English VP anaphors: do it, do this, do that

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VP anaphor overview

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Adjuncts

Presence or absence of an adjunct

Identity of subjects and states of

Identity of subjects

Identity of states of affairs

Structure

Structure of the antecedent-trigger Structure of the VF

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English VP anaphors: do it, do this, do that

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Université Paris Diderot ED 132 – Sciences du Langage CLILLAC-ARP

> Ellipsis Day July 9th, 2014

VPAs in English

English VP anaphors: do it, do this, do that

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VP anaphora

- Do it, do this and do that may all refer to an action antecedent expressed by a VP
- In this usage, alternate with do so and PAE
- (1) a. With the move to the new system, we're abolishing that subsidy, but we're **doing it** in two goes: 50% of it this year and all of it will go next year. (KRT)
 - b. We're doing this/that in two goes...
- (2) We're **doing so** in two goes
- (3) We're going to abolish that subsidy, and when we **do**, a new system will be put into place

VPAs: the alternation puzzle

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VP anaphora: overview

VPA choice

- What drives the choice of a particular VPA in context?
- Few studies on this issue, but see Huddleston and Pullum (2002); Miller (2011) for preliminary accounts

A guestion of choice...

We're abolishing that subsidy, but we're **doing it** (ok: doing this/that) in two goes: 50% of it this year and all of it will go next year. (KRT)

Or no choice:

He closes his eyes when he speaks and I don't trust anyone who does that. (does ?this/#it). (AHF)

VPAs: the alternation puzzle

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 VPA alternation is relatively free in some contexts and more restricted in others.

- Minor differences can 'change the deal' in terms of alternation possibilities:
- (6)He closes his eyes when he speaks and I don't trust anyone who does that. (does ?this/#it). (AHF)
- He closes his eyes when he speaks. I wonder why he (7) does that/this/it.

Antecedent: a clarification

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Presence or absence of an adjunct

Identity of subjects and states of affairs

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affairs

Structu

ucture of the ecedent-trigger ucture of the VP Following Cornish (1999), it is useful to distinguish between

- Antecedent in the conceptual sense, a representation of the anaphor's referent in a discourse model
- Antecedent in the structural sense: the structure whereby an antecedent is accessed, Cornish's antecedent-trigger

Aims of the talk

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Structure

icture of the ecedent-trigger icture of the VI Investigate VPA alternation based on an annotated corpus

- Focus on methods: coding strategies, tendencies emerging from the data
- Identify the relevant factors of choice

The corpus

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dentity of subjects and states of affairs

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Structure

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Structure of the VP.

900 occurrences from the BNC:

- 500 do it; 200 each do this/that
- Source: written section (fiction) and various spoken texts (news reports, TV/radio debates...)

Features coded: 12 in total, these include:

Syntactic Finiteness, presence of an adjunct, distance from antecedent-trigger, structure of the trigger/VPA

Semantic Type of adjunct, identity of subjects/actions between the VPA and trigger

Discourse Topicality of antecedent: previous discourse topic, or continued topic beyond the VPA sentence

Coding still in progress, results preliminary

Outline

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Structu

ucture of the ecedent-trigge ucture of the \ We leave out topicality and consider:

- **1 Finiteness**: finite or non-finite *do*
- Adjuncts: presence or absence, type of adjunct
- Identity of subjects: whether the VPA has the same subject as its antecedent-trigger
- Identity of SoAs: whether the VPA and antecedent-trigger denote the same state of affairs
- **5** Structure of the antecedent-trigger and VPA clause

Finite and non-finite VPAs

English VP anaphors: do it. do this. do that

Finiteness

Known facts.

