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The Syntax of Conjunct Extraposition
Conjunct Extraposition

Imke Driemel

Conjunct extraposition refers to a discontinuous coordinate structure in which the first and the last conjunct are separated by some intervening material. German conjunct extraposition can occur with singular as well as plural agreement. This paper argues for an ellipsis approach with an underlying bi-clausal structure and subsequent deletion of the redundant material at PF. Plural agreement is caused by multiple dominance: the probe is shared between the two conjuncts and subsequently needs to move out in order to be linearized. Evidence for this proposal comes from word order variations, reciprocal verbs, and sloppy identity effects, among others.

1. Introduction

Conjunct extraposition[1] (CE) refers to a discontinuous coordinate structure in which the first and the last conjunct are separated by some intervening material and the last conjunct and the coordinator occur at the end of the sentence. CE can be observed in German, shown in (1), as well as in English, shown in (2). The sentence in (1) provides an example for subject coordination while the sentence in (2) shows object coordination.

(1) Hans ist gestern angekommen und Bernd.
Hans be.3SG yesterday arrived and Bernd
'Hans and Bernd arrived yesterday.'

(2) John bought a book yesterday, and a newspaper. (Munn 1993:15)

There are two kinds of analyses for conjunct extraposition: a movement account and an ellipsis account. The movement approach, e.g. Müller (1995) or Büring & Hartmann (1997), analyzes CE as rightward movement and subsequent adjunction of the coordinator and the last conjunct to TP or CP. In contrast, the ellipsis account takes CE to be *Bare Argument Ellipsis* (BAE)

[1] I will refer to extraposition as a purely phenomenal term since it is a common way to address this construction. Conjunct extraposition is thus used independently of any underlying theory.

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or *Stripping*, and assumes an underlying bi-clausal structure with subsequent deletion of the redundant material at PF (Zhang 2009; Winkler 2005; Konietzko & Winkler 2010).
For CE involving coordinated subjects like in (1) an ellipsis approach is clearly favored since the finite verb shows singular agreement which can only be derived if the the verb agrees with each subject on its own. A movement approach predicts plural agreement on the verb since both subjects are first-merged in one complex coordinate phrase. Prinzhorn & Schmitt (2010) observe that CE is possible with plural agreement, see (3)-(4), but only if no conjunct precedes the finite verb, see (5)-(6).

(3) Gestern sind der Hans angekommen und der Bernd.
yesterday be.3PL the Hans arrived and the Bernd
'Yesterday Hans arrived, and Bernd.' (Prinzhorn & Schmitt 2010:166)

(4) Gestern haben der Hans gehustet und der Bernd.
yesterday have.3PL the Hans coughed and the Bernd
'Yesterday Hans coughed, and Bernd.' (Prinzhorn & Schmitt 2010:177)

(5) *Der Hans sind gestern angekommen und der Bernd.
the Hans be.3PL yesterday arrived and the Bernd
'Yesterday Hans arrived, and Bernd.' (Prinzhorn & Schmitt 2010:166)

(6) *Der Hans haben gestern gehustet und der Bernd.
the Hans have.3PL yesterday coughed and the Bernd
'Yesterday Hans coughed, and Bernd.' (Prinzhorn & Schmitt 2010:177)

One piece of data that exemplifies the whole range of similar phenomena that will be discussed in this paper concerns plural agreement on possessive pronouns as it is shown in (7) and (8): The possessive pronoun *ihre* can refer to a feminine singular individual (here possibly a referent mentioned in the preceding context) or a plural individual (here Hans and Bernd). Both readings are available in (7) but only the former is possible in (8).

(7) Ihre$_{i+j}$ Mutter haben gestern nur der Hans$_i$ angerufen und der Bernd$_j$.
POSS.3PL mother have.3PL yesterday only the Hans called and the Bernd
'Yesterday only Hans called their mother, and Bernd.'
(Prinzhorn & Schmitt 2010:180)

(8) *Gestern haben nur der Hans$_i$ ihre$_{i+j}$ Mutter angerufen und der Bernd$_j$.
yesterday have.3PL only the Hans POSS.3PL mother called and the Bernd
'Yesterday only Hans called their mother, and Bernd.'
(Prinzhorn & Schmitt 2010:180)

The ellipsis analysis runs into problems as soon as the verb or a possessive pronoun show plural agreement.[2] Consequently, both the movement and the ellipsis approach cannot account for

[2]The term *agreement* will be used here in the sense of Corbett (2006), referring to some systematic covariance between a property of a controller and a property of a target. With respect to verb agreement the syntactic operation *Agree*, i.e. *Feature-Copying*, applies. In contrast, agreement of a possessive pronoun with its antecedent is due to *binding*. Following Heim (2008), φ-features are transmitted onto the pronoun under variable binding which in turn requires syntactic binding, i.e. c-command. Since the controllers given so far are non-quantificational, the examples

the whole set of data. This observation led Prinzhorn & Schmitt (2010) to propose a mixed movement/ellipsis analysis for conjunct extraposition in which CE with singular agreement is analysed as ellipsis and CE with plural agreement as rightward movement. However, what they notice but fail to explain is why the sentences in (5), (6), and (8) are judged unacceptable even though they are only minimally distinct from their acceptable counterparts.

A further problem that a movement-only approach has to face is its potential violation of the *Coordinate Structure Constraint* (CSC) (Ross 1967), which states that neither a single conjunct nor part of a single conjunct can be extracted out of a coordinate structure. The CSC is violated if we assume rightward movement for the coordinator and the second conjunct in (3)-(8).[3] An ellipsis-only approach prevents violations of the CSC by assuming a coordination of clauses instead of a coordination of DPs.

The movement approach will be examined in detail with respect to the plural agreement cases in section 2. I will show that no version of the movement accounts proposed so far is able to account for the whole set of data in (3)-(6). In order to cover the whole set of data an ellipsis account will be proposed in section 3, which additionally makes use of *Multi-Dominance* (MD) along the lines of Citko (2005) and Grosz (2015). With the help of MD the proposed account is able to provide an explanation for the plural agreement cases in (3), (4), and (7). The ungrammaticality in (5), (6), and (8) will be analyzed as a a violation of the CSC so that the hybrid MD/ellipsis account acts in total accordance with the CSC. In section 4, I show how the hybrid account can derive the commonly observed ban on conjunct topicalization. Furthermore, I will look at additional evidence concerning interpretation with respect to strict/sloppy identity, relational adjectives, summative quantifiers, and collective predicates.

The discussion will mainly focus on German since English requires a strict SVO word order. Furthermore, only subject coordination will be discussed since it provides the interesting agreement features. Object conjunct extraposition is taken to be a simple case of BAE as well, but will not be discussed any further.

2. *Conjunct Extraposition as Movement*

In the following section I will present three possible movement analyses for CE structures with plural agreement, shown in (3) and (4). None of the accounts will be able to provide an explanation for the unacceptability of (5) and (6) which are only minimally distinct from (3) and (4). In order to provide a movement account, the structure of coordination itself has to be discussed. The coordinator and the last conjunct are only able to move if they form a maximal projection. The consequences of this account will be discussed in the next section.

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below show that the same observations can be made with quantifiers as well.

(i) *Gestern haben [ein Mitarbeiter]$_i$ ihren$_{i+j}$ (gemeinsamen) Chef angerufen und [ein Praktikant]$_j$.
yesterday have.3PL an employee POSS.3PL (same) boss called and an intern
'Yesterday an employee called their boss, and an intern.'

