The syntax of sharing constructions

2. Approaches to SCs

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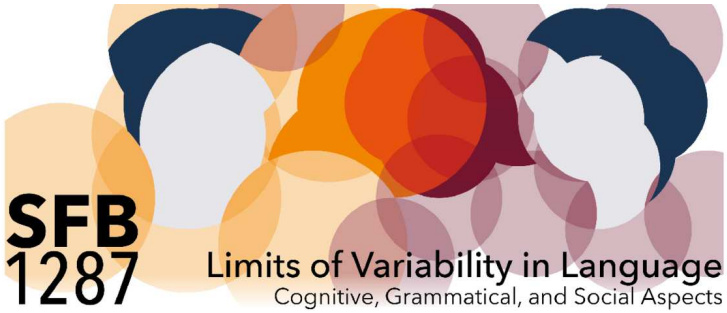


Exercise

Try to come up with derivations for the ATB example in (1). How could movement proceed to produce sharing (1 antecedent – several gaps)?

(1) **Who** does John like __ and Mary hate __ ?

Overview

Types of approaches

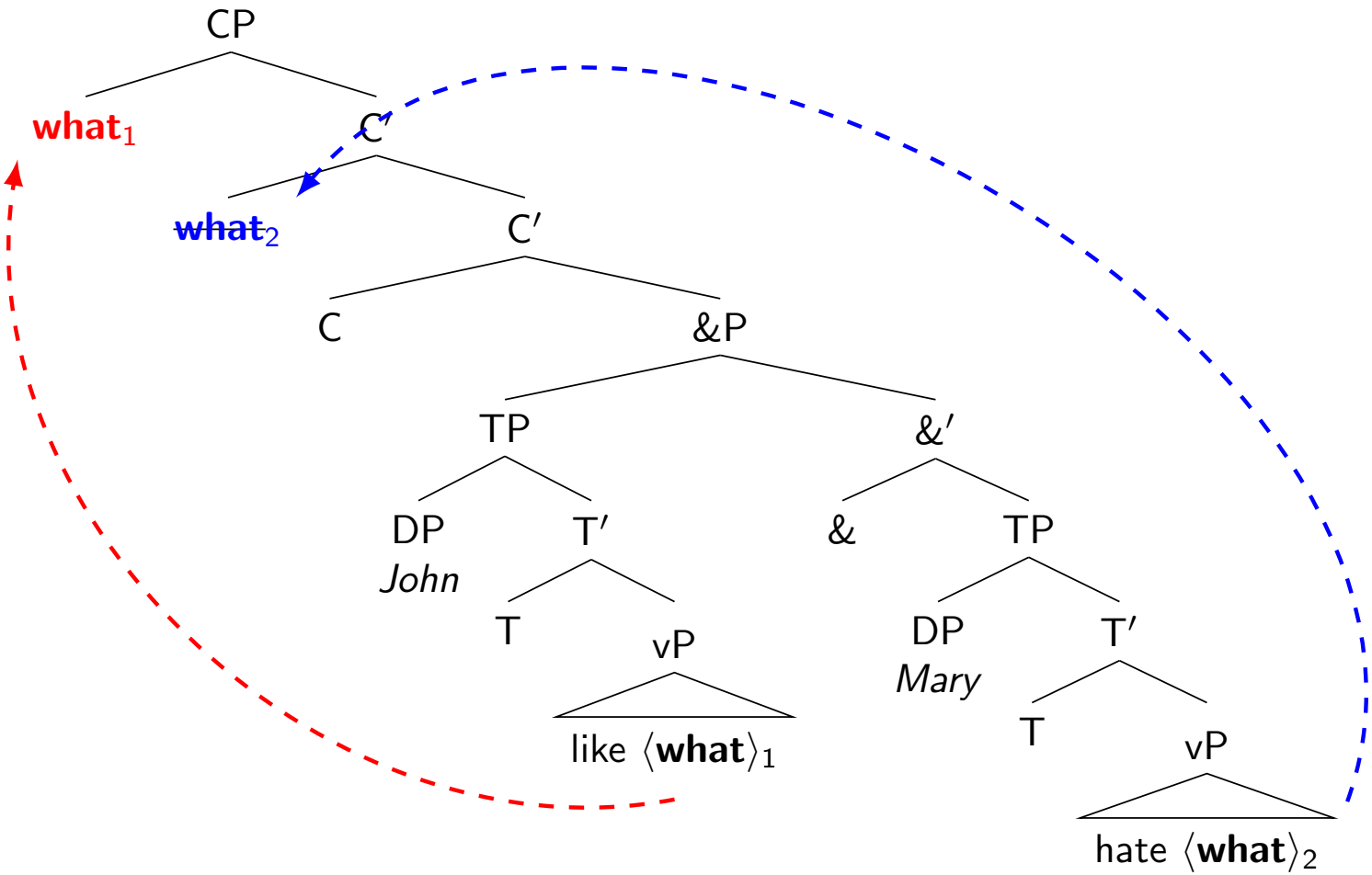
- **symmetric**:
  - extraction takes place from all gap sites with one antecedent per gap
  - subextraction from all conjuncts
  - question: Why do we only see one antecedent on the surface?
- **asymmetric**:
  - the (visible) antecdedent is extracted from only one of the gaps
  - question: Why do we get more than one gap?
- **mixed approach: sideward movement**
  extraction from all gap sites but the final movement of the antecedent to its surface position takes place from only one of the gaps (the initial one)

▶ In the tree structures that follow, we leave aside not immediately relevant steps/projections/differences between the approaches (e.g., the structure of coordination; the number of functional projections in the vP/TP/CP, intermediate movement steps, ...)

