

Spelling out QR
Asaf Bachrach & Roni Katzir (MIT)
(asaf@mit.edu, trifilij@mit.edu)

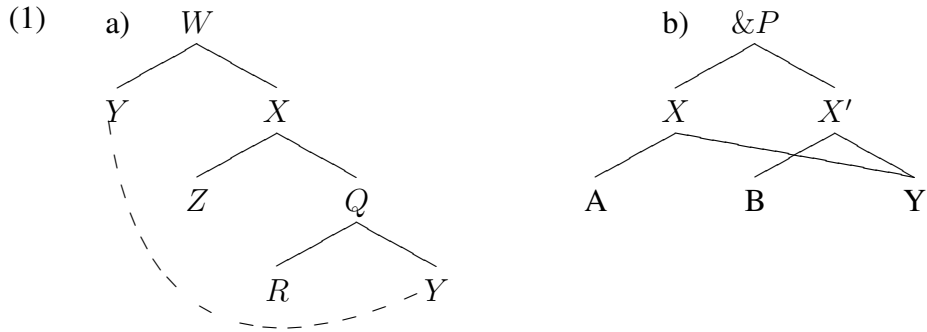
The proposal: Current minimalism (Chomsky, 2001, 2004) identifies two sources of locality; spell-out by phase and relativized minimality (RM). The former is due to cyclic interaction with the conceptual and phonetic interfaces while the latter is a constraint internal to the syntactic computation itself. We present data from Right Node Raising (RNR) constructions that dissociates these two sources. Contra recent claims in the literature (Bruening, 2001; Sauerland, 2005), we observe that QR is constrained by spell-out locality but not RM. We outline a concrete implementation of spell-out based locality (Bachrach&Katzir, 2006) where non-local interpretation (both phonological and semantic) of a syntactic object is a result of delayed spell-out. This mechanism allows us to dispense with a movement account of QR while still capturing its movement-like properties (May, 1985; checcetto, 2004).

The puzzle: (a) While numerous facts suggest that the shared material in RNR does not move in the overt syntax out of conjunction (Abbott, 1976; McCawley, 1982; Wilder, 1999; Hartmann, 2003; Abels, 2004), we observe that RNR (2a) licenses A'-movement (2b) out of what are otherwise strong islands (2c). We explain this extended locality as the suspension of (phonological) spell-out in RNR due to syntactic sharing. This *in-situ* approach correctly predicts that structurally induced locality (RM) is not affected by RNR, evidenced by superiority violations in A' dependencies (3).

(b) The RNR construction in (4a), discussed by Sabbagh (2003), provides a counter example to the generalization that a quantifier cannot take scope out of the tensed clause containing it (5, 4b). We propose that QR locality is induced by Spell-out, which is delayed in RNR.

(c) Bruening (2001) provides an account of scope freezing in double object constructions (6) (Larson, 1985) in terms of relativized minimality (or superiority). As an argument for this analysis, Bruening demonstrates that the scope of the second object is frozen only with respect to the first object but not with respect to the subject (7). This account falsely predicts that RNR would also demonstrate scope freezing as it does not affect RM(8).

The account: We assume Merge to be the only syntactic structure building operation (Chomsky, 2004; Citko, 2005). We propose that RNR is a case of parallel merge (cf. McCawley 1982; Wilder 1999) which produces multidominance structures. We also assume a cyclic spell-out architecture where, at certain points during the syntactic derivation (a Phase Node X), all the syntactic nodes fully dominated by the phase node, $FDD(X)$, are transferred to the interfaces (spell-out). A syntactic object Y dominated by X will not be in $FDD(X)$ if it has an occurrence outside the dominance domain of X . This additional occurrence can be in a position c-commanding the original occurrence of Y (Internal Merge, as in 1a) or not (Parallel Merge, as in 1b). In either case, Y is not sent to the interfaces at the spell out of X (or X').



Spell-out imposes phonological and semantic conditions on the syntactic object. The spell-out domain must form a single phonological string with a (single) semantic type. A delay in phonological spell-out allows long distance dislocation (an escape hatch for movement) as the syntactic object is not integrated into the phonological string produced at spell-out. At the semantic interface, a phase containing a delayed syntactic object is interpreted as an abstraction over the type of the delayed object or (in special cases) as an abstraction over type $\langle e \rangle$. The former option results in reconstruction while the latter in wide scope of the delayed object. The delay in the spell out of the shared material in RNR provides an escape hatch for movement out of islands inside each of the conjuncts (2b), a well as long distance QR (4). In our account, delayed spell-out, as in RNR, does not alter the syntactic configuration and so cannot bleed RM configurations (or Shortest Move/attract closest) (3).

- (2) a. [John met a man who wrote $_$], and [Mary met a man who published $_$] **a recent book about bats.**
 b. ? **Which book_i** did [John meet a man who wrote $_$], and [Mary meet a man who published $_$] t_i ?
 c. * **Which book_i** did John meet a man who wrote t_i ?
- (3) * What did who recommend $_$ and who read $_$ t_i ?
- (4) a. John knows a technician who inspected $_$ and an engineer who authorized for departure $_$ **every plane in this airport**
 $(\exists \succ \forall, \forall \succ \exists)$
 b. John knows a technician who inspected every plane in this airport and an engineer who authorized for departure every plane in this airport
 $(\exists \succ \forall, * \forall \succ \exists)$
- (5) John knows a technician who inspected every plane in this airport $(\exists \succ \forall, * \forall \succ \exists)$
- (6) I gave a child every doll $(\exists \succ \forall, * \forall \succ \exists)$
- (7) A (different) student gave me every manuscript $(\exists \succ \forall, \forall \succ \exists)$
- (8) a. Mary promised some student $_$ but ended up giving some professor $_$ **every journal in her collection** $(\exists \succ \forall, \forall \succ \exists)$