

snippets

Issue 48 - October 2025

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ISSN 1590-1807

Published in Led on Line - Electronic Archive by
LED - Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto - Milano - Italy
<https://www.ledonline.it>

October 2025

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Editorial Statement

1. Purpose

The aim of *Snippets* is to publish specific remarks that motivate research or that make theoretical points germane to current work. The ideal contribution is brief, self-contained and explicit. One encounters short comments of this kind in earlier literature in linguistics. We feel that there no longer is a forum for them. We want *Snippets* to help fill that gap.

2. Content

We will publish notes that contribute to the study of syntax and semantics in generative grammar. The notes are to be brief, self-contained and explicit. They may do any of the following things:

- point out an empirical phenomenon that challenges accepted generalizations or influential theoretical proposals;
- point out unnoticed minimal pairs that fall outside the scope of any existing theory;
- point out an empirical phenomenon that confirms the predictions of a theory in an area where the theory has not been tested;
- explicitly describe technical inconsistencies in a theory or in a set of frequently adopted assumptions;
- explicitly describe unnoticed assumptions that underlie a theory or assumptions that a theory needs to be supplemented with in order to make desired predictions;
- call attention to little-known or forgotten literature in which issues of immediate relevance are discussed.

We also encourage submissions that connect psycholinguistic data to theoretical issues. A proposal for a pilot experiment in language acquisition or language processing could make for an excellent snippet.

The earliest *Linguistic Inquiry* squibs exemplify the kind of remark we would like to publish. Some of them posed unobserved puzzles. For instance, a squib by Postal and Ross in *Linguistic Inquiry* 1:1 (“A Problem of Adverb Preposing”) noted that whether or not we can construe a sentence-initial temporal adverb with an embedded verb depends on the tense of the matrix verb. A squib by Perlmutter and Ross in *LI* 1:3 (“Relative Clauses with Split Antecedents”), challenging the prevailing analyses of coordination and extraposition, noted that conjoined clauses, neither of which contains a plural noun phrase, can appear next to an “extraposed” relative that can only describe groups. Other squibs drew attention to particular theoretical assumptions. For instance, a squib by Bresnan in *LI* 1:2 (“A Grammatical Fiction”) outlined an alternative account of the derivation of sentences containing *believe* and *force*, and asked whether there were principled reasons for dismissing any of the underlying assumptions (among them that semantic interpretation is sensitive to details of a syntactic derivation). A squib by Zwicky in *LI* 1:2 (“Class Complements in Phonology”) asked to what extent phonological rules refer to complements of classes. None of these squibs was more than a couple of paragraphs; all of them limited themselves to a precise question or observation.

3. Submission details

Snippets is an electronic journal. We will solicit submissions twice a year. The submissions that we accept will be posted on the journal website approximately 3 months after each deadline, and all accepted submissions will remain permanently on the website. *Snippets* is intended as a service to the linguistics community. Consequently, authors are advised that, when they submit to *Snippets*, we understand them as allowing their submission to be reproduced if published. At the same time, the rights for the published snippets themselves will remain with the authors. As a result, citation of *Snippets* material will have to indicate the author's name and the specific source of the material.

We will accept electronic submissions at the address snippetsjournal@gmail.com. Electronic submissions may take the form of (a) the text of an e-mail message, or (b) an attached file. The attached file should be a simple text file, a Word file (Mac or Windows), a Rich Text Format (RTF) file, or a PDF. The files must be anonymous, but must be accompanied with information about the authors: name, affiliation, and (postal or electronic) address. Submissions can be of any length below 500 words (including examples), with an additional half page allowed for diagrams, tables, and references. The submissions may not contain footnotes or general acknowledgments, except acknowledgements of funding sources, which must be credited in a line following the references. Authors who wish to acknowledge language consultants are allowed but not required to do so. We will not consider abstracts.

4. Editorial policy

Submissions will be reviewed by our editorial board and review board, and review will be name-blind both ways. While we guarantee a response within 3 months of the submission deadline, we will not necessarily provide more than a yes/no response to the submitter. We allow resubmission (once) of the same piece.

This statement reproduces with minor modifications the editorial statement in Issue 1 of Snippets (January 2000), edited by Carlo Cecchetto, Caterina Donati and Orin Percus.

A split in mandatory embedded implicatures

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2025-048-chat>

Magri (2009) observed that weak scalar items, like *some*, are infelicitous when they are contextually equivalent to their stronger scalemate, like *all*, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) **Context:** *bears form a species.*
- a. # Some bears are mammals.
 - b. ? All bears are mammals.

This follows, Magri contends, if exhaustive interpretations of e.g. *some* are derived via an operator EXH operating on logical strength only.

Using (2), Magri (2011) argues that the infelicity persists under embedding: weak scalar items are infelicitous in downward-entailing (DE) environments, when they are contextually equivalent to their strong counterpart.

- (2) **Context:** *In Italy, children inherit the last name of their father.*
- a. # Every father some of whose children have a funny last name must pay a fine.
 - b. ? Every father all of whose children have a funny last name must pay a fine.

