

Subword RNR as Multidominance-Plus-Ellipsis

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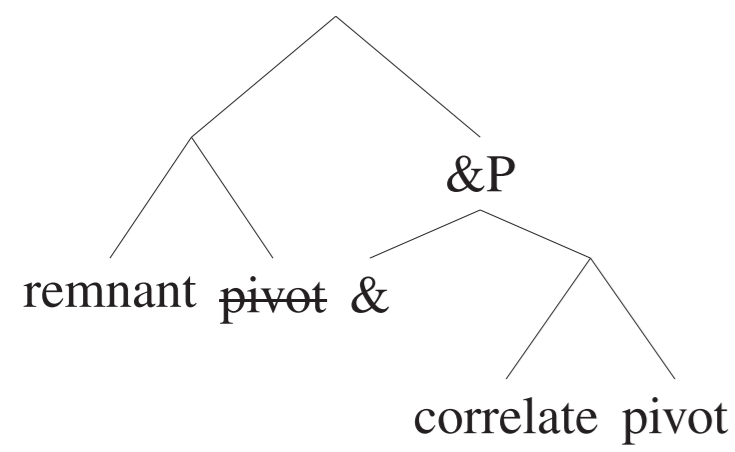
[Introduction]

- Right-node Raising (RNR) typically involves a coordination structure in which an element is semantically present inside both conjuncts but is only linearized once, usually in the rightmost position of the sentence.

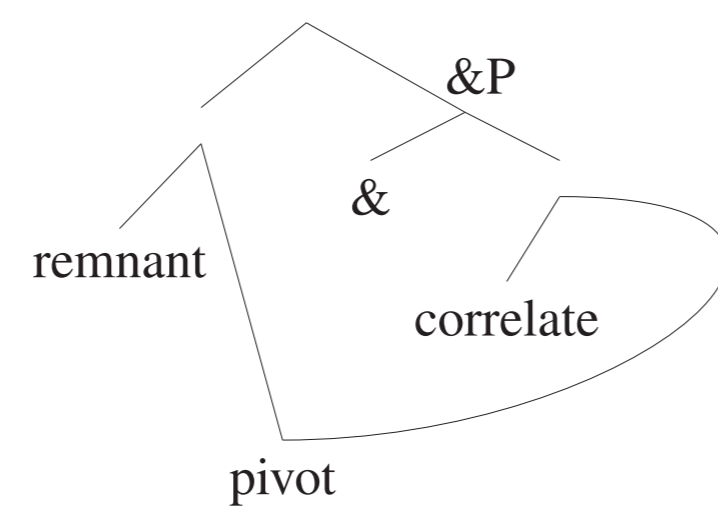
(1) John likes_(remnant), but Mary dislikes_(correlate) opera_(pivot). (Belk et al. 2023:685)

- Recent research suggests that phrasal RNRs requires a dual account as either ellipsis (2) or multidominance (3) (Barros & Vicente 2011; Belk et al. 2023):

(2) *Ellipsis structure for RNR*



(3) *Multidominance structure for RNR*



- RNR is also attested at the subword level (Artstein 2005; Booi 1985; Chaves 2008; Höhle 1982; Smith 2000; Wiese 2000) (4). Here, the pivot is a string consisting of either a subword part alone or a subword part followed by additional material.

(4) a. Your theory under- and my theory over-generates. (Wilder 2008:248)
b. Omnivores are plant- and meat-eaters. (Chaves 2008:262)
c. These events took place in pre- or in post-war Germany? (Chaves 2008:265)

[This study]

- Subword RNR has the same mixed properties that have motivated a dual multidominance-plus-ellipsis account of phrasal RNR.
- However, subword RNR also raises problems for previous multidominance and ellipsis analyses. In particular, we develop a new proposal for RNR-ellipsis that covers both phrasal and subword RNR.
- Architecturally, our work supports an integrated approach to syntax and morphology, where operations at the subword and at the phrasal level are governed by the same constraints.

