
Feature mismatches under ellipsis: The case of El-Sayyid Bedouin Arabic

David Erschler

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

erschler@bgu.ac.il

Syntactic identity and admissible feature mismatches under ellipsis have been actively explored in the literature. Facts from better-studied, primarily Indo-European languages led to proposals that deleted heads must match with their correlates in the antecedent (Merchant 2013), or that features must match for elided heads up to the highest vP in the ellipsis site that is associated with an event-introducing predicate (Rudin 2019). To accommodate the broader typological picture these conditions need to be modified. Ranero (2021) demonstrated that Kaqchikel (Mayan) allows *voice* mismatches under sluicing. To account for this, he effectively proposed that mismatches between a valued interpretable feature (such as voice) and its default value can be disregarded. Erschler (2018) showed that Georgian and Ossetic allow certain *tense* mismatches under gapping.

In this talk, I will address voice mismatches in sluicing (1) and gapping (2), which are possible in El-Sayyid Bedouin Arabic (ESBA). In this language, morphological passive exists for a large class of transitive verbs.

- (1) fi wa:ħad katal bila:l bas ma: bniħrif ʕa-ʔi:d mi:n
someone killed Bilal but NEG we.know by who
'Someone killed Bilal, but we don't know by whom (he was killed).'
- (2) ʔala:ʔ xabazat il-kaħkeh is^s-s^sʔajreh w il-kaħkeh
Alaa baked the-cake the-small & the-cake
il-kibi:reh ʕa-ʔi:d ʔamm-i ~~in-xabazat~~
the-big by-hand mom-1SG PASS-baked
'Alaa baked the small cake, and the big cake was baked by my mom.'

I will show that voice mismatches under **gapping**, while a typological rarity, are amenable to the standard move-and-delete analysis, under the assumption that in ESBA, what deleted under gapping is the complement of Voice⁰. This is compatible with the proposals of Merchant (2013) and Ranero (2021), but not of Rudin (2019). Voice mismatches under **sluicing**, however, constitute a challenge to all the proposals mentioned above. I will explore theoretical implications of this property of sluicing in ESBA.

References: • Erschler, D. (2018). *Typology of bizarre ellipsis varieties*. PhD dissertation, UMass Amherst. • Merchant, J. (2013). Voice and ellipsis. *LI* 44(1): 77–108. • Ranero, R. (2021). *Identity Conditions on Ellipsis*. PhD dissertation, UMD, College Park. • Rudin, D. (2019). Head-Based Syntactic Identity in Sluicing. *LI* 50(2): 253–283.