

Ellipsis and Replacement in Categorical Mismatch*

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Park, Myung-Kwan and Sunjoo Choi. 2019. Ellipsis and replacement in categorical mismatch. *Korean Journal of English Language and Linguistics* 19–2, 194–210. This paper investigates VP/NP Ellipsis/Replacement, concentrating on causative–inchoative alternation and categorial conversion contexts in English. In the former context, VP Ellipsis/Replacement can successfully apply to the VP headed by an inchoative in relation with a causative antecedent, and in fact it can only when the internal argument of the causative verb is identical in reference to that of the inchoative verb. It will be shown that the causativizing morpheme CAUSE as part of the decomposed structure of the causative verb blocks a bundling of the extended verbal projections, which invites a violation of identity in ellipsis and replacement. In the latter context, VP Ellipsis/Replacement and NP Ellipsis are allowed, but NP Replacement is not. The anaphoric *one/ones* is not permitted when it prevents a bundling of the extended nominal projections, thus failing to secure a right category for identity in replacement.

Keywords: ellipsis, replacement, causative–inchoative alternation, categorial conversion, bundling, CAUSE, anaphoric *one*

1. Introduction

VP/NP Ellipsis/Replacement applies to the VP/NP that is in anaphoric relation with the antecedent VP/NP. The well-known constraint on VP Ellipsis/Replacement is the identity condition which dictates that the VP/NP to be elided/replaced is required to be identical to its antecedent VP/NP. Still in debate is which component of grammar properly defines identity in ellipsis and replacement.

This paper is to investigate this issue of identity in VP/NP Ellipsis/Replacement, concentrating on causative–inchoative alternation and categorial conversion contexts in English. It will be shown that in the former context, VP Ellipsis/Replacement can

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successfully apply to the VP projected by an inchoative in relation with a causative antecedent, and in fact it can only when the internal argument of the causative verb is identical in reference to that of the inchoative verb. In the latter context, VP Ellipsis/Replacement and NP Ellipsis are permitted, but NP Replacement is not. We are going to account for these restrictions in category mismatch contexts, showing that syntax plays a pivotal role in imposing identity in ellipsis and replacement.

2. Category Mismatch under VP–Replacement

2.1 Causative–Inchoative Mismatches under VP Replacement

As noted by Bouton (1969) in the late 1960s, the verb phrase (VP) headed by the causative verb can be an antecedent of the VP headed by its counterpart inchoative in the process of VP Replacement in English. The following examples make this point:

(1) (Bouton 1969, 239, (26), (24), (23))

- a. The metal the damp weather rusted *did so* in spite of an extra heavy coating of grease.
- b. The needle the current is oscillating at 40mgc has never *done so* before.
- c. The young men we marched into battle sang “Yankee Doodle” as they *did so*.

In (1), the causative verb occurs inside the relative clause, and its direct object occurs as the head of the relative clause, which in turn serves as the subject of VP Replacement *do so*.

Likewise, in (2a) and (3a) the verb phrase headed by the causative verb feeds into VP Replacement, and now its direct object in the antecedent clause serves as the subject of the inchoative–headed VP that undergoes *do so* replacement.

(2) (Bouton 1969, 246, (40–42))

- a. Charley tried to curve his next pitch across the inside corner, and it *did so* beautifully -- knee high!
- b. The water Jane was boiling when we arrived was still *doing so* when we left twenty minutes later.
- c. The stone we rolled down the hill raised a huge cloud of dust as it *did so*.

(3) (Houser 2010, 20, (35))

- a. I have tried pairing the N800 with other devices, and it *does so* easily.

