The syntax of sharing constructions

3. Empirical evidence for/against SC-approaches

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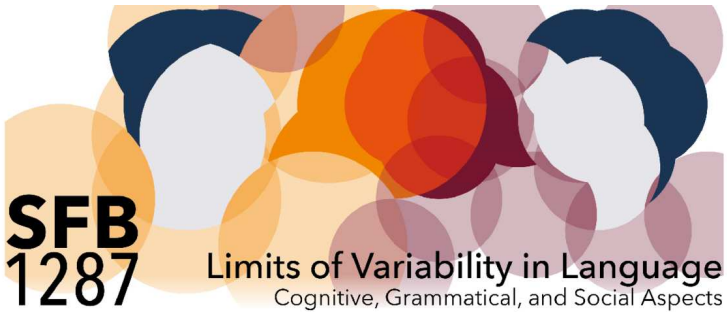

Overview

1. Movement vs. non-movement derivations of SCs

2. Other arguments
   - A single (overt) antecedent
   - Single-individual reading
   - ATB head-movement
   - Proximity effects in verbal morphology
   - Case mismatches
   - Reconstruction effects
   - NPI-licensing
   - Multiple copy spell-out
   - No covert ATB
   - Arguments for ellipsis approaches to ATB/RNR
   - Arguments for the movement approach to RNR
   - Arguments for MD-approaches to RNR

Overview

Island-sensitivity

- all approaches to ATB involve movement (from one or from all conjuncts)
- only one approach to RNR assumes that movement (+fusion) is involved, the others are in-situ approaches (ellipsis, MD)
- test case: island-sensitivity
- **ATB is subject to all kinds of islands** (e.g., CNP island, factive island, wh-island, adjunct island, ...):

(1) Complex NP island (de Vries 2017: 2,7):

a. *Which book do you know [a man that likes __] ?
b. *Which book do you think [Peter bought __] and [Susan knows [a man who actually read __]] ?
c. *Which book do you think [that Peter knows [a man who bought]] and [that Susan actually read __] ?

Island-sensitivity

→ (1) shows that it does not matter in which conjunct the island is present, the result is ungrammatical → argues for symmetric approaches (fusion, multi-dominance) and for asymmetric approaches (with extraction from the 1st conjunct) in which something moves inside the 2nd conjunct (empty OP-movement, forward ellipsis);
incompatible with approaches without movement in one of the conjuncts (backward ellipsis, pro-approach, sideward movement)

- **RNR is not sensitive to islands**

(2) Wexler and Culicover (1980)

a. I know a man who buys, and you know a woman who sells, gold rings and raw diamonds from South Africa. complex NP island

b. Josh got angry after he discovered, and Willow quit after she found out about, the company's pro-discriminatory policy. adjunct island

→ argument against the movement approach to RNR

Island-sensitivity

- note: RNR is subject to the **Right Edge Condition** (see Wilder 1999; Abels 2004; Sabbagh 2007); no parallel restriction on leftward movement

(3) Right Edge Restriction (Sabbagh 2007: 356)
In the configuration: $[_{A} \ldots X \ldots]$ Conj $[_{B} \ldots X \ldots]]$ X must be rightmost within A and B before either (i) X can be deleted from A; (ii) X can be rightward ATB-moved; or (iii) X can be multiply dominated by A and B.

(4) Wilder (1999: 587), Sabbagh (2014: 24)

a. I invited into my house __, and congratulated __, all the winners.
b. *I gave __ a present, and congratulated __, all the winners.
c. *Max sent __ some books, and Sally sent __ some letters, the local orphanage.

→ RNR is order preserving – unlike leftward movement (see Abels 2004; Belk et al. 2021)

Island-sensitivity

- Ross (1967): RNR in English allows for P-stranding (see (6)), unlike extraposition/Heavy NP-shift (which may involve movement, see (5)):

(5) HNPS in (Bošković 2004):

a. Mary criticized __ last week [the paper you presented at the LSA].
b. *John will talk about __ next weekend [the paper you presented at the LSA]

(6) RNR (Ha 2008: 37):

a. Mary criticized __ and John talked about __ [the paper you presented at the LSA last year].
b. Mary talked about __ and John criticized __ [the paper you presented at the LSA last year].