- VPAs are mostly **non-finite**, see Houser (2010); Miller (2013) for do so. Present data confirm the trend for do it/this/that.
- Stative do so more common in non-finite uses, since PAE is not available (see Huddleston and Pullum, 2002)
- Landsburg attempts (...) to argue that racism does not (8) exist in corporate America because it would not be in its bottom-line interest for it to do so. (Houser, ex. 1d)
- No such interaction with do it/this/that: states are bad even in non-finite uses
- Influence of finiteness elsewhere is an open question

Finite and non-finite VPAs

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Finiteness

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Presence or absence of an adjunct

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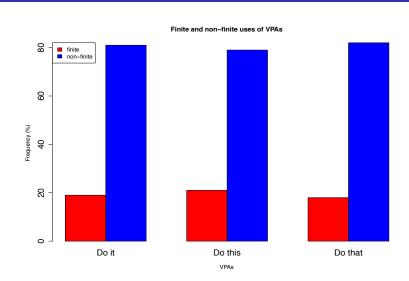
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Adjuncts and VPAs

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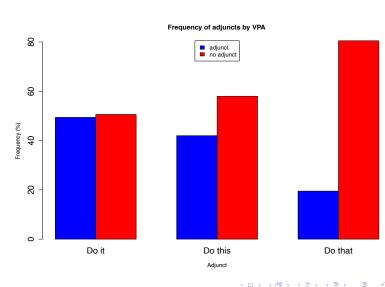
- Finite do so strongly prefers having an adjunct (83% of cases in Miller (2011))
- Do so and do it preferred over PAE if an adjunct is present (Houser, 2010; Miller and Hemforth, 2014)
- True mainly if the adjunct is non-contrastive: simply specifies an additional property of the antecedent
- (9) A.—Does he shop in women's?
 B.—He does it/#does to find things his size. (M&H, 4b)

Adjuncts: frequency

English VP anaphors: do it. do this. do that

Presence or absence of an adjunct



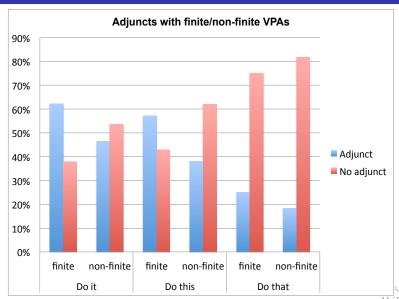


Adjuncts and finiteness

English VP anaphors: do it. do this. do that

Presence or absence of an adjunct





Data summary

English VP anaphors: do it, do this, do that

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Structui

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Overall:

- Do it: no preference
- Do this/that: mostly no adjunct, especially do that

Variable influence of finiteness on use of adjuncts:

- Do it: adjuncts more frequent in finite uses; nonfinite: no clear preference
- Do this: preference for +Adj in finite uses, -Adj in non-finite uses
- Do that: : preference for —Adj constant in finite/non-finite uses

English VP anaphors

English VP anaphors: do it. do this. do that

Adjunct types

Adjuncts

- Presence or absence of an adjunct
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- - Structure of the antecedent-trigger
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Adjunct types

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Presence or absence of an adjunct

Adjunct types

Identity of subjects and states of affairs

Identity of subject

Structure

ructure of the itecedent-trigger ructure of the VP • Semantic type of the adjunct: place, time, manner, etc.

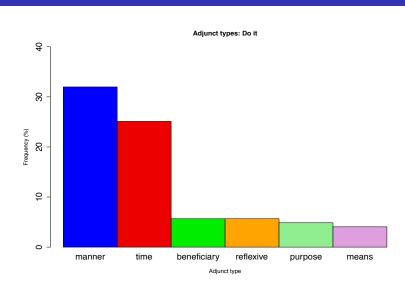
 Current coding does not cover cases with more than one adjunct: only the adjunct immediately after the VPA is considered

Adjunct types: do it



Adjunct types





Adjunct types: do this



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VP anaphora

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Adjunct types

Identity of subjects and states of affairs

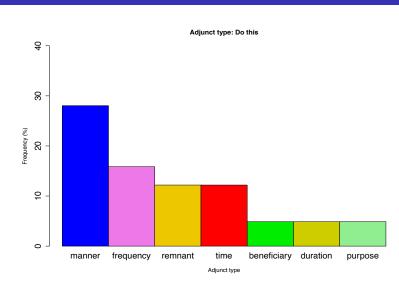
Identity of subject

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Structure

Structure of the antecedent-trigger

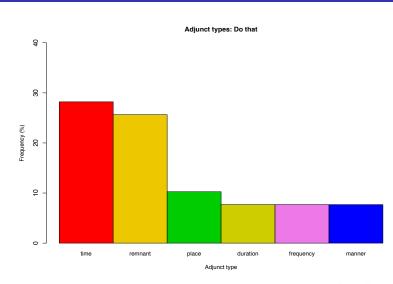




Adjunct types: do that







Adjunct types: discussion

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Frequent adjunct types seem to reflect broader semantic preferences:

