Voice mismatch in French RNR

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Paris, july 9th 2015

PLAN

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- 2 Peripheral ellipsis (RNR)
- 3 Voice mismatch in French PE
- 4 Valence mismatch in other ellipsis

1. Syntactic mismatch in ellipsis

Syntactic mismatches:

when the source and the target have different syntactic categories, features, dependents…

$\Rightarrow$ Semantic reconstruction or at LF

Several kinds of elliptical clauses:

Post auxiliary ellipsis, gapping, sluicing…

Syntactic mismatches

- Cast doubt on syntactic reconstruction or phonological deletion approaches
- Favor a semantic-pragmatic approach to VP ellipsis, a fragment analysis for sluicing (Ginzburg & Sag 2000) and gapping (Culicover & Jackendoff 2005)
- also needed for exophoric VP ellipsis (Miller & Pullum 2013) (*Don't* !) and exophoric sluicing (Ginzburg & Sag 2000) *What floor* ?

Post Auxiliary Ellipsis

I have promised to look into this problem, and I will ~~look into that problem~~ (Sag 1976, Hardt 1993…)

Tense mismatch

I have looked into this problem and you should ~~look into that problem~~

Voice mismatch

 # This problem was looked into by Bill and Bob did too.

This problem should be looked into and I will ~~look into that problem~~

1.1 A processing account

Arregui et al 2006: mismatched ellipses are forbidden by the grammar but can be rendered acceptable by the processor

the recycling hypothesis: ellipsis interpretation involves copying an antecedent into the ellipsis site and imperfect antecedents undergo repair

pb: more plausible for active VP with passive antecedents (misrecalled as active) than vice versa

Pb: does not predict differences among mismatches

1.2 A syntactic account

Merchant 2012:

a voice feature with a VoiceP node dominating the VP => no syntactic mismatch for VP ellipsis (but mismatch and ungrammaticality for sluicing or gapping)

Pb: all voice mismatches with VP ellipsis should be good

Pb: voice mismatch acceptable with other ellipsis

Pb: does not apply to other valence mismatches

1.3 A discourse coherence account

Kehler 2000: symetric discourse relations (ressemblance, parallel…) does not allow mismatch, asymetric ones (cause-effect, violated expectation…) do:

(6) #This problem was looked into by John, and Bob did too.

(7) This problem was to have been looked into, but obviously nobody did.

(8) #The incident was reported by the driver, and the pedestrian did too.

(9) The incident was reported by the driver, although he didn't really need to.

A discourse coherence account

Supported by corpus data but not by experiments

Frazier and Clifton 2006:

(12) Kim looked into the problem even though/just like Lee did.

(13) The problem was looked into by Kim even though/just like Lee did.

Does not explain the badness of:

(14) #The cause of the accident was investigated by the police because the insurance company did.

 (Frazier & Clifton 2006:339)

1.4 An information structure account

Kertz 2014: ellipses that induce the greatest penalty for mismatched antecedents are those that occur in contrastive topic relations.

(29) The driver reported the incident, and [the pedestrian]TF did too.

(30) The driver reported the incident, although he didn't really [need]F to.

(31) #The incident was reported by the driver, and [the pedestrian]TF did too.

(32) The incident was reported by the driver, although he didn't really [need]F to.

(36) This information could have been released by Gorbachev, but he chose [not]F to. (Hardt 1993:37)

Kertz 2014 (cont)

A contrastive topic relation is well formed if members of the topic set are sentence topics.

(29) [The driver]TF reported the incident, and [the pedestrian]TF did too.

Passive promotes a new sentence topic

(31) #The incident was reported by the driver, and [the pedestrian]TF did too.

=> Voice mismatch in a contrastive topic structure induces a penalty that is independent of ellipsis.

2. Right node raising

A misnomer for peripheral ellipsis

John likes but Mary dislikes *bananas.*

Can occur outside coordination or dialogs:

Anyone who meets really comes to like *our sales people* *(*Williams 1990)

On préfère ce que fait à ce que dit *un Président* (Mouret & Abeillé 2011)

 'one prefers what does to what says a President'

Is usually assumed to impose stricter identity conditions than other ellipsis

RNR

Category identity ?

*Randy saw ~~flying planes~~ and Rene has been flying planes (Booij 1985) (NP≠VP)

qui est ou qui parle espagnol ? (forum) adj≠noun

(who is or who speaks Spanish ?)

