University of Leipzig, Department of Linguistics
## SS2015 – module 04-046-2011/IGRA08
Sharing constructions

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Introduction

1   The challenge posed by sharing constructions

(1) a.   Which book does John like __ and Mary dislike __?   ATB
     b.   John likes __ and Mary dislikes __ the book about Bismarck.   RNR
     c.   Which book did John file __ without reading __?   PG

- observation: a filler seems to be related to two gaps
- standard strategy to analyze filler-gap dependencies: movement
- problem: Given the copy-theory of movement and the extension condition, there should always be a 1:1-relationship between filler and gap with the filler c-commanding the gap; in the case at hand, it seems that 2 XPs would have to coalesce during the derivation
- early solutions (1960ies): construction-specific rules (a different rule for each construction)
- possible modern solutions
  - literal sharing = multidominance: Goodall (1987), Moltmann (1992), Citko (2005)

(2)

1
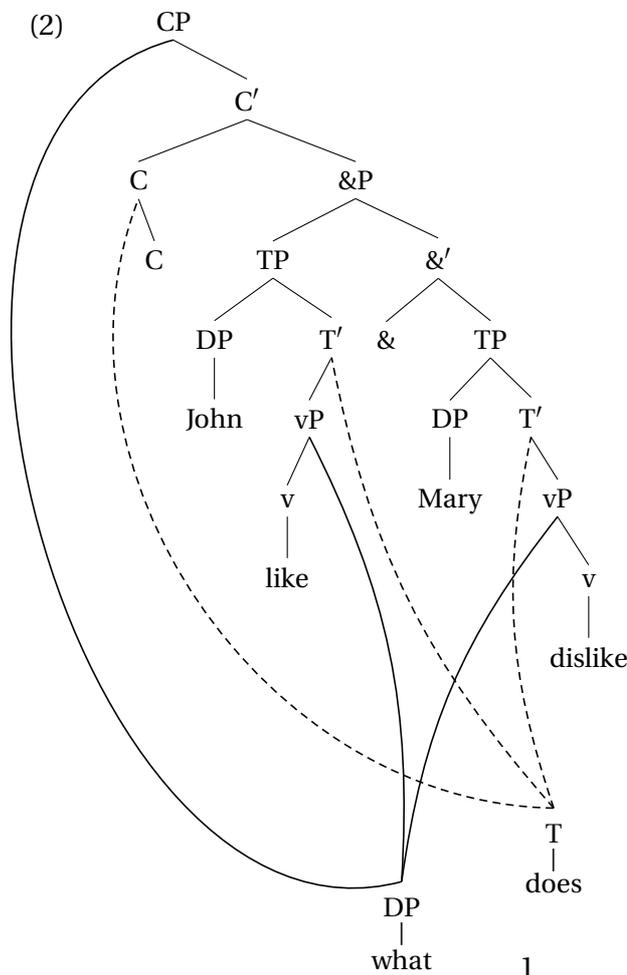
   – ellipsis: 2 independent movement steps and one XP is phonetically deleted:

(3)   Which book$_1$ does John like __$_1$ and ~~Which book$_2$ does~~ Mary dislike __$_2$?

   – sideward movement: Nunes (2001): movement to an unconnected phrase marker:

(4)   a.   [Mary dislike [which book]]   b.   like [which book]

         └── sideward movement ──↑

(5)   [$_{CP}$ Which book$_1$ did [$_{\&P}$ [$_{TP}$ John like ~~which book$_T$~~] and [$_{TP}$ Mary dislike ~~which book$_T$~~]]]?

        └── asymmetric extraction ──┘
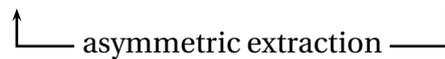
- what are possible diagnostics to choose between the 3 theories?
  - movement: locality (de Vries 2013: 157):

(6)   Anne knows a girl that BOUGHT __ and Mike (knows) a boy that STOLE, *a book about Plato*

  - ellipsis: mismatches (morphological, semantic, see Barros and Vicente 2011: 25):

(7)   Alice won't __ but Bob already has negotiated his salary with the boss. (*her*/*his*)

  - multidominance: single-identity interpretation + matching effects (case matching, see Citko 2005: 487):

(8)   Kogo$_{acc/gen}$ [Jan nienawidzi __$_{acc}$] i   [Maria lubi __$_{gen}$]?
        who   John hates   and Mary likes
        'Who does John like and Mary hate?'   *Polish*

2 Analytical issues

2.1 General issues

- Is there a single mechanism for sharing or do we need several technical devices for the different constructions?
- Can some of the constructions be unified, e.g., ATB in terms of PGs, see Munn (1993) or PGs in terms of ATB, see Williams (1987)?
- Does a particular construction involve just one mechanism or can it be the surface result of different derivations? see Barros and Vicente (2011) on RNR
- Are all gaps created equal in multiple gap-constructions or are there asymmetries?
- What are the (empirical) differences between sideward movement and multidominance?
- To what extent can we avoid construction-specific assumptions? E.g. S-Structure-licensing for parasitic gaps or why is RNR always 'backward deletion' and never 'forward deletion', e.g.

