

Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen

English Linguistics

A Classification of Right Node Raising

Are some instances of Right Node Raising parentheticals?

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Abstract

The term Right Node Raising (RNR) refers to a parallel construction in which a sentence-peripheral element seems to be shared by both conjuncts but is only realized in the second (e.g. Mary likes, but Sue hates the TV show). The enormous flexibility of this phenomenon has occupied researchers' interest for some decades now.

The aim of this thesis is twofold. First, I am going to provide an extensive overview of the phenomenon and its properties. This classification will serve as the basis for the evaluation of current syntactic approaches to RNR. Along with other researchers, I will come to the conclusion that an eclectic approach is needed. Secondly, I will investigate the question whether RNR might also receive a parenthetical interpretation in some instances (referred to as *parenthetical RNR*). I argue that a parenthetical interpretation makes fundamentally different predictions with respect to the overall syntax and the status of the target. Instead of assuming a coordinate structure between two conjuncts of the same type, a parenthetical approach postulates the existence of a non-coordinated host sentence which is interpolated by an elliptical string of words introduced by some kind of connective (the parenthetical). The difference is illustrated in (1) and (2).

(1) Non-parenthetical (movement, multidomination, ellipsis)

[_{Con1} target] [_{Con2} *Connective* target]

(2) Parenthetical

[_{Host} [_{parenthetical} *Connective*] target]

To support this claim, I present the results of a BNC corpus study, searching for examples where the punctuation (brackets or dashes) marks the construction as a parenthetical. The analysis of these examples provides the opportunity to gain valuable insights about what kinds of instances are possible candidates for a parenthetical interpretation when punctuation is inconclusive (commas).

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1. Introduction

The classical case of *Right Node Raising* (RNR) exhibits a more or less parallel structure¹ between two coordinated conjuncts, in which some element is shared by both conjuncts but is only realized in the right periphery of the last conjunct. An example is given in (1).

(1) Bill likes, but Mary dislikes the TV show. (Ha 2008: 15)

The construction can take various forms and its flexibility is a challenge for any theory of syntax. Up to this day, there has been an on-going debate about how this construction is syntactically derived. The discussion disembogued into a competition between three proposals: 1. ATB-movement to the right, 2. multidomination, and 3. ellipsis. However, none of the three approaches on its own is able to capture all facets of the phenomenon. For that reason, Barros & Vicente (2011) and Chaves (2014) have argued for an eclectic approach claiming that RNR is only a superficial descriptive term.

Apart from the three approaches mentioned above, there is a tradition of listing RNR as a parenthetical. A parenthetical interpretation of RNR makes fundamentally different predictions with respect to the status of the target and the nature of the apparent parallelism. Instead of assuming a coordinate structure between two conjuncts of the same type, a parenthetical approach postulates the existence of a non-coordinated host sentence which is interpolated by an elliptical string of words introduced by some kind of connective (the parenthetical). The difference is illustrated in (2) and (3).

(2) Non-parenthetical (movement, multidomination, ellipsis)²

[_{Con1} target] [_{Con2} *Connective* target]

(3) Parenthetical

[_{Host} [_{parenthetical} *Connective*] target]

Nonetheless, the question whether some instances of RNR might classify as such has not received much attention in the literature so far. The aim of this thesis is to investigate the following questions:

¹ I have purposely kept the description vague at this point. I will discuss the parallel requirement in more detail in section 2.

² Note that this representation is simplified, e.g. in a multidomination approach, there is only one target and a movement approach assumes that the target attaches above both conjuncts.

- i. What kind of forms can RNR take?
- ii. Which approach is able to account for what kind of data?
- iii. Are some instances of RNR parenthetical in nature?

In section 2, I will address question one by describing the surface structural properties of RNR. The goal is to provide a classification which serves as the basis in order to answer question two. I consider different domains (i.e. the size of the conjuncts), examples with and without coordination, properties of the target, the contrast requirement on the pre-RNR element, and general prosodic properties of RNR. Section 3 first discusses all three exclusive analyses and then moves on to eclectic approaches. I will explain each proposal in turn and point out the problematic cases for each account by examining how the proposals fare with respect to the data collection in section 2. Section 4 addresses the question whether some instances of RNR should be interpreted as parentheticals. Since this area has not received much attention in the literature, it is necessary to explore where properties of RNR overlap with that of parentheticals. In order to support this idea, I conducted a corpus study searching for examples which structurally classify as RNR but involve dashes or brackets which mark the construction as a parenthetical due to the punctuation. I claim that the existence of these examples proves that there must be some instances of RNR with commas that have the potential to receive a parenthetical interpretation. Section 5 concludes this thesis.

2. RNR on the surface

Depending on the theoretical perspective, the phenomenon of RNR has been discussed under various names in the literature. Ross (1967) and Wilder (1997) called the construction 'Backward Conjunction Reduction', Radford (1988) refers to it as 'Shared Constituent Coordination', and Höhle (1992) as 'Right Periphery Ellipsis'. The term 'Right Node Raising' goes back to Postal (1974) and has been used in most research ever since.

RNR can take a number of forms and apply at different structural levels. It is commonly assumed that it exhibits the following characteristics: First, a relatively parallel structure between two (coordinated) conjuncts. Secondly, there is some element at the edge of each conjunct which is shared by both conjuncts but is only realized in the right periphery of the last conjunct. Thirdly, the shared element is preceded by contrasting elements which bear pitch accents. It is important to note that definitions vary. For instance, Hartmann (2000), Féry & Hartmann (2005), and (Ha 2008) mostly discuss examples at the clausal level, and they take the coordination to be an inherent part of RNR. Other authors adopt a broader definition and take non-clausal as well as non-coordinated examples into account. In this thesis, I will follow the latter definition.

The shared string at the end of the second conjunct is referred to as the target and can be of almost any length (for a discussion of some limitations, see section 2.3.2). Depending on the theoretical approach, some researchers distinguish between covert and overt targets. The remainder of the sentence is called the remnant. I will refer to the elements immediately preceding the target as the pre-RNR element. The string of words to the left of the conjunction is the first conjunct; the string of words to the right is the second conjunct. The terminology is illustrated in (1) below. Non-spell-out of the covert target in the first conjunct is indicated with crossed-out letters.

- (1) Mary arrives ~~at 5 p.m.~~ and Peter leaves at 5 p.m.
1st Conjunct 2nd Conjunct
Target: at 5 p.m.
Remnant: Mary arrives; Peter leaves
Pre-RNR element: arrives; leaves

The phrasal complexity of the two coordinated conjuncts, the domain, may be clausal, verbal, prepositional, nominal, or on the word level. Most examples discussed in the

literature belong to the clausal domain such as (1). Although we will see that there are different theoretical approaches (see section 3), the terminology introduced here can more or less be applied to all of them.

In the following sections, I am going to categorize occurrences of RNR according to their surface structure. After having introduced the different domains in section 2.1, I will discuss different types of coordination, including examples with coordination-like elements and non-coordinated examples. Section 2.3 deals with mismatches in the target, an area that has received much attention in the discussion about RNR, and examines the form and size, focusing on the question of what kinds of elements are barred as targets. Section 2.4 discusses the nature of the contrast requirement. The last section is dedicated to the general prosody of RNR and how the contrast requirement is prosodically realized.

The aim of the classification is to provide a comprehensive overview of the phenomena and to give an impression of the flexibility of the construction.

2.1 The domain

2.1.1 Clausal domain

Most recent research on RNR has focused on the clausal domain (e.g. Hartmann 2000; Féry & Hartmann 2005; Ha 2008); in particular, on instances where the pre-RNR elements are verbs that contrast with each other as in (2).

(2) Bill likes, but Mary dislikes **the TV show**. (Ha 2008: 15)

The target *the TV show* functions as the direct object of the two-place predicates *likes* and *dislikes* simultaneously although it is only overtly present in the second conjunct. Example (3) shows that the tense of the verbs does not have to be identical. In the first conjunct, the verb displays present perfect (*has promised*) whereas the second conjunct is in simple present (*refuses*).

(3) Larry has promised, but Jim refuses **to support reform**.

(Wikipedia: Right Node Raising)

Complex verbs with prepositions such as *talk about* can also be involved in RNR.

(4) John talked about, and Mary ignored **the man you met in Paris**.

(Boškovic 1997/2004: 19)

Even three-place predicates are possible candidates. In (5), the pre-RNR elements are a combination of V+NP+P.

- (5) Mary found a solution to, and John will write a book about **one of the great unsolved problems of syntax**. (Abels 2004: 47)

Another example with two three-place predicates can be seen in (6). This time, it is not the predicate which constitutes the opposition but the second argument of each conjunct *to Mary* and *to Sue*.

- (6) John gave t_i to Mary, and Mary gave t_i to Sue [**an expensive present**] $_i$. (Ha 2008: 1)

If one wants to adhere to the assumption that only material at the very right edge of each conjunct can be RNRred (commonly referred to as the *Right Edge Restriction*), (6) poses a problem at first glance. The restriction can be saved if one assumes that movement has taken place prior to RNR. Wilder (1997) claims that Heavy-NP-Shift (HNPS)³ feeds RNR in examples such as (6). This is illustrated in (7) for both conjuncts.

- (7) First conjunct: John gave t_i to Mary [**an expensive present**] $_i$.
 Second conjunct: Mary gave t_k to Sue [**an expensive present**] $_k$.

Under the premise that conjunct internal movement of the NPs has taken place in (6), the target can be RNRred without violating the Right Edge Restriction. (8) shows that conjunct internal movement can also take place in only one of the conjuncts.

- (8) [John bought t] and [Mary put t in the fridge (t)] **two bottles of champagne**.
 (Wilder 1997: 84)

Wilder (1997) points out that conjunct internal movement can only feed RNR in cases where the pre-RNRred conjuncts are grammatical. This explains the ungrammaticality of (9) where the movement in the second conjunct is not licit. The NP *the boy who lives next door* cannot undergo HNPS and, therefore, RNR is blocked.

- (9) *[Mary congratulated t] and [John gave t a present] **the boy who lives next door**.
 (Wilder 1997: 84)

³ Note that the operation is traditionally referred to as HNPS, although most syntacticians would agree that what is actually moved is a DP and not an NP.

Kluck & de Vries (2013) observe the same feeding phenomena for relative clauses as in (10). They conclude that extraposition generally is able to feed RNR in English.

(10) John saw a girl _ in TOWN_, and Joey saw a boy _ in the LIBRARY **who was playing cello**. (Kluck & de Vries 2013: 293)

In (10), the typical RNR intonation with pitch accents on the pre-RNR elements is crucial. Without stress on *town* and *library* Kluck & de Vries' (2013) informants favoured an interpretation in which the extraposed relative clause is only associated with *a boy* but not with *a girl* simultaneously. I will go into more detail about the role of prosody in section 2.5.

Modal auxiliaries (11) and the copular *be* (12) are also able to serve as pre-RNR elements in the clausal domain. A combination of the two is possible as well (see (13)).

(11) John can, and Peter must **win**. (Boškovic 1997/2004: 15)

(12) Sandra is, and her father was **a professor at the University of Tübingen**.

(13) Jake is, and Anna will be **a lawyer at court**.

As already mentioned above, there must be some kind of contrast between the two conjuncts, otherwise RNR is not licensed (see section 2.4 for a closer look at the nature of the contrast requirement). In (14) and (15), the necessary opposition is established by negation.

(14) Mary can, but Bill can't **swim across the river**. (Ha 2008: 1)

(15) Cathy met, but Mary didn't meet **her husband at the train station**. (Ha 2008: 141)

Boškovic (1997/2004) observed that there is a restriction on RNR in the presence of *be* and *have*. The auxiliaries in (16) must be overtly present in the first conjunct although the modal auxiliaries *must* and *could* create an opposition on its own.

(16) a. John must have been, and Peter could have been **hassled by the police**.

b. ?*John must, and Peter could **have been hassled by the police**.

(Boškovic 1997/2004: 16)

Examples such as (16) question the idea that it must be exclusively the element immediately preceding the target that has to be in a contrasting relationship in order to license RNR (see Hartmann 2000).

Prepositions (17), determiners (18), and adjectives (19) are also suitable to serve as pre-RNR elements. See below for examples.

(17) The cat sat on, and the dog sat near **the fat man**. (Larson 2011: 10)

(18) You buy those, and I'll buy these **roses**. (Sabbagh 2014: 2, footnote)

(19) John likes the big, and Tim likes the small **book of poetry**.

(20) and (21) demonstrate that RNR can even right node raise word parts. In (20), the verbs *undergenerate* and *overgenerate* are morphologically derived by combining a preposition with a verb. In (21), the prefixes combine with the word *war*; taken together they form adjectives that modify the target.

(20) Your theory under- and my theory **overgenerates**. (Wilder 1997: 83)

(21) Maria wrote her dissertation about pre-, and Tobi wrote his dissertation about **postwar** Germany.

As an interim conclusion, we have seen that RNR is very versatile with respect to the pre-RNR element. Heads, parts of words, or more complex strings can establish the required contrast and license RNR in the clausal domain.

All examples mentioned so far were cases in which the subject of the two conjuncts differed. However, it is also possible to have the same referent in both conjuncts. In (22) the pronoun *she* in the second conjunct refers to *Amanda*, the subject in the first conjunct. In (23) the subjects are dropped in the second conjunct.

(22) Amanda is, or at least she used to be, **my best friend**. (Peterson 1999: 242)

(23) a. Syntax students dislike, or at least barely tolerate **4h exams**.

b. John wants to visit, but has forgotten how to contact **his aunt**.

(Cann et al. 2005: 504)

In (24) not only the overt subject is missing but also the auxiliary *were*. The example is controversial since one could also interpret it as a simple coordination of *investigating* and *often delineating*. I tend to favour the latter interpretation.

(24) We were investigating and often delineating **unknown geological territory**.

(Selkirk 2002)

Furthermore, RNR is not restricted to matrix clauses. For instance, in (25) the two *that*-clauses are embedded in the same matrix clause. The degree of embedding seems to be insignificant.

- (25) I'm sure you're aware that the adults will nullify, but that children will modify a **radical agenda** (Selkirk 2002)

Furthermore, the degree of embedding does not have to be identical in both conjuncts. In (26), the first conjunct is a simple sentence where the target serves as the direct object of the verb *like*, whereas in the second conjunct the target fulfils the role of a complement to the infinitive *to find*.

- (26) Mary likes, and Jane would go anywhere to find **antique horse-brasses** from the workshop of that genius in metalwork, Sam Small. (Hudson 1976: 535)

Another example is given in (27) where the target in the first conjunct functions as the complement of the infinitive *to buy* and as a complement of an infinitive in the second conjunct which is additionally embedded in a relative clause.

- (27) John wants to buy, and Sam knows the name of someone who is willing to sell, a **1950s Jaguar**. (Cann et al. 2005: 504)

The examples above pose a problem for any theory which proposes a condition of syntactic parallelism between the conjuncts (Hartmann 2000; te Velde 2005).

In literature, it has been discussed at great length that RNR seems to be insensitive to different kinds of so-called islands. The term *island* was coined by Ross (1967), who used it to refer to structures which constitute a barrier for extraction. Examples of a *wh*-island, a complex NP-island, and an adjunct island are given in (28). The respective island is marked with square brackets if possible.

- (28) a. Susan wonders [when John ordered], and Bill wants to know [when he returned] **the tickets for the opera.** (Wh-island)
- b. John likes a professor [who lectured on], and Mary likes a graduate student [who debunked] **a recent theory of Right Node Raising.** (Complex NP island)
- c. Josh was happy [after he heard of – but Willy got angry [after finding out about] **the news that the food chain will no longer carry live lobster.** (Adjunct island)
- (Ha 2008: 39)

Naturally, these examples only constitute island violations in terms of a movement approach.

To sum up, RNR in the clausal domain exhibits great variety. Pre-RNR elements can have different statuses in the conjuncts, and the degree of embedding can deviate. Hence, the conjuncts do not have to be parallel.

2.1.2 Verbal domain, nominal domain and prepositional domain

RNR can also occur between conjuncts with a status lower than the clausal domain, namely the verbal, prepositional, or nominal domain. To my knowledge, these examples have received far less attention in the RNR literature. With respect to the pre-RNR element, the examples display a considerable overlap to the examples in the clausal domain.

In (29), the RNR takes place in the verbal domain. The target *that theory* has to be associated with the right edge of both VPs. The two conjuncts together form the subject of a copular clause.

(29) [Having to read] and [being forced to summarize] **that theory** is horrible.

(Wikipedia: Right Node Raising)

More frequent are examples in the nominal domain such as given in (30) and (31). In (30), the determiner in the second conjunct precludes an analysis of a simple coordination. The target noun *men* is understood to be modified by the adjectives *young* and *old*. (31) shows that the target can also be a PP-complement.

(30) [The young] and [the old] **men** arrived. (Osborne 2006: 39)

(31) [My presentation] and [your explanation] **of the new theory** could not be understood. (Wikipedia: Right Node Raising)

Another example of RNR in the nominal domain is given in (32). Here, the target is part of a prepositional phrase modifying a noun.

(32) Will he try to gain [a seat on] or [control of] **the board** ... (Chaves 2014: 839)

As (33) exemplifies, RNR can also occur within two PPs.

(33) Holmes rebels against the social conventions of his day not [on moral] but rather [on aesthetic] **grounds**. (Chaves 2014: 839)

2.1.3 Word domain

One interesting and frequently mentioned fact about RNR is that there are examples that take place below the word level. In (34), the pre-RNR targets are the prepositional prefixes *under* and *over*; the target is the noun *generation*.

- (34) This analysis suffers from both UNDER-<generation> and OVER-generation.
(Ha 2008: 56)

It is also possible for the target to be part of a compound. A German example is given in (35).

- (35) Frühlingsblumen und Herbstblumen (Hartmann 2000: 57)
Spring-flowers and autumn flowers

These examples pose a problem for current syntactic theories of RNR since most proposals take the word as the lowest component. Hence, they do not find an explanation for the examples above.

2.2 The coordination

2.2.1 Type of coordination

All examples discussed above involved one of the coordinating conjunctions *and*, *but*, or *or*. However, there are many examples with elements that are traditionally not classified as coordination but which have coordination-like properties. For instance, Hulseley (2008) argues that *let alone* is semantically composed of the disjunction *or* and the focus sensitive operator (FSO) *even*. In the same way, she analyses *as well as* as a combination of the coordination *and* and the FSO *also*. Note that the examples in (36) both drop the auxiliary in the second conjunct.

- (36) a. John won't cook, **let alone** Louise eat, squid with ink sauce.
b. John will cook, **as well as** Louise eat, squid with ink sauce.
(Hulseley 2008: 32)

I suggest that a similar analysis might also apply to other examples that previously have been analysed as lacking a coordination altogether. As it is well known, the coordination *and* has a temporal meaning which can be paraphrased with *at the same time as*. In this light, example (37) is in fact not a case of RNR but rather a simple coordination of two verbs, as illustrated in (38).

(37) We were investigating **at the same time as** climbing the local mountains.

(Selkirk 2002)

(38) We were investigating and climbing the local mountains.

However, what I do not want to imply is that all examples with *at the same time as* are simple coordinations. It is possible to manipulate the example in a way that it classifies as RNR at the clausal domain by adding a subject and an auxiliary. This is exemplified in (39). In fact, it seems that the expression *at the same time as* behaves just like the coordination *and* in its specific temporal meaning.

(39) [We were investigating] **at the same time as** [the guide was climbing] the local mountains.

Another element that could be classified as coordination-like is *rather than* (see Salkie 2007).

In (40), the conjuncts are two PPs with a DP target.

(40) I'd have said he was sitting [on the edge of] **rather than** [in the middle] of the puddle.

(Hudson 1976: 550)

A closer look at the examples above shows that coordination-like elements are possible in all domains. (39) is an example for the clausal domain and (40) for the prepositional domain. Example (41) exhibits a coordination-like element in the verbal domain, (42) in the nominal domain, and (43) in the word part domain.

(41) [Having to read] **at the time as** [being forced to summarize] that theory is horrible.

(42) [My presentation] **rather than** [your explanation] of the new theory could not be understood.

(43) He brought [spring] **as well as** [autumn] flowers as a present.

I want to end the discussion on coordination-like elements here by pointing out that a closer examination of such elements might limit the set of RNR examples which truly lack a coordination altogether. Doing so renders the possibility to identify the factors which play a role in licensing non-coordinated RNR.

2.2.2 Lack of coordination

Although it is a well known fact that RNR does not need to exhibit a coordination, there is not much known about how exactly these examples are licensed. The examples in (44) to

(47) exhibit subordinating conjunctions instead of coordinating conjunctions. Chaves (2014) subsumes these examples as adjunction structures.

(44) David changed **while** Angela distracted the baby. (Han et al. 2010)

(45) It seemed likely to me **though** it seemed unlikely to everyone else that he would be impeached. (Bresnan 1974; taken from Chaves 2014: 840)

(46) John throws out **whereas** Mary eats anything that happens to be in the refrigerator. (Goodall 1987: 97; taken from Chaves 2014: 840)

(47) If you keep avoiding **then** you'll never get to meet your real father. (Chaves 2014: 840)

Another set of examples displays no apparent transitioning element at all. (48) and (49) also fit the wider criterion of adjunction. However, these examples seem to be very different from the other examples discussed above. There is no real parallelism nor is it possible to clearly identify a domain in which the RNR takes place.

(48) John offended by not recognizing **his favorite uncle from Cleveland**. (Engdahl 1983: 12)

(49) I talked to without actually meeting **everyone in the committee**. (Wilder 1997: 87)

The examples in (50) to (52) share the property of having a comparative quality. In all three cases, the comparison is established between a referent which is modified by a defining relative clause.

(50) Of the people questioned, those who liked outnumbered by two to one those who disliked **the way in which the devaluation of the pound had been handled**. (Hudson 1976: 550)

(51) Politicians who have fought for, may well snub those who have fought against **chimpanzee right**. (Postal 1994: 104)

(52) It's interesting to compare the people who like with the people who dislike **the power of the big unions**. (Hudson 1976: 550)

The question how the comparative structure plays a role in licensing these examples is left to future research and goes beyond the scope of this thesis. Note, however, that it is not possible to delete one part of the dependency. This shows that these sentences crucially rely on the comparative element.

(53) a. ? It's interesting to compare the people who like ~~with the people who dislike~~ **the power of the big unions.**

b. ?? Of the people questioned, those who liked ~~outnumbered by two to one those who disliked~~ **the way in which the devaluation of the pound had been handled.**

(Hudson 1976: 550)

2.3 The target

2.3.1 Mismatches

One of the biggest challenges for finding an appropriate analysis for RNR are mismatches in the target. Most of them occur in the verbal domain; hence, much of the recent work has focused on examples of that kind. Before I go into more detail concerning the different types of mismatches, I have to clarify what I mean with 'mismatch'. Regardless of the syntactic analysis, processing of RNR makes it necessary to associate the target at the end of the second conjunct also with the gap at the end of the first conjunct. If the gap and the target do not match morphologically, syntactically, or semantically, I call it a mismatch.

I distinguish between two types of mismatches. In single-conjunct-mismatches (SC-mismatch), the target only matches with one of the conjuncts (the second); in double-conjunct-mismatches (DC-mismatch), the relevant interpretation of the target is not compatible with either of the conjuncts on its own.

In (54), the verbal inflection does not match between the targets. Reconstruction of the covert target in the first conjunct requires an uninflected verb (*wake*) since the time is already expressed in the auxiliary *don't*.

(54) a. I usually don't, but Alice **wakes up early every day.**

b. I usually don't [~~wake up early every day~~], but Alice **wakes up early every day.**

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 3)

Similarly, in (55), the SC-mismatch is triggered by different time/aspect properties expressed by the conjuncts.

- (55) a. John won't <~~negotiate his salary with the company~~>, but Mary already has **negotiated her salary with the company**.
 b. Mike told his advisor that he needs to <~~choose his dissertation topic~~>, and we all knew that he should've **chosen his dissertation topic sooner**.

(Ha 2008: 83)

RNR targets can also exhibit inflectional number mismatches between the targets. An example is given in (56).

- (56) Mary's parents were, and their daughter is **a teacher**.

Here, the mismatch is due to the fact that *Mary's parents* is plural and requires a plural noun (*teachers*), but *their daughter* is singular and requires a singular noun (*a teacher*). As can be seen in (57), the mismatch also works the other way around.

- (57) Mary is, and her parents were **teachers**.

Another source for SC-mismatches are pronouns in the target. In (58), the sentence can be understood in a way such that the first person speaker passes his or her own exam and that Alice is going to pass her own exam as well, although the target features the possessive *her* which does not match with the first conjunct.

- (58) I didn't [~~pass my math exam~~], but I'm sure that Alice will **pass her math exam**.

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 3)

In (59), the mismatch occurs between a pronoun and an R-expression. The indices point to a reading in which both refer to the same entity in the world. In the literature, this phenomenon is commonly referred to as vehicle change effect, a term coined by Fiengo & May (1994).

- (59) a. *She_i hopes that he won't [____], but I fear that the boss will **fire Alice_i**.
 b. She_j hopes that he won't [fire her_j], but...

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 3)

What is crucial in this example is the fact that a target with an R-expression in the first conjunct violates Principle C of the binding principles. This can be avoided by a vehicle change to a pronoun as indicated in (59)-b which consequently results in a target mismatch between the conjuncts.

Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) in the target of RNR such as *any* are another source for an SC-mismatch. These items are only licensed in certain contexts. It has been claimed that one such context is negation. Interestingly, the negation has to be expressed in the second conjunct in order to license the NPI. This pattern is illustrated in (60).

- (60) a. Ivan bought, but Ivy didn't read, **any books**.
 b. *Ivan didn't buy, but Ivy read, **any books**.
 (Larson 2012: 12)

In an assertive environment without the negation *some* is required instead (see (61)).

- (61) Ivan didn't buy, but Ivy read some books.

If the first target is assertive and the second negative (or vice versa), the special requirements on NPI licensing leads to a mismatch between overt and covert target. This is displayed in (62).

- (62) a. Ivan bought **some books**, but Ivy didn't read, **any books**.
 b. Ivan didn't buy **any books**, but Ivy read **some books**.

Sloppy readings of pronouns can also be interpreted as a mismatch. The sentence in (63) allows for three different readings.

- (63) John likes, but Bill hates **his father**.
 a. John likes John's father, but Bill hates Bill's father. (Sloppy reading)
 b. John likes Bill's father, but Bill hates Bill's father. (Strict reading)
 c. John likes Chris' father, but Bill hates Chris' father. (Third-party reading)
 (Ha 2008: 11)

In the sloppy reading, the target *his father* refers to Bill's father. Since the interpretation in the first conjunct is that *John likes John's father*, this reading classifies as an SC-mismatch.

The last SC-mismatch is shown in (64). Here the target does not meet the syntactic requirement of the first conjunct since the verb *wanted* requires infinitival *to* but the second conjunct does not.

- (64) Fiona wanted, but Bill wouldn't let her, (***to**) eat chocolate. (Cann et al. 2005: 504)

To sum up, SC-mismatches have in common that it is necessary for the overt target to match with the second conjunct, not the first. It is debatable whether this fact should be explained

purely on syntactic grounds or whether some examples are better accounted for in terms of local processing and locality effects. This argument especially seems to apply to the example in (64).

Examples such as (65) illustrate a DC-mismatch. The target exhibits plural agreement in the overt target although each conjunct individually requires singular agreement of the auxiliary. This phenomenon has also been referred to as cumulative agreement. Note that some speakers allow for both types of agreement. The judgment indicated in the example is taken from the literature.

(65) a. Alice is proud that Beatrix [____], and Claire is happy that Diana [____],
 √have/*has travelled to Cameroon.

b. Alice is proud that Beatrix *have/√has, and Claire is happy that Diana
 ***have/√has travelled to Cameroon.**

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 4)

So-called additive readings of targets also belong into the category of DC-mismatches. The relevant reading in (66) is the one in which Fred and Mia lost a total of \$10,000 together.

(66) Fred spent and Mia lost [(a total of) \$10,000]. (Chaves 2014: 835)

Relational modifiers such as *similar*, *together*, *different*, and *respectively* require plural subjects for a distributive reading. This is illustrated in (67)-a.

(67) a. [Josh and Jamie] were wearing a different hat.

b. #[Josh] was wearing a different hat.

(Sabbagh 2007: 370)

If the subject is not plural as in (67)-b, the distributive reading is not available. The only possible reading is one in which *a different hat* refers to some unexpressed but contextually salient hat. RNR targets with relational modifiers may also receive a distributive reading. In (68), the sentence can receive an interpretation in which Carrie sang a song, and Mike recorded a song, and the songs of each person are different from each other.

(68) Carrie sang, and Mike recorded **two very different songs**. (Ha 2008: 107)

Accordingly, examples with relational modifiers in the target lead to a DC-mismatch. By contrast, the full counterpart of the sentence only allows a collective reading. The

distributive reading is not available anymore. (69) can only mean that Carrie sang two different songs, and Mike recorded two very different songs respectively.

(69) Carrie sang two very different songs, and Mike recorded **two very different songs**.

Lastly, inverse scope readings of universal quantifiers also give rise to a DC-mismatch. (70)-a is ambiguous between an inverse scope reading and a surface scope reading. Crucially, the full counterpart only allows the surface scope reading. Both readings are paraphrased in (71).

- (70) a. Some nurse gave a flu shot to, and administered a blood test for **every patient who was administered last night**.
- b. Some nurse gave a flu shot to every patient who was administered last night, and administered a blood test for every patient who was administered last night.

(Sabbagh 2007: 366)

(71) Inverse scope: For every patient, there is a possibly different nurse who gave a flu shot and administered a blood test to that patient.

