

Right Node Raising requires both Multidominance and Ellipsis

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Intro: Right Node Raising (RNR) has been analyzed as involving (exclusively) either movement (Ross 1967, Sabbagh 2007), backwards ellipsis (Ha 2008, Boskovic 2004) or multidominance (MD) (McCawley 1982). We argue instead that the right analysis needs both (and only) ellipsis and MD (*pave* Wilder 1997, we maintain that RNR is not movement). We support this hypothesis by showing (i) that some cases require ellipsis and some, MD and (ii) that we can tease them apart in RNR via the generalization below:

- 1) English RNR can be analyzed as MD in all cases, and additionally as backwards ellipsis only where the corresponding type of forward ellipsis exists; where both structures are possible, different tests will force one or the other.

We demonstrate the accuracy of (1) in case studies where RNR targets different categories (e.g. DP and VP), and show that ellipsis or MD can generate VP RNR, but only MD can generate DP RNR. Therefore, we differ from other analyses, which do not distinguish between the size of the shared constituents.

DP RNR: English does not allow forward DP ellipsis (2), so (1) predicts DP RNR only involves MD. This means that there is only one DP shared between both conjuncts (3). Evidence for there being only one multidominated DP includes: DP RNR doesn't allow for sloppy readings, since there is only one pronoun shared between each conjunct (4). Also, DP RNR doesn't allow double extraction from the shared DP (5), which follows if there is only one launching site. DP RNR doesn't allow form mismatches. In (6), the NPI *any* isn't licensed in the right conjunct. This follows if there is only one DP, since it must be compatible with morphological restrictions in *both* conjuncts. Finally, relational modifiers (e.g. *different*) can get a sentence-internal reading in RNR (7a), which requires binding by a plural antecedent in the same clause (cf. Jackendoff 1977). Note that the source for the putative elliptical structure for (7a), (7b), lacks this reading (since neither instance of *different* has a plural binder). In (7a), both subjects bind the DP, allowing for the sentence-internal reading.

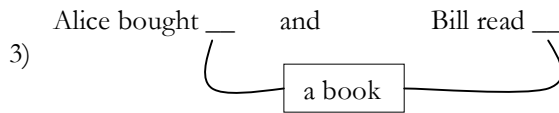
VP RNR: English has forward Verb Phrase Ellipsis (VPE), so (1) predicts that both backwards VPE and MD can generate VP RNR. Different tests will force one or the other structure. Unlike DP RNR, VP RNR allows sloppy readings (8), double extraction from the shared VP (9), and form mismatches (10). All of these properties follow if there can be two instances of the shared VP in VP RNR. A sloppy reading is available in (8) since each instance of the VP can contain a separate pronoun. Likewise, double extraction is possible in (9) since two launching sites are available. A form mismatch is possible in (10), since each instance of the shared VP is subject only to the morphological requirements of its own conjunct. These are also well-known properties of VPE.

There is also evidence for MD in VP RNR. Forward VPE doesn't allow for a sentence-internal reading of *different* (11), though this reading is available in VP RNR (12). As with DP RNR, the availability of this reading suggests multidomination. Importantly, this reading is unavailable when (a) the shared VP is not morphologically compatible with one of the conjuncts (13) or (b) if there is double extraction from the shared element (14). If morphological mismatch and double extraction require two instances of the shared element, then these structures can only be generated by VPE (15). This explains the unavailability of the sentence-internal reading for *different* in these cases, since each conjunct lacks a plural binder for each instance of *different*. This contrast in the availability of the sentence-internal reading in VP RNR strongly suggests that both ellipsis and MD are possible (though mutually exclusive) analyses, and that they can be teased apart.

Conclusion: Analyses that attempt to derive RNR exclusively from either backwards ellipsis or MD have to appeal to ad hoc mechanisms that extend them beyond what they can normally handle (e.g. Ha 2008 stipulates that backward and forward ellipsis are subject to different constraints). Our analysis avoids this by appealing to both mechanisms in deriving RNR constructions. This approach is not only empirically motivated, but allows us to maintain more parsimonious theories of both ellipsis and MD. In our talk, we also show that (1) can accurately cover RNR of TP's (data not shown here); like VP RNR, TP RNR can be analyzed as either MD or backward ellipsis, and the two cases can be teased apart.

Examples:

2) *Jack loves his mother and Sally hates ~~his mother~~. (elided structures are struck through)



4) Jack invited, and Bill welcomed, his father.

(≠ Jack invited his own father and Bill welcomed *his* own father)

5) *[Which poet]₁ did Alice read, and [which singer]₂ did Bill write, a book about *t*_{1/2}?

6) *Peter didn't write, and Sally read, any papers.

7a) Sally composed, and Bill performed, different songs. (=Sally's song is different from Bill's song)

7b) Sally composed different songs and Bill performed different songs.

(=Sally's songs are different from some contextually salient songs, and so are Bill's).

8) Bill₁ doesn't love ~~his₁ mother~~ but Jack₂ does, love his₂ mother.

(=Bill doesn't love Bill's mother, but Jack loves Jack's mother).

9) Alice₁ won't be ~~picked₁ for the team~~ but Bill₂ already has been picked *t*₂ for the team.

10) Bill will ~~buy a new car~~ and Alice has, bought a new car. (Note: *will bought/has buy)

11) Alice should work on different topics and Bill should ~~work on different topics~~ too.

(=Alice should work on topics different from some contextually salient topics and Bill should too)

12) Alice must, and Bill should, work on different topics.

(=Alice must work on a topic that is different from Bill's topic).

13) Alice already has, and Bill will, pick different topics.

(≠Alice already has worked on a topic that is different from the topic Bill will pick).

(=Alice has picked topics different from some contextually salient topics, and Bill will do so).

14) Alice won't be, but Bill already has been, picked for different teams.

(≠Alice's team is different from Bill's team)

(= Alice won't be picked for teams different from some contextually salient teams, Bill has been)

15) Alice already has ~~picked different topics~~ and Bill will, pick different topics. (= reading in (13))

References:

Boskovic 2004 Two notes on right node raising. UConn WPL 12: 13-24. **Ha 2008** Ellipsis, Right Node Raising, and Across-the-Board movement. PhD, Boston **Jackendoff 1977** *X-bar syntax*, MIT Press. **McCawley 1982**. Parentheticals and discontinuous constituent structure. *LI* 13:91-106 **Sabbagh 2007**. Ordering and linearizing rightward movement. *NLLT* 25:349-401. **Wilder 1997**. Some properties of ellipsis in coordination. In *Studies in Universal Grammar and typological variation*, 59-107, John Benjamins.