Overview

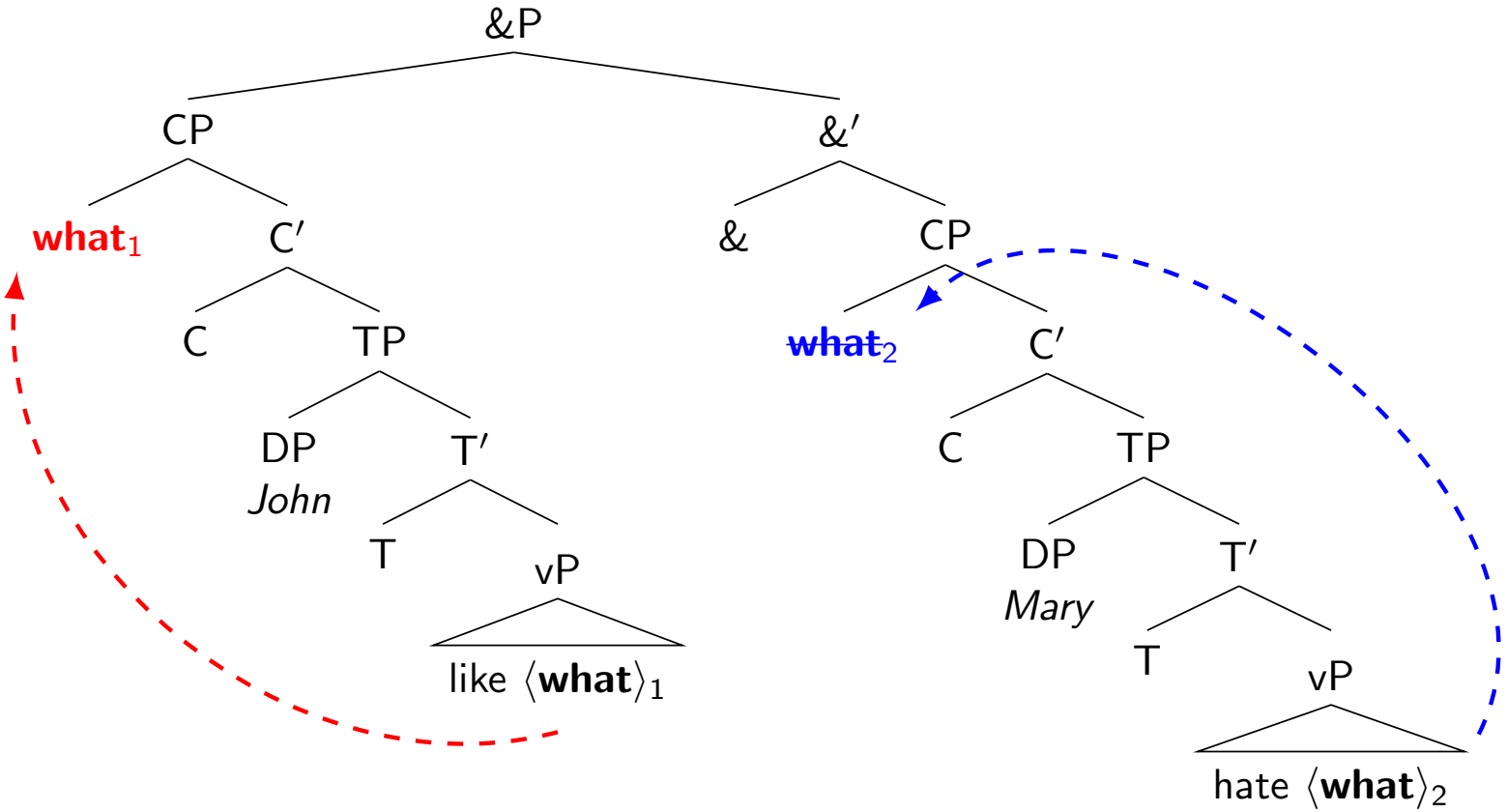
"Haplology reduction"

a (distinct) antecedent per gap, all of them move to SpecC, only one is pronounced, the others are deleted at PF (e.g., to avoid haplology); old idea, but rarely adopted, though see Biskup (2018)



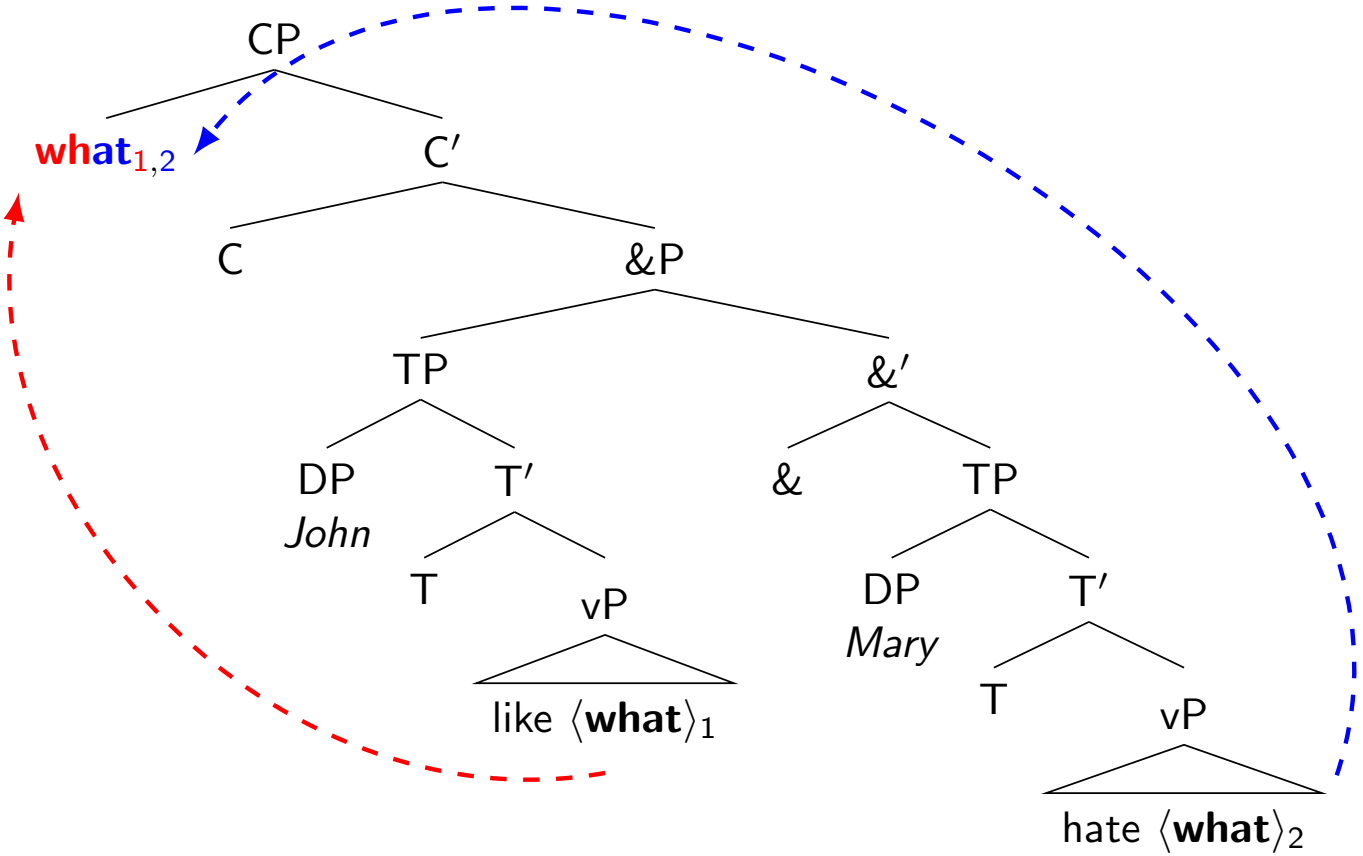
Full CP-coordination + PF-deletion

a (distinct) wh-element moves to SpecC of the respective CP-conjunct; all wh-elements but the one in the initial conjunct remain unpronounced (PF-deletion), see George (1980); Wilder (1994); **?**



