Appendix II.
Can ASL locative specifications be ignored without restriction under ellipsis?

1. The following ASL paradigm provides a potential argument in favor of a relatively liberal process of deletion under ellipsis of locative/height specifications, although the analysis is complex.

Notation: / represents the tilted bar, with the right side pointing up. *IX-right-bar* indexes the right-hand part of the bar, *IX-right-bar-high* a position above that (corresponding to a gymnast's head in upright position). *IX-left-bar* indexes the left-hand part of the bar, *IX-right-bar-low* a position below that (corresponding to the gymnast's head in upside down position).

(70)   SHOW HAVE GYMNAST STAND-CL BAR SELF CL-TILT-/. SO BAR-CL-TILT-/ FIRST
        GYMNAST IX-a START STAND MOVE-CL-rep IX-right-bar JUMP-CL-rep HANG-CL-rep IX-left-
        bar JUMP-CL-rep HANG-CL-rep.
        "At a show, some gymasts had to stand on a bar which was tilted. The first gymnast stood on the bar, did
        his moves, jumped and rotated on the right, then jumped and rotated on the left.

        a. [7] IX-right-bar REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar NOT.
        While standing on the right he presented himself well. On the left of the bar, he didn't."
        **b. [6.5] IX-right-bar REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar-low
        NOT.**
        While standing on the right-he presented himself well. While hanging on the left he didn't present
        himself well."
        c. [7] IX-right-bar-high REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar NOT.
        While standing on the right-he presented himself well. On the left of the bar, he didn't."
        d. [6.5] IX-right-bar-high REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar-low
        NOT.
        While standing on the right-he presented himself well. While hanging on the left he didn't present
        himself well."
        (ASL, 28, 79, 2 judgments)

They key sentence is in (70)b: the subject of the elided VP indicates that the gymnast is on the lower end of the bar and in hanging position. Thus one would expect that copying the antecedent VP with all its locative specifications should yield deviance, since these specifications imply that the gymnast is in standing position on the higher end of the bar. But the sentence appears to be quite acceptable, with the intended meaning. It can be checked that the overt controls (with the overt copying of the antecedent locative specifications) are deviant, as seen in (71)b-(72)b. So one must conclude that the locative specifications of the antecedent are disregarded in (70)b. But the subject of the antecedent VP is not realized high, and thus we cannot argue that the locative specifications of the antecedent reflexive are inherited through morpho-syntactic agreement, unlike the case in (70)d.

(71) **Control 1: preserving the height but not the horizontal specification of the antecedent**

SHOW HAVE GYMNAST STAND-CL BAR SELF CL-TILT-/. $^{!:}$SO BAR-CL-TILT-/ FIRST GYMNAST IX-a START STAND MOVE-CL-rep IX-right-bar JUMP-CL-rep HANG-CL-rep IX-left-bar JUMP-CL-rep HANG-CL-rep.
"At a show, some gymnasts had to stand on a bar which was tilted. The first gymnast stood on the bar, did his moves, jumped and rotated on the right, then jumped and rotated on the left.
a. [5] IX-right-bar REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar NOT REPRESENT SELF-left-bar-high GOOD.
While standing on the right of the bar he presented himself well. While standing on the left of the bar, he didn't present himself well."
b. [3] IX-right-bar REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar-low NOT REPRESENT SELF-left-bar-high GOOD.
c. [5.5] IX-right-bar-high REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar NOT REPRESENT SELF-left-bar-high GOOD.
While standing on the right of the bar he presented himself well. While standing on the left of the bar, he didn't present himself well."
d. [4] IX-right-bar-high REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar-low NOT REPRESENT SELF-left-bar-high GOOD.
(ASL, 28, 81; 2 judgments)

(72) **Control 2: preserving the height and the horizontal specifications of the antecedent**

SHOW HAVE GYMNAST STAND-CL BAR SELF CL-TILT-/. $^{!:}$SO BAR-CL-TILT-/ FIRST GYMNAST IX-a START STAND MOVE-CL-rep IX-right-bar JUMP-CL-rep HANG-CL-rep IX-left-bar JUMP-CL-rep HANG-CL-rep.
"At a show, some gymasts had to stand on a bar which was tilted. The first gymnast stood on the bar, did his moves, jumped and rotated on the right, then jumped and rotated on the left.

a. [2] IX-right-bar REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar NOT REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD.
b. [1.5] IX-right-bar REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar-low NOT REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD.
c. [2] IX-right-bar-high REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar NOT REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD.
d. [1.5] IX-right-bar-high REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD. THERE-left-bar IX-left-bar-low NOT REPRESENT SELF-right-bar-high GOOD.
(ASL, 28, 82; 2 judgments)

One possible conclusion is thus that locative deletion is quite liberal, and doesn't require that the deleted feature be identical to a feature of its binder. But there is an alternative analysis, namely that in (70)b a *covert* 'high' feature appears on the boldfaced subject – and thus triggers the deletion under ellipsis of the same 'high' features that appears on the reflexive. A similar idea was explored to account for some cases of feature deletion under ellipsis and *only* in Schlenker 2014. Specifically, in (73), the subject of the first sentence did not carry visible 'high' features, but these were taken to be covertly present because they were semantically licensed – and could thus trigger feature deletion (on a Syntactical Unconstrained view of feature deletion, such a measure wouldn't be useful, of course).