Magri uses this to argue that EXH can be embedded, even in DE environments: EXH at matrix level is vacuous since (2b) is logically weaker than (2a) but, if EXH can apply inside the restrictor of *every*, a contradiction can be derived locally.

I argue that the facts for DE environments are nuanced: while certain DE environments, like the restrictor of quantifiers in (2), do ban weak scalar items under equivalence, others, like negation, in fact require them, *contra* Magri.

To show this, I use the scale $\langle \textit{allowed}, \textit{required} \rangle$. First, unlike $\langle \textit{some}, \textit{all} \rangle$, both its items easily embed under negation. Second, it has no homogeneous competitors. As discussed in Magri (2009), homogeneous competitors, like (3) and (4), make all non-homogeneous items degraded in Magri's contexts (hence '?' for b sentences in (1) and (2)), creating a confound.

- (3) Bears are mammals.
- (4) Every father whose children have a funny last name must pay a fine.

When unembedded, $\langle \textit{allowed}, \textit{required} \rangle$ displays a Magri effect, cf (5).

- (5) **Context:** *in this dystopian regime, there is no free choice; every action is either forbidden or mandatory.*
- a. # I am allowed to vote for the party.
 - b. ✓ I am required to vote for the party.

Under negation, only the weak *allowed* is felicitous. This pattern of judgments is the reverse of (2) and contradicts Magri (2011)'s claims.

(6) Negation

- a. ✓ I am not allowed to vote for the opposition.
- b. # I am not required to vote for the opposition.

In antecedent of conditionals however, the facts are as in (2) and fit Magri's generalization.

(7) Conditionals

- a. #If I'm allowed to vote on Friday, Iris will be upset.
- b. ✓If I'm required to vote on Friday, Iris will be upset.

no offers a useful minimal pair: while “*no P Q*” is classically equivalent to “*no Q P*”, *no*'s restrictor prefers the strong item *required*, while its scope demands *allowed*.

(8) *What a terrible act of rebellion...*

- a. ✓ No one who was required to vote on Friday did so.
- b. ✓ No one who voted on Friday was allowed to.
- c. # No one who voted on Friday was required to.

Generally, for modal items at least, restrictors conform to Magri (2011)'s predictions while the scope of negation and negative quantifiers shows the opposite pattern. These facts are perhaps connected to the non-emptiness presupposition of restrictors: these environments are Strawson DE but not strictly so. I leave it open to future research to extend the generalization to more scales and environments.

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A Singular Note on Singular-*They/Them*

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2025-048-coll>

The pronoun *they* can be used to refer to a group of people, shown in (1).

- (1) [*Talking about a group of students.*]
They are ready to meet you now, sir.

But it is also possible for *they* to refer to individuals, when the gender of that individual is either unknown or irrelevant:

- (2) [*Talking about a student who just entered the office.*]
They are sitting on the couch over there.

In fact, with recent uses of non-binary *they*, the pronoun *they* can be used in contexts like the following, talking about a particular individual:

- (3) [*Talking about Jerry, who is non-binary.*]
They are interested in physics, but not chemistry.

The uses in (2) and (3) are called SINGULAR-THEY. What is striking is that in all three contexts above, the agreement with the copula is *are* (plural copula), not *is*. The singular/plural ambiguity runs across all case forms *they*, *them* and also *their*.

Now, consider the use of *them* in the context of an expletive, starting with plural uses of *them*.

- (4) [*Talking about divorce.*]
You have children, so there {is/are} them to consider first.

Both sound OK to me. The plural agreement sounds more correct prescriptively. Another example is the following pointing context:

- (5) [*Being asked who can go along on the trip, I respond:*]
There {is/are} them! (pointing to a group of students)

Once again, both sound OK to me, even though plural agreement sounds more prescriptively correct. But now consider singular-*them* in the context of an expletive:

- (6) [*Talking about a non-binary student Jerry.*]
There {was/*were} them to consider first.

The data in (6) show that singular-*them* cannot trigger plural copula agreement in an expletive construction. Two further examples making the same point are given in (7) and (8):

- (7) [*When asked who else has been in the office, other than the one student seen entering earlier, I respond:*]
 There {was/*were} them, but I did not see anybody else.
- (8) [*When asked about who wants to go on the trip, I respond:*]
 There {is/*are} them! (pointing to one person)

The generalization from all of these cases is the following:

- (9) **Generalization:** In *there*-constructions, if the associate is singular-*them*, then agreement with the copula is singular (*is, was*).

This generalization is striking because when singular-*they* occupies the subject position, it necessarily gives rise to plural verbal agreement. So the generalization in (9) describes a distinction between agreement possibilities for singular-*they*, and agreement possibilities for singular-*them*. The judgments can be replicated in other inversion constructions. Consider predicate inversion:

- (10) a. [*Pointing to a group:*]
 What I dislike most {is/are} them.
- b. [*Pointing to an individual:*]
 What I dislike most {is/*are} them.