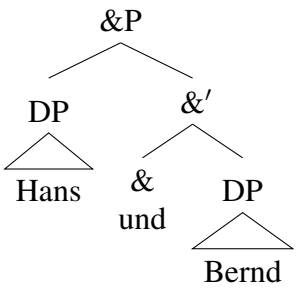
(ii) Ihren$_{i+j}$ (gemeinsamen) Chef haben gestern [ein Mitarbeiter]$_i$ angerufen und [ein Praktikant]$_j$.
POSS.3PL (same) boss have.3PL yesterday an employee called and an intern
'Yesterday an employee called their boss, and an intern.'

[3] See Hartmann (2000) for evidence that the CSC not only holds for leftward but also for rightward movement.

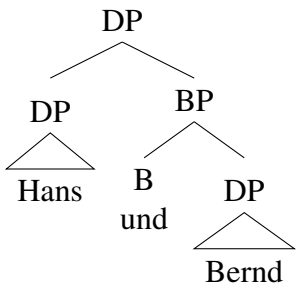
2.1. The Structure of the Coordinate Phrase

Under the well established assumption that the coordinate phrase is binary branching (Munn 1987; Ross 1967; Dik 1968; Kayne 1994), there are two competing analyses for the inner structure of a coordination. The first approach in (9) assumes a structure in which the coordinate phrase constitutes a functional projection (&P) with the coordinator being the head, the first conjunct situated in the specifier position and the second in the complement position (Wilder 1994; Johannessen 1998; Zhang 2009). In contrast, the analysis in (10) assumes that the second conjunct forms an independent phrase (*boolean phrase*) with the coordinator as the head, which then adjoins to the first conjunct. This structure was first proposed by Munn (1993) and then adopted e.g. by Hartmann (2000) and Bošković & Franks (2000).

(9) Functional Projection:



(10) Adjunction:



The main argument against adjunction stems from the unacceptability of topicalized BPs (Zhang 2009:22), shown in (11): the second conjunct and the coordinator cannot move as a whole, which is unexpected if they form a phrase. In (9) they are analyzed as an intermediate projection, the inability to topicalize is therefore expected (example originally taken from Postal (1998)).

(11) a. [Tall and slim]$_i$ though Helen is t$_i$ ...
b. *[and slim]$_i$ though Helen is [tall t$_i$] ... (Postal 1998:191)

The same observation can be made with respect to German.

(12) *[und der Bernd]$_i$ sind gestern der Hans t$_i$ angekommen
and the Bernd be.3PL yesterday the Hans arrived
'Hans and Bernd have arrived yesterday.'

Two arguments can be given in favor of the adjunction approach: one is based on c-selection and the other one is related to the coordination of unlike categories. If we assume a structure such as the one in (9) many if not all verbs should be able to select for an &P which would increase the size of each lexical entry so that they potentially take up more space in the lexicon. This additional assumption can be avoided with the adjunction structure since the whole coordination is of the same category as the first conjunct (see Munn 1993:22). Furthermore, there are data that suggests the possibility of a head only selecting for one conjunct, see (13). The sentence in (13-b) is ungrammatical because the preposition cannot merge with a CP. Interestingly, (13-c) is fine. What (13-a) and (13-c) have in common is that the CP is not a sister of the preposition

on but is adjoined elsewhere (Munn 1993:80). The data in (13) can be easily explained if we assume that the second conjunct is only adjoined to the first and therefore does not influence the syntactic behaviour of the whole coordination.

(13) a. You can depend on my assistant and that he will be on time.
b. *You can depend on that he will be on time.
c. That he will be on time you can depend on. (Munn 1993:80)

In the following section I will use the adjunction account in (10) to try to analyze the plural agreement CE data, shown in (3)-(8), with different versions of a movement-only approach. No version will be able to fully account for the data without violating basic syntactic principles.

2.2. Rightward Movement as a last step

The sentences in (5) and (6) are minimally distinct from the sentences in (3) and (4) in that the first conjunct is moved to the specifier of CP in the former but not in the latter. A plausible account for the ungrammaticality of (5) and (6) can be given in terms of a *freezing effect*, after which extraction out of an already moved phrase is prohibited[4] (Ross 1967; Culicover & Wexler 1977). The ban on subextraction plays a role in a number of cases independent of whether it takes place from a leftward moved (Müller 2001) or rightward moved (Büring & Hartmann 1997) constituent.

One could argue that the extraction of the BP in (5) and (6) leads to a violation of the freezing constraint since the coordinate phrase has already undergone movement to spec,TP and spec,CP. The structure for (6) is given in (14).

(14) *Hans haben gestern gehustet und Bernd.
Hans have.3PL yesterday coughed and Bernd
'Yesterday Hans coughed, and Bernd.'
$\rightsquigarrow$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{CP}$ [Hans ⟨*und Bernd*⟩] ... [$_{TP}$ ⟨*Hans und Bernd*⟩ ... [$_{vP}$ ⟨*Hans und Bernd*⟩ ...]]] [$_{BP}$ und Bernd]]

However, the same reasoning applies to grammatical (3) and (4) since the coordinate phrase nevertheless moves to spec,TP before extraction takes place. Thus, freezing cannot be responsible for the difference in grammaticality. The structure for (4) is given in (15).

(15) Gestern haben der Hans gehustet und der Bernd.
yesterday have.3PL the Hans coughed and the Bernd
'Yesterday Hans coughed, and Bernd.'
$\rightsquigarrow$ [$_{CP}$ gestern ... [$_{TP}$ [$_{TP}$ [Hans ⟨*und Bernd*⟩] ... [$_{vP}$ ⟨*Hans und Bernd*⟩ ...]] [$_{BP}$ und Bernd]]]

[4]Abels (2008) provides a more fine-grained theory of the freezing constraint in which the occurrence of a freezing effect depends (i) on the type extraction movement and (ii) on the type of movement of the phrase out of which extraction takes place. Since Abels (2008:4) bans rightward movement altogether, his ideas will not be taken into consideration here.

2.3. Rightward Movement as a first step

In order to avoid the freezing problems one could assume that extraction takes place before the coordinate phrase moves to its final landing site. However, on this assumption (14) and (15) should both be grammatical, contrary to fact. The structure in (14) is different from the structure in (15) only insofar as the coordinate phrase has to perform one more remnant movement operation.

Theories which take the type of remnant movement and the type of movement creating the remnant into account (Müller 1998; Grewendorf 2003) cannot account for the facts either. According to the *Condition of Unambiguous Domination* (Müller 1996, 1998), remnant movement cannot occur if it is of the same type as the movement that creates the remnant. The type of movements are wh-movement, topicalization, A-movement, and extraposition, among others (Müller 1998:241). Since they do not violate the Condition of Unambiguous Domination, Müller's theory predicts both (14) and (15) to be grammatical, again contrary to fact. Grewendorf (2003, 2015) builds on the assumptions of Müller (1996, 1998) but furthermore introduces a hierarchy which additionally constrains the type of movements, in that remnant movement has to be of a higher type than remnant creating movement. The hierarchy ranks movement types in the following way from high to low: *A'-movement as operator movement* $<$ *A'-movement as non-operator movement* $<$ *adjunction movement* $<$ *A-movement* (Grewendorf 2003:79). Under the assumption that extraposition is adjunction movement, (15) should be judged ungrammatical since A-movement, in this case remnant movement, ranks lower than adjunction movement, the remnant creating movement. In contrast, (14) should be judged grammatical since topicalization, a non-operator movement and in this case the remnant movement, ranks higher than adjunction movement. Thus, Grewendorf's hierarchy makes the exact opposite predictions for (14) and (15).