Island-sensitivity

→ P-stranding is possible in RNR even in languages that disallow it in general (unlike English) – e.g., Irish (McCloskey 1986: 184f.)

(7) RNR in Irish: P stranded

Nil sé in aghaidh an dlí a thuilleadh a bheith ag éisteacht LE nó
is.not it against the law anymore be.fin listen.PROG with or
ag breathnu AR – [$_{DP}$ ráidió agus teilifís an Iarthair]
look.PROG on radio and television the West.GEN

'It is no longer against the law to listen, or to watch, Western radio and television.'

Island-sensitivity

- non-constituents can be shared in RNR, while 'proper' movement only targets constituents

  (8) Bruce thought Becky's __, and Jill thought Jane's __, **father was sick**. (Larson 2014: 249)

  solution proposed in movement approaches: multiple instances of RNR-movement that individually target constituents

  (9) Bruce thought Becky's $\_\__1$ $\_\__2$, and Jill thought Jane's $\_\__1$ $\_\__2$, **father**$_1$ **was sick**$_2$.

⇒ We can discard three of the ATB-approaches based on island-sensitivity (backward ellipsis, *pro*-approach, sideward movement);
RNR: the facts convinced most researchers that no movement is involved

Overview

Restriction: a single overt antecedent

- recall: even in multiple fronting languages SCs can only have a single overt antecedent in SCs
- follows immediately in MD-approaches + sideward movement
- is potentially challenging for approaches that postulate several distinct chains since they need to explain why only one antecedent can be overt

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Single-individual reading

- Do the approaches derive the single-identity reading that is prominently associated with ATB/RNR?
  - yes, if only a single antecedent is postulated (as in MD-approaches, sideward movement)
  - potentially no, if several distinct extractees are postulated (as in most asymm. approaches) – why do they usually refer to the same entity?
  - see Wilder 1994; teVelde 2005 for possible solutions for the haplology reduction/CP-coordination+PF-deletion approaches;
    a chain composition mechanism ensures that all gaps are bound by the visibly extracted antecedent at LF in the empty OP-approach and for forward ellipsis (see the Appendix for details)
- on the other hand, MD-approaches + sideward movement have trouble deriving non-identity readings (see Lecture 1), which are unproblematic for approaches that postulate distinct wh-elements

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ATB head-movement

- heads can also undergo sharing, example: ATB-movement of the finite verb

  (10) Which article$_1$ **will**$_2$ [$_{\mathrm{TP}}$ [$_{\mathrm{TP}}$ John __$_2$ read __$_1$] and [$_{\mathrm{TP}}$ Mary __$_2$ file __$_1$]]$_?$

- Nunes (2004); Salzmann (2012): hard to model in the empty OP-approach: the null operator equivalent of heads has never been postulated
- also a problem for the *pro*-approach: a verb cannot be the antecedent of a pro-ΦP

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Proximity effects (verbal morphology)

- **observation**: if the conjuncts impose different morphological requirements on the shared verb, the result is grammatical when the verb fulfills the requirement of the closest conjunct = **proximity effect**

- **agreement**: ATB-head movement of the finite verb to C: the verb can agree with the subject of the 1st conjunct even when it mismatches the phi-features of 2nd conjunct; the reverse is impossible

(11) a. Who **does** he like and they hate?
b. *Who do he like(s) and they hate? (An 2006: 8-10)

(12) a. Was **hast**/*hat [du gekauft] und [Peter verkauft]?
what have.2SG/3SG you bought and Peter sold
'What did you buy and Peter sell?'
b. Was **hat**/*hast [Peter verkauft] und [du gekauft]?
what have.3SG/2SG Peter sold and you bought
"'What did Peter sell and you buy?" (German, Salzmann 2012: 8-10)

→ argument for asymmetric extraction from the closest conjunct in ATB

Proximity effects (verbal morphology)

- **verb status**:

(13) RNR in English (Bošković 2004: 15):

a. John will __*inf*, and Peter already has __*ptcp.pst*, **slept** in her house.
b. *John will __*inf*, and Peter already has __*ptcp.pst*, **sleep** in her house.