Determiner mismatch

Il y a des langues qui ont, et des langues qui n'ont pas, de flexion casuelle (Abeillé & Mouret 2011)

('there are languages that have and languages that don't have case inflection')

*qui ont une / *de flexion casuelle*

Experiment by Shirashi 2014

RNR (cont)

Function mismatch

persons of eighth grade education or less were more apt to avoid - or be shocked by nudity…(brwn-23827) Bilbiie 2013

Valence mismatch (discontinuous RNR)

*The first platoon occupied - and the second burnt the town to the ground (*Whitmann 2009)

Its job is usually to help the lawyers identify - and remove such people from the jury. (wsj-42428) Bilbiie 2013

Tense identity?

*Kim succeded in ~~helping us~~ and Sam tried to help us.

*I like ~~playing guitar~~ and I will play guitar. (Chaves 2014)

John will ~~sleep in her house~~ and Peter already has slept in her house.   (Cataphoric PAE?)

RNR (cont)

Tense mismatch said to require syncretic forms (Pullum & Zwicky 1986)

I already have ~~clarified the situation~~ and you certainly will clarify the situation

I already have ~~set the record straight~~ and you certainly will set the record straight

Certaines agences ont déjà ~~fermé leurs portes~~, ou vont bientôt fermer leurs portes

'some agencies have already, or will soon close their doors (Le Monde)

RNR

No semantic identity

Paul buys, and his bother sells, old books.

Do you want to meet ~~a movie star~~ or to be a movie star ? (Whitman 2005)

Paul wants but Bob doesn't want to be famous.

Lexematic identity (unless pun or zeugma)

*Robin swung and Leslie tamed an unusual bat (Hukari & Levine 2006)

☺ *Paul a rencontré et son frère a mangé un avocat.*

Avocat1'lawyer' ≠ avocat2 'avocado'

RNR analyses

Different approaches :

- ATB extraction (Ross 1967, Steedman 1996)

[John likes - but Mary dislikes –] bananas.

- multidominance (McCawley 1982, Moltmann 1992, Bachrach & Katzir 2008)

[John likes but Mary dislikes] bananas.

- phonological deletion (Kayne 1994, Hartmann 2000, Chaves 2014)

[John likes ~~bananas~~] [but Mary dislikes bananas].

RNR analyses

Syntactic Mismatches difficult for an extraction or multidominance approach

$\Rightarrow$ Call for a revised deletion approach ?

CSSP 2015 talk with B Crysmann

3. Voice mismatch in RNR

Past and passive participles are syncretic forms

Difficult with subject contrast:

? Paul a été, mais son frère a convaincu.

'Paul has but his brother has been convinced'

Difficult with an agent *by* phrase:

Le ballon aura ou aura été touché par l'un des joueurs sur le terrain. (basketsarthe.dyndns.org nov 2009)

'the ball will have or will have been touched by one of the players on the field'

(discontinuous RNR)

3.1 Semantic contrast in RNR

Subject contrast not enough in English

*Bill likes, and Mary likes, the TV show. (Ha 2008)

Subject contrast not natural in French :

? Paul aime, mais Marie n'aime pas les bananes.

'Paul likes but Marie dislikes bananas'

Paul aime les bananes mais Marie ne les aime pas.

'Paul likes bananas but Marie does not like them'

More frequent with tense, mode ou polarity contrast:

*J'ai eu à traiter, et je traite encore, des dossiers de ce type (*Méjean, Guide du divorce)

'I have often dealt and I am still dealing with files of that kind'

English RNR

Corpus study by Bilbiie 2013 (Penn treebank)

VP (159) more common than S (41) coordination

Usually polarity, modality, aspect or tense contrast,

Did you or did you not say what I said you said... ? (brwn-4498)

But the South is, and has been for the past century, engaged in a wide-sweeping urbanization... (brwn-16897)

Who is and who should be making the criminal law here ? (wsj-6370)

Very few cases with different subjects:

...she knew and we knew that it was cowardice that had made one more radish that night just too impossible a strain. (brwn-5115)

The police said, all the people said, that's fine. (swbd-104656)

3.2 Corpus search in French

A lot of natural examples of voice mismatch with tense or modality contrast:

