Right Edge Restriction is non-uniform in Turkish

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Main Claims

(1) Right Edge Restriction (descriptive):
For X to be shared at the right edge of a coordination, X must be able to be rightmost within each conjunct.

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b. Josh will [$_{vP}$ donate __ to the library], and Maria will [$_{vP}$ donate __ to the museum], **each of these old novels**.
(Sabbagh, 2007, ex. 9a)

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Epiphenomal, resulting from two mechanisms:

- *Constituent-sharing* structures (syntactic movement)
- *String-sharing* structures (post-syntactic linearization)

Proposal

- *Constituent-sharing* structure: Across-the-board rightward extraposition (Ross, 1967; Sabbagh, 2007)

- *String-sharing* structure: Post-syntactic linearization of in-situ multidominance

Roadmap

1. Right Edge Sharing
2. Constituent-sharing structure
3. String-sharing structure
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Right Edge Sharing

(4) *Sharing finite verb*

Ali çay __, Veli kahve __, (ve) Ayşe de gazoz **iç-ti**.
A. tea V. coffee and Ay. CONTR soda **drink-PAST**
'Ali (drank) tea, Veli (drank) coffee, and Ayşe drank soda.'

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(5) *Sharing inflectional affixes*

Ali çay iç-miş __, (ve) Ayşe de gazoz iç-ecek=**ti**.
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(6) *Sharing scrambled argument*

Ali bugün gid-ecek __, (ve) Veli de yarın gid-ecek
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Ankaraya.
An.-DAT
'Ali will go (to Ankara) today, Veli will go to Ankara tomorrow.

Right Edge Sharing

String Sharing Structure

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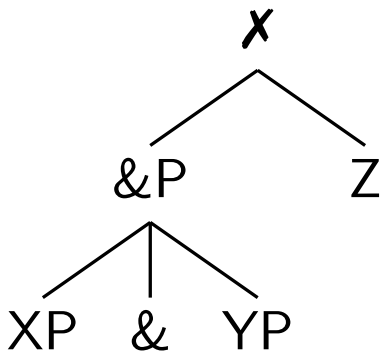

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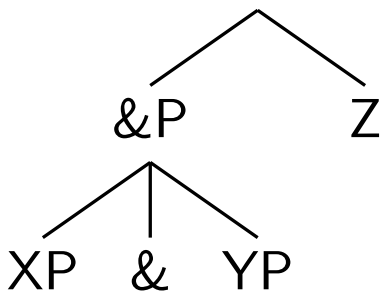

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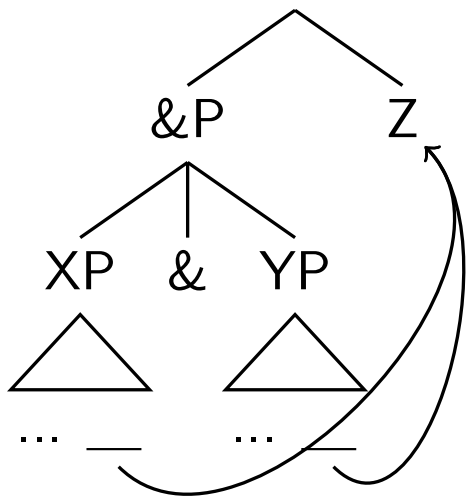

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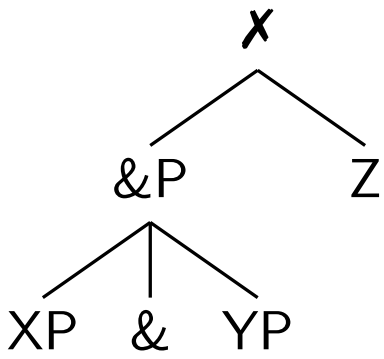

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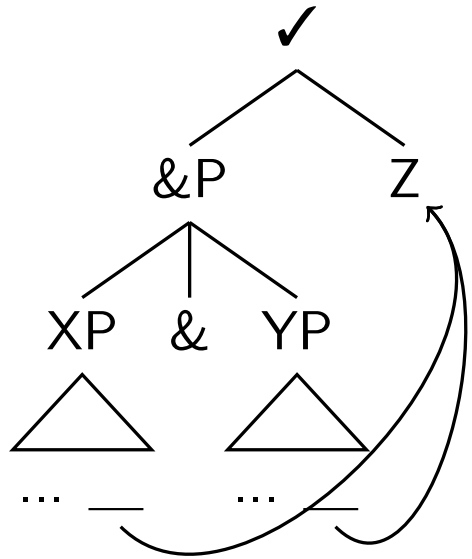

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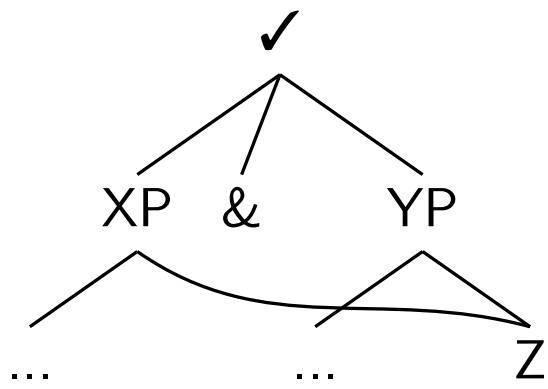

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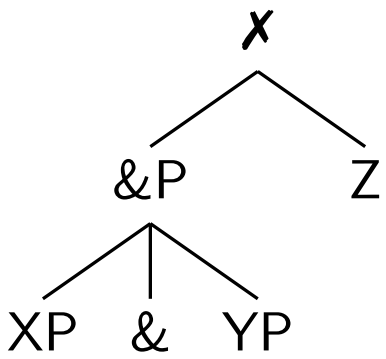

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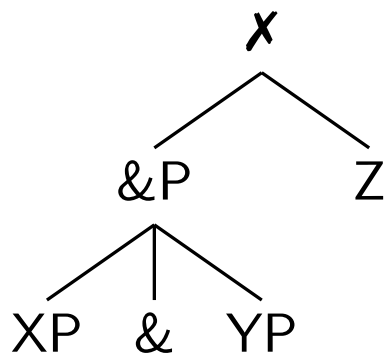

- Tense+person Inflection (+predicate/copula) occupies T (Kelepir, 2001; Kornfilt, 1996; Zanon, 2014).

(11) *Conjunct-internal T in Constituent-Sharing Structure*

Ali __ **demle-di** __, (ve) Veli __ **iç-ti** *çayı*.
A. **brew-PAST** and V. **drink-PAST** tea-ACC
'Ali brewed and Veli drank the tea.'

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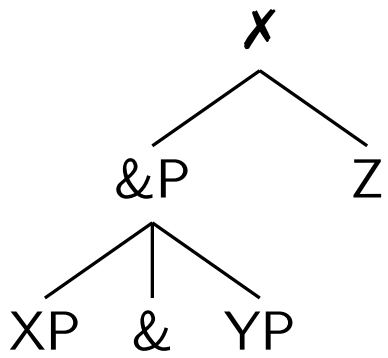

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- Each conjunct contains positions above TP.

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Ali çayı __, (ve) **Veli** kahveyi *iç-ti*.
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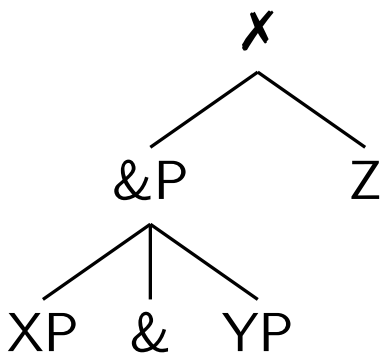

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Dün *Ayşe* __ getirdi, **bugün** de *Gülin* __ getirdi kitapları.
yesterday A. brought **today** CONTR G. brought books
'Yesterday *Ayşe* brought, and today *Gülin* brought the magazines.'

