snippets

Issue 38 - February 2020

Contents

ISSN 1590-1807

Published in Led on Line - Electronic Archive by
LED - Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto - Milano - Italy
https://www.ledonline.it

February 2020

The editors would also like to thank Jason Bishop (CSI/GC, CUNY), Patrick Grosz (University of Oslo), Aron Hirsch (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Stefan Keine (University of Southern California), Anikó Lipták (Leiden University), Jon Ander Mendia (Cornell University), Keir Moulton (University of Toronto), Ethan Poole (University of California, Los Angeles), and Andrew Weir (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim) for their reviews.

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Editorial Statement

1. Purpose

The aim of *Snippets* is to publish specific remarks that motivate research or that make theoretical points germane to current work. The ideal contribution is brief, self-contained and explicit. One encounters short comments of this kind in earlier literature in linguistics. We feel that there no longer is a forum for them. We want *Snippets* to help fill that gap.

2. Content

We will publish notes that contribute to the study of syntax and semantics in generative grammar. The notes are to be brief, self-contained and explicit. They may do any of the following things:

- point out an empirical phenomenon that challenges accepted generalizations or influential theoretical proposals;
- point out unnoticed minimal pairs that fall outside the scope of any existing theory;
- point out an empirical phenomenon that confirms the predictions of a theory in an area where the theory has not been tested;
- explicitly describe technical inconsistencies in a theory or in a set of frequently adopted assumptions;
- explicitly describe unnoticed assumptions that underlie a theory or assumptions that a theory needs to be supplemented with in order to make desired predictions;
- call attention to little-known or forgotten literature in which issues of immediate relevance are discussed.

We also encourage submissions that connect psycholinguistic data to theoretical issues. A proposal for a pilot experiment in language acquisition or language processing could make for an excellent snippet.

The earliest *Linguistic Inquiry* squibs exemplify the kind of remark we would like to publish. Some of them posed unobserved puzzles. For instance, a squib by Postal and Ross in *Linguistic Inquiry* 1:1 ("A Problem of Adverb Preposing") noted that whether or not we can construe a sentence-initial temporal adverb with an embedded verb depends on the tense of the matrix verb. A squib by Perlmutter and Ross in *LI* 1:3 ("Relative Clauses with Split Antecedents"), challenging the prevailing analyses of coordination and extraposition, noted that conjoined clauses, neither of which contains a plural noun phrase, can appear next to an "extraposed" relative that can only describe groups. Other squibs drew attention to particular theoretical assumptions. For instance, a squib by Bresnan in *LI* 1:2 ("A Grammatical Fiction") outlined an alternative account of the derivation of sentences containing *believe* and *force*, and asked whether there were principled reasons for dismissing any of the underlying assumptions (among them that semantic interpretation is sensitive to details of a syntactic derivation). A squib by Zwicky in *LI* 1:2 ("Class Complements in Phonology") asked to what extent phonological rules refer to complements of classes. None of these squibs was more than a couple of paragraphs; all of them limited themselves to a precise question or observation.

3. Submission details

Snippets is an electronic journal. We will solicit submissions twice a year. The submissions that we accept will be posted on the journal website approximately 3 months after each deadline, and all accepted submissions will remain permanently on the website. *Snippets* is intended as a service to the linguistics community. Consequently, authors are advised that, when they submit to *Snippets*, we understand them as allowing their submission to be reproduced if published. At the same time, the rights for the published snippets themselves will remain with the authors. As a result, citation of *Snippets* material will have to indicate the author's name and the specific source of the material.

We will accept electronic submissions at the address snippetsjournal@gmail.com. Electronic submissions may take the form of (a) the text of an e-mail message, or (b) an attached file. The attached file should be a simple text file, a Word file (Mac or Windows), a Rich Text Format (RTF) file, or a PDF. The files must be anonymous, but must be accompanied with information about the authors: name, affiliation, and (postal or electronic) address. Submissions can be of any length below 500 words (including examples), with an additional half page allowed for diagrams, tables, and references. The submissions may not contain footnotes or general acknowledgments, except acknowledgements of funding sources, which must be credited in a line following the references. Authors who wish to acknowledge language consultants are allowed but not required to do so. We will not consider abstracts.