(14) ATB in German (Salzmann 2012: 405)

a. [$_{VP}$ Ein Buch wegwerfen / *weggeworfen] würde
a book throw.away.INF throw.away.PST.PRTCPL would
Maria nie __*inf*, aber hat Hans schon oft
Mary never but has John already often
Lit.: "Throw away a book Mary never would but John already often has."

b. Maria würde [ein Buch wegwerfen / *weggeworfen]
Maria would a book throw.away.INF throw.away.PST.PRTCPL
"Mary would throw away a book".

c. Hans hat schon oft [ein Buch *wegwerfen /
Johan has already often a book throw.away.INF
✓weggeworfen]
throw.away.PST.PRTCPL
"John has often throw away a book."

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Case mismatches

observation: in languages with morphological case, the gap sites in SCs must match in case (**no case mismatch** tolerated)

(15) a. dziewczyna, *którą / *której Janek lubi __ACC a
girl who.ACC / who.GEN Janek.NOM likes and
Jerzy nienawidzi __GEN
Jerzy.nom hates
'the girl who Janek likes and Jerzy hates' (Polish ATB, Dyła 1984: 703-4)

b. *[Die / den Bären] hat er __ACC geliebt
the.PL.ACC the.PL.DAT bear.PL.ACC/DAT has he loved
und __DAT geholfen
and helped
Lit.: "The bear he loved and helped." (German ATB, Blümel 2017: 127)

→ argument for symmetric extraction – the antecedent must match the cases assigned to the gaps in all conjuncts

Case mismatches

- however, two additional effects call into question a strict case matching requirement and thus the argument for symmetric approaches
- **syncretism effect**:
  different abstract cases are tolerated if the shared XP is syncretic for these cases (Franks 1993; 1995; Dyła 1984; Citko 2005; teVelde 2005)

(16) a. **Kogo** Jan nienawidzi __*GEN* a Maria lubi __*ACC*?
who.ACC/GEN Jan hates and Maria likes
'Whom does Jan hate and Maria like?' (Polish ATB, Citko 2005: 487)

b. **Bären** hat er __ACC geliebt und __DAT geholfen
bear.PL.ACC/DAT has he loved and helped
Lit.: "The bear he loved and helped." (German ATB, Blümel 2017: 127)

Case mismatches

(17) RNR in Russian (Asarina 2011: 174):

a. On ne ostavil __$_{ACC}$, tak kak emu nadoelo __$_{NOM}$ *tarelku / *tarelka s chërnoj kaëmkoj
he NEG kept as him sick.of plate.ACC plate.NOM with black border
'He didn't keep, as he was sick of, the plate with a black border.'

b. On ne ostavil __$_{ACC}$, tak kak emu nadoelo __$_{NOM}$ bljudce s krasnoj kaëmkoj
he NEG kept as him sick.of saucer.NOM/ACC with red border
'He didn't keep, as he was sick of, the saucer with a red border.'

Ibnbari (2014): even the snycretic form in (17-b) is not fully acceptable

→ **note**: the syncretism effect is a challenge given the T-/Y-model of grammar and a realizational model of morphology, see the Appendix for discussion and proposals from the literature

Case mismatches

- **proximity effect**:
  - mismatches are possible if the shared XP bears the case assigned to the (linearly) closest conjunct ; Ibnbari (2014) on Russian RNR and Larson (2013) on German RNR