(12) *Scrambling above high subject in String-Sharing Structure*
Dün **kitapları** *Ayşe* __, **dergileri** de *Gülin* getirdi.
yesterday **books** A. **magazines** CONTR G. brought
'Yesterday *Ayşe* (brought) the books, and *Gülin* brought the magazines.'

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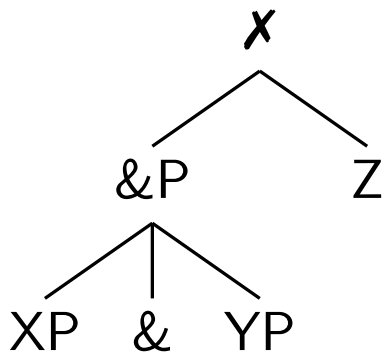

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Kitapları *bana* Ayşe __, **dergileri** =de *bana* Gülin getirdi.
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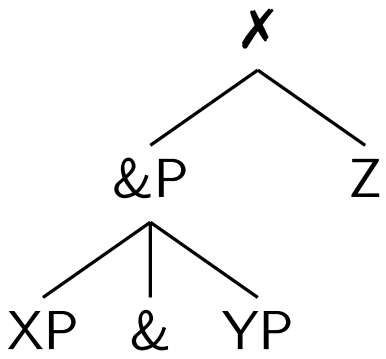

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Takeaway

conjunct size $\geq$ ContrTopP

Conjunct-internal Generation

(11) *Lexical Selection in Constituent-Sharing Structure*

Ali bıktı __, (ve) Veli de nefret etti __, **ben-den/*-i**.
Ali got_fed_up and Veli CONTR hate did 1SG-**ABL**/*-**ACC**
'Ali got fed up with __, and Veli came to hate **me**.'

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shared element originates conjunct-internally

Right Edge Restriction (RER)

(13)

a. [Ali __ içti **çay-ı**].
A. drank tea-ACC

b. *[Ali __ demledi] ve Veli **çay-ı** içti.
A. brewed and V. tea-ACC drank

c. [Ali __ demledi] ve Veli __ içti **çay-ı**.
A. brewed and V. drank tea-ACC
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Taking Stock

	String-sharing	Constituent-sharing
ContrTopP-size coordination	✓	✓
Conjunct-internal generation	✓	✓
Right Edge Restriction	✓	✓

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- Let us start with analysing the *constituent-sharing* structure
- The predictions of this analysis do not hold for the *string-sharing* structure
- *String-sharing* structures are in situ parallel merge.

Roadmap

1. Right Edge Sharing
2. Constituent-sharing structure
3. String-sharing structure
4. Linearization

Targeting Constituents

- Can target any constituent, regardless of category.

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(15) Ali bağışladı __, (ve) Veli de satti **defter-ler-in-i**.
Ali donated and Veli CONTR sold **notebook-PL-POSS-ACC**
'Ali donated, and Veli donated his notebooks.'

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(16) *Ali bağışladı kitap-__, (ve) Veli de bağışladı
Ali donated book and Veli CONTR donated
defter-**ler-in-i**.
notebook-**PL-POSS-ACC**
int'd: 'Ali donated his books, and Veli donated his notebooks.'

Island Bounded

(17) *Control: unshared sentence*

Ali bulmuş [yaz-dığ-ım mektubu **Ayşe-ye**]$_{\text{RC}}$,
A. found write-REL-1.POSS letter **Ay.-DAT**
Veli de yakmış [ada-dığ-ın şiirleri **Jale-ye**]$_{\text{RC}}$.
V. CONTR burned dedicate-REL-2.POSS poems **J.-DAT**
'Ali *found* [the letter that I wrote **to Ayşe**], and Veli *burned* [the poems you dedicated **to Jale**].'

Island Bounded

(17) *Test: sharing of relative clause-internal argument*

*Ali bulmuş [yaz-dığ-ım mektub-u __]$_{RC}$,
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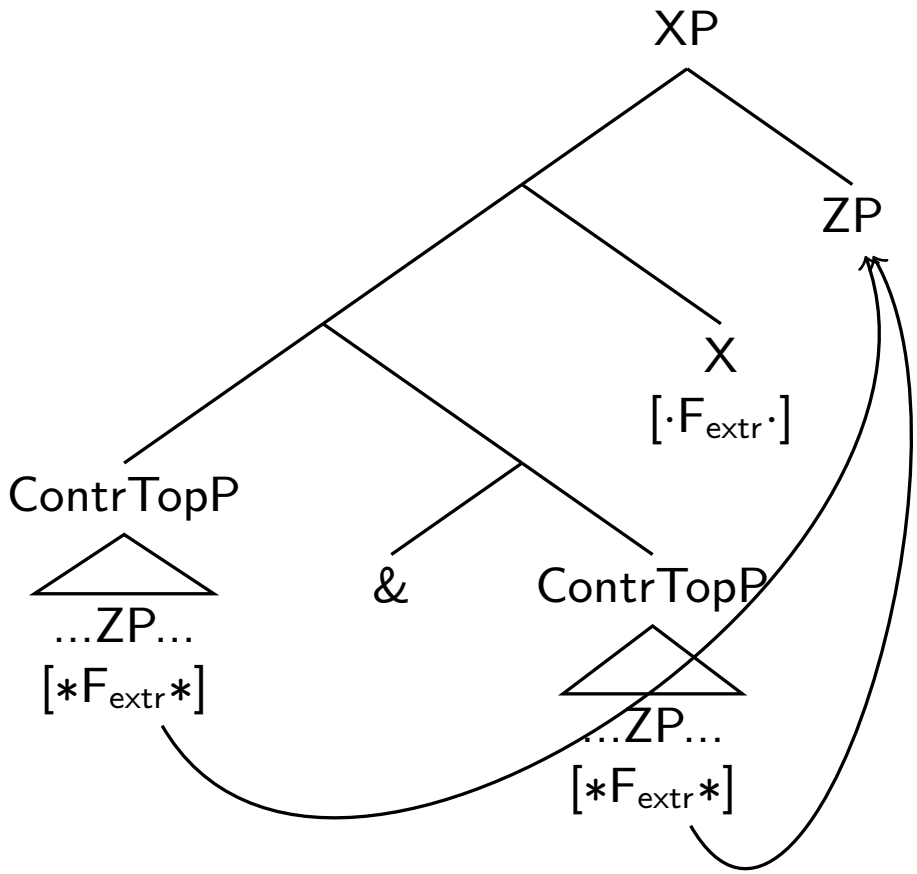
Ayşe-ye.
Ay.-DAT
int'd: 'Ali *found* [the letter that I wrote to **Ayşe**], and Veli *burned* [the poems you dedicated to **Ayşe**].

Analysis: Across-the-board Extraction

- Across-the-board movement (Ross, 1967; Sabbagh, 2007)
- category-agnostic, targets any argument/adjunct
  $\Rightarrow$ $\bar{\text{A}}$-movement triggered by [F_{extr}].
- Assuming rightward extraposition, but remnant movement account also possible.

