

## Split Antecedents in VP Ellipsis \*

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### 1. Introduction

Any theory of VP ellipsis (hereafter VPE) must deal with the so-called “split-antecedent” cases like those in (1), first discussed in Webber 1978, in which the ellipsis is understood as having more than one antecedent.

- (1) a. Mary swam the English Channel, and Jane climbed Kilimanjaro, and I did, too.  
‘I swam the English Channel and climbed Kilimanjaro’ (Fiengo & May 1994)  
b. Sally wants to sail around the world, and Barbara wants to fly to South America, and they will, if money is available.  
‘Sally will sail around the world and Barbara will fly to SA’ (Webber 1978)  
c. Whenever Max uses the fax or Oscar uses the Xerox, I can’t.  
‘I can’t use the fax or the Xerox, whichever one is in use’ (F&M 1994)  
? ‘I can’t use either when one is in use (e.g. they share a power circuit)’<sup>1</sup>

Under many current theories of VPE syntax, a VP is deleted (at PF) or reconstructed (at LF) at the ellipsis site under conditions of identity, or near-identity, with an antecedent. Split antecedent VPE (hereafter SAVPE) is a problem for such theories, since there is no single VP to delete or to reconstruct. In addition, the conjunction (1a-b) or disjunction (1c) that is understood at the ellipsis site must be accounted for.

There are two main approaches to the SAVPE problem. One, exemplified by Fiengo and May 1994, says that both antecedent VPs are syntactically reconstructed at the ellipsis site, along with a connective derived from previous discourse. The other, exemplified by Hardt 1999, says that the ellipsis site does not contain full syntactic

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<sup>1</sup> Fiengo and May give the first judgment here but not the second.

structure but rather a pronominal form (hereafter proform), denoting a plural property and taking multiple properties as its antecedent.

A number of syntactic arguments have been made against the proform analysis of VPE – see Johnson 2001 for a summary.<sup>2</sup> However, Hardt 1999 raises an interesting semantic argument in favor of proforms, based on the scope of conjunction and negation in SAVPE compared to overt conjoined VPs, which has not been answered in the literature. In this paper I undertake to show that a closer examination of Hardt’s data, taking focus stress into account, actually favors syntactic reconstruction. In order to do so I adapt Szabolcsi and Haddican’s 2004 analysis of conjoined definite DPs to the VP domain. I will discuss some open questions about whether stress affects all VPE or just SAVPE, as well as disjunction and ‘respectively’ readings in SAVPE.

## 2. Previous Analyses of SAVPE

In this section I describe the syntactic reconstruction approach to SAVPE (Fiengo and May 1994) and Hardt’s 1999 objection to syntactic reconstruction.

### 2.1 Fiengo and May 1994: Syntactic Reconstruction

In the framework of Fiengo and May 1994, syntactic reconstruction for SAVPE is a slightly more complicated variant of regular VPE. In SAVPE, the two VPs *and a connective* are reconstructed at the ellipsis site from previous discourse. Fiengo and May do not give an exact mechanism for this process, but I have schematized it roughly in (2).

- (2) Mary swam the English Channel, and Jane climbed Kilimanjaro,  
 and I did <swim the EC> <and> <climb K> too.
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One advantage of this view is that it makes the right predictions when the connective is not conjunction but rather disjunction, as in (1c). I will return to disjunction in section 4.

### 2.2 Hardt 1999: Pronominal Forms

Hardt 1999 objects to syntactic reconstruction based on the apparent scope of conjunction and negation in SAVPE.<sup>3</sup> In a negated sentence with *overt* conjoined VPs, according to

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<sup>2</sup> For example, the ability to extract from within an ellipsis site argues for syntactic structure (i).

- (i) I know which book Max read, and which book Oscar didn’t. (Fiengo and May 1994)

The syntactic arguments are beyond the scope of this paper; however, observe that extraction is also possible from a SAVPE site (ii); such examples have been independently noted by Mark Baltin (p.c.).

- (ii) I know which books Max likes and which ones Peter hates, and I know which ones Bob does too.