[RNR-multidominance]

Data

- One diagnostic for RNR-multidominance is the availability of distributive readings of plural DPs (5)–(6). Crucially, this interpretation is unavailable in the full coordination (7).

(5) Ava will soon, and Habib is going to, study Oceanic languages. (Belk et al. 2023:700)
✓ Ava and Habib are each going to study more than one Oceanic language. (collective)
✓ Ava and Habib are going to study one Oceanic language each. (distributive)

(6) $Ava_{SG} \rightarrow Oceanic\ languages_{SG}$; $Habib_{SG} \rightarrow Oceanic\ languages_{SG}$
 $[[Oceanic\ languages]_{PL} = \{Oceanic\ languages_{SG} \oplus Oceanic\ languages_{SG}\}]$ (distributive)

(7) Ava will soon study Oceanic languages, and Habib is going to study Oceanic languages.
✓ Ava and Habib each study more than one Oceanic language. (collective)
✗ Ava and Habib each study one Oceanic language. (distributive)

- The same has been observed for subword RNR (8)–(10).

(8) Ava and Habib are socio- and psycholinguists. (adapted from Artstein, 2005)
✓ Ava and Habib are both sociolinguists and psycholinguists. (collective)
✓ Ava is a sociolinguist and Habib is a psycholinguist. (distributive)

(9) $Ava_{SG} \rightarrow linguist_{SG}$; $Habib_{SG} \rightarrow linguist_{SG}$
 $[[linguist]_{PL} = \{linguist_{SG} \oplus linguist_{SG}\}]$ (distributive)

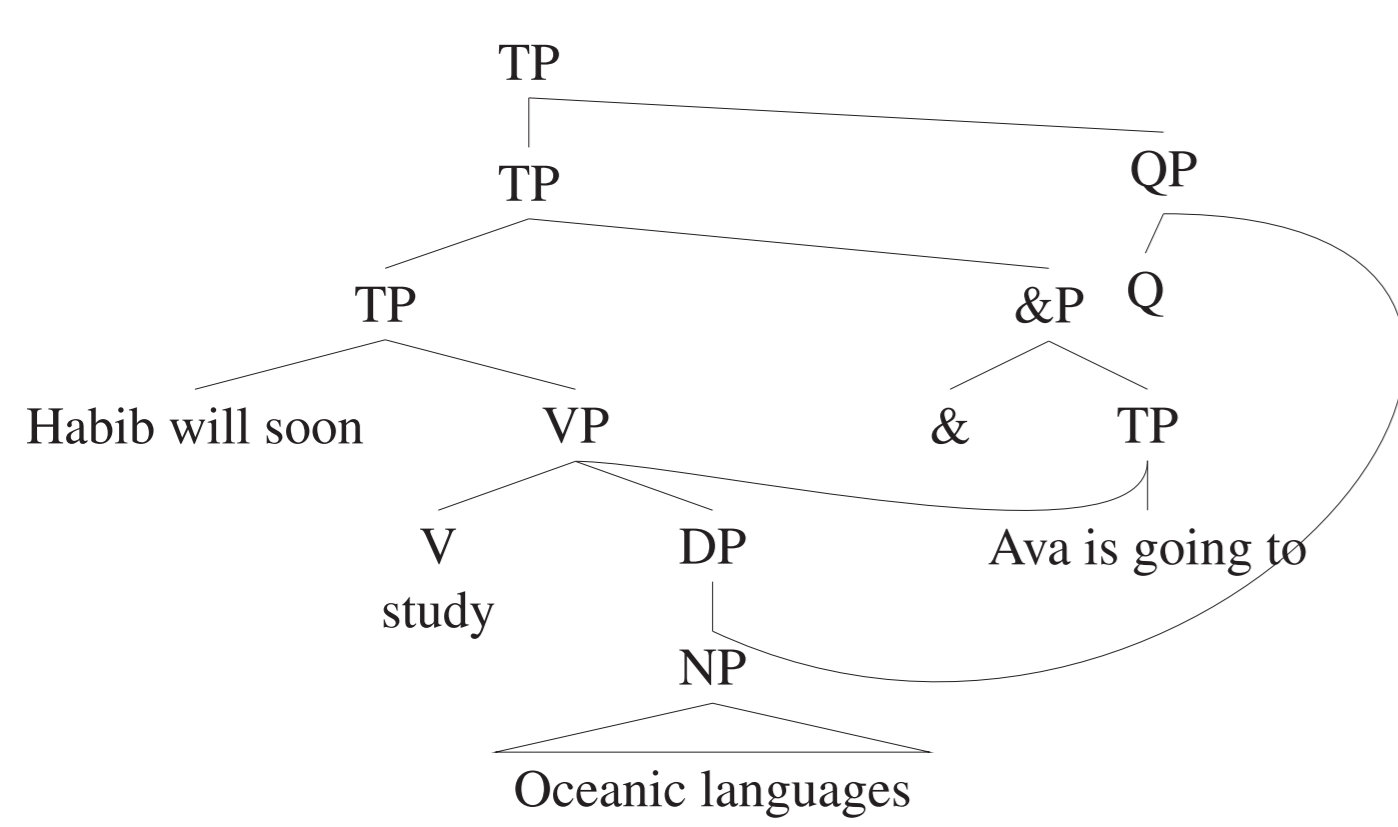
(10) Ava and Habib are sociolinguists and psycholinguists.
✓ Ava and Habib are both sociolinguists and psycholinguists. (collective)
✗ Ava is a sociolinguist and Habib is a psycholinguist. (distributive)