4. Editorial policy

Submissions will be reviewed by our editorial board and review board, and review will be name-blind both ways. While we guarantee a response within 3 months of the submission deadline, we will not necessarily provide more than a yes/no response to the submitter. We allow resubmission (once) of the same piece.

This statement reproduces with minor modifications the editorial statement in Issue 1 of Snippets (January 2000), edited by Carlo Cecchetto, Caterina Donati and Orin Percus.

Alternative interrogatives and Negative Polarity Items

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2020-038-aash

It is claimed in Higginbotham 1993, based on examples like (1), that alternative interrogatives do not admit NPIs. Yet according to Roelofsen (2018), (2) does license NPIs. Importantly, (2) is structurally and intonationally similar to (1): both contain a disjunction and are pronounced with the canonical alternative intonation (see Pruitt and Roelofsen 2013).

(1) Did John (*ever) go to Paris↑ or London↓ (↑= rising intonation; ↓= falling intonation)

(2) Would you like anything else↑ or are you all set↓

Since the disjuncts of (2) conflict with each other, there is reason to suspect that (2) is not a genuine alternative interrogative. (3), whose disjuncts are compatible with each other, is a clearer counterexample to Higginbotham 1993 (though it admits an NPI only in one of its disjuncts).

(3) Did John ever go to Paris↑ or did he (*ever) go to London↓

The contrast in (4) clarifies why (3) is a clearer case. The presupposition of (3)$^{\text{-sans-2nd-}ever}$, which requires at least one member of its answer set — {*John went to Paris*, *John went to London*} — to be true, may be rejected by an answerer (similarly for (1)$^{\text{-sans-}ever}$). If (2) were a genuine alternative interrogative, its answer set would be {*I'd like something else*, *I'm all set*}, and the presupposition that at least one of them is true could be rejected just as easily.

(4) Q1: (3)$^{\text{-sans-2nd-}ever}$
A1: Oh, you're wrong. He didn't go to Paris and/#but he didn't go to London.

Q2: (2)
A2: Oh, you're wrong. I don't want anything but/#and I'm not all set.

That (3)$^{\text{-sans-2nd-}ever}$ is, like (1)$^{\text{-sans-}ever}$, an alternative interrogative is confirmed by the fact that their pronunciation contrasts with that of the polar (5) (which ends with rising intonation and admits NPIs) and that of (6), where each disjunct ends with rising intonation (and both disjuncts admit NPIs). Crucially, (7) is a complete reply to (1)$^{\text{-sans-}ever}$ and to (3)$^{\text{-sans-2nd-}ever}$: by Answerhood (Dayal 1996), exactly one of the possible answers to (1)$^{\text{-sans-}ever}$ and (3)$^{\text{-sans-2nd-}ever}$ is true (when answerer agrees with asker). By contrast, the truth of (7) does not suffice to settle (5) (answer set: {*John went to Paris or London*, *John went to neither*}) or (6) (answer set: {*John went to Paris*, *John went to London*, *John went to neither*}; see Hoeks and Roelofsen 2019).

(5) Did John (ever) go to Paris or London↑

(6) Did John (ever) go to Paris↑ or (did he ever go to) London↑

(7) John didn't go to Paris.

To our knowledge, no theory of NPI-licensing in interrogatives can explain why adding material to (1)'s second disjunct licenses the NPI in the first, as in (3)$^{\text{-sans-2nd-}ever}$, or why (3) forbids an NPI in its second disjunct. For example, Nicolae (2013) and Guerzoni and Sharvit (2014) propose that certain interrogatives license NPIs because they contain a downward entailing environment, thus reducing NPI-licensing in interrogatives to the commonly assumed licensing mechanisms in declaratives. Neither proposal obviously predicts the "size" of an alternative interrogative's disjuncts or the number of NPIs it contains to matter. Schwarz (2017) and Roelofsen (2018) propose that whether an NPI is acceptable in an interrogative depends on the relation between the interrogative's answer set and alternative answer sets computed by restricting the NPI's domain of quantification. To the extent that we have characterized the answer sets for (1)$^{\text{-sans-}ever}$ and (3)$^{\text{-sans-2nd-}ever}$ correctly, the syntactic structures from which these answer sets are derived — a clausal disjunction in (3) with two instances of subject-auxiliary inversion vs. a noun phrase disjunction in (1) — are not predicted to affect NPI-licensing.