(18) Polish RNR:

a. Maria kupiëa __Acc a Jan szuka __Gen, nowego samochodu
Maria bought and Jan looks.for new.GEN car.GEN

b. *Maria kupiëa __Acc a Jan szuka __Gen, nowy samochód
Maria bought and Jan looks.for new.ACC car.ACC
"Maria bought, and Jan is looking for, a new car." (Citko 2011: 75)

→ suggests that the case parallelism requirement is not so strong after all; this observation also weakens the argument for symmetric approaches

Case mismatches

proximity effects are claimed to be more acceptable with RNR than with ATB, see, e.g., Citko 2011 on Polish ATB and Salzmann (2012: 431f.) on German ATB (see (19))

(19) a. ?*Wen hat Peter __*Acc* unterstützt, aber Hans noch nie __*Dat*
who.ACC has Peter supported but Hans still never
geholfen
helped
'Who did Peter support but Hans never help?'

b. ?*Wem hat Hans __*Dat* geholfen, aber Peter noch nie __*Acc*
who.DAT has Hans helped but Peter still never
unterstützt
supported
'Who did Hans help but Peter never support?'

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Reconstruction effects (in ATB)

- Citko (2005): reconstruction for variable binding, idiom interpretation, strong crossover, and scope is symmetric (affects all conjuncts)

(20) Variable binding (see also Nissenbaum 2000):

a. **Which picture of his mother** did every Italian like and every Frenchman dislike?
b. ?**Which picture of his mother** did every Italian like and Mary dislike?
c. ?**Which picture of his mother** did Mary dislike and every Italian like?

(21) Idiom interpretation (*take a picture*):

a. **Which picture** did John take and Bill pose for?
b. **Which picture** did John pose for and Bill take?

(22) Strong cross-over:

a. ***Whose**$_i$ **mother** did we talk to and he$_i$ never visit?
b. ***Whose**$_i$ **mother** did he$_i$ never visit and we talk to?

→ follows in symmetric approaches where the antecedent is extracted from all conjuncts (MD–approach, fusion); requires an explanation in asymm. approaches

Reconstruction effects (in ATB)

- Reconstruction for Principles A & C and weak cross-over are asymmetric, however: can only target the 1st conjunct (Citko 2005)

(23) Principle A (see also Munn 1993):

a. *Which pictures of himself$_i$ did Mary sell and John$_i$ buy?
b. Which picture of himself$_i$ did John$_i$ sell and Mary buy?

(24) Principle C:

a. *Which picture of John$_i$ did he$_i$ like and Mary dislike?
b. Which picture of John$_i$ did Mary like and he$_i$ dislike?

(25) Weak cross-over (see also Munn 2001):

a. *Who$_i$ did his$_i$ boss fire and John hire?
b. Who$_i$ did John hire and his$_i$ boss fire?

→ follows from asymmetric approaches with extraction from the 1st conjunct, but not immediately from symmetric approaches and asymmetric ones with extraction from the 2nd conjunct

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NPI-licensing

- Larson (2014: 259): asymmetric NPI licensing in RNR: an NPI in the shared material can only be licensed by negation in the 2nd conjunct

(26) a. *Becky didn't buy __, and Bruce sold __, any books about trees.
b. Becky bought __, but Bruce didn't sell __, any books about trees.

→ follows if the shared XP is present/originates only in the right conjunct (as in the ellipsis approach), but not if it originates in both conjuncts (as in the movement and the MD-approach)

Overview

Multiple copy spell-out

- multiple copy spell-out in movement dependencies (evidence for successive-cyclic movement), e.g., in German long-distance wh-movement (see Fanselow and Mahajan 2000; Felser 2004)

(27) Copy spell-out in German:

a. **Wen** hat Maria gemeint, dass Peter __ gesehen hat?
who has Mary meant that Peter seen has

b. **Wen** hat Maria gemeint, **wen** Peter gesehen hat?
who has Mary meant who Peter seen has
'Who did Mary say that Peter saw?'