Analysis: multidominance, but not QR

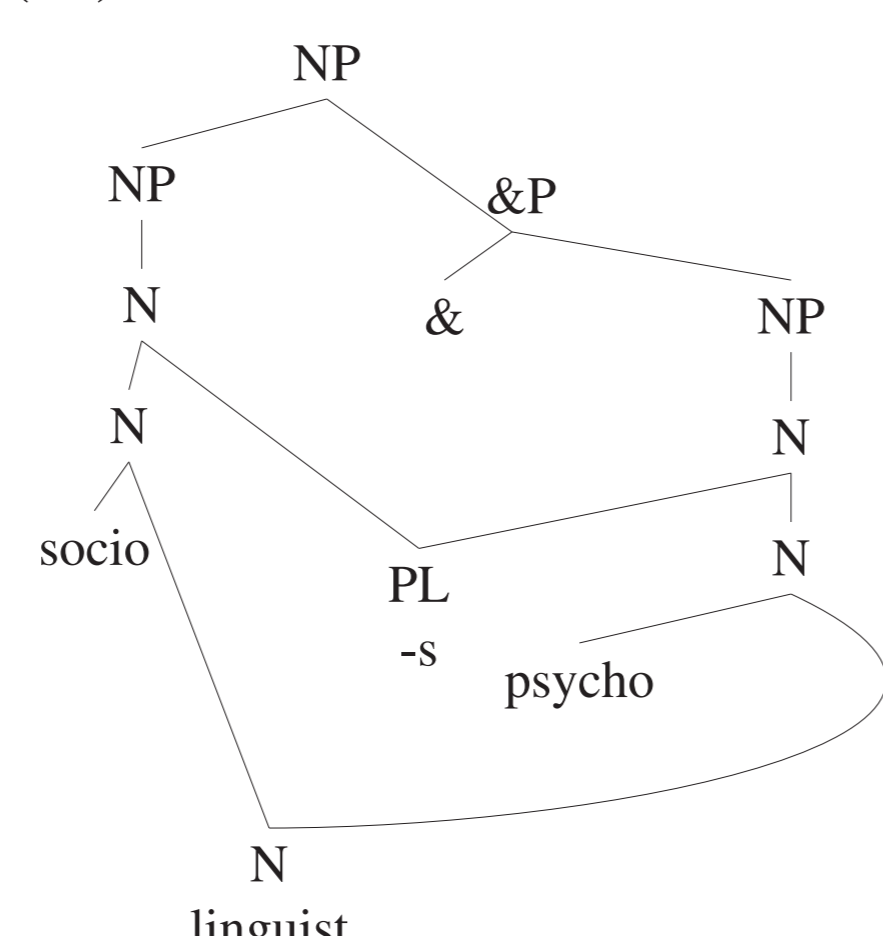
- The distributive reading is unavailable in the full coordination, indicating that covert ATB-movement of the pivot is prohibited (Bošković & Franks 2000; Citko 2005). Thus, the distributive interpretation in (5) cannot be derived via deletion.
- Following Barros & Vicente (2011), Belk et al. (2023) propose that the distributive reading is derived through RNR-multidominance combined with LF-raising of the pivot out of the coordinate structure (Carlson 1987 *et seq.*) (11). However, it is unclear how exactly a distributive reading is derived from the QR'ed structure.
- Crucially, a QR-based account is untenable at the subword level: elements such as the plural marker and *linguist* do not form a QR-eligible constituent (12).