Looking more closely at the currently presented structure we are faced with another serious problem. As is commonly known, TPs cannot be fronted (Abels 2003; Wurmbrand 2004), in contrast to e.g. vPs, see example (16).

(16) a. ??[$_{\text{TP}}$ Gestern ein Vertreter angerufen] hat wahrscheinlich.
yesterday a.NOM salesman called has probably
'It was probably yesterday that a salesman called'

b. [$_{v\text{P}}$ Ein Vertreter angerufen] hat wahrscheinlich erst gestern.
a.NOM salesman called has probably just yesterday
'It was probably just yesterday that a salesman called.' (Wurmbrand 2004:2)

Applying this test to the CE data we can observe that the constituent to which the BP is adjoined cannot be topicalized either, see (17). This suggests that the adjunction site of the BP can be no lower than at the TP level.

(17) *[Der Pfarrer den Papst angerufen und der Bischof] haben vielleicht.
the.NOM priest the.ACC pope called and the.NOM bishop have.3PL maybe
'The priest and the bishop maybe called the pope.'

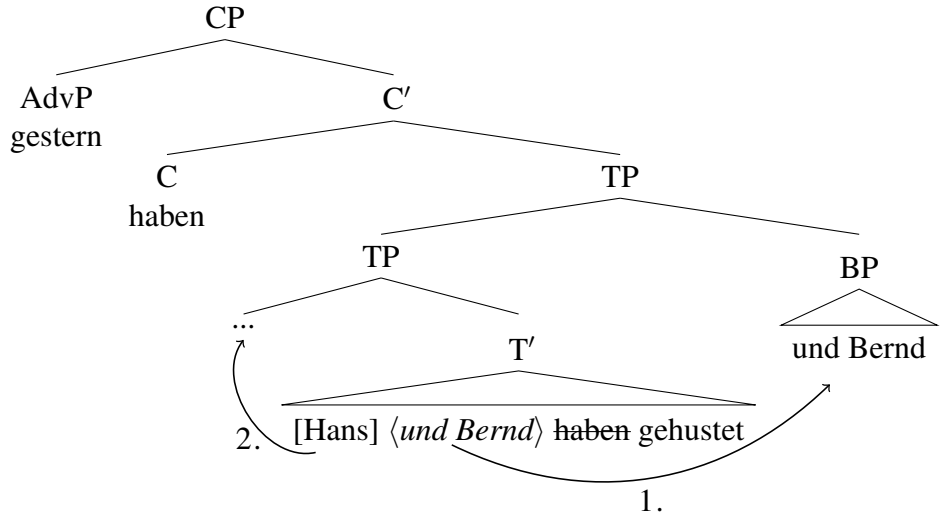
It might be objected that the ungrammaticality of (17) is due to the presence of an additional ad-

junct, i.e. the BP. However, fronted vPs are generally possible in German, even with an adjunct, see (18).

(18) [$_{vP}$ Oft [$_{vP}$ den ersten Preis gewonnen]] hat Maria in diesem Jahr.
often the.ACC first price won has Maria in this year
'Maria often won the first price this year.'

The position of the adjunction site is crucial for the analysis of conjunct extraposition. If the BP has to adjoin to TP instead of vP the current analysis violates the *Strict Cycle Condition* (SCC) (Chomsky 1973) which bars all movement lower in the tree than the highest projection. Under the assumption that rightward movement precedes leftward movement, (4) has the structure in (19). Following minimalist assumptions (Chomsky 1995), BP adjoins to TP before the TP is derived completely. Only after TP-adunction does the complex subject move to spec,TP. This constitutes a violation of the SCC and should thus result in ungrammaticality.

(19) Gestern haben Hans gehustet und Bernd.



3. The new hybrid approach to Conjunct Extraposition

Since mono-clausal movement approaches face a number of problems — not only in the plural agreement cases discussed in the preceding section but also in the more often observed case of singular agreement discussed in the introduction — I will now turn to an alternative proposal, that is, a bi-clausal ellipsis account. As already shown in the introduction, conjunct extraposition in combination with singular agreement on the verb and/or on the possessive pronoun can be analysed as a coordination of CPs with subsequent deletion of all the material except the subject in the second conjunct. The plural agreement structures will be analysed in a similar fashion albeit with one crucial addition: The lexical element which shows plural agreement, such as the verb or the possessive pronoun, is taken to be shared by both conjuncts in the coordination. The basic idea of multi-dominance will be developed in the first part of this chapter. Most importantly, the issue of linearisation has to be addressed. The second part will be dedicated to

the role of multi-dominance in the theory of CE.

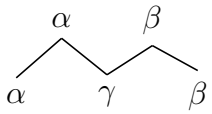
The hybrid CE approach assumes a coordinate structure in which the coordinator is the head of a functional projection. Without having to assume that the coordinator and the second conjunct have to form one constituent in order to move, the adjunction structure loses one of its main arguments. With respect to the multi-dominance structure it does not make a difference whether we assume adjunction or an &P, but the latter does provide us with the optimal environment in terms of topicalization, as we will see in section 4.

3.1. Multi-Dominance

3.1.1. An Alternative to Ellipsis and ATB-movement

Minimalist syntax defines two sub-cases of the operation *merge*: either two categories are merged which have not been in a relation before or two categories are merged and one of them contains a sub-part of the other. The former is called *external* merge, the latter *internal* merge (Chomsky 2005). Certain properties of coordination structures have shown that there might be a third sub-case called *parallel* merge in which two categories are merged that are located in different trees. The third type combines the first two sub-cases in that on the one hand the two categories, i.e. the two mothers, have not been in a relation before and on the other hand they each contain a sub-part of the other, i.e. the shared constituent (Citko 2005). The operation parallel merge is illustrated in (20).

(20) Parallel Merge:



In order to build multi-dominance trees the *Single Mother Condition* has to be loosened, according to which all nodes in a tree must be connected to one mother. An important difference between multi-dominance accounts and ellipsis accounts concerns the number of constituents. In the former there is only one constituent which is multiply shared and therefore only able to be linearized in one of the conjuncts, ultimately leaving a gap in the other. In the latter there are two constituents of which one is a deleted constituent at PF, hence causing a gap in one of the conjuncts.

Multi-dominance analyses have been developed mostly for coordination phenomena such as Right Node Raising (McCawley 1982; Goodall 1983; Muadz 1991; Moltmann 1992; Wesche 1995; Wilder 1999; Abels 2004; Wilder 2008; Gracanin-Yuksek 2007, 2013; Bachrach & Katzir 2007, 2009; Kluck 2009; de Vries 2013; Grosz 2015), Gapping (Wesche 1995; Gracanin-Yuksek 2007; Citko 2012), and ATB-*wh*-questions (Williams 1978; Goodall 1983; Moltmann 1992; Citko 2005, 2006; Gracanin-Yuksek 2007, 2013). Some subordinate structures make use of MD as well, e.g *parentheticals* (de Vries 2007) and *amalgams* (Guimarães 2004; van Riemsdijk 2006; Johnson 2013). Finally, there are also multi-dominance approaches which consider internal merge, i.e. movement, as a form of parallel merge (Starke 2001; Gärtner 2002; Framp-

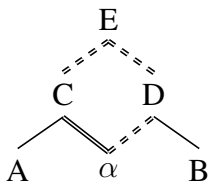
ton 2004; Gracanin-Yuksek 2007, 2013; Bachrach & Katzir 2007, 2009). However, I will not pursue this idea here for several reasons that will become obvious in the following discussion. One important issue that immediately arises with multi-dominance structures is linearisation. How can we map the terminals of two trees to a string of words in which one terminal is part of both trees? This question will be answered in the next section.