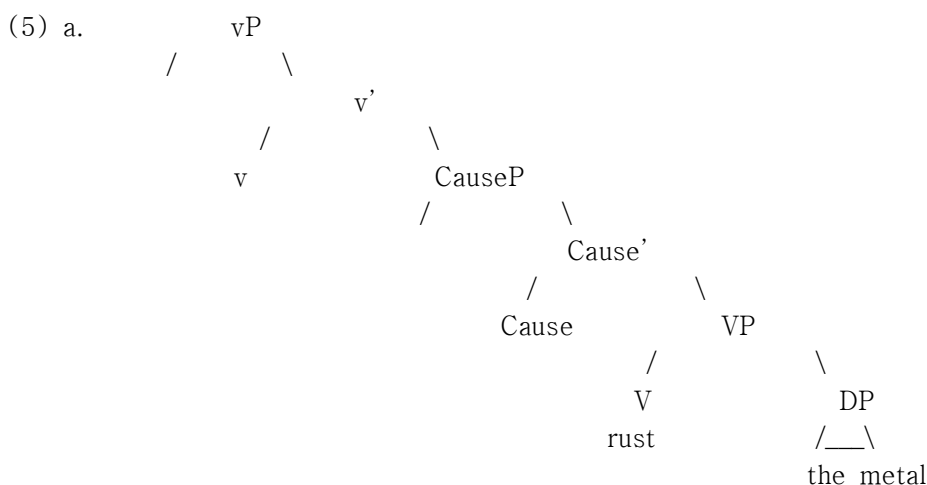
It is noteworthy that in causative–inchoative alternation the opposite direction (i.e., the antecedent being an inchoative and *do so* a causative) produces unacceptable sentences, as follows:

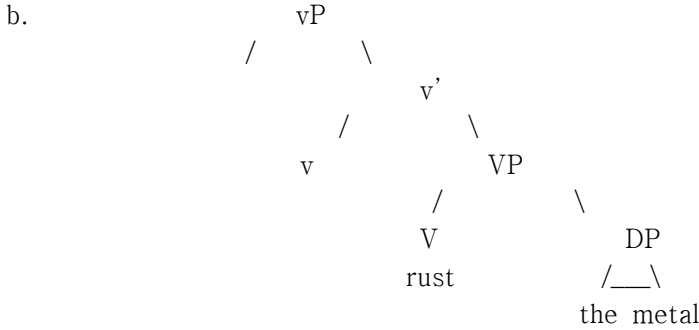
(4) (Bouton 1969, 240, (29–31))

- a. The needle oscillated at 40mgc for the first time when the new current *did so*. (*oscillated the needle)
- b. The young men marched into battle because we *did so*. (*marched the young men into battle)
- c. The metal rusted in spite of a heavy coat of grease because the damp weather *did so*. (*rusted the metal)

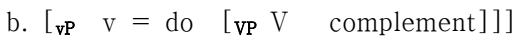
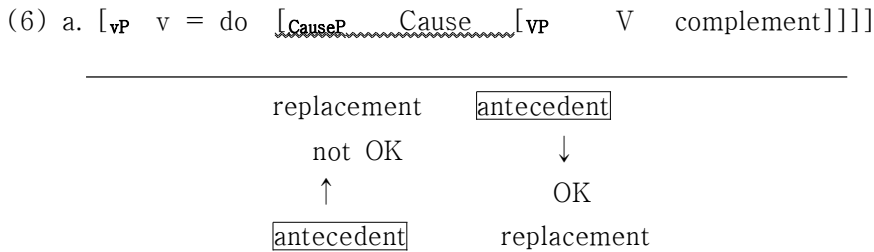
The examples in (4) show that the VP headed by the inchoative verb cannot be an antecedent of the VP that undergoes *do so* replacement.

We account for this asymmetry in causative–inchoative alternation under VP Replacement by relying on structural aspects of causative and inchoative verbs. The causative verb like *rust* involves the transitivity morpheme CAUSE in its decomposed syntactic configuration as in (5a), but its inchoative verb lacks such a morpheme as in (5b):





Given the structures for causative and inchoative verbs, the reason for the asymmetry in causative–inchoative alternation under VP Replacement is now obvious. Assume with Stroik (2001) that VP Replacement applies to vP, that is, the projection of the little v that is occupied by *do* of VP Replacement *do so*. As shown schematically below in (6a–b), the extended projection of the causative verb in (6a) provides an antecedent vP when the vP of the inchoative verb undergoes VP Replacement. Since the former is structurally a superset of the latter, the identity condition on VP Replacement can be met.



But the other way around is not allowed because the vP to be replaced contains the causative morpheme, which is not available to its antecedent vP in (6b). In other words, the asymmetry in causative–inchoative alternation under VP Replacement follows from the size restriction. The causative verb has the larger extended projection of V than its inchoative counterpart. Therefore, when the latter serves as the antecedent of the former under VP Replacement, it is bound to invite a violation of the identity condition on VP Replacement. However, if the opposite direction with its causative–headed antecedent vP larger than the inchoative–head vP replacement holds,

the condition is satisfied.