- Do it typical with manner expressions, including adjuncts and manner interrogative (e.g. how to do it, 13 cases) or nouns (e.g. a way to do it, 11 cases)
- Unlike do that: 3 manner adjuncts, 1 the way to do that Summary: adjuncts and adjunct types
 - Distribution of adjunct types across VPAs hints at differences in their discourse properties
 - Not used with adjuncts equally often, and not with the same types of adjuncts
 - Broader question: how to explain the observed variations in usage and type if adjuncts?

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Identity of subjects

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Whether or not the VPA has the same subject as the antecedent-trigger (if there is one)

Mostly straightforward, except for:

- Null subjects: identity based on the interpretation of the null subject (10)
- Passive VPs: identity determined by the passive agent (explicit or implicit) (11)
- (10) [O]ne would have to think in terms of either publishing the whole thing exactly as it stood, or not doing it at all. (A08, same subjects)
- (11) I mean, is that an attitude that should be changed? And if so, how do you do it? (FLD, same subjs)

Identity of subjects

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Presence or absence

of an adjunct Adjunct types

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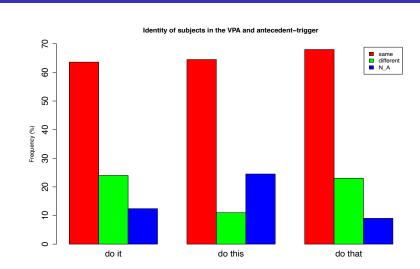
Identity of subjects

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Structure

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Identity of subjects: discussion

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Identity of states of affairs

Structu

ucture of the ecedent-trigger ucture of the \ Clear preference for same subjects for all VPAs

- Also the norm across sentences: next S typically continues the topic of previous S, and has the same subject
- However, VPAs don't always occur in the S immediately following the antecedent-trigger

Influence of finiteness:

- Same-subject pattern dominant in finite/nonfinite uses
- Some minor differences with do this/that, none with do it

English VP anaphors

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Identity of states of affairs

- - Presence or absence of an adjunct
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 - Identity of states of affairs
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Identity of SoAs

English VP anaphors: do it. do this. do that

Identity of states of affairs

Whether the VPA denotes the same specific action (SoA) as the antecedent-trigger, or merely the same kind of action.

That is to say:

- The exact same situation (same time and participants), or
- A different of occurrence of the same kind of situation. (different time/place, other participants)
- I am going to save the business, Joey, I don't know how (12)I'm going to do it but somehow I will. (CKD)
- (13)Anyway, so what if there were people smoking a little—everybody does it, the teachers in school do it...(APU)

Identity of SoAs



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Presence or absence of an adjunct

Identity of subjects and states of affairs

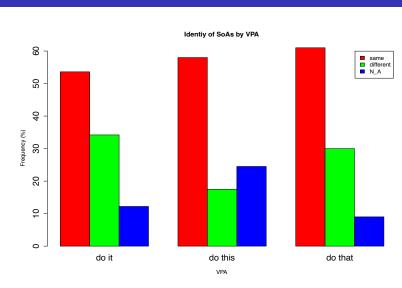
Identity of subject

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Identity of SoAs: discussion

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Structu

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Main observations:

- Same SoAs are the norm for all VPAs
- Likely in part due to the preference for identical subjects

Here too, little effect of finiteness:

- Preference for same SoAs in both finite and non-finite uses
- Proportion of identical SAs does not vary with finiteness

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Structure: coding methods

English VP anaphors: do it. do this. do that

Structure of the

antecedent-trigger

Structure of the VPA/trigger coded at two levels:

- The structure containing the VPA or its antecedent-trigger, e.g. main VP, complement of a V/N...
- The nature of the clause containing the VPA/trigger: main/subordinate and declarative, interrogative...