Putting all the facts in the paper together, we have:

- (11) a. Singular-*they* in subject position only triggers plural verbal agreement.
 b. Plural-*they* in subject position only triggers plural verbal agreement.
 c. Singular-*them* in post-copula position only triggers singular verbal agreement.
 d. Plural-*them* in post-copula position triggers either singular or plural verbal agreement.

Assuming post-copula agreement is mediated by Agree, and that Agree probes for the syntactic features of a goal, it follows that singular-*them* and plural-*them* have different syntactic structures. The challenge is to explain the agreement data in those terms.

A note on the data: One reviewer noted that for them (4), (5) and (10a) require the singular copula. I do not have an account for this variation at present.

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Complex numerals with an ablative connector: in support of the measure phrase analysis

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2025-048-deka>

Subtractive numerals have two major components: the number subtracted from (‘minuend’) and the number being subtracted (‘subtrahend’). These are typically linked by a morphological connector (Greenberg, 1978); usually an adposition/case with a caritive (‘without’) or an ablative (‘from’) meaning (Ionin and Matushansky 2018, henceforth, I&M).

- (1) éks bónsaj ki?
twenty without hundred
‘eighty’ (Comrie, 2020) Ket
- (2) un-de-viginti
one-from-twenty
‘nineteen’ (Hurford, 2003) Latin

Apart from some remarks in I&M, the morphosyntax and formal semantics of subtractive numerals have received no coverage. For ablative subtraction, I&M do not provide an explicit structure, but they suggest that semantically, the subtrahend acts as a degree modifier of the minuend: ‘one’ in (2) is like ‘two feet’ in ‘two feet from the house’. I present a new argument for the view that complex numerals with ‘from’ involve degree modification.

The crucial data come from Evenki and Neghidal (Tungusic), where ‘from’ Ps build *additive* numerals. In Evenki, the ablative case indicates source: *agi* ‘forest’, *agi-duk* forest-ABL ‘from the forest’ (Nedjalkov, 1997, 171). In standard Evenki, additives juxtapose the augend and the addend.

- (3) d’ān umūn
ten one
‘eleven’ (Pritsak, 1955)

However, in the northern dialects (e.g., Yerbogachen and Ilimpiya) and in the most eastern dialects (e.g., Dzheltulak), 11–19 feature an ablative connector: (4) (Pritsak, 1955; Nedjalkov, 1997; Nagasaki, 2023; Janhunen, 2024). According to Pritsak (1955), in Yerbogachen (4) exists alongside (3), but the choice between these forms is generally dialectally conditioned (J. Janhunen, p.c.).

- (4) d’ān-duk umun
ten-ABL one
‘eleven’ (Pritsak, 1955) Yerbogachen Evenki

(5) is a corpus example collected in 2019 from Xantayskoe Ozero, a northern variety.

- (5) d'an-duk jijin
 ten-ABL nine.[NOM]
 'nineteen' (Däbritz et al., 2024, BTV_20190816_MyPedigree_nar.041)

In closely related Neghidal, too, the ablative marks sources: *togo* 'fire', *togo-dukkey* fire-ABL 'from the fire' (Oskolskaya, 2024, 243). While additives are normally formed by juxtaposition, an ablative connector is mandatory for 21–29.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(6) jaan emen
 ten one
 'eleven'</p> | <p>(7) oyin-dukkey emen
 twenty-ABL one
 'twenty one' (Oskolskaya, 2024)</p> |
|---|--|

That ablative Ps/cases can build additives has gone unnoticed in previous typological surveys on complex numerals (Greenberg, 1978; Comrie, 1997, 2020; Hurford, 1975, 2003). Among adpositions/cases, only 'with' and '(up)on' have been recognized as connectors of additives. In as much as addition and subtraction are mathematical opposites, the fact that both can be expressed by an ablative morpheme would be inexplicable if 'from' were an instruction to subtract. This problem does not arise, however, if 'from' in complex numerals is an instruction to *measure* some distance on the number sequence. (On the semantics of prepositional measures, see Matushansky and Zwarts, 2017.)

Latin differs from Evenki and Neghidal only in whether measuring from a reference point proceeds 'upwards' or 'downwards' on the number sequence, which is a matter of conventionalization. In Latin, the measuring is downwards, towards the next-lower multiple of the base, thus lit. 'one from twenty' corresponds to 'nineteen' (2). In Evenki and Neghidal, measuring on the number sequence is upwards, towards the next-higher multiple of the base. Therefore Neghidal 'one from twenty' corresponds to 'twenty one' (7), and Evenki 'nineteen' is 'nine [measured] from ten' (5).

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Le dernier Metallica: Coercion, default gender, and reference

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2025-048-dawi>

We analyze the contrast exemplified in (1).