<sup>3</sup> Throughout, I use the expression *apparent scope* rather than simply *scope*. Hardt proposes that a ‘neither’ reading, which would normally arise from conjunction scoping over negation (as opposed to a

Hardt, a ‘not both’ reading is obtained; conjunction appears to scope under negation (3).

- (3) Harry doesn’t go to nice restaurants and leave big tips.  
‘He does not do both, but might do one or the other’ (Hardt 1999)

Under SAVPE, on the other hand, a ‘neither’ reading is obtained; the conjunction appears to scope over the negation, according to Hardt (4).

- (4) I thought Harry went to nice restaurants and I thought he left big tips. It turns out he doesn’t.  
‘He does neither’ (Hardt 1999)

If a conjoined VP were reconstructed at the ellipsis site, this difference in scopal behavior would be unexpected, Hardt argues. Instead, he proposes a proform at the ellipsis site. Proforms, Hardt notes, are generally assumed to be able to take multiple antecedents, as the pronoun does in (5).

- (5) John<sub>1</sub> arrived, and later Susan<sub>2</sub> arrived. They<sub>{1,2}</sub> left together.

Here it is fairly uncontroversial to say that the pronoun *they* is interpreted as a plural individual (Link 1983). Hardt extends this view to proforms whose antecedents are VPs, arguing that they denote plural properties (more will be said about plural properties in section 4.2.2). His analysis is shown in (6). (I make no distinction here between sums, indicated by  $\oplus$ , and sets.)

- (6) Mary swam the EC and Jane climbed K and I did *<pro>* too.  
*<pro >* = *swim the EC*  $\oplus$  *climb K* = {*swim the EC, climb K*}

Because of a homogeneity presupposition for the plural property, negation distributes to all of its members, resulting in a ‘neither’ reading rather than a ‘not both’ reading. This accounts for the apparent scope difference between (3) and (4).

### **3. Conjunction and Focus Stress in Split-Antecedent VPE: A Semantic Argument for Reconstruction**

In this section I show that Hardt’s judgments are not sufficiently fine-grained, resulting in an analysis that is correct only under certain conditions. I introduce the theory of Szabolcsi and Haddican 2004 regarding stress in conjoined DPs, and provide novel data showing that this theory should be extended to VPs.

The motivation for evaluating Hardt’s data more closely is that the interpretation of conjunction under negation is dependent on focus stress on the conjunction, as Szabolcsi and Haddican have observed for conjoined definite DPs in English (7).

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‘not both’ reading, which would be negation over conjunction) is not actually a matter of scope – i.e. c-command – at all, but rather distribution of negation over a plural with a homogeneity presupposition. Szabolcsi and Haddican 2004, whose analysis for conjoined DPs I adapt for VPs, make the same point.

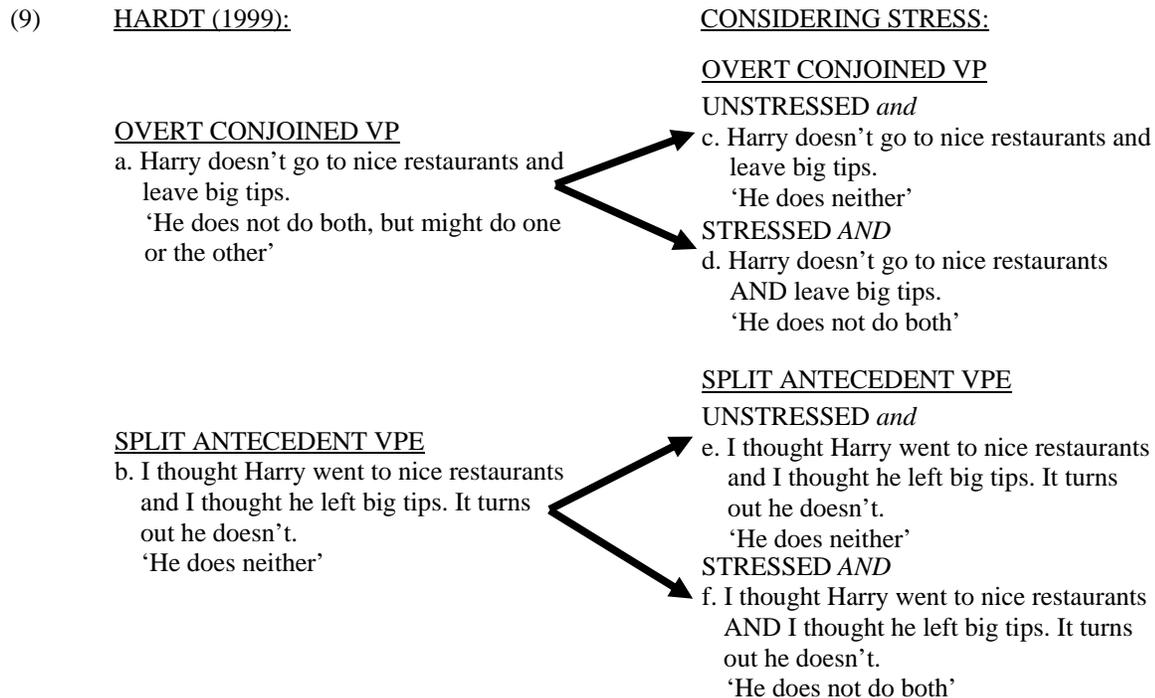
- (7) a. Mary didn't take math and physics.  
 'She took neither'  
 b. Mary didn't take math AND physics.  
 'She didn't take both, but might have taken one or the other' (S&H 2004)