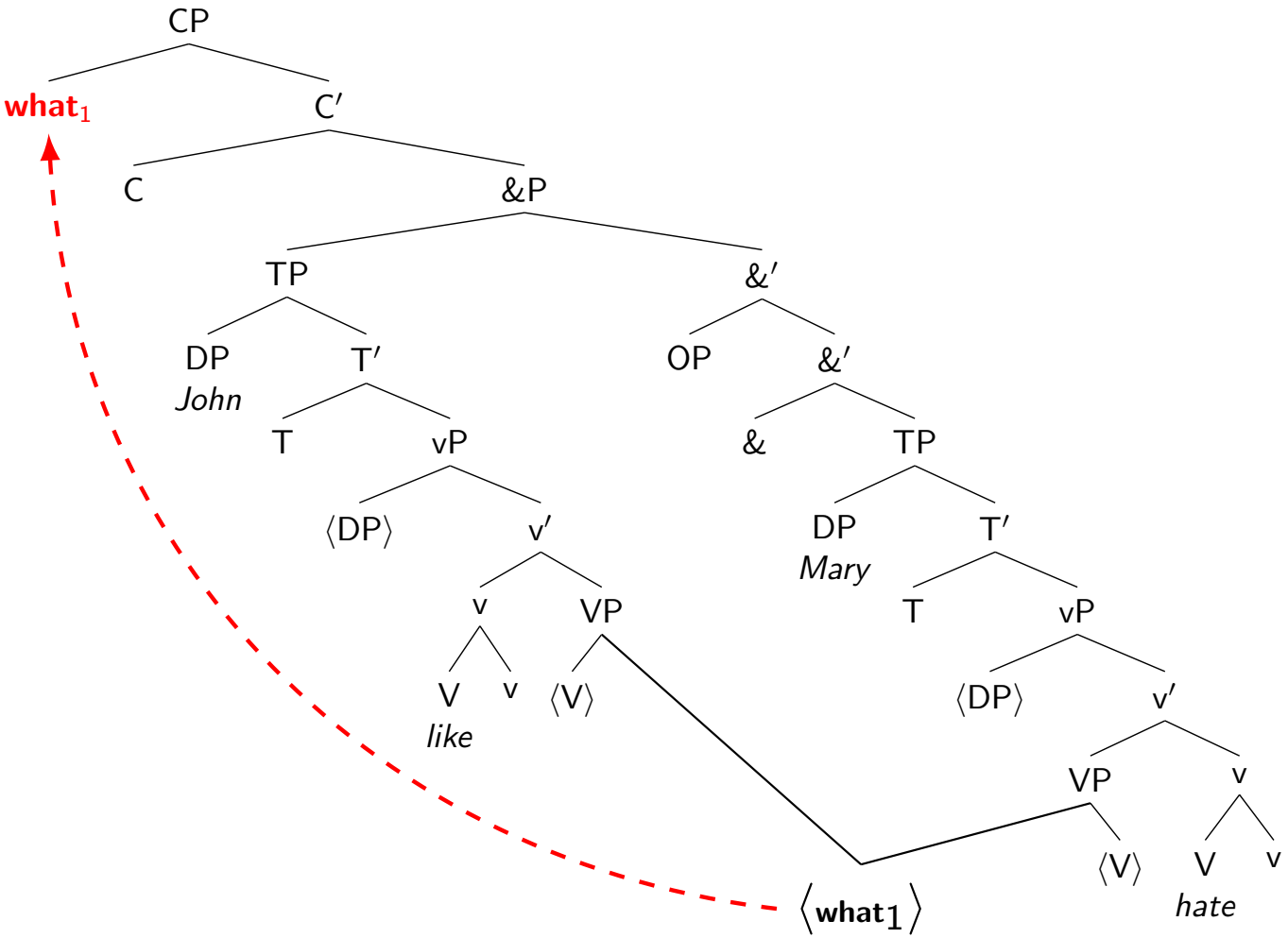
Fusion

one antecedent per gap, all move to SpecC and fuse into a single occurrence (Ross 1967; Williams 1978; Hein and Murphy 2020; Blümel 2014; 2017)
(HPSG slash feature percolation from each conjunct is also fusion-like, see Pollard and Sag 1994; Levine et al. 2001)