- (1) a. T'as écouté **le dernier (de) Metallica?**
you.have listened the.MASC latest.MASC of Metallica
'Have you heard the latest Metallica?' ⇒ referring to an album
- b. T'as écouté **la dernière *(de) Metallica?**
you.have listened the.FEM latest.FEM of Metallica
'Have you heard the latest Metallica?' ⇒ referring to a song

In (1a), the masculine NP naturally refers to an album, while the feminine NP in (1b) naturally refers to a song. The opposite interpretations are not possible. Moreover, the preposition *de* is optional in (1a), but obligatory in (1b). These examples raise two questions: (i) how is reference constrained, and (ii) what accounts for the difference in grammaticality in the versions without *de*? The versions with *de* are naturally analyzed with a covert head noun (*album* or *chanson*), which constrains reference and determines the grammatical gender of the entire NP (Gouet, 1976). For example, (1a) with *de* is analyzed as *le dernier [album] de Metallica*, where the masculine noun *album* is covert. If, by contrast, we posit a covert *album* in the *de*-less version of (1a), the resulting NP would be *le dernier [album] Metallica*, which is ungrammatical. In order to have a grammatical underlying NP, we would need to have *le dernier [album de] Metallica*, in which the non-constituent *album de* is deleted or otherwise made covert (see the analysis by Gouet (1976) and the rebuttal by Morin (1977), whose data do not however exemplify the gender asymmetry that we report here).

We propose that in the *de*-less version of (1a) the proper noun *Metallica* is reinterpreted as a common noun by metonymic coercion (Abeillé and Godard 2021, p. 439). The resulting NP defaults to masculine, which is the unmarked gender in French (Abeillé and Godard 2021, p. 382). This is why the example without *de* in (1b) is ungrammatical — there is no way here to derive the marked feminine gender on the article and adjective. Having defaulted to masculine gender, however, reference is now constrained to objects which would normally be referred to with masculine nouns. Semantically, there is nothing blocking metonymic coercion from generating a “song” interpretation, but the default masculine gender exploited in this construction blocks this interpretation, because the (syntactically absent) “target noun” *chanson* is feminine.

Example (2) is parallel to (1) with one difference: here we have a proper noun referring to a famous (female) radio show host, for which the most obvious metonymic interpretation is episodes of that host’s show, with the target noun *émission* “show/episode” being grammatically feminine in French. This interpretation is available in (2b) with *de*, which by hypothesis results from covert *émission*. The same interpretation, however, is unavailable without *de*. The *de*-less version is

necessarily masculine (despite the social gender of Pascale Clark), as in (2a), and this in turn requires a masculine target noun for the interpretation, which in this case is pragmatically difficult to resolve since it is not clear what would be referred to (unless already contextually specified).

- (2) a. T'as entendu parler **du prochain (de) Pascale Clark?**
you.have listened talk of.the.MASC next.MASC of Pascale Clark
'Have you heard about the next Pascale Clark?' ⇒ referring to ???
- b. T'as entendu parler de **la prochaine *(de) Pascale Clark?**
you.have listened talk of.the.FEM next.FEM of Pascale Clark
'Have you heard about the next Pascale Clark?' ⇒ referring to a radio show

In short: Metonymic coercion in French can result in a noun phrase with no lexically determined gender, which defaults to masculine gender. This in turn results in a referential restriction to entities which would naturally be referred to using lexically masculine nouns, despite the absence of any such noun in the sentence itself. In terms of grammatical architecture, one might have thought that the mechanism driving default gender assignment would be a purely PF phenomenon, without consequences for semantic interpretation. We see though that this is not the case, and that the process of default gender assignment ends up restricting referential possibilities, and thus seems to have consequences at the level of LF. This raises the question: what mechanism underlies this kind of referential restriction, and where else in the grammar might we see its effects?

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Perfect Island Repair by Ellipsis in Nupe: Against Aspectual Mismatch

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2025-048-meka>

Perfect island effects in Nupe arise when non-edge vP -internal material (e.g., objects) is A' -extracted in a clause containing the perfect marker \acute{a} (Kandybowicz 2009):

- (1) a. Ké Musa [vP pa t] o?
 what Musa pound.PST FOC
 ‘What did Musa pound?’
- b. * Ké Musa [vP \acute{a} t pa] o?
 what Musa PRF pound.PST FOC
 Intended: ‘What has Musa pounded?’
- c. Zě t [vP \acute{a} eci pa] o?
 who PRF yam pound.PST FOC
 ‘Who has pounded the yam?’