(9)   *John likes [the book about Bismarck] and Mary dislikes __.

2.2 Issues related to multidominance

- How can multidominance-structures be linearized given that there is no asymmetry between a shared object and e.g. 2 verbs? Some argue that multidominance requires asymmetry at some point (e.g. Citko 2005) → cannot handle RNR; others claim that this is not necessary and that the linearization in RNR is automatic, see Bachrach and Kazir (2009), Gračanin-Yuksek (2013)

- Which principles of syntactic theory do we need to modify under a multi-dominance approach? Case assignment, theta-roles, locality, successive-cyclic movement, structure building? And if yes, how? See Bachrach and Kazir (2009), de Vries (2013)
- Can multi-dominance for sharing be unified with multidominance accounts of movement (= remerge)? Can the differences between these be two captured in a systematic way: Unlimited numbers of theta roles/Cases in sideward sharing but only one in upward sharing = remerge, no locality restrictions in sideward sharing but in upward sharing?

3   More specific challenges

- Parasitic Gaps: can be embedded in exactly one strong island:

    (10)   a.   Which book did you file [without reading __]?
            b.   *Which book did you file [without knowing [the author who wrote __]]?

    – Are not licensed by antecedents in A-positions, have to be licensed in overt syntax:

        (11)   a.   *Which house was sold [before we could demolish __]?
                b.   *Who filed which book [without reading __]?

- gapping

    (12)   John reads books and Mary ~~reads~~ magazines.

    – gapping can affect several verbal elements and also non-verbal elements:

        (13)   Some have served mussels to Sue and others ~~have served~~ swordfish ~~to Sue~~

    – non-constituent deletion?

- determiner sharing

    (14)   The duck is dry and ~~the~~ mussels ~~are~~ tough.

    – only possible in coordination and seems to be parasitic on gapping:

        (15)   a.   *Henry VIII gave too many wives ~~too many~~ presents.
                b.   *The duck is dry and ~~the~~ mussels are tough.

- Coordinated wh-phrases

    (16)   What and when did Dana eat?

    – in some languages (such as English) only with adjuncts and optional arguments, in others also with obligatory arguments:

        (17)   Co   i   komu Jan dał?
                what and whom Jan gave
                lit. 'What and to whom did Jan give?'   *Polish*

    – mono-clausal or bi-clausal base?

- amalgams

    (18)   a.   John invited [you'll never guess how many people] to his party.
            b.   John is going to [I think it's Chicago] on Sunday.

    – combination of two incomplete clauses

- no obvious relationship between the matrix clause and the interrupting clause – except for the shared constituent
- the interrupting clause is not visible to the matrix – apart from the shared constituent:

(19)   a.   He$_i$ had been kissing, [the professor$_i$ finally admitted it was Bea]

          b. *He$_i$ cited [I think it was the professor$_i$] primarily.

4   Content of the papers

- Nunes (2001): A sideward movement analysis of PGs
- Assmann (2012): An alternative approach to PGs where a constituent is fissioned pre-syntactically and fused later in the derivation
- Citko (2005): A multidominance-approach to ATB capitalizing on identity effects
- Salzmann (2012): An ellipsis approach to ATB capitalizing on mismatches
- Barros and Vicente (2011): Argue that one needs both ellipsis and multi-dominance to capture all types of RNR; Larson (2012) provides counter-examples
- Grosz (2015): Argues that cumulative agreement in RNR is evidence for multidominance:

(20)   Alice is proud that Beatrix __ and Claire is happy that Diana {✓ have/*has} travelled to Cameroon

- Lipták (2012): Provides a typology of coordinated-wh-questions and argues that one needs bi-clausal and mono-clausal structures as well as ellipsis and sharing (= multidominance) approaches
- Johnson (2009): Argues that gapping involves VP-ATB-mvt, Vicente (2010) points out serious shortcomings
- Ackema and Szendrői (2002): Argue that Determiner Sharing is a case of dependent ellipsis = ellipsis that is licensed through a zero head (= gapped head) in coordination
- Kluck (2014): argues that amalgams are sluiced anchored parentheticals
- Bachrach and Kazir (2009), de Vries (2013), Gračanin-Yuksek (2013): different aspects of locality and linearization in MD-structures

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