Multi-dominance/remerger

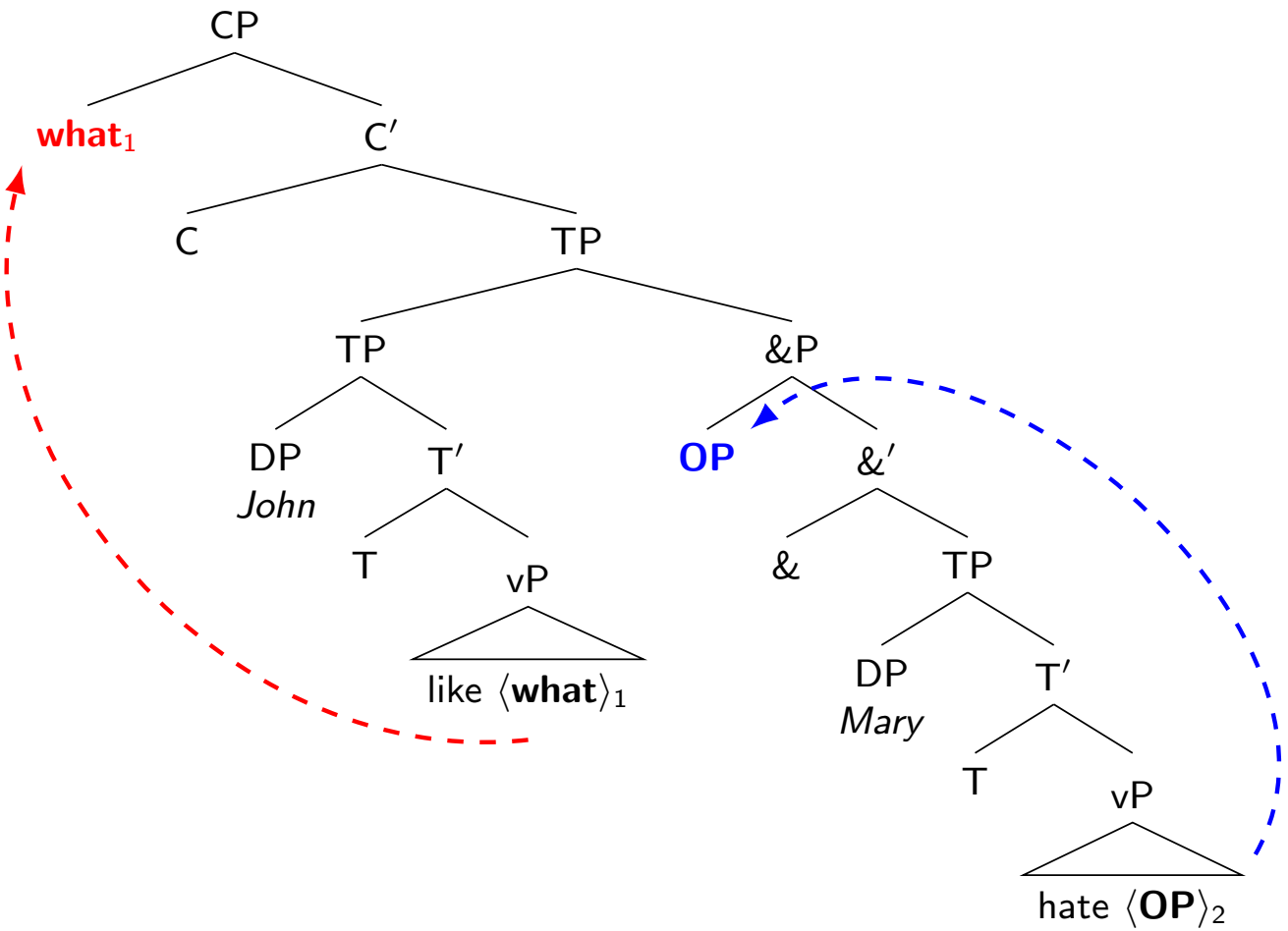
The shared wh-XP is present only once in the structure, but it is merged simultaneously in all conjuncts; Williams (1978); Goodall (1987); Moltmann (1992); Citko (2005) Kasai (2007); Gračanin-Yüksek (2007; 2013); Bachrach and Katzir (2009*a*); de Vries (2013



Overview

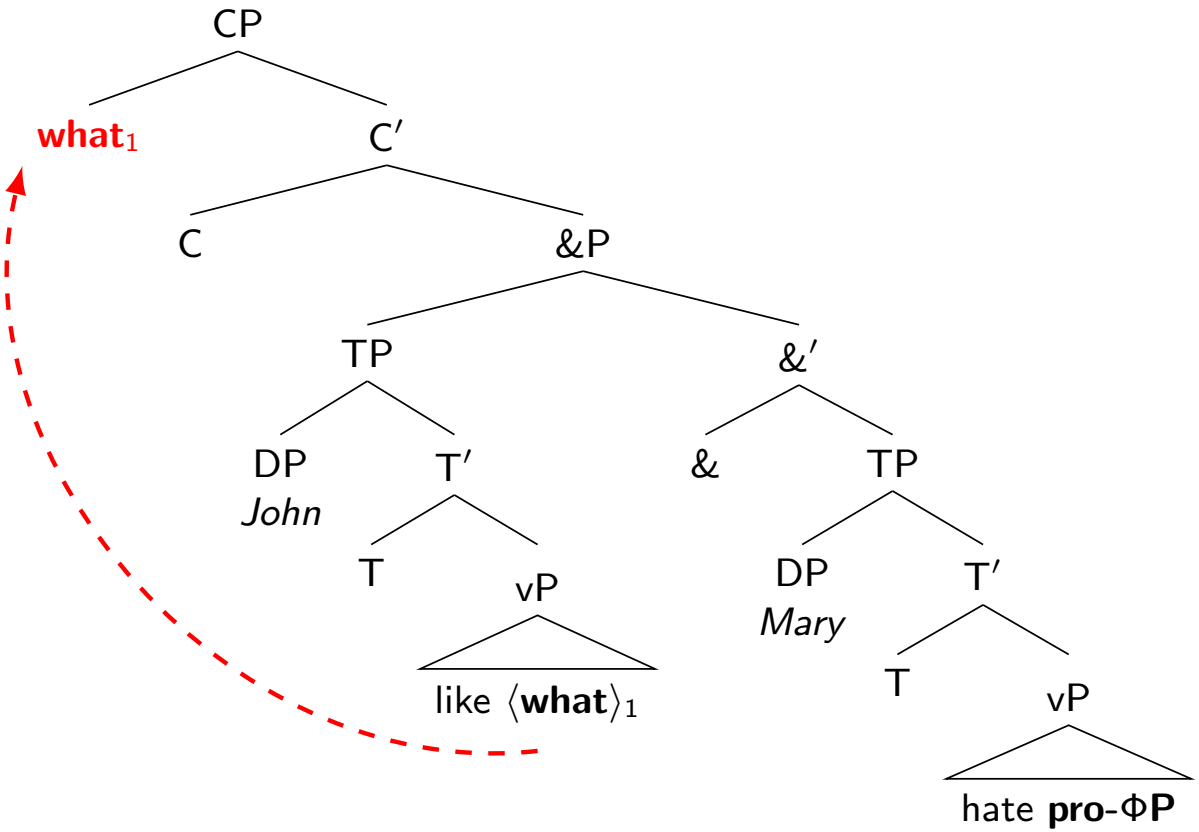
Empty OP-movement ('parasitic gap approach')

asymmetric extraction of the visible antecedent from the first conjunct + movement of an **empty operator** (OP) inside the other conjunct(s); Munn (1992; 1993); Franks (1992; 1995); Bošković and Franks (2000); ⚠ adjunction structure of &P
= the standard approach to pgs (Chomsky 1986)



