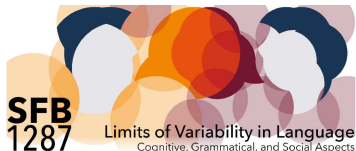


The syntax of sharing constructions

1. Introduction

Doreen Georgi
(University of Potsdam)

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About me / contact

- interests: morphology and syntax, cross-linguistic variation (patterns, limits), non-Indo-European and lesser studied languages; aim: use new data from understudied languages/phenomena to inform our theories of grammar
- topics: case, agreement, dependency formation, locality, extraction asymmetries, DP-syntax, reconstruction, the nature and interaction of elementary morpho-syntactic operations
- contact me if you would like to talk about your research (I'll be here until July 29)
- homepage: <http://doreengeorgi.com/>
slides: <http://doreengeorgi.com/EGG22.html>
contact: doreen.georgi@uni-potsdam.de

Short-term fellowships at U Potsdam

- my current project “Hidden variability in sharing constructions” is part of the Collaborative Research Centre “**Limits of Variability in Language: Cognitive, Computational, and Grammatical Aspects**”; we study the limits of variation across and within languages, inter-/intra-speaker variation
- 14 projects that represent all major areas of linguistics, different methods/approaches (formal linguistics, language processing/production, historical linguistics, clinical linguistics, sociolinguistic aspects, multilingualism, ...)
- the graduate school of the CRC offers several **3-4 month fellowships for PhD students** every year
- if you have a research idea that is related to any of the projects, you can apply for a fellowship (contact the PI(s) first!)
- positions (for the following year) will be advertised on Linguist List in August

Aim for today

- What are sharing constructions (SCs)?
- Why are they interesting? / Which challenges do they pose for our current models of syntax (movement)?
- outline of the course
- recap: diagnostics for movement

Overview

- 1 Basic properties of 'standard' movement dependencies
- 2 What are sharing constructions (SCs)?
- 3 Structure of the course
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- 5 Diagnostics for movement

What is 'movement'? Basic properties

- constructions that typically involve movement?
- example:

(1) Constituent question in English:

a. Anna has read the latest article by Chomsky.

declarative

b. Which article has Anna read?

DO question

- What do we mean when we say an element has undergone 'movement'?

(2) Which article₁ has₂ Anna ___₂ read ___₁?

→ displacement of X from its canonical/base-merge position A to a different position B ↔ X does not originate in its surface position

- terminology used in this course:
 element in the surface position B = **antecedent** (filler)
 element in the base position A: **gap**

What is 'movement'? Basic properties I

- What properties are associated with movement dependencies such as those in (2)?
 - which elements can move
 - movement types
 - structural relation between positions A and B
 - content of the base position of X (position B)
 - how far can X move / how many positions can it target?
 - ...

What is 'movement'? Basic properties II

- elements that can move:
 - heads
 - phrases
- some types of (phrasal) movement:
 - A-movement (to an argument position, i.e., theta-marked position), e.g., classic EPP-movement to SpecT, raising
 - **A̅-movement** (to a non-argument position), e.g., wh-movement, relativization, focus movement, ...
- 1 antecedent is related to 1 gap (1:1 relation); 1:many is excluded:

(3) *Who ___ saw ___ ?

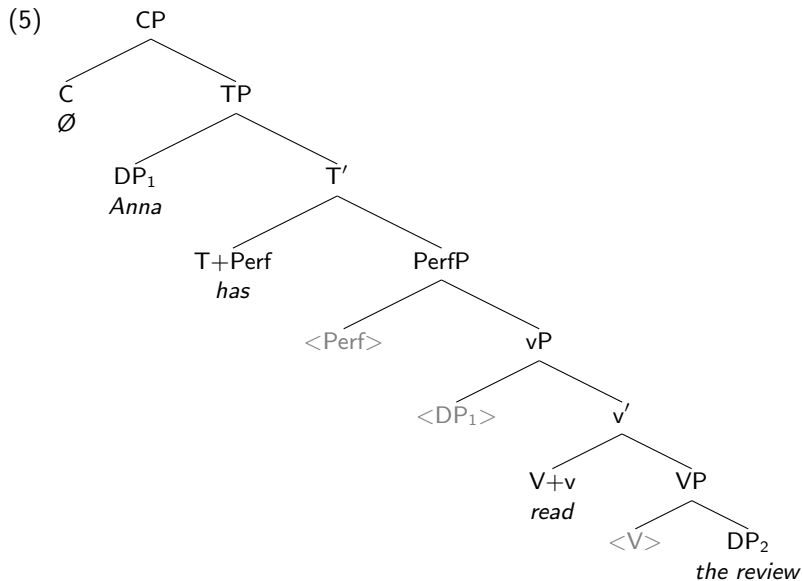
(intended: 'Who saw whom?')

