

2 Against movement approaches

- obvious problem: RNR is not island-sensitive, cf. (de Vries 2013: 157):
 - (5) Anne knows a girl that BOUGHT __ and Mike (knows) a boy that STOLE, *a book about Plato*
- violation of constraint against P-stranding:
 - (6) a. Peter stimmte für __ und Hans stimmte gegen **Maria**.
Peter voted for __ and John voted against Mary
'Peter voted for and John voted against Mary.'
 - b. *Wen hat Peter gegen __ gestimmt?
Whom has Peter against __ voted
'Who did Peter vote against?'
- violations of the Right Edge Restriction (the RNRed constituent is in its base-position)
 - (7) a. A Monroe County man, convicted yesterday of raping __, beating __, and stuffing **a 7-year-old girl** *into an abandoned well*, could be executed by lethal injection.
 - b. The blast upended __ and nearly sliced **an armored Chevrolet Suburban** *in half*
- can affect constituents that normally cannot move:
 - (8) a. John owns 3 __ and Mary owns 5 **books about syntax**.
 - b. *Books about syntax, John owns 3 __.
- given the linearization algorithm of Bachrach and Kazir (2009) and Gračanin-Yuksek (2013), movement is no longer needed to derive the surface order with the RNR-ed constituent in right-peripheral position, but can also follow under multi-dominance (and, of course, ellipsis, which also avoids a linearization clash).

3 Evidence for sharing: Internal readings of relational adjectives

- *same, different, similar* etc. have 2 readings:
 - (9) Alice and Bob read different novels.
 - a. internal: Alice's novel is different from Bob's.
 - b. external: the novel that Alice and Bob read differ in some relevant respect from some contextually salient set of novels
 - the external reading is always available
 - the internal reading is only available when the nominal containing the relational Adj can take scope over either a distributive quantifier or a distributively interpreted plurality
 - (10) a. Alice read different novels. [**internal, ok external*]
 - b. Each girl read different novels. [*ok internal, ok external*]
 - c. The girls read different novels. [*ok internal, ok external*]

- crucial observation: a relational adj within the RNRed constituent can have the internal reading even if neither conjunct contains a distributive quantifier:

(11) Alice composed __ and Bob performed **different songs**. [ok internal]

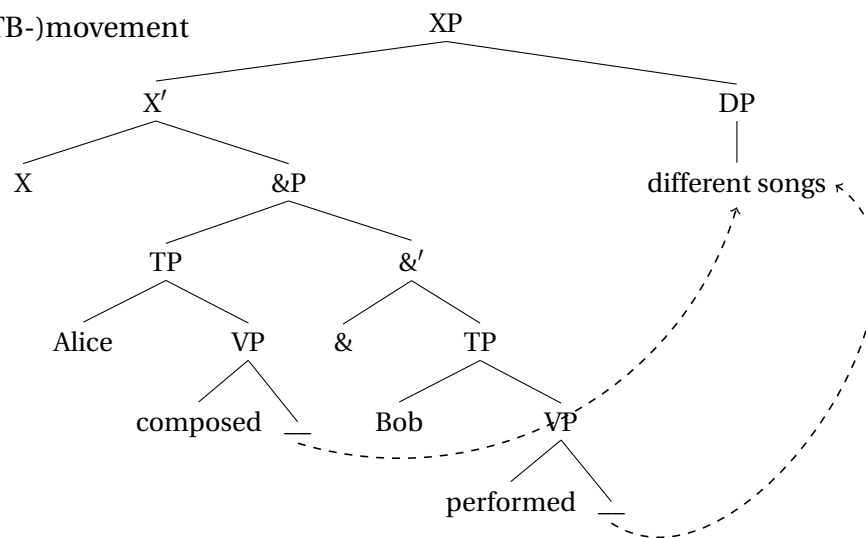
- possible explanation: entire coordination qualifies as a plurality → reading can be derived if RNRed constituent takes scope over (= c-commands) the coordination

→ rules out ellipsis: no-command; putative basis of (11) in (12-a) does not have the internal reading, just like VP-ellipsis in (12-b)

(12) a. Alice composed two quite different songs, and Bob performed two quite different songs. [*internal]
 b. Alice composed two quite different songs, and Bob did too. [*internal]

- at first sight, a rightward mvt account seems to work for (11):