Surface scope: There is just one nurse who gave flu shots and administered blood tests for all patients.

To conclude the section about mismatches, Table 1 gives an overview of all mismatches discussed above.

SC-Mismatch	DC-Mismatch
Verbal inflection	Plural agreement (cumulative agreement)
Inflectional number	Additive readings
Pronoun / R-expression	Relational modifiers
Negative polarity item	Inverse Scope readings
Sloppy Reading of possessive pronouns	
(Syntactic requirement)	

Table 1: Mismatches

2.3.2 Restrictions on the target

In the examples discussed so far, it has become clear that RNR features a wide range of targets, ranging from word parts to full clauses. In past research, it has been claimed that a string which can undergo RNR must be a constituent (see Bresnan 1974). Other authors such as Postal (1974) and Hankamer (1971) have followed this idea and have used RNR as a test for constituency. However, Abbot (1976) has shown that RNR is indeed not limited to constituents.

First, RNR can produce structures where the target does not form a single constituent. In (72), the string *a valuable collection of manuscripts* and *to the library* are separate constituents.

(72) Smith loaned, and his widow later donated, **a valuable collection of manuscripts to the library.** (Abbot 1976: 639)

Secondly, stressed and unstressed pronouns behave differently. Compare (73)-a with (73)-b. Capitalization indicates stress.

(73) a. *He tried to persuade, but he couldn't convince, them. (Abbot 1976: 641)
 b. He tried to persuade, but he couldn't convince, THEM.

Abbot (1976) claims that (73)-a is ungrammatical due to the "relatively uninformative pronoun in a position of prominence" (641) or because they are too light. Swingle (1995) ascribes the oddness to general prosodic phrasing principles. If the stress on the pre-RNR element is too high, the unstressed pronoun cannot lean onto it (Zwicky 1986).

Further restrictions can be observed in the examples in (74). Researchers generally agree that these limitations are not syntactic but prosodic in nature (e.g. Swingle 1995; Hartmann 2000; Chaves 2014). The elements immediately preceding the target have to be stressable. Neither the indefinite article in (74)-a nor the clitics in (74)-b can receive stress.

(74) a. *Ted always wanted a so I've given him my coffee grinder.
 b. *I think that I'd and I know that he'll buy one of those portraits of Elvis.
 (Hartmann 2000: 102f.)

The examples in (75) are also ruled out due to prosodic phrasing. Chaves (2014) claims that they are infelicitous because of conflicting syntax-prosody requirements.

(75) *Sandy is writing an article on Aristotle and ~~Freud~~, and Sal has just published a monograph on Mesmer and [Freud]. (McCawley 1982: 101)

(76) *The brother of—and John believes that—Pete slept. (Dekker 1988)

For a more detailed discussion about the prosodic requirements on the target I refer to Hartmann (2000) and Chaves (2014). What the discussion has shown is that RNR is highly dependent on prosodic phrasing and pitch assignment.

2.4 Contrast requirement

In the discussion above, I referred to a contrast which has to hold between the elements immediately preceding the target in order to license RNR. In most examples, the two elements are prosodically marked by pitch accents. However, in recent years it has been disputed whether it is an inherent property of RNR and therefore can be taken as a licensing condition (e.g. Hartmann 2000; Ha 2008), or whether factors such as semantics and processing are responsible (Chaves 2014). Let's have a look at the data in order to get a better understanding of the contrast's nature.

It has been claimed that examples such as (77) are degraded because there is no contrast between the verbs (e.g. Ha 2008).

(77) ?*Bill likes, and Mary likes **the TV show**. (Ha 2008: 15)

However, the contractiveness does not have to be inherent in the lexical material. The pre-RNR elements do not have to be antonyms as the examples in (78) show.

(78) a. Bill likes, and Mary loves **the TV show**.

b. ? Bill loves, and Mary likes **the TV show**.

(78)-a seems to work although there is no lexical contrast between the verbs *like* and *love*. Both verbs express a positive emotion towards the TV show. The only difference between them is the degree of the feeling expressed. 'Loving someone' is a stronger version of 'liking someone'. Interestingly, the sentence is degraded when the gradation is the other way around. There seems to be an upward scalar requirement on the relation. The same directionality can be observed for the negatively connoted pair of *dislike* – *like* in (79).

(79) a. Sandra dislikes, but George hates **the new company owner**.

b. ? Sandra hates, but George dislikes **the new company owner**.

(80) shows that semantically unrelated verbs are also possible candidates for RNR. With the appropriate intonation, where the verbs are marked with pitch accents, the example is acceptable.

(80) Bill **LIKES**, and Mary **PRODUCES the TV show on Saturday night**.

It seems like the crucial point is whether it is possible to construct a context in which the situation described in the RNR-sentence is pragmatically possible. (78)-b and (79)-b are degraded because it is difficult to establish a plausible context. On the other hand, one could easily come up with a scenario for (78)-a in which Bill merely likes the TV show, but his wife Mary is completely obsessed with it. (78)-b and (79)-b can be saved by adding a modal particle such as *only* (see (81)). The particle helps to establish a pragmatically convincing scenario.

(81) a. Bill loves, and/but Mary **only** likes **the TV show**.

b. Sandra hates, but George **only** dislikes **the new company owner**.

That the contrasting elements do not have to be antonyms becomes even more obvious when looking at other classes of possible pre-RNR elements like modals or prepositions.

(82) John **can**, and Peter **must win**. (Boškovic 1997/2004: 15)

Since modal auxiliaries express mood, aspect, tense, or a combination of the three, the required contrast can only be established at this level. The opposition can also be created by using negation, see (83).

(83) John **can**, and Peter **can't swim**.

There are also examples where it is not entirely clear which part exactly forms the contrast. In (84), I argue that the contrast is not solely evoked between the prepositions but the string of words *found a solution to* and *write a book about*. Similarly, in (85) it seems to be the whole DP which generates the contrast.

(84) Mary **found a solution to**, and John **will write a book about one of the great unsolved problems of syntax**. (Abels 2004: 47)

(85) The FBI is [very supportive of] and [an active participant in] **Mr. Bennett's initiative**.
(Chaves 2014: 839)

That the contrast requirement can also be satisfied by a string of words rather than just one

word is also illustrated in (86) where the opposition must be minimally created between *big book* and *small book*. In (87), the string of words in contrast must at least be *easy to believe* and *hard to believe*.

(86) John likes the big book, and Tim likes the small book **of poetry**. (Han et al. 2010)

(87) I find it easy to believe, but Joan finds it hard to believe [that Tom is dishonest].

(Postal 1974: 127)

Another interesting case is (88) where it is even less clear where the contrast is established. The understood contrast is between *like* and *not like*, but the verb is not present in the first conjunct.

(88) John didn't, but Mary **liked the show**. (Ha 2008: 6)

Note that it is not possible to exchange the conjuncts, see (89)-a. The example can be saved by adding *do* as in (89)-b.

(89) a. *Mary, but John didn't like the show.

b. Mary did, but John didn't like the show.

(90) only differs minimally from (88) in the fact that it lacks the negation, but is grammaticality significantly decreased.

(90) *John does, and Mary – likes the show, too. (Ha 2008: 6)

Ha (2008) explains this difference with a lack of contrast in (90) and proposes that the contrast in (88) is established between the negation and the affirmative nature of the second conjunct.

So far, I have only looked at coordinate RNR. RNR with adverbial conjunctions and adjunction structures further question the idea that contrast is a necessary condition of RNR. In (91) *while* rather establishes simultaneity than contrast, and in (92) the adjunction structures express manner.

(91) David changed **while** Angela distracted the baby. (Han et al. 2010)

(92) a. John offended by not recognizing **his favorite uncle from Cleveland**.

(Engdahl 1983: 12)

b. I talked to without actually meeting **everyone in the committee**. (Wilder 1997: 87)

To summarize, it is clear that the contrast requirement is neither inherently lexical nor is it a necessary condition for RNR. However, a lexical contrast may facilitate processing in coordinate RNR. As we have seen, theoretically almost any word/string of words of the same type can be interpreted as a contrasting element as long as they are not identical and a plausible pragmatic context can be established. The observation suggests that the nature of the contrast is purely semantic.

2.5 Prosody

The characteristic prosody has been identified as a defining feature of RNR and seems to play a vital role in licensing it. The typical pitch contour differs significantly from the full counterpart where the target is overtly pronounced in both conjuncts. Compare Figure 1 with Figure 2.

(93) Mariana drove, and Jenny dented – the red car.

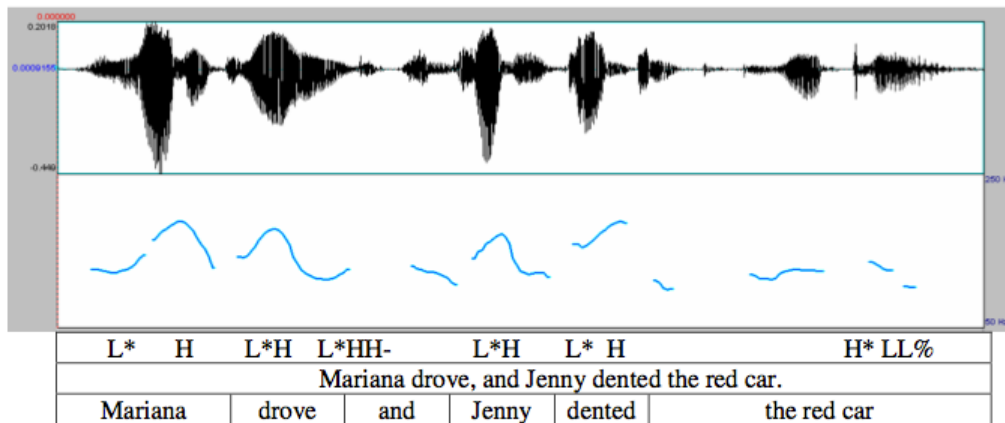


Figure 1: Pitch contour of RNR (Ha 2008: 18)

(94) Mariana drove the red car, and Jenny dented the red car.

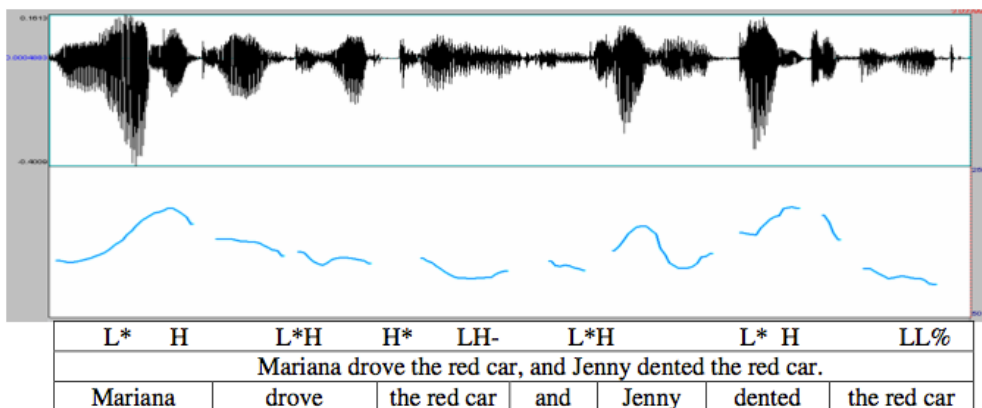


Figure 2: Pitch contour of full counterpart (Ha 2008: 18)

The main difference is the pause after the verb in the first conjunct and the placement of the nuclear accent. In (94), the object *the red car* receives a pitch accent in the first conjunct. Given an information-structurally neutral context, this is in line with the *Nuclear Stress Rule* (Chomsky & Halle 1968) stating that pitch accents are assigned in the right periphery of a sentence as a default. Since *the red car* in the second conjunct has the information structural status of given (by virtue of being mentioned in the first conjunct), it must be deaccented and the nuclear stress falls on the verb *dented*. In (93), the nuclear stress in both conjuncts is assigned to the pre-RNR elements, the verbs.

Selkirk (2002) has used similar RNR examples to (93) in an experiment and has shown that, in these cases, the verbs carry contrastive focus which is in 90% displayed as an L+H* accent in the pitch contour. In most instances, the contrastive focus was followed by a phonological phrase break. Only 10% did not exhibit a phrase break. The results have been replicated by Kentner et al. (2008) with the difference that they did not confound measurements of both conjuncts with respect to the length of the pause after the contrasted element. This is important, since it has been observed that there is a tendency for shorter targets to be integrated into the current intonational phrase whereas longer targets are more likely to form a separate intonational phrase (Kentner et al. 2008: 210).

Additionally, Kentner et al. (2008) compared the prosody of sentences that are ambiguous between a RNR and a non-elliptical reading where the target at the end is only associated with the second conjunct. The focus assignment of each reading is given in (95).

- (95) a. Nina is [[riding]_{FOC}]_{foc} and Ian is [[fixing a bike]_{FOC}]_{foc}. (Non-elliptical)
 → main stress on *bike* (Nuclear Stress Rule)
- b. Nina is [[riding]_{FOC} a bike]_{foc} and Ian is [[fixing]_{FOC} a bike]_{foc}. (RNR)
 → main stress on *fixing*

In (95)-a, the NSR assigns a pitch accent to the verb *riding*. Kentner et al. (2008) claim that contrastive focus in (95)-b overrides the NSR. Following Féry & Samek-Ludovici (2006), they analyse RNR as a construction in which a contrastive focus (FOC) is embedded in a broad presentational focus (foc). To the best of my knowledge, other types of RNR have received far less attention, and there are no experimental studies concerning their prosody.

Chaves (2014) points out that contrastive prosody by itself does not trigger RNR. This goes against Hartmann's (2000) proposal in which contrastive focus triggers an operation

called *Deletion by Focus*. She claims that the pre-RNR elements must be contrastively interpretable narrow foci (Hartmann 2000: 141). Chaves (2014) provides a number of examples where this description is not adequate, but RNR is still licensed. The examples are given in (96).

- (96) a. My mother blushed at this small lie because SHE knew and WE knew **that the roosters had already been paid for.**
- b. They REFUSED to mention and we FAILED to notice **that they are not there.**
- c. I find it EASY to believe, but Joan finds it HARD to believe **that Tom is dishonest.**
(originally from Postal 1974: 127)
- d. The Fed is responsive to, and cannot help being responsive to **the more overtly political part of the government.**
(Chaves 2014: 843)

The examples are also problematic for Ha's (2008) syntactic account where the prosody is triggered by a feature on the pre-RNR element. I will discuss both approaches more thoroughly in section 3.1.2.

As already mentioned in section 2.3.2, unstressed pronouns have to be incorporated in the prosodic domain of the second conjunct in order to serve as a target. Additionally, the contrastive stress on the pre-RNR element must be weaker (Zwicky 1986; Wagner 2010) for the pronoun to be incorporated. This can be seen in (97).

- (97) Thatcher's legacy and image loom large over British psyche for both those who loved and those who hated **her.** (Wagner 2010: 223)

Chaves (2014) provides further examples, where the stress on the element immediately preceding the target is considerably weaker.⁴

- (98) a. Tom took many photographs and Sue painted some portraits **of famous people.**
- b. And because of the time difference, the Japanese and the U.S. **markets' trading hours** do not overlap.
(Chaves 2014: 843)

⁴ Chaves (2014) also includes examples such as (a) and (b) which do not fall into the category of RNR under my definition of the phenomenon. I treat such cases as simple coordinations with two heads.

(a) Historical and scientific knowledge are different in nature.
(b) Thai and Burmese food are quite similar.
(e.g. Abbot 1976; Gazdar 1981)

To sum up, it has become clear that the prosody in RNR signals contrast, however, the contrast does not necessarily have to be established between the elements immediately preceding the target. Since prosodic analyses have mainly focused on one specific type (clausal with contrastive stress on the main verb), it should be avoided to make assumptions about other types based on these results. A closer look at the different types reveals a considerable variety which needs further attention.

A possible solution would be to take the whole proposition of the conjuncts to be in contrast and follow Chaves (2014) who claims that “the typical RNR prosody emerges from the interaction of ambiguity-avoidance, processing strategies and the semantic contrast that such constructions (as well as their non-RNR counterparts) exhibit” (844). Chaves’ (2014) proposal opens the possibility of explaining the differences discussed above. How this works in detail goes beyond the scope of this thesis and has to be left for future research.

2.6 Conclusion

The discussion in section 2 has illustrated the many forms RNR can take. I considered RNR in different domains (i.e. the size of the conjuncts), examples with and without coordination, and two different types of mismatches (SC-/DC-mismatches) that occur within the target. Table 2 gives an overview of the different types of RNR in terms of domain and conjunction type.⁵ The table shows that I could not identify a domain for adjunction structures and comparative structures. Examples for all other possibilities can be found in Appendix 1.

		Domain:	Clausal	Verbal	Prepositional	Nominal	Word part
Connective:	Conn.	Coordination	x	x	x	x	x
		Coordination-like	x	x	x	x	x
		Subordination (Adjunction)	x	x	-	-	-
	No Conn.	Adjunction	-	-	-	-	-
		Comparative structure	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2: Overview of RNR constructions (Domain/Connective)

It became clear that some apparent properties of RNR may have been overstated in the

⁵ x = possible combination; - = combination is not possible

past. First, not all examples of RNR exhibit coordination. Secondly, it is not always the pre-RNR target which receives stress. Thirdly, there are examples that do not express a contrast, undermining the idea that contrast/pitch accents on the pre-RNR elements are a necessary licensing condition for RNR. As pointed out by Chaves (2014), other factors such as processing strategies and ambiguity-avoidance could be the cause for the specific prosody observed in RNR. Restrictions on the target also seem to be the result of phonology rather than syntax.

3. Current syntactic approaches to RNR

The enormous flexibility of RNR described in the previous section has been – and still is – a challenge for syntactic analyses. As discussed above, RNR may be clausal or non-clausal; the conjuncts may be connected by a conjunction, conjunction-like elements, or subordinating elements. Some instances feature no connective at all. Furthermore, the target may exhibit SC-mismatches or DC-mismatches. Up to this day, the versatility of the construction poses a problem for finding a single syntactic analysis that is able to cover the whole range of data. There have been three most influential interpretations: ATB-movement, ellipsis, and multidomination.

All three of these exclusivist approaches enjoy almost equally strong support in the syntactic literature. Interestingly, each analysis is able to account for only a subset of the data. A major difference between the three is the final location of the target.

In a movement approach, the target is raised out of both conjuncts and adjoined above the coordination.



(1) [&P John liked t, and Mary hated t] **the film.**



In the ellipsis approach, both targets stay in-situ; the first is simply not pronounced. Contrary to the movement analysis, this is commonly referred to as a target internal approach since the targets stay within their respective conjunct.

(2) John liked ~~the film~~, and Mary hated **the film.**

Depending on the exact implementation of multidomination, this interpretation of RNR shares properties of both approaches described above. Most often it has been taken as a target internal approach where one target is merged in two places.

(3) John liked , and Mary hated  **the film**

With respect to the data presented in section 2, the crux of the matter is that a subpart of the data seems to require the target to be located external; other data suggests that the target is internal. Another crucial point is whether the respective analysis allows for SC- or DC-mismatches in the target. DC-mismatches are only captured straightforwardly by an

ellipsis approach since it is the only approach that postulates the existence of two targets where the target in the first conjunct stays in-situ. The other approaches have to make further assumptions as to how the mismatch comes about. However, this also means that DC-mismatches are unexpected in any kind of in-situ analysis since they are argued to be dependent on wide scope.

The fact that all three exclusivist analyses fail to account for the whole range of data without unmotivated stipulation has led to a rise in eclectic approaches, inferring that what has been described as RNR is derived by more than one syntactic operation. Thus, similarities in surface structure are taken to be accidental.


The section is structured as follows. Section 3.1 discusses all three exclusive approaches individually and highlights their strengths and weaknesses with respect to the data presented in section 2. Section 3.2 introduces two eclectic approaches by Barros & Vicente (2011) and most recently Chaves (2014). Since Chaves' (2014) proposal is formulated in a framework called *sign-based construction grammar* (Sag 2012), I will briefly examine the possibility of transferring his proposal into the Minimalist Program. Section 3.3 concludes the chapter.

3.1 Exclusive approaches

3.1.1 Movement approach

The movement approach is the oldest analysis (Ross 1967; Postal 1974; 1998; Abbot 1976; Grosu 1976; Bresnan 1974), and it is the source for the term 'Right Node Raising'. The analysis treats RNR as Across-the-Board (ATB) movement to the right. The target moves out of both conjuncts and adjoins above the coordinate structure as illustrated in (4). It ends up being external to the coordination. In most instances, the movement is string-vacuous with respect to the second conjunct (e.g. there is no overt material to cross).

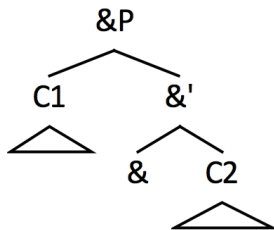
(4) [&P John liked t, and Mary hated t] **the play.**



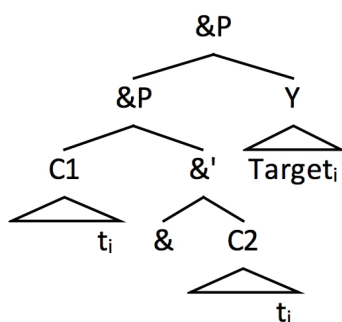
The question arises to which position the target adjoins in the syntactic structure. Following the by now standard assumption that a coordination relation between two entities is asymmetric (Johannessen 1998), I assume that coordination has the structure in (5). The first conjunct is in the specifier position of the coordination phrase &P (also referred to as

CoordP), the second conjunct functions as the complement to the &-head. Consequently, the landing site of the target must be higher than the &P. This is illustrated in (6).

(5) The Architecture of Coordination



(6) Attachment Site in RNR



Since the analysis takes RNR to be the rightward counterpart of ATB-movement to the left, the coordination is interpreted as an inherent part of RNR.

The major advantage for a movement account lies in its ability to account for wide scope interpretations of quantifiers, relational modifiers, and cumulative/plural agreement in a straightforward fashion. These phenomena are argued to require an external target.

It has been observed that sentences such as (7) and (8) differ with respect to the relative scope of the universal quantifier *every*. Only (7) is ambiguous and permits an inverse scope reading where there is a possibly different nurse for every patient who gave a flu shot to that patient and administered a blood test. This is what I have called a DC-mismatch in section 2.3.1.

(7) Some nurse gave a flu-shot to_, and administered a blood-test for_, every patient who was admitted last night. (Sabbagh 2007: 365)

(8) Some nurse gave a flu shot to every patient, and administered a blood test for every patient. (Sabbagh 2007: 365)

The pre-movement structure in (8) is limited to a surface scope reading, where the nurse who gave flu shots and administered blood tests to all patients, is the same in each instance.

Sabbagh (2007: 365-367) claims that a movement approach straightforwardly accounts for the scope difference between (7) and (8) since in (7) the target is external to the coordination and can take wide scope over the QP *some nurse*. In contrast, a target internal approach would make no difference between the two examples in terms of scope.

Relational modifiers such as *same* and *different* are further evidence for a movement approach. Relational modifiers located in the target as in (9)-a may receive a distributive reading which is not available in the full counterpart in (9)-b where the target is spelled-out in its original position (DC-mismatch). Sabbagh (2007) claims that in order for the distributive reading to arise, the target must be able to scope over the conjunction.⁶ (9)-b cannot mean that the tune that John hummed is the same tune from the one that the Mary sang.

- (9) a. John hummed t_i and Mary sang t_i the same tune.
 b. #John hummed the same tune and Mary sang the same.

(Sabbagh 2007: 370)

A very similar argument can be made with respect to additive readings, another DC-mismatch, such as given in (10).

- (10) Greg captured t_i and Lucille trained t_i – [312 frogs].

(Postal 1998: 137, slightly altered)

The additive reading states that Greg and Lucille dealt with the same 312 frogs in total. Under a movement account, this reading is predicted to be available. A target internal approach on the other hand only anticipates a reading in which Greg captured 312 frogs and Lucille trained 312 frogs, but the frogs do not have to be the same frogs.

Despite the fact that a movement analysis easily accounts for wide scope readings, it has been heavily criticized in the past for the following reasons: Firstly, RNR does not behave in the same way as other kinds of left or rightward movement operations. Secondly, morphological mismatches between the targets are unexpected (SC-mismatches). Thirdly, a movement account has trouble explaining targets which consist out of less than a constituent (i.e. a word part) or more than one constituent.

⁶ Abels (2004) points out that cases with a distributive reading such as (i) remain problematic under a movement approach.

(i) John says that Friederike must, and that Konrad may, record two quite different songs.
 Abels (2004, ex (23))

In (i) The object DP is embedded within the target VP. As a consequence, the QP *two quite different songs* is not able to c-command over the conjunction and cannot take scope over the two conjuncts.

It is a well-known fact that RNR is insensitive to island configurations, whereas other types of movement are not. Compare the *wh*-movement example in (11) with the RNR example in (12).

(11) *Which book_i did John meet the man [who wrote t_i]?

(12) John likes a professor [who lectured on], and Mary likes a graduate student [who debunked] a recent theory of Right Node Raising. (Ha 2008: 39)

Furthermore, Boškovic (1997/2004) observes that RNR is able to strand prepositions but HNPS is not (see (13)). Under the assumption that both constructions are derived by movement, the fact that RNR behaves differently is puzzling.

(13) a. John talked about, and Mary ignored, the man you met in Paris. (RNR)

b. Mary ignored, and John talked about, the man you met in Paris. (RNR)

c. *John talked about yesterday the man you met in Paris. (HNPS)

(Boškovic 1997/2004: 19)

It has also been observed that HNPS and other rightward movement processes underlie an upward bounding condition (Akmajian 1975; Johnson 1986; Rochemont 1992; McCloskey 1999) whereas RNR does not (Sabbagh 2007). Let's have a look at regular rightward movement first and compare (14) with (15).

(14) a. Josh [_{VP} returned _ to the library for Jamie], each of the books she checked out last week.

b. Josh [_{VP} edited [a review _] for Sue], of Jamie's article.

(Sabbagh 2007: 350)

(15) a. *_{TP} Max said that he was going to [_{VP} return _ to the library] **yesterday**], each of the books that he checked out last week.

b. *_{TP} Jamie walked [_{PP} into _] **suddenly**], the dean's office.

(Sabbagh 2007: 350)

(14) shows that it is possible to move an argument across *vP*-internal arguments. However, (15)-a illustrates that rightward movement of arguments which raise out of the *vP* adjoining to a position higher than the *vP* it has been moved out of is not. The same holds for PPs (see (14)-b). There seems to be an upward bounding constraint, known as the *Right Roof Constraint*.

(16) Right Roof Constraint (RRC)

Rightward movement may move and right-adjoin an element X to the cyclic node in which X is merged, but not further. (Sabbagh 2007: 351)

The examples in (15) violate the RRC because the element moving out of the vP/PP does not adjoin to the same cyclic node which contains the moved element but higher. Following Sabbagh (2007), cyclic nodes are taken to be vP and PP.

Turning now to RNR, the examples in (17) show that this construction is not constrained by the RRC. The target adjoins above the coordination and therefore not to the cyclic node in which the target is merged.

- (17) a. [_{&P} Joss walked suddenly [_{PP} into _], and Maria stormed quickly out [_{PP} of _]], the dean's office.
 b. [_{QP} Josh promised that he would [_{VP} give _ to Jamie], and Joss claimed that he was going to [_{VP} give _ to Sue]], all of the answers to the final exam.⁷
 (Sabbagh 2007: 351)

Another major argument against a movement analysis of RNR are examples where the instantiations in the assumed extraction sites do not have the same phonological form. This criterion applies to all SC-mismatches discussed at length in section 2.3.1. Therefore, a movement approach has to find an answer to the question of how the final form of the target is determined.

Traditionally, movement is limited to constituents. The fact that RNR allows targets that consist of more than a single constituent or word parts goes against this assumption. For multi-constituent targets, one either must assume the existence of multiple landing sites, or reject the idea that movement is limited to constituents. Especially the latter modification would question one of the core notions of generative syntax, and should therefore be refrained from being done. To extend the theory of movement to word parts is theoretically less problematic, however, one would risk to come under pressure for failing to offer an explanation for the lack of word part movement to the left.

Lastly, a movement approach remains silent on the availability of strict and sloppy readings, plural agreement in the target, and the limitation with respect to have/be. Both

⁷ Remember that HNPS is able to feed RNR (Wilder 1997; Kluck & de Vries 2013).

phenomena do not follow naturally from a movement approach and require further assumptions.

Despite the criticism on ATB-movement approaches to RNR, Sabbagh (2007) has attempted to revive this analysis. He takes a second look at three arguments, which have been made against a movement approach, but are in fact compatible with an internal as well as an external target analysis. The crucial point is whether one assumes reconstruction to be possible or not.

First, Sabbagh (2007) deals with Levine's (1985) observation that condition C effects arise when a pronoun in the target is co-indexed with the subject of one of the conjuncts as in (18).

(18) * She_i said $_$, and I happen to agree $_$, that $Mary_i$ needs a new car. (Levine 1985: 496)

Levine (1985) comes to the conclusion that the target must be internal to the coordination, so that both remnants c-command the target, resulting in a principle C effect. Following his line of argumentation, a movement approach is precluded since the movement places the target above the coordination where it can no longer be c-commanded by the pronoun *she*. Sabbagh (2007) weakens Levine's (1985) reasoning by showing that there are examples in which the R-expression has been moved out of the scope of the pronoun, but this movement operation does not prevent a principle C effect. An example for wh-movement is given in (19). Although the R-expression *John* is no longer c-commanded by the pronoun *he*, the sentence is still odd considering the intended reading.