What is 'movement'? Basic properties III

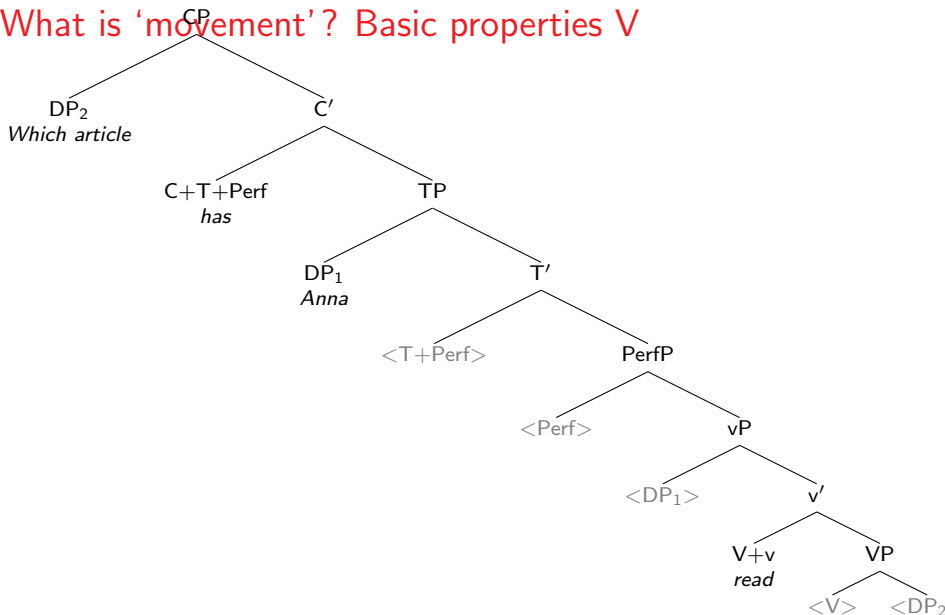
- phrasal movement: antecedent c-commands gap (movement targets a c-commanding position)
may be different for head movement – irrelevant for our purposes
- successive-cyclic movement: stop-overs in every SpecvP and SpecCP (at least); the antecedent c-commands all gaps of the chain

(4) [_{CP} **Which article**₁ has Anna₃ [_{vP} __'1 [_{v'} __₃ read __₁]]]?

What is 'movement'? Basic properties IV



What is 'movement'? Basic properties V



What is 'movement'? Basic properties VI

What occupies the base position of the moved element?

① (GB: traces; **Which article** has Anna read **t** ?)

replaced by

② copy theory (Chomsky 1995):

(6) **Which article** has Anna read <**which article**> ?

③ remerger/multi-dominance (e.g., Abels 2012):

(7) ● has Anna read ●
 which article

► I will represent the base position of moved XPs by '___' (gap); this does not imply anything about the syntactic nature of the element in this position.

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What are SCs?

(8) Examples:

- Which book does Joe like and Kim hate?
- Joe likes and Kim hates a book about syntax.
- Which book did Joe rate without reading?

- (9) a. **Which book** does [$\&P$ [TP Joe like $___$] and [TP Kim hate $___$]] ? ATB
 b. [$\&P$ [TP Joe likes $___$] and [TP Kim hates $___$] **a book about syntax**] . RNR
 c. [CP **Which book** did Joe rate $___$ [CP before reading $___$]] ? pg

Basic (surface-oriented) description:

- 33a across-the-board movement** ('ATB' from Postal 1974, Ross 1967: 'Backward Conjunction reduction', simultaneous extraction from all conjuncts)
- 33b Right-Node-Raising** (Ross 1967, 'RNR' from Postal 1974): simultaneous extraction from all conjuncts to the right (rightwards ATB)
- 33c parasitic gaps** (pgs, Engdahl 1985): one antecedent for two gaps: a 'true' gap in the matrix clause, a second (parasitic) gap in an adjunct clause

Remarkable properties of SCs

On the surface, SCs look as if they were derived by movement (gaps, occur in typical movement constructions such as constituent questions, ...). But they exhibit some properties that are different from classic movement dependencies.