2.2 Category Mismatch under VP or NP Replacement

On top of VP Replacement in causative–inchoative alternation, category mismatch is at stake when an NP serves as an antecedent of VP Replacement. As Kehler and Ward (1999) note, in fact category mismatch is permissible in VP Replacement, as in (7)–(9):

(7) (Kehler and Ward 1999, 247, (39); 248, (41))

- a. The **defection** of the seven moderates, who knew they were incurring the wrath of many colleagues in **doing so**, signaled that it may be harder to sell the GOP message on the crime bill than it was on the stimulus package. (Washington Post)
- b. Even though an Israeli **response** is justified, I don't think it was in their best interests to **do so** right now.

(8) (Ward and Kehler 2005, 375, (35–36))

- a. One study suggests that almost half of young female **smokers do so** in order to lose weight.
- b. The majority of horse **riders do so** purely for leisure and pleasure.

(9) (COCA)

Our **release** of their information was **done so** in compliance with this law.¹

However, one caveat is in order. As the examples above show, when the antecedent nominal evokes an event, VP Replacement is allowed. Otherwise (that is, when the antecedent nominal does not evoke an event saliently), it is not allowed, as follows.

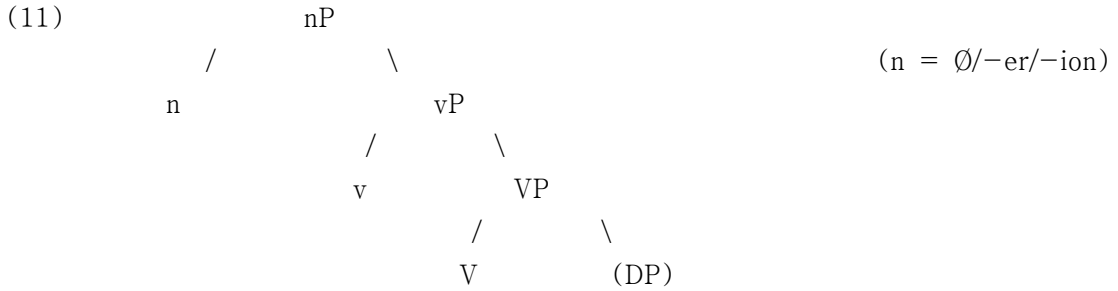
- (10) a. #My **computer does so** faster than yours. [=compute]
 b. #The boat's **propeller** failed to **do so**, and now we're stuck. [=propel]

Category mismatch in noun–verb alternation under VP Replacement does not raise a problem with the identity condition on VP Replacement because as in (11) the noun as

¹ The following sentence can be recovered from the internet:

Tell Jira that the release has been released.

part of the antecedent nP/NP is derived from its counterpart verb, thus providing a legitimate antecedent vP for *do so* Replacement.



By contrast, NP Replacement with the category-mismatched antecedent is not allowed, as follows:

- (12) vP antecedent --> [its nP counterpart] replacement (i.e., [_{nP} [_{vP}]])
 <Kiparsky's (1982) Stratum II>: {(without primary stress change); *pattern, patent, lever*}
- a. *He applied to [_{vP} [_v patent] his five inventions] but was only awarded three [_{nP} ones [_{NP} e]].
 - b. *The kids were [_{vP} [_v painting] the wall] when they got some [_{nP} ones [_{NP} e]] on the sofa.
 - c. *They wish to [_{vP} [_v tattoo] their forearms] but are unsure of which [_{nP} one(s) [_{NP} e]] to get.

We assume that NP Replacement *one* substitutes for the category of nP, based on the well-known restriction that it is sensitive to the countable vs. uncountable noun distinction in taking its antecedent, as follows:

- (13) a. The **book** I read yesterday is more interesting than the one I did today.
 b. *The **water** I drank yesterday is colder than the one I did today.

Now we attribute the unacceptability of (12a-c) to the fact that the antecedent verb that is derived from its counterpart noun cannot provide a right category in meeting the identity condition on NP Replacement. In other words, the antecedent verb that is derived from the root noun (e.g., [_v [_N patent]]), or its projection does not

bear the number feature crucial for licensing *one* replacement. The more detailed analysis for the unacceptability of (12a–c) will be returned to below in section 4.

