

# How to share with coordination: interactions between syntax, prosody (and linear order)

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## Overview

**Research Topic:** coordination and syntactic sharing/factorizing

- Factorizing at the left edge (non-constituent coordinations, conjunction reductions, Across-The-Board (ATB) constructions)
- Factorizing at the right edge (Right-Node-Raising (RNR) constructions)
- Factorizing at the center (gapping)

**Interactions with ellipsis:** ellipsis as the favored analysis of such constructions (Coppock (2001); Ha (2007); Abeillé and Mouret (2010); Barros and Vicente (2011); Salzmann (2012); Bruening (2015))

**Goal #1: to compare various analyses**

- ellipsis
- multidominance and/or ‘parallel’ movement
- **conclusion:** none of the analyses is fully satisfactory, or both are...the problems are elsewhere

**Goal #2: new perspectives on such constructions**

- the role of prosody/rhythm
- incremental approach to syntax
- the role of information structure
- what could be tested and how: experimental set-up, questionnaires, potential variables.

## 1 Syntactic sharing

### 1.1 Which constructions?

**Sharing Construction:** coordination of two propositional contents, with a common part that is thus syntactically factorized/shared (in the spirit of Goodall (1985) and Moltmann (1992))<sup>1</sup>

- Factorizing at the right edge (RNR)<sup>2</sup>

- (1) a. *The professor developed a new experimental procedure.*  
 b. *His PhD student used a new experimental procedure.*  
 ⇒ c. *[The professor developed] and [his PhD student used] a new experimental procedure.*

- Factorizing at the left edge (ATB (2), or conjunction reduction (3))

- (2) a. *Which procedure did the professor develop?*  
 b. *Which procedure did his PhD student use?*  
 ⇒ c. *Which procedure did [the professor develop] and [his PhD student use]?*

- (3) a. *The professor prepared a course last week.*  
 b. *The professor prepared a talk this week.*  
 ⇒ c. *The professor prepared [a course last week], and [a talk this week].*

- Factorizing at the center (gapping)

- (4) a. *The professor nicely used questionnaires.*  
 b. *His PhD student nicely used another experimental procedure.*  
 ⇒ c. *The professor [nicely used] questionnaires and his PhD student another experimental procedure.*

<sup>1</sup>According to this definition, even the following coordination could be seen as a sharing construction:

- (1) a. *The professor developed a new experimental procedure.*  
 b. *His PhD student developed a new experimental procedure.*  
 ⇒ c. *The professor and his PhD student developed a new experimental procedure.*

We won't discuss such cases, as they do not raise syntactic concerns (in terms of constituents), nor semantic concerns (in terms of compositionality), whatever the properties of coordination are, i.e. boolean (logical  $\wedge$ ), or non-boolean (cumulative  $\oplus$ ).

<sup>2</sup>All the examples in this section correspond to English translations of French examples.

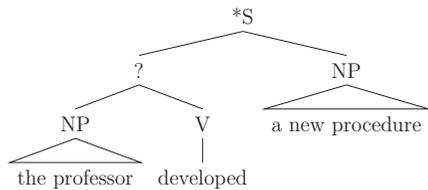
- Other problematic cases of coordination (central coordination, i.e. combination of left and right sharing)

- (5) a. *The professor has already prepared a new procedure.*  
 b. *The professor will soon use a new procedure.*  
 ⇒ c. *The professor [has already prepared] and [will soon use] a new procedure.*

**Observation #1:** these constructions share interesting properties

- linearity principle from Saussure (Saussure (1916)): how to temporally (and linearly) organize in one dimension two parallel contents with a common factor
- crucial role of coordination: how to coordinate what is not shared/factorized
- paradoxes between syntactic structure (subject-object asymmetry) and linear order
- constituency problems with respect to coordination and ellipsis (see awkward bracketing in previous examples, and awkward structure below)
- even punctuation becomes a problem with these constructions!

