E-Type Readings of Quantifiers under Ellipsis

Discourse Coherence cont.
- Questions constrain the focus structure of their felicitous answers.
  - The Question-Answer Congruence Condition
    A declarative sentence A is congruent to a question Q if [A] = [Q]. (Jay is the focus
    of the noun phrase John in the sense of Rooth 1985).
- For the E-type reading, but not the E-type reading, satisfies the QAC condition.
  - Q reading
    Bill didn't prove two important theorems.
  - E-type reading
    Bill didn't prove two important theorems.
  - [Who proved two important theorems?]
- Generalization: An E-type interpretation of the clause containing XP is unavailable if the clause
  containing XP and the clause containing XP are (sub)answers to the same (possibly implicit)
  question.
  - This also applies to sluicing (cf. Romero 2003).
- If you know which students like most of the professors?
  - I know which avo likes most of the professors. But I don't know which skills:
    a. [a] likes most of the professors.
    b. [b] likes most of the professors.
- The following examples show that the E-type reading makes a difference.
  - John bought something, but I don't know what.
  - The problem is that the E-type reading is obligatory.
  - Predicts that E-type reading to be absent when quantifier in XP
    entails F-clo(XP) = John applied to (each atomic part of).

Consequences for Existing Theories of Ellipsis Identity
- Romero 2003 and Chung et al 2011: tailor-made to block Q reading in sluicing and E-type reading
  in VPE, untenable in light of our data.
- Other theories: many recent theories of ellipsis identity simply don't derive the E-type reading.

Towards a Dynamic Account
- We adopt Heim's (1982) File Change Semantics for concreteness.
- Consequences for Existing Theories of Ellipsis Identity
- Novelty-Familiarity Condition: indefinites are variables referring to novel file cards, definite
  refers to old file cards.
- Following Heim, we assume that the Novelty Condition on indefinites is pragmatic,
  whereas the Familiarity Condition on definites is a presupposition.

Selected References
- Declarative sentences denote File Change Potentials (i.e., functions from files to files).
- A file F is a set of pairs consisting of a possible world w and an assignment a from file cards
  to individuals.
- Novelties: indefinites are variables referring to novel file cards, definite
  refers to old file cards.
- Following Heim, we assume that the Novelty Condition on indefinites is pragmatic,
  whereas the Familiarity Condition on definites is a presupposition.