3. Category Mismatch under Ellipsis

3.1. Causative–Inchoative Alternation under VP–Ellipsis

In the same fashion with VP Replacement in causative–inchoative alternation, VP Ellipsis displays the asymmetry in light of what can serve as an antecedent of VP Ellipsis, but what cannot. As in (14)–(15), the VP headed by the causative verb can be a legitimate antecedent for the VP headed by its inchoative counterpart. By contrast, the VP headed by the inchoative verb cannot be a legitimate antecedent for the VP headed by its causative counterpart.

(14) melt_{inchoative} vs. melt_{transitive}: (Sugimoto 2018: 146)

- a. John believed that the sunshine would melt the big snowballs_i, but they_i didn't <melt>.
- b. *John believed that the big snowballs_i would not melt, but the sunshine did <melt them_i>.

(15) rise vs. raise: (Sugimoto 2018:150)

- a. John believed that the war would raise oil prices_i, but they_i didn't <rise>.
- b. *John believed that oil prices_i would not rise, but the war did <raise them_i>.

Recall that this asymmetry is due to the causative vs. inchoative verb distinction in forming a VP. The causative verb contains the CAUSE morpheme that its inchoative counterpart does not; thus, in accordance with the superset/subset relation between antecedent and ellipsis, the VP headed by the former can be an antecedent for the elided VP headed by the latter, but the other way around does not hold, as in (16) and (17).

(16) [_{VP} v [_{CauseP} Cause [_{VP} V complement]]]

(17) [_{VP} v [_{VP} V complement]]

Incidentally, as Sugimoto (2018) notes, VP Ellipsis or Replacement as surface anaphora is sensitive to the surface form of verbs in causative–inchoative alternation. For example, *kill* and *die* may be regarded as relating to each other in causative–inchoative alternation, but neither can serve as an antecedent for the other under VP Ellipsis or Replacement because they are not morphologically related, as follows:

(18) die vs. kill: (* ‘kill’ is not ‘cause to die’)

- a. *John believed that the virus would **kill the patient_i**, but he_j didn’t <die>/<do so>.
- b. *John believed that the patient_i would not **die**, but the virus did <kill him_i>/<do so>. (Sugimoto 2018: 150)

3.2 Category Mismatches under VP/NP Ellipsis

In addition to VP Ellipsis in causative–inchoative alternation, VP/NP Ellipsis both in N antecedent & V elision and V antecedent & N elision is insensitive to category mismatch vis-à-vis the identity condition on ellipsis. As Sato (2018) notes, as in (19) VP Ellipsis is allowed in N antecedent & V elision contexts:

- (19) nP antecedent --> [its counterpart = vP] ellipsis (i.e., [_{vP-VP} e])
 <Kiparsky’s (1982) Stratum I> -- {(with primary stress change): *torment, protest, digest, progress, convict, survey*}:
- a. The [_{nP}[_N[_v **protest**]]] was supposed to take the form of a petition, but many did [_{vP-VP} e] by taking to the streets instead.
- b. The [_{nP}[_N[_v **struggle**]-s]] of my seniors convinced me that I would [_{vP-VP} e] too in the days to come.
- c. Understanding the [_{nP}[_N[_v **progress**]]] made by their predecessors would prove necessary before they could [_{vP-VP} e] too. (from Sato 2018)

We can say that apparent category mismatch is obviated because the bundled vP–VP to be elided² finds its antecedent in its nominal projection which is originally derived

²One thing peculiar about vP and VP in English is that in line with Pytkänen’s (2002) following generalization on bundling of Cause [v] and [v]oice, little [v] and main verb V in English are generally bundled together rather being separate entities.

from the verb root. Note that in the V-to-N zero derivation at hand that provides an antecedent for VP Ellipsis, the verb as part of the elided VP is construed as an intransitive verb.