Analysis: Across-the-board Extraction



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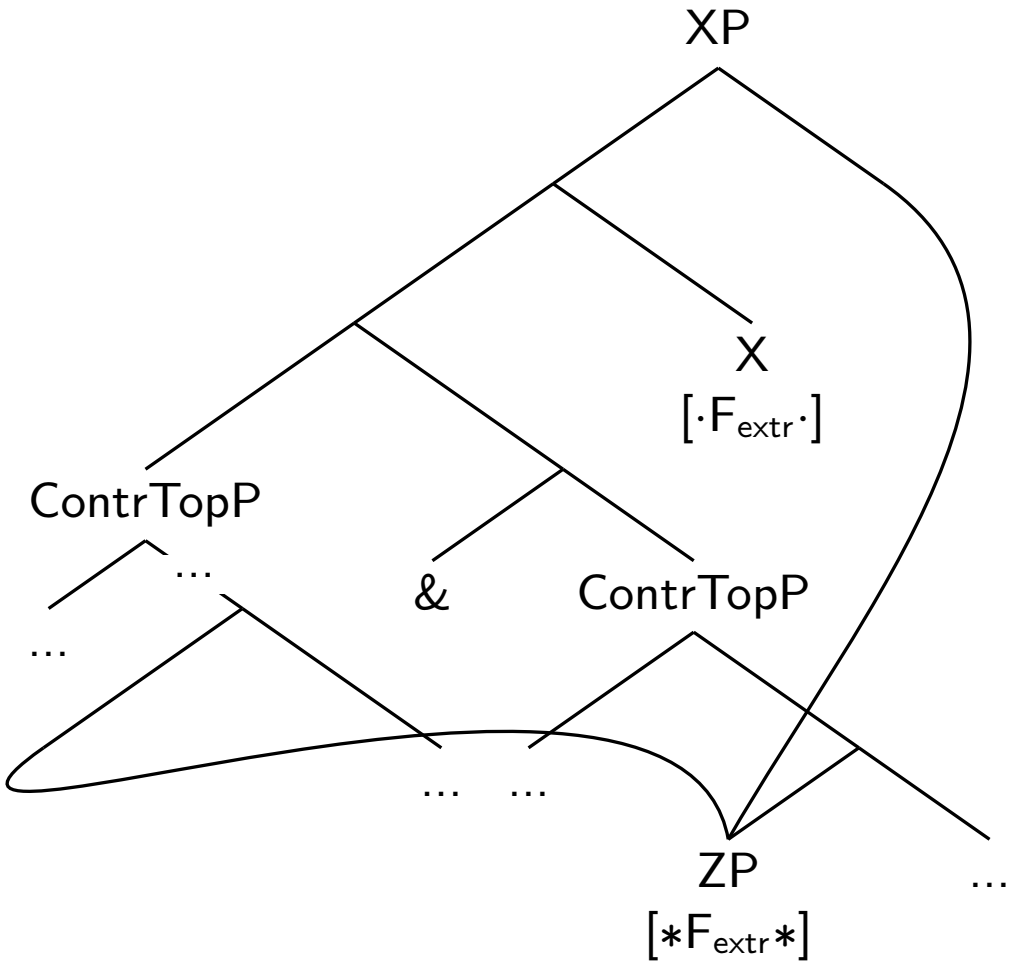

Deriving the RER

(18)

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   A. drank tea

b. *[Ali __ demledi] ve Veli **çay** içti.
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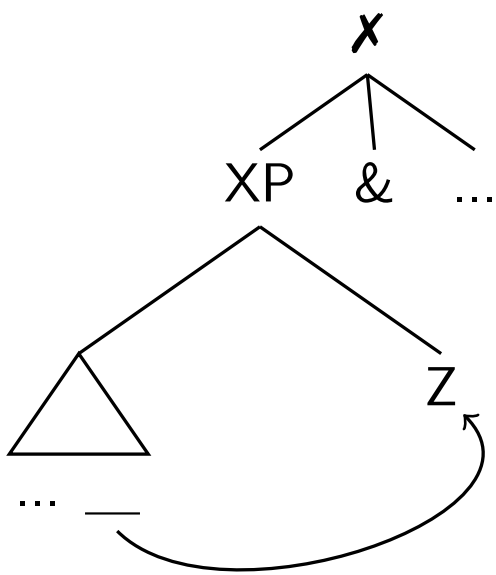

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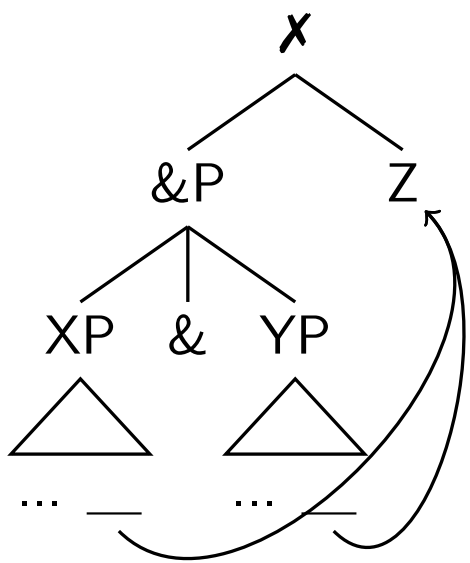

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Non-constituent target		✗
Bound by islands		✓

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Right Edge Restriction	✓	✓
Target	pred + adjacent	any constituent
Non-constituent target	✓	✗
Bound by islands	✗	✓

Roadmap

1. Right Edge Sharing
2. Constituent-sharing structure
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4. Linearization

Targeting Strings

(21) Ali ünlü bir şair-in kitab-ın-ı al-mak
Ali famous one poet-GEN book-3.POSS-ACC buy-INF
isti-yor=**Ø-du**,
want-PROG=**COP-PAST**
Veli de ünlü bir tarihçi-nin kitab-ın-ı
Veli CONTR famous one historian-GEN book-3.POSS-ACC
al-mak isti-yor=**Ø-du**.
buy-INF want-PROG=**COP-PAST**
'Ali wanted to buy the book of a famous poet, and Veli wanted to buy the book of a famous historian.'

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al-mak isti-yor=Ø-du.
buy-INF want-PROG=COP-PAST
'Ali wanted to buy the book of a famous poet, and Veli wanted to buy the book of a famous historian.'

Targeting Strings

(21) ?Ali ünlü bir şair-in kitap-__-__ __ __,
Ali famous one poet-GEN book

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Targeting Strings

Takeaway

can share any string of (identical) adjacent morphemes from right edge

Unbounded by Islands

(21) *Control: unshared sentence*

Ali [[Fransız **yazar-lar-ın** **yaz-dığ-ı**]$_{\text{RC}}$ **roman-lar-ı**]$_{\text{DP}}$
A. French **writer-PL-GEN** **write-REL-POSS** **novel-PL-ACC**
sev-iyor, ve
like-PROG and
Veli de [[Alman **yazar-lar-ın** **yaz-dığ-ı**]$_{\text{RC}}$
V. CONTR german **writer-PL-GEN** **write-REL-POSS**
roman-lar-ı]$_{\text{DP}}$ **sev-iyor**.
novel-PL-ACC **like-PROG**
'Ali likes (novels that) French (authors wrote), and Veli likes novels that German authors wrote.'