(11) *Phrasal multidominance for (5)*

(QR analysis adopted from Fox & Johnson, 2016)



(12) *Subword multidominance for (8)*



- We conclude that multidominance is a promising route for capturing distributive readings at both the phrasal and the subword RNR. However, QR is not a viable option for subword RNR and requires further elaboration to adequately account for phrasal RNR.

[RNR-Ellipsis]

Data

- Like phrasal RNR (13)–(14), subword RNR permits morphological mismatches (15) and vehicle change (16).

(13) John has under-estimated the cost of the plan and Mary will under-estimate the cost of the plan.

(14) a. She₁ hopes that he won't under-pay her₁, but I know that the boss will under-pay Ava₁.
b. John has post-analyzed some of the data but Mary hasn't post-analyzed any of the data.

(15) John has overestimated the cost of the plan and Mary will under-estimate the cost of the plan.

(16) a. She₁ hopes that he will overpay her₁, but I know that the boss will under-pay Ava₁.
b. John has pre-analyzed some of the data but he hasn't post-analyzed any of the data.

Analysis: in-situ exemption instead of movement exemption

- For phrasal RNR, these properties have been analyzed as diagnostics of vP ellipsis (vPE) (Bošković, 2004, a.o.).

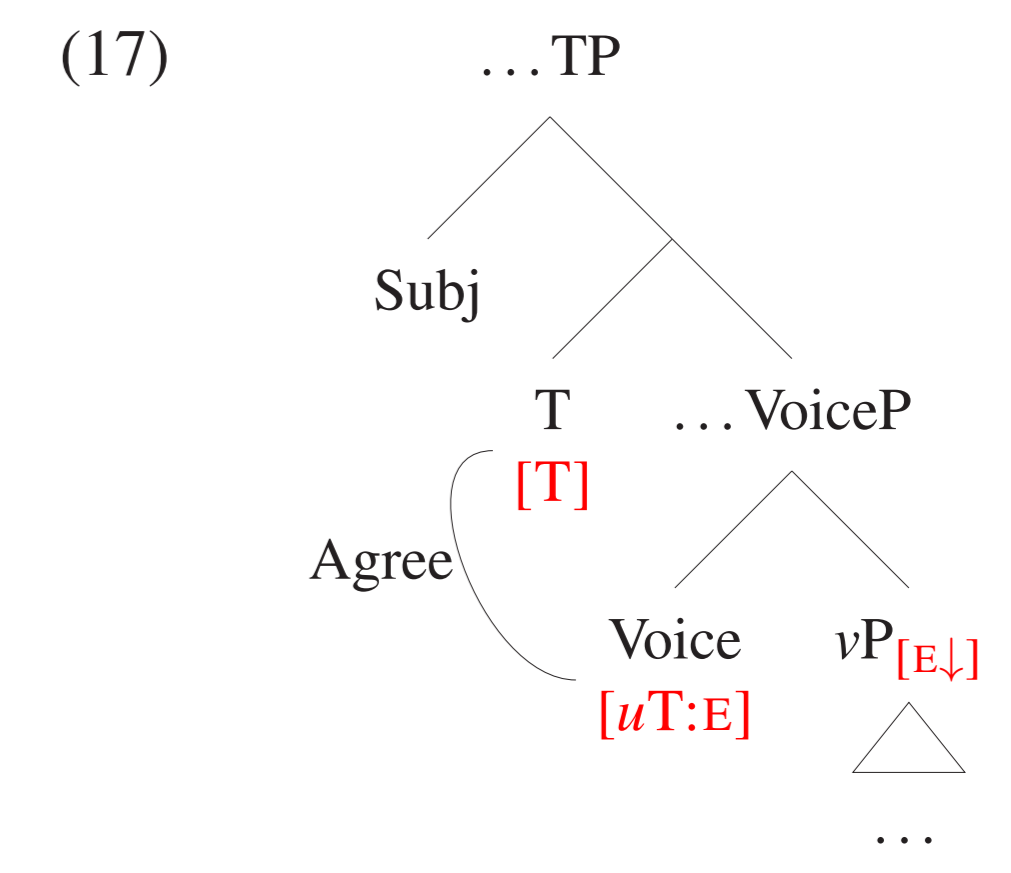
– But in the subword cases (15) and (16), it is not the entire vP that is deleted.