Likewise, NP Ellipsis is allowed in the N-to-V zero derivation that provides an antecedent for it, as follows:

- (20) vP antecedent --> [its counterpart = nP] ellipsis (i.e., [_{nP} e]) <Kiparsky's (1982) Stratum II> -- {(without primary stress change); *pattern, patent, lever*):
- He applied to [_{vP}[_v patent]] his five inventions] but was only awarded three [_{nP} e].
 - The kids were [_{vP}[_v painting]] the wall] when they got some [_{nP} e] on the sofa.
 - He gave many what they [_{vP}[_v desired]] t], but he never could fulfil any of his own [_{nP} e].
 - He [_{vP}[_v loved]] his children] even though he never got any [_{nP} e] in return.
 - They wish to [_{vP}[_v tattoo]] their forearms] but are unsure of which [_{nP} e] to get. (from Sato 2018)

In the same fashion as VP ellipsis in (19), apparent category mismatch in (20) is obviated because the bundled nP-NP to be elided finds its antecedent in its verbal projection which is ultimately derived from the noun.

Note incidentally that in this context of NP ellipsis in (20), the elided NP retains the argument structure of the verb as part of the antecedent VP or involves that of the verb that changes from transitive to intransitive verb. For example, in (20a) the ellipsis site is construed as transitive 'patents of his five inventions', but in (20b) it is construed not as 'painting of the wall' but intransitive 'painting(s)'.

"While Cause [v] and [v]oice are separate pieces in the universal inventory of functional heads, they can be grouped together into a morpheme in the lexicon of a particular language. In such a language, [v]oice and Cause [v] form a similar feature bundle as tense and agreement in languages which do not have a split INFL." (from Pytkkänen 2002: 90)

4. Ellipsis vs. Replacement

4.1. Passives vs. Inchoatives/Unaccusatives

As for inchoatives/unaccusatives, both VP Replacement and Ellipsis with inchoatives are allowed, as follows:

- (21) a. The river froze solid, and the pond *did so*, too.
 b. The river froze solid, and the pond did, too.

As Houser (2010) and Hallman (2013) note, however, there is an asymmetry between VP Replacement and Ellipsis with passives, as in (22) and (23):

- (22) a. *The vase was [broken by the children], and the jar was [*done so*], too.
 b. The vase was [broken by the children], and the jar was [e], too.
 (Houser 2010: 22, (44))
- (23) a. *These books were [left in the classroom], and this cell phone was [*done so*], too.
 b. These books were [left in the classroom], and this cell phone was [e], too.
 (Hallman 2013: 77, (5d))

In passives, VP Ellipsis is allowed, but VP Replacement is not.

In an attempt to account for this asymmetry, we first note that VP Ellipsis is different from VP Replacement in terms of the categories affected by these two rules at hand. As in (24a), when VP Ellipsis applies, the passive verb *be* is required to be included in the elided VP. As in (24b), however, when VP Replacement applies, the passive verb *be* is not included in the VP to be replaced.

- (24) a. VP ellipsis: John is being blamed, and Mary is (*being) too.
 b. VP replacement : John was being blamed, and he is indeed being *done so* today, too.

We assume that to accommodate the passive verb *be* into clausal structure, it occupies the head of VoiceP just above vP, as follows.

- (25) Structure of passives : . . . [voiceP be [vP done [VP so]]]

This amounts to saying that VP Ellipsis applies to VoiceP. By contrast, VP Replacement applies to the domain *vP* smaller than VoiceP.

Unlike passives, unaccusatives/inchoatives have an inert Voice head whose projection is bundled together with *vP*, thus always having the conflated VoiceP/*vP*, as follows.

(26) Structure of unaccusatives/inchoatives : . . . [VoiceP/*vP* do [*vP* so]]

Given these structures, we go on to propose that focus closure (Merchant 2001) is a critical component in accounting for the contrast between VP Ellipsis and Replacement. The upshot of the more specific proposal is that focus closure is achieved when the element in contrast focus takes scope like a quantified element, being subject to the domain restriction. Simply put, it takes scope to the ‘propositional’ constituent VoiceP, but not to *vP*.

Given this proposal, when the internal argument of a verb in the antecedent clause is not identical to that in the ellipsis clause, they take scope to the external Spec of VoiceP. This dictates that the domain for identity is VoiceP, but not *vP*. This is the reason that VP Ellipsis can successfully apply to VoiceP (including inner Spec of VoiceP where the external argument is base-generated or the derived subject lands to), producing (22b) and (23b). In these cases, the domain for identity is identical to the domain for ellipsis. However, VP Replacement cannot apply to *vP* because it cannot secure the right domain for identity, ruling out (22a) and (23a). In these cases, the domain for identity is not identical to the domain for ellipsis.