Multiple copy spell-out

- Felser (2003); Blümel (2014): wh-copying can apply across-the-board

(28) **Wen** hat Maria gemeint [$_{CP1}$ **wen** Peter gesehen hat] und [$_{CP2}$
who has Mary meant who Peter seen has and
wen Jens betrogen hat] ?
who Jens cheated.on has
'Who did Mary say that Peter saw and that Jens cheated on?'

- Blümel (2014) takes this as evidence for symmetric extraction, BUT:
  - the effect could also be derived by asymmetric extraction from the 1st conjunct if the antecedent of the chain in the 2nd conjunct is pronounced (at least as an optio)
  - does (28) still have the single-individual reading??
  - it is debated whether wh-copying in German is indeed evidence for successive-cyclic wh-movement to begin with (see Murphy 2016)

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No covert ATB

- Citko (2005) uses the absence of covert ATB-movement as an argument for her MD-approach
- recall: MD-structures cannot be linearized; solution: movement of the shared XP in the syntax (resolves the symmetry created by MD); this is then the input to PF, where linearization is determined
- covert (LF) movement of the shared XP cannot feed PF (according to the Y-model) and would thus be too late
- (note: this argument cannot be made based on MD-approaches to RNR, since no movement is requried to derive RNR)

No covert ATB

- evidence against covert ATB-movement:
  1. to express the typical single-individual reading in ATB, overt wh-movement must apply even in otherwise strict wh-in-situ languages (such as Korean, Japanese, Chinese)

(29) Chinese (Citko 2005: 489)

a. Zhangsan xihuan shenme ren Lisi taoyan shenme ren?
Zhangsan like which person Lisi hate which person
*'which person x, Zhangsan/John likes x and Lisi/Mary hates x'
✓which person x, Zhangsan/John likes x and which person y, Lisi/Mary hates y

b. Shenme ren Zhangsan xihuan Lisi taoyan?
which person Zhangsan like Lisi hate
✓'which person x, Zhangsan/John likes x and Lisi/Mary hates x'

No covert ATB

2. no covert ATB-QR, no wh-in-situ in English multiple questions (see also Bošković and Franks 2000):

(30) a. Every philosopher read *some paper* and every linguist reviewed *some paper*. ($\forall > \exists$, *$\exists > \forall$)

b. *Who said [that John bought *what*] and [that Peter sold *what*] ?

Overview

Arguments for ellipsis

- ellipsis (e.g., VP-ellipsis) allows for **morphological mismatches** and **Vehicle Change Effects (VCE)**
- both phenomena are found in ATB (Salzmann 2012) and RNR (Ha 2008; Barros and Vicente 2011)

→ argument that ellipsis applies in SCs

Arguments for ellipsis

1. Vehicle change (Fiengo and May 1994): ellipsis can 'repair' a Condition C violation; the R-expression in the ellipsis site can be replaced by a pronoun

(31) VCE (simplified version by Ha 2008: 77)
As long as indices remain constant, proper names and their pronominal correlates are considered equivalent

(32) VCE in VP ellipsis:

a. I hope that the boss won't fire Alice$_i$, but she$_i$ fears that he will [ ].

b. *I hope that the boss won't fire Alice$_i$, but she$_i$ fears that he will fire Alice$_i$.

c. ... but she$_i$ fears that he will [fire her$_i$].

Arguments for ellipsis

- VCE is also found with ATB and RNR:

(33) VCE in English RNR:

a. She$_i$ hopes that he won't [ ], but I fear that the boss will fire Alice$_i$. (Barros and Vicente 2011)

b. She$_i$ hopes that he won't [fire her$_i$], but ... ...

⇒ Barros and Vicente (2011): impossible to derive VCE under an MD approach: the shared material would contain the R-expression *Alice*, hence a condition C violation in the ellipsis site cannot be avoided

Arguments for ellipsis

- Salzmann's (2012) approach to ATB: asymmetric extraction from the first conjunct + ellipsis in the 2nd conjunct
- expectation: reconstruction is symmetric (see the Appendix for details); but reconstruction for Principle C (and A) is asymmetric

(34) a. *[Which picture of **John**$_i$] did [**he**$_i$ like __] and [Mary dislike __]?
b. [Which picture of John$_i$] did [Mary like __] and [**he**$_i$ dislike __]?