In (7a), where *and* is unstressed, conjunction appears to scope over negation, resulting in a 'neither' reading. In (7b), where *AND* is stressed, conjunction appears to scope under negation, resulting in a 'not both' reading.

This observation has not previously been extended beyond DPs, but in fact, the effects of stress on the conjunction can be seen in (overt) conjoined VPs as well (8).<sup>4</sup>

- (8) a. Mary didn't dance a jig and wear a lampshade on her head.  
 'She did neither'  
 b. Mary didn't dance a jig AND wear a lampshade on her head.  
 'She did not do both, but might have done one or the other'<sup>5</sup>

When we take stress into account, we see that each of Hardt's examples (3) and (4) actually has *two* interpretations, depending on whether or not the conjunction bears focus stress (9).



<sup>4</sup> The DPs in (7) and the VPs in (8) were chosen because they form good "packages", i.e. stereotypical pairs. The construction in (7a) is dispreferred by speakers of English, in favor of *Mary didn't take math or physics*. This is especially true when the DPs do not form a package, as in *Mary didn't take hockey and algebra*, which some speakers do not accept at all (Szabolcsi and Haddican 2004).

<sup>5</sup> As Szabolcsi and Haddican note, the 'not both' reading is asymmetrical. In (8b), the favored reading is 'Mary danced a jig, but didn't wear a lampshade.'

In fact, as (9) shows, the apparent scope of conjunction and negation is identical in overt conjoined VPs and SAVPE, when stress is accounted for (the right-hand column).<sup>6</sup>

This data is important on two levels. First, it speaks against Hardt's contention that scopal behavior is evidence for SAVPE and overt conjoined VPs being different phenomena, because in fact they exhibit the same scopal behavior. Second, on the assumption that focus stress always originates with a focus projection in the syntax, we have an argument in favor of reconstruction over proforms. It seems that the presence or absence of stress on the antecedent conjunction carries over to the ellipsis site. Stressed *AND* in the antecedent indicates the presence of a focus projection. If the ellipsis site shows the effects of stress on *AND* as well, then it also contains a focus projection, and similarly for the absence of a focus projection when *and* is unstressed. But the proform analysis only allows for unstressed *and*, because a proform denoting a plural property is the wrong type of object to contain a focus projection.<sup>7</sup>

It is possible, however, that the proform analysis could be rescued if proforms were allowed to denote something other than a plural property. This possibility will be addressed in section 4.2.2.

## **4. Analysis**

In this section I give my analysis of SAVPE and how it is affected by stress in the antecedent. I first sketch the syntax at the ellipsis site. I then summarize Szabolcsi and Haddican's semantics for conjoined definite DPs, and show how it can be adapted for VPs in order to account for the semantics of SAVPE.