Regarding (6), it is conceivable — given its non-alternative intonation and meaning — that each of its disjuncts is semantically polar (for relevant discussion, see Krifka 2001, Hirsch 2018).

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Sluicing bleeds differential object marking in Western Armenian

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2020-038-baco

Western Armenian (WA) has a system of differential object marking (DOM) where certain object nominals appear optionally, and often preferably, in the dative instead of the regular accusative (Khanjian 2013:32ff). This marking preference extends primarily to animate definite objects — i.e., those types of objects for which marking is obligatory in many better-studied DOM systems (e.g. Spanish, Farsi). The examples below illustrate:

(1) a. Aram-ə {ʃun-ə / ʃun-in / ʃun-mə / ?*ʃun-i-mə} zargav.
Aram-DEF dog-DEF.ACC dog-DEF.DAT dog-INDEF.ACC dog-DAT-INDEF hit.3S
'Aram hit the/a dog.'

b. Aram-ə {sɛʁan-ə / ?*sɛʁan-in / sɛʁan-mə / ?*sɛʁan-i-mə}
Aram-DEF table-DEF.ACC table-DEF.DAT table-INDEF.ACC table-DAT-INDEF
zargav.
hit.3S
'Aram hit the/a table.'

The following examples illustrate optional DOM of an object *wh*-phrase:

(2) a. (Z)ov / voru gəzarnɛ (an)?
who.ACC who.DAT hit.3S he/she
'Who does he/she hit?'

b. Vor mɛg əngɛr-ə/-in gəzarnɛ (an)?
which one friend-DEF.ACC/-DEF.DAT hit.3S he/she
'Which friend does he/she hit?'

In WA sluicing constructions, however, DOM is obligatorily suppressed, crucially even when the correlate of the *wh*-remnant in the antecedent clause is itself dative-marked:

(3) a. Kidɛm (vor) jɛʁpajr-əs mɛgə zargav, pajts tʃɛm kidɛr (z)ov / *voru.
know.1S that brother-POSS someone.ACC hit.3S but NEG.1S know who.ACC
who.DAT

b. Kidɛm (vor) jɛʁpajr-əs mɛgumə zargav, pajts tʃɛm kidɛr (z)ov / *voru.
know.1S that brother-POSS someone.DAT hit.3S but NEG.1S know who.ACC
who.DAT
'I know my brother hit one of his friends, but I don't know which friend.'

(4) Kidɛm (vor) jɛʁpajr-əs əngɛrnɛrɛn mɛg had-in zargav,
know.1S that brother-POSS friend.ABL one CL-DAT hit.3S
pajts tʃɛm kidɛr vor(mɛg) əngɛr-ə/*-in.
but NEG.1S know which friend-ACC/DAT
'I know my brother hit one of his friends, but I don't know which friend.'

The marking discrepancy between remnant and correlate witnessed in (3b) and (4) is at variance with Merchant's (2001:91) otherwise cross-linguistically robust *case-matching generalization*, according to which "the sluiced *wh*-phrase must bear the case that its correlate bears". This deviation cannot be attributed to 'pseudosluicing' over a cleft/copular source (see Barros 2014), since cleft pivots in WA exhibit regular case-marking, including optional DOM:

(5) Zov / voru er (vor zargav)?
who.ACC who.DAT was that hit.3S
'Who was it (that he/she hit)?'

The suppression of DOM thus appears to be effected specifically by sluicing.

In this respect, WA differs strikingly from other languages documented in the literature, where DOM is not bled by sluicing. Consider the following case from Spanish (cf. Gonzalez-Vilbazo and Ramos 2012), modelled on (3) above:

(6) Sé que mi hermano golpeó *(a) alguien, pero no sé *(a) quién.
know.1S that my brother hit.3S.PST DOM someone but NEG know.1S DOM who
'I know that my brother hit somebody, but I don't know who.'