Unbounded by Islands

(22) *Test: sharing material crossing relative clause boundary*

Ali [[Fransız __ __]$_{\text{RC}}$ __]$_{\text{DP}}$ __, ve
A. French and

Veli de [[Alman **yazar-lar-ın** **yaz-dığ-ı**]$_{\text{RC}}$
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Analysis: In-situ Parallel Merge

- Sensitive to strings of morphemes $\Rightarrow$ PF-interface

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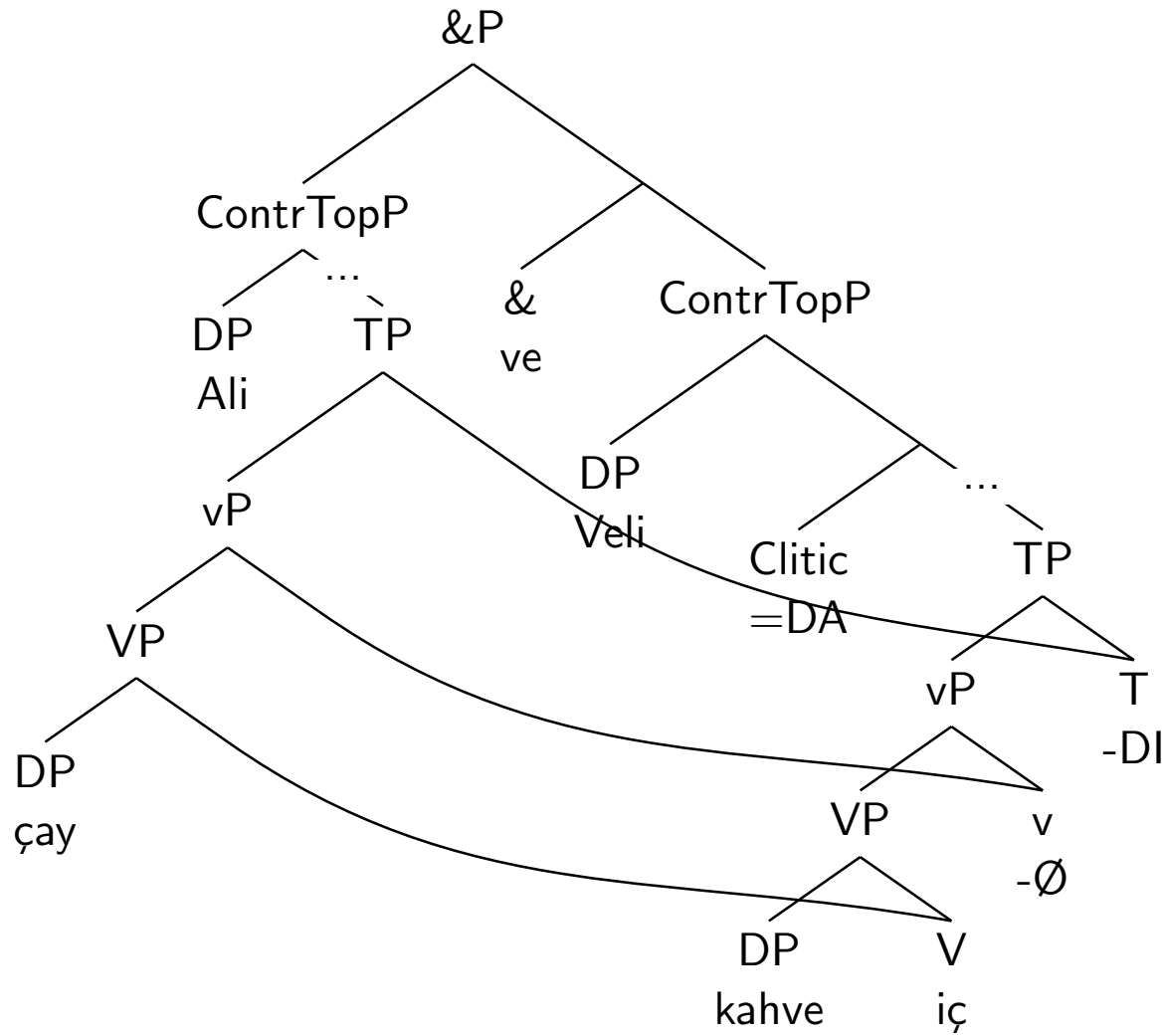
I propose:

- Shared elements are parallel merged nodes,
- Parallel merged nodes stay in-situ,
- Linearization of sisters is controlled by a direction-sensitive *Sister Linearization Principle*.

Analysis: In-situ Parallel Merge

(23) Ali çay __ ve Veli de kahve **içti**.
A. tea and V. CONTR coffee drank



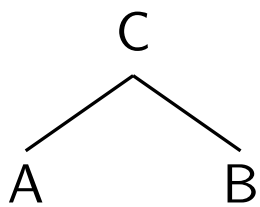
Roadmap

1. Right Edge Sharing
2. Constituent-sharing structure
3. String-sharing structure
4. Linearization

Sister Linearization Principle

(24) a. *Sister Linearization Principle*:
Given the structure in (b), all terminal nodes **completely dominated** by A in C, precede all terminals **dominated** by B.

b.



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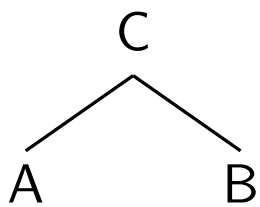
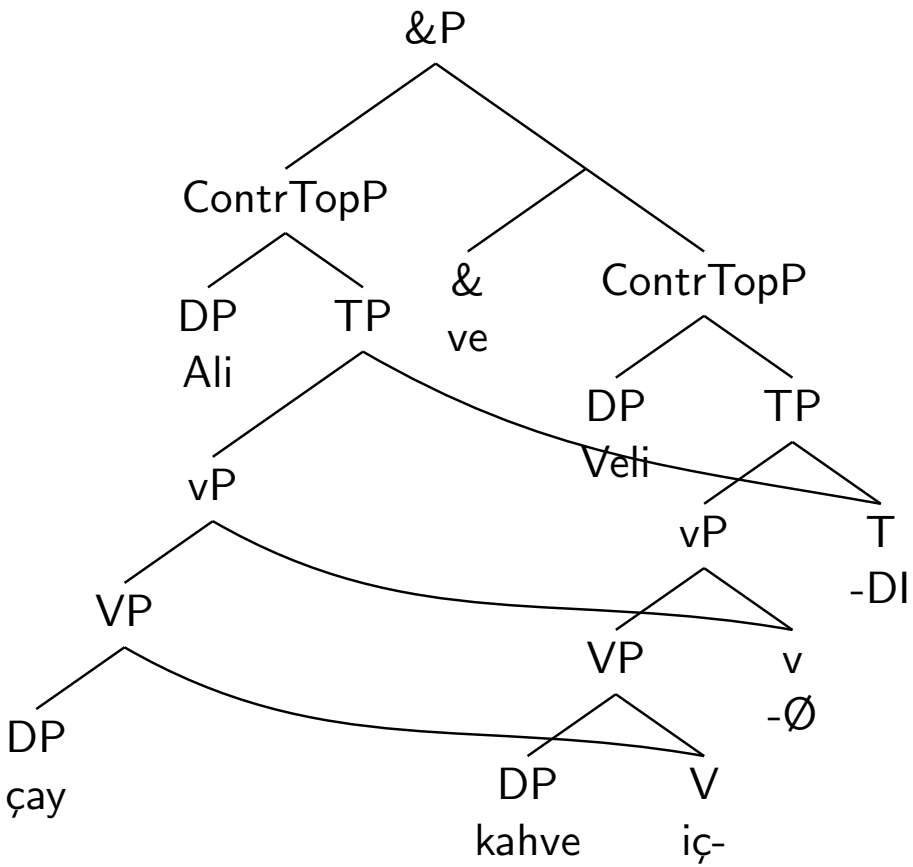


(25) *Complete Domination*: A node α completely dominates a node β in γ iff

a. γ dominates α and β,

b. and every path from β to γ contains α.