- Other analyses fail as well:

– Multidominance posits a single token of the pivot (Abels 2004, a.o.).

– Phonological deletion is assumed to require strict phonological identity (Wilder, 1997).

– Ask us about pruning! (Belk et al., 2023)



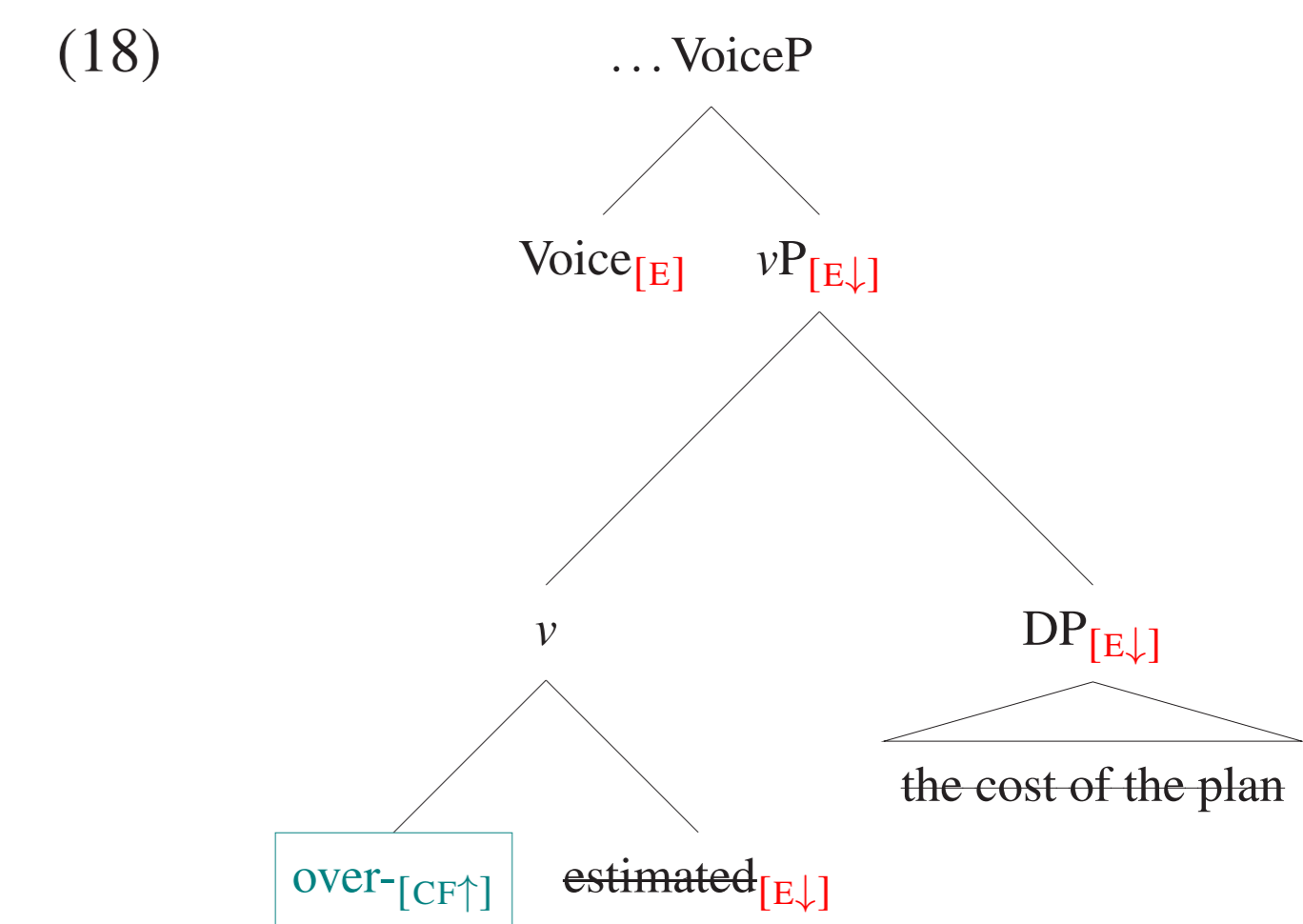
	Predicts morphological mismatches and vehicle change	Can target subwords
Ellipsis	✓	✗
Multidominance	✗	✓
Phonological deletion	✗	✓
Pruning	✓	?