3.1.2. Linearisation

Syntactic relations such as *dominance* and *c-command* do not refer to precedence relations, that is, they do not determine the order of words at PF. One attempt to derive precedence of the terminals from the hierarchy in a syntactic tree has been made in the form of the *Linear Correspondence Axiom* (LCA) (Kayne 1994). The LCA proposes that linear orders can be read off as asymmetric c-command relations that hold between terminals. This poses several restrictions on syntactic trees in general. Most importantly, every terminal must be contained in a structure which asymmetrically c-commands another structure containing other terminals. All terminals that satisfy this relation are then collected in a set of ordered pairs which ultimately map onto the linear order of a one-dimensional string of terminals. Not only does the LCA predict the linear order of the terminals, it also determines which syntactic structures are possible.

Multi-dominance structures by definition violate the condition of irreflexivity. In (21) we see the basic structure of a multi-dominance tree in which the shared node α is obligatorily dominated and asymmetrically c-commanded by the same node C. Consequently, α has to precede itself since precedence is mapped onto asymmetric c-command and α is contained (double line) in the structure that asymmetrically c-commands α itself (dashed double line). Since nothing can precede itself, the tree is not linearisable.

(21) MD and Irreflexivity:



In Wilder (1999, 2008) for example, a solution to the linearisation problem is offered in a modified version of c-command which is now defined not in terms of dominance but in terms of *full* dominance which excludes the shared nodes. For the tree in (21) this means that α is not fully dominated by C because α is shared with D. Under this assumption c-command and (full) dominance are still mutually exclusive. Furthermore, Wilder proposes that nodes that are not fully dominated are invisible to the LCA. Thus, the shared node α in (21) is linearised via the c-command of C (dashed double line) but ignored by the dominance of C (double line), therefore obviating reflexivity.[5]

An alternative solution to the linearisation problem is suggested by Citko (2005) who as-

[5]Neither C nor D fully dominate α, thus excluding α from the *image* (Kayne 1994) of C as well as from the image of D. Under the assumption that E is a projection of D, C asymmetrically c-commands α but D does not. This way, α is linearised solely via c-command of C.

sumes that shared constituents simply have to move out of the structure in which they are multiply dominated so that they can be linearized in a non-shared position. Since traces are invisible to the LCA, asymmetry violations do not arise. With an assumption like this, the definition of c-command does not have to be modified in order to linearise multiple dominance structures. This idea will be developed further in the following section.

3.2. The Proposal

3.2.1. Shared constituents have to move

In line with Citko (2005) I will assume that in order to linearise a multi-dominance structure the shared constituents have to move out of the coordinate structure. Citko suggests that this is exactly what happens for ATB-*wh*-questions which in her analysis have the structure in (22)[6].

(22) I wonder [$_{CP}$ what$_i$ ... [$_{TP1}$ Hansel recommended] and [$_{TP2}$ Gretel read $\langle$**what**$\rangle_i$]]
(Citko 2005:479)

After the *wh*-phrase is shared as an object to both verbs in TP_1 and TP_2, it has to move out of the coordinate TP structure to merge with the head in CP. Since the LCA operates at PF, the copy of the shared constituent is not visible to the LCA, thus the construction is perfectly linearisable.

Evidence for this obligatory movement comes from two independent observations: the lack of ATB-movement at LF (see also Bošković & Franks 2000) and the exceptional *wh*-movement in ATB-questions of *wh*-in-situ languages like Chinese, Korean and Japanese. The latter is shown in (23) for Chinese, in which the *wh*-phrase receives a strict reading, which in turn suggests that it is shared.

(23) Shenne ren Zhangsan xihuan Lisi taoyan?
which person Zhangsan like Lisi hate
'Which person does Zhangsan like and Lisi hate?'
Not: 'Which person does Zhangsan like and which person does Lisi hate?'
(Citko 2005:489)

If movement is crucial for the linearisation of multiply dominated nodes, it has to happen before *Spell-Out*. Thus, *wh*-in-situ languages like Chinese show exceptional *wh*-movement.

For the same reason ATB quantifier raising is not possible (Bošković & Franks 2000). In (24) the phrase *every girl* is not shared, hence it does not have to move out of the coordination. Since movement is crucially important for linearisation in ATB-contexts, it has to take place overtly. Thus, covert ATB-movement is predicted not to exist at all because it happens after spell-out, which is why there is no wide scope reading in (24).

(24) Some boy hugged every girl and kissed every girl. ($\exists>\forall$, $*\forall>\exists$)
(Bošković & Franks 2000:114)

[6]Bold-faced copies stand for multiply dominated copies.

Other empirical evidence comes from observations about Right Node Raising and anaphora binding, shown in (25).

(25) a. *John liked and Mary hated some pictures of themselves.
b. Which pictures of themselves did John like and Mary hate? (Hartmann 2000:70)

Hartmann analyses RNR as ellipsis with subsequent PF-deletion, thus (25-a) is ungrammatical because the anaphor cannot be bound by the two subjects at the same time. However, (25-b) is then left unexplained because moving the multiply bound anaphor into the left periphery should not make any difference with respect to grammaticality, since the anaphor cannot be multiply bound in the first place. In contrast, Wilder's account is able to explain (25-b), but not (25-a) because the RNR target is said to be multiply dominated, hence it should be able to be multiply bound as well. In fact, the only way out of this dilemma is to assume that in order for something to be shared, it has to move out of the structure in which it is shared. With respect to (25), this means that as long as the anaphor stays inside the coordination, it cannot be shared, thus it cannot be bound by the two subjects, as is the case in (25-a). The movement of the anaphor in (25-b) though enables it to be multiply dominated, therefore it can be multiply bound.[7]