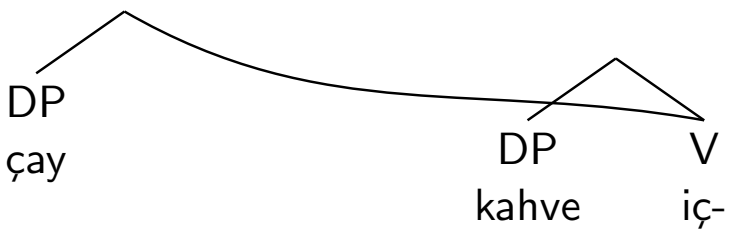
Example Derivation



Example Derivation

$$\textit{çay} < \textit{iç-}$$

$$\textit{kahve} < \textit{iç-}$$

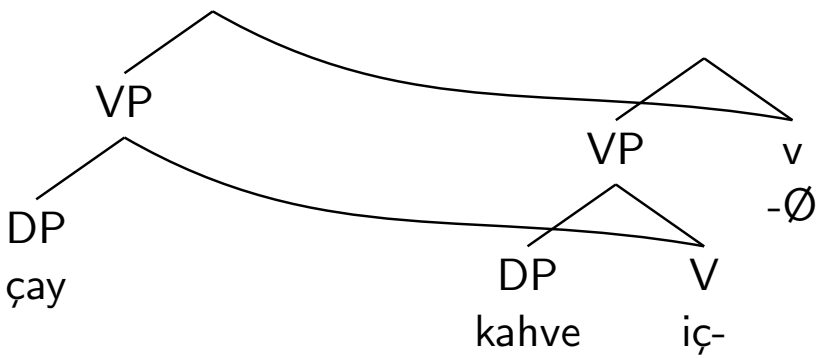


$$\{\textit{çay}, \textit{kahve}\} < \textit{iç-}$$

Example Derivation

$\{$*çay*, *iç-*$\} <$ -Ø

$\{$*kahve*, *iç-*$\} <$ -Ø

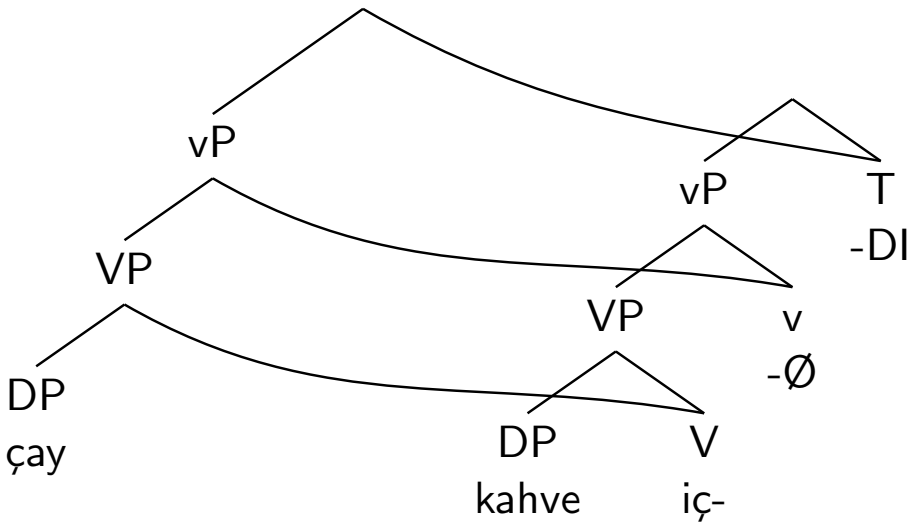


$\{$*çay*, *kahve*$\} <$ *iç-* $<$ -Ø

Example Derivation

$\{$*çay*, *iç-*, *-Ø*$\} <$ *-DI*

$\{$*kahve*, *iç-*, *-Ø*$\} <$ *-DI*

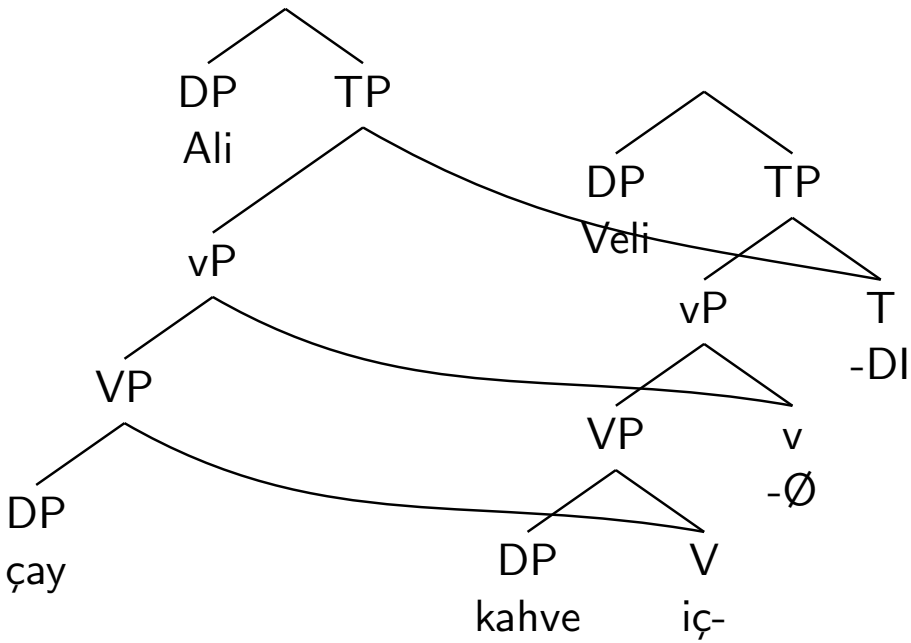


$\{$*çay*, *kahve*$\} <$ *iç-* $<$ *-Ø* $<$ *-DI*

Example Derivation

$Ali < \{çay,\ iç\text{-},\ \text{-}Ø,\ \text{-}DI\}$

$Veli < \{kahve,\ iç\text{-},\ \text{-}Ø,\ \text{-}DI\}$

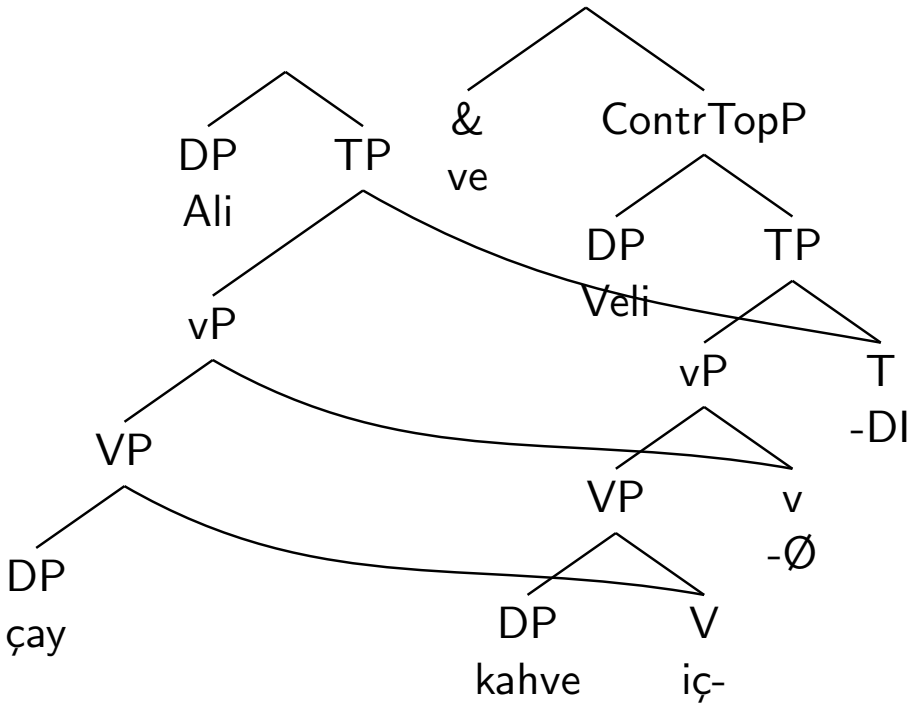


$\{Ali,\ Veli,\ çay,\ kahve\} < iç\text{-} < \text{-}Ø < \text{-}DI$

$Ali < çay\ ,\ Veli < kahve$

Example Derivation

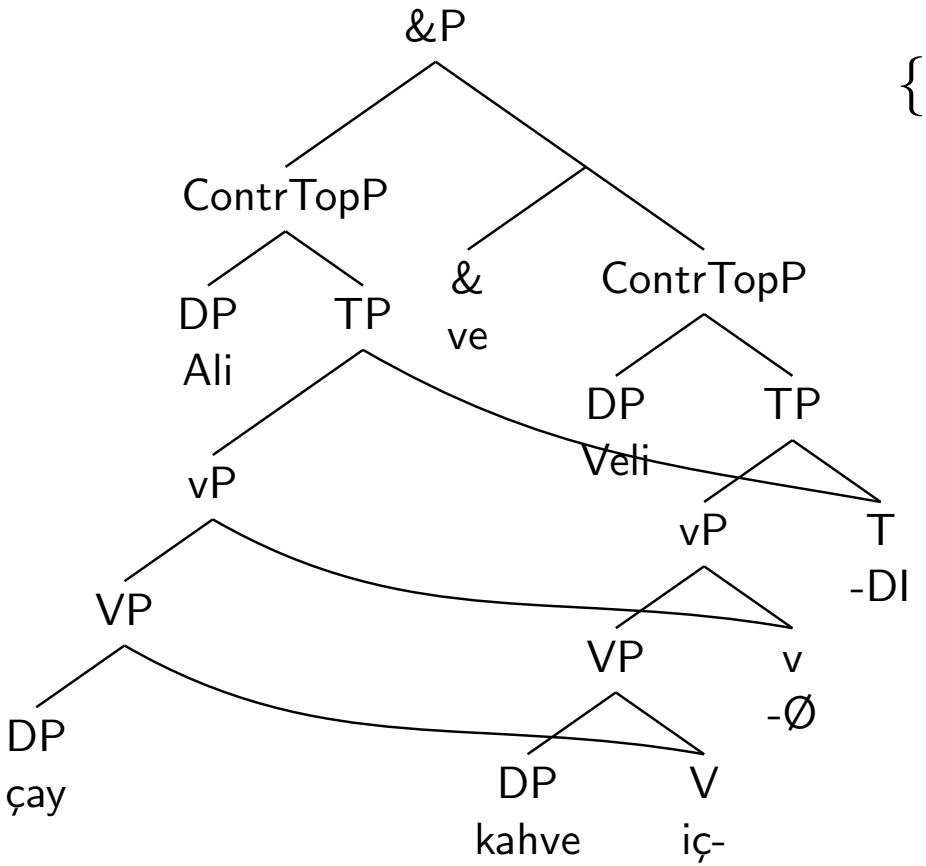
$ve < \{Veli,\ kahve,\ iç\text{-},\ \text{-}Ø,\ \text{-}DI\}$



$\{Ali,\ Veli,\ ve,\ çay,\ kahve\} < iç\text{-} < \text{-}Ø < \text{-}DI$

$Ali < çay\ ,\ ve < Veli < kahve$

Example Derivation



$\{$**Ali, çay**$\}$ <$\{$*ve, Veli, kahve, iç-, -Ø, -DI*$\}$

Ali < *çay* < *ve* < *Veli* < *kahve* < *iç-* < *-Ø* < *-DI*

Why is the right sister special?

- no Left Edge String-Sharing structures in Turkish, contra Bachrach and Katzir, 2009, 2017

(26)
a. *kitap-çı ve __-lık
book-seller and __-thing
int'd: 'the bookseller and the bookcase'
b. *Kitap-çı __-lık-lar-ı sildi.
book-seller __-thing-PL-ACC wipe-PAST
int'd: 'The bookseller wiped the bookcases.'
c. *na:-mümkün ve __-mükemmel
NEG-possible and __-perfect
int'd: 'impossible and imperfect'

- Empirically, right edge appears to be special.

- Why? Still mysterious... but for later work.

References