As shown in (6), the preposition associated with the animate direct object is obligatorily present in both the antecedent and the remnant clauses. Basque dialects with optional DOM likewise impose strict matching in sluicing, i.e. whenever the correlate is marked, the remnant must be too (Aritz Irurtzun, p.c.). In Farsi, DOM of sluicing remnants in the presence of a marked correlate is optional for some speakers and obligatory for others (Toosarvandani 2008:686 fn. 6); that is, while some speakers tolerate a mismatch, DOM is not systematically excluded, unlike in WA.

What makes the suppression of DOM under sluicing in WA particularly striking is the fact that the phenomenon does not appear to extend to other types of clausal ellipsis, i.e. stripping and fragment responses:

(7) Aram-ə hav-un zargav, pajts votʃ ʃun-in.
Aram-DEF chicken-DEF.DAT hit.3S but not dog-DEF.DAT
'Aram hit the chicken, but not the dog.'

(8) A: Voru gəsirɛ (an)?
who.DAT love.3S he/she
'Who does he/she love?'

B: Joan-in.
Joan-DAT
'(He/she loves) Joan.'

The above observations raise questions for both the analysis of DOM in WA and the theory of sluicing. How does DOM in WA — which, to our knowledge, has not been extensively studied — differ from DOM in Spanish, Basque, and other languages? And how does sluicing differ from other types of clausal ellipsis in bleeding DOM in WA?

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Dennis Ott acknowledges support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

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A problem for the *even* theory of *dou* in Mandarin Chinese

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2020-038-chen

Liu (2017) observes that, in Mandarin Chinese, the same sentence with *dou* gives rise to an *even* reading when the predicate is interpreted collectively (see (1)), and a distributive reading when the predicate is interpreted distributively (see (2)). Building on Liao 2011, he proposes to unify the two uses of *dou* by giving it an umambiguous *even*-like semantics that contributes a least likelihood presupposition (Karttunen and Peters 1979), as in (3).

(1) Tamen dou mai le yi liang che.
they DOU buy ASP one CL car
'Even they bought a car together.'

(2) Tamen dou mai le yi liang che.
they DOU buy ASP one CL car
'They each bought a car.'

(3) $[\![Dou]\!] = [\lambda p : \forall q \in Alt(p)(q \neq p \rightarrow p <_{likely} q) \,.\, p]$

Liu assumes that the subject *tamen* 'they' is the focus associate of *dou* in both (1) and (2). In (1), the collective predicate applies to the group formed by the definite plural (Landman 2000); in (2), the distributive predicate applies to the sum. The alternatives in each case are formed by substituting the subject with its subparts. In the case of (1), this creates alternatives that do not entail one another. For example, if *a*, *b*, and *c* together bought a car, it does not follow that *a* and *b* together bought a car (see Figure 1). Going by the meanings of the alternatives, then, there is no reason for any of them to be less likely than the others, so having *dou* provides the additional, non-trivial inference that the prejacent is the least likely one. This is not the case for (2), however. Here, the predicate is interpreted distributively with the help of a *dist* operator (Schwarzschild 1996), and this makes the prejacent of *dou* the logically strongest among its alternatives; if *a*, *b*, and *c* each bought a car, it follows that *a* and *b* each bought a car (see Figure 2). Because the prejacent is stronger than all of its alternatives, it follows that it is the least likely of them (Crnič 2011). Therefore, the presupposition of *dou* is automatically satisfied in such cases. To Liu, this is why we don't sense the *even* flavor of *dou* in (2).

Liu's theory, however, encounters a problem when a collective predicate does generate a logical entailment between the prejacent and its alternatives. In (4), the prejacent of *dou* logically entails all of its alternatives in (5). For example, if *j*, *b*, and *t* together cannot reach the flag, it follows that *j* and *b* together cannot reach the flag.

