "refuse to visit"
- John's refusal mentions "every city", or not.

In principle, 4 readings:
- John said, "I refuse to visit Paris, Rome, or Tuscaloosa"
  (and Mary had visited these cities)
- John said, "I refuse to visit Paris, Rome, or Tuscaloosa"
  (and Mary had refused to visit these cities)
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary did ___.

2 ambiguities:
- "visit" vs. "refuse to visit"
- John's refusal mentions "every city", or not.

in principle, 4 readings:
- John said, "I refuse to visit Paris, Rome, or Tuscaloosa"
  (and Mary had visited these cities)
- John said, "I refuse to visit Paris, Rome, or Tuscaloosa"
  (and Mary had refused to visit these cities)
- John said, "I refuse to visit every city Mary visits"
- John said, "I refuse to visit every city Mary refuses to visit"
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary did ____.

2 ambiguities:
  • "visit" vs. "refuse to visit"
  • John's refusal mentions "every city", or not.

in fact, only 3 readings:
  • John said, "I refuse to visit Paris, Rome, or Tuscaloosa"
    (and Mary had visited these cities)
  • John said, "I refuse to visit Paris, Rome, or Tuscaloosa"
    (and Mary had refused to visit these cities)
  • John said, "I refuse to visit every city Mary visits"
  • John said, "I refuse to visit every city Mary refuses to visit"
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary visited.

> John said, "I won't visit every city Mary visited"

> John said, "I won't visit Paris, London, or Tuscaloosa"  
  (and those are the cities Mary visited)
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary did ___.

> John said, "I won't visit every city Mary visited"
* > John said, "I won't visit every city Mary refused to visit"
Quantifiers and Ellipsis

John refused to visit every city Mary did __.

> John said, "I won't visit every city Mary visited"
* > John said, "I won't visit every city Mary refused to visit"

-->QR used to avoid endless loops
When can you do QR?

Someone loves everyone.
When can you do QR?

Someone loves everyone.

- with QR:
  "Everyone is such that someone loves them"

- without QR:
  "There is a particular person who loves everyone"
When can you do QR?

Someone loves everyone.

• with QR:
  "Everyone is such that someone loves them"

• without QR:
  "There is a particular person who loves everyone"

-->QR is always optional?
When can you do QR?

John loves everyone.

- with or without QR:

\{people\} is a subset of \{things John loves\}
When can you do QR?

John loves everyone.

- with or without QR:

\{\text{people}\} \text{ is a subset of } \{\text{things John loves}\}

...so is QR optional here, too?
Ellipsis and parallelism, again

A guard is standing in front of every building.
Ellipsis and parallelism, again

A guard is standing in front of every building.
Ellipsis and parallelism, again

A guard is standing in front of every building.

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Ellipsis and parallelism, again

An American guard is standing in front of every building,
and a Canadian guard is ___ too.
Ellipsis and parallelism, again

An American guard is standing in front of every building,

and a Canadian guard is ___ too.

Four imaginable readings:

- each building has two guards
- two guards, both very fat
Ellipsis and parallelism, again

An American guard is standing in front of every building, and a Canadian guard is ___ too.

four imaginable readings:
  • each building has two guards
  • two guards, both very fat
  • each building has one American guard, and there's one very fat Canadian guard.
  • (ditto, with nationalities switched)
Ellipsis and parallelism, again

An American guard is standing in front of every building, and a Canadian guard is ___ too.

four imaginable readings:
• each building has two guards
• two guards, both very fat
  • each building has one American guard,
  • and there's one very fat Canadian guard.
  • (ditto, with nationalities switched)
Ellipsis and parallelism, again

An American guard is standing in front of every building, and a Canadian guard is ___ too.

four imaginable readings, but we only get two:
- each building has two guards
- two guards, both very fat

--> 'parallelism' extends to QR (if you do QR in one conjunct, you have to do it in both)
Ellipsis and parallelism, again

John is standing in front of every building.

• QR wouldn't affect the interpretation here.
Ellipsis and parallelism, again

John is standing in front of every building.

• QR wouldn't affect the interpretation here.
  ...so can it happen, or not?
Ellipsis and parallelism, again

John is standing in front of every building.
...and a guard is __, too.

• For QR to happen in the second conjunct, it has to happen in the first conjunct, too.
Ellipsis and parallelism, again

John is standing in front of every building.
...and a guard is __, too.

• For QR to happen in the second conjunct, it has to happen in the first conjunct, too.
...but, in fact, the sentence only has one reading  --> no QR