### **4.1 Syntax**

As mentioned above, Fiengo and May suggest that a connective is reconstructed from previous discourse at the ellipsis site, but they do not specify exactly where it is located. I propose that in SAVPE, the connective is reconstructed either directly into ConjP if

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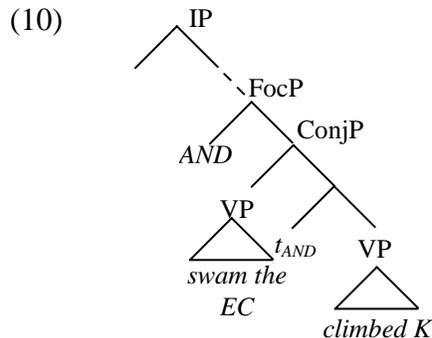
<sup>6</sup> These judgments are delicate, and not all informants shared a judgment that the stressed and unstressed examples have different readings. The informants who did note a difference, however, agreed in general that the difference was the one indicated here. One informant pointed out that the placement of stress in the antecedent can have other effects on the perceived meaning of the negation. Consider the difference between (i) and (ii).

- (i) I thought Harry went to nice restaurants and I thought he left big TIPS. It turns out he doesn't. 'He doesn't leave big tips, but might go to nice restaurants'
- (ii) I thought H. went to nice RESTAURANTS and I thought he left big tips. It turns out he doesn't. 'He doesn't go to nice restaurants, but might leave big tips elsewhere'

A full discussion of this phenomenon is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>7</sup> This criticism also applies to Elbourne (2005), who analyzes SAVPE to involve syntactic structure but with the ellipsis site interpreted as a plural property.

unstressed, or, if stressed, into a low FocP above the VP.<sup>8</sup> The relevant syntax is given in (10) for the case of stressed *AND*.<sup>9,10</sup>



A crucial issue for which I do not have a definitive answer is whether the ability to reconstruct material into FocP is unique to SAVPE – perhaps because it “builds” the reconstructed VP piece by piece, rather than simply copying a VP from elsewhere in the sentence – or whether this is a possibility in regular VPE as well. It does seem that regular VPE can be sensitive to stress in the antecedent. Note the oddity of (11b).

- (11) a. A: I saw that Mary and Bob ate salami at lunch today.  
 B: Yes, Mary ate salami, and Bob did too.  
 b. A: I saw that Mary ate turkey at lunch today, and Bob ate salami.  
 B: (?) No, Mary ate SALAMI at lunch today, and Bob did too.

I hypothesize that (11b) is somewhat odd because *SALAMI* is stressed in the antecedent VP, and therefore also at the ellipsis site; yet it was given information that Bob ate salami, so contrastive stress is odd. Still, (11b) is not unacceptable, and (12) also shows that a stressed conjunction in the antecedent of regular VPE does not necessarily affect the interpretation.<sup>11</sup>

- (12) a. Mary cooked spaghetti and ate oranges, but Bob didn't.  
 'Bob did neither'  
 b. Mary cooked spaghetti AND ate oranges, but Bob didn't.  
 'Bob did neither'

This data shows that much more investigation needs to be done into the

<sup>8</sup> Such a position is proposed by e.g. Kayne 1998, Jayaseelan 2001, and Belletti 2002, though the position described by Belletti hosts informational rather than contrastive focus. This focus position may be the same position to which a pseudogapping remnant moves (see e.g. Gengel 2007). I leave the issue open.

<sup>9</sup> In overt syntax we would expect the first conjunct, *swam the English Channel*, to move to Spec,FocP in order to restore surface order. I presume that this is the case in the antecedent.

<sup>10</sup> Kirsten Gengel (p.c.) points out that it would be unusual to delete a FocP, which normally contains only material that is stressed at PF. I assume that the material at the ellipsis site is not deleted but is reconstructed under identity conditions, after deletion would have come into play. However, this needs more investigation.

<sup>11</sup> My informants report that (12a) and (12b) both have a ‘neither’ reading by default, but both can also have a ‘not both’ reading if followed by e.g. *He only cooked spaghetti*.

interaction of stress and VPE in general. Another question for which my analysis may have implications is the size of the phrase which is deleted in VPE (see Merchant 2006, Gengel 2007, Baltin 2007 for relevant discussion). If a FocP is involved, then the phrase that is reconstructed at the ellipsis site would probably be larger than VP.