[Fernand Deligny] Il utilise l'expression par le dessin, le jeu mimé, l'alphabet-geste, le récit improvisé collectivement, pour donner parole à ceux qu'on a ou qui sont privés de dire. www.cemea.asso.fr/ avril 1997

('…those that one has or who are deprived of talking')

− Épousée , s, /. celle qu'on a, ou qui doit être bientôt épousée. 'the one that one has - or that must soon be married'
Dictionnaire universel de la langue françoise, PCV Boiste 1803

Voice mismatch (reversible verbs)

<u>With a nul complement :</u>

Le terme souillé se rapporte plus à quelque chose qui a, ou qui est sali. (SEPTIQUE, *Vulgaris Médical*)

'something that has or that is spoiled'

= that has spoiled (something) or that is spoiled (by something)

<u>With reflexive:</u>

www.cnrtl.fr/lexicographie/excuser

Personne qu'on a ou qui s'est excusée

(person that one has or that has REFL excused)

Agent contrast : x excuse x or y excuse x

attested examples (internet)

Refl active-passive

(1) Ce pharmacien doit des explications à ceux qui se sont ou qui ont été mobilisés pour lui (March 2013, www.ipreunion.com/)

'This pharmacist owes explanations to those who have themselves or who have been rallied for him'

Passive- refl active

(2) Mais il y a aussi, tous ceux qui ont été ou qui se sont exclus, plus tard, dans leur vie d'adulte. (2008, www.ville-yzeure.com/)

'But there are all those who have been or have themselves excluded in their adult life'

Intrans active-passive

(3) dans n'importe quelle démocratie, le ministre de l'intérieur aurait, ou aurait été démissionné (Le Figaro, sept 2014) 'in any democracy, the interior Minister would have or would have been resigned'

French participles

Obligatory after the auxiliary:

(4)*Jean a démissionné mais Marie n'a pas.

'Jean has resigned but Marie has not.'

(5)*Certains ont été exclus mais d'autres n'ont pas été.

'Some have been excluded but others have not been.'

No VP complement after tense aux (Abeillé & Godard 1994)

=> not VP ellipsis

Voice mismatch cont

German (Crysmann pc)

Einige haben sich von alleine, die anderen wurden im Inkubator künstlich vermehrt.

'Some have themselves alone, the others were in an incubator artificially multiplied.'

Einige haben sich gleich freiwillig, die restlichen wurden dann zwangsweise geopfert.

'some have themselves willingly, the rest have been by force sacrified'

3.4 Experiment (in progress)

<u>+contrast/-match</u>

<u>a</u> Il s'agit d'Eglises orientales qui se sont, ou qui ont été rattachées à Rome à un moment donné.

<u>-contrast/-match</u>

<u>b</u> Il s'agit d'Eglises orientales qu'on a, ou qui ont été rattachées à Rome à un moment donné.