(4) *Context: Mr. Smith is organizing students to play a human stacking game. The purpose is to reach a flag 6 meters high from the ground. John, Bill, and Tim are the tallest students in the class. Without knowing the height of the flag, Mary asks Sue: 'Can John and Bill together reach it?' Sue says:*

Yuehan, Bier he Dimu jiaqilai dou gou bu zhao, gengbuyong shuo Yuehan he
John Bill and Tim together DOU reach NEG touch, needless say John and
Bier liang ge ren le.
Bill two CL person ASP
'**Even** John, Bill and Tim together cannot reach the flag (RTF). Needless to say the two of John and Bill.'

(5) $Alt(\neg\Diamond(\uparrow j \oplus b \oplus t \text{ RTF})) = \{\neg\Diamond(\uparrow j \oplus b \text{ RTF}),\ \neg\Diamond(\uparrow b \oplus t \text{ RTF}),\ \neg\Diamond(\uparrow j \oplus t \text{ RTF}),$
$\neg\Diamond(\uparrow j \text{ RTF}),\ \neg\Diamond(\uparrow b \text{ RTF}),\ \neg\Diamond(\uparrow t \text{ RTF})\}$

On Liu's theory, (4) and (2) should behave alike, because in both cases the prejacent of *dou* is the strongest among its alternatives. The theory therefore predicts that the presupposition of *dou* be trivialized in (4), and that its *even* flavor go undetected. But in fact, the only possible reading of (4) is an *even* reading where we compare the height of the human stack formed by the group of John, Bill, and Tim with the height of the subparts. The problem applies to all collective predications that induce entailment in this way. (6), for example, presents the same challenge to Liu as (4).

(6) Yuehan, Mali he Bi'er yiqi dou keyi ji jin zhe ge hezi, geng bu yong shuo
John Mary and Bill together DOU can squeeze into this CL box, more NEG need say
Yuehan he Mali liang ge ren le.
John and Mary two CL people SFP
'**Even** J, M and B together can squeeze into the box, let alone the two of J and M.'

In conclusion, examples like (4) and (6) pose a problem to any theory that reduces *dou* to *even*, and that links the *even* flavor of *dou* to the absence of logical entailment between its prejacent and other alternatives.

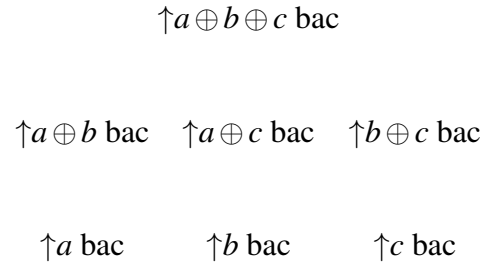

Figure 1: Logical independence in sentence (1) — "bac"=*bought a car*

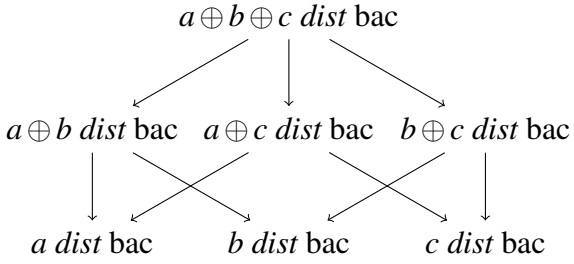

Figure 2: Logical entailment relations in sentence (2) — "bac"=*bought a car*

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Argument ellipsis in Left Node Raising in Japanese

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2020-038-kimu

Japanese has sentences such as (1a), involving what is called Left Node Raising (LNR), an apparent mirror image of Right Node Raising (RNR) in (1b). In LNR, the shared fronted NP ('book' in (1a)) is interpreted in both conjuncts.

(1) a. **Hon-o** John-ga ___ kaki, (sosite) Mary-ga ___ yonda.
book-ACC John-NOM ___ wrote (and) Mary-NOM ___ read
Lit: 'The book, John wrote and Mary read.'

b. John wrote ___ , and Mary read ___ , **a book**.

Some researchers claim that RNR is derived by Across-the-Board (ATB) movement of a shared NP (e.g., Ross 1967, Sabbagh 2007, Abe and Hornstein 2012, and Kimura 2018). Similarly, LNR is argued to be derived by leftward ATB movement of a shared NP, as in (2) (e.g., Abe and Nakao 2012 and Nakao 2010).