Bachrach, Asaf and Roni Katzir (2009). "Right-node raising and delayed spellout". In: *Interphases: Phase-theoretic investigations of linguistic interfaces*. — (2017). "Linearizing structures". In: *Syntax* 20.1. Citko, Barbara (2017). "Right Node Raising". In: *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Second Edition*. John Wiley Sons, Ltd. ISBN: 9781118358733. — (2018). "On the relationship between forward and backward gapping". In: *Syntax* 21.1. Gračanin-Yüksek, Martina (2007). "About sharing". PhD thesis. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Kelepir, Meltem (2001). "Topics in Turkish syntax: Clausal structure and scope". PhD thesis. MIT. Kornfilt, Jaklin (1996). "On Copular Clitic Forms in Turkish". In: *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 6. Öztürk, Balkız (2005). "Pseudo-incorporation of agents". In: *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 11.1. Ross, John Robert (1967). "Constraints on variables in syntax". PhD thesis. MIT. Sabbagh, Joseph (2007). "Ordering and linearizing rightward movement". In: *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 25.2. Zanon, Ksenia (2014). "On the Status of TP in Turkish". In: *Studies in Polish Linguistics* 9.3.

Roadmap

1. Right Edge Sharing
2. Constituent-sharing structure
3. String-sharing structure
4. Linearization

Cannot Move Right + Parallel Merge!

(27) *Ungrammatical suffix sharing on extraposed argument*

*Ali $\_\__i$ satın aldı [kitap-$\_\__j$]$_i$, Veli de kaybetti
A. buy-PAST book V. CONTR lose-PAST
kitab-**1**$_j$.
book-ACC.
'Ali bought, and Veli lost the book.'

- Claim: Elements strictly containing parallel merged elements cannot (overtly) move
- Solution: Internal merge has to reconstruct for elements containing parallel merged nodes (cf. low copy spellout).

Move Right + Parallel Merge?

Move Right + Parallel Merge?

- Until now:

Move Right + Parallel Merge?

- Until now:
  - Predicate + adjacent = *string sharing*

Move Right + Parallel Merge?

- Until now:
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  - Argument = *constituent sharing*

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- Hypothetical: What about parallel merged affixes on an argument + conjunct-internal rightward extraposition?

Move Right + Parallel Merge?