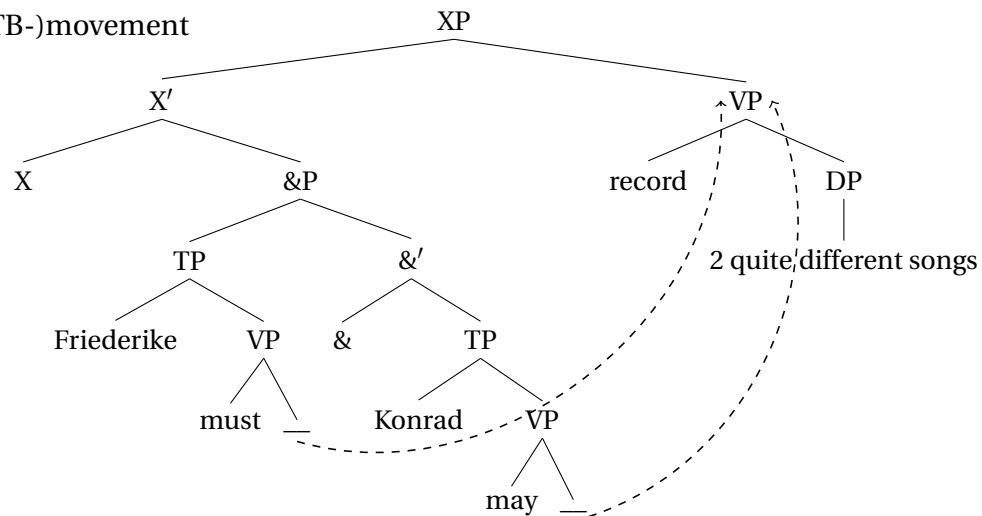
(13) (ATB-)movement



- VP-RNR with an internal reading shows that a mvt analysis alone is not sufficient:

(14) John says that Friederike must __, and that Konrad may **record two quite different songs** [ok internal]

(15) (ATB-)movement



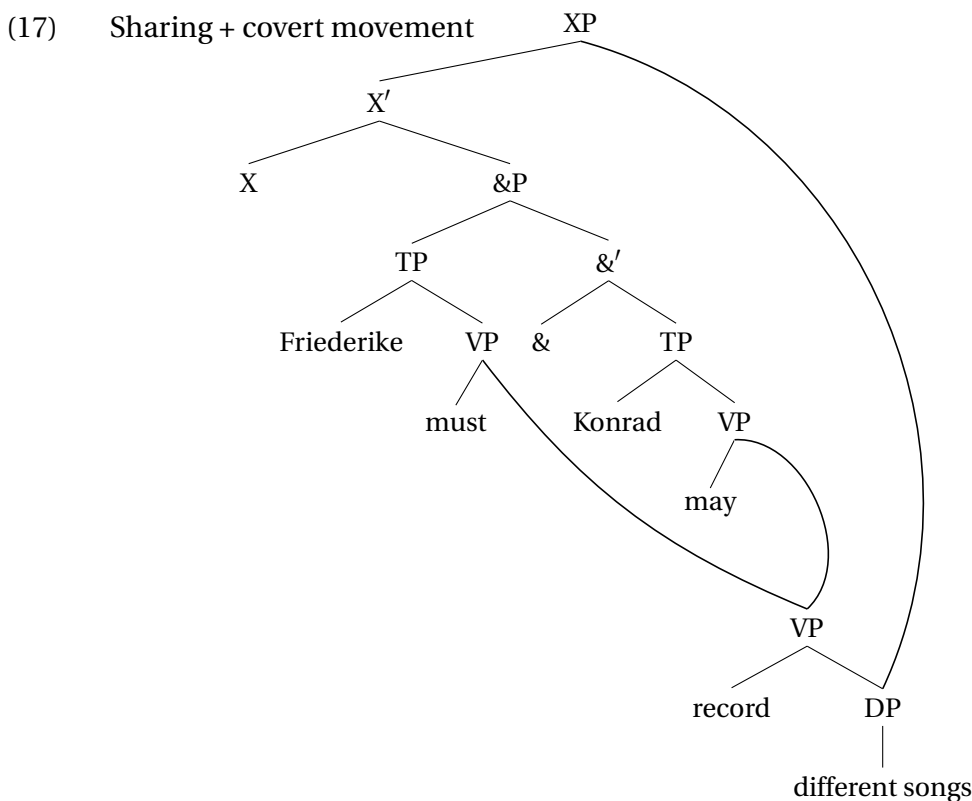
- DP is embedded within VP → one needs an additional mvt step for DP to c-command &P
- internal reading of (14) and arguably also (11) doesn't depend on RNR being derived by mvt
- movement out of the displaced VP would violate the CED