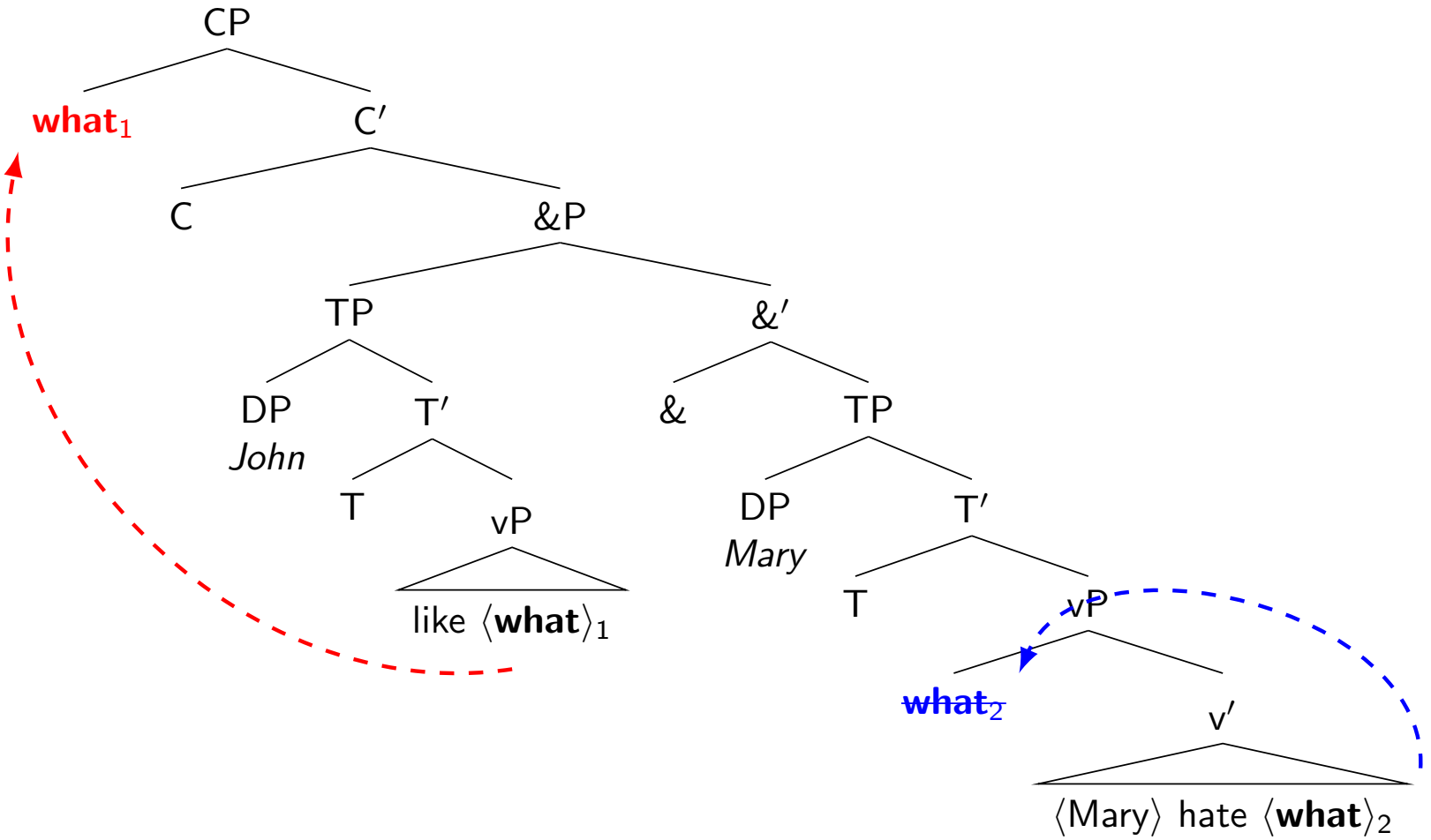
pro-approach

Zhang (2010): asymmetric extraction of the visible antecedent from the first conjunct; the gap position in non-initial conjuncts is occupied by a silent pronoun, *pro*-Φ*P*, that is bound by the extractee



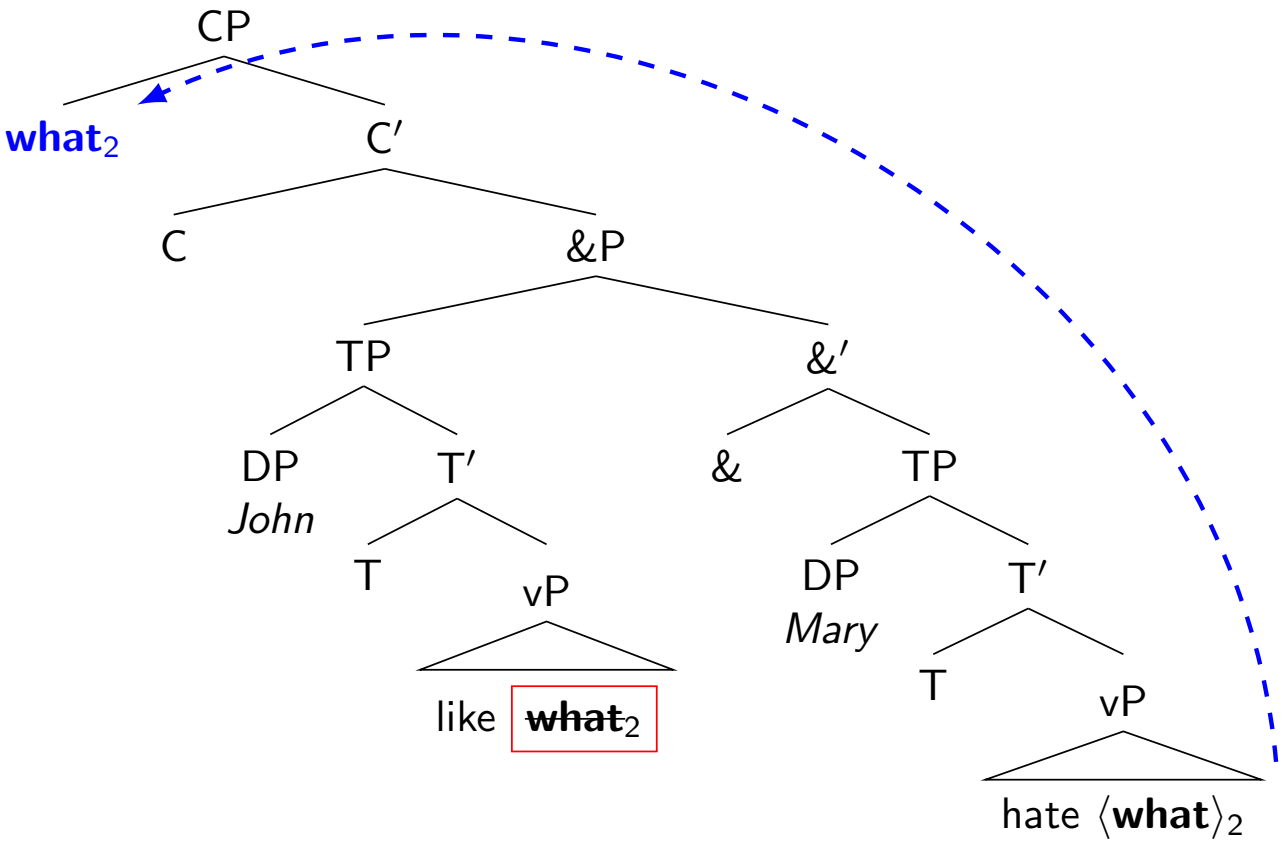
'Forward ellipsis'

extraction of the visible antecedent (what_1) from the first conjunct + movement of distinct phrase (what_2) inside the 2nd conjunct + ellipsis of what_2 under identity with what_1; Salzmann (2012*a*) (and related ideas in Wilder 1994)