Structure: coding methods

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Main categories distinguished (shown here for the VPA):

Main VP of the sentence, e.g. I did it

Modal Under the scope of a modal, e.g. I might do it

Complement of a verb, noun, or adjective, e.g. *I try doing it*;

a way to **do it**; able to **do it**

The trigger may also be one of the following:

passive VP As opposed to active

NP Rather than a VP

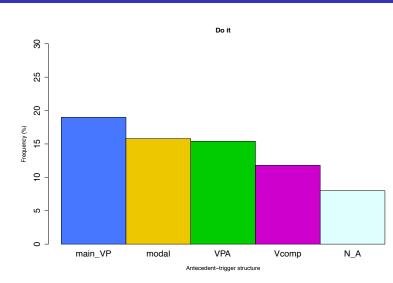
VPA Another occurrence of a VPA

Trigger structure: do it

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Trigger structure: do this

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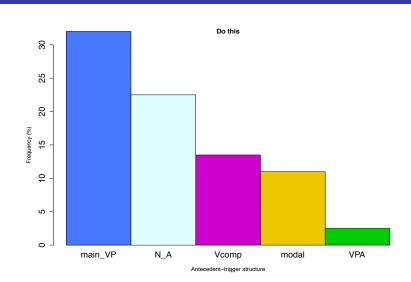
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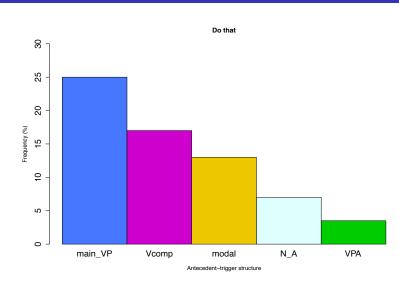


Trigger structure: do that

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Triggger structure: discussion

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Structure of the antecedent-trigger

Overall tendencies

- Fairly similar distribution of structure types across VPAs
- Main VPs are the most common structures

But some interesting differences

- Main VP more common with do this/that
- Do it: most frequent form to have a VPA as its antecedent-trigger (it is in most cases do it. Much rarer with do this/that.
- Do this: highest proportion of cases where no antecedent-trigger is present (many exophoric uses)

Clause type of the antecedent-trigger

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The nature of the trigger clause, coded according to:

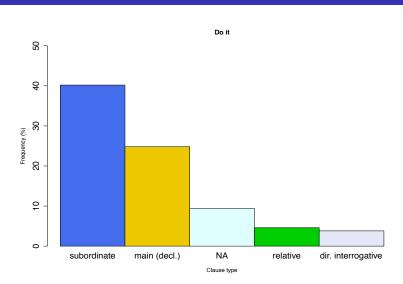
- Syntactic type, e.g. declarative vs interrogative
- Main or subordinate status (subordinates include complements: Vcomp etc)
- Relatives, indirect interrogatives, and (pseudo)-clefts marked as such

Trigger Clause type: do it

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Trigger Clause type: do this

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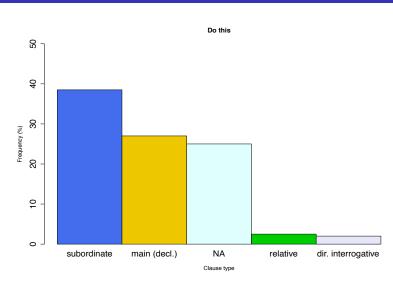
Presence or absence of an adjunct Adjunct types

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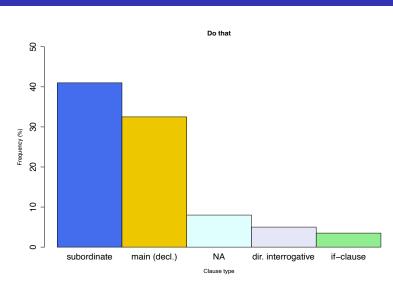


Trigger Clause type: do that

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Trigger Clause type: discussion

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Identity of subjects and states of affairs

Identity of subject Identity of states

Structur

Structure of the antecedent-trigger

 Subordinates and declarative main clauses are the most common types.