- evidence against the movement analysis of RNR: internal readings are island-sensitive (while RNR itself is not):

(16) I wonder when Konrad wrote __ and you would like to know when Friederike recorded **two quite different songs**. [**internal*]

- it would be unexpected if RNR were suddenly island sensitive here
- arguably, it is the additional mvt step out of the coordination that is island sensitive

- correct analysis of VP-RNR: VP-sharing + separate mvt of the DP:



4 Evidence for ellipsis: mismatches

- well-established fact: ellipsis does not require morphosyntactic identity (but rather some sort of semantic parallelism)
- argument: if we find the same kind of morphosyntactic mismatches in RNR as in well-studied cases of ellipsis → RNR involves ellipsis

4.1 Morphological mismatches

- ϕ - and tense mismatches

- VP-ellipsis:

- (18) a. Alice won't negotiate her salary with the company, but Bob already has.
[= ... but Bob already has *negotiated his* salary with the company.]
- b. I have already chosen my dissertation topic, but Alice still has to.
[= ... but Alice still has to *choose her* dissertation topic.]

- RNR:

- (19) a. Alice won't __ but Bob already has negotiated his salary with the company.
- b. I already have __ but Alice still has to choose her dissertation topic.

4.2 Vehicle Change effects

- ellipsis repairs a Condition C violation:
 - (20) a. *I hope that the boss won't fire Alice_i, but she_i fears that he will fire Alice_i.
 - b. I hope that the boss won't fire Alice_i, but she_i fears that he will.
- a morphosyntactic mismatch: the ellipsis site contains the pronoun *her*
 - (21) I hope that the boss won't fire Alice_i, but she_i fears that he will [~~fire her~~].
- VC-effect in RNR:
 - (22) a. *I hope that the boss won't fire Alice_i, but she_i fears that he will fire Alice_i.
 - b. She_i hopes that he won't __, but I fear that the boss will fire Alice_i.

4.3 Implications

- why this argues against multidominance and movement:
 - movement involves copying so that no mismatches are expected (cf. Salzmann 2012 on mismatches in ATB-mvt)
 - multidominance involves sharing of one element so that one expects no mismatches either (at least no morphosyntactic mismatches or vehicle change effects – cf. Citko 2005 on ATB-mvt)

5 Arguments for the eclectic hypothesis

- ellipsis and multidominance are necessarily in complementary distribution as fundamentally different mechanisms are involved.
- this predicts that we shouldn't be able to construct examples that show evidence for both structural analyses at the same time

5.1 Morphological mismatches vs. relational adjectives

- (23) *No relational adj, morphological mismatch ok*
Alice has __, and Beatrix wants to **work on BT**.
- (24) *No morphological mismatch, internal reading ok*
Alice must __ and Beatrix should **work on different topics**
- (25) *Morphological mismatch blocks internal reading*
Alice has __ and Beatrix wants to **work on different topics**. [*internal]

5.2 Vehicle change vs. relational adjectives

- (26) *No internal reading, Vehicle Change o.k*
She_i thinks that he must __, but Bob fears that he won't **come up with a topic that satisfies Alice_i**.
- (27) *No Vehicle change, internal reading o.k*
Alice absolutely must __ and Beatrix is obliged to **come up with different topics**.
- (28) *Either VC or internal reading blocked*
She_i absolutely must __ and Bob is obliged to **present different topics to Alice's_i supervisor**.

6 Division of labor

(29) *Division of labor in English RNR*

RNR can always be derived by multidomination; additionally, it can also be alternatively derived via backward ellipsis if the corresponding type of forward ellipsis exists.

- prediction: ellipsis-effects only with VP-RNR but not with DP-RNR:

(30) Alice passed __ but Bob_i failed his_i calculus exam.

(≠ Alice_j passed her_j calculus exam)

facts correct???

(31) *She_i fears that he will fire __ but I hope that the boss will reward Alice_i. really?