Mendes and Kandybowicz (2023) (MK23) reported that Nupe perfect islands are neutralized in sluicing/stripping environments and argued that perfect island violations can be salvaged by ellipsis:

- (2) A: Musa \acute{a} ejan ndoci pa.
 Musa PRF thing certain pound.PST
 ‘Musa has pounded something.’
- B: Ké Musa \acute{a} t pa o?
 what Musa PRF pound.PST FOC
 ‘What has Musa pounded?’ (cf. (1b))

MK23 empirically rejected several alternative analyses which do not resort to repair: *pseudosluicing*, *nondeletion* (LF-copying/ deep anaphora), *nonmovement* (nonconstituent deletion), and *resumption*. Not considered by MK23, however, was the possibility that the ellipsis site doesn’t contain the perfect marker despite its presence in the antecedent (suggested to us by Marcel den Dikken and Julie Legate (p.c.)), which could evade a perfect island violation within the ellipsis site. Promisingly, (1a) can be felicitously used in the context of (2A):

- (3) A: Musa \acute{a} ejan ndoci pa.
 Musa PRF thing certain pound.PST
 ‘Musa has pounded something.’
- B: Ké Musa pa t o?
 what Musa pound.PST FOC
 ‘What did Musa pound?’

Whether this proposal provides a solid alternative to MK23’s salvation by deletion proposal remains an empirical question. An important background point concerns the mismatch between

ellipsis site and its antecedent that is required for this alternative, with respect to tense/aspect: on the alternative analysis suggested, the antecedent would be in the perfect, but the elided clause would be in the simple past. Although this might seem like the kind of mismatch that would be ruled out by ellipsis identity, Thoms (2015, 184) provides data showing that such mismatches are possible under ellipsis in Scottish Gaelic, and the theory of ellipsis identity in Ranero 2021 allows mismatches between ellipsis sites and their antecedent so long as they do not implicate featural clash. Thus, if the difference between (3A)'s and (3B)'s *vP* can be stated without conflicting features (e.g., (3A) has a [perf] feature that (3B) lacks), ellipsis should be allowed. This lack of parallelism, however, leads to infelicity in certain non-elliptical contexts; specifically, when a reference time is specified in the perfect clause:

- (4) A: Musa [á] ejan ndoci pa [lókàti na mi tun na].
 Musa PRF thing certain pound.PST time REL 1.SG arrive REL
 ‘Musa had pounded something when I arrived.’
 B:# Ké Musa pa t ([lókàti na mi tun na]) o?
 what Musa pound.PST time REL 1.SG arrive REL FOC
 ‘What did Musa pound (when I arrived)?’

Despite this fact, sluicing is possible in this context:

- (5) A: Musa [á] ejan ndoci pa [lókàti na mi tun na].
 Musa PRF thing certain pound.PST time REL 1.SG arrive REL
 ‘Musa had pounded something when I arrived.’
 B: Ké Musa [á] t pa o?
 what Musa PRF pound.PST FOC
 ‘What has Musa pounded?’

Since the absence of the perfect marker in the *wh*-question in (4B) leads to an infelicitous question, the availability of the sluicing construction in (5B) cannot be attributed to lack of perfect morphology within the ellipsis site. The dataset in (6) also controls for short cleft sources which could, in principle, be used as a strategy to evade a perfect island violation within the ellipsis site. Short clefts typically require exhaustivity (e.g., *#What else (was it)?*) and thus cannot cope with *else*-modification (Merchant 2001; see MK23 for further arguments against short cleft sources in Nupe).

- (6) A: Musa [á] eci pa [lókàti na mi tun na].
 Musa PRF yam pound.PST time REL 1.SG arrive REL
 ‘Musa had pounded the yam when I arrived.’
 B:# Ké Musa pa t ([lókàti na mi tun na]) be o?
 what Musa pound.PST time REL 1.SG arrive REL else FOC
 ‘What else did Musa pound (when I arrived)?’
 B’: Ké Musa [á] t pa be o?
 what Musa PRF pound.PST else FOC
 ‘What else had Musa pounded?’ / ‘#What else was it?’ (bad without ellipsis)

We thus reject the *aspectual mismatch* alternative, alongside other alternatives in MK23, and conclude that Nupe perfect island violations can indeed be repaired by deletion. Hence, the opacity

of perfect ν Ps in the language is *not* the result of narrow syntactic constraints, but rather PF-representation constraints that can be voided under ellipsis as claimed by MK23.

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Mismatches in fragment answers: structural vs lexical [Case] in Polish

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2025-048-ruda>

The matching of the remnant and the correlate in the value/exponence of [Case] in morphologically rich languages supports postulating complex syntactic structure in the ellipsis site, isomorphic (in some way) with the antecedent (Ross 1969; Merchant 2001). However, the acceptable [Case] mismatches (see van Craenenbroeck 2012; Vicente 2015; Martín-González 2016; Abels 2017; Elliott and Murphy 2019; Thoms 2019; Wood et al. 2019; Balabanian et al. 2020; Gribanova 2020, 2023; Nykiel et al. 2022; Ruda and Witkoś 2024 and references therein) create intriguing challenges for approaches to the nature of the isomorphism required, with two explicit proposals targetting [Case] (a.o.) being Abels's (2017, 13) *Fit Condition* (1) and Wood et al.'s (2019, 26) *Case-Mismatching Generalization* (2). In what follows, I show that neither of them excludes unacceptable [Case] mismatches in Polish fragment answers.