## 4.2 Semantics

### 4.2.1 Szabolcsi and Haddican's 2004 Analysis of Conjoined Definite DPs

Szabolcsi and Haddican propose that in English DPs, stressed *AND* is normal boolean conjunction<sup>12</sup>, while unstressed *and* is summation in the style of Link 1983. There is a single lexical item which denotes boolean conjunction, but by default (when unstressed) it is type-shifted into summation. Stress on *AND*, however, bleeds the type-shift.

For type-shifting, Szabolcsi and Haddican adopt Winter's 2001 collectivity raising operator *C*, which he uses to derive collective readings. For full details, see Winter 2001 and Szabolcsi and Haddican 2004; however, the operator depends on the fact that a conjunction such as *John and Mary*, construed as a generalized quantifier, forms a principal filter on the semilattice representing the domain of individuals (Link 1983). *C* identifies the minimal element of this principal filter, yielding a plural individual whose atoms are the members of the conjunction (13).

$$(13) \quad C(\textit{math} \wedge \textit{physics}) = \{\textit{math}, \textit{physics}\}$$

To this framework Szabolcsi and Haddican add the theory that negation distributes homogeneously (Löbner 1985, 1987, Schwarzschild 1994, Beck 2001) over the members of a plural. Therefore, the semantics of (7a), where *and* is unstressed, are in (14). When *AND* is stressed, as in (7b), the conjunction is boolean and scopes under negation (15).

$$(14) \quad \forall x \in \{\textit{math}, \textit{physics}\} [\text{NOT } \textit{take}(M, x)]$$

$$(15) \quad \text{NOT} > [\textit{math} \wedge \textit{physics}](\textit{take})(M)$$

It is not entirely clear why boolean conjunction is forced to scope under a c-commanding negation. However, Szabolcsi and Haddican point out that there are other elements which exhibit this behavior, such as quantified DPs containing *every* or *both*.

As for why stress on *AND* blocks the type-shift to summation, Szabolcsi and Haddican hypothesize that this may be because focus stress invokes alternatives. There are no obvious alternatives to non-boolean *and*, making stress incompatible with summation. Boolean *AND*, though, has *or* as an alternative and is compatible with stress.

### 4.2.2 Adapting Szabolcsi and Haddican's Analysis to Conjoined VPs

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<sup>12</sup> By Boolean conjunction I mean ordinary logical conjunction, generalized as in Partee and Rooth 1983 and sources cited therein.

As we saw above (8), conjoined (overt) VPs exhibit differential behavior depending on whether the conjunction is stressed, just as conjoined definite DPs do. In this section I adapt Szabolcsi and Haddican’s analysis to conjoined VPs. While maintaining the spirit of their proposal I will suggest that non-boolean conjunction is the default case for VPs, shifting into a boolean denotation when the conjunction is stressed. I make use of a semilattice structure for VPs described by Gawron and Kehler (2004) in their study of ‘respectively’ readings (which will be discussed in section 6). I then discuss the relevance for SAVPE, showing that Hardt’s analysis is correct but only when *and* is unstressed.

I propose that conjoined VPs, like DPs, have two possible denotations. When *and* is unstressed, a conjoined VP denotes a sum of properties. When *AND* is stressed, normal boolean conjunction applies. However, it is not possible to define a type-shifting operation from boolean to non-boolean conjunction for VPs. As Gawron and Kehler (2004) point out, boolean conjunction of properties yields another property, i.e. a set of individuals. For example, the boolean conjunction of *run* and *jump* is as in (16).

$$(16) \quad \lambda x[run(x) \wedge jump(x)]$$

It is impossible to distinguish the runners from the jumpers in this set.