- TP-RNR: sometimes evidence for ellipsis: mismatches

(32) a. Alice wonders how many articles _ and Bob wants to know how many book chapters **he needs to publish to get tenure.**

(= Alice wonders how many articles she needs to publish to get tenure)

b. He_i has told me which shirt __ but I wanted to know which tie **Bob_i is going to wear to his wedding.**

- TP-RNR under multidomination: no ellipsis source:

(33) a. It is not clear if __ or when **the police will evict the squatters.**

b. *It is not clear when the police will evict the squatters. In fact, it is not even clear if.

7 Discussion

- Why should RNR derived by ellipsis share surface properties with RNR derived by multidomination (right edge restriction)?
- What does the acceptability of the following example imply?

(34) Peter hat schon __, aber Maria wird erst noch den neuen Potterroman lesen.

Peter has already but Mary will still the new potternovel read.INF

'Peter already has, but Mary will read the new Potter novel.'

- Which derivation underlies the following RNR-example (acceptability not indicated)?

(35) dass Peter einen Apfel __ und seine Eltern eine Banane assen.

that Peter an apple 3s and his parents a Banana ate.3P

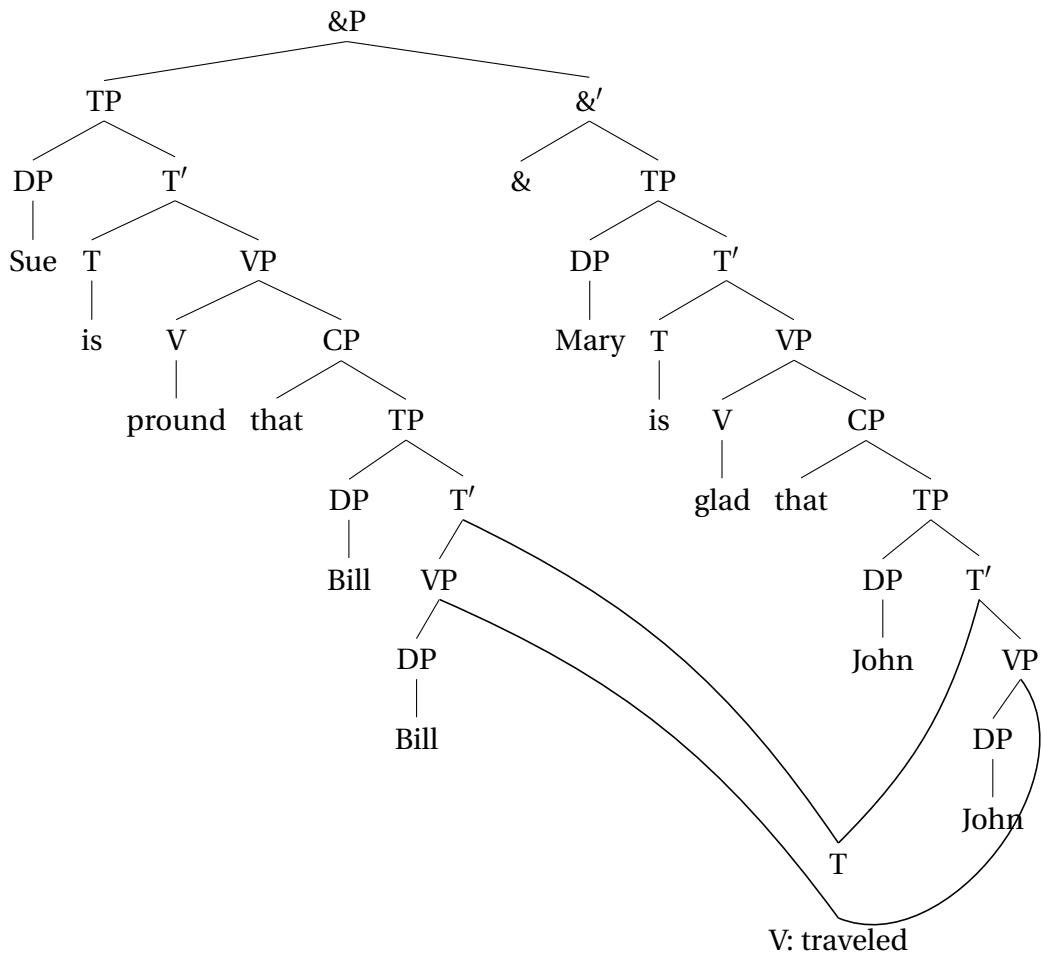
'that Peter ate an appel and his parents a banana'

- VP-RNR: What about the theta-roles of the subjects? → Does this imply a different structure? If yes, which?

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