

University of Leipzig, Department of Linguistics
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Sharing constructions

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Kluck (2014): Amalgams

- the challenge:
 - (1) a. John invited [you'll never guess how many people] to the party.
b. John is going to [I think it's Chicago] on Sunday.
 - There is an interrupting clause (IC) which does not fit into the matrix clause
 - matrix clause is missing a constituent → incomplete without the interrupting clause
 - content kernel: material that seems to be shared between matrix clause and interrupting clause
 - content kernel need not be DP:
 - (2) a [you'll never guess how tall] woman
 - how can grammar combine two clauses in this way?
- proposal: amalgams are a variant of sluiced parentheticals:
 - (3) John invited e [you'll never guess [how many people]₁ ~~John invited~~ _____ ~~to the party~~] to the party.

1 Structural independence of the IC

- IC is not some special embedded subordinate clause but rather an independent root clause:
 - independent illocution (different from matrix clause):
 - (4) a. John is going to – [is it Chicago?] on Saturday.
b. Sammy's going to marry – [guess who!] next year.
 - IC can be introduced by speaker-oriented adverbs
 - (5) a. The professor was kissing [indeed, you can imagine who] in an alley
b. The professor was kissing [frankly, I believe it was one of his students] in an alley. vs.
 - (6) *I think that indeed you should not have done this.
- IC allows for V2:
 - (7) Asia hat [du **glaubst** nie wieviele Kekse] gemampft.
Asia has you believe never how many cookies munched
'Asia munched [you'll never believe how many cookies].'

2 Partial opacity of the IC

2.1 The IC is invisible to the matrix clause

- if the IC is an independent root clause, dependencies such as binding between matrix and IC clause should be impossible, just like between two coordinated sentences:
 - variable binding
 - (8) a. *No professor_i is allowed to cite [his_i boss says it's NASA reports] in his papers.
 - b. *No professor_i is allowed to cite Nasa reports in his papers. His_i boss says that this is forbidden.
 - c. No professor_i is allowed to cite reports that his_i boss forbids him to cite.
 - Principle C
 - (9) a. He_i had been kissing [the professor_i finally admitted it was Bea].
 - b. He_i had been kissing someone. The professor_i admitted it was Bea.
 - c. *He_i admitted that the professor_i kissed Bea.

2.2 The content kernel is accessible

- variable binding:
 - (10) No professor_i believed the gossip about [I think it was his_i mistress in particular]
- anaphor binding:
 - (11) Die Katze_i jagte [ich vermute, dass es ein Schatten von sich_i (selbst) war]
 the cat chased I suspect that it a shadow of self EMPH was
 'The cat was chasing I suspect it was a shadow of itself.'
- Principle B
 - (12) *The professor_i cites [I think it was him_i] primarily.
- Principle C:
 - (13) *He_i cited [I think it was the professor_i] primarily.

3 Amalgams involve sluicing

- basic idea: the IC involves sluicing of TP/CP
 - (14) John invited e [you'll never guess [how many people]₁ ~~John invited~~ — ~~to the party~~]
 to the party.
- argument for sluicing: the IC is not a complete clause; it contains classical sluicing remnants:
 - (15) a. *You'll never guess who.
 - b. *I think it was the professor.
 - (16) a. Bill hit someone in the face. You'll never guess who ~~Bill hit in the face~~.
 - b. Bill hit someone in the face. I think it was the professor ~~that Bill hit in the face~~.

3.1 The correlate

- ellipsis is licensed if the elided material is given
- e-given: the deleted XP must entail the antecedent XP and vice versa
- conditions:
 - \exists -type shifting: turn expression into type <t> (only propositions can entail each other)
 - focus closure: variables are replaced by existentially bound variables
- difference regular sluicing vs. amalgams: the presence/absence of the correlate:

- (17) a. Bob hit someone in the face, but I don't know who₁ ~~Bob hit ___₁ in the face~~.
 b. Bob hit [you'll never guess who₁ ~~Bob hit ___₁ in the face~~] in the face.

- proposal: there is a *null* correlate in the main clause; it can correspond to implicit arguments but crucially also to obligatory arguments
- evidence for the null correlate: unlike implicit arguments (which take narrow scope), it is interpreted as a specific definite, just like sluicing correlates: wide-scope:

- (18) a. *Sally can't eat, but I don't know what.
 b. Sally can't eat something, but I don't know what. $\exists > \neg, * \neg > \exists$

- (19) Sally can't eat [I don't know what]. $\exists > \neg, * \neg > \exists$

- amalgams are thus essentially like sluiced parentheticals:

- (20) a. Bob hit e^x [you'll never guess who₁ ~~Bob hit ___₁ in the face~~] in the face.
 b. Bib hit someone [you'll never guess who₁ ~~Bob hit ___₁ in the face~~] in the face.

3.2 Sluicing in amalgams is not pseudosluicing

- pseudosluicing: instead from a full syntactic structure, ellipsis is derived from clefts with *wh*-pivots:

- (21) John met someone, but I don't know who (it was).