However, it is possible to shift from non-boolean to boolean conjunction for properties. Gawron and Kehler develop a system in which propositions are primitives of type  $p$ , and (intransitive) properties are functions of type  $\langle e, p \rangle$ . A complete join semilattice is defined over propositions, analogous to the semilattice for individuals. Gawron and Kehler then show that it is possible to define a semilattice of properties based on the semilattice structure of the range space of properties, that is, propositions. For details, see Gawron and Kehler, but the key fact is that it is possible to recover atomic properties from a plural property using the semilattice structure. It is then possible to type-shift from non-boolean to boolean conjunction using the operation in (17a), which I have called  $B$ . An example of its application is shown in (17b).

$$(17) \text{ a. } B : \lambda R \lambda x \bigsqcup_{r_i \in_{\text{atomic}} R} r_i(x) \quad \text{where } R \text{ is a set of properties}$$

$$\text{b. } B(\{run, jump\}) = \lambda x[run(x) \wedge jump(x)]$$

It is certainly undesirable for non-boolean conjunction to be the default for VPs if boolean conjunction is the default for DPs. However, I do not believe that the major insight of Szabolcsi and Haddican would be harmed by assuming that non-boolean conjunction is the default for DPs as well.<sup>13</sup>

Thus far in this section I have discussed the semantics of overt conjoined VPs only. I assume that the interpretation of the ellipsis site in SAVPE, which exhibits the same apparent scope effects, also shares the same semantics. In (9e), where *and* is

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<sup>13</sup> Anna Szabolcsi (p.c.) points out that DPs like *every book and several magazines* would require a special derivation under such a theory.

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unstressed, the negation distributes over members of the plural property because of a homogeneity presupposition, giving us (18).

(18)  $\forall x \in \{\textit{go to nice restaurants}, \textit{leave big tips}\}[\text{NOT } \textit{do}(H, x)]$

In (9f), where *AND* is stressed, we have boolean conjunction, which scopes under negation (19).

(19)  $\text{NOT} > [\textit{go to nice restaurants}(H) \wedge \textit{leave big tips}(H)]$

Hardt's analysis, which corresponds to (18), is correct but only when *and* is unstressed.

Now that we have laid the semantic groundwork, we are in a better position to answer the question raised at the end of section 3: could the proform analysis be rescued if proforms are allowed denotations other than plural properties? Although I would not rule this out, there is no very straightforward implementation. Suppose, for instance, that the proform were allowed to denote a boolean conjunction of properties. This is itself an object of type  $\langle e, p \rangle$ , a property that happens to contain a conjunction – namely  $\lambda x[\textit{go.restaurants}(x) \wedge \textit{leave.tips}(x)]$ . If this property, applied to the subject, scoped under negation, we would get the correct ‘not both’ semantics. However, the trouble with this approach is that there are no conjoined properties in the antecedent for the proform to refer to, only conjoined propositions. The properties are only “put together” at the ellipsis site. This means that information about whether to type-shift to a boolean interpretation must be available at the ellipsis site. Under my assumption, this means a focus projection is present to cause the type-shift. Even if a focus projection is not the correct syntactic analysis for the antecedent, the semantics of the antecedent will presumably involve a set of alternatives when *AND* is stressed, and I know of no type of proform flexible enough to denote either a plural property or a set of alternatives.

### **5. Disjunction in Split Antecedent VPE**

It is possible to have SAVPE with disjunction in the antecedent, as we saw in (1c). This in itself is a reason to reject the proform analysis, since if the ellipsis site contained a proform denoting a plural property, there would be no source for the understood disjunction. However, the stress facts for disjunction also support my analysis. Specifically, the presence or absence of stress on the disjunction does not affect its interpretation with respect to negation in either overt conjoined VPs (20) or SAVPE (21).

- (20) a. Mary doesn't swim or play tennis.  
      ‘She does neither’ / \* ‘She does not do one or the other’  
      b. Mary doesn't swim OR play tennis.  
      ‘She does neither’ / \* ‘She does not do one or the other’

- (21) a. Sammie swims or Mary plays tennis, but Julie doesn't.  
'Julie does neither' / 'Julie doesn't play tennis' /  
\* 'Julie does not do one or the other'  
b. Sammie swims OR Mary plays tennis, but Julie doesn't.  
'Julie does neither' / 'Julie doesn't play tennis' /  
\* 'Julie does not do one or the other'

Disjunction has only a boolean interpretation, not a non-boolean one as conjunction does, so there is no question of type-shifting. In (20-21) the interpretation is always 'neither', that is, negation scopes over disjunction, which is as my theory predicts.