(2) [Hon-o$_i$ [John-ga t_i kaki], (sosite) [Mary-ga t_i yonda]]

Indeed, LNR shows sensitivity to islands, as illustrated in (3).

(3) ***[Sono saihu-o]$_i$** John-ga [t_i hirot-ta hito]-o sagasi,
the wallet-ACC John-NOM pick-up-PAST person-ACC look-for
Mary-ga [t_i nusum-ooto si-ta otoko]-o oikake-ta.
Mary-NOM steal-to do-PAST man-ACC chase-PAST
'The wallet, John looked for [the person who picked up], and Mary chased [the man who tried to steal]' (Nakao 2010:160)

In this snippet, however, I will discuss data that cannot be explained by the ATB movement analysis of LNR. First of all, (4), where a shared NP is fronted, is grammatical.

(4) [**Sono hon-o**]$_i$ Taroo-wa [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ Hanako-ga e_i katta] to] itta si,
that book-ACC Taroo-TOP Hanako-NOM bought COMP said and
Ziroo-mo [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ Hanako-ga e_i katta] to] itta.
Ziroo-too Hanako-NOM bought COMP said
'Taroo said that Hanako bought the book, and Ziroo also said that she bought it'

Second, as Shinohara (2006) and Saito (2007) argue, argument/CP-ellipsis resists extraction from within the ellipsis site, as in (5). This is because the ellipsis site is filled by an empty slot with no internal structure (and is resolved by LF-copying).

(5) *[**Hon-o**]$_i$ Taroo-wa [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ Hanako-ga ___$_i$ katta] to] itta si,
book-ACC Taroo-NOM Hanako-NOM bought COMP said and
[zassi-o] Ziroo-wa [$_{CP}$ *e*] itta.
magazine-ACC Ziroo-TOP said
Intended: 'Taroo said that Hanako bought a book, and Ziroo said that she bought a magazine' (Saito 2017:724)

Given this background, consider the following sentence. (6) is an instance of LNR, where the embedded CP in the second clause is elided. If, as the ATB analysis of LNR suggests, the shared NP undergoes ATB movement, (6) should be ungrammatical because extraction from within the elided CP is banned as we saw in (5).

(6) [**Sono hon-o**]$_i$ Taroo-wa [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ Hanako-ga ___$_i$ katta] to] itta si,
that book-ACC Taroo-TOP Hanako-NOM bought COMP said and
Ziroo-mo [$_{CP}$ *e*] itta.
Ziroo-too said

(Saito 2017:725)

The above argument suggests that LNR can be derived by extraction with argument ellipsis, moving the shared NP either to the front of the first conjunct, or asymmentrically out of the first conjunct, and also applying argument ellipsis to the second conjunct, as in (7). As expected, a sloppy reading is available in (8).

(7) [[shared NP]$_i$ … [subj verb t_i] and [subj verb *e*]]

(8) [**Zibun$_{i/j}$-no musume-o**$_k$ [Taro$_i$-wa t_k shikari], [Jiro$_j$-wa *e* nagusameta]].
self-GEN daughter-ACC Taroo-TOP scolded Jiro-TOP consoled
Lit: 'Self's daughter, Taro scolded and Jiro consoled.'

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Backward gapping is not RNR: Evidence from Determiner Sharing

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2020-038-schw

Backward gapping (BG), i.e. omission of a verb(al complex) in the first conjunct of a coordination (1a), has been argued to be due to the same operation that also derives Right Node Raising constructions (RNR), (1b) (Hankamer 1979, Wesche 1995 Kornfilt 2000, Hernández 2007 a.o.)