- how to make sure that ellipsis in *wh*-amalgams (so-called Andrews-amalgams) do not involve pseudosluicing

- unlike pseudosluicing, amalgams (like regular sluicing) allow for Swiping:

- (22) a. The professor was talking, but I don't know what about.
 b. *The professor was talking, but I don't know what about it was.

- (23) The professor was talking [you wouldn't believe what about] yesterday.

- unlike pseudosluicing but like regular sluicing, amalgams allow for left-branch sluicing:

- (24) a [you'll never guess how tall] woman

- (25) He married a tall woman –

- a. wait till you hear how tall (sluicing)
 b. *wait till you hear how tall it is (pseudosluicing)

3.3 Deletion in amalgams

- Andrews-amalgams: regular TP-deletion:

(26) Bob hit e^x [you'll never guess who₁ ~~Bob hit ___₁ in the face~~] in the face.

- what about Horn-amalgams, which involve reduced it-clefts: CP2-deletion (in a recursive CP-structure with head-raising):

(27) Bob hit e^x [I think it was the professor ~~that Bob hit in the face~~] in the face.

(28) It was [_{DP} the [_{CP1} professor₂ [_{CP2} [_{DP} ~~D ___₂~~] ₁ ~~that~~ [_{TP} ~~Bob hit ___₁~~]]]]]

- what argues against regular TP-deletion (given a non-raising analysis)?

3.4 Merits of the sluicing approach

- Accounts for reconstruction:

- variable binding:

(29) Every linguist_i criticized [you can imagine [how much of his_i work]₁ ~~every linguist_i criticized ___₁~~]

- Principle C:

(30) *He_i cites [I think it was the [professor_i]₁ ~~that he_i cites ___₁~~] primarily.

- accounts for Case connectivity:

(31) Peter küsste [du ahnst nicht *wer/wen₁ ~~Peter ___₁ küsste~~
Peter kissed you suspect not who/whom Peter kissed
'Peter kissed [you cannot guess who].'

- but:

(32) Er zitiert [ich denke, es war der Professor/*den Professor]
he cites I think it was the.NOM professor/the.ACC professor
'He cites [I think it was the professor].'

- island-insensitivity

(33) a. Bob left the party after someone insulted him, but he wouldn't tell me who₁ ~~he left the party after ___₁ insulted him~~.

(34) Bob left the party after [you'll never guess who₁ ~~he left the party after ___₁ insulted him~~] insulted him.

4 Amalgams as sluiced parentheticals

4.1 Parallels with parentheticals

- independent illocutionary force + no c-command from the matrix clause:

- (35) a. *Every guest_i – he_i just arrived – was talking about Hank.
 b. John_i/he_i – and who will blame him_i/John_i – bought a new bicycle.

- express secondary, speaker-oriented content:

- (36) Bob has kissed, Casanova that he is, many women.
 – asserts that Bob kissed many women
 – additionally expressed that the speaker considers him a Casanova

- Andrews-amalgams express information about the attitude of the speaker towards a particular contextual standard:

- (37) Bob kissed [you'll never guess/God knows how many women].
 – asserts that Bob kissed women – additionally expresses that the number of women kissed by Bob deviates from a contextually salient standard (smaller or larger than normal)

- Horn-amalgams: the assertion of the matrix clause is hedged by the speaker:

- (38) Bob hit [I think it was a professor] yesterday.
 – asserts: Bob hit someone yesterday
 – according to the speaker, this was probably a professor

4.2 Representing parentheses in syntax

- 2 views

- parentheticals = orphans (attached at a different level of representation); advantage: predicts their structural independence
- parentheticals = part of syntax; advantage: accessible for semantic interpretation

- argument for the syntactic approach: parentheticals need to be linearized; in the case of amalgams, the position of the IC depends on the position of the null correlate, which the IC further specifies

- proposal: a special type of Merge = par-Merge

- (39) *Par-Merge*
 Par-Merge creates a paratactic hierarchy, i.e., two elements merged this way are not dominated by the label produced by this Merger → they are invisible to the outside context

- (40)
-
- ```

 E
 / \
 D C
 / \
 A B

```

- when is par-Merge triggered? an XP becomes a parenthetical through Merger with a head Par (note that a constituent as such is never itself parenthetical, but rather can become parenthetical):

- (41) a. I am honestly interested in what you're up to.  
 b. I am, honestly, interested in what you're up to.