(19) ??Guess [which of $John_i$'s friends] he_i just went to visit t. (Sabbagh 2007: 362)

Sabbagh (2007) concludes that the principle C effects in RNR do not necessarily imply that the target cannot have undergone movement. The data can as well be explained by a reconstruction effect.

Sabbagh (2007) makes a similar argument with respect to data involving NPIs. It has been claimed that the licensing of phrases of the form *any X* as in (20) can only be licensed if the negation can take scope over the NPI (Kayne 1994; Phillips 1996; Hartmann 2000).

(20) Ivan bought, but Ivy didn't read, any books. (Larson 2011: 12)

Although Sabbagh (2007) points out that NPIs cannot always be licensed under reconstruction, it is not completely barred as the examples in (21) shows. Since NPIs need to be licensed, licensing in (21) must have taken place in the position prior to movement.

(21) [A doctor with *any reputation*]_i is likely not to be t_i available. (Sabbagh 2007: 363)

Under the assumption that reconstruction can play a role in NPI licensing, the RNR data in (20) does not give clear indication about the location of the target.

The last argument has been brought forward by Jacobson (1999) who observes that a pronoun contained within the target can receive an interpretation where it is simultaneously bound by two quantifier phrases located in each of the conjuncts. In (22), the pronoun *his* can be bound by *every man* as well as *no man* at the same time.

(22) Every man_i loves but no man_j wants to marry $_$, his_{i/j} mother. (Jacobson 1999: 167)

Again, it has been argued that movement positions the target in a location out of reach of the c-command domain and a bound interpretation should not be available. However, the argument is not watertight. As illustrated in (23), ATB-wh-movement exhibits exactly the same pattern as RNR. The moved wh-phrase *which of his parents* is no longer c-commanded by the quantifiers *every*, but the relevant reading indicated by the indices is still available.

(23) [Which of his_(i,j) parents]_k does every American_i love t_k best, and every German_j love t_k least? (Sabbagh 2007: 364)

To sum up, Sabbagh (2007) shows that the data concerning condition C effects, NPIs, and cases of bound variable anaphora presented above give no clear indication whether the target is located internal or external to the coordination. The data can well be explained with reconstruction effects.

As already mentioned, the fact that regular rightward movement follows the RRC is a problem for a unified movement account of rightward movement if one wants to claim that RNR is also derived by rightward movement. To solve this dilemma, Sabbagh (2007) takes the radical step of abandoning the RRC completely. He hypothesizes that rightward movement is actually an unbounded type of movement. Whenever RNR seems to be bounded, it is “the result of a derivational constraint” (Sabbagh 2007: 349). In order to explain the limitations on rightward movement, he employs Fox & Pesetsky’s (2005) theory of cyclic linearization which describes the mapping between syntax and phonology. Fox &

Pesetsky (2005) propose that linearization applies to spell-out domains. Following this account, the RRC follows naturally from constraints imposed by the spell-out domains. For a detailed discussion I refer to Sabbagh (2007). Note that Ha (2008) has pointed out that the mechanism suffers from conceptual as well as overgeneration problems since it predicts sentences such as (24) to be grammatical (for a detailed discussion see Ha 2008: 47-55).

(24) *Josh [_{VP} described t for Jamie] drunk, and Maria [_{VP} reenacted t for Sally] sober – a popular Broadway musical. (Ha 2008: 50)

This section has shown that there are strong arguments for and against a movement approach. A movement account easily explains wide scope interpretations of quantifiers, relational modifiers and cumulative readings. On the other hand, the analysis is not plausible for targets consisting of more than one constituent, targets below the word level, and SC-mismatches where the instantiations prior to movement do not have the same morphological form. As pointed out by Sabbagh (2007), data concerning condition C effects, NPIs, and bound variable anaphora do not provide conclusive evidence for the location of the target, and therefore cannot be taken as arguments against movement.

Another major drawback which has not found much attention in the literature is the fact that interpreting RNR as the rightward counterpart of ATB-movement to the left limits the analysis to RNR in coordination. The data presented in section 2.2.2 remains unexplained. I do not see a way to relax this restriction without undermining the theoretical foundation since leftward ATB-movement is dependent on the conjunction. To sum up, movement can only account for a subset of what is considered to constitute the phenomenon of RNR. See Table 3 for an overview of the properties discussed above.

SC-Mismatch	Verbal Inflection	-
	Inflectional number	-
	Pronoun / R-expression	-
	NPI licensing	-
	Sloppy Readings	-
Requirements on have/be		-
Preposition stranding		-
Island insensitivity		-
DC-Mismatch	Inverse Scope	+
	Cumulative /Plural agreement	+
	Additive readings	+
	Distributive readings	+
Connective	Coordination	+
	Coordination-like	+
	Subordination	-
No Conn.	Adjunction	-
	Comparative Structure	-
Domain	Clausal	+
	Non-clausal	-
	Word level	-

Table 3: Overview ATB-movement

3.1.2 Ellipsis

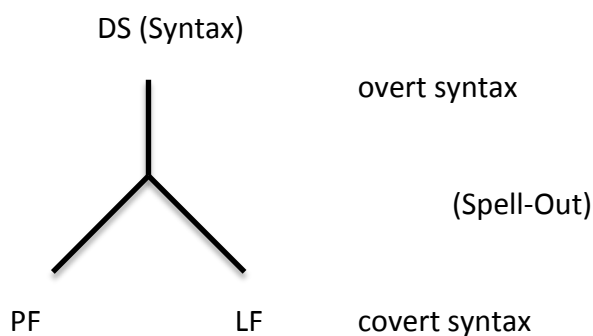
The ellipsis approach arose from the attempt to remedy the deficiencies of a movement account. The term ‘ellipsis’ refers to the omission of words in a sentence. Although the omitted words are not present in the surface structure, they play a role in the semantic interpretation of the sentence. In other words, the meaning of the missing part must be recovered from the linguistic context. In RNR, it is the gap in the first conjunct which has to be reconstructed.

(25) John liked [Gap], and Mary hated **the film**.

Before turning to the advantages and disadvantages of two particular ellipsis approaches to RNR by Hartmann (2000) and Ha (2008), I want to dedicate a few words to the range of competing analyses to regular ellipsis. By doing so, it will become clear where the two ellipsis approaches to RNR introduced in this section are located within the different research paradigms. We will see that the approaches make different predictions with respect to the data, due to their different theoretical point of departure.

The overall notion of ellipsis is a challenge for the traditional understanding of the architecture of grammar as proposed in the T-Model in (26) (Winkler 2005: 20).

(26) T-Model (Chomsky 1993; 1995; taken from Winkler 2005: 21)



As we can see, there is no direct connection between *Phonetic Form* (PF) and *Logical Form* (LF) where interpretation takes place. Following the traditional assumption that the syntactic component of the grammar is responsible for matching sound and meaning, the interpretation of silent but understood elements does not find an obvious explanation in the model. Researchers generally agree that ellipsis is best understood as an interface phenomenon, mediating between the interfaces of syntax-semantics and syntax-phonology. In recent years, the discussion has been extended to the interaction of these interfaces with the discourse and/or information-structural components.

Researchers have come to different views on how and where elliptical elements are represented within the three components. In the overview below, I follow Winkler (2005) who identifies two theoretical strands, differing in whether they assume a full syntactic representation before deletion or not. Winkler (2005) refers to the first as the 'Complete Syntactic Representation' (CSR) accounts, the latter she calls the 'No Syntactic Representation' (NoSR) accounts.

(27) Complete Syntactic Representation Accounts:

- i. The PF deletion account (based on Tancredi 1992):
The level of deletion is PF, the level of interpretation is PF with access to the semantic/pragmatics component.
- ii. The syntactic deletion account (based on Sag 1976; 1977):
The level of deletion is *Surface Structure*, which branches off the level of interpretation, called Shallow Structure (SS).
- iii. The Delta-interpretation account (based on Wasow 1972):
The level of deletion is *D(eep)*-Structure, interpretation involves reconstruction.

(Winkler 2005: 45)

(28) No Syntactic Representation Accounts:

- i. The Proform account (e.g. Hardt 1993; 2003):
Proform insertion occurs in syntax, interpretation at LF.
- ii. The proform account and reconstruction (e.g. Lobeck 1995):
Proform licensing in syntax, interpretation and reconstruction at LF.
- iii. Direct Interpretation Accounts (e.g. Culicover & Jackendoff 2005):
No empty structure.

(Winkler 2005: 47, iii. added)

The major obstacle for CSR accounts is to explain how the levels of deletion and interpretation interact. Accounts in this group vary with respect to where they assume deletion to take place and how the connection is established. In NoSR accounts, the problem of deletion is solved straightforwardly. With no full syntactic representation, null-spell out is already determined by the presence of a preform (Hardt 1993; 2003; Lobeck 1995) or the lack of any representation (Culicover & Jackendoff 2005) in the deep-structure.

In theoretical syntax, numerous subtypes of ellipsis have been identified for the English language. As first noted by Chao (1988), they can be allocated into two classes. The examples in (29) are called *constituent ellipsis*, for the obvious reason that the gap corresponds to a syntactic constituent. Their respective head licenses the ellipsis (e.g. Lobeck 1995). Constituent ellipsis can find its antecedent within the same sentence as well as across sentence borders or utterances. It can occur anaphoric or cataphoric.

- (29) a. Anna promised to *play the piano* but she DIDN'T_. (VP-Ellipsis)
 b. Someone's *playing the piano* but I don't know WHO_. (Sluicing)
 c. First he played a solo with one *hand* and then with TWO_. (NP-Ellipsis)
 (Winkler (in press.))

The examples in (30) are referred to as *non-constituent ellipsis*. In contrast to constituent ellipsis, there is no licensing head, and the ellipsis is always anaphoric. Instead, the remnants have to be in a contrastive relation and must receive pitch accents. For instance, in (30)-a *Manny* contrasts with *Anna* and *piano* with *flute*.

- (30) a. MANNY *plays* the PIANO and ANNA _ the FLUTE. (Gapping)
 b. MANNY *plays the piano* and ANNA _, TOO. (Stripping)
 c. They *play* the PIANO better than they DO _ the FLUTE. (Pseudogapping)
 d. ANNA played much faster than could have MANNY_. (Comp. Inversion)
 (Winkler (in press.))

There is general agreement that notions of *Information Structure* (IS) play a central role in the licensing of both types of ellipsis (c.f. Tancredi 1992; Schwabe & Winker 2003; Féry & Hartmann 2005; Winkler 2005). In modern linguistic theory, two syntax-IS mapping processes are recognized to be relevant: The *Givenness Marking Hypothesis* and the *Contrastive Remnant Hypothesis*.

(31) **Givenness Marking Hypothesis**

Given material is deaccented or deleted at Phonological Form. (Winkler (in press.))

(32) **Contrastive Remnant Hypothesis**

Given or redundant information licenses a contrastive interpretation of the remnant(s) with respect to their correlate(s). (Winkler (in press.))

(31) straightforwardly accounts for constituent ellipsis, in the light of the Givenness Marking Hypothesis also referred to as *Givenness Marking Ellipsis*.

Hypothesis (32) describes the features of *Contrastive Ellipsis* which corresponds to non-constituent ellipsis in (30). The semantic and IS interpretation of the antecedent clause has to match that of the ellipsis clause, except for the focused entities. This requirement is known as the Parallelism Condition (e.g. Fox 1999; Lang 2004; Takahashi & Fox 2005).

(33) Parallelism Condition

A constituent satisfies the parallelism condition if it is semantically identical to another constituent, modulo focus-marked constituents. (Takahashi & Fox 2005)

The question remains how the observed differences between Givenness Marking Ellipsis and Contrastive Ellipsis can be represented in a model and in what way the licensing mechanisms are shaped.

Explanations fall into two basic categories. A uniform treatment (PF-deletion or Proform Account) or a differentiated treatment of ellipsis (Hankamer & Sag 1976; Williams 1977; Chao 1988; Lobeck 1995). A proponent of the latter is Williams' (1977) *discourse vs. sentence grammar approach*. He assumes that Givenness Marking Ellipsis and Contrastive Ellipsis are subject to different domains of the grammar. Givenness Marking Ellipsis is regulated in the Discourse Grammar (DG) and Contrastive Ellipsis underlies Sentence Grammar (SG) rules. In line with this distinction, he differentiates between Discourse-Bound Ellipsis (DBE) and Sentence-Bound Ellipsis (SBE). Other authors have adopted this basic idea and accommodated it to current theoretical developments (e.g. Winkler 2005).

Turning now to ellipsis approaches to RNR, both Hartmann (2000) and Ha (2008) belong to the category of PF deletion accounts, but they propose different licensing mechanisms. Interestingly, Hartmann (2000) compares RNR to gapping and Ha (2008) to VPE, representatives of two different ellipsis types. In the discussion below, it will become clear that the different point of comparison is reflected in the way they assume non-spell-out to be licensed.

Hartmann (2000) takes RNR to be deletion at PF with a full structural representation of the ellipsis site in syntax. She identifies ellipsis in coordination as an interface phenomenon and claims that the properties of RNR and gapping can both be derived by the interplay of two theories: i. a theory of information structure and ii. a theory of tonal structure. Therefore, the properties of RNR should not be ascribed to one specific rule. Instead, they are the result of general requirements on ellipsis in coordination which are licensed by prosodic and semantic conditions. The component of syntax may constrain the input, but it does not trigger ellipsis (see also Kuno 1976; Sag 1976).

Hartmann (2000) assumes that these general constraints impose a requirement of strict parallelism on the licensing of RNR. Furthermore, she claims that the elements

immediately preceding the targets necessarily have to receive pitch accents and must be interpreted as contrastive narrow foci. Deletion at PF immediately occurs after the focused element in the first conjunct. The focused elements create sets of alternatives (Rooth 1992) which must be identical between the conjuncts.

Identical structure between conjuncts is a crucial licensing condition for Hartmann (2000) since it rules out ungrammatical sentences such as (34).

(34) What are they doing with the book?

*Bill BROWSES THROUGH ~~<the book>~~, and Peter SENDS MIKE – the book.

(Ha 2008: 253; context taken from Hartmann 2000: 120)

Although the targets are phonologically identical in (34), RNR is not licensed since the argument structures, and consequently, the sets of alternatives between the conjuncts do not match. The first conjunct has a transitive verb (*browse through sth.*) and the second a ditransitive verb (*send sth. to sb.*) where the target is part of a double object construction. A simplified depiction of the argument structure is given in (35) and the sets of alternatives in (36).

(35) Argument structure:

CP1: [NP_{subj.}] [V_{trans.}] - [NP_{target}]

CP2: [NP_{subj.}] [V_{ditrans.}] [NP] - [NP_{target}]

(36) Sets of alternatives:⁸

$[CP_1]^f = [\lambda p [\exists R \in \text{ALT}(\text{browse through}') \ \& \ p = R(\lambda x | \text{book}'(x))] (\text{Bill}')]]^0$

$[CP_2]^f = [\lambda p [\exists R \in \text{ALT}(\text{send}) \ \& \ \exists z [z \in \text{ALT}(\text{Mike}') \ \& \ p = R(\lambda x | \text{book}'(x))](z)(\text{Peter}')]]^0$

(originally from Hartmann 2000: 120)

Note that the ungrammaticality in (34) is not due to the different grammatical status of the target. Example (37) shows that as long as the sets of alternatives are the same and the targets are phonologically identical, RNR ignores grammatical properties such as finiteness, person/number or case.⁹

(37) I certainly WILL and you already HAVE [set_{INF/FIN} the record straight].

(Chaves 2014: 870; originally from Pullum & Zwicky 1986: 761)

⁸ The original from Hartmann (2000) is in German, the notation has been translated into English.

⁹ Hartmann (2000) herself does not discuss examples of this type but her approach is able to account for the data.

However, we have already seen in section 2.1.1 that examples such as (38) are evidence against this claim. Although there seems to be some kind of parallelism requirement on the remnants, it is not as strict as Hartmann (2000) suggests.

(38) John wants to buy, and Sam knows the name of someone who is willing to sell, a **1950s Jaguar**. (Cann et al. 2005: 504)

Ha (2008) is also an advocate of the PF-deletion account. He recognizes the identity requirement on the target as the main problem for Hartmann's (2000) strict phonological deletion approach. In his dissertation, he mostly focuses on mismatches in the verbal domain in English, and compares RNR with another type of ellipsis, namely VPE. He observes that RNR allows morphological mismatches, vehicle change effects, sloppy readings of pronouns, and exhibits the same requirements on have/be as regular VPE. He takes these similarities as evidence that RNR must be derived by ellipsis. Instead of Rooth's (1992) theory of alternative semantics, he proposes a requirement of semantic identity between the conjuncts which imposes less stringent requirements on the remnants as well as the target. His choice is Merchant's (2001) e-GIVEN which requires that a mutual entailment relationship must be established at the level of LF between the antecedent and the elided part.

(39) **e-GIVEN**

An expression E counts as e-given iff

E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo \exists -type shifting,

(i) A entails F-clo (E), and

(ii) E entails F-clo (A)

(Merchant 2001: 26)

The rule states that two conjuncts must mutually entail each other by existential closure of focused constituents (i.e. F-clo). E-GIVEN allows for morphological and structural mismatches as long as a mutual entailment relationship is maintained. I will first demonstrate the mechanism for VPE in which the antecedent and the ellipsis site are not phonologically identical and then for a simple RNR example.

The VPE example in (40) requires a vehicle change of the R-expression *Mike* to a pronoun in the ellipsis site in order to avoid a principle C effect. Furthermore, there is a

mismatch between the verbs (*arrested* – *arrest*).

(40) The police arrested Mike_{*i*}, though he_{*i*} thought they wouldn't <arrest Mike_{*i*}>

- a. A = The police arrested Mike.
- b. E = They arrested g(2).
- c. F-clo (A) = $\exists x [x \text{ arrested Mike}]$.
- d. F-clo (E) = $\exists x [x \text{ arrested } g(2)]$. (where g(2) = Mike)

(Ha 2008: 129)

A crucial point for the mechanism to work is that the subjects in each conjunct and the pre-RNR elements are focused. By replacing them with a variable as in (40)-c and (40)-d, the conjuncts are existentially closed by definition. In order for e-Given to be satisfied, there must be an entailment relationship between F-clo (A) and F-clo (E). In (40) this is the case as long as the index *i* receives the same interpretation in both conjuncts.

The same mechanism is illustrated in (41) for a simple RNR example. Here the focused subjects as well as the focused verbs are replaced by variables, leading to existential closure.

(41) JOHN CAUGHT <the baseball>, but BILL MISSED – the baseball.

- a. A = John caught the baseball.
- b. RNR = Bill missed the baseball.
- c. F-clo (RNR) = $\exists x \exists R [x \text{ R-ed the baseball}]$.
- d. F-clo (A) = $\exists x \exists R [x \text{ R-ed the baseball}]$.

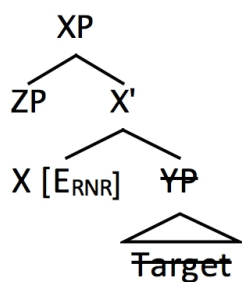
Since F-clo (RNR) and F-clo (A) mutually entail each other, e-Given is satisfied and ellipsis is licensed.

To sum up the discussion so far, both Hartmann's (2000) and Ha's (2008) proposal heavily rely on the presence of focus. In Hartmann (2000), the focused elements create sets of alternatives (Rooth 1992) which must be identical between the conjuncts. We have seen that this proposal imposes a strict requirement of identical structure. Consequently, it fails to account for any kind of mismatch between the conjuncts. We have seen that Ha's (2008) utilization of Merchant's (2001) e-Given makes better predictions with respect to the data

since it only requires an entailment relation and not strict parallelism between the conjuncts.

Ha's (2008) proposal differs in a further aspect, namely the level on which the ellipsis is licensed. Remember that Hartmann (2000) claims that syntax may constrain the output but does not trigger ellipsis. For Ha (2008), on the other hand, the deletion is determined by the presence of an E-feature in syntax. The contrastively focused pre-RNR element enters the syntactic derivation with the E_{RNR} feature. This feature signals PF to give the target a null spell-out. If the target is e-Given, the derivation converges as illustrated in (42).

(42) E_{RNR} -feature in RNR



This idea also goes back to Merchant (2001, 2005) who proposed such a feature for VPE and sluicing. Following Merchant (2001, 2005) that focus can bear an ellipsis feature, Ha (2008) claims that only a certain type of focus, contrastive focus, can license RNR. Note that the two conjuncts exhibit one contrastively focused element each. This is problematic since it is not obvious how the derivation makes sure to only produce (43)-a and not (43)-b and (43)-c.

- (43) a. JOHN MADE_[ERNR] <the spaghetti>, and BILL ATE the spaghetti.
 b. *JOHN MADE the spaghetti, and BILL ATE_[ERNR] <the spaghetti>.
 c. *JOHN MADE_[ERNR] <the spaghetti>, and BILL ATE_[ERNR] <the spaghetti>.

Ha (2008: 165)

To avoid this kind of overgeneration, Ha (2008) proposes that there is “a probe outside the conjuncts, which must be valued by an E_{RNR} feature in the coordinate structure” (156). This probe values the closest E_{RNR} -feature, the one in the first conjunct, and licenses deletion.

Although the proposal is only formulated for a specific type of RNR where the pre-RNR elements are verbs or modals, it can theoretically be adopted for any example where the pre-RNR target is a head which c-commands the target. However, there are three scenarios in which Ha's (2008) proposal breaks down. First, if the contrasted element is a

string of words instead of a single word. Secondly, if the contrasted element does not immediately precede the target. Thirdly, if the target is not completely c-commanded by the head carrying the E_{RNR} -feature.

In (44) and (45), it is undisputedly not just the prepositions that establish a contrast. In (44), the string of words *found a solution to* and *will write a book about* are contrasting and in (45), it is the whole nominal domain.

(44) Mary found a solution to, and John will write a book about one of the great unsolved problems of syntax. (Abels 2004: 47)

(45) The FBI is [very supportive of] and [an active participant in] Mr. Bennett's initiative. (Chaves 2014: 839)

Keeping in mind that Ha (2008) claims that only contrastive focus can carry the E_{RNR} -feature, it is not plausible that the pre-RNR elements (in the examples above the prepositions) carry the E_{RNR} -feature since it does not correspond to the locus where the contrast is established.

In example (46) below, *easy* and *hard* are contrasting, but these elements are not immediately preceding the target. So how come that *to believe* survives deletion in both conjuncts? On the other hand, if we assume that the relevant contrast is established between *easy to believe* and *hard to believe* we run into the same trouble as in the examples above in (44) and (45).

(46) I find it easy to believe, but Joan finds it hard to believe [that Tom is dishonest]. (Postal 1974: 127)

A further problem are examples where the target is not completely c-commanded by the head carrying the E_{RNR} -feature. This is the case in (47). Since the PP *to the library* modifies the verb phrase, the verbal head *donated* does not c-command the PP and deletion should not take place.

(47) Smith loaned, and his widow later donated, [**a valuable collection of manuscripts**] [**to the library**]. (Abbot 1976: 639)

Despite the differences discussed above, the major argument against an ellipsis approach per se is the fact that ellipsis takes the target to be internal. Therefore, examples requiring wide scope interpretations of quantifiers, additive readings, distributive readings of relational modifiers, and plural agreement are not expected.

To sum up, both Hartmann's (2000) and Ha's (2008) analyses are PF-deletion accounts where the target stays internal to the coordination, failing to explain DC-mismatches. As described above, the two proposals differ significantly with respect to the licensing of the ellipsis. Whereas Hartmann (2000) refers to an interaction of information structure and tonal requirements, Ha (2008) assumes a feature in syntax to be responsible for deletion. The two approaches seem to mirror the distinction between Givenness Marking Ellipsis and Contrastive Ellipsis introduced at the beginning of this section.

Both approaches focus on coordinated RNR. This is even more problematic for Hartmann (2000) since the coordination plays a prominent role in the calculation of the information structure and the assignment of focus. Either non-coordinated RNR must be subject to a different licensing mechanism, or Hartmann (2000) simply overstates the importance of the conjunction. From a theoretical point of view, Ha's (2008) analysis can be extended to subordination (VPE also occurs with subordination), but it would still fail to account for instances in the word domain and examples which lack a connective all together. The properties of both proposals are summarized in Table 4.


		Hartmann (2000)	Ha (2008)
SC-Mismatch	Verbal Inflection	-	+
	Inflectional number	-	+
	Pronoun / R-expression	-	+
	NPI licensing	-	-
	Sloppy Readings	-	+
Requirements on have/be		-	+
Preposition stranding		+	+
Island insensitivity		+	+
DC-Mismatch	Inverse Scope	-	-
	Cumulative /Plural agreement	-	-
	Additive readings	-	-
	Distributive readings	-	-
Connective	Coordination	+	+
	Coordination-like	+	+
	Subordination	-	+
No Conn.			
	Adjunction	-	-
	Comparative Structure	-	-
Domain	Clausal	+	+
	Non-clausal	+	?
	Word level	+	?

Table 4: Overview ellipsis¹⁰

3.1.3 Multidomination

The last approach to RNR is multidomination. As illustrated in (48), one target is merged in two places. It is ‘shared’ by both conjuncts. This requires abandoning the single mother condition (Sampson 1975).

¹⁰ + = approach predicts phenomenon to be possible; ? = approach makes no specific claims about phenomenon; - = approach finds no explanation for makes contrary prediction

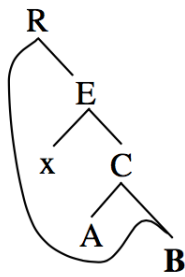
(48) John liked , and Mary hated
the film

However, multidomination should not be mistaken as a new type of operation. It is rather a different way to represent relations in a tree structure (see Citko 2005; de Vries 2009). The underlying assumption is that all kinds of structure building processes are exclusively derived by *Merge*. This also includes all transformations which are commonly described as being derived by movement.

Before turning to the interpretation of RNR, I am going to introduce the concept of multidomination and its interpretation of ‘merge’ in more detail. After having introduced the theoretical basis, I will explain how the concept of ‘sharing’ is claimed to follow as a natural consequence. It will also become apparent that a multidomination analysis of movement needs to explain how linear precedence is achieved. After having briefly touched on the topic of linearization, the remainder of the section addresses the advantages and disadvantages that a multidomination analysis of RNR comes with.

As already mentioned above, the underlying idea about multidomination is that all kinds of structure building processes are exclusively derived by merge. First, merge can combine two syntactic objects from the lexicon in order to build a bigger structure. Furthermore, previously built structures can serve as the input for further merge to create more complex structures such as phrases or clauses. This is what is commonly referred to as *external merge*. Secondly, movement is interpreted in terms of *internal remerge* corresponding to what is traditionally referred to as movement or displacement. Instead of stipulating the existence of traces, copies or movement chains, a particular element is first merged in one place in a tree structure and subsequently internally remerged in another in the same tree. Crucially, it is possible to represent internal remerge in terms of a multidomination structure as illustrated in (49).

(49) Representation of internal remerge (e.g. wh-question)



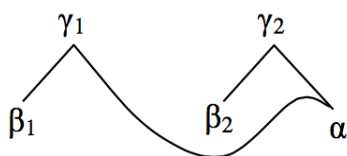
(de Vries 2009: 364)

The multidomination tree structure represents the fact that there is a certain element which is involved in two local relationships. The first is the complement position to the verb *read*; the second is the specifier position of CP where it is ultimately spelled-out.

The last type of merge, *external remerge*, is much more controversial and corresponds to the concept of sharing (see also Wilder 1999; 2008; Citko 2003; 2005; van Riemsdijk 2006). As de Vries (2009) points out, the benefit of multidominant structures is the possibility to subsume all structure building processes in terms of merge. No further assumptions about copies, traces, or chains are needed. A number of constructions have been proposed to involve external remerge.¹¹ Amongst these are constructions with and without coordination (see Kluck 2011 for wh- and cleft-amalgams). A standard case by now is RNR (McCawley 1982; Wilder 1999; 2008; Kluck 2007; 2009; Bachrach & Katzir 2009). Interestingly, ATB-movement has also been among these constructions, claimed to involve both internal and external remerge (e.g. Citko 2005).

The difference to internal remerge is the fact that the shared element is not subsumed under a common root at the point in the derivation where it is externally remerged. This is illustrated in (50).

(50) External Rermerge



(de Vries 2009: 361)

¹¹ The concept of external remerge has also been referred to as Parallel Merge by Citko (2003, 2005) or graphing by van Riemsdijk (2006).

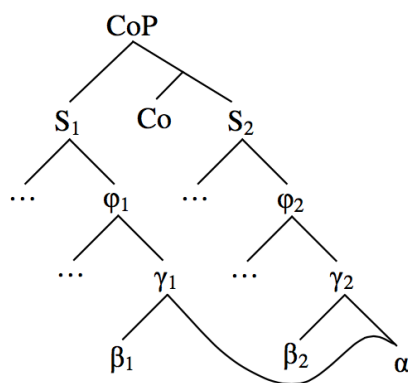
Under obligation of the *Single Root Condition* stated in (51), the nodes have to be combined at some later stage in order to be interpretable.

(51) **Single Root Condition:**

A derivation converges only if (a) the Numeration is empty, and (b) the output consists of a single syntactic object. (Wilder 1999: 590)

In coordinate RNR, the two structures are combined to a single-rooted structure at the very end of the derivation when the coordination is reached.

(52) Coordinate RNR



(de Vries 2009: 361)

Of course, any robust theory of multidomination has to answer the question of how the structure is linearized in the end. In other words, how does the system determine spell-out at PF of the multiply dominated node? In the following, I will mention some proposals without going into the precise technicalities involved.