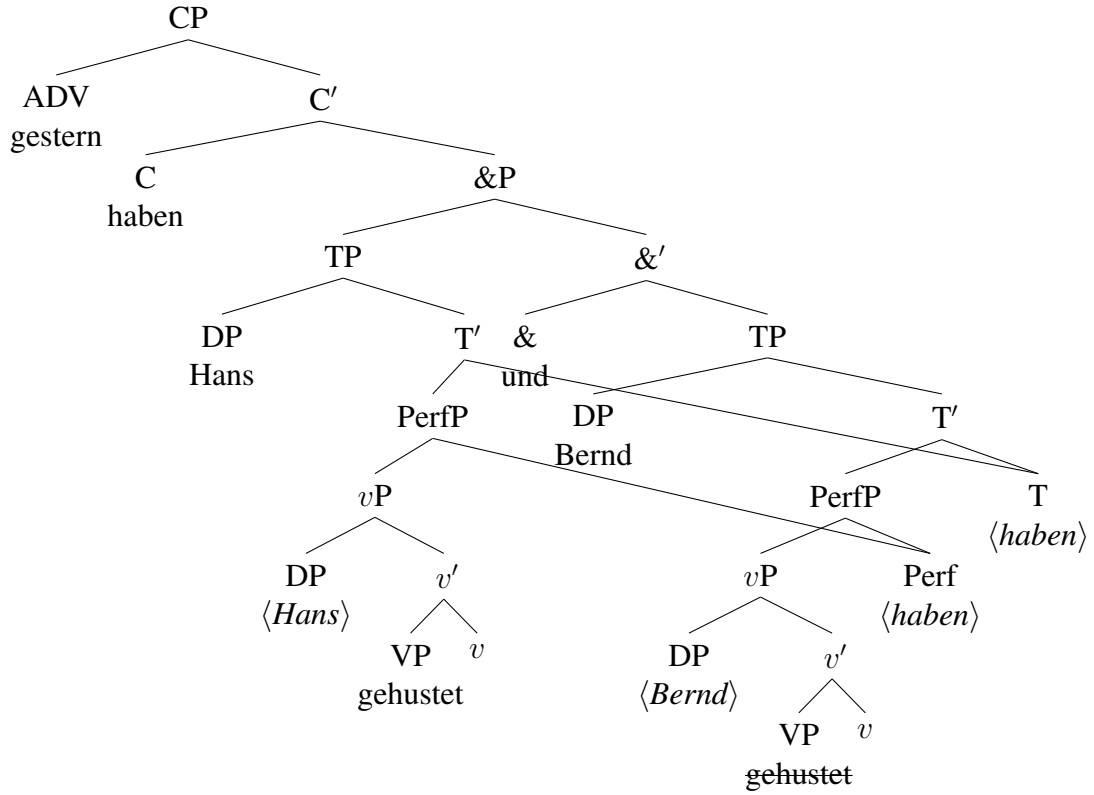
With these observations in mind I come back to conjunct extraposition. Only shared nodes have to move, unshared nodes can stay in-situ. Let us assume that only those nodes which show plural agreement are shared. In order to provide the right environment for the shared nodes to move out of the coordinate phrase, I will assume coordination at the TP level. This way, the shared nodes, i.e. the verb or the possessive pronoun, can move to the head or specifier of CP, respectively, in case they show plural agreement. The sentence in (4)[8] then has the following structure:

[7]The data on variable binding are not entirely conclusive though, as Citko (2005:493) points out herself. For some yet unknown reasons, reconstruction into both conjuncts shows an asymmetry between the conjuncts:

(i) a. *Which picture of himself$_i$ did Mary sell and John$_i$ buy?
b. Which picture of himself$_i$ did John$_i$ sell and Mary buy?

[8](3) can be analysed in a similar way since they only differ with respect to their θ-roles, *angekommen* being an unaccusative verb and *gehustet* being an unergative verb. This structural difference has no consequence for the following analysis. Thus, (26) serves to explain (4) as well as (3).

(26) CE with plural agreement:



The multiply dominated T node makes sure that the auxiliary is c-commanded by both subjects which enables plural agreement. The shared node *haben* moves out of the coordinate structure to C whereas the participle *gehustet* stays in-situ. Following Citko (2005) we have to conclude that the participle cannot be shared. If the participle was shared it would have to move out of the coordinate structure. Following Konietzko & Winkler (2010), I assume that the second VP gets deleted at PF.

3.2.2. Agreement in multiple dominance trees

The plural agreement in CE structures constitutes a case of *summative* agreement, or *cumulative* agreement as it is sometimes called, which can occur in a coordination structure where one agreement target can agree with the sum of two disjoint agreement controllers instead of agreeing with each controller on its own. Summative agreement has been observed in e.g. English (Postal 1998; Yatabe 2003; Wilder 2008), Russian (Kazenin 2002), and German (Schwabe & von Heusinger 2001).

For plural agreement in CE structures I adopt the theory of summative agreement presented in Grosz (2015) which was originally developed for *Right Node Raising* (RNR) structures that can similarly show optional plural agreement like CE, see (27). Earlier observations have already been made by Postal (1998) and Wilder (2008), shown in (28) and (29).

(27) [Sue's proud that Bill] and [Mary's glad that John] have/?*has traveled to Cameroon.

(Grosz 2015:6)

(28) [The pilot claimed that the first nurse] and [the sailor claimed that the second nurse] were spies/ *was a spy. (Postal 1998:173)

(29) [Mary met a man] and [John met a woman] who were/ *was wanted by the police. (Wilder 2008:253)

German shows RNR with plural agreement as well, see (30).

(30) [Der Gustav ist stolz, dass die Tina] und [der Otto ist froh, dass der Tom] nach
the Gustav is proud that the Tina and the Otto is glad that the Tom to
Nigeria reisen werden/*werdet/wird.
Nigeria travel will.3PL/will.2PL/will.3SG
'Gustav is proud that Tina, and Otto is glad that Tom, will travel to Nigeria.'
(Grosz 2015:9)

Grosz analyzes RNR as a bi-clausal structure containing multiply dominated constituents. Linearization is taken care of by the multi-dominance versions of c-command and dominance developed in Gracanin-Yuksek (2007, 2013). Grosz assumes referential features which are structurally encoded in DPs and get copied onto T via agreement.[9] Two distinct referential features result in plural agreement whereas one referential feature results in singular agreement. Referential features are part of hierarchically structured ϕ-feature *bundles*. Grosz furthermore assumes a *Group* feature for plural DPs which is dominated together with the referential features by an INDIVIDUATION node[10]. Number agreement is now determined as follows: If the INDIVIDUATION node that gets copied onto T is branching, as it is the case (i) with plural DPs branching into a referential feature and a group feature and (ii) with multiply dominating disjoint DPs branching into two referential features, number gets spelled out as plural. If the INDIVIDUATION node is not branching, as it is the case with singulars DPs with only one referential feature, number gets spelled out as singular.

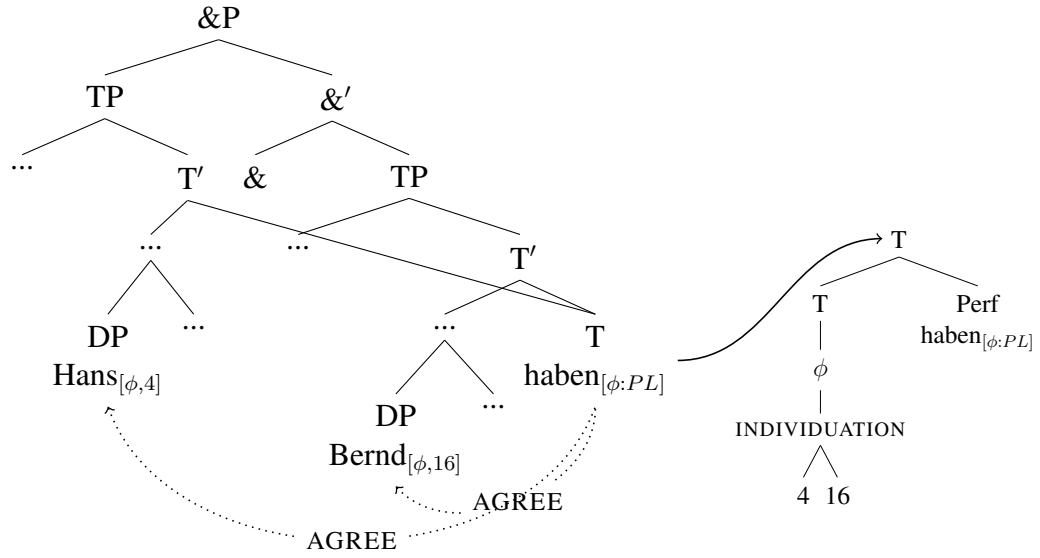
The agreement mechanism developed for RNR structures will now be applied to plural agreement[11] in CE structures. Since T multi-dominates both subjects, the referential features of these two disjoint subjects are copied onto the T node via agreement resulting in a branching INDIVIDUATION node which in turn triggers plural agreement, see (31) for (26).