<u>+contrast/+match</u>

<u>c</u>: Il s'agit d'Eglises orientales qui se sont, ou qu'on a rattachés à Rome à un moment donné.
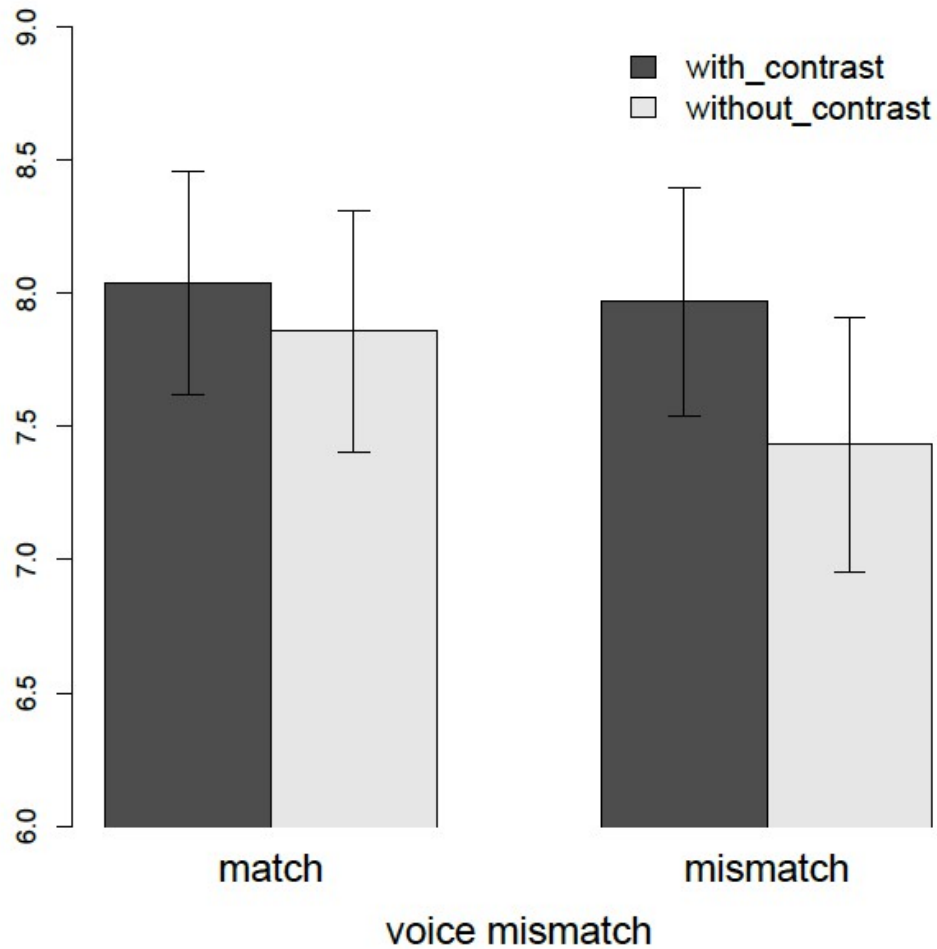
<u>-contrast/+match</u>

<u>d</u>: Il s'agit d'Eglises orientales qui étaient, ou qui ont été rattachées à Rome à un moment donné.

Acceptability rating (online) : 12 items; 62 subjects

Results

Results

Mixed effect linear regression model

No significative effect with match*contrast

Model without interaction:

No significative effect of match : 0.6649
Significative effect of contrast: 0.0495*

4 Voice mismatch and other ellipsis

- Voice mismatch active/passive; passive/active
- Other valence mismatch:

Dative alternation

They gave children candies/ candies to the children

Inchoative-causative alternation

The wind broke the branch; the branch broke

4.1 Pseudogapping

Miller 2014:

Voice mismatch

The savory waffles are ideal for brunch, served with a salad, as you would a quiche (mag)

Valence mismatch

It's hard enough to take two hours out of my day to put out a legal fire" — much less give the matter the same attention he would to something that's actually going to generate some cash for the company. (Mag) (Miller 2014)

4.2 Gapping

*Paul went to Rome and Mary ~~went~~ to London.
(*Culicover & Jackendoff 2005, Abeillé et al. 2014…)

Agreement mismatch

Paul is at home and his sons ~~are~~ at school

He gave himself a raise and she ~~gave herself~~ a bonus.

Tense identity

*Paul went yesterday to the movies and Mary tomorrow to the pool.

Voice identity (Stump 1977, Merchant 2012)

*Some bring roses and lilies by others.

*Lilies are brought by some and others roses.

Gapping (cont)

Valence mismatch

John sent Mary roses and Bob a nice book to Paul. (Miller pc)

Un site fournit l'administration en papier et un autre des stylos aux entreprises.

'A site furnishes the administration with paper and another pens to societies.'

Paul nage bien mais Marie seulement la brasse.

'Paul swims well but Marie only the strokes' (Abeillé et al 2014)

4.3 Sluicing

(Ginzburg & Sag 2000, Merchant 2001…)

I will leave soon but I don't know when ~~I will leave.~~

I dont know when ~~I will leave~~ but I will leave soon.

Voice identity

*Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know who by. (Merchant 2012)

Valence identity

*They served someone the meal, but I don't know to whom. (Chung et al 1995)

Preposition missing (Sag 1976, Nykiel 2013)

(a) Pat came across something but I'm not sure what

 * I'm not sure across what.*

(b) - *What happened with the car ? - What car ?*

What happened *(with) what car ?

Conclusions

- VP ellipsis allows for voice mismatch provided some information structure constraint are observed (Kertz 2014),

- RNR is often considered to impose stricter identity conditions

- RNR with voice mismatch attested on the internet (on well written or official websites)

- RNR with voice mismatch (and contrast) as acceptable as with voice match (experiment);

- Other kinds of ellipsis allow for some valence mismatch