(1) *Fit Condition*

Modulo agreement in the antecedent and wh-movement, replacing the correlate by the remnant in the antecedent must lead to a syntactically well-formed structure with the right meaning or – for sprouting – adding the correlate into the antecedent and making no further changes must lead to a syntactically well-formed structure with the intended thematic interpretation. [Abels 2017, 13]

(2) *Case-Mismatching Generalization (revised)*

Case mismatching is possible when the verb in the antecedent clause may assign more than one case without any syntactic or semantic difference. [Wood et al. 2019, 26]

The challenge is presented by the subset of Polish verbs (normatively) assigning inherent genitive [Case] which can also be observed in natural language use with accusative objects. The relevant verbs include *potrzebować/szukać/użyć/spróbować przyprawy/przyprawę* ‘need/look for/use/taste spice.GEN/ACC’, among others. These verbs reveal a difference in the acceptability of [Case] mismatches in fragment answers determined by the [Case] type. In particular, when the correlate bears lexical [GEN], the remnant can be either [GEN] or [ACC] (3A). However, when the correlate bears structural [ACC], the remnant also needs to be [ACC] (4A). This restriction is not captured by either (1) or (2). (Both options are available in the non-elliptical versions of the answers, as in (3A') and (4A').)¹

¹The data below reflect my judgments and should ideally be tested in future larger-scale experiments comparing fragment answers with sluicing. While I focus on the former here as the construction which formed the basis for Wood et al.'s *Case-Mismatching Generalization*, in my observation Polish sluicing requires stricter isomorphism and does not allow even the restricted mismatch seen below in fragment answers, providing another challenge to (1) and (2).

- (3) Q: **Której przyprawy** potrzebowałaś/ szukałaś/ użyłaś/ spróbowałaś?
 which.GEN spice.GEN needed.2SG.F looked.for.2SG.F used.2SG.F tasted.2SG.F
 ‘Which spice did you need/look for/use/taste?’ [GEN]
- A: **Kolendry./ Kolendrę.**
 coriander.GEN coriander.ACC
 ‘Coriander.’ OK [GEN], OK [ACC]
- A’: Potrzebowałam/ szukałam/ użyłam/ spróbowałam **kolendry/ kolendrę.**
 needed.1SG.F looked.for.1SG.F used.1SG.F tasted.1SG.F coriander.GEN coriander.ACC
 ‘I needed/looked for/used/tasted coriander.’ OK [GEN], OK [ACC]
- (4) Q: **Którą przyprawę** potrzebowałaś/ szukałaś/ użyłaś/ spróbowałaś?
 which.ACC spice.ACC needed.2SG.F looked.for.2SG.F used.2SG.F tasted.2SG.F
 ‘Which spice did you need/look for/use/taste?’ [ACC]
- A: **Kolendrę./ *Kolendry.**
 coriander.ACC coriander.GEN
 ‘Coriander.’ OK [ACC], *[GEN]
- A’: Potrzebowałam/ szukałam/ użyłam/ spróbowałam **kolendrę/ kolendry.**
 needed.1SG.F looked.for.1SG.F used.1SG.F tasted.1SG.F coriander.ACC coriander.GEN
 ‘I needed/looked for/used/tasted coriander.’ OK [ACC], OK [GEN]

The key factor seems to be the distinction between structural and lexical [Case], as revealed by the acceptability of an [ACC–GEN] mismatch when [GEN] is structural, a configuration which arises with the Genitive of Negation (GoN). First, (5A) shows that in non-elliptical clauses in Polish only [GEN] is possible with sentential negation, which in turn is obligatory in this example because the object is a Negative Concord Item. Introducing GoN into the fragment answer makes available the [ACC–GEN] mismatch (5A’), suggesting that it’s the lexical nature of [GEN] in examples like (4) above that blocks the mismatch rather than the [GEN] [Case] value/morphology as such.²

- (5) Q: **Którą przyprawę** potrzebowałaś?
 which.ACC spice.ACC needed.2SG.F
 ‘Which spice did you need?’ [ACC]
- A: **Żadnej przyprawy/ *Żadną przyprawę *(nie)** potrzebowałam.
 none.GEN spice.GEN none.ACC spice.ACC not needed.1SG.F
 ‘I didn’t need any spice.’ OK [GEN], *[ACC]
- A’: **Żadnej.**
 none.GEN
 ‘None.’ OK [GEN]

In sum, the data show that the *Fit Condition* and the *Case-Mismatching Generalization* are not the whole story cross-linguistically (similarly to Chung’s 2006; 2013 constraints, already criticised in Martín-González 2016; Wood et al. 2019) and future work on isomorphism in ellipsis needs to incorporate the distinction between structural and lexical [Case]. Furthermore, the observed (mis)match patterns (see esp. (5A’)) support approaches on which the remnant’s [Case] reflects

²A(nother) striking feature of the GoN contexts is that case matching is available here as well (the [ACC] remnant *Żadną* ‘none.ACC’ is also possible in (5A’)), despite the unavailability of [ACC] in the non-elliptical version (see (5A)). This pattern is discussed in Ruda and Witkoś (2024) with reference to verbs invariably selecting [ACC] objects.

operations internal to the elliptical clause, rather than relying on an (ellipsis-specific) interclausal relation established between the remnant and the correlate or case assigner in the antecedent.