A number of proposals have taken Kayne's (1994) theory of Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) as the relevant mechanism (e.g. Wilder 1999; 2008; Gracanin-Yuksekk 2013). Since the LCA is an algorithm of the PF-component that determines precedence relations in terms of c-command, the theory needs to be extended in such a way that it is applicable to sharing constructions such as RNR where one node is involved in two c-command relations.

Wilder (1999) uses the notion of *full dominance* as a way to filter out shared constituents. Only terminals that are fully dominated can be linearized and represented in the image as illustrated in (54) for sentence (53) for each conjunct.

(53) Chris wrote and Kate reviewed an article.

- (54) TP1 (Chirs>wrote)
 TP2 (Kate>reviewed)

Given the c-command relations of both conjuncts and the asymmetric relation imposed by the coordination, the only place where the target can be linearized without contradicting any ordering requirements is the right edge of the second conjunct.

- (55) Chirs>wrote>and>Kate>reviewed>an>article

A further central idea is that “only those MD-trees which can be linearized by LCA are well-formed” Wilder (1999: 588). Although the proposal captures the RER, Sabbagh (2007) detects a flaw. The linearization process also predicts examples such as (56) to be grammatical.

- (56) *Joss [_{VP} edited [one review _] for Blackwell], and Maria [_{VP} edited [two reviews **of my new book**] for Oxford]. (Sabbagh 2007: 393)

De Vries (2009: 365-368) voices scepticism towards LCA-based analyses in general. He questions whether it is desirable for phonology to restrict syntax in such an “intricate and hard-to-predict way” (367).

Bachrach & Katzir (2009) propose a theory for RNR in which the correct linear order is determined by a delayed spell-out mechanism. They claim that spell-out proceeds in cycles and that only ‘completely dominated’ nodes are subject to spell-out. Shared elements are only partially dominated and therefore not spelled out until the derivation reaches the coordination. Their main concern is to explain the data in (58) which they claim to be derived by RNR prior to wh-movement.

- (57) [John met the man who wrote _] and Mary met the woman who published _] the recent bestseller about bats. (Bachrach & Katzir 2009: 283)
- (58) Which book did [John meet the man who wrote _], and [Mary meet the man who published _] t_i ? (Bachrach & Katzir 2009: 312)

The notion of incomplete spell-out is important here since a node which is not completely dominated yet is available for movement. Assuming that TP is not a phase, they claim that *which book* is still able to move to the front. Note that my consultants informally judged the question in (58) as barely parsable and being on the edge of grammatical. If (58) is not a felicitous sentence, then Bachrach & Katzir’s (2009) reasoning is built on false assumptions.

Kluck (2007) dispenses with a complex linearization mechanism and postulates that an element which has already been first merged in a structure is marked in the syntactic structure in case it undergoes remerge in some other place. Remeerge is possible as long as the relevant node has not reached spell-out. Finally, spell-out applies to the position to which an element has been merged at last.

To sum up, most attempts to explain the linearization of shared constituents are complex mechanisms. Both Wilder (1999) and Bachrach & Katzir (2009) take domination as a determining factor in filtering out the shared node. We have seen that both implementations suffer from conceptual flaws. Kluck (2007) takes a different approach by assuming that the syntactic derivation has access to the information whether a node has previously been merged or not.

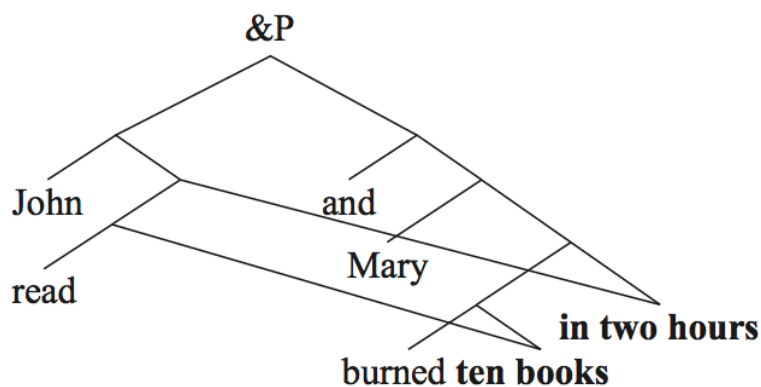
Having addressed the topic of linearization, I will now turn to the question of how a multidomination analysis fares with respect to the data presented in section 2. The fact that the approach postulates the existence of one target which is merged in two places leads to an internal interpretation of the target. With this in mind, it is not surprising that multidomination makes similar predictions to an ellipsis approach. It easily accounts for the fact that RNR allows for preposition stranding and is insensitive to islands due to the fact that no movement has taken place. Nevertheless, ellipsis seems to be superior to multidomination with respect to SC-mismatches where the morphological form of the target only matches the second conjunct. With only one target, it is not obvious why the mismatch in the first conjunct should occur. Nevertheless, we will see that at least inflectional mismatches are not completely irreconcilable with multidomination. What remains problematic, are targets which need to take scope over the coordination (i.e. where the target needs to be external).

Early multidomination approaches postulated a strict matching requirement with respect to both merge sites (e.g. van Riemsdijk 2006). As a consequence, SC-mismatches where the target phonologically only fits to the second conjunct are unexpected. However, authors have suggested that morphosyntactic identity must not necessarily be imposed by multidomination, and that a suitable theory of inflectional morphology can solve the problem (Kluck 2007; Wilder 2008). Kluck (2007) opts for a solution in terms of *Distributed Morphology* (Halle & Marantz 1993) which suggests that syntax only deals with representations of features of lexical items; phonological features are determined after the

syntactic derivation. Kluck (2007) assumes that locality is the decisive factor for the phonological output. If this is true, the mismatch in the first conjunct in SC-mismatches is the result of a locality effect. However, locality cannot be the decisive factor in cases of cumulate/plural agreement where the morphosyntactic form does not fit to either of the conjuncts.

Theoretically, multidomination is not limited to one shared constituent. Authors have proposed more complex multidomination structures in which there is more than one node with multiple mothers (Wilder 2008; Gracanin-Yukseki 2013; Grosz 2015). This is taken to be the case in (59) where the target is bigger than just one constituent.

(59) John read and Mary burned ten books in two hours.

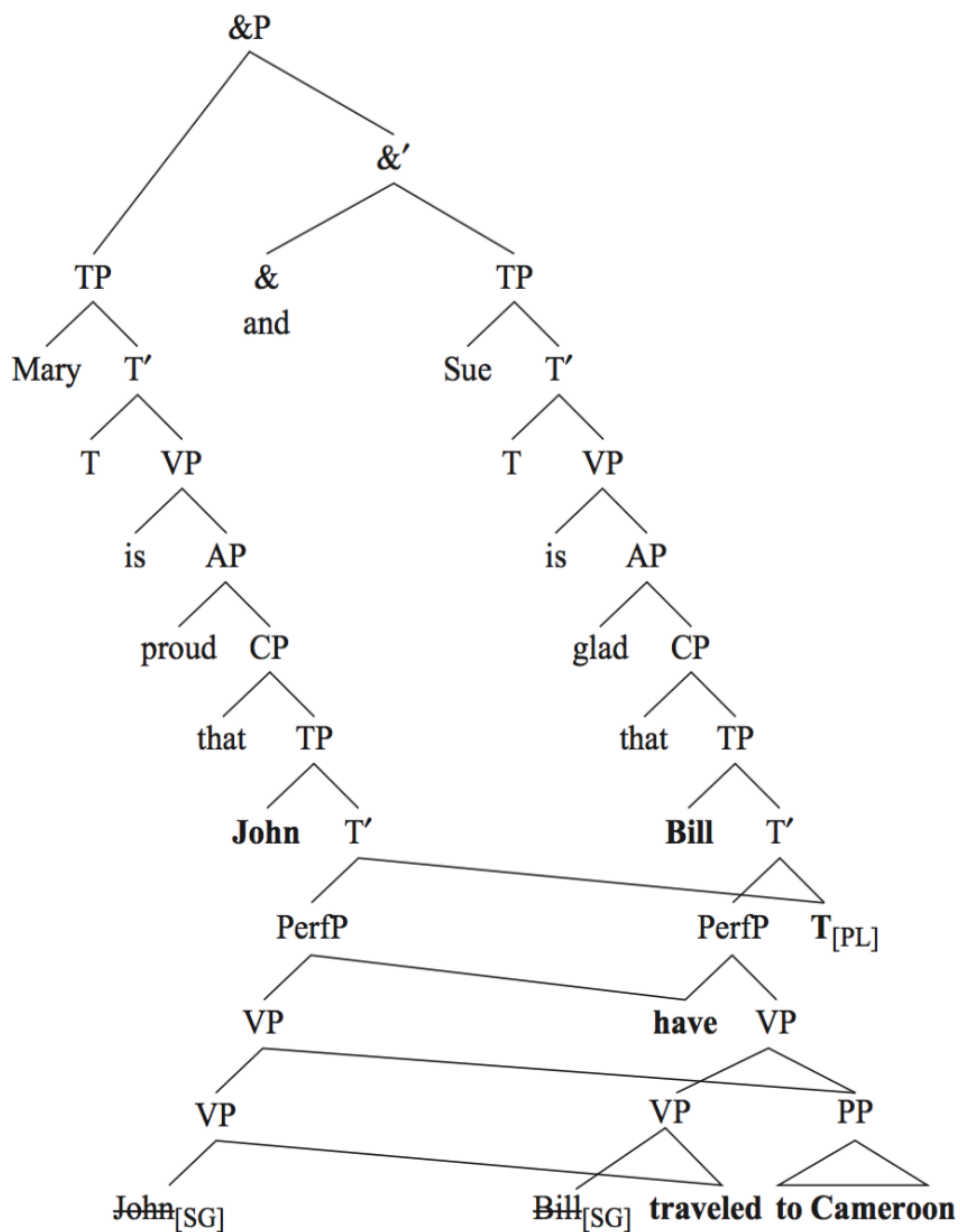


(Grosz 2015: 2)

The possibility of more than one shared node is a clear advantage over an ATB-approach which either has to conjecture more than one landing site above the coordination or allow for non-constituents to move.

Grosz (2015) takes similar structures to be the solution for RNR with cumulative/plural agreement in the target such as (60). He proposes that “in summative-agreement [throughout the thesis referred to as cumulative/plural agreement] configurations, the probe on the shared agreeing head (T^0) simultaneously agrees with two goals, namely the two unshared subject DPs” (15). This way, there is no need for the target to scope over the coordination to account for the plural agreement in the target. For a detailed discussion I refer the reader to Grosz (2015).

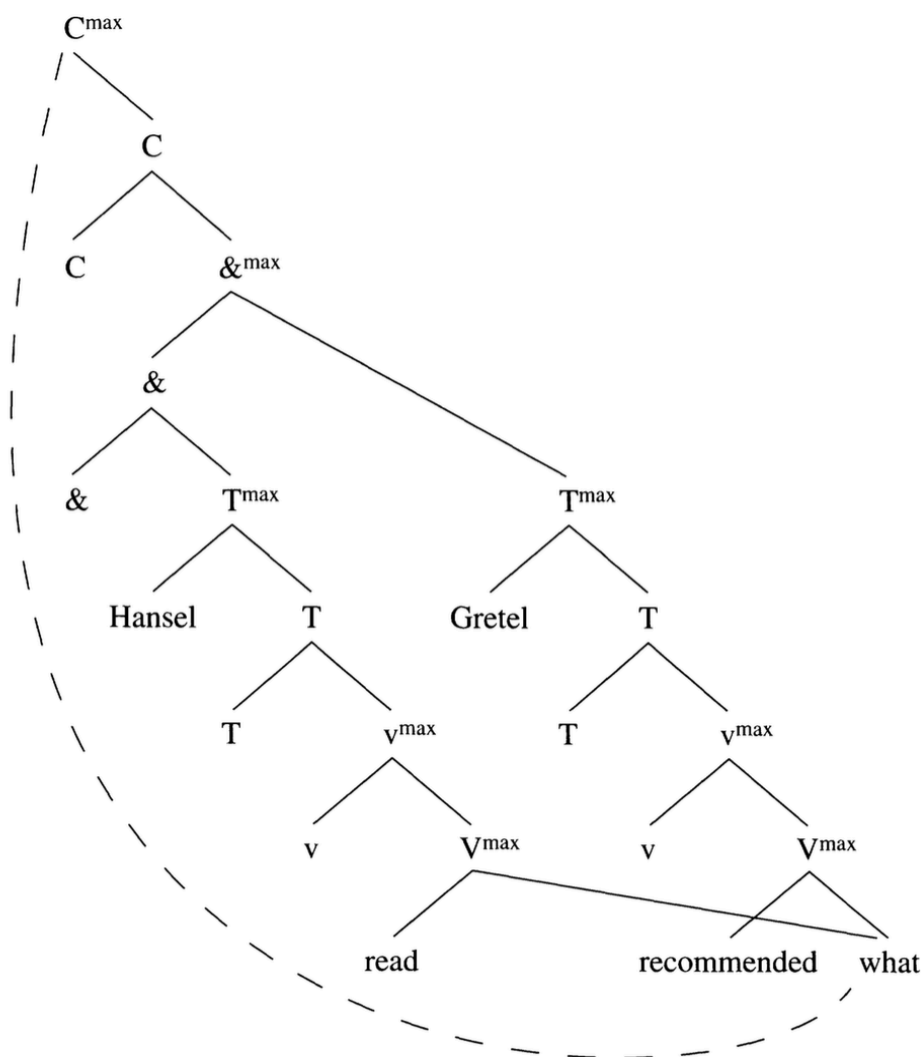
(60) Mary is proud that John and Sue is glad that Bill have traveled to Cameroon.



(Grosz 2015: 14)

As already mentioned, additive and distributive readings challenge a multidomination interpretation of RNR since these phenomenon are taken to require the target to scope over the coordination. I do not have a final solution, but I briefly want to mention Citko's (2003; 2005) multidomination approach for leftward-ATB movement. Citko (2003; 2005) analyses leftward ATB-movement such as (61) in terms of multidomination with subsequent internal remerge.

(61) I wonder what Gretel recommended and Hansel read. (Citko 2005: 479)



The question is whether it is possible to remerge shared material to the right in a place above the conjunction.

In the previous two sections, I have identified the limitation to clausal RNR and the dependence on a coordination as the major drawback for all ATB-movement accounts. The latter also applies to Hartmann's (2000) ellipsis approach. As pointed out by de Vries (2009), "every instance of external remerge must be compensated by a joining operation later in the derivation", but it does not limit the possibilities to coordination. Taking this seriously opens the possibility to account for some of the non-coordinated examples discussed in section 2.2.2 with subordinations. However, I do not see a straightforward solution for examples that lack any kind of connective such as (62).

(62) Politicians who have fought for, may well snub those who have fought against **chimpanzee rights**. (Postal 1994: 104)

To sum up, islands and preposition stranding are unproblematic for external remerge. At first glance, all SC-mismatches and DC-mismatches seem to pose a problem: SC-mismatches because there is only one target and DC-mismatches because the target is internal. I have laid out solution approaches by Kluck (2007) for inflectional mismatches and by Grosz (2015) for cumulative/plural agreement. A further unsolved puzzle is the restriction on have/be which does not find a straightforward explanation in a multidomination approach. With respect to the domain and the type of connective, multidomination has the most explanatory power out of the three exclusive approaches. I further assume that extending multidomination to word parts is feasible.

SC-Mismatch	Verbal Inflection	+ Kluck (2007)
	Inflectional number	+ Kluck (2007)
	Pronoun / R-expression	?
	NPI licensing	-
	Sloppy Readings	-
	Requirements on have/be	-
	Preposition stranding	+
	Islands insensitivity	+
DC-Mismatch	Inverse Scope	-
	Cumulative /Plural agreement	+ Grosz (2015)
	Additive readings	-
	Distributive readings	-
Connective	Coordination	+
	Coordination-like	+
	Subordination	+
No Conn.	Adjunction	+
	Comparative Structure	?
Domain	Clausal	+
	Non-clausal	+
	Word level	+

Table 5: Overview multidomination

3.2 Eclectic approaches

To my knowledge, the eclectic path has only been taken for English. Larson (2012) has pointed out that it is “difficult to determine how one could attack or defend the eclectic hypothesis” in general. An eclectic approach will most likely always have the flaw that cases without a unique identifier are ambiguous between different syntactic readings. Although an exclusive hypothesis would be more elegant, in my opinion there are no purely theoretically motivated objections against an eclectic approach.

In the following, I am going to introduce two such approaches. The first is by Barros & Vicente (2011) who claim that there is a subclass of RNR examples that can only be plausibly analysed as being derived via ellipsis and another class which can only be accounted for by multidomination. However, Larson (2012) has shown that their data is flawed. The claim is not empirically supported under closer scrutiny. The second eclectic approach is by Chaves (2014) who assumes a three-way distinction between VPE/N'-ellipsis, backward periphery deletion and extraposition. Since the proposal is formulized in the framework of sign-based construction grammar (Sag 2012), I will briefly address the possibility of implementing the three-way distinction in a Minimalist framework.

Barros & Vicente (2011) discard the movement analysis from the outset for the reason that RNR is not subject to the RRC nor is it sensitive to islands or disallows preposition stranding as predicted by a movement approach. Instead, Barros & Vicente (2011) claim that RNR requires ellipsis and multidomination. To prove that RNR is not the result of a single process, they identify four “prompts” which unambiguously mark a construction as either derived by ellipsis or multidomination, see (63) and (64).

(63) **Prompts for ellipsis:**

- i. Morphological Mismatches
- ii. Vehicle Change Effects

(64) **Prompts for multidomination:**

- i. Cumulative Agreement (plural agreement)
- ii. Internal Readings (distributive reading)

The issue of how exactly these approaches are syntactically implemented is not addressed since it does not play a decisive role for their hypothesis. For cumulative/plural agreement they cite the manuscript version of Grosz (2015). In the discussion above, I claimed that

distributive readings of relational modifiers are only explained under a movement approach. Barros & Vicente (2011) on the other hand adopt an explanation proposed in Bachrach & Katzir (2007, 2009), in which distributive readings follow as a corollary of their linearization algorithm for multidominant structures. Although I do not believe that the approach is correct, I will temporarily adopt their point of view while laying out Barros & Vicente's (2011) eclectic approach.

Coming back to the proposal, Barros & Vicente (2011) claim that a sentence with two conflicting prompts is necessarily conducive to ungrammaticality. Based on their selected examples, the hypothesis seems to be corroborated. The data given in (65) to (68) is meant to show that the sentences are grammatical when only one of the prompts is present (the a- and b-examples), but the combination of both is either ungrammatical or does not allow the relevant reading (c-examples).

Conflict 1: Morphological Mismatches vs. Cumulative Agreement

(65) a. *No morphological mismatch, cumulative agreement possible*

Alice is happy that Beatrix [], and Claire is proud that Diane [], have/*has negotiated with the manager.

b. *No cumulative agreement, morphological mismatch possible*

Alice already has [], and Bob is about to [], negotiate his salary with the manager.¹²

c. *Cumulative agreement, potential morphological mismatch blocked.*

Alice is happy that Beatrix [], and Claire is proud that Daniel [], have/*has negotiated his salary with the manager.

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 6f.)

Conflict 2: Morphological Mismatches vs. Internal Readings

(66) a. *No relational adjective, morphological mismatch OK*

Alice has [], and Beatrix wants to [], work on Binding Theory.

b. *No morphological mismatch, internal reading OK*

Alice must [], and Beatrix should [], work on different topics.

¹² Note that the morphological mismatch refers to the mismatch in verbal inflection and not the pronoun in the target.

c. *Morphological mismatch blocks internal reading*

Alice has [], and Beatrix wants to [], work on different topics.

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 7)

Conflict 3: Vehicle Change vs. Cumulative Agreement

(67) a. *No cumulative agreement, Vehicle Change OK*

She_i fears [], but Bob is not worried [], that Alice_i might lose the election.¹³

b. *No Vehicle Change, cumulative agreement OK*

Alice fears that Beatrix [], and Claire worries that Diane [], have/*has decided to nominate Esther.

c. *Cumulative agreement, Vehicle Change blocked*

She_{*i/k} fears that Alex [], and I worry that Bob [], have/*has decided to nominate Claire_i.

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 8)

Conflict 4: Vehicle Change vs. Internal Readings

(68) a. *No internal reading, Vehicle Change OK*

She_i thinks that he must [], but Bob fears that he won't [], come up with a topic that satisfies Alice_i.

b. *No Vehicle Change, internal reading OK*

Alice absolutely must [], and Beatrix is obliged to , come up with different topics.

c. *Either Vehicle Change or internal reading blocked*

She_i absolutely must [], and Bob is obliged to [], present different topics to Alice's_i supervisor.

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 8)

To summarize, Barros & Vicente's (2011) claim that the presence of two conflicting characteristics leads to a mutual blocking effect since the prompts are representative for two incompatible structural interpretations. However, they remain silent with respect to how cases without a prompt should be interpreted. There are two possibilities: i. RNR-sentences without a prompt are ambiguous and can be derived by either ellipsis or

¹³ Note that Levine (1985) has judged the very same pattern as ungrammatical. My native speaker consultants agreed with Levine.

(i) *She_i said , and I happen to agree , that Mary_i needs a new car. Levine (1985: 496)

multidomination. ii. They are not ambiguous and examples lacking a prompt are either derived by one or the other operation. The second option raises the question which other factors are indicative of one of the two analyses.

Larson (2012) has shown that the proposed diagnostics cannot hold up under close scrutiny, since the test data presented in Barros & Vicente (2011) is highly selective. In the following, I will present his counter-examples for each purported incompatibility pairing.

First, Larson (2012) criticises the examples for the conflict between morphological change and cumulative readings. He remarks that Barros & Vicente's (2011) example, repeated in (69), is not a minimal pair because of the different pregap structure.

(69) a. *No morphological mismatch, cumulative agreement possible*

Alice is happy that Beatrix [], and Claire is proud that Diane [], have/*has negotiated with the manager.

b. *No cumulative agreement, morphological mismatch possible*

Alice already has [], and Bob is about to [], negotiate his salary with the manager.

(Barros & Vicente 2011: 6)

Instead, he proposes (70) which is more similar to the other sentences of the set.

(70) *Alice is happy that Iris [~~can spell her name~~], and Claire is proud that Daniel, can spell his name. (Larson 2012: 147)

(70) shows that even when multidominance is not necessary to derive the sentence (there is no overt cue for cumulative agreement) morphological mismatches of this sort are not licensed. Larson (2012: 146) himself mentions in a footnote an interesting parallelism between the licensing of mismatches in RNR and VPE. Whenever a mismatch is licensed in RNR, the VPE counterpart is also grammatical. On the other hand, an ungrammatical RNR mismatch sentence cannot be transposed, compare (71) and (72).

(71) a. I'm sure that Alice will, but I didn't pass my exam. (RNR)

b. I'm sure that Alice will pass her math exam, but I didn't. (VPE)

- (72) a. *Claire is proud that Daniel, and Alice is happy that Iris has negotiated his salary with the manager. (RNR)
- b. *Claire is proud that Daniel has negotiated his salary with the manager, and Alice is happy that Iris. (VPE)

He suggests that sentences like (71)-a might involve VP-ellipsis followed by stylistic inversion. I will come back to this issue below when I discuss the second eclectic approach by Chaves (2014) who shares the basic intuition that there is a parallel between RNR and VPE.

Secondly, Larson (2012) constructs an example with a morphological mismatch where the internal reading of *different* is accessible.

- (73) Alice must [~~work on different topics~~], and Iris ought to be, working on different topics. (Larson 2012: 147)

(73) is a straightforward counterexample to Barros & Vicente's (2011) hypothesis since prompts from both multidominance and ellipsis are present in a single sentence and the internal reading is still available.

Thirdly, Larson (2012) criticizes the test conditions pitted against each other in the apparent conflict arising between vehicle change effects and cumulative readings. Again, he points out that the test sentences are not minimal pairs. For better understanding, Barros & Vicente's (2011) examples are repeated in (74). There is a structural difference between (74)-a and (74)-c.

- (74) a. *No cumulative agreement, Vehicle Change OK*
 She_i fears [], but Bob is not worried [], that Alice_i might lose the election.
- b. *No Vehicle Change, cumulative agreement OK*
 Alice fears that Beatrix [], and Claire worries that Diane [], have/*has decided to nominate Esther.
- c. *Cumulative agreement, Vehicle Change blocked*
 She_{*i/k} fears that Alex [], and I worry that Bob [], have/*has decided to nominate Claire_i.
- (Barros & Vicente 2011: 8)

In (74)-c the R-expression *Claire* is separated from its antecedent by two R-expressions (*Alex* and *Bob*). The same pattern can be found in (74)-b, but not in (74)-a. Crucially, when the

sentence (74)-a is altered in a way that is more similar to the other two test sentences as in (75), the sentence becomes ungrammatical even when no cumulative reading is present. Therefore, it is questionable to blame cumulative reading for the ungrammaticality of (74)-c.

- (75) *She_i fears that Alex thinks, but Bob is not worried, that Alice_i might lose the election.
(Larson 2012: 148)

Fourthly, (76) shows that contrary to Barros & Vicente's (2011) claim, vehicle change effects and the internal reading of *different* can be licit simultaneously.

- (76) She_i thinks that she absolutely must, and Bill fears that he won't, present different topics to Alice's_i supervisor. (Larson 2012: 148)

Based on the presented data, Larson (2012) concludes that the eclectic approach of ellipsis and multidomination developed by Barros & Vicente (2011) is empirically not supported and makes false predictions when test conditions are controlled sufficiently.

The second eclectic approach by Chaves (2014) explores a combination of ellipsis, backward periphery deletion, and extraposition in order to account for the problematic data.¹⁴ He provides a full implementation in the framework of sign-based construction grammar developed in Sag (2012) and explains which of the three phenomena is able to generate what kind of output.

Chaves (2014) takes ATB-extraposition to the right to be the mirror image of ATB-extraposition to the left. Consequently, he limits extraposition to NPs, PPs, and relative clauses. Thus, Chaves (2014) concludes that RNR with targets that do not belong to one of these categories cannot be derived by this operation. The limitation to certain categories discriminates Chaves (2014) conception from Sabbagh's (2007) interpretation in which movement is taken as the only possibility for all kinds of targets. Apart from the restriction to certain categories, the second premise for a structure to be derived by ATB-movement is that the targets theoretically must be extraposable in non-coordinated structures. Extraposition in (77)-b destroys the unity of the idiomatic phrase (X does not play with a full deck = X is crazy), therefore the example (77)-a cannot be derived by ATB-extraposition. In (78), on the other hand, the PP is movable which makes an ATB-extraposition parse possible.

¹⁴ Chaves (2014) discards a multidomination from the start. He claims that "in multidominance, ATB leftward extraction is viewed as the leftward movement of a multidominated structure. But this is directly challenged by languages like Hausa, which have leftward extraction but lack RNR altogether" (footnote 4).

- (77) a. Robin does not play—or pretends not to play—[with a full deck].
 b. *Robin does not play today with a full deck.
 (Chaves 2014: 838)

- (78) a. I bought a book and you got a magazine [about quantum physics].
 b. I bought a book yesterday about quantum physics.
 (Chaves 2014: 838)

As discussed in chapter 3.1.1, the observation that rightward-movement is subject to an upward bounding condition, sensitive to islands, and disallows preposition stranding has been taken as the main evidence against a movement account in terms of extraposition because RNR shows the exact opposite pattern as regular extraposition. However, Chaves (2014) re-evaluates these arguments and comes to the conclusion that neither argument is convincing.

As already mentioned, extraposition is usually held to be subject to an upward bounding condition (Akmajian 1975; Johnson 1986; Rochemont 1992; McCloskey 1999), disallowing the crossing of CPs. Chaves (2014) provides a number of examples which show that the role of syntax with respect to extraposition might have been overstated. He claims that extraposition examples such as (79) and (80) are fully acceptable, providing counter-evidence to the claim that extraposition is bounded.

- (79) I've been requesting [that you pay back ___] ever since May [the money I lent to you a year ago]. (originally from Kayne 1994: 251)
 (80) Sue [kept [regretting___] for years][that she had not turned him down]. (originally from Van Eynde 1996)
 (Chaves 2014: 861)

Chaves (2014) concludes that extraposition “is not as syntactically restricted as usually held but, rather, is constrained by performance factors such as syntactic and semantic parsing expectations and memory-resource limitations” (862). The data in (81) and (82) suggest the same conclusion for extraposition out of islands and preposition stranding. In (81), a relative clause has been extraposed out of a subject island. (82) is an attested example from Wasow (2002) featuring preposition stranding.

(81) [The circulation of a rumor ___] has started [that Obama will not seek re- election].

(82) I'll go over in my mind all the things I did wrong.

(Chaves 2014: 864)

Since neither island-configurations nor preposition stranding seem to be subject to a syntactic constraint, Chaves (2014) concludes that the insensitivity to islands and the ability to strand prepositions in RNR do not speak against a movement analysis.

As already implied by the name, VP/N'-ellipsis only allows the omission of VP and N' projections. Contrary to Hartmann (2000) and Ha (2008), he assumes that ellipsis is best accounted for by a direct interpretation analysis (Culicover & Jackendoff 2005). It is well known that regular VP/N'-ellipsis can occur cataphorically or anaphorically. Chaves (2014) proposes that cataphoric ellipsis can have the appearance of a RNR construction. We have seen that an ellipsis approach explains mismatches in the verbal domain straightforwardly. However, Chaves (2014) does not repeat Ha's (2008) theoretical flaw of overstating its explanatory potential beyond VP and N' targets. It follows naturally that RNR derived by ellipsis must always be reversible. Accordingly, (83)-a allows an ellipsis interpretation whereas (84)-a does not.

(83) a. The relevant passage is in the third or in the fifth [line]?

b. The relevant passage is in the third line or in the fifth?