- explanation: this is due to vehicle change; the R-expression in the ellipsis site (2nd conjunct) can correspond to a pronoun

(35) [Which picture of John$_i$] did [Mary like ~~picture of John~~] and [**he**$_i$ dislike <~~picture of him$_i$~~>]?

Arguments for ellipsis

2. morphological mismatches in ellipsis:
   - **mismatches in verbal morphology:**

   (36) with VP ellipsis:
   a. Alice has **slept** in her office, but Bob will not [~~**sleep** in his office~~].
   b. Alice just **went** on vacation, and Bob is about to [~~**go** on vacation~~].

   (37) with RNR
   I usually don't [~~**wake** up early every day~~], but Alice **wakes** up early every day.

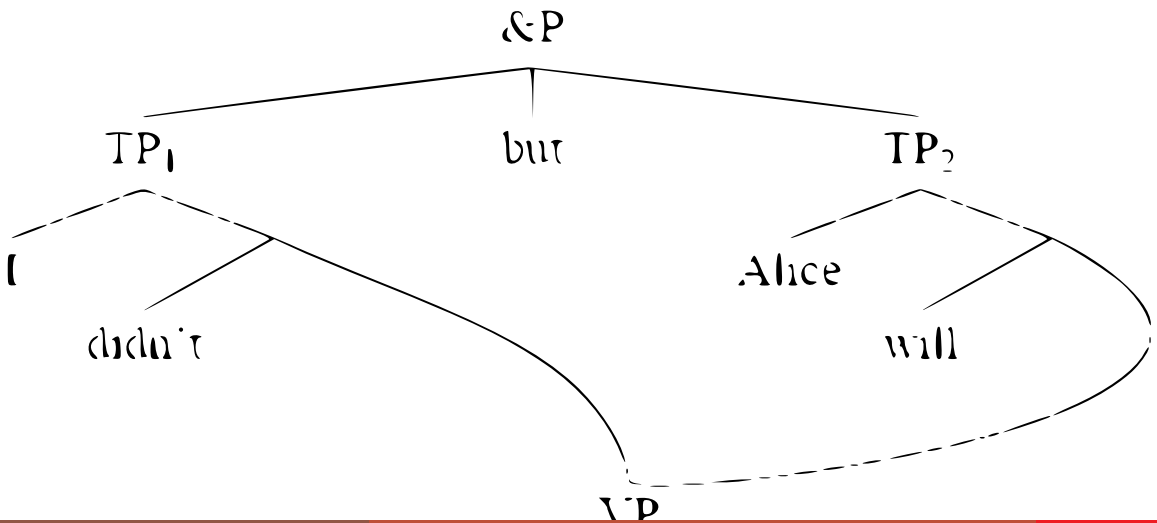
Arguments for ellipsis

- **sloppy readings**:

(38) with VP ellipsis:
John$_i$ likes his$_i$ car and Bill$_j$ does [$_{\text{VP}}$ ~~like his$_{i/j}$ car~~], too.

(39) with RNR:
I didn't [~~pass **my** math exam~~], but I'm sure that Alice will pass **her** math exam

⇒ Barros and Vicente (2011): the sloppy reading cannot be derived under an MD-approach to RNR: the morphological shape of the single occurrence of the XP cannot differ between conjuncts



Overview

Arguments for the movement approach to RNR (fusion)

- Postal (1998): **restrictions on Ā-movement** also hold for RNR
  e.g., the complement of some adjectives (*evil*, *nice*, *wonderful*) cannot undergo Ā-movement (Stowell 1981), this also holds in RNR

(41) a. *Of whom was that nice/wonderful?
b. *Who was that nice/wonderful of?

(42) Postal (1998: 132):

a. *That may have been wonderful, and probably was wonderful, of the person who I had just met in the park.
b. *That may have been wonderful of, and probably was wonderful of, the person who I had just met in the park.