- amalgams as anchored parentheticals: Their position is not free within the matrix clause:

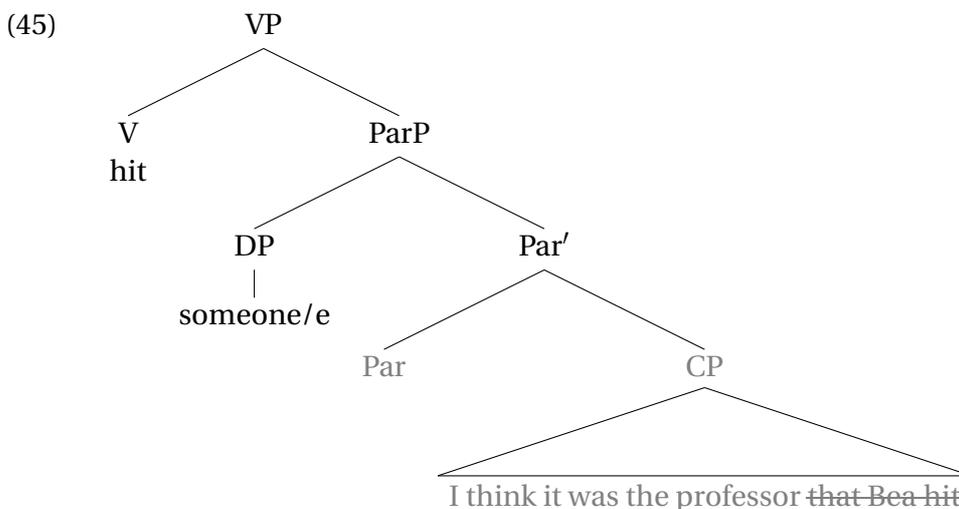
- (42) a. Bea hit Bob, (who used to be) her professor, in the face.  
 b. Bea hit someone, [you'll never guess who ~~Bea hit in the face~~] in the face.

- (43) Bea hit e<sup>x</sup> [you'll never guess who ~~Bea hit in the face~~] in the face.

- Par is a bit like a coordination head:

- bivalent
- categorially underspecified
- takes the antecedent as its specifier and the non-restrictive IC as its complement
- inherits its categorial features from its specifier

- (44) a. Bea hit someone, I think it was the professor, in the face.  
 b. Bea hit [I think it was the professor] in the face.



- interesting prediction: Since the parenthetical needs to be licensed by a correlate, we expect multiple sluicing to be impossible in amalgams:

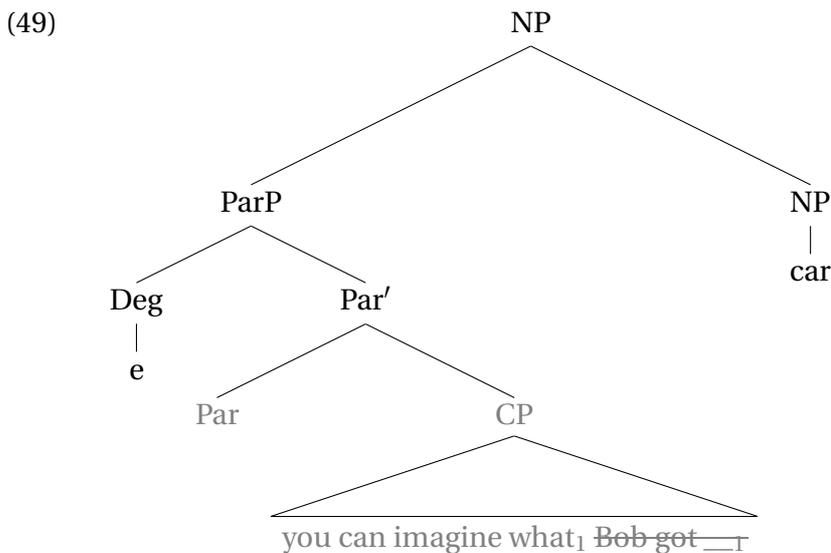
- (46) a. Bob sah jemanden irgendwo einen Anschlag verüben, aber ich weiss nicht  
 Bob saw someone somewhere a assault commit but I know not  
 mehr **wen wo**.  
 anymore whom where  
 'Bob saw someone carry out a raid somewhere, but I don't know who where.'  
 b. \*/?Bob sah [du errätst nie wen wo] einen Anschlag verüben.  
 Bob saw you guess never whom where an assault commit  
 'Bob sah you'll never guess who where carry out a raid.'

- solution: multiple amalgams (sic)?

(47) Bob sah [du errätst nicht wen] [du errätst nicht wo] einen Anschlag verüben.  
 Bob saw you guess not whom you guess not where an assault commit  
 'Bob saw you'll never guess who carry out a raid you'll never guess where.'

- problem: no direct link between null correlate and the content kernel, how to capture this dependency and rule out sentences like:

(48) a. \*Bob got a [you can imagine what] car.  
 b. Bob got a [you can imagine how expensive] car.



- note that the selectional restrictions only affect the category of the empty anchor (= the null correlate)
- solution: e-givenness: no mutual entailment:

(50) a.  $IP_E = \text{Bob got } t^x$   
 $IP'_E = F\text{-clo}(IP_E) = \exists x. \text{Bob got } x$   
 b.  $IP_A = \text{Bob got a } e^P \text{ car}$   
 $IP'_A = F\text{-clo}(IP_A) = \exists P[\text{Bob got a } P\text{-car}]$

## 5 Question

- what licenses the null correlate? (not an instance of sprouting because sprouting seems limited to optional arguments)