 No notable differences between VPAs apart from the high frequency of cases where do this has no antecedent-trigger.

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Coding methods

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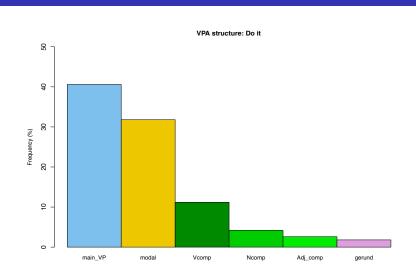
Structure of the VPA

 Same as with the antecedent-trigger before: containing structure and type of clause (but structure is always a VP, and no 'NA' cases)

 Only active uses of VPAs are considered: no passives in the corpus

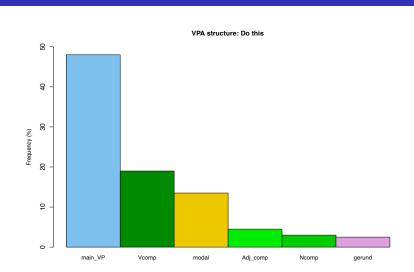
VPA structure: do it





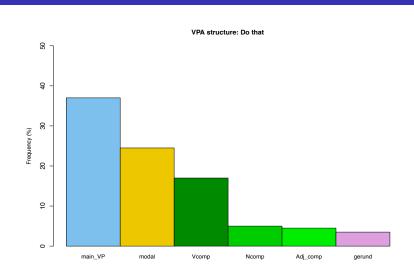
VPA structure: do this





VPA structure: do that





VPA structure: discussion

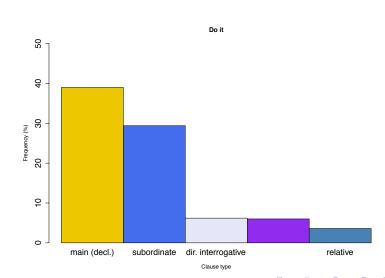
English VP anaphors: do it. do this. do that

Structure of the VPA

- Main VPs dominate (as with trigger structure), but modals are more common
- But preference for these structures is stronger than in the antecedent-trigger
- Limited differences between VPAs, exc. higher frequency of modals with do it

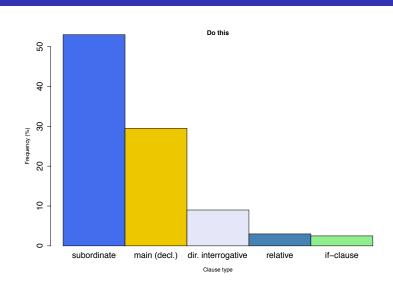
VPA clause type: do it





VPA clause type: do this



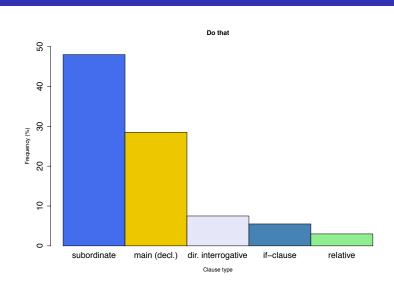


VPA clause type: do that

English VP anaphors: do it. do this. do that

Structure of the VPA





Discussion

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Identity of subjects and states of affairs Identity of subject

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affairs

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Subordinate or main status is important:

- Do it: typically main clause
- do this/that even more clearly prefer subordinates
- True also if we include S types coded separately: relatives, interrogatives etc.

Less so syntactic type:

- No preference for e.g. interrogative vs imperative or relative
- No variation across VPAs in this respect
- But, very few tokens, acceptability may vary

Conclusions: factors of VPA alternation

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Factors apparently influencing VPA choice:

- Adjuncts: use of adjuncts as well as semantic type
- Main/subordinate nature of the VPA clause
- Structure of the antecedent-trigger, in particular VPAs (do
 it) or absence of a trigger (do this)

Other factors considered are not a source of variation, relevant to the use of each form rather than choice:

- Identity of subjects/states of affairs
- Clause type of the antecedent-trigger
- Structure of the VPA and syntactic type of clause

References I

English VP anaphors: do it, do this, do that

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