Arguments for the movement approach to RNR (fusion)

- **scope** (Sabbagh 2007):
  a quantified XP that is shared in RNR can take scope over the coordination

  (43) Some nurse gave a flu-shot, and administered a blood-test, to every patient who was admitted last night to the ER.
  = [[∀x: patient x] [[∃y: nurse y] [y gave a flu-shot to x and administered a blood-test to x]]]

  (44) John knows [someone who speaks __], and Bill knows [someone who wants to learn __], every Germanic language. (∃ > ∀, ∀ > ∃)

- Crucially, a quantifier contained within an island cannot take scope out of the island (Sabbagh (2007: 366f.).

  (45) Josh knows someone who speaks every Germanic language.
  (∃ > ∀, *∀ > ∃)

Arguments for the movement approach to RNR (fusion)

- the scope facts challenge ellipsis approaches since the underlying structure does not allow a wide-scope reading (for neither of the Q-NPs):

  (46) Some nurse gave a flu shot to every patient and administered a blood test for every patient. *$\forall > \exists$, $\exists > \forall$

- see Bachrach and Katzir (2007); Ha (2008) for a reanalysis of the scope facts that does not require movement of the shared XP, and Sabbagh (2014) for a critique
- Sabbagh (2007) provides another argument for a movement derivation of RNR from Antecedent Contained Deletion

Overview

Arguments for MD-approaches to RNR

1 cumulative agreement:

Grosz (2015): when the finite verb is part of the shared XP in RNR, we get cumulative agreement (plural agreement with sg-subjects in each conjunct)

(47) Alice is proud that Beatrix [ ], and Claire is happy that Diana [ ], **have**/*has travelled to Cameroon.

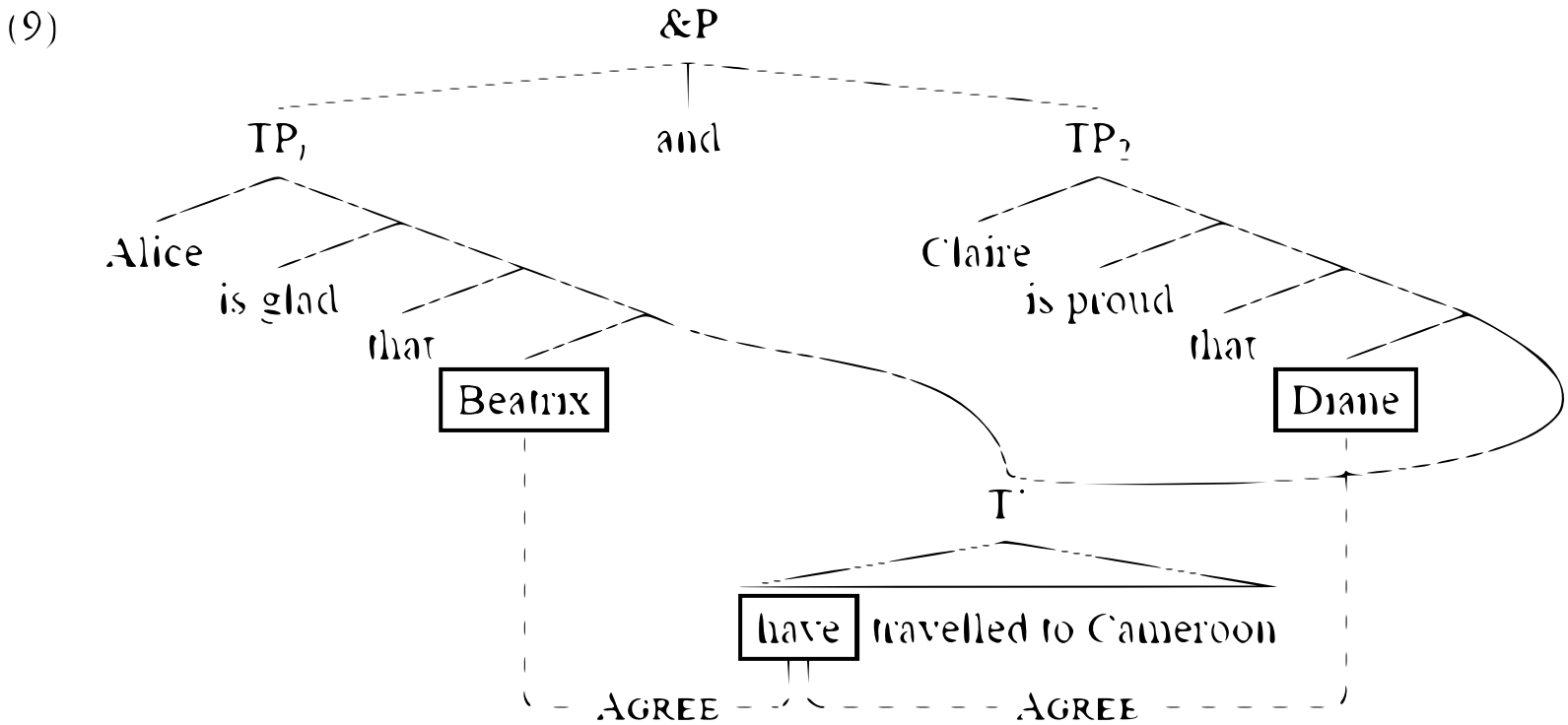
→ in an ellipsis approach we would expect singular agreement (as in (47-b))

