

Movement and Agreement in Right-Node-Raising Constructions by Grosz 2015

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Proposal

Summative agreement can be accounted for by a multidominance approach with multiple sharing of individual nodes

1 Introduction

Right-Node Raising

- Coordinate constructions where a sentence-peripheral element behaves as though it were part of both conjuncts.
- The element of a coordination which is 'shared', 'elided' or 'moved' and located on the right periphery of the clause.

- (1) [John buys __, and Mary burns __], **books about syntax**.
 = John buys book about syntax, and Mary burns books about syntax.

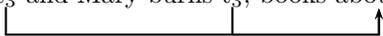
3 main approaches:

Backward-deletion, ATB-movement and multidominance

1 Backward-deletion

- (2) [John buys ~~books about syntax~~], and [Mary burns **books about syntax**].

2 ATB-movement

- (3) John buys t_3 and Mary burns t_3 ; books about syntax₃.
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3 Multidominance

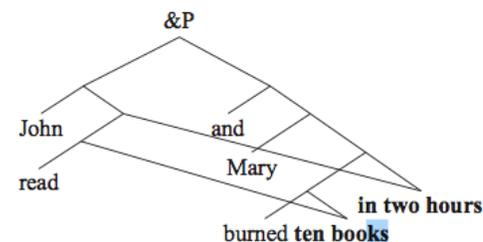


Figure 1:

Movement across shared material

Two elements have moved from a position that is flanked by shared material into distinct positions that are flanked by unshared material.

A-movement: Evidence of movement in RNR: scope reconstruction of the indefinite subject below the predicate *likely*

- (4) [CNN claims that *some man*₃__] and [the BBC argues that *some woman*₇__] **is likely to be assassinated** $t_{3/7}$ **by the serial killer**.

How would a movement analysis of (4) look like?

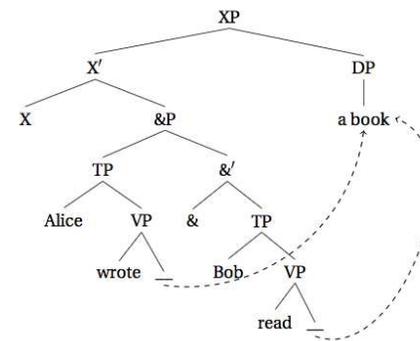


Figure 2: Barros & Vicente (2011)

A-bar movement: Evidence from floating quantifier in Austrian German: A-bar movement of *wem* followed by stranding of the quantifier *aller*.

- (5) [Der Otto hat gefragt, *wem*₃ die Susi__] und [der Hans hat gefragt, *wem*₇ die Maria__] **den Hund** [$t_{3/7}$ aller] **gezeigt hat**.

How can structures such as (4) and (5) be best accounted for?

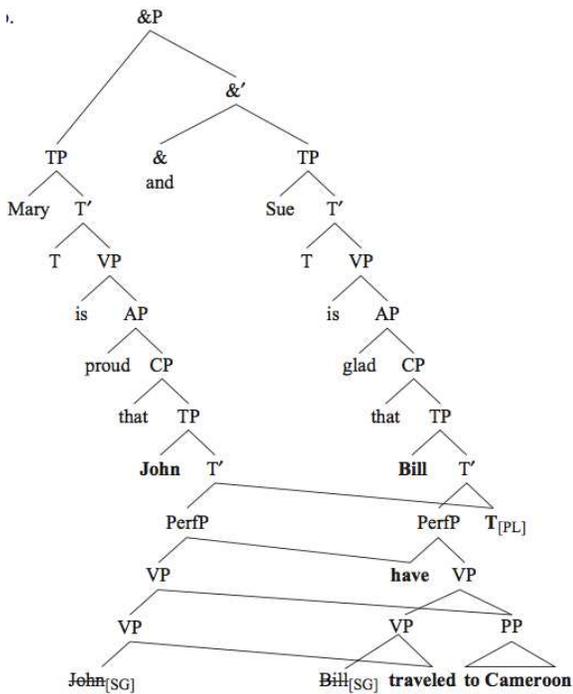


Figure 5:

Anticollectivity

- Collective predicates not licensed in RNR constructions (=anticollectivity)
–Why is (7) grammatical and (11-a) not?

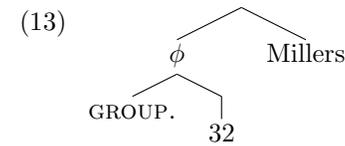
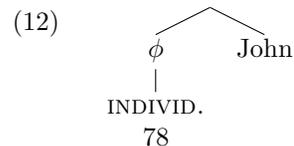
- (11) a. *[Sue's proud that *Bill*₃__] and Mary's glad that *John*₇__] **have finally** *t*_{3/7} **met**
b. Sue's proud that Bill and John have finally met.

