

#3 – Incremental Grammar (Additional examples)

Liberality of Coordination

- (1) Wallace will give Gromit crackers for breakfast.
- (2) a. [Wallace]
b. Wallace and Wendolene gave Gromit crackers for breakfast.
- (3) a. [Wallace will]
b. Wallace will and Wendolene probably won't give Gromit crackers for breakfast.
- (4) a. [Wallace [will give]]
b. Wallace will give and Wendolene will send their favorite beagle some crackers for his birthday.
c. Wallace will design but won't send an exciting new invention for his dog's birthday.
- (5) a. [Wallace [will [give Gromit]]]
b. Wallace will give Gromit and Wendolene will give Preston a shining new collar for walking about town.
c. Wallace will give Gromit and send Preston a shining new collar for walking about town.
- (6) a. [Wallace [will [give [Gromit crackers]]]]
b. Wallace will give Gromit crackers and Wendolene will give Preston dog food for breakfast.
c. Wallace will give Gromit crackers and Preston dog food for breakfast.
- (7) a. [Wallace [will [give [Gromit [crackers for breakfast]]]]]
b. Wallace will give Gromit crackers for breakfast and Wendolene will give Preston dog food for dinner.
c. Wallace will give Gromit crackers for breakfast and toast for lunch.
- (8) a. * The man [who built the rocket has] and [who studied robots designed] a dog.
b. * Wallace gave his [dog half a dozen] and [sheep a handful of] crackers for breakfast.
c. * After Wallace fed [his dog the postman] and [his sheep the milkman] arrived.

Movement

- (9) The crackers, Wallace likes ___.
- (10) a. [_{TopP} [_{NP} the crackers] Top⁰]
b. [_{TopP} [_{NP} the crackers] Top⁰] [Wallace [_{VP} likes]
c. [_{TopP} [_{NP} the crackers] Top⁰] [Wallace [_{VP} likes [_{NP} the crackers]]]

Scope Reconstruction

- (11) How many people did Mary decide to hire?

“After a day of interviews, Mary finds 7 people who really impress her, and she decides to hire them. None of the other people impress her. However, she knows that she needs 40 more people for the job. After thinking about it for a while she decides to hire 50 -- the 7 that she likes, and 43 others to be decided by a lottery.”
- (12) a. * How many houses in John's city does he think you should build?
b. How many houses in John's city does he think you should destroy?

- (13) a. * How many papers that John writes does he think will be published?
 b. How many papers that John wrote does he think will be published?

(14) * How proud of John does he think Mary is?

Japanese VP-ellipsis

- (15) a. John-ga isoide dono hon-mo yonda.
 -nom quickly all books-acc read
 'John read all the books quickly.'
 (collective & distributive readings available)
- b. John-ga dono hon-mo isoide yonda.
 -nom all books-acc quickly read
 'John read all the books quickly.'
 (distributive reading only)
- (16) a. John-wa isoide dono hon-mo yonda, (sosite) Mary-wa yukkuri soosita.
 John-top quickly all books-acc read, (and) Mary-top slowly did-so
 'John read all the books quickly, and Mary did slowly.'
 (collective reading only)
- b. * John-wa dono hon-mo isoide yonda, (sosite) Mary-wa yukkuri soosita.
 John-top all books-acc quickly read, (and) Mary-top slowly did-so
 'John read all the books quickly, and Mary did slowly.'
 (both scopes impossible)

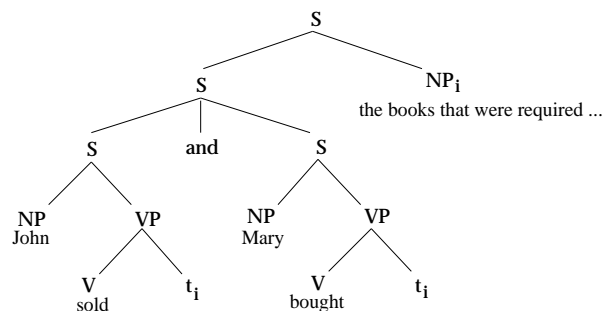
Loss of Scope in VPE

- (17) Wallace likes cheese, and Gromit does too.
 (18) Some student liked every candidate.
 (19) Some student liked every candidate, and the Dean did too.
 (20) Some student liked every candidate, and some administrator did too.

(see Sag 1976, Williams 1977, Hirschbuhler 1982, Diesing 1992, Fox 1995)

Right Node Raising

(21)



(22) a. I know that John sold a large stack of linguistics books.
and
I know that Mary bought a large stack of linguistics books.

b.

I know that $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{John sold} \\ \text{and} \\ \text{Mary bought} \end{array} \right\rangle$ a large stack of linguistics books

- RNR does not induce wh-island violations (Wexler & Culicover 1980)

(23) a. * What does Mary know a man who buys and Bill know a man who sells?
b. * It is pictures of Fred that Mary knows a man who buys and Bill knows a man who sells.
c. Mary knows a man who buys and Bill knows a man who sells pictures of Fred.

- Languages in which preposition stranding is strictly banned allow sharing of the complement of prepositions (McCloskey 1986)

(24) Níl sé in aghaidh an dlí a thuilleadh a bheith ag éisteacht le
is-not it against the law anymore be listen(prog)
nó ag breathnú ar ráidió agus teilifís an Iarthair.
with or look(prog) on radio and television the West(gen)
'It is no longer against the law to listen to, or to watch—Western radio and television.'

- Sequences of phrases that can never move leftwards or rightwards can be shared in RNR

(25) a. [John will] and [Mary already has] mailed the conference program to all of the presenters.
b. [John will post] and [Mary is about to e-mail] a copy of the conference program to all of the presenters.
c. [John will mail the abstracts] and [Mary is about to e-mail the program] to anybody who registered in advance.

(26) a. * (and) [mailed the conference program to all of the presenters] Mary already has.
b. * [A copy of the conference program to all of the presenters] Mary is about to e-mail.

(27) a. * Mary already has ___ from her local post office [mailed the conference program to all of the presenters].
b. * Mary is about to email ___ from her company account [a copy of the conference program to all of the presenters].

- C-command tests make shared material appear in-situ

(28) a. [Everyone_i liked] and [at least one person_i loved] the paper he_i had been asked to review.
b. [Nobody enjoyed] and [few people even liked] any of the talks on Right Node Raising.
c. * [I know that she_i said] and [I think we all agree] that Mary_i needs a new car.

(29) a. ? His mother, everyone likes.
cf. Everyone likes his mother.
b. * Which picture of Mary_i did she_j like?
cf. * She liked a picture of Mary.

(30) * Whose theory about anything does John not like?
cf. John doesn't like Bill's theory about anything.