(1) a. … dass [jeder Gallier seiner Familie ~~von Obelix erzählt~~] und [jeder Legionär
that every Gaul his.DAT family.DAT of Obelix tells and every legionary
seinem Präfekten von Obelix erzählt]
his.DAT prefect.DAT of Obelix tells
'that every Gaul tells his family about Obelix and every legionary tells his prefect about Obelix'

b. … dass [jeder Gallier hofft ~~auf Obelix zu treffen~~] und [jeder Feind vermeidet auf
that every Gaul hopes at Obelix to meet and every enemy avoids at
Obelix zu treffen]
Obelix to meet
'that every Gaul hopes to meet Obelix and every enemy avoids meeting Obelix'

In this snippet, I want to share an observation that is puzzling under the view that BG reduces to RNR: determiner sharing can be licensed by (backward) gapping, but not by RNR. Determiner sharing constructions (DS) are gapping structures which also allow the omission of a determiner or quantifier (2a) (McCawley 1993, Johnson 2000, Lin 2002, and others). Crucially, this omission is dependent on verbal gapping (2b). If the verb surfaces overtly in the second conjunct, as in (2b), the interpretation of a missing quantifier becomes impossible, and (2b) cannot refer to *few cats*, but only to *cats in general*.

(2) a. **Few** dogs like Whiskas and ~~few~~ cats ~~like~~ Alpo. = *few cats*
b. #Few dogs like Whiskas and ~~few~~ cats like Alpo. (Johnson 2000)

German allows RNR, forward and backward gapping, and DS, and thus presents an ideal test case. (3) illustrates that DS is possible in a backward gapping coordination in German, but not in an RNR construction. The judgments are subtle but 82% of interviewed native speakers (28 out of 34) report the contrast of (3a) vs. (3b).

(3) a. … dass [jeder Gallier seiner Familie ~~von Obelix erzählt~~] und ~~jeder~~ Legionär
that every Gaul his.DAT family.DAT of Obelix tells and every legionary
seinem Präfekten von Obelix erzählt
his.DAT prefect.DAT of Obelix tells
'that every Gaul tells his family about Obelix and every legionary tells his prefect about Obelix'

b. ?*… dass [jeder Gallier hofft ~~auf Obelix zu treffen~~] und [~~jeder~~ Feind vermeidet auf
that every Gaul hopes at Obelix to meet and every enemy avoids at
Obelix zu treffen]
Obelix to meet
'that every Gaul hopes to meet Obelix and every enemy avoids meeting Obelix'

(3a) shows a backward gapping structure that licenses DS: the verb and one of its arguments are omitted in the first conjunct and the quantifier is omitted in the second conjunct. Still, the quantifier is interpreted as if it was there overtly. In (3b) where the clausal complement has been right-node raised, that interpretation of the quantifier is not possible. Note that bare singular nouns are disallowed in German, so if DS is not possible, the sentence should become ungrammatical. If backward gapping and RNR are underlyingly the same operation, the contrast in (3b) is in need of an explanation.

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A curious A/$\overline{\text{A}}$ non-interaction in Tamil double-object constructions

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.7358/snip-2020-038-sund

Double object constructions (DOCs) in Norwegian (Lundquist 2006) and Zulu (Adams 2010) are symmetric for A and $\overline{\text{A}}$-extractions: i.e. either Recipient (R) or Theme (Th) may be passivized or *wh*-extracted. But a curious asymmetry arises when passivization is combined with *wh*-extraction: Th-*wh*+R-passivization is licit, but R-*wh*+Th-passivization is not. Holmberg et al. (2019) argue that this "Double Object Movement Asymmetry (DOMA)" is more pervasive, applying to symmetric and asymmetric languages (like Italian: ✓Th-*wh*; ✓R-*wh*; ✓Th-passive; ×R-passive) alike. For Holmberg et al., DOMA follows from intervention and the PIC (Chomsky 2001; Citko 2014). In a Th-passive, the Theme first A-moves to the ApplP phase edge containing both Theme and Recipient, blocking subsequent $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement of the Recipient to that edge, thereby making it invisible to extraction at C — analogously with subject/object extraction asymmetries with syntactic ergatives (Aldridge 2008).

Here, I showcase an unexpected violation of DOMA in Tamil (Dravidian). DOCs in Tamil pattern just like in Italian (✓Th-*wh*; ✓R-*wh*; ✓Th-passive; ×R-passive). Given DOMA, we still predict that Th-passive + R-*wh* should be barred even if Th-pass + Th-*wh* is licit (as in Italian). But curiously, both options are perfectly licit, as shown in (2), given the baselines in (1).