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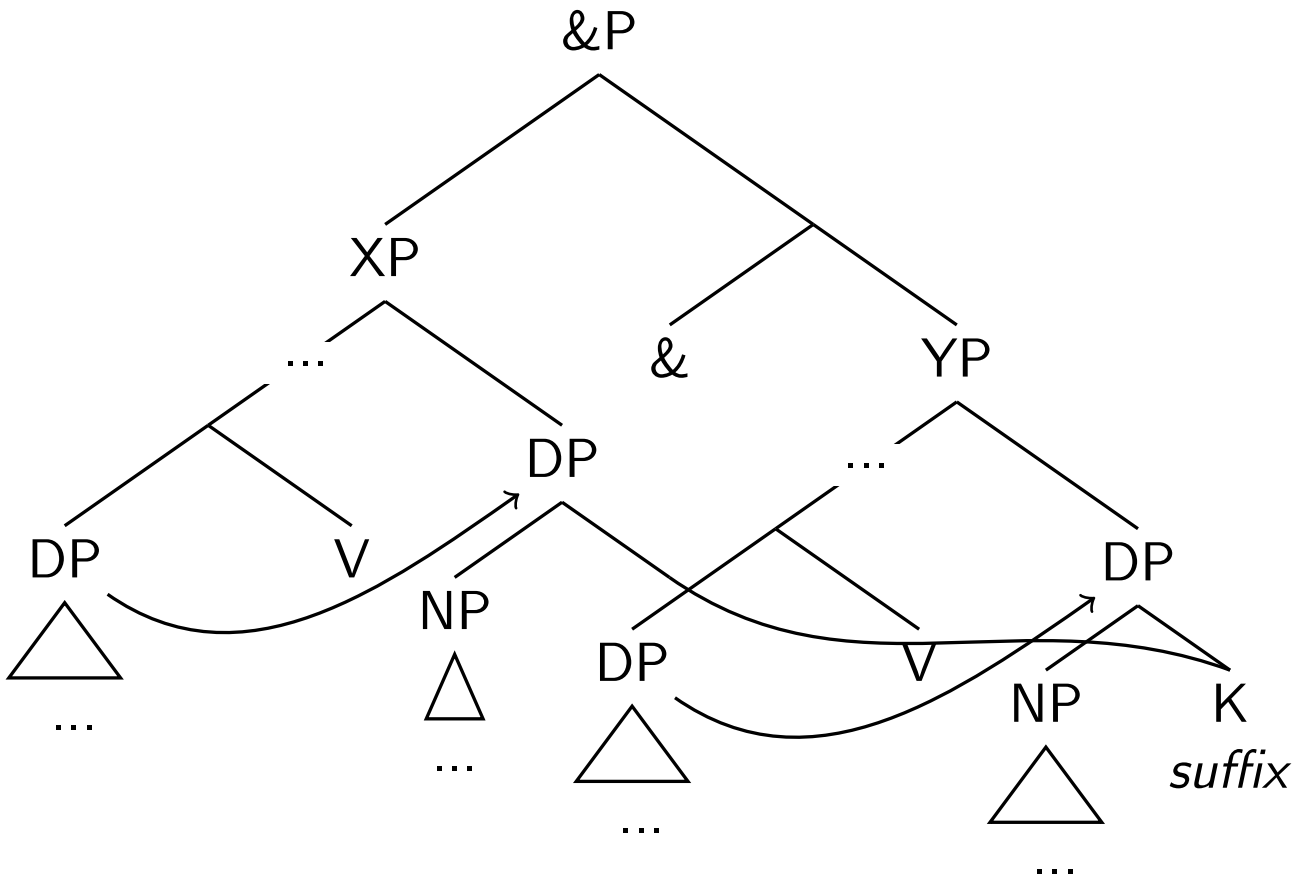
- Hypothetical: What about parallel merged affixes on an argument + conjunct-internal rightward extraposition?

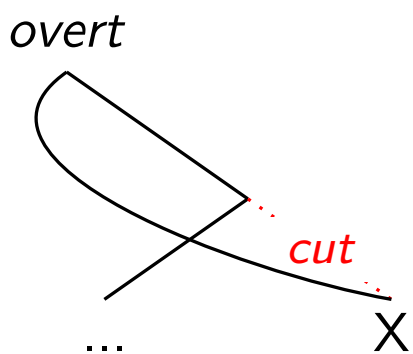


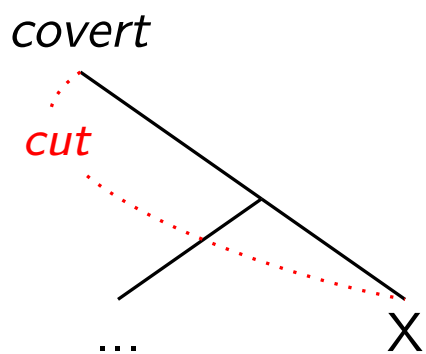
Linearization of Internal Merge

(28) *Branch Pruning* (1st pass, cf. basic copy deletion)
Sever a connection from an internally moved node to immediately dominating node(s) in the PF-interface representation for:

a. *covert movement*: all branches expect the mother on the longest *path* to the root,

b. *overt movement*: all branches expect the mother on the shortest *path* to the root.





Linearization Definitions

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Given the structure in (b), all terminal nodes **completely dominated** by A in C, precede all terminals **dominated** by B.

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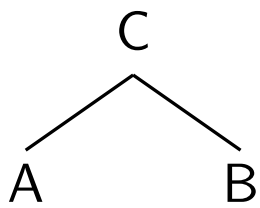


(30) *Domination*: A node α dominates a node β iff

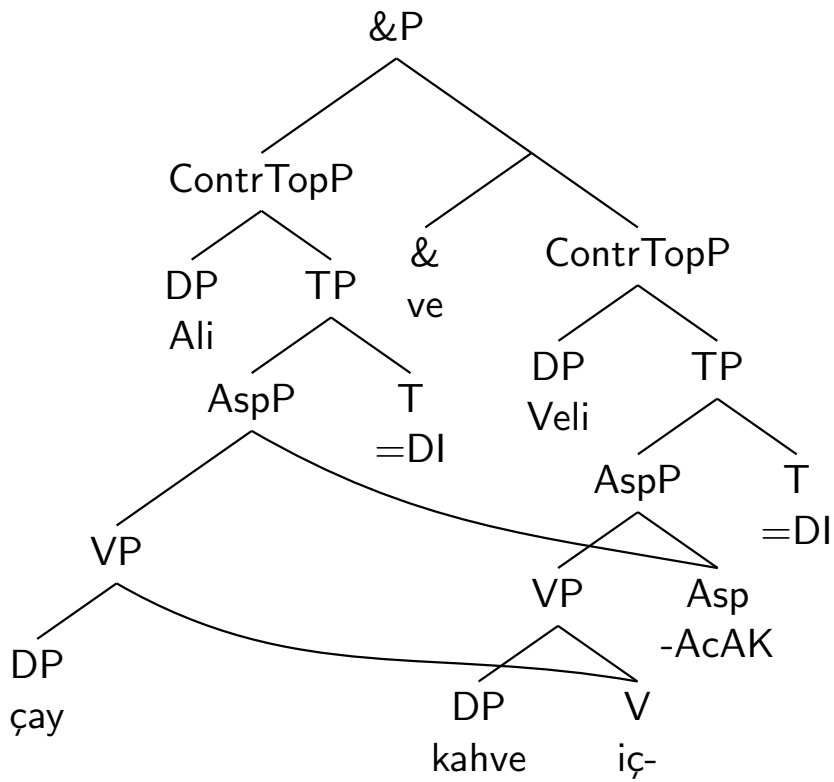
a. α is the mother of β, or
b. α dominates a node γ such that γ dominated β, or
c. $\alpha = \beta$.

(31) *Complete Domination*: A node α completely dominates a node β in γ iff

a. γ dominates α and β,
b. and every path from β to γ contains α.