An apparent counterexample is (1c), one of the most famous examples of disjunctive SAVPE, which has a prominent 'respectively' reading. This could potentially be analyzed as disjunction scoping over negation. However, although SAVPE does give rise to respectively readings, which will be discussed in section 5, I believe that the respectively interpretation in this case is the result of the quantifier *whenever*, since this interpretation disappears if *whenever* is omitted. Note that (1c) also does not change interpretation if *OR* is stressed.

## 5. Extension: Respectively Readings

In this section I sketch an extension to my theory of SAVPE by suggesting how respectively readings might be addressed. I adopt an optional RESP operator which has been proposed by Gawron and Kehler to account for respectively readings in non-VPE sentences, and show that the interaction of stress and respectively readings tentatively supports my analysis of VPE; however, there are problems remaining.

Putting aside the respectively reading that arises with *whenever* in example (1c), SAVPE frequently has an optional respectively interpretation when the subject of the elided phrase is conjoined (22).

- (22) You and I did everything that Mary and Jane did. Mary swam the English Channel, and Jane climbed Kilimanjaro, and you and I did, too.  
'You swam the EC and I climbed K'  
'You and I both did both' (Fiengo and May 1994)

A silent RESP operator has been proposed by Gawron and Kehler 2004 to account for the existence of respectively readings when the overt adverb *respectively* is not present (23).

- (23) Sue and Karen jog and drive.  
'S and K jog and drive respectively' (e.g. as answer to: How do S and K get to work? – cf. overt adverb in *Sue and Karen jog and drive respectively*.)  
'S and K both do both' (Gawron and Kehler 2004)

RESP distributes a plural property one-to-one over a plural individual. The order of application is determined by pragmatic considerations, but barring a context that forces a

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particular ordering, the order of mention is used: the first property mentioned is applied to the first individual mentioned, the second property to the second individual, and so forth. In order for RESP to apply, it is essential that both the plural individual and the plural property be treated as sums with recoverable atoms, not as boolean conjunctions.

Although Gawron and Kehler do not discuss stress, observe that stress on *AND* in the VP – which I am arguing forces a shift to boolean conjunction – makes both RESP and overt *respectively* infelicitous (24).

- (24) a. Sue and Karen jog AND drive.  
      ‘both do both’ only  
      b.\* Sue and Karen jog AND drive respectively.

Gawron and Kehler note that RESP and the *respectively* interpretation are always optional, as in (23). I tentatively propose that RESP may occur at an ellipsis site. This silent operator, when present, accounts for the *respectively* reading, and its optionality accounts for the optionality of the reading, as in (22). I therefore predict that when *AND* is stressed in the antecedent of SAVPE, the *respectively* reading should be unavailable. It is not entirely clear whether this is true, however (25).

- (25) A: Did Mary swim the English Channel or did Jane climb Kilimanjaro?  
      B: Mary swam the English Channel AND Jane climbed Kilimanjaro, and Sue and Bob did too.  
      ‘Sue and Bob both did both’  
      (?) ‘Sue swam the EC and Bob climbed K’

The judgments here are subtle, but it seems that the *respectively* reading may be less available here than in (22). The reading also seems to be affected by whether Mary and Sue, and Jane and Bob, are perceived as couples, in which case the *respectively* reading is more likely.

## **6. Conclusion**

The interaction of stress, SAVPE, and *respectively* readings obviously requires further investigation, but I hope to have suggested some important directions for study. I have shown that stress on a conjunction in an overt conjoined VP affects its interpretation just as it does for conjoined DPs; and that the relationship between conjunction and negation in overt conjoined VPs can be explained if non-boolean conjunction is the default for VPs, shifting into boolean conjunction in the presence of focus stress on the conjunction. I have shown that the importance of stress for the interpretation of SAVPE is an argument in favor of syntactic reconstruction and against a proform denoting a plural property at the ellipsis site. I have also argued that the lack of effects for disjunction support this theory, since there is no non-boolean equivalent. Finally, I have suggested a possible way of accounting for *respectively* readings in SAVPE, and raised some questions about what implications the SAVPE facts may have for VPE in general.

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