(73) *Context:* Tomorrow there is a swimming competition. A French team with a giant in it competes against a German team with a dwarf in it.
[7] [FRENCH VERY HEIGHT MAN]$_a$ LIKE PEOPLE SUPPORT **IX-a^{high}.** IX-b GERMAN SHORT-PERSON NOT.
Preferred reading: bound variable
"The very tall French man likes people who support him. The short German person doesn't."
(ASL, 17, 61; Schlenker 2014)

Thus more sophisticated data are needed to decide the issue.

2. The key is to consider cases in which a referential subject binds a variable which is understood to denote the same individual *but in a different position*: this would make it impossible to argue that the

same covert locative features appear on the subject and on the bound element. Let us consider the paradigm in (74), with locus positions displayed in (75).

(74)   REMEMBER? TWO-YEAR-AGO GYMNASTICS COMPETITION. BAR SELF CL-TILT-/.
    Remember? Two years ago there was a gymnastics competition. The bar was tilted.

    REMEMBER FIRST GYMNAST IX-a MUST STAND **RIGHT** STAND. OTHER GYMNAST IX-c
    Remember that the first gymnast had to stand on the right, while the other gymnast

    MUST HANG **LEFT**. $^{\text{I:}}$ SO BAR-TILT-CL-/,
    had to hang on the left. So with the bar tilted,

    FIRST GYMNAST IX-_ WANT IX-1 PHOTO-neutral POSS-_ HAND. OTHER GYMNAST IX-_
    NOT.

            IX-__   POSS-__   IX-_ =
a. ^{7} R-high   R-high   L-low
__ = the first gymnast wanted me to take a picture of his hand while he is standing on the right; the other gymnast didn't (want me to take a picture of his hand while he is hanging on the left)."

b. $^{6.3}$ **a**   **R-high**   **L-low**
__ = the first gymnast wanted me to take a picture of his hand while he is standing on the right; the other gymnast didn't (want me to take a picture of his hand [3/3 judgments] [while he is hanging on the left]) / of the first gymnat's hand [1/3 judgment] ."
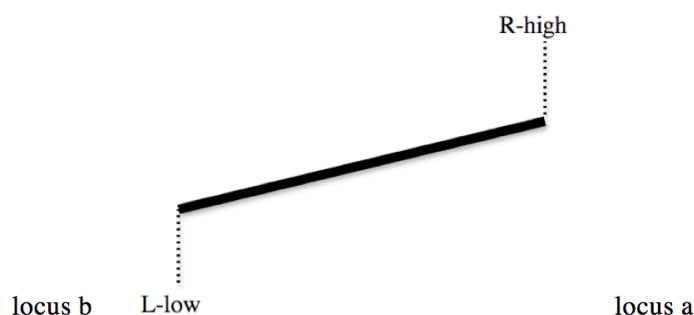
c. $^{6.3}$ a   R-high   c
__ = the first gymnast wanted me to take a picture of his hand while he is standing on the right; the other gymnast didn't (want me to take a picture of his hand [3/3 judgments] [while he is hanging on the left]) / of the first gymnast's hand [1/3 judgment] ."

d. ^{7} a   a   c
__ = the first gymnast wanted me to take a picture of his hand. The other gymnast didn't (want me to take a picture of his hand)."
(ASL, 30, 08; 3 judgments. See the Supplementary Materials for the complex inferential judgments)

(75) **Schematic representation of the loci in (74) from the signer's perspective**

In (74)b,c, the subject of the penultimate clause does not carry the same feature specifications as the locative-shifted possessive, but because of the context these feature specifications cannot be interpreted within the elided clause. While on one trial the judgment was a bit degraded, this was not so on the other two trials. One could posit that a covert *standing* specification appears on the subject, which in turn would trigger deletion of the locative specification of the possessive. But arguments are limited because inferences about the position of the subject individual when he had the relevant desire are non-existent or weak (see the Supplementary Materials). It can be checked that when the specification of the first possessive is copied in an explicit VP, as in (76), only a strict reading is obtained.