[9] It might be objected that after the probe has agreed with one goal it stays inactive for the other goal, i.e. the verb can only agree with one subject. However, under the assumption of multi-dominance neither subject is closer to the verb than the other, thereby allowing both agreement operations to happen simultaneously, Citko (see also 2005:481).

[10] INDIVIDUATION node and *Group* feature refer to terminology based on Harley & Ritter (2002).

[11] Plural agreement is part of standard ϕ-feature agreement which is analyzed as *feature copying* of uninterpretable ϕ-feature on T probing downwards to the interpretable features on the two disjoint goals via c-command.

(31) Summative Agreement:



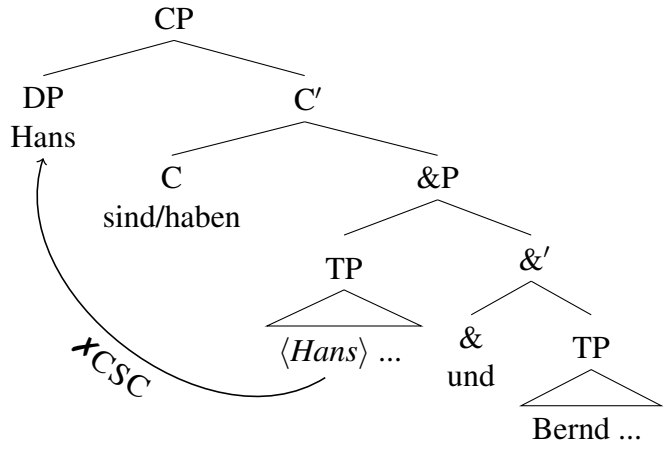
3.2.3. Violations of the CSC

The current approach is able to provide an explanation for the difference in acceptability between extraposition and topicalization presented in the first section, the former is completely acceptable whereas the latter is completely unacceptable. Since we adopted a coordinate structure in chapter three that involves the functional projection of the coordinator, it becomes clear why topicalization causes the derivation to crash. Independent of whether CPs or TPs are coordinated, none of these structures allow the coordinator and the last conjunct to move because they do not form a constituent but an intermediate projection.[12] Extraposition in contrast is derived quite naturally since CE only appears to be a rightward movement operation, whereas in fact the surface position is the result of a coordination of complete sentences with subsequent ellipsis. In other words, the CE analysis presented here can explain the data on the basis of ellipsis and sharing alone, whereas topicalization needs movement as a necessary step.

Another important advantage of the new account is that it acts in accordance with the CSC, in contrast to the movement approaches discussed in section two. Recall that whenever a CE structure contains shared material, it has to provide landing positions outside of the coordinate structure in order for the shared material to move out. Thus, CE with plural agreement is derived as a coordination of TPs. Consequently, if one of the subjects moves up to spec,CP material gets extracted only out of one of the conjuncts. The ungrammaticality of (5) and (6) is thus due to a CSC violation, shown in (32).

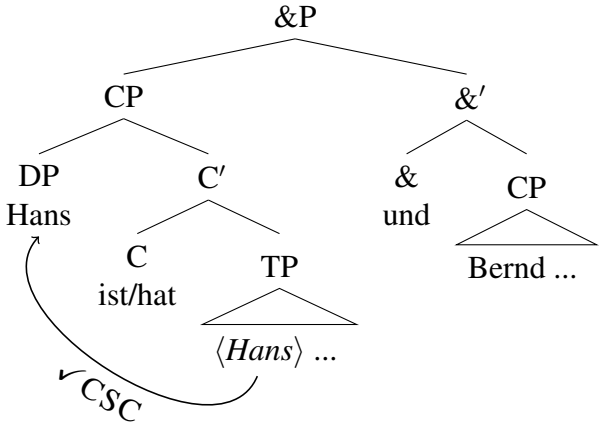
[12] In minimalist' terms, the coordinator and the last conjunct form a syntactic object that is neither minimal nor maximal.

(32) *Hans sind angekommen und Bernd. / *Hans haben gehustet und Bernd.



In contrast, CE structures with singular agreement, as was shown in (1), do not depend on landing positions outside the coordination since they do not contain shared material. They can be analyzed as a coordination of CPs as well as a coordination of TPs. A coordination of CPs would then predict no violation of the CSC in case one of the subjects is raised to spec,CP. (33) gives the structure for (1).

(33) Hans ist gestern angekommen und Bernd. / Hans hat gestern gehustet und Bernd.



Independent evidence for the two types of clausal coordination comes from intonation. Prinzhorn & Schmitt (2010) notice an intonational break/breath pause preceding the coordinator which is present in CE structures with singular agreement but not with plural agreement, see (34). Intonational breaks indicate intonation phrase boundaries. While it has been argued that intonation phrases are mapped to root clauses (Downing 1970; Nespor & Vogel 1986), Truckenbrodt (2005) provides experimental evidence for German that speakers mark intonation phrase boundaries also at the clausal level (see also Truckenbrodt 2015). Thus, a pause is predicted in (33) but not in (32) since only in the former does a complete CP precede the coordinator but not in the latter.

(34) Gestern ist/*sind Hans angekommen | und Bernd.
yesterday be.3SG/be.3PL Hans arrived and Bernd
'Yesterday Hans arrived, and Bernd.'

Different types of clausal coordination can also be proven by substituting the DP in the second conjunct with a interrogative wh-phrase (based on a test by Ott & de Vries 2016:650). The substitution should not be possible in CE structures with plural agreement since the second conjunct has to provide an underlying CP structure in order for wh-movement to take place. This prediction is borne out, see (35). The effect gets strengthened by the juxtaposition of two different speech acts – again, a scenario that is only possible if two separate CPs are coordinated as shown in (33).

(35) A: I know which of the students passed the exam. Do you have an idea or do you want me to tell you?
B: Ich vermute, gestern hat/*haben Hans bestanden – und welcher noch?
I suspect yesterday have.3SG/have.3PL Hans passed and who.else
'I suspect Hans passed the exam yesterday – and who else?'

As this section has shown, with the help of the CSC the current approach is able to provide an explanation for the whole data set presented in section 1 while also shedding light on the lack of topicalization data. The next section will provide additional evidence that support the hybrid approach on conjunct extraposition.

3.3. Further Evidence from Collective Predicates and Possessive Pronouns

After giving a full account of the data set in (3)-(6), I will now provide additional data that supports the hybrid account. For the participles in (3)-(6), PF-deletion of their second occurrences was assumed since they do not show agreement with the subject and thus do not have to be multiply dominated. However, there are certain types of verbs that lexically require their subjects to be plural since they yield a *collective* interpretation, compare the distributive verb *move* in (36) to the collective verb *gather* in (37).

(36) a. John and Mary moved the car.
b. John moved the car and Mary moved the car.

(37) a. John and Mary gathered in the classroom.
b. *John gathered in the classroom and Mary gathered in the classroom.

A collective-reciprocal reading of predicates is achieved via reciprocal verbs such as *collide* or *meet*. Some of these verbs come with a reciprocal anaphor such as *each other* or *together* in order to ensure their reciprocal meaning (Hoeksema 1983:68). Often these verbs have transitive counterparts, from which they need to be distinguished. Usually, these reciprocal constructions are taken to be quantificational statements (see Heim et al. 1991a,b; Schwarzschild 1996). A collective predicate is reciprocal, if the addition of a reciprocal anaphor is meaning preserving (Schwarzschild 1996:104). In (38) the meaning is preserved since John and Mary met each

other in (38-a) as well as in (38-b). In (39), however, John and Mary might be talking to other people in (39-a) but to each other in (39-b).