? Question ?

- Consider our ATB-example:

(10) Which book does Joe like and Kim hate?

- In which ways does this movement dependency differ from 'standard' movement dependencies such as (11)?

(11) Which book does Anna read?

Remarkable properties of SCs

- ① **1:many relation:** 1 antecedent is related to several gaps (potentially infinitely many gaps since we can add infinitely many conjuncts/adjuncts) but
- ② the **gaps do not c-command each other** (unlike the gaps created under successive-cyclic movement)
- ③ the dependencies seem to **violate strong islands**
 - (12) Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC, Ross 1967: 161):
In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.
 - (13) Adjunct Condition (see Huang 1982 – as part of the CED):
Movement must not take place from an XP that has been merged without a deletion of selectional features.

Remarkable properties of SCs

Crucially, these constraints are otherwise operative in the languages:

(14) Coordination island effects in English:

- a. *[Who]₁ does John like [&P ___₁ and Bill]?
- b. *[Who]₁ is John [&P proud of ___₁ and tired of his mother]?

(15) Adjunct island effects in English:

- a. *[_{PP} To whom]₁ did they leave [before speaking ___₁]?
- b. *[Who]₁ did you get jealous [_{CP} because I talked to ___₁]

- sharing is **exceptional**: it is usually blocked (recall: *Who saw?* cannot mean 'Who saw whom?'); our standard movement operation does not create sharing constructions (without further assumptions)
- Nevertheless, SCs are **found across many unrelated languages** in the same construction types (e.g., coordination, adjunction, ...)

Remarkable properties of SCs I

... and sharing is quite “productive” in these construction; SCs can vary in

- the size of the coordination:

(16) ATB, CP and DP coordination (de Vries 2017)

- Who(m) did you say [_{CP} (that) Peter likes ___] and [_{CP} (that) Susan hates ___] ?
- What did Peter [_{vP} buy ___ last week] and [_{vP} throw away yesterday] ?
- Which famous scientist did Peter read [_{DP} a book by ___] and [_{DP} a newspaper article about ___] ?

(17) RNR, CP and vP coordination (Abels 2004; Sabbagh 2007)

- John said [_{CP} that Friederike must ___], and [_{CP} that Konrad may ___], record two quite different songs.
- Some nurse [_{vP} gave a flu shot to ___], and [_{vP} administered a blood test for ___], every patient who was admitted last night.

Remarkable properties of SCs II

- the category of the shared element

(18) ATB-movement of AP and PP (de Vries 2017)

- [_{AP} How fast] did John speak ___ and Mary write ___ during the meeting?
- [_{PP} In whose car] did John fall asleep ___ and Mary vomit ___ ?

(19) RNR of AP and CP (Postal 1974))

- Terry used to be ___, and George still is ___, [_{AP} very suspicious].
- Harry has claimed ___, but I certainly don't believe ___, [_{CP} that Melvin is a Communist].

Remarkable properties of SCs III

- RNR and ATB allow more than one constituent to be shared

(20) Multiple RNR (Abbott 1976)

- Smith loaned __₁ __₂, and his widow later donated __₁ __₂, [DP a valuable collection of manuscripts]₁ [PP to the library]₂.
- Mary baked __₁ __₂, and George frosted __₁ __₂, [DP 20 cakes]₁ [PP in less than an hour]₂.

(21) multiple ATB (Pesetsky 1982: 445):

a book OP₁ that I know who₂ to [[talk to __₂ about __₁] and [persuade __₂ to buy __₁]]

Remarkable properties of SCs IV

- the kinds of movement that create sharing: ATB can be the result of \bar{A} -movement (wh-movement, topicalization, scrambling, relativization), A-movement (raising), head-movement

(22) other \bar{A} -movements (de Vries 2017):

- This man, Peter wants to meet ___ but Susan prefers to avoid ___.
(topicalization)
- These are the [books (that) [Peter wrote ___] and [Susan admired ___]]
(relativization)

(23) ATB A- and head movement (de Vries 2017)

- Peter** seems to ___ like plays and to ___ go to the theater quite often.
- Never **has** Peter ___ eaten pork or Mike ___ drunk alcohol.