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Identity conditions with mixed expressives

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2025-048-saab>

Potts et al. (2009) make the following claim regarding the identity conditions that regulate a certain set of constructions in English and other languages:

- (1) In the construction *NP or no NP (as AP as AP can be, X and X alone)*, the NPs (APs, Xs) must have identical descriptive semantic content. (Potts et al. 2009:360)

Let me illustrate this observation with the *X and X alone* construction:

- (2) a. *I'll talk with the president, and the chief executive alone.
b. *I'll talk with the president, and the American president alone.
- (3) a. I'll talk with the president, and the goddamn president alone!
b. I'll talk with the goddamn president, and the president alone!
- (Potts et al. 2009:360)

The construction has a Spanish counterpart that also obeys the observation in (1) (in this environment, *puto* is a pure expressive):

- (4) a. Voy a hablar con el presidente y solo con el *puto* presidente. (=3a)
b. *Voy a hablar con el presidente y solo con el primer mandatario. (=2a)

However, the condition in (1) only works with pure expressives (see Potts 2005). It doesn't work with mixed terms (slurs, register, etc., see McCready 2010). Here is an example with the Rio-platense Spanish slur *bolita* 'Bolivian (pejorative)':

- (5) a. Voy a hablar con ese boliviano y solo con ese boliviano/#bolita.
go.1SG to talk.INF with that Bolivian and only with that Bolivian/#Bolivian.PEJ
'I'll talk with that Bolivian and with that Bolivian/*Bolivian (pejorative) alone.'
- b. Voy a hablar con ese bolita y solo con ese bolita/#boliviano.
go.1SG to talk.INF with that Bolivian and only with that Bolivian.PEJ/Bolivian
'I'll talk with that Bolivian (pejorative) and with that Bolivian (pejorative)/*Bolivian alone.'

As for register oppositions, a relevant test is the *Si/cuando X, X* construction. Consider the opposition *trabajar/laburar* 'to work/to work (informal)' in the same dialect:

- (6) a. Si/cuando trabajo, trabajo/*laburo.
if/when work.1SG work.1SG/*work.1SG.INFORMAL
'If I work, I really work/*work (informal).'

- b. Si/cuando laburo, laburo/*trabajo.
 if/when work.1SG.INFORMAL work.1SG.INFORMAL/work.1SG
 ‘If I work (informal), I really work (informal)/*work.’

Both of the starred versions of (6) are fine under a different meta-linguistic reading in which the speaker wants to convey that the representational meanings of *laburar* and *trabajar* are identical. Yet, they are out under the implicated readings indicated in the translations, which are the relevant ones to the *Si/cuando X, X* construction.

Evidently, mixed terms are particularly relevant to the condition in (1), since they have been considered as descriptively equivalent to their neutral counterparts (e.g., *bolita* = *boliviano* in the at-issue or truth conditional dimension). This is sometimes referred to as the IDENTITY THESIS, to wit, the idea that the representational dimension of a slur/register word is equivalent to the representational dimension of its neutral counterpart. The thesis is advocated by McCready (2010), Anderson and Lepore (2013a,b), Jeshion (2013a,b), Predelli (2013), Whiting (2013), Caso and Guercio (2016), and Orlando and Saab (2020), among others. Now, the Identity Thesis has been challenged by Hom (2008, 2010), Hom and May (2018), Croom (2015), Ashwell (2016), and Losada (2021), among others. Evidence against or in favor of the Identity Thesis largely depends on considerations around examples like the following one (Croom 2015, Orlando and Saab 2020):

- (7) Some but not all Hispanic-Americans are spics.

According to Croom (2015), the fact that this type of sentence is judged as true by many speakers refutes the Identity Thesis. Yet, the argument is not as sound as it would *prima facie* look like. Orlando and Saab (2020) argue that the literal meaning of sentences like (7) is indeed self-contradictory and the fact that some (but not all) speakers judge the sentence as true is explained away as a typical Gricean implicature (more specifically, triggered by a flouting of the Quality Maxim). Concretely, they contend that (7) should be interpreted as semantically expressing a literal self-contradiction but pragmatically communicating conversationally implicated content that is true, to the effect that some but not all Hispanic-Americans have the features represented in the ‘spic’ stereotype. Similar considerations generalize to cases like *Diego is Hispanic-American but he is not a spic*. Interestingly, this type of implicated meaning is much harder, if not impossible, to obtain when it comes to register terms of the *laburar/trabajar* ‘to work (informal)’/‘to work’ type illustrated in (6). Take, for instance, the nouns *laburo* ‘job (informal)’ and *trabajo* ‘job’ in a sentence like *Algunos aunque no todos los trabajos son laburos* ‘Some but not all jobs are jobs (informal)’, which sounds clearly contradictory.