Backward ellipsis

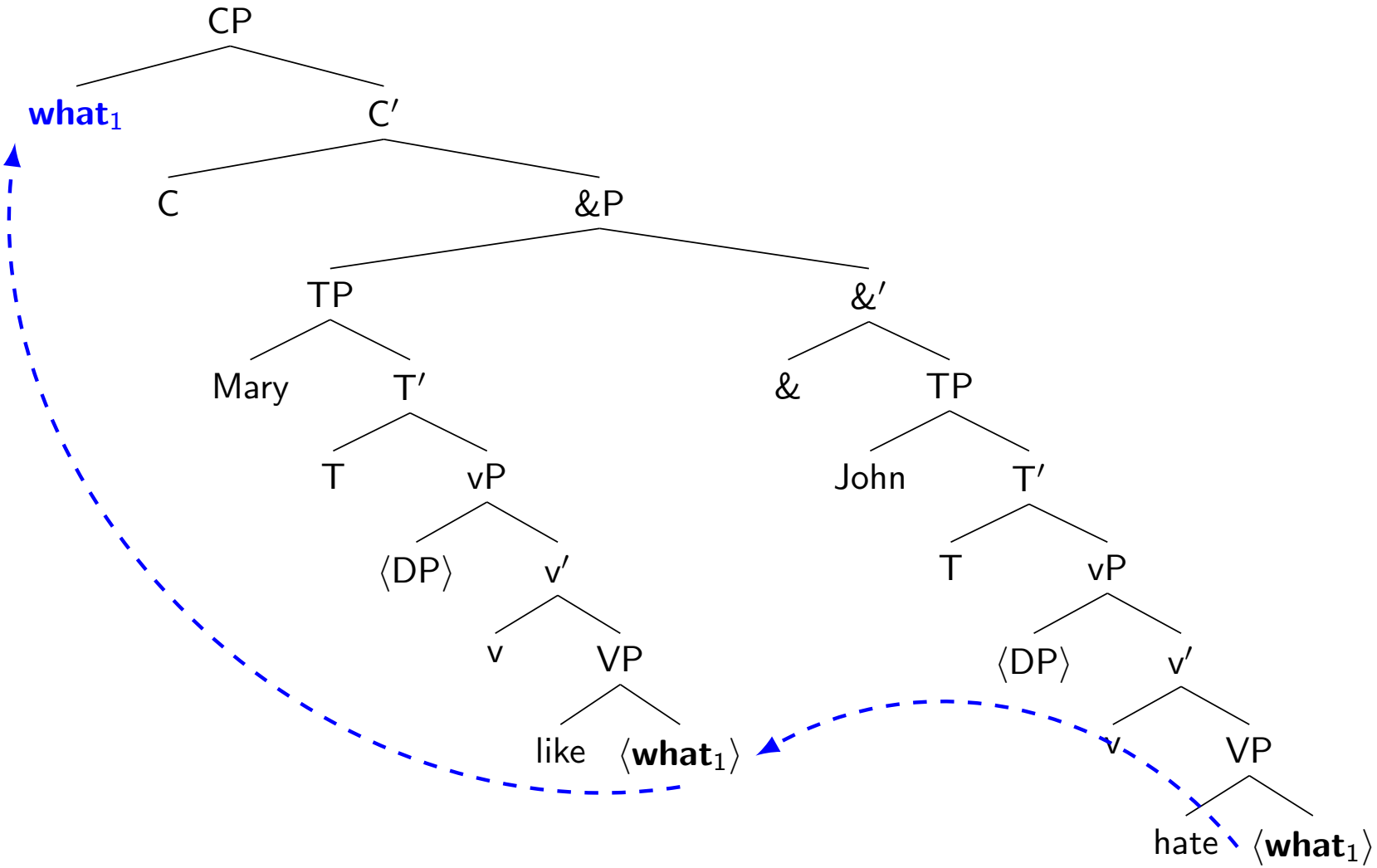
extraction of the visible antecedent ($what_2$) from the second conjunct + ellipsis of a distinct wh-element ($what_1$) in the first conjunct under identity with $what_2$; Ha (2008)



Overview

Sideward movement

the single antecedent is base-merged in the second conjunct; it moves from its base-merge site directly to the gap site in the first conjunct, and from there to its terminal landing site; Nunes (2001; 2004); Hornstein and Nunes (2002)