Remarkable properties of SCs V

- RNR need not even involve coordination (though ATB requires coordination)

(24) RNR without coordination (Hudson 1976: 550)

- a. Of the people questioned, those who liked __, outnumbered by two to one those who disliked __, the way in which the devaluation of the pound had been handled.
- b. I'd have said he was sitting on the edge of __, rather than in the middle of, __ the puddle.

Questions that arise

- How can we integrate SCs into our models of grammar without construction-specific stipulations?
- Can we use independently established operations to derive sharing? Why are these operations not available in other constructions?
- Are all SC created by the same operations (a) across languages and (b) within a single language?
Are at least some of them derived by the same mechanism? (Munn 1993: ATB can be reduced to pgs; Williams 1978: pgs are a subcase of ATB, ...)
- Do all SCs pattern alike concerning their distribution, restrictions on them?
- Are all gaps created equal in SCs or are there asymmetries?

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Structure

- 1 What are SCs? Which challenges do they pose for syntactic theory?
- 2 approaches to SCs
- 3 (old) empirical evidence for/against existing approaches
- 4 taking stock: what we do (not) know about SCs, the role of cross-linguistic/within-language variation, open issues / what still needs to be done
- 5 new evidence: two case studies from my current project

Appendix

Note: We will concentrate on ATB and RNR in what follows. The kinds of approaches and phenomena used to argue for/against a certain approach are by and large the same for pgs.

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More properties of SCs I

- ① **information structure:** ATB/RNR have to express a contrast between the conjuncts (the “distinctness requirement”, Citko 2006)

(25) Distinctness requirement with RNR (Ha 2008: 233)

- a. *John liked __, and Mary liked __, the opera.
 b. John liked __, but Mary hated __, the opera.

(26) Distinctness requirement with ATB (Ha 2008: 233)

- a. ?What did John like __ and Mary like __ ?
 b. What did John like __ but Mary hate __ ?

- ② **interpretation:** ATB typically leads to a single-individual reading (e.g., Munn (1999); Reich (2009); Zhang (2010); Salzmann (2013))

(27) Who does John like __ and Lisa hate __ ?
 For which person x, John likes x and Lisa hates x?

More properties of SCs II

It is not impossible to create contexts where this reading is not plausible:

(28) Munn (1999: 422) Which man did Bill kill ___ on Tuesday and Fred kill ___ on Wednesday ? Munn (1999: 422)

(29) Sloppy identity with reflexives in the shared XP (Haik 1985: 286):
I wonder which picture of himself_{*i/j*} Peter_{*i*} likes ___ and John_{*j*} hates ___.

The single-individual reading is also attested in RNR (see (30)), but it is not required (see (31),(32), Ha 2008: 11, Hartmann 2000; Barros 2011):

(30) Peter likes, and Susan hates, a book by Dickens. (de Vries 2017: 18)

(31) John_{*i*} likes ___, but Bill_{*j*} hates ___, his_{*i/j*} father.

(32) Yesterday, the poor man hired ___, and the rich man bought ___, a red car_{*x*} resp. y_{*y*}. (de Vries 2017: 18)

More properties of SCs III

- ③ **RNR – unique prosody** (see Hartmann:00 on German): the contrastively focused element preceding the shared constituent receives a pitch accent in each conjunct, the shared constituent is not prosodically highlighted
- ④ **syntactic parallelism requirements** that the shared constituent must fulfill in all conjuncts; = tendencies, not hard constraints
- position/GF: the shared XP must occupy a structurally parallel position in each conjunct (e.g., Williams 1978; George 1980; de Vries 2017)
- (33) a. I know the man who John saw ___ and Bill hit ___.
 b. *Who did you say [Peter likes ___] and [___ hates Susan] ?
- (34) counter-examples (Williams 1978; de Vries 2017; see Kasai 2004 for an analysis of these “exceptions”
- a. I know the man who John likes ___ and we hope ___ will win.
 b. Which tree did you say [Peter hugged ___] and [Susan talked to ___]

More properties of SCs IV

- thematic role (Franks 1993; 1995):
ATB: all gaps must either be associated with the most prominent or the not-most prominent arguments according to the scale in (35)

(35) prominence hierarchy (p.516):

Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Goal/Source/Location >
Manner/Time