(Chaves 2014: 838)

(84) a. This is the difference between an interesting and a boring [book].

b. *This is the difference between an interesting book and a boring.

(Chaves 2014: 838)

In contrast to syntactically licensed ellipsis, Chaves (2014) considers backward periphery deletion to be a non-syntactic operation. He calls it an "optional surface-based deletion operation" (Chaves 2014: 838). The mechanism can target "any pair of peripheral strings as long as they have the same morph forms and are prosodically independent" (838). This includes stressed pronouns, non-constituents (i.e. targets with more than one constituent), word-parts, and discontinuous strings. Backward periphery ellipsis comes closest to Hartmann's (2000) phonological deletion approach. Both assume that deletion is non-syntactic and requires strict identity. They differ in the fact that Hartmann (2000) makes the deletion dependent on the conjunction whereas Chaves (2014) backward periphery deletion

applies more freely. Additionally, backward periphery deletion is not dependent on focus and can target any prosodically independent element.

Although ATB-extraposition, VP/N' ellipsis, and backward periphery deletion are fundamentally different phenomena, they are not mutually exclusive when it comes to their surface structure. The example in (85) can be derived by either ATB-extraposition or backward periphery deletion. On the other hand, examples which require wide scope must be derived by ATB-extraposition.

(85) I bought a book and you got a magazine [about quantum physics].

(Chaves 2014: 838)

Similarly, RNR with VP targets are ambiguous between an ellipsis parse and a backward periphery deletion interpretation as long as the morph form is identical. Hence, the presence of a mismatch in the verbal domain only allows for an ellipsis interpretation since morph identity between the targets is no longer given.

Whereas ATB-extraposition is restricted to coordinate structures, ellipsis and backward periphery deletion are theoretically not. VPE is also possible with subordinations as examples (86) and (87) demonstrate.

(86) Lulamae left although Mag didn't.

(87) You shouldn't play with rifles because it's dangerous.

(Johnson 2001: 445f.)

Since Chaves (2014) does not make these operations dependent on a coordination (in comparison to Hartmann 2000 and Ha 2008), his approach is able to capture the existence of non-coordinated RNR.

On the other hand, Chaves (2014) claims that cumulative/plural agreement, additive readings, and distributive readings of relational modifiers are not a specific property of RNR but of constructions with conjunctions. Thus, these phenomena are not dependent on an external target and can also occur with ellipsis and backward periphery deletion.

To sum up, Chaves (2014) limits ATB-extraposition to the right to NPs, PPs, and relative clauses. VP/N'-ellipsis is taken to be the cataphoric counterpart of anaphoric ellipsis, limiting it to these categories. As a result, examples that are derived by VP/N' must be reversible. By limiting ATB-extraposition and VP/N'-ellipsis to certain categories, it follows that all other categories must be derived by backward periphery deletion. This includes word

part targets and targets that are bigger than just one constituent. Furthermore, he re-evaluates arguments made against a movement analysis, coming to the conclusion that constraints on islands, preposition stranding, and the boundedness of extraposition have been overstated. He further proposes an alternative explanation for cumulative/plural agreement, distributive readings of relational modifiers, and additive readings. Table 5 gives an impression of which kind of operation is responsible for what kind of output. The overview also reveals which particular structures can be the output of more than one operation.

SC-Mismatch	Verbal Inflection	Ellipsis
	Inflectional number	Ellipsis
	Pronoun / R-expression	Ellipsis
	NPI licensing	BP-Deletion
	Sloppy Readings	Ellipsis/BP-Deletion
Requirements on have/be		Ellipsis
Preposition stranding		ATB-movement/BP-ellipsis
Islands insensitivity		ATB-movement/BP-deletion
DC-Mismatch	Inverse Scope	ATB-movement
	Cumulative /plural agreement	Ellipsis/ATB-movement/BP-Deletion
	Additive readings	Ellipsis/ATB-movement/BP-Deletion
	Distributive readings	Ellipsis/ATB-movement/BP-Deletion
Connective	Coordination	Ellipsis/ATB-movement/BP-Deletion
	Coordination-like	Ellipsis/ATB-movement/BP-Deletion
	Subordination	Ellipsis/BP-Deletion
No Conn.		
	Adjunction	BP-Deletion/ellipsis
	Comparative Structure	BP-Deletion
Domain	Clausal	Ellipsis/ATB-movement/BP-Deletion
	Non-clausal	BP-Deletion/ellipsis
	Word level	BP-Deletion

Table 6: Overview of Chaves' (2014) eclectic approach

3.3 Conclusion

The discussion has shown that none of the exclusive approaches are able to account for the whole set of data presented in section 2. The fact that all three exclusive approaches have been unsatisfactory has led to several eclectic proposals which take the surface of RNR to be derived by two or more operations. I discussed two of them in section 3.2. I believe that an eclectic approach is on the right path in order to solve the RNR puzzle. In my opinion, it seems to be worth investigating the possibility of a combination of VPE and multidomination. Multidomination has an advantage over movement accounts since it does not necessarily have to apply to coordinate structures and has no problem in dealing with non-constituent targets or word part targets.

The columns highlighted in grey indicate that these phenomena have been attributed by Chaves (2014) to be coordination dependent phenomena instead of being a property of RNR. The overview in Table 7 also reveals that not a single exclusive proposal explains the problem of NPI licensing. Again, Chaves (2014) offers a solution. He proposes that the NPI is in fact part of the remnant and not as has previously been assumed of the target.

- (88) a. Robin read ~~books_{NP}~~ but Mary didn't read any books_{N'}.
 b. *Robin didn't read ~~(any) books~~ but Mary read any books.
 (Chaves 2014: 875)

Following Chaves (2014) proposal, example (88) must be derived by backward periphery deletion, however, a multidomination analysis would also be a theoretical option.

The discussion in this section has made clear that the task of syntactically analysing RNR is still in progress. In the section that follows, I will extend the discussion to a fourth option by exploring the idea that some instances of RNR should be analysed as parentheticals. It will become clear that a parenthetical interpretation requires a fundamentally different structural analysis.

		Movement	Ellipsis		Multidomination
			Ha	Hartmann	
SC-Mismatch	Verbal Inflection	-	-	+	+ Kluck (2007)
	Inflectional number	-	-	+	+ Kluck (2007)
	Pronoun / R-expression	-	-	+	?
	NPI licensing	-	-	-	-
	Sloppy Readings	-	-	+	-
Requirements on have/be		-	-	+	-
Preposition stranding		- / + C (2014)	+	+	+
Island insensitivity		- / + C (2014)	+	+	+
DC-Mismatch	Inverse Scope	+	-	-	-
	Cumulative /Plural agreement	+	-	-	+ Grosz (2015)
	Additive readings	+	-	-	-
	Distributive readings	+	-	-	-
Connective	Coordination	+	+	+	+
	Coordination-like	+	+	+	+
	Subordination	-	-	?	+
No Conn.	Adjunction	-	-	-	+
	Comparative Structure	-	-	-	?
Domain	Clausal	+	+	+	+
	Non-clausal	-	+	?	+
	Word level	-	+	?	+

Table 7: Overview of exclusive approaches

4. Are some instances of RNR parentheticals?

Apart from the three main approaches discussed in section 3, there is a tradition of listing RNR as a parenthetical (Peterson 1999; Kaltenböck 2007; Dehé 2014). However, the construction itself has not received much attention in the parenthetical literature. The only explicit interpretation of coordinate RNR as a parenthetical I know of is Peterson (1999). Note that a parenthetical interpretation makes fundamentally different predictions with respect to the status of the target and the conjunction. Instead of assuming a coordinate structure between two conjuncts of the same type, a parenthetical approach postulates the existence of a non-coordinated host sentence which is interpolated by a parenthetical that is introduced by a connective. The difference is illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. [_{CP1} Amanda is _____], [_{CP2} or at least she used to be a co-worker of mine].
 b. [_{Host} Amanda is [_{Parenthetical} or at least she used to be] a co-worker of mine].

This thesis is going to make a contribution to the understudied relation between RNR and parentheticals by exploring the connection between the two, focusing on coordinate RNR and parentheticals. In the following, I am going to argue that some instances of RNR have a similar function to parentheticals. Throughout this thesis, I am going to refer to these cases as *parenthetical RNR*. To avoid misunderstandings, I am not proposing that a parenthetical analysis is a replacement for one or all of the exclusive approaches introduced in the previous section. On the contrary, what I want to show is that there is a subclass which can receive an additional parenthetical interpretation.

Section 4.1 is dedicated to the connection between parentheticals and parenthetical RNR. After having provided an overview of different types of parentheticals, section 4.1.2 discusses the internal and external syntax of parentheticals, addressing the question of how the parenthetical is linked to its host clause and what the internal structure of the parenthetical could look like. It will become clear that the analysis of parenthetical RNR excludes the possibility of SC- and DC-mismatches in the target. Following the syntactic analysis, section 4.1.3 is concerned with the function of parenthetical insertions. Potts (2005) has claimed that parentheticals are not-at-issue. This concept has been taken up by Tonhauser (2012) who provides diagnostics which are meant to demonstrate the not-at-issueness of appositives. I will apply these diagnostics to parenthetical RNR and discuss the

results. Section 4.1.4 provides a review of the prosodic properties of parentheticals showing that prosody often correlates with punctuation in written language.

Section 4.2 presents the outcome of a BNC corpus study searching for coordinate parenthetical RNR where the punctuation (brackets or dashes) marks the construction as a parenthetical. The results further support the idea that there is some kind of overlap between RNR in which the propositions expressed by both conjuncts contribute to the meaning of the sentence in the same way, and parenthetical RNR where the interpolated string of words is separate from the host clause.

4.1 Properties of parentheticals

4.1.1 Different types of parentheticals

Elements which have been discussed as parentheticals do not constitute a homogeneous group. Up to this day, there is no general agreement on what the eligibility criteria for parentheticals are. Most often they are described as a linguistic unit which is linearly integrated into another syntactic unit (the host clause), but syntactically and semantically unrelated to it. Burton-Roberts (2006: 179) defines a parenthetical (P) as “an expression of which it can be argued that, while in some sense ‘hosted by another expression (H), P makes no contribution to the surface of H” in a syntactic way.

A selection of phenomena which have been referred to as parentheticals are given in (2) and (3). As becomes apparent, the surface structure of parentheticals ranges from whole clauses to smaller phrases such as DPs or PPs.

- (2)
- a. Annie Lennox, **my favourite pop singer**, has a new song out.
 - b. I met an old friend, **John**, at the pub. (Ott 2014b)
 - c. He called John – **he is one of my best friends** – to find out what happened.
 - d. For several years now – and I don’t mean to be cynical – we have been trying to overcome this problem.

((2)-a, (2)-c, and (2)-d are from Kaltenböck 2007: 29-31)

- (3)
- a. Mary is coming tomorrow, **isn’t she?**
 - b. **As you already know**, I won’t be here next week.
 - c. That’s a Ming vase, **if I’m not mistaken**.

(Kaltenböck 2007: 29-31)

In (2), the parenthetical sequence is interpolated mid-sentence whereas in (3) the string which is considered to be the parenthetical is sentence-peripheral. Since coordinate parenthetical RNR patterns with mid-sentence interpolation, I will focus on this type of parenthetical.

Authors also have distinguished between anchored and floating/free parentheticals (e.g. Kavalova 2007; Kluck 2011). Floating/free parentheticals such as (4) “do not refer to any constituent in particular in the host but rather to the main proposition as a whole” (Dehé 2014), whereas the anchored parentheticals in 0 cannot occur just anywhere in the host but have specific positions near their ‘anchor’. (The examples in (4) – (6) below are taken from Dehé 2014: 9, the parenthetical is in bold, the anchor is underlined).

(4) Bill – and this is so typical – was dating several women at the same time.

(Kluck 2011: 235)

(5) a. I saw that Bob, **who just got fired**, was booking a flight to Brazil. (Kluck 2011: 234)

b. Because on this on this theory **and it’s very deeply held** uh good educational news is by definition inadmissible as evidence. (Kavalova 2007: 149, ICE-GB: s2a-021 391)

Dehé (2014) identifies a fourth type: Detached parentheticals. These parentheticals are mid-sentence comments of the speaker which are totally unrelated to the proposition expressed in the sentence the speaker is uttering.

(6) The main point – **why not have a seat?** – is outlined in the middle paragraph.

(Burton-Roberts 2006: 180)

Parenthetical RNR such as (7) seems to come closest to an anchored parenthetical. The parenthetical cannot just occur anywhere in the structure but has a specific place in the host structure.

(7) Amanda is, or at least she used to be, a co-worker of mine.

However, it is not entirely clear what exactly constitutes the anchor. In (7) it seems to be the copular *be* since this is the part to which the parenthetical offers an alternative or a correction.

4.1.2 The syntax of parentheticals

Researchers generally agree that the relation between host and parentheticals differs from that of normal syntactic arguments or adjuncts. A variety of tests have been used to illustrate the difference. Contrary to regular complementation or adjunction, it has been claimed that parentheticals cannot be the focus of a cleft-construction or the focus of an answer (Haegeman 1991; Espinal 1991). It is not possible to move a constituent from the parenthetical into the host clause (de Vries 2007), and they can be omitted without affecting grammaticality of the host clause (Espinal 1991). Examples are given below. Note that not all tests work for every kind of parenthetical. For more arguments in favour of the independence of parentheticals, I refer the reader to Dehé (2014: 18-21).

Test 1: Focus of an it-cleft

- (8) Joe asked Bill, a famous trumpet player, to teach him.
 *It is a famous trumpet player that Joe asked Bill to teach him.
 (Heringa 2011: 110)

Test 2: Focus of a question

- (9) a. Beth is, honestly, my worst neighbour.
 b. How is that? *Honestly.
 (Espinal 1991: 729)

Test 3: Movement from the parentheticals into the host clause

- (10) a. The police – they suspected Hank stole the money – searched his house.
 b. *What_i did the police—they suspected Hank stole t_i—search his house?
 (Ott 2014b)

Test 4: Omission of parenthetical

- (11) a. Annie Lennox, ~~my favourite pop singer~~, has a new song out.
 b. I met an old friend, ~~John~~, at the pub.
 c. He called John – ~~he is one of my best friends~~ – to find out what happened.
 d. For several years now – ~~and I don't mean to be cynical~~ – we have been trying to overcome this problem.

Furthermore, it has been argued that binding from the host into the parenthetical is not possible (Haider 2005; d'Avis 2005; de Vries 2007).

Test 5: Binding

- (12) *Every woman, a talkative person, participated in the discussion. (Heringa 2012: 564)
- (13) *Every guest_i—he_j had just arrived—was complaining. (Ott 2014b)

Another argument for independency is the fact that the illocutionary force of parenthetical and host may not be identical.

Test 6: Illocutionary Force

- (14) a. Jake said – why am I not surprised? – that he hates bicycles.
b. Did Jake, John pondered, own a car?
(de Vries 2007: 217)

If my claim is correct, and some instances of RNR are in fact parenthetical in nature, it is expected that parenthetical RNR patterns with the examples above. In order to show that this is true, I will test this with the three examples in (15) taken from the BNC:

- (15) a. We are entitled – **and we expect** – to get that money back. (BNC: HHV 14303)
b. Granting this much, these same people can – **and they often do** – believe that the destruction of natural habitat is not wrong. (BNC: B04 573)
c. The Clean Air Act of 1970, swept into enactment by the political strength of the environmental movement, marked the beginning of a new – **and the present** – era of pollution control policy. (BNC: GU5 1275)

Test 1 and test 2 do not work for any of the parenthetical RNR examples for the simple reason that elements which are introduced by a conjunction cannot be the focus of an it-cleft (see (16)) or a felicitous answer to a question (see (17)).

- (16) a. *It was and Sue that went to the Park.
b. *It was and to the museum that Sue went.
- (17) Were did Mary go on Friday evening?
a. To the zoo
b. *And to the zoo

Test 3 is also problematic since movement out of a coordinate structure comes with other requirements which limit extraction (e.g. *Coordinate Structure Constraint*). Test 4 is more

promising. As can be seen in (18), it is possible to leave out the parenthetical string without altering the grammaticality of the host clause.

- (18) a. We are entitled **to get that money back**. (BNC: HHV 14303)
 b. Granting this much, these same people can **believe that the destruction of natural habitat is not wrong**. (BNC: B04 573)
 c. The Clean Air Act of 1970, swept into enactment by the political strength of the environmental movement, marked the beginning of a new **era of pollution control policy**. (BNC: GU5 1275)

With respect to binding, the RNR examples in (19) seems not to pattern with the parentheticals in (12) an (13). My consultants told me that a reading in which *every woman* in the host and the pronoun *they* in the parenthetical string could indeed refer to the same entity in the world.

- (19) Granting this much, [every woman]_i can – and they_i often do – believe that the destruction of natural habitat is not wrong.

However, various authors have provided counter-examples where a parenthetical seems to be transparent for binding. Two examples are given in (20).

- (20) a. Every man_j talks to one person, (probably) his_j mother, once a week. (Ott 2014b)
 b. John_j has, and I know it's all about himself_i, written a book about fishermen off the Irish coast. (Kavalova 2007: 163)

(21) shows that the parenthetical in parenthetical RNR can have a different illocutionary force than its host clause. The example is taken from the BNC.

- (21) Sneering is the dialect for making an ugly face; and the best – **or the worst?** – sneerer took the prize. (BNC: G09 113)

To sum up, some of the tests have turned out to be non-transferable to coordinate parenthetical RNR for reasons independent of the status of the assumed parenthetical. Most of the tests are not suited for elements introduced by a coordinating element. However, they also do not work for other types of parentheticals introduced by a coordination such as (22).

(22) a. The Hawks will win, or at least I've been told, by at least 10 points.

(Peterson 1999: 232)

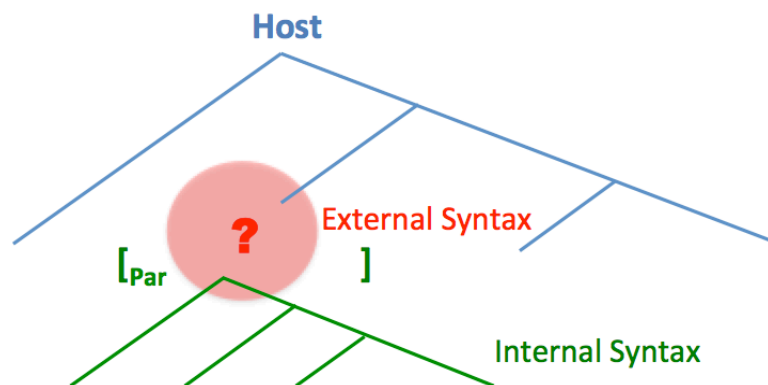
b. If he checks my story – and he probably will – I'll be sacked.

(Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1361)

We have also seen that, contrary to the initial claim, there are some parentheticals which seem to be transparent to binding. In this light, the bound reading in the parenthetical RNR example is not a decisive argument against a parenthetical analysis. As we have seen, test 4 and test 6 could be applied successfully to parenthetical RNR. It is possible to delete the parenthetical in parenthetical RNR without altering the grammaticality of the host clause, and the parenthetical may exhibit a different illocutionary force than its host clause.

The question how parentheticals are linked to its host clause has found different explanations. Analyses of the external syntax differ significantly in the degree of syntactic integration they assume. Proposals range from full syntactic integration (Potts 2005; de Vries 2007) to no syntactic connection at all (Haegeman 1991; Espinal 1991; Peterson 1999).

(23) Abstract representation of internal/external syntax of parentheticals



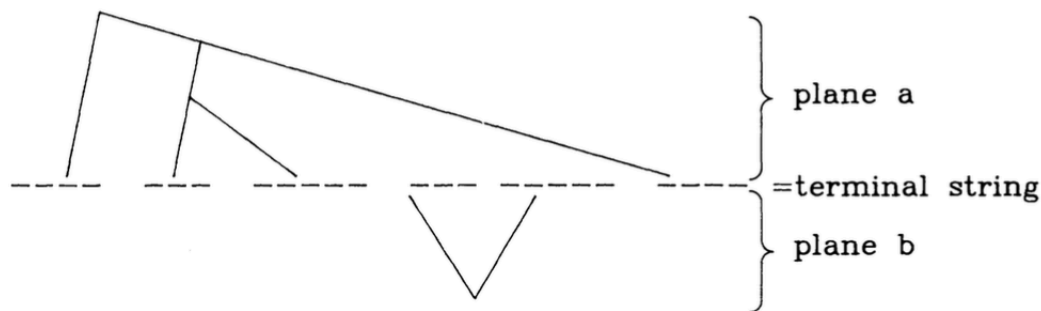
The internal syntax has received far less attention in the parenthetical literature. The reason for this could be the variation with respect to their surface structure. It seems that parentheticals can be of almost any phrasal status. However, in recent literature, it has been argued that this heterogeneity is only superficial, and that all parentheticals are in fact clausal (i.e. CPs). Therefore, apparently non-clausal parentheticals have hidden structure. To sum up, there are two main questions concerning the syntax of parentheticals:

- i. What is the relation between host clause and parenthetical? (external syntax)
- ii. What is the internal structure of parentheticals? (internal syntax)

In the following, I am going to address these questions in more detail, starting with the first question concerning the external syntax of parentheticals.

On the one side of the spectrum, researchers have argued that the parenthetical must be external to the syntactic structure of the host clause. They claim that the association takes place at some extra-grammatical level. Haegeman's (1991) proposal, known as the orphan approach, assumes that the interpretation of the parenthetical follows from general principles of utterance interpretation. The original proposal concerns peripheral adverbial clauses, but the idea has also been applied to mid-sentence interpolations. Espinal (1991) agrees with Haegeman's (1991) general claim that host and parenthetical are syntactically independent, but she further proposes that the host sentence and the parenthetical are generated on separate planes, accounting for the syntactic independence. The separate planes only come together at the terminal string. The consequence is a multi-rooted complex structure as illustrated in (24).

(24)



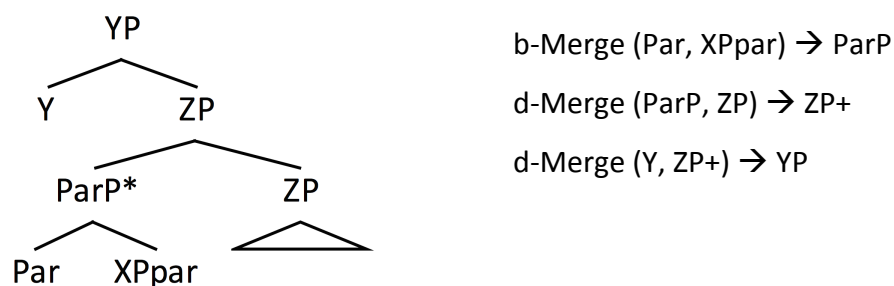
(Espinal 1991: 742)

Final linearization between parenthetical (in her terminology disjunct constituents) and its host clause takes place at PF and is guided by conceptual considerations. Peterson (1999) agrees with the idea that parentheticals are syntactically unattached to the syntax of the host clause. For him, the only connection between host and parenthetical is a "semantic bond". Kaltenböck et al. (2011) explain the independence by assuming that the host clause and the parenthetical (thetical in their terminology) operate in two different domains. Apart from regular sentence grammar, they propose parentheticals to be treated in thetical grammar. Together, both are part of the so-called discourse grammar which they define as being „composed of all the linguistic resources that are available for constructing spoken or written (or signed) texts“ (854). Dehé (2014) points out that their proposal does not explain

how linearization is achieved in the end. To sum up, all of these approaches postulate that there is no syntactic connection between host and parenthetical. The connection is of an extra-syntactic nature.

Proponents of the other side of the spectrum claim that the parenthetical is syntactically integrated into the host clause. Early work such as Ross (1973), Emonds (1973) and McCawley (1982) described the phenomenon in terms of an adjunction relation. More recently de Vries (2007, 2012) uses the notion of *syntactic invisibility* to refer to “the inability to maintain c-command-based relations with elements of the host” (230). He proposes that there are two types of merge in structure building: B-merge, which creates invisible structures, and d-merge, creating structures subject to c-command relations.¹⁵ De Vries (2007) claims that a parenthetical phrase XP_{par} is first b-merged to Par (b-merger is marked by a star), creating the parenthetical phrase ParP. Subsequently, this ParP is adjoined to the host via normal d-merge where it linearly appears in the sentence.

(25)



(De Vries 2007: 229)

B-merging the internal structure of the parenthetical blocks c-command relations from the host into the parenthetical clause. On the other hand, d-merging the whole parenthetical to the host clause determines the place where it is linearized within the host.

Potts (2005) also argues in favour of an integrated analysis of parentheticals. In his approach, the difference between host and parenthetical is captured in semantic terms by treating them as conventional implicatures. The difference to regular adjunction is a *comma-feature* which is responsible for a type-shift in the semantics that marks the content of the parenthetical as not-at-issue. Therefore, the differences arise due to semantics and not due to syntactic attachment. The comma-feature accounts for “the comma in print and the intonational boundary marks in speech” (Potts 2005: 98).

¹⁵ In his later work, de Vries refers to d-merge as parenthetical merge.

To sum up, Potts (2005) and de Vries (2007) claim that parentheticals are syntactically integrated. However, they are marked off in the derivation so that they can be distinguished from regular complements or adjuncts.

Turning to the second question about the internal structure of parentheticals, it has been claimed that all parentheticals are essentially full clauses (CPs) which undergo partial deletion. Döring (2015) and Ott (2014b) claim that the fact that parentheticals can contain certain elements that are associated with the presence of a C-projection suggests that parentheticals have hidden structure and are clausal. Among these elements are sentence adverbs such as *probably* or *possibly*, and discourse particles such as *doch*, *ja*, and *wohl* in German. These elements are associated with a separate speech-act which is assumed to depend on a C-projection. An example for a sentence adverb is given in (26); (27) illustrates the occurrence of a discourse particle.

(26) Peter claims to call one person, perhaps his mother?, at least once a week. (Ott 2014b)

(27) Usain Bolt ist – wohl aus verschiedenen Gründen – der schnellste Mann der Welt.
Usain Bolt is PAR for different reasons the fastest man the world
(Döring 2015: 133)

The fact that the parenthetical can express a different mood than the host as in (26) also relies on the same assumption that mood is determined within the C-projection.

Following the argument, it is expected that all types of parenthetical RNR are able to exhibit elements which are assumed to be dependent on C-projections and are underlyingly clausal. The possibility of adding the sentence adverbial to the parenthetical string in example (28) confirms this inference.

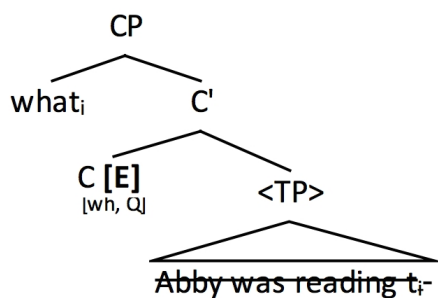
(28) The Clean Air Act of 1970, swept into enactment by the political strength of the environmental movement, marked the beginning of a new – **and possibly the present** – era of pollution control policy. (BNC: GU5 1275)

For an example where nominal parenthetical RNR exhibits different mood than the host clause, see (29).

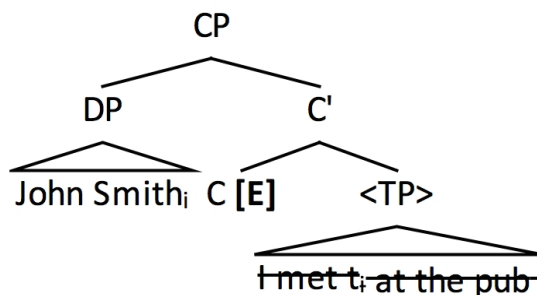
(29) Sneering is the dialect for making an ugly face; and the best – **or the worst?** – sneerer took the prize. (BNC: G09 113)

In terms of the external syntax, Ott (2014b) and Döring (2015) assume that non-restrictive nominal appositives (NAPs) and other types of parentheticals are syntactically independent, and that interpolation takes place after the syntactic derivation has taken place (for arguments in favour of a non-integrated approach for NAPs, I refer the reader to Ott (2014b)). They propose that what we see on the surface must have been moved to SpecC in order to survive deletion. The mechanism has previously also been utilized for other elliptical constructions such as sluicing (Ross 1969; Merchant 2001), fragments (Merchant 2005), right dislocation (Ott & De Vries 2012), contrastive left-dislocation (Ott 2014a), and amalgams (Kluck 2011). The operation is illustrated for sluicing in (30) and for the internal syntax of a NAP in (31).

- (30) Abby was reading something, but I don't know [_{CP} what_i Abby was reading t_i].
(Merchant 2005: 670)



- (31) I met an old friend, [_{CP} John Smith_i I met t_i at the pub], at the pub.



Ott (2014b) further distinguishes between two types of NAPs: Specificational NAPs (sNAPs) as in (32) and predicative NAPs (pNAPs) as in (33). In sNAPs the underlying clause is parallel to the host clause, in pNAPs it is a predicational copular clause.

- (32) a. I met an old friend, John Smith, at the pub. (surface structure of a sNAP)
b. I met ~~John Smith~~ at the ~~pub~~. (internal structure of a sNAP)
- (33) a. I met John Smith, my best friend, at the pub today. (surface structure of a pNAP)
b. ~~He is my best friend~~. (internal structure of a pNAP)

Since movement is taken to be limited to constituents, this deletion mechanism is problematic for parenthetical RNR. Neither the string *we expect* in (34) nor *the present* in (35) form a constituent. At present, I do not have a solution to this problem.