(1) a. Sri Sai-kkŭ andæ pustagatt-æ kuɖŭttaan.
Sri Sai-DAT that book-ACC gave
'Sri gave Sai that book (Active DOC)'

b. Andæ pustagam Sai-kkŭ kuɖŭkka-paʈʈ-adŭ.
that book.NOM Sai-DAT give-PASS-3NSG
'That book was given to Sai' (Th-passive)

(2) a. Endæ pustagam sai-kkŭ kuɖŭkka-paʈʈ-adŭ?
which book.NOM Sai-DAT give-PASS-3NSG
'Which book was given to Sai?' (Th-*wh* + Th-passive)

b. Andæ pustagam yaar-ŭkkŭ kuɖŭkka-paʈʈ-adŭ?
that book.NOM who-DAT give-PASS-3NSG
'Who was that book given' (×DOMA: R-*wh* + Th-passive)

Various objections that the data above constitute a counterexample can be rejected. First, Holmberg et al. argue that *to*-PPs are exempt from DOMA due to their different thematic structure. But (2b) cannot involve a *to*-PP. Recipients in *to*-PP structures are suffixed with a postposition *kiʈʈæ*, not a dative marker, and show systematic interpretive (Oehrle 1976) and verb-class (Levin 1993) distinctions from the dative variant, paralleling those observed for *to*-PPs vs. DOCs, respectively (Sundaresan 2006). Second, DOCs in languages with fully symmetric passives, e.g. Luganda

(Niger-Congo), seem exempt from DOMA (Holmberg et al. 2017). But Tamil is asymmetric for passivization (✓Th-passive; ×R-passive). Third, Holmberg et al. show, e.g. for Sesotho (Niger-Congo), that DOMA is violable if R is inanimate and Th is animate. But in (2b), R is animate and Th is inanimate and DOMA is still violated.

Finally, given that Tamil is wh-in-situ on the surface, a ready explanation could be that the *wh*-elements in (2) are not extracted at all, but are unselectively bound in-situ. A common diagnostic to tease these options apart involves intervention effects (e.g. Beck 2006 and Kotek 2019). A c-commanding scope-bearing element should block in-situ *wh*-licensing, yielding ungrammaticality; but if the *wh*-element can covertly move past the scope-bearing element at LF, such intervention should be obviated. Applying the diagnostic to Tamil shows that focus- intervention effects are prominently absent in ditransitives with a *wh*-Theme (3) or *wh*-Goal (4) showing that *wh*-elements are covertly extracted in such structures.

(3) Raman Seetha-vŭkkŭ maʈʈum ed-æ kuɖŭ-tt-aan?
Raman.NOM Seetha-DAT only.FOC what-ACC give-PST-3MSG
'What did Raman give only Seetha?'

(4) Raman pustagatt-æ maʈʈum jaar-ŭkkŭ kuɖŭ-tt-aan?
Raman.NOM book-ACC only.FOC who-DAT give-PST-3MSG
'Who(m) did Raman give only the book?'

Preliminary further evidence in violation of DOMA, which also suggests that the *wh*-in-/ex-situ parameter is independent of the DOMA-violation, comes from German. German is *wh*-ex-situ with a DOC profile like Italian/Tamil (✓Th-wh; ✓R-wh; ✓Th-passive; × R-passive), but it potentially also violates DOMA:

(5) Ich habe ihm den Kuchen gegeben.
I.NOM have him.DAT the.ACC cake given.PTCP
'I gave him the cake.' (Active)

(6) Welche-r Kuchen wurde ihm gegeben?
which-NOM cake was.PASS him.DAT given.PTCP
'Which cake was he given?' (Th-*wh* + Th-passive)

(7) Wem wurde der Kuchen gegeben?
who.DAT was.PASS the.NOM cake given.PTCP
'Who was the cake given?' (×DOMA: R-*wh* + Th-passive)

A different explanation for DOMA is thus called for.

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