Overview

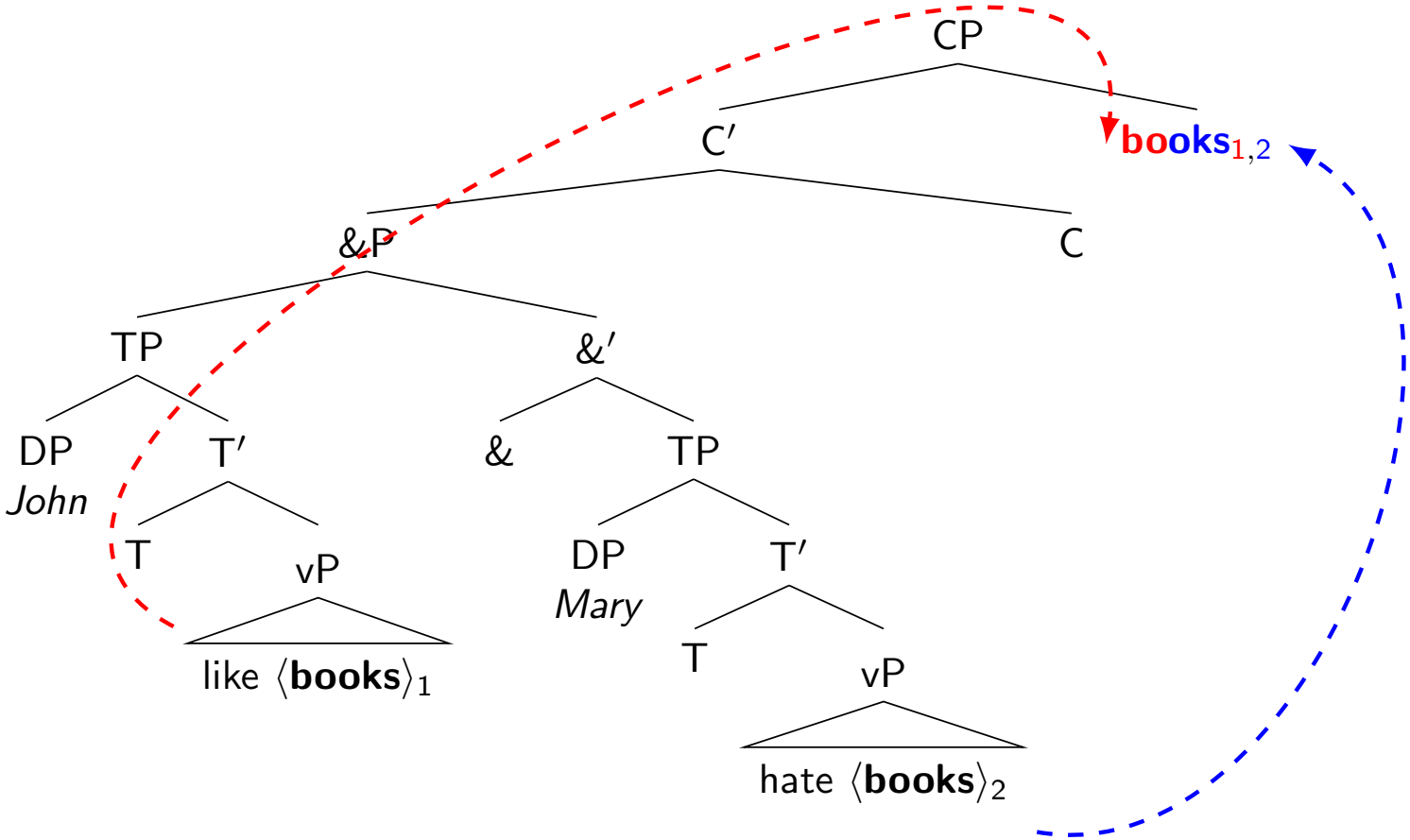
Types of approaches

- the derivations adopted for RNR are a subset of those proposed for ATB
- types of approaches (Sabbagh 2014):
  - pivot-external / movement approach: movement + fusion
  - pivot-internal / in-situ approaches: multi-dominance, backward ellipsis
- example sentence:

(2) John likes, and Mary hates, **books (about linguistics)**.

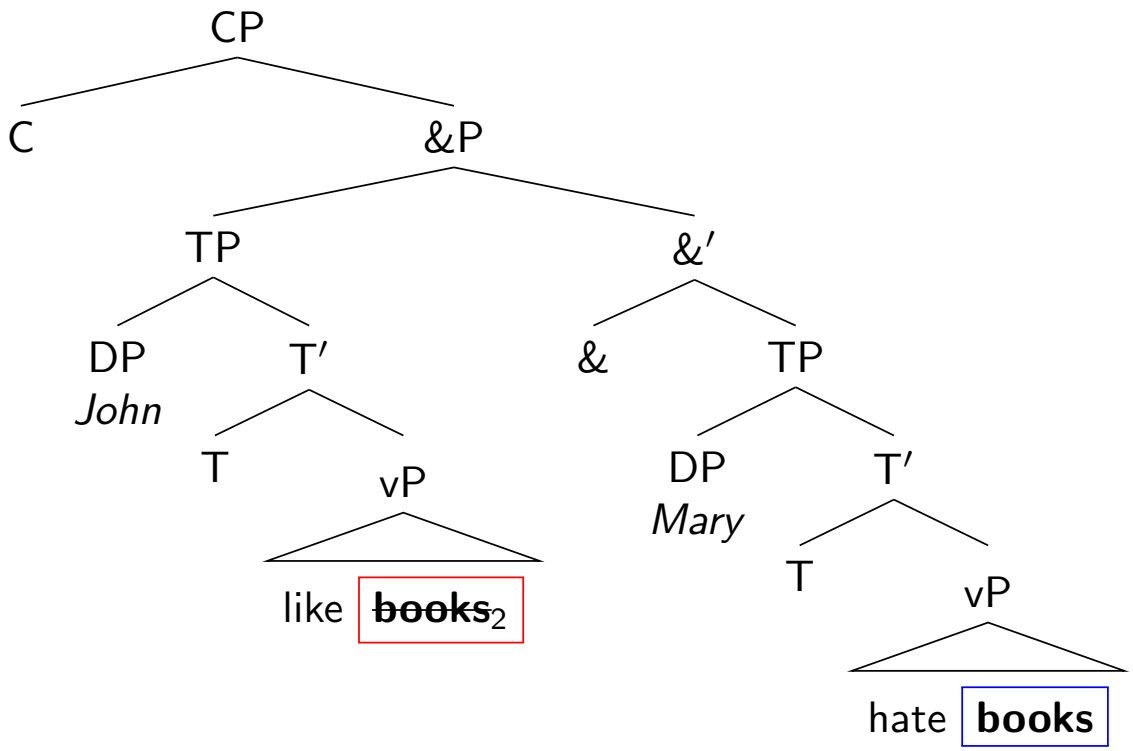
Fusion ('movement approach' or 'rightward ATB')

one antecedent per gap, all move rightwards to SpecC and fuse there; see Ross (1967); Postal (1998); Sabbagh (2007; 2008); Clapp (2008)