(34) We are entitled – and we expect ~~to get that money back~~ – **to get that money back**.
(BNC: HHV 14303)

(35) The Clean Air Act of 1970 marked the beginning of a new – and ~~the Clean Air Act of 1970~~ marked the present era of ~~pollution control policy~~ – **era of pollution control policy**. (BNC: GU5 1275)

Note that this dilemma also arises in other types of clausal parentheticals such as (36)-a, exhibiting VPE ellipsis, and (36)-b where the parenthetical features sluicing. (36)-c is often referred as a parenthetical verb.

- (36) a. Someone – I don't know who – kissed Mary.
b. If he checks my story – and he probably will – I'll be sacked.
(Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1361)
c. It will stop raining, *I expect*, before Sunday.

To sum up, the movement deletion analysis proposed by Ott (2014b) and Döring (2015) does not work for parenthetical RNR since the parenthetical is not a constituent which can be moved into SpecCP. In order to salvage the idea that parenthetical RNR is elliptical, it seems that a non-movement approach is needed to explain the surface of the parenthetical.

Analysing the internal structure of parentheticals as elliptical CPs has interesting implications for the target with respect to SC- and DC-mismatches. Assuming that the target is elided within the parenthetical as illustrated in (37), SC-mismatches where the target fits to the second conjunct should be disallowed.

(37) [_{Host} [_{parenthetical} *Connective* ~~target~~] target]

A similar argument applies to DC-mismatches. Since there is no coordinate structure in the traditional sense, the overt target is part of the host clause and cannot scope over a coordinate structure. Therefore, cumulative/plural agreement, additive readings, and distributive readings are ruled out by this analysis.

This section has shown that RNR shares some properties with other types of parentheticals. It is possible to delete the parenthetical string, the parenthetical can have a

different mood than the host, and it can exhibit discourse particles and sentence adverbs. Additionally, the approach makes strong predictions with respect to the target by prohibiting SC- as well as DC-mismatches. We will see that the corpus study in section 4.2 does not challenge this restriction. However, parenthetical RNR is not compatible with an approach such as proposed by Ott (2014b) and Döring (2015) which takes the internal structure parentheticals to be derived by a movement deletion process.

4.1.3 The function of parentheticals (not-at-issueness)

Since the term parenthetical describes a collection of different phenomena, it is difficult to identify a single pragmatic function which applies to all of them to the same extent. Potts (2005) identifies speaker-orientation as a defining property of parentheticals and claims that “their primary discourse function is to introduce new, but deemphasized material” (33). The deemphasized material never contributes to the truth-conditional content of the host sentence. Potts (2005) refers to this relation as a non-at-issue entailment (conventional implicature). Applying Pott’s (2005) argument to parenthetical RNR, it follows that the string of words enclosed by the commas should classify as not-at-issue.

Tonhauser (2012) provides diagnostics to determine whether a string of words is at-issue using the definition in (38).

(38) Definition of at-issueness (Simons et al. 2010: 323)

A proposition p is at-issue iff the speaker intends to address the QUD via $?p$.¹⁶

An intention to address the QUD via $?p$ is **felicitous** only if:

$?p$ is relevant to the QUD, and

the speaker can reasonably expect the addressee to recognize this intention.

The *Question Under Discussion* (QUD) refers to a semantic question addressing the current discourse topic. It is typically implicit and rarely corresponds to an actual question expressed in the discourse.

The diagnostics proposed by Tonhauser (2012) rely on the assumption that a string of words is at-issue i. if it can be directly assented/dissented, ii. if it addresses the QUD, and iii. if it determines the relevant set of alternatives. Starting from the premise that the diagnostics work for English, Tonhauser’s (2012) objective is to show that the tests also work

¹⁶ p = proposition; $?p$ = a question asking for the proposition; QUD = Question under discussion

for Paraguayan Guaraní pNAP. In the following, I will examine to what extent the tests work for parenthetical RNR and discuss the results. Since I am working on English, I will cite the English glosses from Tonhauser (2012). As comparison, I chose an example from the BNC which occurred in a book called “The fate of the dinosaurs: new perspectives in evolution” by Antony Milne.

(39) Dinosaurs did have — **and mammals still have** — minute channels for blood vessels known as Haversian canals. (BNC C9A 1422)

As the surrounding discourse given below reveals, the string of words in dashes is in fact not addressing the QUD since the book is about dinosaurs and not about mammals in general. Consequently, the string enclosed within the dashes is considered to be not-at-issue.

¹⁴¹⁷ The fact that saurischians and ornithischians have different anatomies shows that their relationship to each other is as distant as other reptilian sub-orders, like crocodiles and pterosaurs. ¹⁴¹⁸ But Russell believes that the skeletons of dinosaurs are yet more like birds than reptiles; i.e. he is an Owenite and believes dinosaurs to be more ‘advanced’ than reptiles. ¹⁴¹⁹ From this Russell concludes that dinosaurs were more like birds in their soft anatomy and physiology. ¹⁴²⁰ Nevertheless controversy still centres around the interpretation of dinosaur structure. ¹⁴²¹ Bones grow by accumulating crystals of minerals. ¹⁴²² **Dinosaurs did have — and mammals still have — minute channels for blood vessels known as Haversian canals.** ¹⁴²³ These tiny grooves, over time, redeposit accumulated bone minerals in concentric layers to release them in a fluid state into the bloodstream when needed in a hurry, say when a violent spurt of activity is needed.

(BNC C9A 1417-1423)

Following the assumption that at-issue content can be directly assented or dissented, the fact that (40)-c and (40)-d are not an appropriate continuation confirms the intuition that the pNAP *my mother’s friend* is not at-issue.

Diagnostic 1:

- (40) That man, my mother's friend, stole your money.
- a. Yes, true, he stole it.
 - b. That's not true, he didn't steal my money.
 - c. #Yes, true, he's your mother's friend.
 - d. #That's not true, he's not your mother's friend.
- (Tonhauser 2012: 243f.)

Applying this argument to parenthetical RNR, intuitions are a lot less clear, but to me the first two seem to be a more natural reply than the latter two dissenting or assenting the parenthetical.

- (41) Dinosaurs did have – and mammals still have – **minute channels for blood vessels**.
- a. Yes, true, dinosaurs did have minute channels for blood vessels.
 - b. That's not true, dinosaurs did not have minute channels for blood vessels.
 - c. #Yes, true, mammals still have minute channels for blood vessels.
 - d. #That's not true, mammals do not still have minute channels for blood vessels.

Diagnostic 2 makes use of the assumption that at-issue content has to address the QUD. If pNAPs are not at-issue, expectations are that it is possible to directly ask for the parenthetical. As predicted, the question-answer pair in (43), where the question asks for the pNAP, is less natural than the question-answer pair in (42).

Diagnostic 2:

- (42) Who stole my money?
- a. That man, my mother's friend, stole your money.
- (43) Who is your mother's friend?
- a. #That man, my mother's friend, stole your money.
- (Tonhauser 2012: 247)

For parenthetical RNR, results were less clear. Consultants voiced a preference for the answer in (44) over (45), but they did not reject (45) all together as a possible answer.

- (44) Did dinosaurs have **minute channels for blood vessels**?
- Dinosaurs did have – and mammals still have – **minute channels for blood vessels**.

(45) Do mammals still have **minute channels for blood vessels**?

#Dinosaurs did have – and mammals still have – **minute channels for blood vessels**.

Diagnostic 3 makes use of the assumption that at-issue content determines the relevant set of alternatives. Therefore, positive/negative answers with positive continuation involving the pNAP should not be possible. Judgments obtained with respect to the data in (46) confirm this claim.

Diagnostic 3:

(46) Did that man, your mother's friend, steal my money?

a. Yes, he stole it.

c. No, he didn't steal it.

d. #Yes, he's my mother's friend.

e. #No, he's not my mother's friend.

(Tonhauser 2012: 248)

Again, the results are less sound when applied to parenthetical RNR.

(47) Did Dinosaurs have – and mammals still have - minute channels for blood vessels?

a. Yes, Dinosaurs did have minute channels for blood vessels.

b. No, Dinosaurs did not have minute channels for blood vessels.

c. #Yes, mammals still have minute channels for blood vessels.

d. #No, mammals (still) do not have minute channels for blood vessels.

As has been illustrated, the diagnostics proposed by Tonhauser (2012) work well for pNAPs but only to some extent for the type of parenthetical RNR that I have chosen as a comparison although the string in dashes did not directly address the QUD. The test becomes even more problematic when the parenthetical string exhibits the same subject as the host as in the example in (48).

(48) We are entitled – and we expect– **to get that money back**.

To sum up, although intuitions were less clear for parenthetical RNR for all three diagnostics, there was a general preference for the first two continuations over the latter two. I suspect that intuitions about the status of the parenthetical could be influenced by a combination of two factors. First, the parenthetical reading might be competing with a non-parenthetical reading in which the two conjuncts are connected by a regular coordination. In the latter

reading, both propositions are at-issue and each conjunct partially addresses the QUD. Secondly, the proposition expressed in the host and the proposition expressed in the parenthetical are parallel; they even share the target. The options of continuation for the parenthetical RNR example are a lot more similar, possibly leading to the more subtle difference in judgments. In (48), the only difference is the verb. It would be interesting to see whether all other parentheticals yield consistent results or whether there are some parentheticals which exhibit results similar to the one's made for parenthetical RNR in this section.

4.1.4 The prosody of parentheticals

It is commonly agreed on that the intonation is a defining feature of parentheticals. Most often, they are prosodically independent from their host and interrupt “the prosodic flow of the frame utterance” (Bolinger 1989: 185). They often differ in pitch, tempo, and loudness, are set-off with pauses, and have a rise at the end (Bolinger 1989; Wichmann 2001; Astruc-Aguilera 2005 and others). In written language, these pauses often correlate with the placement of commas, dashes, or brackets (Wichmann 2001: 179). The pitch is typically lower (pitch compression), but it can also be higher (pitch expansion). Many parentheticals do not exhibit all of these characteristics, and none of the prosodic features just mentioned qualify as a necessary condition for parenthesis (Bolinger 1989; Wichmann 2001; Dehé 2014).

The observation that parentheticals are prosodically independent has led many researchers to believe that parentheticals obligatorily form a separate Intonation Phrase (IP) (Selkirk 1984; Nespors & Vogel 1986). From a syntactic point of view, the claim draws on the idea that IPs are syntactically constrained. However, there is disagreement whether the host clause forms two separate IPs (Selkirk 1984; Nespors & Vogel 1986) or just one in which the parenthetical is interpolated (Frota 2000; Dehé & Kavalova 2006), see Dehé (2014: 32-35) for an overview.

When comparing the typical prosody of clausal parentheticals with that of clausal RNR as described in section 2.5, there is a clear resemblance in respect to how the prosodic units are grouped. Taking a parenthetical analysis, the second conjunct minus the target is set off by pauses. Admittedly, the remaining observations on prosody do not give any further support for this analysis. However, this might be due to the following reasons: Firstly,

the contexts chosen in the prosodic analysis of RNR sentences does not allow for a parenthetical interpretation. For instance, Féry & Hartmann (2005) used a question that introduced both alternatives to which each conjunct provides a partial answer. An example is given in (49).

(49) Q: What are Peter and Klaus doing with their old cars?

A: Peter verSCHENKT und Klaus verKAUFT sein altes Auto.

Peter gives.away his old car and Klaus sells . his old car

‘Peter is giving away, and Klaus is selling his old car.’

(Féry & Hartmann 2005: 80)

Since *Peter* and *Klaus* are mentioned in the question, the proposition involving *Klaus* must be at-issue and cannot be side information. I assume the same argument applies to the dialogue material used in Selkirk (2002) as well as to the recordings of Kentner et al. (2008) in a ‘what happened’ context.

Secondly, when interpreting prosodic contours, researchers do so with certain expectations. These are guided by the theoretical point of view that they are taking. This means even in cases where a parenthetical reading might have been adopted, it is likely that researchers did not pay attention to other features prominent in parentheticals such as pitch compression/expansion or a high boundary tone. In order to shed light on this empirical question, one would have to carefully evaluate existing data or conduct further experiments in which context is carefully controlled for so that a parenthetical reading is permissible. I suspect that a story context as in the BNC dinosaur-example used in the previous section might be more suitable than a question context. With a question, there is a higher possibility that the test person adopts a non-parenthetical interpretation instead.

4.1.5 Conclusion

This section has argued that for some instances of RNR, a parenthetical reading might be available as well. The discussion has focused on coordinate RNR. It became clear that a parenthetical interpretation makes fundamentally different structural assumptions. Instead of postulating two conjuncts connected by coordination, I analysed the string of words introduced by the conjunction as an elliptical mid-sentence interpolated parenthetical. As a consequence, SC- and DC-mismatches are predicted to be impossible. There is no reason

why the target should match the second conjunct, as it is the case in SC-mismatches, since the overt target is part of the host sentence. The structural analysis also precludes DC-mismatches because there is no coordinate structure in the traditional sense; the overt target is part of the host clause and cannot scope over a coordinate structure. I further investigated in how far a parenthetical interpretation can be supported from a pragmatic and a prosodic point of view. It became clear that Tonhauser's (2012) at-issueness diagnostics did not provide clear evidence for or against such an analysis. We are facing a similar situation when it comes to the prosodic properties. I have suggested that the reason could be that the parenthetical interpretation might compete with a non-parenthetical reading. The methods used to determine (non-)at-issueness might not have been sensitive enough to prevent this from happening. Similarly, previous prosodic studies on RNR did use contexts which clearly favoured a non-parenthetical interpretation. In order to shine light on the issue, it needs further research in both fields.

In the next section, I am going to introduce the results of a BNC-corpus study with the aim to find parenthetical RNR.

4.2 Corpus study

4.2.1 Aim of the corpus study

The aim of this corpus study was to find examples that structurally classify as RNR but involve dashes or brackets which mark the construction as a parenthetical due to the punctuation (parenthetical RNR).¹⁷ The parenthetical is the string of words separated from the rest of the sentence by punctuation. I will stick to the terminology typically used to describe regular RNR and call the element at the very end of the second conjunct that also has to be associated with the gap in the first conjunct, the target. In the cases that I am interested in, the target must come after the closing bracket or the second dash. Two examples are given in (50) and (51). The string which I consider to be the parenthetical is in bold.

¹⁷ Although dashes and brackets can serve very similar purposes in a sentence, the punctuation markers are not always interchangeable. One has to keep in mind that there is a possibility that the type of punctuation might come with a subtle change in meaning.

(50) Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoi made a statement on June 21, accusing the Georgian (**and the Moldovan**) authorities of genocide against their respective Russian populations. (BNC: HLM 1678)

(51) We are entitled – **and we expect** – to get that money back. (BNC: HHV 14303)

Crucially, I am only interested in examples where the association of the target with the first conjunct is not optional. The target either must be syntactically and/or semantically required. Furthermore, I excluded cases that can be viewed as a simple coordination of two heads (see (52)-(54), the relevant part is in bold).

(52) They then **distribute (and supply)** electricity to final consumers, except the largest ones. (BNC: FRN 1120)

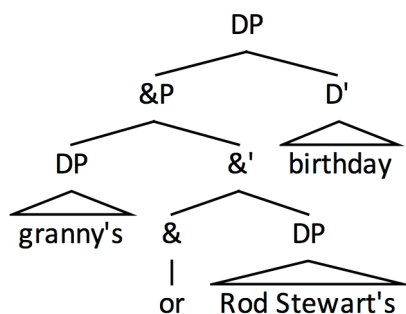
(53) The inherent uncertainties of future public acquisitions – no plan can be so definite and inflexible as to determine which sites **will (or might)** be needed in the future for public purposes – made this distinction appear arbitrary and unjust. (BNC: J16 939)

(54) Although the analysis focuses on social class, other variables relating to the housewife's own education and **previous (or present)** employment are also examined: in some cases it is these factors rather than social class itself which turns out to be important. (BNC: EBR 575)

I argue that these instances do not fall into the rubric of RNR but should better be viewed as a simple coordination of two heads. This argument also applies to the coordination of possessive phrases, such as (55) where I assume the analysis in (56).

(55) Create a personalized calendar with CCP and you need never forget *granny's – or Rod Stewart's* – birthday again (BNC: FT8 2340)

(56)



The existence of examples with dashes and brackets in corpora empirically support the claim that some instances of RNR are parenthetical in nature. Moreover, the analysis of these

examples provides the opportunity to gain valuable insights about what kind of instances are possible candidates for a parenthetical interpretation when punctuation is inconclusive (commas).

The majority of data were retrieved from the web edition of the British National Corpus (BNC)¹⁸. The corpus consists of a large collection of spoken and written texts of British English from the late 20th century. 90% of the BNC are written texts; the remaining 10% are transcriptions from spoken language. The texts represent a wide spectrum of different genres ranging from newspaper articles to essays and speeches. The web edition offers the possibility of two search options: the simple query mode and the more complex CQP syntax mode. For my search, I employed both options. I further supplemented the collection of data with examples from the Wall Street Journal and the Brown Corpus kindly provided by Rui Chaves.

All search entries in the BNC followed the same logical pattern. Searches with brackets were done in the simple query mode and had four elements of which the second and the third (the bracket and the conjunction) are fixed. Element 1 alternates between any kind of adjective (`_AJ*`), any kind of adverb (`_AV*`), any kind of preposition (`_PR*`), or any kind of verb (`_V**`). Since my intention was to primarily search for clausal parenthetical RNR, element 4 varied between an article (`_AT0`), a pronoun (`_PNP`), and any kind of noun (`_N**`). As we will see in the evaluation, my search did succeed in finding clausal parenthetical RNR. In addition, I also found examples below the clausal level. The search pattern for brackets is illustrated in table 8.

Element 1	Element 2	Element 3	Element 4
<code>_AJ*</code>	<code>\(</code>	<code>_CJC</code>	<code>_AT0</code>
<code>_AV*</code>			<code>_PNP</code>
<code>_PR*</code>			<code>(_AJ*)? (_AJ*)? _N**</code>
<code>_V**</code>			

Table 8: Simple Query Search (Brackets)

In order to get more hits, I decided to add two optional adjectives in front of the noun in element 4. Optionality is indicated by the question mark following the tag for adjectives.

The search for examples with dashes proved to be slightly more difficult since dashes are not separately tagged but are subsumed under the tag `_PUN`. Hence, I switched to the

¹⁸ <http://bncweb.lancs.ac.uk/>

CQP-Search. This search option offers the possibility of more fine-grained searches. In the first attempt, I simply translated the simple query search into CQP syntax (see (57)).

(57) [pos="AJ.*"] [pos="PUN"] [pos="CJC"] [pos="AT0"]

I further refined the search by excluding all other types of punctuation other than the dash. The new query is given in (58).

(58) [pos="AJ.*"] [pos="PUN"&word!="\.\|\,|\?|\!|\;|\:"] [pos="CJC"] [pos="AT0"]

This way, I successfully eliminated examples with full stops, commas, question marks, exclamation marks, semicolons, and colons, but did not manage to eliminate '...'. At first sight, the query in (58) seems to be overly complicated. However, my attempt to simply search for hyphens [word="-"], en-dashes [word="–"], or em-dashes [word="—"] did not provide the desired output. The search for [word="–"] only found examples with hyphens. The search for en- and em-dashes did not produce any results.¹⁹

Since the search returned too many hits, I added another fixed element by including a second dash after 1 to 10 words.²⁰ The final search is given in (59).

(59) [pos="AJ.*"] [pos="PUN"&word!="\.\|\,|\?|\!|\;|\:"] [pos="CJC"] [pos="AT0"]
[pos=".*"]{1,10} [pos="PUN"&word!="\.\|\,|\?|\!|\;|\:"]

The pattern for all searches is given in Table 9:

Element 1	Element 2	Element 3	Element 4	Element 5
[pos="AJ.*"]	[pos="PUN"&word!="\.\ \, \? \! \; \:"]	[pos="CJC"]	[pos="AT0"]	[pos=".*"]{1,10} [pos="PUN"&word!="\.\ \, \? \! \; \:"]
[pos="AV.*"]			[pos="PNP"]	
[pos="PR.*"]			[pos="AJ.*"]{0,2} } [pos="N.*.*"]	
[pos="V.*.*"]				

Table 9: CQP-Search (Dashes)

All 12 queries together resulted in 1040 hits. After sorting through these hits by hand, I identified 133 hits as RNR.

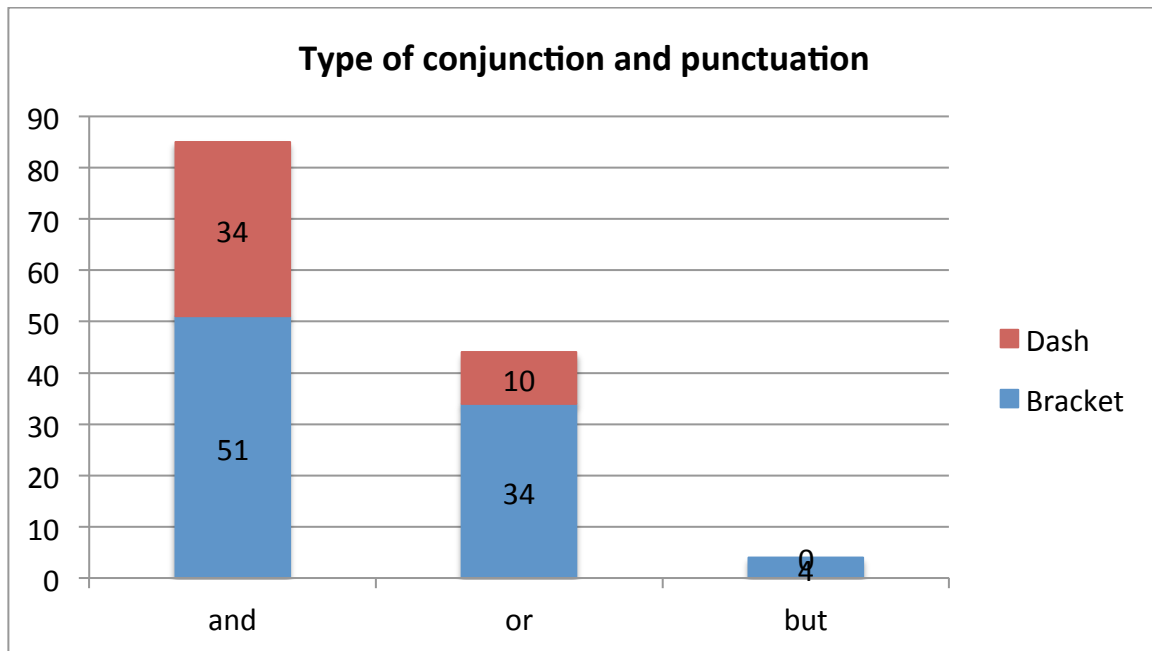
¹⁹ I also searched for [word="--"] to which en- and em-dashes sometimes are converted.

²⁰ There was no need to do the same for the query with brackets since an open bracket always has to be followed by a closing bracket at some point.

In cases where it was not clear whether an example is better classified as a compound or a combination of A+N, I additionally conducted an informal questionnaire with two lists and 21 test sentences each (see Appendix 2). Each list only contained one of the two options and was judged by three native speakers of English born in the US. Participants were asked to decide whether the words in bold is a compound or a combination of A+N. I included a third option 'Unsure' in cases where they could not decide and asked them to explain the reason for the uncertainty. It should be noted that the participants found it very difficult to clearly classify some of the examples although they were native speakers of English. I suspect that some of the expressions might be ambiguous between a compound reading and an A+N reading, and that the sentences itself provide insufficient context to resolve this ambiguity. Participants also mentioned that they were sometimes not sure whether a combination was a set expression (e.g. a legal term) or not. In cases where judgments were not unanimous, I looked for clues in the broader context in which the sentence occurred or followed my own intuition. Note that this is a problem which does not occur in other languages such as German. In German, the result of compounding is a single word whereas in English the noun chains typically feature spaces or hyphens.

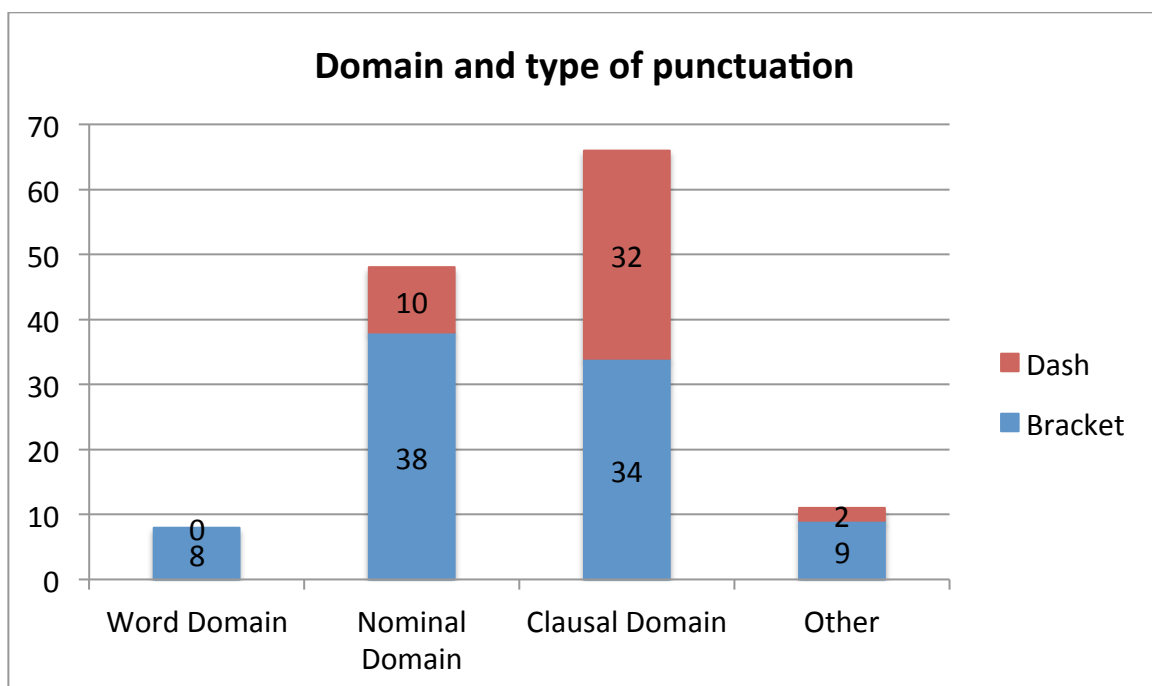
4.2.2 Evaluation

After sorting through all of the examples, there remained 133 examples (122 BNC, 7 Brown Corpus, 4 Wall Street Journal) that structurally classified as parenthetical RNR with dashes or brackets. As can be seen in Graph 1, the conjunction *and* occurred more often than *but* and *or*. Furthermore, there were more hits with brackets than with dashes. The conjunction *but* exclusively occurred with brackets. Since the number of hits was so low, this finding could be coincidence rather than a general rule.



Graph 1: Distribution over conjunction and type of punctuation

A closer look at the data revealed that the great majority of sentences could be allocated to one of three domains: i. the word domain (e.g. compounds) ii. the nominal domain, or iii. the clausal domain. The domain is determined by the phrasal complexity after the conjunction including the target. Graph 2 represents the distribution of each domain. An overview of all relevant hits sorted by domain can be found in Appendix 3. In the following, I will discuss all three domains individually and try to identify patterns within each domain.



Graph 2: Distrubtion over domain and type of punctuation

In the word domain, out of the 8 instances, 7 were compound nouns (see (60)) and one instance involved adjectives. The example is given in (61).

- (60) These various rates are used in conjunction with the estimated age-sex (and marital status) **distributions** for Regional Health Authorities in order to derive expected bed-occupancy days (or visits) for each condition in each region. (BNC: FP4 975)
- (61) Despite the fact that dichotic listening techniques have often been adopted without proper validation, findings which show a difference in the direction and/or magnitude of ear asymmetry between groups of right and left (or non-right) **handed** subjects have been taken as indicating a difference in direction or magnitude of cerebral lateralisation. (BNC: FED 500)

Part-of-word combinations only occurred with brackets. Nevertheless, this does not mean that compounds cannot occur with dashes in general as the example in (62) shows. Here the domain is the DP and the target is part of a compound.

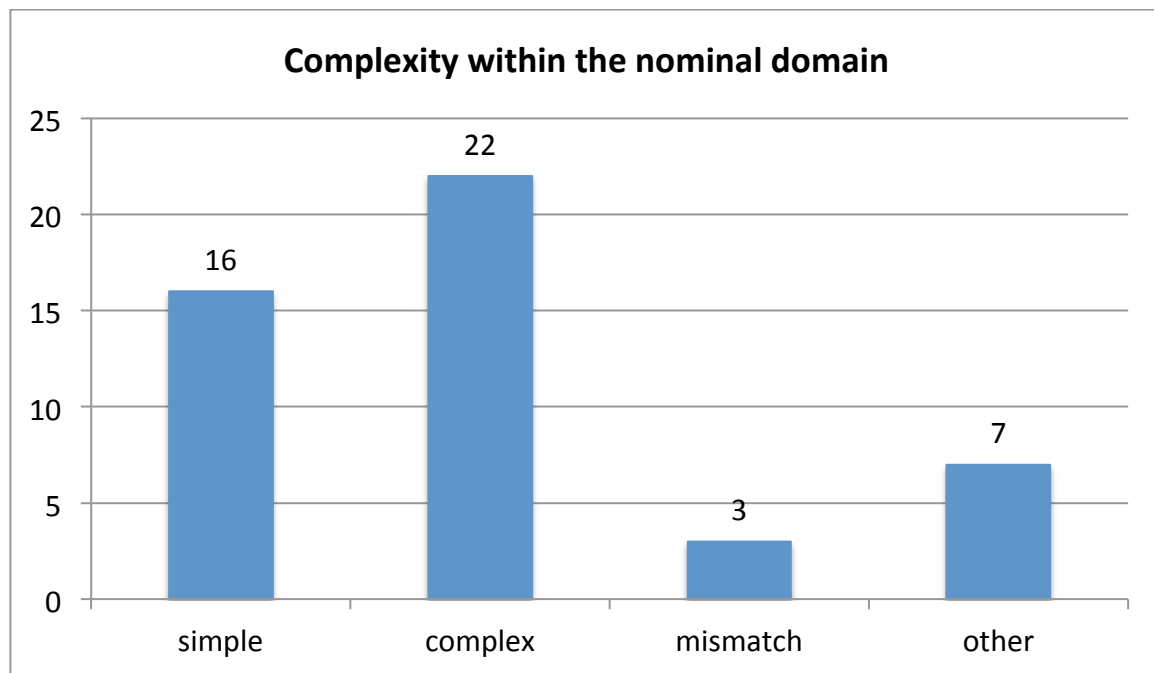
- (62) The pettiness over uniform repairs epitomized the way control by the Chief pervaded the working – and the non-working – **day**. (BNC: B24 987)

A set of examples exhibited mismatches. One part formed a compound and the other part was a combination of A+N. In (63), *baby duiker* is a compound whereas *small* is an adjective which modifies the noun.²¹ These examples are labelled as ‘other’ in Graph 2.