(38) a. John and Mary met.
b. John and Mary met each other.

(39) a. John and Mary talked.
b. John and Mary talked to each other.

Following Link (1983:307) and Schwarzschild (1996:60), I assume that plural DPs as well as the conjunction of singular DPs denote plural individuals under which a collective predicate can be licensed.

In the present account, CE structures containing collective or collective-reciprocal predicates are predicted to be ungrammatical if the predicate does not move out of the coordinate structure. The examples in (40)[13] and (41)[14] confirm this prediction.

(40) *Auf der Fähre haben dein Vater beisammengesessen und dein Bruder.
on the ferry have.3PL your father sat.together and your brother
'Your father and your brother have sat together on the ferry.'

(41) Beisammengesessen haben dein Vater auf der Fähre und dein Bruder.
sat.together have.3PL your father on the ferry and your brother
'Your father and your brother have sat together on the ferry.'

As mentioned above, reciprocal verbs can come with a reciprocal anaphor in order to ensure their reciprocal meaning. If the reciprocal anaphor triggers the collective-reciprocal reading it is expected that the anaphor alone can save the derivation. This prediction is bourn out, see (42)[15].

[13]Prinzhorn & Schmitt (2010) have different intuitions here. For them, a CE structure that contains a non-moved reciprocal predicate is grammatical. The example they discuss is given below.

(i) Gestern sind der Lastwagen zusammengestoßen und der Geländewagen.
yesterday be.3PL the truck collided and the SUV
'Yesterday, the truck and the SUV collided.' (Prinzhorn & Schmitt 2010:165)

A questionnaire, conducted with 36 participants, testing (i) and similar reciprocal CE structures, however, could not confirm the judgement in (i). Reciprocal CE structures with the predicate inside the &P were judged significantly less grammatical than non-reciprocal CE structures.

[14]In this case the shared constituent is the whole VP which only contains the unergative *beisammengesessen*, assuming that the subjects are first-merged outside the VP as specifiers of vP. A possible complication with unaccusative reciprocals which show the same pattern as in (40) and (41), see (i) and (ii), can be overcome with the syntax for argument structure proposed in Lohndal (2014) which introduces even internal arguments as specifiers of separate functional heads.

(i) *In dem Buch sind Seite 1 aneinandergeklebt und Seite 2.
in the book be.3PL page 1 stuck.together and page 2
'Page 1 and page 2 are stuck together in the book.'

(ii) Aneinandergeklebt sind Seite 1 in dem Buch und Seite 2.
stuck.together be.3PL page 1 in the book and page 2
'Page 1 and page 2 are stuck together in the book.'

[15]The original observation made in (42-a) and (42-b) comes from Prinzhorn & Schmitt (2010:186) but lacks an

(42) a. *Gestern haben Hans einander geschlagen und Bernd.
yesterday have.3PL Hans each.other hit and Bernd
b. Gestern haben einander Hans geschlagen und Bernd.
yesterday have.3PL each.other Hans hit and Bernd
c. Einander haben gestern Hans geschlagen und Bernd.
each.other have.3PL yesterday Hans hit and Bernd

'Yesterday Hans and Bernd hit each other.'

Finally, evidence from multiply bound possessive pronouns shows us that direct objects have to move out of the coordinate structure as well in case they are multiply dominated. The minimal pair, originally introduced in (7) and (8) and repeated here in (43) and (44), provides an example for a CE structure in which a direct object is multiply dominated and thus has to move out of the sharing structure. Multi-dominance is made visible on the possessive pronoun which can only be multiply bound by the two subjects in (43) but not in (44).

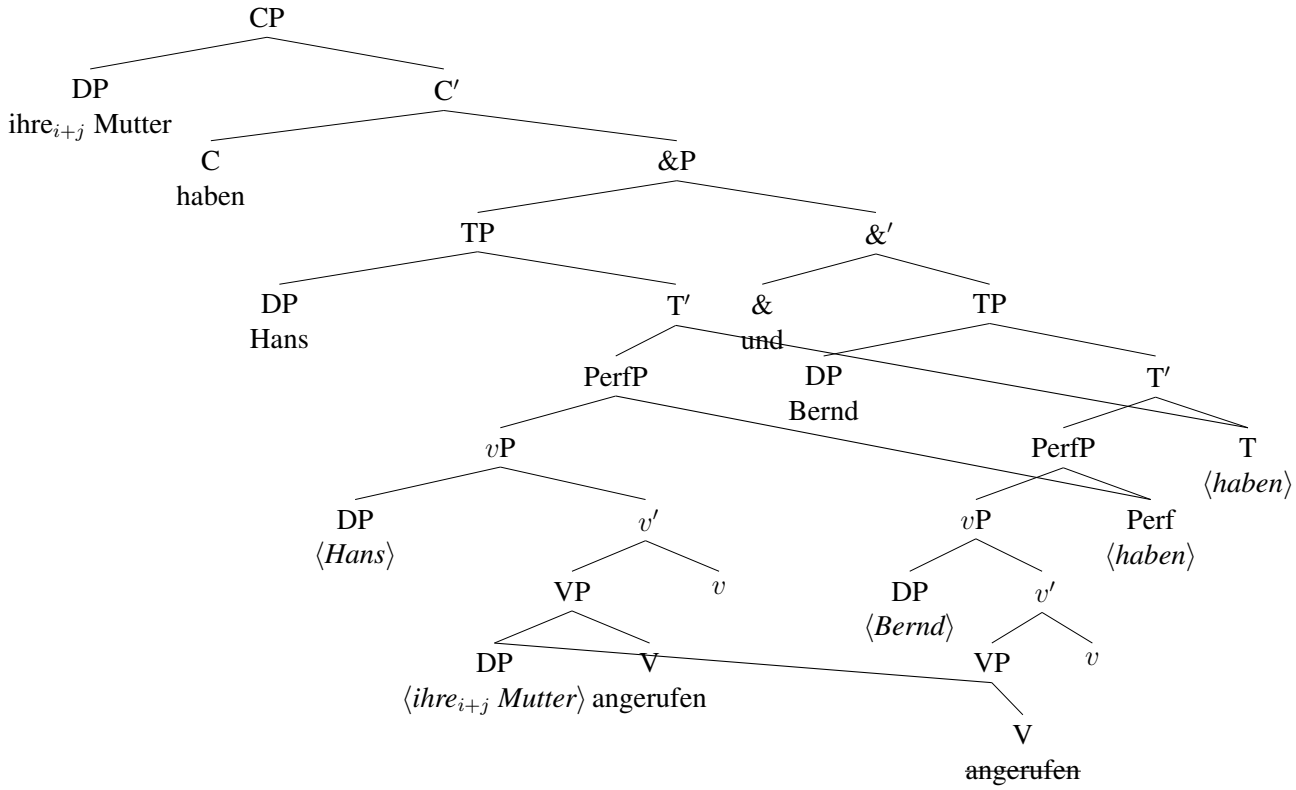
(43) Ihre$_{i+j}$ Mutter haben gestern Hans$_i$ angerufen und Bernd$_j$.
POSS.3PL mother have.3PL yesterday Hans called and Bernd
'Yesterday only Hans called their mother, and Bernd.'