(48) Alice is proud that Beatrix *have/✓has travelled to Cameroon, and Claire is happy that Diana *have/✓has travelled to Cameroon

analysis proposed by Grosz: a single shared T-head agrees simultaneously with both singular subjects (copies back indices), see (49) (and Belk et al. 2021 for an alternative)

Arguments for MD-approaches to RNR

(49) Barros and Vicente (2011: 4)



- note: cumulative agreement does not seem to be an option in ATB

(50) When has/*have [Susan __$_{aux}$ seen such chaos] and [Helga __$_{aux}$ heard such cacophony]? Belk et al. (2021: 15)

Arguments for MD-approaches to RNR

2. internal readings of adjectives (Barros and Vicente 2011: 7):
   - relational adjectives like *same*, *different*, or *similar* have two readings: external and internal

     (51) Alice and Beatrix read different gothic novels.
     a. internal reading: Alice's novels are different from Beatrix's.
     b. external reading: Alice and Beatrix's novels are different from some contextually salient novels.

   - external reading: always available, internal reading: only possible if the adjective can scope over a distributive quantifier or a distributively interpreted plurality

     (52) a. Alice read different novels. [*internal/✓external]
     b. Each girl read different novels. [✓internal/✓external]
     c. The girls read different novels. [✓internal/✓external]

Arguments for MD-approaches to RNR

- Jackendoff (1977): a relational adjective contained in an RNR-ed string can have the internal reading even if neither conjunct contains a distributive quantifier or a plurality

  (53) Alice composed [ ], and Beatrix performed [ ], different songs.

  [✓internal]

→ compatible with a (symmetric) movement analysis and an MD-approach (see Bachrach and Katzir 2009; 2017

- these facts are incompatible with an ellipsis approach, since the source structure does not have the internal reading:

  (54) Alice composed different songs, and Beatrix performed different songs.

  [*internal]

Summary

- symmetric approaches to ATB:
  - the gaps are created equal, predict that the antecedent relates to all gaps in the same way → symmetric behaviour
  - fulfill the CSC
  - capture the single-identity reading
- asymmetric approaches to ATB:
  - the gaps are not created equal, we expect that the antecedent only relates to one of the gaps → asymmetric behaviour
  - may potentially be in conflict with the CSC (unless it is defined as a representational LF-constraint)
  - may have problems with the single-identity reading
- main question in the RNR literature:
  - movement: yes or no
  - if no: can we decide between ellipsis and MD?

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