- (63) They included hare, guinea fowl, small (or baby) **duiker**, gazelle and antelope. (BNC: B7J 1243)

Within the nominal domain, complexity varied; see Graph 3 for an overview.

²¹ Note that the sentence was part of the questionnaire (Appendix 2). Participants showed a tendency to describe *small duiker* as a compound because the close context suggested that it was a subspecies of duikers. The broader context, however, indicates that the passage is indeed about the size of the animal.



Graph 3: Complexity within the nominal domain

The simple case can be seen in (64). The overt determiner in the second conjunct precludes the possibility to analyse such examples as simple coordination. The target is a noun modified by the adjectives *subtle* and *not-so subtle*.

(64) It is not possible, in a family such as Leonard's, to refuse the subtle (and the not-so-subtle) **constraints**. (BNC: AOP 1305)

Interestingly, one case exhibited a different sentence type in the remnant of the second conjunct. Whereas the first conjunct is declarative, the second conjunct features a question mark and, therefore, must be interrogative. Nevertheless it has to be associated with the target *sneerer*.

(65) Sneering is the dialect for making an ugly face; and the best – or the worst? – **sneerer** took the prize. (BNC: G09 113)

Complex examples involve a prepositional phrase where the preposition immediately precedes the target. Typically, the target is a DP as in (66).

(66) It is after all the effectiveness (or otherwise) of the socialised deployment of the personal sector surplus which would over time build support for (or resentment against) **any such scheme**. (BNC: FB5 152)

An exception is (67) where the target is the pronoun *it*.

(67) The natural sciences, though essentially in their infancy, were beginning to develop systematic methods for studying the physical world and the individual's part in (and relation to) **it**, and they were being increasingly recognised and valued for providing this more 'certain' knowledge. (BNC: EDH 20)

Not all hits were as uniform as the ones mentioned above. Three examples exhibit a mismatch in the pre-RNR target.

(68) Five guitar cases sit in the corner of the room, betraying his affection for – and expertise in producing – **guitar-orientated groups**. (BNC: C9N 1382)

(69) The liberal-historians also tend to suggest that permissiveness has allowed greater freedom for sexual (and other forms of) **expression**, though for feminist critics this was simply a reordered means of continuing women's oppression. (BNC: CRU 258)

(70) I am informed by the General Counsel of the Board that on the information available it appears that 'A' entered into nominee arrangements with the defendant whereby the 'defendants' gained control of (or the ability to control) **all of the stock of the two other banks referred to in paragraph 6 above**. (BNC: FD9 182)

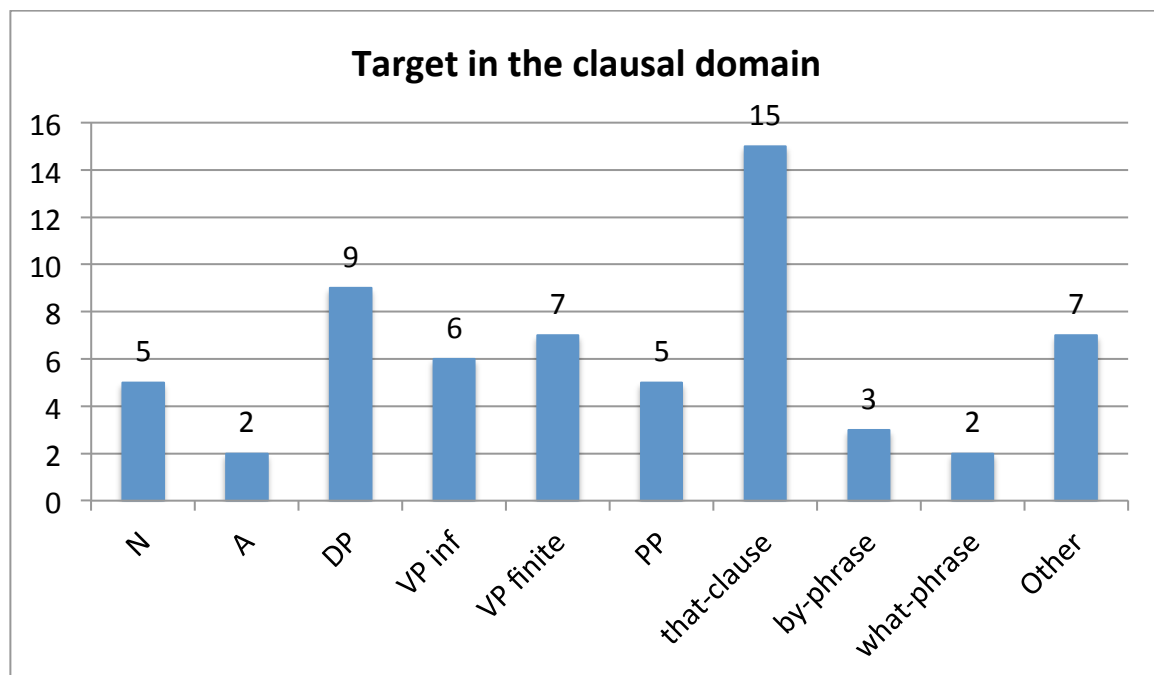
In (68), the target is a complement to a preposition in the first conjunct; in the second conjunct it follows a gerund. In (69), the target is modified by the adjective sexual in the first conjunct; in the second conjunct it takes the place after a preposition. The complex target in (70) serves as the direct object of the verb control and as the complement of a preposition at the same time.

The greatest variation can be seen in the clausal domain. Targets vary between nouns (71), adjectives (72), DPs (73), PPs (74), infinitival VPs (75), finite VPs (76), and that-clauses (77). Graph 4 gives an overview of the distribution.

(71) Here, then, in the deep ecologist's environmental philosophy, the philosophy of animal rights finds a serious (and I dare say powerful) **adversary**. (BNC: B04 670)

(72) This is borne out by work on more temperate plants, for many of the hummingbird-pollinated plants of western North America belong to genera that are predominantly (and it is believed more anciently) **insect-pollinated**. (BNC: J18 706)

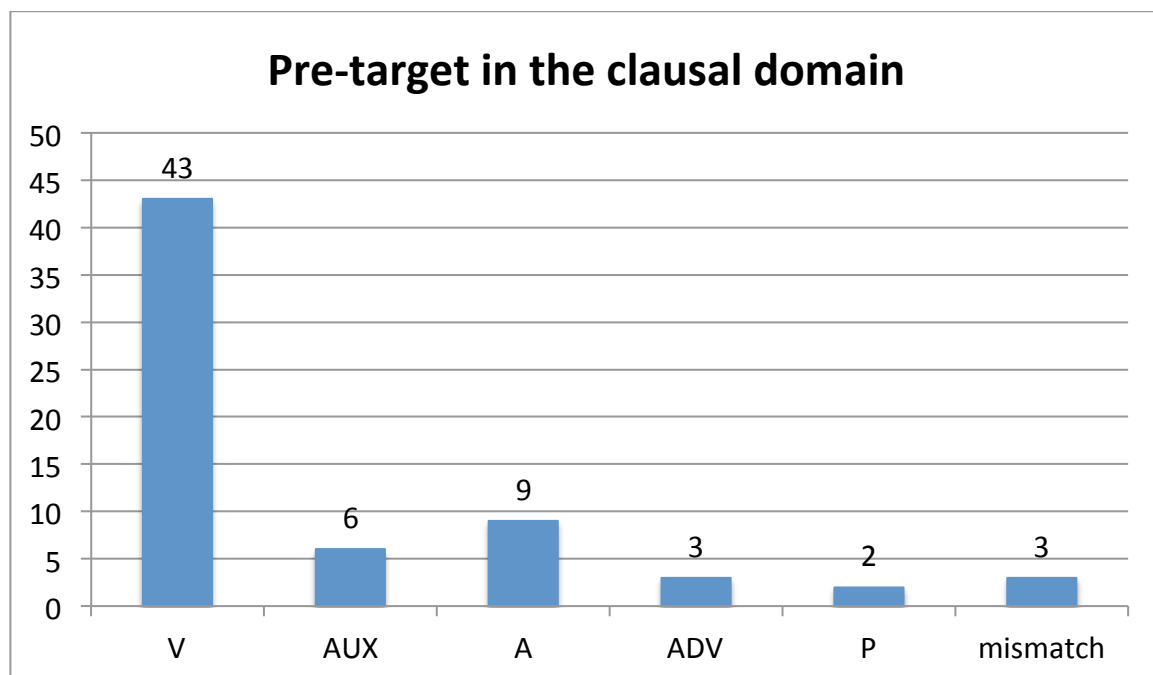
- (73) These are divestiture engagements in which the initiating member has been retained on an exclusive basis to assist in the sale of a business, and the business merits justify (or the client specifically requests) **an international marketing program**.
(BNC: HJ5 2084)
- (74) Meanwhile the problem for the health service is that although the health authority sits on the policy group and is a coauthor of the community care plan, the work gets done – and the problems arise – **in provider units**. (BNC: FT1 1107)
- (75) We are entitled – and we expect – **to get that money back**. (BNC: HHV 14303)
- (76) Granting this much, these same people can – and they often do – **believe that the destruction of natural habitat is not wrong**. (BNC: B04 573)
- (77) But as soon as we have to commit this question to paper we discover (or we certainly should discover) **that this is a difficult question to ask with absolute clarity**.
(BNC: B25 1292)



Graph 4: Distribution of type of target in the clausal domain

Pre-targets were mostly verbs such as in (78), but there were also examples with auxiliaries (79), adjectives (80), adverbs (81), and prepositions (82). The distribution is depicted in Graph 5.

- (78) These are divestiture engagements in which the initiating member has been retained on an exclusive basis to assist in the sale of a business, and the business merits justify (or the client specifically requests) **an international marketing program**. (BNC: HJ5 2084)
- (79) The quality of the music obviously varies, but many communities have had (and a few still have) **distinguished musicians and liturgists among their number**. (BNC FPY 648)
- (80) Here, then, in the deep ecologist's environmental philosophy, the philosophy of animal rights finds a serious (and I dare say powerful) **adversary**. (BNC: B04 670)
- (81) Social theory generally (and urban social theory especially) **cannot afford to lose sight of people's own understandings of the social world**. (BNC: HRM 388)
- (82) Among those interested in (and the much larger number pontificating on) **the history and philosophy of science**, I notice an increasing tendency to attribute changes and advances to a mysterious but almost omnipotent entity called 'social-and-economic-factors-' (BNC: B7D 754)



Graph 5: Distribution of pre-targets in clausal domain

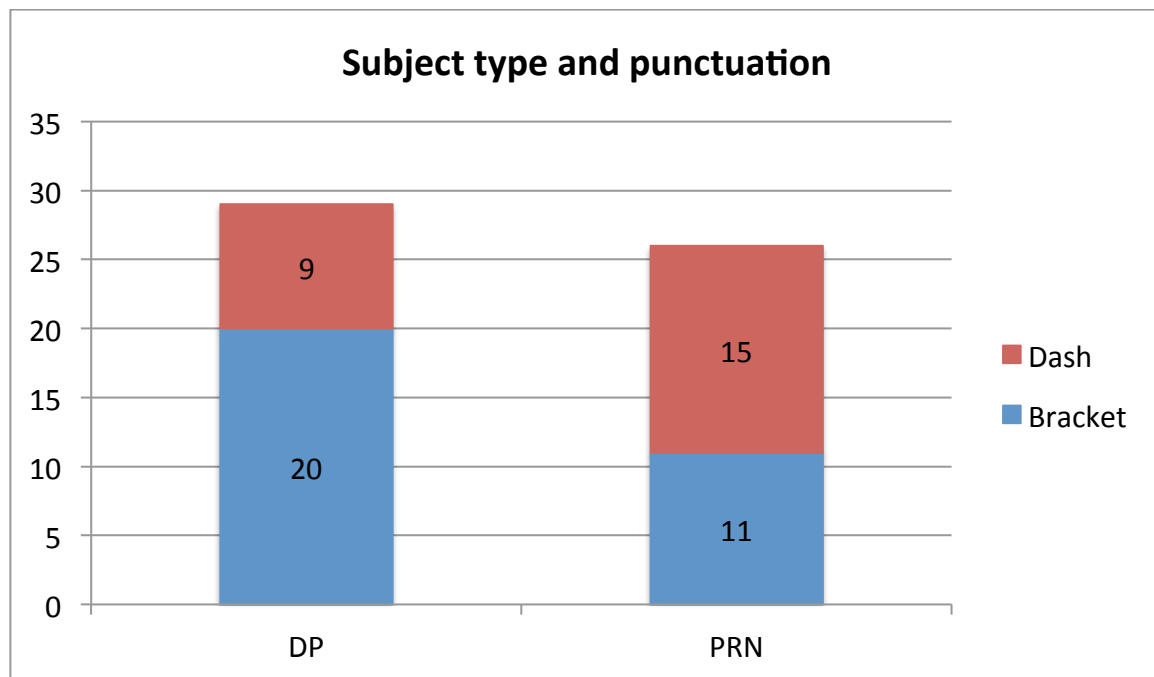
The mismatch condition describes examples where the pre-target is not of the same category. Both examples are given in (83) and (84).

- (83) It is evident – and I have emphasized the fact – **that new political ideas have very often been formulated in direct response to the situations confronted by movements, parties and political leaders**; and the political thought of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been exceptionally fertile in this respect. (BNC H9F 720)
- (84) The counting of the homeless – and the arguments about how exact the results will be – **is one manifestation of this**. (BNC ABF 677)

Within the clausal domain, 55 examples exhibited overt subjects in the second conjunct; the remaining 11 displayed some form of ellipsis. In (85) there is no overt subject; in (86) the verb *become* is dropped. Note that my search was not designed to find examples with dropped subjects. The example in (85) is taken from the set of examples kindly provided by Rui Chaves.

- (85) Speaking generally, it furthered – and still tends to further – the interests of the Western powers. (Brown Corpus 3258:1)
- (86) In the last years of Queen Anne's reign Jacobites became hopeful – and Whigs fearful – **that the Tory ministry, with the connivance of the Queen, might undo the Act of Settlement** and establish the Old Pretender as the next in line to the throne. (BNC HY9 1303)

About half of the examples with overt subjects in the second conjunct had DPs as subjects, the other half pronouns. Graph 6 shows that there is a tendency for DP subjects to occur with brackets instead of dashes. The opposite is true for pronoun subjects. Here it is more likely that the type of punctuation is a dash.



Graph 6: Distribution of subject type and punctuation within the clausal domain

4.2.3 Conclusion and outlook

The present corpus study has shown that sentences that structurally classify as RNR and involve brackets or dashes do exist in corpora. Furthermore, the investigation has revealed that examples vary with respect to domain, complexity of the domain, and the target. I identified three domains: the word domain, the nominal domain, and the clausal domain. Mismatches occurred in all three. The range reflects a great part of the different occurrences of regular RNR.

The evaluation suggests that dashes and brackets are not completely interchangeable in parenthetical RNR. In the word domain, there were no hits with dashes and judging by my intuition, examples such as (87) are infelicitous when brackets are interchanged with dashes. I suspect that the function of commas is more similar to that of dashes in the light of the oddness of (88).

- (87) These various rates are used in conjunction with the estimated age-sex – and marital status – **distributions** for Regional Health Authorities in order to derive expected bed-occupancy days (or visits) for each condition in each region. (BNC: FP4 975)
- (88) These various rates are used in conjunction with the estimated age-sex, and marital status, **distributions** for Regional Health Authorities in order to derive expected bed-occupancy days (or visits) for each condition in each region. (BNC: FP4 975)

In the clausal domain, replacing commas with dashes or brackets seems to work without stint. It would be interesting to see whether the same design with commas yields similar results. If my claim is correct that some instances of RNR should be interpreted as parenthetical RNR, there should be a considerable overlap between the present study with dashes and brackets and the follow-up study with commas.

4.3 Conclusion

This section has explored the connection between parentheticals and RNR. I have claimed that some examples of RNR have the potential to receive a parenthetical interpretation (parenthetical RNR) and that these examples should receive a fundamentally different interpretation than regular RNR as described in section 3. First, a parenthetical interpretation assumes that there is no coordination in the traditional sense; instead the coordination is part of the parenthetical. Secondly, the overt target is part of the host. Thirdly, the parenthetical introduced by the coordination is elliptical. I further investigated whether this interpretation is reflected in pragmatics as well as its prosody. We have seen that this has been only partly successful and that more work has to be done to gain a better understanding about the status of the parenthetical in parenthetical RNR and parentheticals in general. To further support my claim, I conducted a corpus study using the web edition of the BNC. The purpose was to search for parenthetical RNR with dashes or brackets. In contrary to RNR with commas, I assumed that these cases are unambiguously marked as parentheticals by the type of punctuation.

5. Final conclusion

This M.A. thesis has investigated a construction commonly known as RNR. Throughout this thesis, I pursued three goals. First, to attain a thorough understanding of the construction's properties. Secondly, to compare popular syntactic analysis and highlight their strengths and weaknesses. Thirdly, to examine the possibility that some instances of RNR might receive a parenthetical interpretation. I supported this claim with a BNC corpus study.

In section 2, I provided a classification of the phenomenon with the aim to demonstrate the flexibility of this construction. It became clear that RNR is by far not limited to clausal coordination. I provided RNR examples with smaller domains (VP, PP, DP, word level), with subordinations, and even with no connective of any kind. I further examined the form of the targets, discussing different types of mismatches and limitations. We have seen that most of these limitations are not syntactic but rather phonological.

The classification in section 2 served as the foundation for the evaluation of three different syntactic analyses for RNR in section 3. Whereas movement approaches (Sabbagh 2007) analyse the target as being external, ellipsis (e.g. Hartmann 2000; Ha 2008) and multidomination (Wilder 1999; Kluck 2007; Bachrach & Katzir 2009; de Vries 2009; Grosz 2015) are target internal approaches. We have seen that none of the exclusive approaches have sufficient explanatory power to account for the whole data set since a subset of examples requires the target to be external whereas another demands an internal target. This unsatisfactory condition has sparked the idea that what has been superficially described as RNR is actually derived by more than one operation. I have introduced two eclectic approaches by Barros & Vicente (2011) and Chaves (2014) and came to the conclusion that an eclectic approach along the lines of Chaves (2014) might be on the right track.

Apart from the question of which analysis is correct for RNR where the two conjuncts are meant to address the QUD in the same way, in section 4 I investigated the long-standing claim that RNR might be a parenthetical (e.g. Peterson 1999). I referred to these instances as parenthetical RNR. In my discussion I focused on one specific type, coordinate clausal parenthetical RNR. I concluded that a parenthetical interpretation of RNR makes fundamentally different structural assumptions. Instead of assuming a coordinate structure between two conjuncts of the same type, it postulates the existence of a non-coordinated host sentence which is interpolated by a parenthetical that is introduced by a connective. I showed that this analysis predicts that neither SC- nor DC-mismatches are expected.

I further investigated whether this interpretation is reflected in pragmatics as well as its prosody. This proved to be difficult since none of the diagnostics provided clear counter-evidence. I suggested that sentences without context might always be ambiguous between a non-parenthetical and a parenthetical reading. To further support the claim that the surface of a RNR construction might receive a parenthetical interpretation, I conducted a corpus study using the web edition of the BNC. The purpose was to search for parenthetical RNR with dashes or brackets. Following the assumption that punctuation is a reflection of prosody as well as a deliberate choice of a writer, I concluded that the existence of such examples in a corpus provide evidence for the claim that RNR with commas might also receive a parenthetical interpretation. It would be interesting to conduct a follow up study and compare the results obtained for brackets and dashes with the results for commas. This would be an easy task since it only requires exchanging one element in the search string. In (1), I simply replaced [pos="PUN"&word!="\,|\,|\?|\!|\;|\:"] with [word="\,,"].

(1) [pos="AJ.*"] [word="\,,"] [pos="CJC"] [pos="AT0"] [pos=".*"]{1,10} [word="\,,"]

The search could be further extended to examples with subordinations by replacing the coordination [pos="CJC"] with a subordination [pos="CJS"].

The findings in the BNC also provide a good basis for further research. However, I suspect that brackets and dashes might serve slightly different functions. They are not completely interchangeable. For instance, I got the impression that brackets can lead to a clash in prosody whereas this seems not to be the case with dashes. This is illustrated in (2). The closing bracket indicates a pause but the unstressed pronoun is required to be prosodically integrated.

(2) The natural sciences, though essentially in their infancy, were beginning to develop systematic methods for studying the physical world and the individual's part in (**and relation to**) it, and they were being increasingly recognised and valued for providing this more 'certain' knowledge. (BNC: EDH 20)

If my intuition can be affirmed, examples with brackets should not be considered for further investigation of parenthetical RNR.

Since all hits in the BNC come with the possibility of accessing the context in which the examples are embedded, the results provide an excellent starting point for a discourse analysis which could further be used for two purposes. First, it can provide valuable insights

about the status of the parenthetical string in term of not-at-issueness. Secondly, it can serve as a guideline for contexts meant to prime a parenthetical reading in prosodic studies. I expect that having gained a comprehensive understanding of parenthetical RNR marked as such by punctuation will enable the application of this knowledge to examples with commas.

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Appendix**Appendix 1:**Clausal Domain:

Coordination

- (1) Bill likes, but Mary dislikes the TV show. (Ha 2008: 15)

Coordination-like

- (2) We were investigating at the same time as the guide was climbing the local mountains.
- (3) John won't cook, let alone Louise eat, squid with ink sauce. (Hulsey 2008: 32)

Clausal/Subordination

- (4) David changed while Angela distracted the baby. (Han et al. 2010)
- (5) John throws out whereas Mary eats anything that happens to be in the refrigerator. (Goodall 1987: 97; taken from Chaves 2014: 840)

Verbal Domain:

Coordination

- (6) [Having to read] and [being forced to summarize] that theory is horrible. (Wikipedia: Right Node Raising)

Coordination-like

- (7) [Having to read] at the time as [being forced to summarize] that theory is horrible.

Clausal/Subordination

- (8) [Having to read] while [being forced to summarize] that theory is horrible.

Prepositional Domain:

- (9) Coordination

Holmes rebels against the social conventions of his day not [on moral] but rather [on aesthetic] grounds. (Chaves 2014: 839)

- (10) Coordination-like

I'd have said he was sitting on the edge of rather than in the middle of the puddle. (Hudson 1976: 550)

Nominal Domain:

Coordination

- (11) [The young] and [the old] men arrived. (Osborne 2006: 39)
- (12) Will he try to gain [a seat on] or [control of] the board ... (Chaves 2014: 839)

Coordination-like

- (13) [The young] as well as [the old] **men** arrived.
- (14) [My presentation] rather than [your explanation] **of the new theory** could not be understood.
- (15) Will he try to gain [a seat on] as well as [control of] **the board** ... (Chaves 2014: 839)

Word Part Domain

Coordination

- (16) This analysis suffers from both UNDER- and OVER-**generation**. (Ha 2008: 56)
- (17) We sell this book in hard- and soft-**cover**.

Coordination-like

- (18) This analysis suffers from both UNDER- as well as OVER-**generation**.
- (19) We sell this book in hard- as well as soft-**cover**.
- (20) He brought spring as well as autumn **flowers** as a present.

Appendix 2: Informal Questionnaire

Appendix 2.1: List 1

Compound Noun vs Adjective + Noun?

Decide whether the words in bold are compounds or a combination of adjective+noun

	Test Sentence	Compound	A+N	Unsure
1.	The application for judicial review is a particular procedure by which a litigant can seek judicial review of a governmental decision. (EBM 73)			
2.	The shape of the curves representing the late fetal ratios , however, does not seem to change systematically with the overall level of late fetal mortality. (HOP 468)			
3.	For the S&P500 index from June 1982 to September 1982, the no-arbitrage equation was found by Cornell and French (1983a; 1983b) to overpredict the actual price of index futures contracts, that is, the theoretical futures price exceeded the actual futures price and so the future was underpriced. (FSA 12)			
4.	The clumsiness is evident in the standard of ‘the reasonable man’, an anthropomorphic standard which might be taken to suggest a paragon of virtue if it were not for the context of partially exculpating a killing by such a person. (ACJ 209)			
5.	Their task was not limited to the granting of coats of arms; they had to be experts in recognising such armorials to identify both the dead and those who performed noble deeds in war. (EDF 855)			
6.	Not of rpm but of ‘sea-level rated power’, i.e. the power produced at rated rpm at sea-level under ISA conditions. (CAU 776)			
7.	Later that day, 15 Oct, at The Questors Theatre in Ealing, he will be the guest of honour at a fund-raising event for the Questors in which we are promised the opportunity to ‘find out what makes a critic, what are his prejudices and his preferences, and what are his fears and hopes for British theatre .’ (A4L 113)			
8.	That would be a welcome boost to the American economy . (ABH 847)			
9.	Hubert Butler joined the Palace from Chorley in the summer of 1928, having previously played for Blackpool, with a reputation as a proven goalscoring inside-left, even if his Palace debut was in the disastrous defeat (1–8) we sustained at Northampton the following October. (B2H 230)			
10.	They included hare, guinea fowl, small duiker , gazelle and antelope. (B7J 1243)			

11.	If there is wasteful duplication, governmental intervention is in principle desirable to award the street's milk contract to one firm, then if necessary to control its pricing behaviour. (EX2 63)			
12.	Thus we can see the regional consequences of welfare state expansion of post-1975 cuts . (F9G 748)			
13.	I should be delighted to review the above books for BAIE SCOTLAND's regular Newsletter were this of interest, simultaneously submitting reviews to the national Newsletter and/or Communicators in Business'. (HD3 153)			
14.	Article 35 allows an obligation to be imposed upon a third State if the parties so intend, and the third party accepts it in writing.139 – The juridical basis for the third party's obligation would appear therefore to be an ancillary agreement in writing. (EF3 368)			
15.	Reviving vegetation is emphasized, being bound up in 'judas' with the Christian story . (A6B 333)			
16.	That's good on-the-road thinking . (ADK 1952)			
17.	Even in Yorkshire, where you would think that watching all those frisky animals might have some sort of knock-on effect , the people only manage 67 times – which makes them the lowest in the league table. (CBC 7444)			
18.	In moral science , by contrast, we deal with that with which we have immediate contact within ourselves – the human spirit and the forms in which it expresses and manifests itself. (CL6 773)			
19.	In consequence, the land naturally most amenable for agricultural intensification (by cultivation, drainage of wetlands, fertilisers, etc.) where losses of habitats important for wildlife could be greatest, receives the least state agricultural support . (B02 299)			
20.	The basic objective of the I.D.P. as set out in that Regulation was to 'improve working and living conditions in the Western Isles' through a series of measures designed'.... to improve agriculture; to improve the marketing of agricultural products – including the afforestation of marginal land, operations to improve the marketing and processing of agricultural products and measures to develop fisheries, but also measures relating to tourist amenities, crafts, industrial and other complementary activities essential to the improvement of the general socio-economic situation of those isles'. (AML 1243)			
21.	These various rates are used in conjunction with the estimated age-sex distributions for Regional Health Authorities in order to derive expected bed-occupancy days (or visits) for each condition in each region. (FP4 975)			

Appendix 2.2: List 2

Compound Noun vs Adjective + Noun?