(44) *Gestern haben Hans$_i$ ihre$_{i+j}$ Mutter angerufen und Bernd$_j$.
yesterday have.3PL Hans POSS.3PL mother called and Bernd
'Yesterday only Hans called their mother, and Bernd.'

The CE structure for multiply bound possessives is given in (45).

explanation. In (42-b) the anaphor adjoins to the coordinate phrase.

(45) CE with a multiply bound possessive pronoun:



4. The CE hybrid approach in action

After the discussion in section three, it should have become clear that, in order to give a full account of conjunct extraposition, we need both ellipsis and multi-dominance as explanatory means. To determine which constituents are in fact multiply dominated, some diagnostics are provided in this section. These tests are based on the idea that a multiply dominated constituent is only generated once whereas a constituent in an ellipsis structure is generated more than once (Wilder 2008, Barros & Vicente 2011). In order to distinguish multiply dominated constituents from ATB-moved constituents, I will take summative agreement as a criterion which only the former can show but not the latter.

4.1. Sloppy Identity

Sloppy identity effects can arise between an elided pronoun and its antecedent (Ross 1967), as it is commonly the case in ellipsis structures (Sag 1976; Williams 1977; Partee 1978). Such ellipsis cases can get a sloppy and a strict reading, an example is given in (46).

(46) John shot himself and Bill did too.

a. strict reading: John shot John and Bill shot John.

b. sloppy reading: John shot John and Bill shot Bill. (Williams 1977:116)

A sloppy reading occurs if there are two occurrences of one constituent where the elided occurrence is not identical to the antecedent. If there is only one constituent in the first place, as it is the case in MD structures, a sloppy identity reading should be blocked altogether (Barros & Vicente 2011). CE with singular agreement allows the strict as well as the sloppy reading, see (47). The continuation in (47) shows the sloppy reading.

(47) Agreement singular: [✓sloppy reading, ✓strict reading]

a. Seinen Hund hat Peter gestern ausgeführt und Bernd.
his dog have.SG Peter yesterday take.out and Bernd
'Yesterday Peter and Bernd have taken out their dogs.'

b. Nur ein Hund durfte dabei ohne Leine laufen.
only one dog was.allowed though without leash walk
'Though only one dog was allowed to walk without a leash.'

Conjunct extraposition with plural verb agreement, however, generates a coordination of TPs in which the shared verb as well as the shared object moves out to C and spec,CP respectively. Since the MD analysis assumes only one constituent, the sloppy reading is predicted to be blocked, see (48).

(48) Agreement plural: [✗ sloppy reading, ✓strict reading]

a. Seinen Hund haben Peter gestern ausgeführt und Bernd.
his dog have.PL Peter yesterday take.out and Bernd
'Yesterday Peter and Bernd have taken out his (Peters) dog.'

b. #Nur ein Hund durfte dabei ohne Leine laufen.
only one dog was.allowed though without leash walk
'Though only one dog was allowed to walk without a leash.'

The continuation in (48) is impossible which in turn suggests that a sloppy reading for CE structures with plural agreement is blocked. The next test is based on relational adjectives.

4.2. Relational Adjectives

Relational adjectives such as *different* and *similar* can have both an internal and external reading. The internal reading is only available if the adjective scopes over a plural NP or a coordination of TPs or VPs (Carlson 1987). The example in (49) shows the different readings.

(49) a. Bob and Alice attend different classes.
(i) internal reading: Bob attends Biology 101 and Alice attends Philosophy 799.
(ii) external reading: Alice' and Bob's classes are different from some contextually salient classes.

b. Alice attends different classes. [✗ internal, ✓external]

(adapted from Carlson 1987:532)

The current proposal predicts that the internal reading will be available for conjunct extraposition with plural agreement because the shared relational adjective obligatorily moves out of the coordination of TPs and thus scopes over it, which is shown in (50).[16]

(50) Agreement plural: [✓internal, ✓external]

a. Völlig verschiedene Songs haben Hans gestern gesungen und Bernd.
completely different songs have.PL Hans yesterday sung and Bernd
'Hans and Bernd sang completely different songs yesterday.'

b. Außer *Thriller*. Den haben beide gesungen.
except Thriller this.one have both sung
'Except *Thriller*, this one both of them have sung.'

In contrast, CE with singular verb agreement excludes an internal reading of the relational modifier, as can be seen in (51). This follows directly from the assumption that CE with singular agreement is generated as an ellipsis structure with two occurrences of the direct object which cannot be related internally because they do not scope over the whole coordination.[17]

(51) Agreement singular: [✗ internal, ✓external]

a. Völlig verschiedene Songs hat Hans gestern gesungen und Bernd.
completely different songs have.SG Hans yesterday sung and Bernd
'Hans and Bernd sang completely different songs yesterday.'

b. #Außer *Thriller*. Den haben beide gesungen.
except Thriller this.one have both sung
'Except *Thriller*, this one both of them have sung.'

4.3. Summative interpretation of quantifiers

Wilder (2008) points out that quantifiers can receive a summative interpretation in RNR structures. A multi-dominance account can provide an explanation since it assumes that there can only be one constituent if it is shared between structures. This is shown in the following example. The underlying structure for an ellipsis account is shown in (52-b) which evidently cannot provide an explanation for the summative reading that (52) also has, as shown in (52-a).

(52) Mary bought and John stole a total of fifteen cars.

a. summative reading: Mary bought five cars and John stole ten cars.

b. non-summative reading: Mary bought a total of fifteen cars and John stole a total of fifteen cars. (Wilder 2008:253)

[16] See also Barros & Vicente (2011:5) for a multi-dominance approach for RNR structures which seem to provide internal readings as well.

[17] The data is somewhat inconclusive here because e.g. Sabbagh (2007:370) gives the following example with an external as well as an internal reading of the relational modifier.

(i) A different Smiths song is performed in my church and played in my favourite club.

Applying this test to CE yields the expected result: plural verb agreement creates a sharing structure in which the direct object with the quantifier is shared as well. Thus, the summative reading is possible and (53-b) can follow accordingly.

(53) Agreement plural: [✓summative reading, ✗ non-summative reading]

a. Insgesamt zehn Fragen haben Maria in der Prüfung beantwortet und Peter.
a.total.of ten questions have.PL Maria in the exam answered and Peter
'A total of ten questions were answered by Maria and Peter.'

b. Fünf für Maria und fünf für Peter.
five for Maria and five for Peter
'Five for Maria and five for Peter.'

CE with singular agreement in (54), however, does not allow the summative reading because in the ellipsis structure two occurrences for the quantified object have to be assumed, hence only the non-summative reading is possible.

(54) Agreement singular: [✗ summative reading, ✓non-summative reading]

a. Insgesamt zehn Fragen hat Maria in der Prüfung beantwortet und Peter.
a.total.of ten questions have.SG Maria in the exam answered and Peter
'A total of ten questions were answered by Maria and Peter.'

b. #Fünf für Maria und fünf für Peter.
five for Maria and five for Peter
'Five for Maria and five for Peter.'

5. Conclusion

The present account provides an analysis for conjunct extraposition. The proposal is based on a bare argument ellipsis account which provides an explanation for most of the CE cases. With the additional assumption of multiple dominance the hybrid account is able to explain CE structures with plural agreement on the verb and the possessive pronoun, the distribution of collective predicates and a range of other phenomena such the unavailability of sloppy identity, internal readings of relational adjectives, and summative readings of quantifiers in CE. In case a constituent is multiply dominated, it has to move out of the coordination, due to linearization. Unlike the presented movement approaches the hybrid MD/ellipsis account acts in accordance with the CSC.

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