How does this analysis apply to unaccusatives/inchoatives of (21), where unlike passives, there is no contrast between VP Ellipsis and Replacement? The crucial difference between passives and unaccusatives/inchoatives lies in the presence of the passive auxiliary verb *be* in the former. We assume that the presence of *be* hinders the bundling of VoiceP and *vP*, but its absence allows for it. The bundling of the two functional categories at hand (i.e., VoiceP and *vP*) enables contrastively focused internal arguments to take scope at the collapsed category VoiceP/*vP*, thus ruling in VP Replacement (21a) as well as VP Ellipsis (21b). In other words, in unaccusatives/inchoatives, bundling makes it possible that the domain for identity is identical to the domain for ellipsis.

This line of analysis gives a handle for the same restriction in causative–inchoative alternation. The case in point is as follows:

(27) *Bill melted the copper vase, and the magnesium vase did/did so, too.

(taken from Sag 1976: 160)

(28) Maria still tried to break the vase_i even though it_i wouldn't [e]/do so.

(taken from Houser et al. 2007: 188)

As noted by Sugimoto (2018) and Sato (2018) (but contrary to Merchant (2013)), in causative–inchoative alternation both VP Replacement and VP Ellipsis are ruled out when the object of the causative verb and the subject of its inchoative counterpart are different in reference as in (27). But when they are identical in reference as in (28), thus not in need of focus closure, both VP Replacement and VP Ellipsis are ruled in.

We repeat below the postulated structures for causatives and inchoatives, with the addition of Voice(P):

- (29) a. [_{Voice-trP} Voice-tr [_{vP} [_{CauseP} Cause [_{vP} V complement]]]]
 b. [_{Voice-unP} Voice-un [_{vP} [_{vP} V complement]]]

When in (29) the internal argument of the causative verb is not identical in reference to that of the inchoative, the bundling of VoiceP with vP is called for, which in turn provides the proper domain for focus closure and identity. But in (29a) the process of bundling is blocked by the presence of the causative morpheme CAUSE. This is why (27) is ruled out. However, when the internal argument of the causative verb in (29a) is identical in reference to that of the inchoative in (29b), focus closure does not apply; hence VP serves as a domain for identity. This is the reason that (28) is ruled in.

Likewise, VP Replacement (as well as VP Ellipsis) in passives can safely apply to the following examples (on top of (24b)), where the internal argument of the transitive/passive verb is identical in reference to that of the passive verb:

- (30) a. While some Catholics don't want to face it, it was indeed done so by other Catholics.
 b. The image they posted was indeed done so with some bias.

All in all, there is a stricter restriction on meeting parallelism in ellipsis with 'contrastively focused' elements within VP or its extended projection. Particularly, contrastively focused elements within VP or its extended projection take scope at

VoiceP. Intimately interacting with focus closure is bundling. The presence of ‘be’/‘CAUSE’ prevents the bundling of VoiceP with vP/VP. On the other hand, the absence of ‘be’/‘CAUSE’ enables the bundling of VoiceP with vP/VP. Thus, ‘be’/‘CAUSE’ in passives and causatives ultimately results in impinging on identity in VP Replacement and Ellipsis.

4.2. NP Structure

As we saw above, a vP can undergo ellipsis when its antecedent nP is derived from the root V, as in (31).

- (31) a. The [_{nP}[_N protest]] was supposed to take the form of a petition, but many did [_{vP-VP} [_V e]] by taking to the streets instead.
 b. The [_{nP}[_N struggle]] of my seniors convinced me that I would [_{vP-VP} [_V e]] too in the days to come.
 c. Understanding the [_{nP}[_N progress]] made by their predecessors would prove necessary before they could [_{vP-VP} [_V e]] too. (from Sato 2018)

On the other hand, an nP can undergo ellipsis when its antecedent vP is derived from the root N, as in (32):