Decide whether the words in bold are compounds or a combination of adjective+noun

	Test Sentence	Compound	A+N	Unsure
1.	The application for judicial review is a main procedure by which a litigant can seek judicial review of a governmental decision. (EBM 73)			
2.	The shape of the curves representing the birth ratios , however, does not seem to change systematically with the overall level of late fetal mortality. (HOP 468)			
3.	For the S&P500 index from June 1982 to September 1982, the no-arbitrage equation was found by Cornell and French (1983a; 1983b) to overpredict the actual price of index futures contracts, that is, the no-arbitrage futures price exceeded the actual futures price and so the future was underpriced. (FSA 12)			
4.	The clumsiness is evident in the standard of 'the reasonable man', a male standard which might be taken to suggest a paragon of virtue if it were not for the context of partially exculpating a killing by such a person. (ACJ 209)			
5.	Their task was not limited to the granting of coats of arms; they had to be experts in recognising such armorials to identify both the dead and those who performed base deeds in war. (EDF 855)			
6.	Not of rpm but of 'sea-level rated power', i.e. the power produced at red-line rpm at sea-level under ISA conditions. (CAU 776)			
7.	Later that day, 15 Oct, at The Questors Theatre in Ealing, he will be the guest of honour at a fund-raising event for the Questors in which we are promised the opportunity to 'find out what makes a critic, what are his prejudices and his preferences, and what are his fears and hopes for world theatre .' (A4L 113)			
8.	That would be a welcome boost to the world economy . (ABH 847)			
9.	Hubert Butler joined the Palace from Chorley in the summer of 1928, having previously played for Blackpool, with a reputation as a proven goalscoring inside-left, even if his Palace debut was in the record defeat (1–8) we sustained at Northampton the following October. (B2H 230)			
10.	They included hare, guinea fowl, baby duiker , gazelle and antelope. (B7J 1243)			
11.	If there is wasteful duplication, neighbourhood intervention is in principle desirable to award the street's milk contract to one firm, then if necessary to control its			

	pricing behaviour. (EX2 63)			
12.	Thus we can see the regional consequences of welfare state expansion and of IMF intervention cuts . (F9G 748)			
13.	I should be delighted to review other relevant management and communications books for BAIE SCOTLAND's regular Newsletter were this of interest, simultaneously submitting reviews to the national Newsletter and/or Communicators in Business'. (HD3 153)			
14.	Article 35 allows an obligation to be imposed upon a third State if the parties so intend, and the third party accepts it in writing.139 – The juridical basis for the third party's obligation would appear therefore to be a collateral agreement in writing. (EF3 368)			
15.	Reviving vegetation is emphasized, being bound up in 'judas' with the New England story . (A6B 333)			
16.	That's good on-the-tarmac thinking . (ADK 1952)			
17.	Even in Yorkshire, where you would think that watching all those frisky animals might have some sort of knock-up effect , the people only manage 67 times – which makes them the lowest in the league table. (CBC 7444)			
18.	In huma science , by contrast, we deal with that with which we have immediate contact within ourselves – the human spirit and the forms in which it expresses and manifests itself. (CL6 773)			
19.	In consequence, the land naturally most amenable for agricultural intensification (by cultivation, drainage of wetlands, fertilisers, etc.) where losses of habitats important for wildlife could be greatest, receives the least EEC agricultural support . (B02 299)			
20.	The basic objective of the I.D.P. as set out in that Regulation was to 'improve working and living conditions in the Western Isles' through a series of measures designed'.... to improve agriculture; to improve the marketing of fisheries products – including the afforestation of marginal land, operations to improve the marketing and processing of agricultural products and measures to develop fisheries, but also measures relating to tourist amenities, crafts, industrial and other complementary activities essential to the improvement of the general socio-economic situation of those isles'.(AML 1243)			
21.	These various rates are used in conjunction with the estimated marital status distributions for Regional Health Authorities in order to derive expected bed-occupancy days (or visits) for each condition in each region. (FP4 975)			

Appendix 2.3: Results

	List 1	Compound	A+N	Unsure	List 2	Compound	A+N	Unsure
1	particular procedure		✓✓✓		main procedure	✓	✓✓	
2	fetal ratios	✓✓		✓	still birth ratios	✓✓✓		
3	theoretical futures price	✓	✓✓		no-arbitrage futures price	✓	✓✓	
4	anthropomorphic standard		✓✓✓		male standard		✓✓✓	
5	noble deeds		✓✓✓		base deeds	✓✓	✓	
6	rated rpm	✓✓	✓		red-line rpm	✓✓	✓	
7	British theatre	✓	✓✓		world theatre	✓	✓✓	
8	American economy		✓✓✓		world economy	✓	✓✓	
9	disastrous defeat		✓✓✓		record defeat	✓	✓✓	
10	small duiker	✓✓	✓		baby duiker	✓✓		✓
11	governmental intervention		✓✓✓		neighbourhood intervention		✓✓✓	
12	post-1975 cuts		✓✓✓		IMF intervention cuts	✓	✓	Missing
13	above books		✓✓✓		communications books	✓	✓✓	
14	ancillary agreement		✓✓✓		collateral agreement	✓✓	✓	
15	Christian story		✓✓✓		New England story	✓✓	✓	
16	on-the-road thinking	✓	✓✓		on-the-tarmac thinking		✓✓✓	
17	knock-on effect	✓✓✓			knock-up effect	✓✓	✓	
18	moral science	✓✓		✓	humana science	✓✓	✓	
19	state agricultural support	✓	✓✓		EEC agricultural support	✓	✓✓	
20	agricultural products		✓✓✓		fisheries products	✓✓✓		
21	age-sex distributions	✓	✓✓		marital status distributions	✓✓	✓	

Appendix 3: Final Results

Word Domain

- (1) The shape of the curves representing the late fetal (or still birth) **ratios**, however, does not seem to change systematically with the overall level of late fetal mortality. (HOP 468)
- (2) Not of rpm but of 'sea-level rated power', i.e. the power produced at rated (or red-line) **rpm** at sea-level under ISA conditions. (CAU 776)
- (3) Even in Yorkshire, where you would think that watching all those frisky animals might have some sort of knock-on (or knock-up) **effect**, the people only manage 67 times – which makes them the lowest in the league table. (CBC 7444)
- (4) The Oesophageal Sympathetic (or Stomatogastric) **Nervous System** is directly connected with the brain and innervates the fore and middle intestine, heart and certain other parts. (EVW 1099)
- (5) Despite the fact that dichotic listening techniques have often been adopted without proper validation, findings which show a difference in the direction and/or magnitude of ear asymmetry between groups of right and left (or non-right) **handed** subjects have been taken as indicating a difference in direction or magnitude of cerebral lateralisation. (FED 500)
- (6) After the password is entered (it does not appear on the screen for security reasons), the ENTER (or RETURN) **key** should be pressed to indicate completion of the Log On page. (HWF 7210)
- (7) Beneath that again is a bulb at the top of the spine, the Reptilian (or R-) **complex**, governing our deepest autonomic functions. (FEP 346)
- (8) These various rates are used in conjunction with the estimated age-sex (and marital status) **distributions** for Regional Health Authorities in order to derive expected bed-occupancy days (or visits) for each condition in each region. (FP4 975)

Nominal Domain

- (9) This meant that the district officer became increasingly isolated from the activities that often had the greatest impact on – and the greatest importance for – **his district**. (FA8 1067)
- (10) Each shareholder of (and beneficial owner of shares in) **an incorporated practice** is required to submit to the Council a covenant, the effect of which will be that the costs of grants paid from the Compensation Fund in respect of the practice will in certain circumstances be recoverable from its shareholders. (HXB 639)
- (11) Practice visits have resulted in identifying training needs, the need for (and writing of) **policies** to improve the quality of prescribing, and the development of drug use analysis, including all of the cost implications. (EC7 898)
- (12) The natural sciences, though essentially in their infancy, were beginning to develop systematic methods for studying the physical world and the individual's part in (and relation to) it, and they were being increasingly recognised and valued for providing this more 'certain' knowledge. (EDH 20)
- (13) There are also parallels with (and differences from) anthropological structuralism (Piaget 1971b; Turner 1973). (FAK 291)

- (14) The analysis of the data set will be used, additionally, to demonstrate the need for (and the technical possibility of) **a migration monitoring system** for this city region. (HJ1 20276)
- (15) The lower the interest rate when credit is liberalised, the higher the rise in demand for (and price of) **housing**. (AAA 163)
- (16) On the other hand though, it must be noted that this was an important phase of feminist film-making because it established a foothold in Britain for avant-garde work, extending an already existing interest in (and audience for) **the films of continental women directors** such as Agnes Varda and Marguerite Duras. (ATA 1061)
- (17) Furthermore, relatively little is known at present about the extent to which scientists change their type of work, and the precise nature of (and reasons for) **moves between organisations**, compared with movement within organisations, or internal mobility. (HJ0 14347)
- (18) Evidence for political affairs comes in a variety of genres: some apparently unlikely sources – theological treatises, for instance, or accounts of the translations (that is, the carryings to new locations) of saints' relics, and collections of miracle-stories – turn out to hold a good deal of information about (and reactions to) **war and politics**. (HPT 99)
- (19) The plan was seen as a means of meeting United States resistance to (and consequent Vietnamese apprehension of) **forcible repatriation**. (HLA 1578)
- (20) TO most people Yorkshire Television's takeover of (or merger with) **Tyne Tees Television** will be of little significance beyond the changes they will see on screen. (K4P 3402)
- (21) The style of the works on show seems to have touched a chord in Canada: the art critic of the Hamilton Globe and Mail commented that the spirit of Ukrainian art was 'similarly expressed in a regional synthesis of (or reaction against) **art styles currently prominent at the creative centre**'. (EBS 1649)
- (22) It is after all the effectiveness (or otherwise) of the socialised deployment of the personal sector surplus which would over time build support for (or resentment against) **any such scheme**. (FB5 152)
- (23) This expression clearly covers the situation where a seller insists that all (or a considerable proportion of) **his buyers** buy on the terms of his written contract, there being no variation in the terms from one buyer to another. (H7U 612)
- (24) There is another potential drawback; it has to do with the fluent child's love of (or abuse of) debate. (B10 465)
- (25) In pursuit of their ends, reformers and others were compelled to alter their perceptions of (and attitudes toward) **young people** and, therefore, the images which they used to order and define them. (B1T 814)
- (26) This has even been a criticism of (or objection to) **the use of conditional funds from the IMF**, unless it becomes an absolute necessity for economic survival. (B1W 801)
- (27) Prospects: A strategy which will secure the backing of the younger, more creative and more frustrated members of (or aspirants to) the élite, as well as the Armed forces and KGB; a strategy with greatest prospects of survival over an extended period, although its potential will depend on how quickly the regime recognises the 'second economy' to be a 'necessary' and 'non-antagonistic' contradiction in a Socialist society. (CMT 532)
- (28) Appelt successfully utilizes the characteristics of platinum printing and negative printing as part of his interpretation of – and homage to – **Ezra Pound**. (EV8 523)

- (29) Both had worked closely with Laker; been witness to – and victims of – **his downfall**; both had much to say about the pitfalls Branson should, at all costs, avoid. (FNX 1507)
- (30) A shift in the availability of – or character of – **any one of these care ingredients** is likely to have an impact on the others. (FS7 1623)
- (31) The liberal-historians also tend to suggest that permissiveness has allowed greater freedom for sexual (and other forms of) **expression**, though for feminist critics this was simply a reordered means of continuing women's oppression. (CRU 258)
- (32) Five guitar cases sit in the corner of the room, betraying his affection for – and expertise in producing – **guitar-orientated groups**. (C9N 1382)
- (33) I am informed by the General Counsel of the Board that on the information available it appears that 'A' entered into nominee arrangements with the defendant whereby the 'defendants' gained control of (or the ability to control) **all of the stock of the two other banks referred to in paragraph 6 above**. (FD9 182)
- (34) What I was doing now was no crazier – and no less crazy – **than they**; but I was not about to pretend that the future of the planet depended on my explorations. (H82 848)
- (35) He's just as likely to be found talking to a six-strong student society in Bangor as addressing 500 top Earth scientists in Washington; he will have a drink with (and on) me just as readily (or so he makes it appear) as he will have lunch with (and no doubt on) **the director of the US National Science Foundation**; if he's not corresponding with some editor over some esoteric point of science, he's trying to persuade the high-ups at the European Space Agency to do something adventurous in planetology for a change. (B71 1944)
- (36) The question of trade-offs therefore promises to remain a live issue in East-West (and no doubt West-West) **relations**. (CMT 273)
- (37) The pettiness over uniform repairs epitomized the way control by the Chief pervaded the working – and the non-working – **day**. (B24 987)
- (38) Ever since 1969, when he had his first show, his cartoonish black-and-white paintings have managed to comment without mercy or a smidgen of socially redeeming tact on, among other things, men's – and women's – **looks** (Warhol's nosejob painting must be an important icon in his private gallery); issues of health (a hilarious series of men in the throes of having heart attacks); bestiality (pert Fifties housewife on her knees doing something unspeakable to a poodle with her arm) and religion (famous Biblical figure on the cross getting a pie in the face). (CKU 1714)
- (39) It was considered bourgeois to own or rent an appartement, so the artistic community of St-Germain-des Pres lived in hotels, paying daily for their night's – or day's – **rest**, flitting from one to the next as circumstances demanded. (A9T 361)
- (40) Create a personalized calendar with CCP and you need never forget granny's – or Rod Stewart's – **birthday** again (FT8 2340)
- (41) A massive public interest in – and concern for – **our vanishing heritage** was evident, as was the need to do something about it. (AR9 55)
- (42) In order that I could test a number of hypotheses, I gave all the British (and a considerable number of other European and North American) **Moonies** a 41-page questionnaire, and then I reproduced many of the questions in a 36-page questionnaire that was distributed to non-Moonies who were matched for age and social background with the Unification membership. (CM5 147)

- (43) The application for judicial review is a particular (and the main) **procedure** by which a litigant can seek judicial review of a governmental decision. (EBM 73)
- (44) Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoi made a statement on June 21, accusing the Georgian (and the Moldovan) **authorities of genocide** against their respective Russian populations. (HLM 1678)
- (45) The antis cheerfully admit to being pacifists; yes, in an ideal world, they would like to see the Swiss (and every other) **army** demobilised. (CR8 1966)
- (46) Never again, except in the nostalgic hopefulness of a few – would the ceremonies be performed; gone were the offerings, the blood-shedding, the fire and incense, the gorgeous (and the plain) **robes**, and the rest of the sacred imagery which ‘fenced-off’ God's otherness from the people – and brought them close to him in awe and penitence. (AOP 308)
- (47) It is not possible, in a family such as Leonard's, to refuse the subtle (and the not-so-subtle) **constraints**. (AOP 1305)
- (48) A recent (and the first) **report** by the Social Services Inspectorate on day services for the mentally handicapped finds much to criticise. (A7Y 339)
- (49) Whatever the evidence, there is undoubtedly a widespread belief that the absence of effective supervision of management is an important factor (though by no means the only one) in the weak performance of the British (and the American) **economy** as compared with those particularly of Germany and Japan where management accountability is not in general regarded as a problem. (FP2 762)
- (50) They do not have the degree of ideological and policy coherence normally found in British (and other European) **parties**, and display far less party loyalty in the legislature. (GV5 90)
- (51) This became an emergent feature of British (and other European) **inclusive tour companies** in the late 1960s as the expansion of charter non-scheduled activity gained momentum. (FP9 973)
- (52) In so far as advertisements ‘sell’ they generally do it more or less indirectly: rarely is an ad a direct (or the only) **stimulus** to purchase. (F9D 330)
- (53) send a message by telephone which was of an indecent (or an obscene or a menacing) **character** or’ Telephone means the same public system as at the alternative point at 2 ante. (CE2 2665)
- (54) send a message by telephone which was of an indecent (or an obscene or a menacing) **character**, or’ This point is proved as the last point with the recipient explaining the indecent, obscene or menacing nature of the call. (CE2 2682)
- (55) The Clean Air Act of 1970, swept into enactment by the political strength of the environmental movement, marked the beginning of a new – and the present – **era of pollution control policy**. (GU5 1275)
- (56) Sneering is the dialect for making an ugly face; and the best – or the worst? – **sneerer** took the prize. (G09 113)
- (57) Thus, the LAD needs to contribute enough (but no more than enough) **innate knowledge** for the child to learn the grammar of a language from the utterances which she hears in the first four or five years of life. (CG6 168)
- (58) Later in 1988 these units began to be joined north of the Thames by similar (but AC current only) **units of Class 321** for use on Cambridge and Northampton services for which sixty-eight units were authorised, together with a further five similar Class 322 units for the Stansted Airport link. (A11 898)

- (59) His reluctant agreement to append an entirely unconvincing (but uproariously staged) **happy ending to the show** is a coup de theatre that still seems strikingly modern more than 250 years after the premiere of this bracing comedy. (AJF 190)
- (60) British women are the most adulterous (or the most honest) in Europe – but British men are said to make love the least frequently. (ED4 451)

Mismatch (Compound vs. A+N)

- (61) This usually causes such sites to have two accounts, one being the Captive LIFESPAN Manager, and the other being a less (or non-) **privileged** non-Captive LIFESPAN Administration Account. (HWF 2354)
- (62) The basic objective of the I.D.P. as set out in that Regulation was to ‘improve working and living conditions in the Western Isles’ through a series of measures designed’.... to improve agriculture; to improve the marketing of agricultural (and fisheries) **products** – including the afforestation of marginal land, operations to improve the marketing and processing of agricultural products and measures to develop fisheries, but also measures relating to tourist amenities, crafts, industrial and other complementary activities essential to the improvement of the general socio-economic situation of those isles’. (AML 1243)
- (63) The most common type is the straight (or plain vanilla or bullet) **bond**. (HNL 207)
- (64) Thus we can see the regional consequences of welfare state expansion and of post-1975 (and IMF intervention) **cuts**. (F9G 748)
- (65) Their task was not limited to the granting of coats of arms; they had to be experts in recognising such armorials to identify both the dead and those who performed noble (and base) **deeds** in war. (EDF 855)
- (66) Reviving vegetation is emphasized, being bound up in ‘judas’ with the Christian (and New England) **story**. (A6B 333)
- (67) They included hare, guinea fowl, small (or baby) **duiker**, gazelle and antelope. (B7J 1243)
- (68) Article 35 allows an obligation to be imposed upon a third State if the parties so intend, and the third party accepts it in writing.¹³⁹ – The juridical basis for the third party's obligation would appear therefore to be an ancillary (or collateral) **agreement** in writing. (EF3 368)

Clausal Domain

- (69) The system of accounting which recognizes the expense when the invoice is received (and the revenue, when the invoice is issued) **is called ‘accruals accounting’**. (GVU 743)
- (70) I see (and Summerchild sees) **the young provincial historian** becoming even more silent and preoccupied than Summerchild himself as they look at the worn carpets and unoccupied chairs. (J17 838)
- (71) This is borne out by work on more temperate plants, for many of the hummingbird-pollinated plants of western North America belong to genera that are predominantly (and it is believed more anciently) **insect-pollinated**. (J18 706)
- (72) Primitive societies were (and a few still are) **pre-literate**: written information did not exist. (B25 336)

- (73) Social theory generally (and urban social theory especially) **cannot afford to lose sight of people's own understandings of the social world.** (HRM 388)
- (74) Operational balances were reduced (and advances increased) **by the fact that the borrower wrote cheques which other people paid into their accounts at other banks.** (H8E 246)
- (75) ' Among those interested in (and the much larger number pontificating on) **the history and philosophy of science,** I notice an increasing tendency to attribute changes and advances to a mysterious but almost omnipotent entity called 'social-and-economic-factors- ' (B7D 754)
- (76) The quality of the music obviously varies, but many communities have had (and a few still have) **distinguished musicians and liturgists among their number.** (FPY 648)
- (77) The pioneer of bee research Karl von Frisch recalls (and we have observed) **instances** in which the trained foragers began to anticipate subsequent moves and to wait for the feeder at the presumptive new location. (B7J 1473)
- (78) Those consequences can be avoided (and Community law respected) **in so far as national courts interpret national legislation so as to comply with the terms of the directive in question.** (GWN 397)
- (79) Here, then, in the deep ecologist's environmental philosophy, the philosophy of animal rights finds a serious (and I dare say powerful) **adversary.** (B04 670)
- (80) This takes the slim (and I mean slim) **pillar** between Crocodile Crack and Alligator Crawl. (CG2 790)
- (81) A slight (and I mean very slight) **rhythmical easing back** is all we are given to signify the transition from Allegro tempestoso to Moderato tranquillo; albeit accompanied by a beautiful singing cantabile. (ED6 2390)
- (82) Anyway, she kidded in a large (and I mean large) **pen** with her mother, grandmother and sister with her and after kidding we moved her and her mother to a separate pen. (EER 34)
- (83) His most formidable (and we mean formidable) **ally** hit town last night, however his mum. (K55 8264)
- (84) In the primary process, by contrast, energy is discharged (and desire is fulfilled) **through cathexis;** through investment in 'perceptual memories'. (GW4 346)
- (85) At first instance, the District Court found (and the Court of Appeals agreed) **that Winans had knowingly breached a duty of confidentiality by misappropriating prepublication information regarding the timing and contents of the Heard columns.** (ECD 1821)
- (86) After a second attempt on the Shahs life, in 1965, he decided (and the US embassy concurred) **that the Queen should have the power to become regent in the event of his death while their son was still minor.** (G3R 1481)
- (87) Educationalists agree (and experience shows) **that headteachers who are actively involved in teaching can galvanise a school:** but LMS is turning even the most committed among them into under-paid chartered accountants. (ABE 1845)
- (88) But it does seem (and locals swear) that the climate is milder in Dentdale than the rest of the Dales. (EWB 505)
- (89) We know (and children know) **that pollution is damaging;** that children in Victorian schools were subject to rather repressive regimes; that the slave trade was a bad thing; that being an Ancient Briton after the Romans invaded wasn't nice. (HYA 1797)

- (90) In the other fields I've discussed earlier – public speaking appearing on television, staging a special event, holding a conference, you can (but you shouldn't) **kid yourself** that they went better than they really did. (ADK 1069)
- (91) (b) Separate practice The decision must be taken as to whether the business of a new office is to be integrated with that of the main office or whether it is to be run (or the extent to which it is to be run) **as a separate, self-financing enterprise** or even a separate partnership but using the same firm-name. (J6P 767)
- (92) This is because the market and its practitioners know the sequence very well and also because profit can be made (or losses minimised) **by anticipating events**. (H8E 1378)
- (93) These are divestiture engagements in which the initiating member has been retained on an exclusive basis to assist in the sale of a business, and the business merits justify (or the client specifically requests) **an international marketing program**. (HJ5 2084)
- (94) We therefore think that CBP100 is weakly associated with CREB in extracts from UF9 cells and that this association is disrupted (or the amount of CBP100 is reduced) **following differentiation**. (K5N 391)
- (95) As an accounting-based measure it can be decomposed through the asset-turnover or profit-margin ratios to pinpoint exactly where problems arise (or progress has been achieved) **in short-term financial performance**. (GUC 598)
- (96) SUBPACKAGE The package cannot be approved (or the listings obtained) **until this subpackage has been approved**. (HWF)
- (97) But as soon as we have to commit this question to paper we discover (or we certainly should discover) **that this is a difficult question to ask with absolute clarity**. (B25 1292)
- (98) Lastly, the power vested in the Secretary of State under section 14(4) of the Act of 1988 to dispense with the nationality requirement in the case of one (or more) individuals in view of the length of time he has (or they have) **resided in the United Kingdom** and been involved in the fishing industry there, is not such as to make the nationality requirements compatible with the E.E.C. (FCJ 875)
- (99) To prevent this happening, the nose of the glider should be held down (or the tail held up) **to reduce the wing incidence**, as this in turn reduces the lift significantly. (A0H 122)
- (100) If he sees the heroic in a Sartoris or a Sutpen, he sees also – and he shows – **the blind and the mean**, and he sees the Compson family disintegrating from within. (5656:1)
- (101) 'I want – and I must have – **both my wonderful women together under one roof**.' (APM 1297)
- (102) I think it would be better – and we would both find it easier – **if you looked at those in your own time?** (CKF 72)
- (103) Dinosaurs did have – and mammals still have – **minute channels for blood vessels** known as Haversian canals. (C9A 1422)
- (104) Meanwhile the problem for the health service is that although the health authority sits on the policy group and is a coauthor of the community care plan, the work gets done – and the problems arise – **in provider units**. (FT1 1107)
- (105) Kamal Jumblatt lived – and Walid still lives – **in a magnificent palace of dressed stone at Mukhtara**, its courtyards alive with fountains and artificial waterfalls and green-uniformed gunmen. (ANU 1528)
- (106) It is evident – and I have emphasized the fact – **that new political ideas have very often been formulated in direct response to the situations confronted by**

- movements, parties and political leaders;** and the political thought of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been exceptionally fertile in this respect. (H9F 720)
- (107) The Equipment Standards Committee felt – and the Executive Committee agreed – **that the use of longer putters introduces a new element** but does not change the essential nature of the game, said Stuart Bloch, Chairman of the Equipment Standards Committee and a Vice-President of the U.S.G.A. (HJG 1608)
- (108) He was told – and he believed – **that the problem was not one of ventilation.** (B77 712)
- (109) You know, John, I don't think – and I never have thought – **that it's dramatically convincing that he should, that he should fuck her too, John.** " (H0M 3442)
- (110) As previously noted, Taskoprüzade states – and it has been generally accepted – **that Molla Fenari held three important positions in the Ottoman state in the course of his life:** the muderrislik at the Manastir (Sultan Orhan) medrese in Bursa; the kadilik of Bursa; and the Muftilik in the Ottoman lands. (H7S 447)
- (111) He'd implied – and she had promised – **that she'd keep out of his way.** (HHA 2267)
- (112) The counting of the homeless – and the arguments about how exact the results will be – **is one manifestation of this.** (ABF 677)
- (113) But States in general – and new poor States in particular – **are part of a competing system and one marked by profound inequalities.** (ANT 325)
- (114) 'Fiddling the results' should – and I'm delighted to report, often does – **land its practitioners in prison,** though not often enough. (ALW 1422)
- (115) Granting this much, these same people can – and they often do – **believe** that the destruction of natural habitat is not wrong. (B04 573)
- (116) The sad thing was, as I said before, his navigator was incapable – and I must say not good enough – **to get him round the heavily defended areas,** and so in two sorties he still sustained abnormal flak damage. (J56 1183)
- (117) The House of Commons will need – and the other place will wish – **to examine the recommendations of Lord Jellicoe for new procedures** to bring such comparatively uncontroversial measures before both Houses more swiftly. (HHV 22948)
- (118) We are entitled – and we expect – **to get that money back.** (HHV 14303)
- (119) In recent weeks, as a result of a sweeping defense policy reappraisal by the Kennedy Administration, basic United States strategy has been modified – and large new sums allocated – **to meet the accidental-war danger** and to reduce it as quickly as possible. (3373:1)
- (120) Some may have forgotten – and some younger ones may never have experienced – **what it's like to invest during a recession.** (32058:1)
- (121) Just as the 'intelligence quotient' or IQ used (or it may be misused) **by human psychologists** is standardized against the average for a whole population, the EQ is standardized against, say, the whole of the mammals. (H7X1622)
- (122) 'Norman Lamont is a good friend of the NHS and I am sure – or I think I am sure – **that he will prove it,**' Mr Clarke said. (A4K 190)
- (123) She said – or I heard – **that we should only fall in love once,** that it was an experience of such profound significance that to repeat it would be to devalue it. (G06 639)
- (124) If liability only is admitted, interlocutory judgment (N 17) may be given and a date fixed for assessment or the plaintiff left to apply under Ord 22, r 6. (2) If the defendant does not appear and has delivered no admission or defence, then

- judgment may be entered (or directions given) **as the court thinks fit** (Ord 17, r 7). (J6U 910)
- (125) In the last years of Queen Anne's reign Jacobites became hopeful – and Whigs fearful – **that the Tory ministry**, with the connivance of the Queen, might undo the Act of Settlement and establish the Old Pretender as the next in line to the throne. (HY9 1303)
- (126) Speaking generally, it furthered – and still tends to further – **the interests of the Western powers**. (3258:1)
- (127) The first was that America had become – or was in danger of becoming – **a second-rate military power**. (2218:1)
- (128) This is the story of his last tragic voyage, as nearly as we are able – or ever, probably, will be able – **to determine**: The sailing in the spring of 1610 was Hudson's fourth in four years. (1540:1)
- (129) To you, for instance, the word innocence, in this connotation, probably retained its Biblical, or should I say technical sense, and therefore I suppose I must make myself quite clear by saying that I lost – or rather handed over – **what you would have considered to be my innocence two weeks** before I was legally entitled, and in fact by oath required, to hand it over along with what other goods and bads I had. (6097:1)
- (130) UDCs have (and no doubt will) **preside over a great deal of property development**. (B1U 1638)
- (131) As a result of these anti-avoidance provisions, the foreign business carve-out is excluded, and the general COB Rules apply in relation to the customer concerned, where (1) A UK office executes a transaction with or for a UK private customer on the instructions of a non-UK office; or (2) A UK office gives investment advice in relation to any transaction to a non-UK office, which the non-UK office passes on to (or uses for the benefit of) **a UK private customer** if (in either case): (a) the UK office itself transmitted the order to a non-UK office of the firm (even if a different one from that instructing it); (b) the UK office has itself advised the customer in relation to the transaction concerned (and the customer has then directly or indirectly given the order to the non-UK office which deals through the UK office); or (c) the UK office has advised the customer to deal through or seek advice from a non-UK office of the firm (even if the relevant prescribed disclosure was made). (J71 276)
- (132) These are the families who used – and sometime abused – **their sharecroppers**, people who had no encouragement and little access to an education or training for a better life. (13323:1)
- (133) Baltimore attorney Michael A. Pretl and 17 other attorneys representing 18,136 claimants in the U.S. and abroad argue that the appeal would delay – and perhaps even destroy – **a \$ 2.38 billion settlement fund** that is the centerpiece of the reorganization plan. (25638:1)
- (134) "I agree, it's ridiculous," says Mr. Boren, and indeed by now ridiculous may be the only way to describe how the U.S. decides to take – or rather, not to take – **covert action**. (15084:1)

Other

- (135) Available from (and cheques payable to) **Arrow Direct Mail Ltd**, PO Box 17, 406F Hockley Centre, Birmingham B18 6NE. (G33 2307)

- (136) As they are, the lords are far more civilised, diverse and distinguished – and a lot less pompous – **than their elected counterparts**, partly because of the admixture of life peers outstanding in fields beyond politics. (CRA 1784)
- (137) Truman Capote is still reveling in Southern Gothicism, exaggerating the old Southern legends into something beautiful and grotesque, but as unreal as – or even more unreal than – **yesterday**. (3878:1)

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Name

Signature