This explains the contrast in (36):

(36) Polish:

- a. *dziewczyna, której Janek dał swoją marynarkę __ a
girl who.DAT Janek gave his jacket and
mimo tego __ było zimno
in.spite it was cold
'the girl who Janek gave his jacket to and in spite of it was
cold' goal vs. experiencer, Dyła (1984: 704)

More properties of SCs V

b. człowiek, któremu ___ było żal Jana i ___ było zimno
 man who.DAT was sorry Jan and was cold
 'the man who was sorry for Jan and was cold' experiencer in
 both conjuncts, Franks (1993: 519))

(37) Counterexamples:

- a. ?a book which I haven't read ___ but ___ was recommended by
 several professors (Franks 1995: 83)
- b. ?the man who John suspected ___ but ___ hadn't committed the
 crime (Munn 1992: 65)

Different theta-roles/types of predicates can be mixed in ATB and
 RNR (de Vries 2017):

(38) Who did you say [___ saw a crocodile], [___ ran for an hour], [
 arrived late], [___ seemed to cry], and [then ___ received the
 consolation prize] ?

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How can we diagnose movement?

- alternative analysis of (39):

(39) **Which article** did Anna read?

base-generation of the wh-XP in the sentence-initial position

- diagnostics for movement
 - we expect 'traces' of (subparts of) the moved element in its base position or in intermediate landing sites
 - or morpho-phonological 'traces' along the path of movement (**reflexes of movement**)
- such effects can be semantic, syntactic, morpho-phonological in nature

Movement diagnostics

1. island-sensitivity: islands block movement

(40) XP ... [YP] if YP is an island


some classic islands (Ross 1967; Huang 1982):

- coordinations (see (41-a-b))
- adjuncts (see (41-c))
- specifiers ('Subject Island') (see (41-d))
- complex NPs (relative clauses, complement CPs of N) (see (41-e))

- (41) a. * [Who]₁ does John like [&P ₁ and Bill]?
 b. * [Who]₁ is John [&P proud of ₁ and tired of his mother]?
 c. * [Who]₁ did you get jealous [CP because I talked to ₁]
 d. * [Who]₁ did [CP that Mary was going out with ₁] bother you?
 e. * [Which book]₁ did John meet [DP a child [CP who read ₁]]

Movement diagnostics

2. reconstruction effects (related to interpretation):

- a relation R holds between X and Y; R requires that X c-commands Y

$$(42) \left[\dots X \dots Y \dots \right] \quad \text{where } X \text{ c-comm. } Y$$

$$\quad \quad \quad \underbrace{\quad \quad \quad}_R$$

- in a minimally different configuration, (a constituent containing) Y occurs in a position from which X does not c-com. Y, but R still holds

$$(43) \left[\dots Y \dots \left[\dots X \dots \right] \right]$$

- analysis: (the constituent containing) Y has been in the c-command domain of X at some point of the derivation and can be interpreted in this position; thus, Y must have moved from a lower position

$$(44) \left[\dots Y \dots \left[\dots X \dots \langle Y \rangle \dots \right] \right]$$

$$\quad \quad \quad \underbrace{\quad \quad \quad}_R$$

Movement diagnostics

- reconstruction for Binding, example: Principle C:

(45) Principle C (Chomsky 1981):
An R-expression must not be bound.

(46) **A can bind B**

- if A c-commands B**
- A and B are co-indexed
- A is in an A-position

(47) **Interaction of movement and Principle C:**

- * (You think that) **he_i** likes a picture of **John_i**
- * [Which picture of **John_i**]₁ do you think **he_i** likes ____i?

In (47-b) the pronoun *he* does not c-command the R-expression *John* inside the wh-XP, still a Principle C violation obtains, as in (47-a) (without wh-movement). Analysis: the wh-XP reconstructs to the position ____i in (47-b), in which it is c-commanded by the pronoun *he*.

Movement diagnostics

- reconstruction for variable binding

A pronoun can be interpreted as a bound pronoun when it has a quantified antecedent which c-commands it, see (48)

- (48) a. Everyone_i thinks you like him_i;
 for all x, x thinks you like x
- b. [That everyone_i succeeded] pleased his_i teacher.
 *for all x, that x succeeded, pleased x's teacher

Wh-movement reconstructs for variable binding in English:

(49) Fox (1999):

- a. [Which of his_i students]₁ did every professor_i talk to ₁?
- b.*[Which of his_i students]₁ ₁ talked to every professor_i?