Table 1: Comparison of analyses of subword RNR

- We argue that morphological mismatches and vehicle change effects in subword RNR require a vP ellipsis analysis.

- We propose that material bearing contrastive focus can survive vP ellipsis while remaining in situ (18)–(19) (see also Bruening 2015, Ott & Struckmeier 2018, Griffiths 2019, Griffiths et al. 2023).

- The [E]-feature is suppressed on contrastively focused elements.



(19) John has over_[CF] estimated the cost of the plan and Mary will under_[CF] estimate the cost of the plan.

- A movement exemption (Merchant 2004, Sailor and Thoms 2014, Ott and De Vries 2012, 2016 a.o) does not account for our data. Subword movement is not empirically viable.

– Even if assumed, the movement-and-deletion analysis faces the challenge of explaining why such cases are illicit in non-elliptical contexts:

(20) *Over- John has estimated the cost of the plan.

Discussion

- Verb-stranding VP ellipsis (VSVPE) is not attested in English forward ellipsis (21a). Our proposal correctly predicts it to occur in backward ellipsis when the verb bears contrastive focus (21b). However, VSVPE with contrastively focused verbs remains unattested in forward ellipsis configurations (21c), which is a challenge for our proposal.

(21) a. *John has overestimated the cost of the plan, and Mary has overestimated the cost of the plan too.
b. John has overestimated_[CF] the cost of the plan and Mary will underestimate_[CF] the cost of the plan.
c. *John has overestimated_[CF] the cost of the plan and Mary will underestimate_[CF] the cost of the plan.