(76) (same conditions as in (74))
      FIRST GYMNAST IX-_ WANT IX-1 PHOTO-neutral POSS-_ HAND. OTHER GYMNAST IX-_
      NOT WANT IX-1 PHOTO-neutral POSS-_ HAND.
      => strict reading only
      (ASL, 30, 12; 3 judgments)

Judgments are somewhat unstable in (77); the last judgment included a question about the position of the first gymnast *when he had the relevant thought*. In this last judgment of (77)a,c, there is a weak positional inference which might conceivably explain why the locative specifications can be ignored in the elided clause.

(77) GYMNASTICS COMPETITION TWO GYMNAST MUST STAND BAR-horizontal EASY
      "In a gymnastics competition two gymnasts had to stand on a bar – easy –

      ___^___
      FINISH STAND HANG(hard/wow expression).
      and then…hang from it.

      ONE IX-a THINK SELF-a-__ GOOD JOB. OTHER IX-b NOT.

      SELF-a-__ =
      a. [7] SELF-a^{high}
      __ =
      1/3 judgment: One gymnast thought he had done a good job. The other gymnast didn't (think he himself had done a good job)."
      1/3 judgment: One gymnast thought he had done a good job standing on the bar. The other gymnast didn't (think he himself had done a good job standing on the bar.)"
      1/3 judgment [= last]: One gymnast thought [while on the bar?] he had done a good job standing on the bar. The other gymnast didn't think he himself had done a good job."

      b. [7] SELF-a (i.e. SELF-a$^{neutral)}$
      __ = One gymnast thought he had done a good job. The other gymnast didn't (think he himself had done a good job)."

      c. [6.3] SELF-a^{low}
      __ =
      2/3 judgments: One gymnast thought he had done a good job hanging from the bar. The other gymnast didn't think he had done a good job hanging from the bar."
      1/3 judgment [= last judgment]: One gymnast thought [while on the bar?] he had done a good job hanging from the bar. The other gymnast didn't think he had done a good job."
      (ASL, 23, 46; 3 judgments)

      (78) has the same logic, with a mismatch between the positional information concerning the subject (standing position) and the reflexive (hanging position). Here it would seem that the 'hanging' specification is not deleted under ellipsis – but of course this need not show that it cannot be deleted.

(78) GYMNAST COMPETITION TWO GYMNAST MUST STAND BAR-horizontal EASY
      "In a gymnastics competition two gymnasts had to stand on a bar – easy –

      ___^___
      FINISH STAND HANG(hard/wow expression).
      and then…hang from it.

      [6.7] FIRST GYMNAST WHILE TURN-a IX-a^{high} THINK SELF-a^{low} GOOD JOB. OTHER WHILE
      TURN-b IX-b^{low} NOT.
      While standing on the bar, the first gymnast thought she had done a good job hanging. While hanging, the other gymnast didn't (think she herself had done a good job hanging)."
      => while standing, the first gymnast thought that she had done a good job hanging; while hanging, the second gymnast thought that she herself had done a good job hanging (2/3 judgments)
      => during her routine, the first gymnast thought she had done a good job; during her own routine, the

second gymnast thought that she herself had done a good job (1/3 judgment)

(ASL, 23, 56c; 3 judgments; a-b, not reported here, have *SELF-a^{low}* replaced with *SELF-a^{high}* and *SELF-a^{neutral}* respectively - see the Supplementary Materials for judgments)

In the example with *ONLY* in (79), the subject appears at neutral height while the embedded subject reflexive appears low. This preferably gives rise to a reading on which the locative specifications of the reflexive are preserved in the focus dimension, but our consultant mentioned on one occasion the existence of an ambiguity, with an additional reading on which the locative specifications are not preserved in the focus dimension.

(79)　GYMNASTICS COMPETITION TWO GYMNAST MUST STAND BAR-horizontal EASY
　　　"In a gymnastics competition two gymnasts had to stand on a bar – easy –

　　　　　　　　　___^___
　　　FINISH　STAND HANG(hard/wow expression).
　　　 and then…hang from it.

　　　$^{6.7}$ ONLY FIRST GYMNAST IX-a^{neutral} THINK SELF-a^{low} GOOD JOB.
　　　"Only the first gymnast thought she had done a good job on her hanging portion."
　　　=> the first gymnast thought she had done a good job on her hanging portion, the other gymnast didn't think she herself had done a good job on her hanging portion (4/4 judgments)
　　　=> the first gymnast thought she had done a good job on her hanging portion, the other gymnast didn't think she herself had done a good job on her routine (1/4 judgment)

　　　(ASL, 23, 52c; 4 judgments; a-b, not reported here, have *SELF-a^{low}* replaced with SELF-a^{high} and *SELF-a^{neutral}* respectively - see the Supplementary Materials for judgments)

We conclude that our ASL consultant often preserves under ellipsis locative specifications that cannot be inherited by an agreement-like mechanism, but we cannot exclude a more liberal process whereby even such specifications are optionally disregarded under ellipsis. More research is needed on this topic.