- (32) a. He applied to [_{vP}[_V [_N patent]] his five inventions] but was only awarded three [_{nP-NP} [_N e]].
 b. The kids were [_{vP}[_V [_N painting]] the wall] when they got some [_{nP-NP} [_N e]] on the sofa.
 c. He gave many what they [_{vP}[_V [_N desired]] t]but he never could fulfil any of his own [_{nP-NP} [_N e]].
 d. He [_{vP}[_V [_N loved]] his children] even though he never got any [_{nP-NP} [_N e]] in return.
 e. They wish to [_{vP}[_V [_N tattoo]] their forearms] but are unsure of which [_{nP-NP} [_N e]] to get. (from Sato 2018)

In these instances of (31) and (32), verbs or nouns involving the categorial conversion from V-to-N or from N-to-V undergo bundling of their syntactic projections, percolating either verbal or nominal features upward. Thus, bundling is

instrumental in providing a proper antecedent in VP/NP Ellipsis in meeting identity in ellipsis.

In contrast, NP Replacement in categorial conversion contexts fails to meet identity in replacement. As Tan (2018) and Sato (2018) note, VP Ellipsis is allowed, but NP Replacement is not fine in the case of V-to-N conversion, as shown by the contrast between (33a) and (33b):

(33) (Tan 2018, Sato 2018)

- a. Allow us to treat you like a [_N graduate] before you do [_{VP} e].
- b. ??You must [_{VP} graduate] before we end up treating you like one [_{NP} e].

We can postulate the following structures for vP or nP that is projected from the verbal root *graduate*:

- (34) a. graduate: [_{VP-VP} [_V graduate]] / [_{nP} [_{NP} [_N [_V graduate]]]]
- b. a graduate: [_{NumP} a [_{nP} one [_{NP} [_N [_V graduate]]]]]
 <=== bundling of nP with NP blocked!!!

Given these structures, in (34a) involving VP Ellipsis, the antecedent vP and the elided nP turn out to be identical via bundling. In other words, bundling enables the verbal root *graduate* to percolate up to nP, which in turn takes over the verbal feature, thereby meeting identity in ellipsis. By contrast, in (34b) involving NP Ellipsis, the presence of anaphoric *one* prevents bundling, so that nP fails to inherit the verbal feature from the root *graduate*. Thus, the nP to be replaced cannot secure the right category for identity in relation with its antecedent vP.

This line of analysis also provides a usual handle for accounting for the unacceptability of (32a), (32b), and (32e) when the ellipsis site is replaced by the anaphoric *one*, as in (35):

- (35) a. *He applied to [_{VP}[_V[_N patent]] his five inventions] but was only awarded three [_{NP} ones [_N e]].
- b. *The kids were [_{VP}[_V[_N painting]] the wall] when they got some [_{NP} one(s) [_N e]] on the sofa.
- e. *They wish to [_{VP}[_V[_N tattoo]] their forearms] but are unsure of which [_{NP} one [_N e]] to get.

These examples are ruled out owing to the presence of anaphoric *one* that blocks bundling. Ultimately, the nP to be replaced cannot find a right antecedent to meet identity in replacement.

In this section we have again shown that bundling is instrumental in securing a right category that meets identity in ellipsis/replacement. Essentially, the presence of *one* in the case of NP replacement prevents the bundling of nP with the categories below it. But the absence of *one* allows for such a bundling, thereby getting a right category for identity in NP Ellipsis.

5. Conclusion

This paper has examined the distributional aspects of VP/NP Ellipsis/Replacement, concentrating on causative–inchoative alternation and categorial conversion contexts in English. In the causative–inchoative alternation context, both VP Ellipsis and Replacement are allowed when the VP headed by an inchoative undergoes ellipsis or replacement vis-à-vis a causative antecedent. In fact they are allowed only when the internal argument of the antecedent causative verb is identical in reference to that of the elided/replaced inchoative verb. It was shown that the causativizing morpheme CAUSE as part of the decomposed structure of the causative verb prevents a bundling of the extended verbal projections, which results in violating identity in ellipsis and replacement. In the categorial conversion context, VP Ellipsis/Replacement and NP Ellipsis can successfully apply, but NP Replacement cannot. The anaphoric *one/ones* is not allowed when it impedes a bundling of the extended nominal projections, thus failing to insure a right category for identity in replacement.

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Examples in: English

Applicable Languages: English

Applicable Level: Tertiary

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