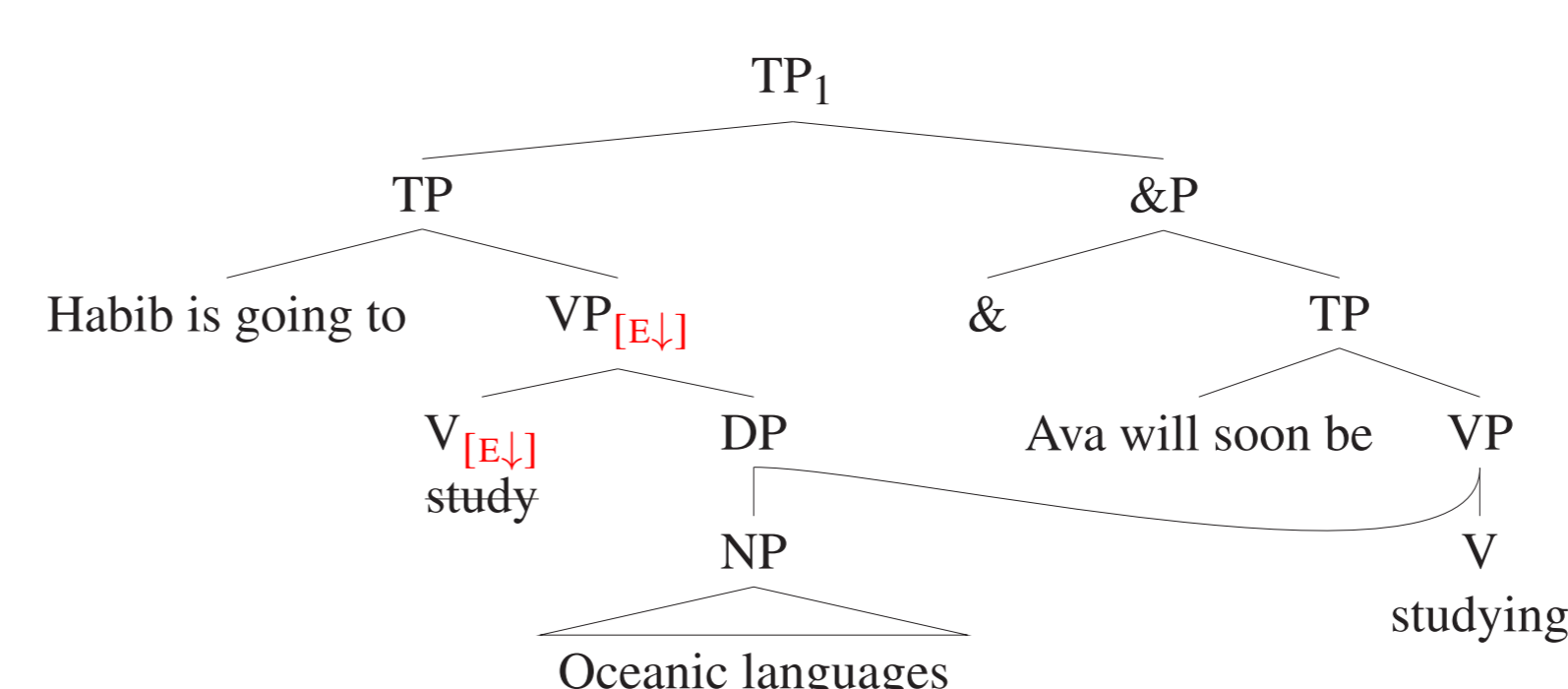
- Our analysis extends naturally to RNR with a non-constituent pivot. The verbs that bear contrastive focus are exempt from vPE. Adjuncts can be copied into vPE (22b), consistent with independently established properties of vPE in (22a).

(22) a. Mary flattered, and Bill disparaged, John excessively. (Belk et al. 2023:703)
b. Mary flattered John excessively, and Bill did too.

- Our ellipsis analysis may also capture phrasal RNR containing both primary and secondary pivots (23) (Belk et al., 2023). The verb in the first conjunct does not bear contrastive focus and is therefore elided.

(23) Habib is going to, and Ava will soon be studying_(RNR-E) Oceanic languages_(RNR-MD).

(24) *Phrasal multidominance for (23)*



- The infinitival marker *to* licenses VP ellipsis (Johnson 2001, a.o.).

- Additional movement is required to extract the DP from the ellipsis site (via QR or overt adjunction).

- The MD-ed element is linearised after all terminals within TP₁. The ordering follows Wilder's (1999,2008) LCA-MD account, which linearises the shared material only once at the right periphery.