Now, coming back to the facts in (5) and (6), if the Identity Thesis is (at least partially) correct, then a lexical identity condition for the lexical categories involved in the relevant constructions must replace or be added to (1):

- (8) In the construction *NP or no NP (as AP as AP can be, X and X alone)*,
- a. = (1)
 - b. The Xs or certain level of the XP projections (X = N, V, A, etc.) involved in the relevant constructions must be lexically identical.

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When Right Node Raising Allows Case Mismatches

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2024-047-sehi>

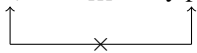
There are various analyses proposed for Right Node Raising (RNR), including ATB-movement (Ross 1967), ellipsis (Bošković 2004) and multidominance (Wilder 1999). In this snippet, I will present data from Turkish which is problematic for the current analyses of RNR.

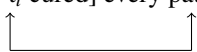
I adopt and modify the examples of Sabbagh 2007, who shows that the pivot (the shared object) scopes over both conjuncts. The data in (1) also exhibits a so-called “morphological mismatch”: the verbs in the two conjuncts assign different cases to their objects, and the pivot bears the case assigned by the verb in the final conjunct. In the non-RNRed version in (2), different cases are realized on two distinct objects in each conjunct.

- (1) Bir hemşire iğne yap-tı, ve bir doktor tedavi-et-ti **her hastay-ı**.
 a nurse give shot-PST, and a doctor cure-PST **every patient**_{ACC}
 ‘A nurse gave a shot to, and a doctor cured every patient.’ $\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$
- (2) Bir hemşire **her hastay-a** iğne yap-tı, ve bir doktor **her hastay-ı** tedavi-et-ti.
 a nurse **every patient**_{DAT} give shot-PST, and a doctor **every patient**_{ACC} cure-PST
 ‘A nurse gave a shot to every patient, and a doctor cured every patient.’ $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$

The interesting aspect of (1) is the existence of an inverse scope reading, unlike its non-RNRed counterpart (2), suggesting that the pivot in (1) c-commands both existential subjects.

The ellipsis analysis of RNR proposed for Turkish (Ince 2009) straightforwardly derives the string in (1), but this analysis cannot derive inverse scope. In order to yield inverse scope, the pivot *her hastayı* ‘every patient’ needs to c-command the existential subject in each conjunct. One could argue that the accusative object in the second conjunct moves rightwards string-vacuously, to adjoin either to the second conjunct only, or the &P. From each of these positions, ‘every patient’ c-commands the subject of the second conjunct, as in (3) and (4). Both configurations would yield inverse scope in the second conjunct, but neither is sufficient for inverse scope to obtain in the first conjunct, where the universal object is deleted. In addition, in (3), the adjunction of every patient to &P violates the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC).

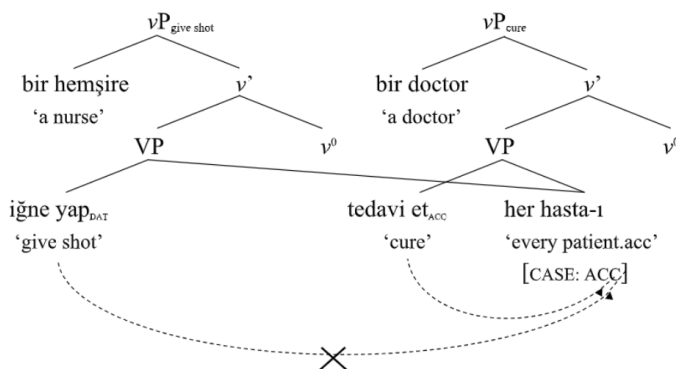
- (3) [CP [&P [TP A nurse [VP every patient_{DAT} give shot]], and [TP a doctor [VP t_i cured]]] every patient_{ACC}]_i
- 

- (4) [&P [TP A nurse [VP every patient_{DAT} give shot]], and [TP [TP a doctor [VP t_i cured] every patient_{ACC}]_i]]
- 

Considering that Turkish allows object drop, one might argue that (1) is not an RNR configuration at all. However, even if the object in the initial conjunct is null, the object in the second conjunct still cannot scope over &P without violating the CSC.

The inverse scope observed in (1) is then only possible under ATB-movement and multidominance analyses of RNR. However, these analyses do not tolerate mismatches. ATB-movement requires a strict identity between moved objects (Citko 2005), prohibiting the adjunction of a single copy (from the final conjunct) to &P. As for multidominance, although case syncretism in ATB and RNR constructions ameliorates case conflicts (Citko and Gračanin-Yüksek 2021), dative and accusative cases are not syncretic in Turkish, and it is impossible for the accusative object to be shared by two VP's that assign cases different in form, as is shown in (5) (note that Turkish does not allow case stacking).

(5)



The data is therefore problematic for all analyses of RNR. Without finding new mechanisms for the proposed analyses, it is unclear how (1) could yield inverse scope without violating the CSC.

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