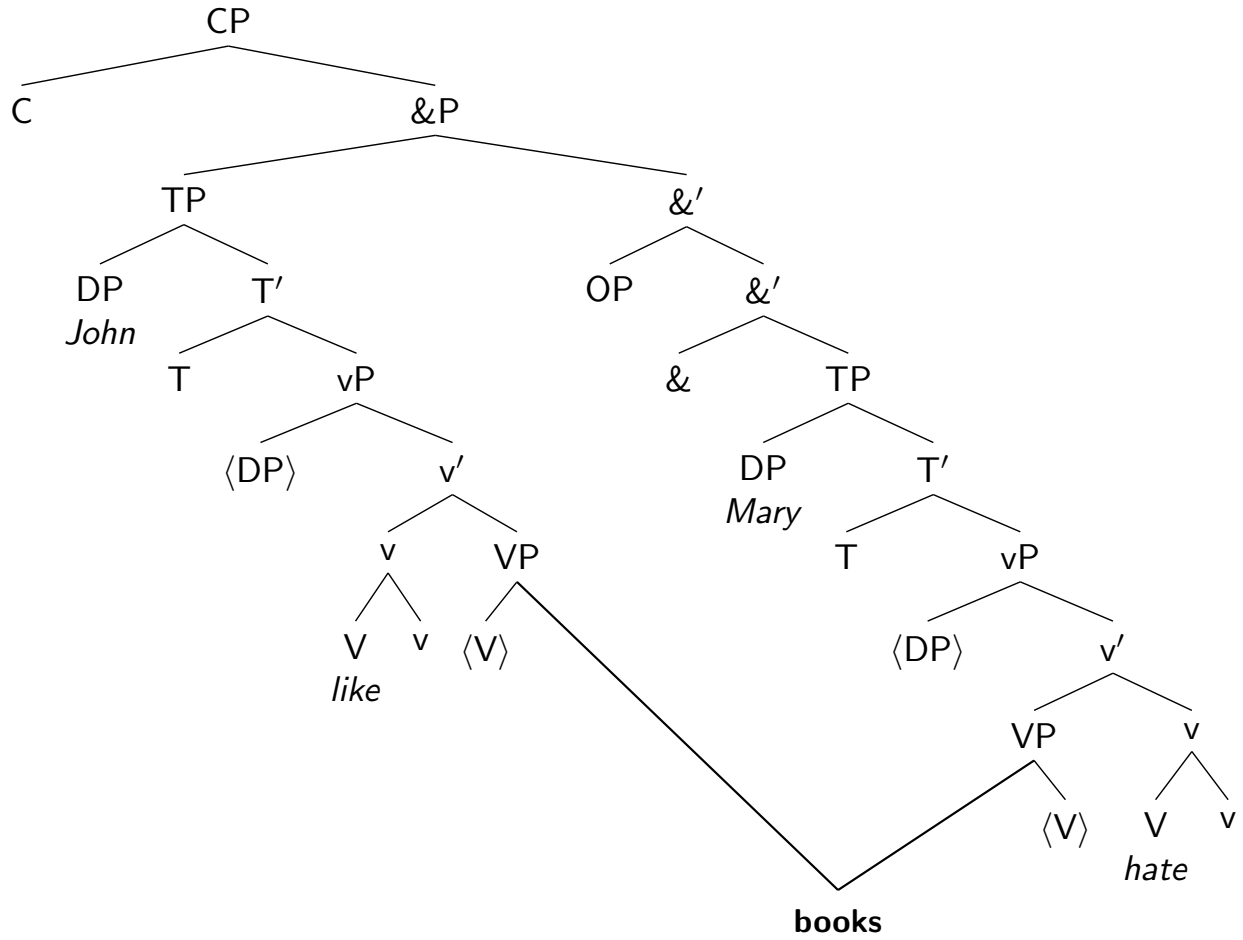
Backward ellipsis

one object DP per conjunct, no extraction of any object DP; DP_2 in the second conjunct stays in-situ; DP_1 in the first conjunct is elided under identity with DP_2; Wilder (1997); Giannakidou and Merchant (1998); Hartmann (2000); Abels (2004); Bošković (2004); Ha (2008)



Multi-dominance

The shared wh-XP is present only once in the structure, but it is merged simultaneously in all conjuncts; no extraction of the shared XP, will be linearized at the right edge McCawley (1982); Wilder (1999); de Vos and Vicente (2005); Bachrach and Katzir (2009*b*; 2017); Gračanin-Yüksek (2007); Grosz (2015)



Overview of approaches to SCs

(3)

	ATB	RNR
haplology deletion	✓	
CP-coord.+deletion	✓	
move. +fusion	✓	✓
MD + movement	✓	
MD (no movement)		✓
empty OP approach	✓	
forward ellipsis	✓	
backward ellipsis	✓	✓
sideward movement	✓	

Overview

Theoretical problems with these approaches I

1. MD + sideward movement:

   - **Theta Criterion** (Chomsky 1981): an argument DP can receive more than one θ-role in these approaches
     $\rightarrow$ if that is possible why is (4) ungrammatical?

     (4)*Anna cited.
     intended: Anna cited herself. (Anna$_{<agent>,<patient>}$)

     not often addressed, but see Nunes (2001) on sideward movement and Grohmann (2003) for a proposal (unrelated to SCs)

   - **Case Filter** (Rouveret and Vergnaud 1980): an argument must receive case (usually exactly one)
     $\rightarrow$ may not be a problem given overt case stacking (Plank 1995):

     (5) Lardil (Richards 2013: 20)

     Ngada derlde marun-ngan-i wangalk-i
     I break boy-GEN-ACC boomerang-ACC
     " I broke the boy's boomerang."

Theoretical problems with these approaches II

2. sideward movement:
   gives up the assumption that movement targets a **c-commanding position**

3. asymmetric extraction approaches:
   seem to **violate the CSC**
   → solution: the CSC is no a syntactic constraint on movement, but a **representational LF constraint** (see the Appendix for details); logic applied to RNR+ATB in Ha (2008) and to ATB in Salzmann (2012*b*)

4. fusion:
   How exactly does fusion work and when/why is it triggered?
   → often remains unaddressed, exceptions: fusion is achieved through (i) a construction-specific rule (Ross 1967; Williams 1978) or (ii) by feature intersection (Hein and Murphy 2020, see the Appendix for details)

Theoretical problems with these approaches III

5. haplology reduction:
   - **postulates multiple wh-movement**, which is not independently attested in all of the languages that exhibit ATB, e.g., not in English; for these haplology could be analyzed as a repair (see, e.g., Citko 2005)

     (6) *Who who(m) saw? (Who saw who(m)?)

     BUT: even **languages with multiple wh-fronting can realize only a single antecedent in SCs**:

     (7) Polish, Citko (2011: 57), Citko (2005: 492, fn.17):

     a. Co$_i$ [Jan zgubił __$_i$] a [Piotr znalazł __$_j$] ?
        what Jan lost and Piotr found
        'What did Jan lose and Piotr find?' (Joanna Zaleska, p.c.)

     b.*Co$_i$ co$_j$ [Jan zgubił __$_i$] a [Piotr znalazł __$_j$] ?
        what what Jan lost and Piotr found
        'What did Jan lose and Piotr find?'

Theoretical problems with these approaches IV

c. *Kogo$_i$ komu$_j$ Jan lubi __$_i$ a Maria się przygląda
who.ACC who.DAT Jan likes and Maria REFL looks.at
__$_j$?

"Who does Jan like and Maria looks at?"

- these arguments are not convincing, but the argument can be made with additional data, see the Appendix for discussion
- the deletion operation must be able to target entire phrases, which haplology otherwise does not do (de Vries 2017)

Theoretical problems with these approaches V

6. multi-dominance:
   linearization problem (for example, the shared XP should precede itself)
   - Citko (2005): overt movement of the XP is necessary for linearization
   - alternative linearization algorithm, see, e.g., Wilder (1999); Bachrach and Katzir (2009*a*)

7. *pro*-approach: questionable for languages that do not have pro-drop

8. in general: why are the proposed mechanisms not available outside of coordination/adjunction structures?

   → hardly ever explicitly addressed; the Theta Criterion may help in those approaches that do not have to give it up anyway; but this only works for argument sharing

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