→ Collective predicates are interpreted in each conjunct → cannot be licensed by singular entities

Agreement mechanism:

- The respective DPs are assigned a referential feature represented with a numerical index
- These two referential features are then copied onto the same functional head (T⁰) → Spell out = Plural
- Features are assumed to be privative: Only one referential feature per entity/constituent

- A plural entity has a hierarchically structured feature bundle (referential feature + group feature)



- (14) Number agreement
- If the INDIVIDUATION node in the ϕ -feature bundle on an agreeing head is branching, the spell-out of the feature bundle will be specified as *plural*
 - If the INDIVIDUATION node in the ϕ -feature bundle on an agreeing head is non-branching, spell-out will yield *singular*

Summative agreement:

- A head copies all ϕ -features if it agrees with
- Two agreement triggers
- Distinct referential features results in a branching INDIVIDUATION node → plural spell out

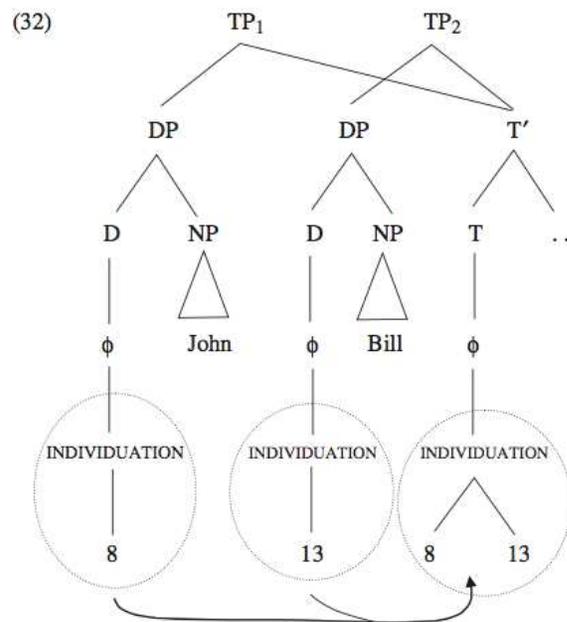


Figure 6:

- SG agreement: Verb agrees with 2 DPs of **same referential feature**
- PL agreement: Verb agrees with 2 DPs of **distinct referential features**

- (15) a. $[[_{DP} \text{A great man}_7]$ and $[_{DP} \text{the best magician in New Jersey}_7]]$ **has** passed away.
 b. $[[_{DP} \text{A great man}_3]$ and $[_{DP} \text{the best magician in New Jersey}_7]]$ **have** passed away. (Hoeksema 1998:36, Winter 2000:15)

Agreement controlling DPs must be referentially distinct to trigger summative agreement

- (16) a. [The pilot claimed that the first nurse₃], and [the sailor proved that the second nurse₇] **has/have traveled to China.**
 b. [The pilot claimed that the nurse from United States₃], and [the sailor also claimed that the nurse from the United States₃] **has/*have traveled to China.**

4 Alternative analyses

- (17) **Backward deletion**
 [Mary is proud that *John* ~~have traveled t_{JOHN} to Cameroon~~] and [Sue is glad that *Bill* **have traveled t_{BILL} to Cameroon**]

Problems:

- No account for summative agreement
- Undeleted agreeing head is expected to agree with the subject in its specifier → SG agreement expected

- (18) **Non-multidominance ATB-movement**
 a. [Mary is proud that *John* **T have traveled t_{JOHN} to Cameroon**] and [Sue is glad that *Bill* **T have traveled t_{BILL} to Cameroon**]
 b. [[[Mary is proud that *John* t_{XP}] and [Sue is glad that *Bill* t_{XP}]]
 $[_{XP} \text{T have traveled } x \text{ to Cameroon}]$]

Problems:

- How does summative agreement arise?
- Freezing effects are predicted with ATB-movement

Freezing: a constituent becomes an island for extraction when it has been moved and is frozen for extraction in its derived domain (Corver 2006)

- (19) [CNN claims that *some man*₃] and [the BBC argues that *some woman*₇] **is likely to be assassinated $t_{3/7}$ by the serial killer.**

The optionality of summative agreement

How to account for languages which ban summative agreement?

5 Summary

- Summative agreement in RNR constructions pose a challenge to Ellipsis and ATB-movement analyses
- A multidominance analysis with multiple sharing of individual nodes was proposed
- Summative agreement is plural ϕ -agreement between a shared functional head (T) and two unshared SG DPs
- The unshared DPs must be referentially disjoint to trigger PL agreement
- Implication: Referentiality is connected with number agreement

6 Appendix: Quantifiers and Referentiality

Quantifiers in (20) are non-referential and cannot bear referential features. Embedded subjects with quantifiers marked for singular trigger singular agreement (plural marked ones trigger plural agreement)

- (20) a. [The pilot claimed that *every nurse*], and [the sailor proved that *every doctor*], **has/?*have traveled to China.**
 b. [The pilot claimed that *no nurse*], and [the sailor proved that *no doctor*], **has/??have traveled to China.**

→ The INDIVIDUATION node remains nonbranching

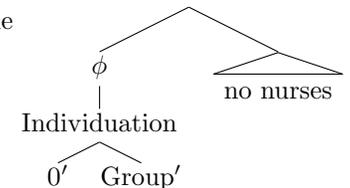
- How to account for PL agreement in (21)?

- (21) [The pilot claimed that *no nurses*], and [the sailor proved that *no doctors*], **have/*has traveled to China.**

Grosz's proposal:

- PL on a non-Group-denoting plural DP is represented as a strictly formal complex INDIVIDUATION node which is copied onto the verb (22)
- Semantic vacuous ϕ -features can override referential features

(22) Purely formal complex INDIVIDUATION node



References

Corver, N. (2006) Freezing Effects, in *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax* (eds M. Everaert and H. van Riemsdijk), Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA, USA. *Grosz (2015) *Movement and agreement in Right-Node-Raising constructions*. *Syntax* (18:1). John Wiley & Sons