Example RER-Violation Derivation

(32) *Ali çay __=ti, ve Veli kahve **iç-ecek**=ti.
A. tea =PAST and V. coffee **drink-FUT**=PAST



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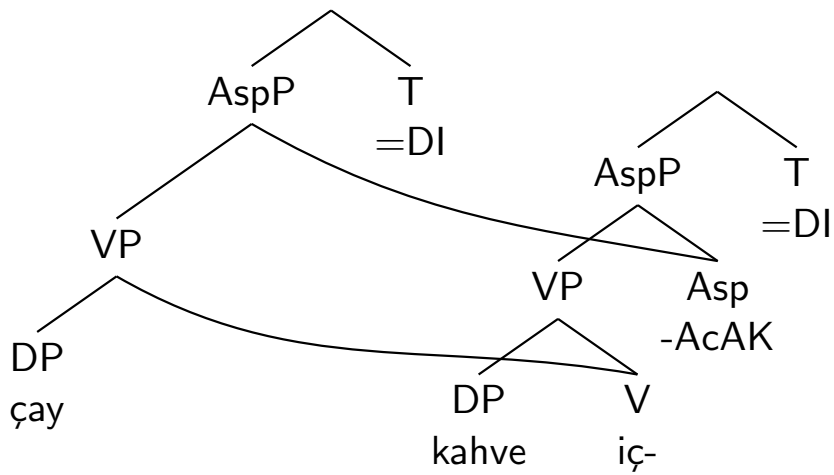
$\{$*çay*, *iç-*, *-AcAK*$\}$ < *=DI*

$\{$*kahve*, *iç-*, *-AcAK*$\}$ < *=DI*



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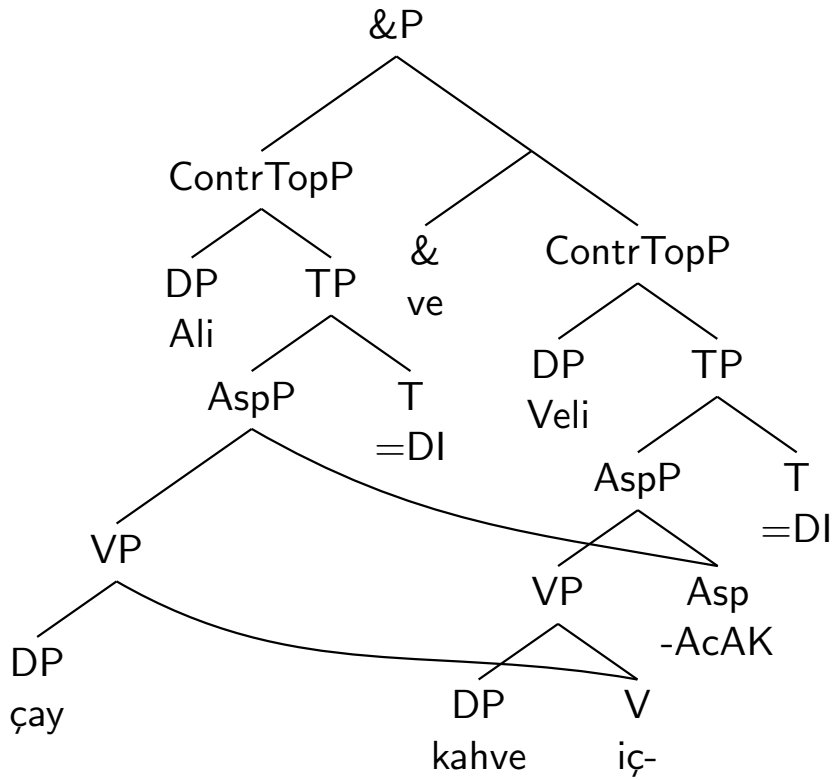


$$\ldots$$

$$\{\textit{çay}, \underline{\textit{iç-}}, \underline{\textit{-AcAK}}\} < \underline{\textit{=DI}}$$

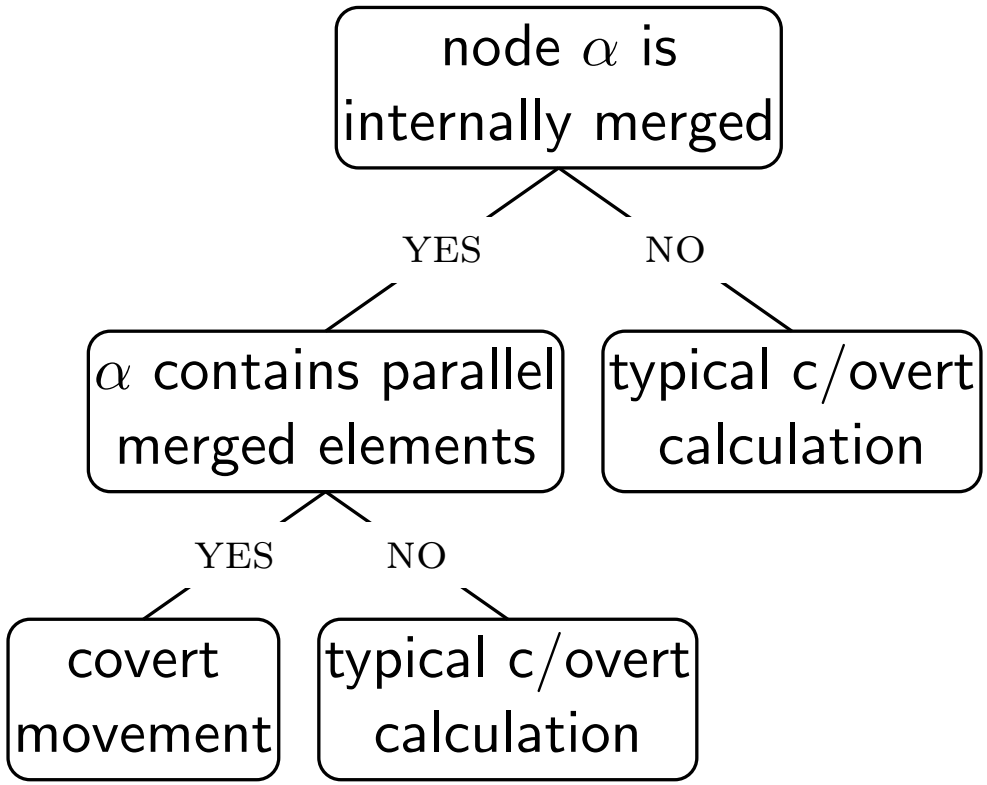
$$\{\textit{kahve}, \underline{\textit{iç-}}, \underline{\textit{-AcAK}}\} < \underline{\textit{=DI}}$$

$$\ldots$$

$$\{\textit{Ali}, \textit{çay}, \underline{\textit{-DI}}\} <$$

$$\{\textit{ve}, \textit{Veli}, \textit{kahve}, \underline{\textit{iç-}}, \underline{\textit{-AcAk}}, \textit{=DI}\}$$

Linearization of Parallel Merge



Why not LCA Linearization?

- Citko, 2017, 2018; Gračanin-Yüksek, 2007 require remnant movement of all arguments to positions above parallel merged predicate (asymmetric c-command ⇒ precedence).
- bare objects cannot move without pragmatic & phonological effects in Turkish (Öztürk, 2005, a.o.)
- bare objects can survive in *string-sharing* structure without such effects ⇒ no remnant movement

(33) Ali **çay** __, ve Veli de **kahve** iç-ti.
A. tea and V. CONTR coffee drink-PAST
'Ali tea-drank, and Veli coffee-drank.'