Movement diagnostics

- reconstruction for scope:

A can scope over B if A c-commands B (Reinhart 1976; May 1977).
Wh-movement in English reconstructs for scope.

(50) Bill says every boy visited some girl. $\forall > \exists$ (and $\exists > \forall$)

(51) [Visit some girl]₁, Bill says every boy did __₁. $\forall > \exists$ (and * $\exists > \forall$)
(Bill says that the boys each visited a different girl)

- reconstruction for idiom interpretation (Vergnaud 1974; Schachter 1973):
Chomsky (1993): the idiomatic interpretation of a phrasal idiom requires adjacency of its parts at LF; if a subpart has been moved, it must reconstruct to get the non-literal interpretation

(52) The headway₁ [CP that we made __₁]] was satisfactory
make headway = 'to advance', 'make progress'

Movement diagnostics

- reconstruction for the licensing of NPIs:

An NPI must be c-commanded by a negative element (simplified), see (53-a-b). Reconstruction for NPI-licensing is possible in some languages (e.g., in Wolof, Torrence 2013: 191), but not in English, see (53-c)

- (53) a. *I wanted **any** cake.
 b. I didn't want any cake.
 c. Lit: '(It's) anything (that) I didn't cook. (* in English)

3. **Cross-over phenomena** (Postal 1971; Wasow 1979):

- Strong cross-over (SCO):

movement of Y is not possible across a co-referent pronoun X (where X c-commands the base position of Y)

- (54) a. * [Who_i]₁ does he_i think [__₁ won the game]?
 b. [Who_i]₁ __₁ thinks that he_i left?

Movement diagnostics I

- Weak cross-over (WCO): the moved YP crosses a coreferent pronoun in a non-c-commanding position (the pronoun is embedded in a constituent that c-commands the base position of YP)

- (55) a. * $[\text{Who}_i]_1$ does $[_{\text{DP}} \text{his}_i \text{ mother}]$ love $__1$?
 b. $[\text{Who}_i]_1$ $__1$ loves his_i mother?

4. cyclicity effects / reflexes of movement:

- **copy spell-out**: (subparts of) the moving XP can be pronounced in intermediate landing sites/the base position

Movement diagnostics II

(56) wh-copying in Afrikaans (du Plessis 1977: 725):

- a. [CP **waaroor**₁ dink jy [CP **waaroor**₁ dink die
 whereabouts think you whereabouts think the
 bure [CP **waaroor**₁ stry ons ₁ die meeste]]]
 neighbors whereabouts argue we the most
 “What do you think the neighbors think we are arguing about
 the most?”

- **morpho-phonological effects** on elements (heads) **along the path of movement**; a morpheme can be added/deleted/change its form, ...; idea: this is due to a feature-checking relation between the head and the moving XP (in a specifier-head-configuration)

(57) Complementizer selection in Irish (McCloskey 1979; 2001):

- a. Deir said **gu-r** ghoid na síogaí í
 say they *go*-PST stole the fairies her
 ‘They say that the fairies stole her away.’ *declarative*

Movement diagnostics III

- b. an ghirseach [CP [OP]₁ a ghoid na síogaí __]
 the girl aL stole the fairies
 'the girl that the fairies stole away' DO relativization
- c. [an t-úrscéal] [CP [OP]₁ a mheas mé [CP a dúirt
 the novel aL thought I aL said
 sé [CP a thuig sé __₁]]]
 he aL understood he
 'the novel that I thought he said he understood' long relativ.

Movement diagnostics IV

5. morphological **connectivity effects**: a fronted XP has features that can only be determined in a local relation with an element lower in the structure → the XP must have been in this lower position at some point
- example: inherent case
 - in German the verb *helfen* 'to help' assigns dative case to its object (under sisterhood), general object case: accusative
 - when the object is questioned, it keeps the dative

(58) Case connectivity in German wh-movement:

- a. Alex hat ihm/*ihn geholfen
 Alex has 3SG.DAT/3SG.ACC helped
 "Alex helped him."
- b. Wem/*Wen₁ hat Alex ₁ geholfen
 who.dat/who.acc has Alex helped
 "Who did Alex help?"

- other phenomena: agreement, status government, ...

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