- (6) *The professor developed a new procedure.*



**Observation #2:** A potential confusion between syntactic dependencies (including syntactic sharing) and semantic/anaphoric dependencies (including various forms of ellipsis)

- (7) *The professor developed a new procedure, and his PhD student used it.*

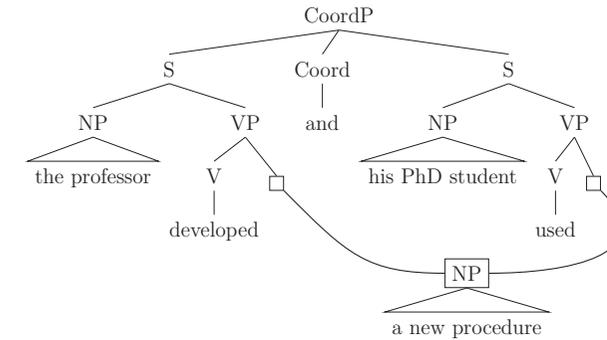
Properties of semantic/anaphoric dependencies (including semantic ellipsis): usually reversible (anaphoric/cataphoric), across sentences, triggered by specific lexical items (with potential *licensors* in boldface)

- (8) a. *The professor developed a new procedure, but nobody knows **why**.*  
 b. *The professor developed a new procedure, and his PhD student **didn't**.*  
 c. *The professor **tried**, but he didn't manage to develop a new procedure.*

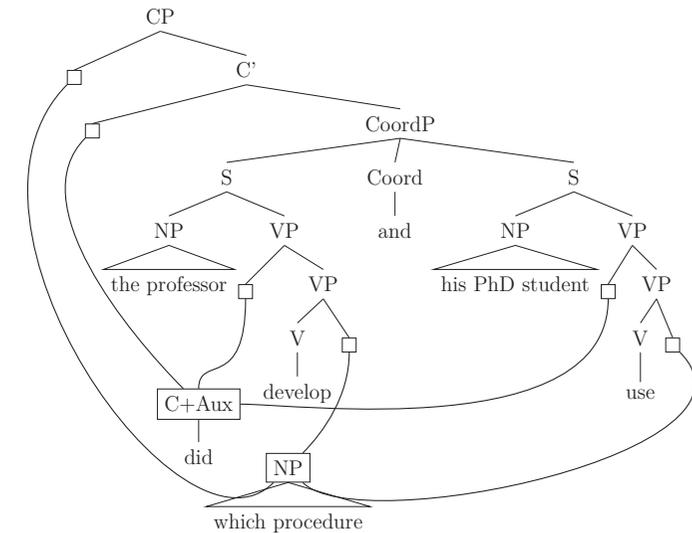
## 1.2 Multidominance and/or 'Parallel' movement

In the spirit of Nunes (2004); Citko (2005); Bachrach and Katzir (2009); Barros and Vicente (2011); de Vries (2013)...

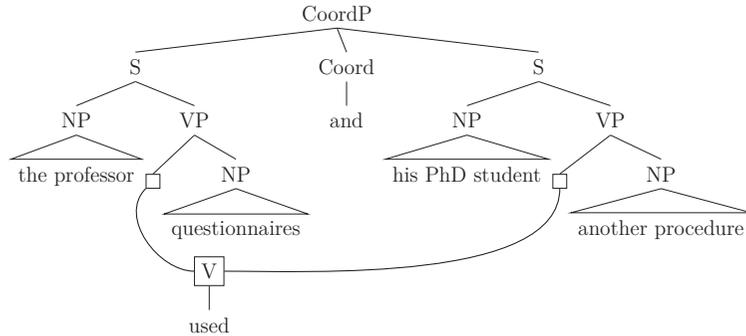
- (9) Factorizing at the right edge (RNR) with Multidominance



- (10) Factorizing at the left edge with Multidominance



(11) Factorizing at the center with Multidominance



Properties of multidominance:

- syntactic structure is preserved (subject-object asymmetry)
- structure and linear order are dissociated (non-linear syntactic graphs)

**Advantages/Effects:** only one formal object for the shared item

- cumulative morphology on the shared item (at the right edge in (12a), at the left edge in (12b))

- (12) a. *Joan aujourd'hui et Laurence hier m'ont demandé si Hippolyte allait bien.*  
 Joan today and Laurence yesterday OBJ.CL.1SG-have.3PL  
 asked if Hippolyte went fine  
 'Joan today and Laurence yesterday asked me if Hippolyte was fine.'
- b. *C'est alors que surgissent un renard d'un champ et une biche d'un buisson.*  
 It-is then that arise.3PL a fox from-a field and a deer from-a bush  
 (Lit.) 'That is when arise a fox from a field and a deer from a bush.'  
 (inspired from Bilbäe (2017))

- 'cumulative' semantics of the shared item (*Joan's version* ≠ *Laurence's version*)

- (13) *Je pense que Joan aujourd'hui et que Laurence demain donneront une version différente de ce conflit.*  
 I think that Joan today and that Laurence tomorrow give.FUT.3PL  
 a version different of this conflict  
 (Lit.) 'I think that Joan today and that Laurence tomorrow will provide a different version of the conflict.'

**Main concern:** How to linearize the syntactic structure, especially the shared items?

**Generalization:** linearization (word order) of sharing constructions (multidominated structures) is crucially tied to linearization (word order) of the two distinct propositional contents, and only sharing at the right or left edge can preserve this word order.

- Factorizing at the right edge: relative word order of the two propositional contents is preserved when coordination is added

- (14) *The professor developed < a new procedure  
 his PhD student used < a new procedure.  
 ⇒ The professor developed < and < his PhD student used < a new procedure.*

- Factorizing at the left edge: relative word order of the two propositional contents is preserved when coordination is added

- (15) *Which procedure did < the professor develop?  
 Which procedure did < his PhD student use?  
 Which procedure did < the professor develop < and < his PhD student use?*

- Factorizing at the center: relative word order cannot be preserved with sharing and (wide-scope) coordination

- (16) *The professor < used < questionnaires  
 his PhD student < used < another procedure.  
 ⇒ ...questionnaires < and < his PhD student...  
 ⇒ used cannot be linearized before questionnaires and after his PhD student at the same time*

Solution #1: two low-scope coordinations (*the professor and his PhD student used questionnaires and another procedure*), but the interpretation is different.

Solution #2: no sharing at all (*the professor used questionnaires and his PhD student used another procedure*)

**Prediction:** the effects of multidominance should not occur with sharing at the center.

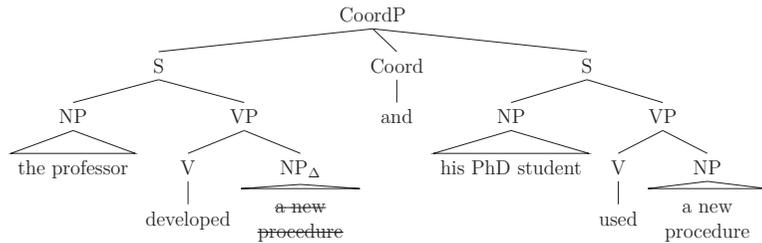
- (17) *\*Le professeur ont utilisé des questionnaires et son doctorant un autre protocole.*  
 the professor have.3PL used INDEF.PL questionnaires and his PhD-student a other protocol  
 (Lit.) '\*The professor have used questionnaires and his PhD student another procedure.'

- (18) *Joan a donné une version différente de ce conflit aujourd’hui, et Laurence hier.*  
 Joan has given a version different of this conflict today and Laurence yesterday  
 ‘Joan provided a different version of the conflict today, and Laurence yesterday.’  
 (#Joan’s version ≠ Laurence’s version)

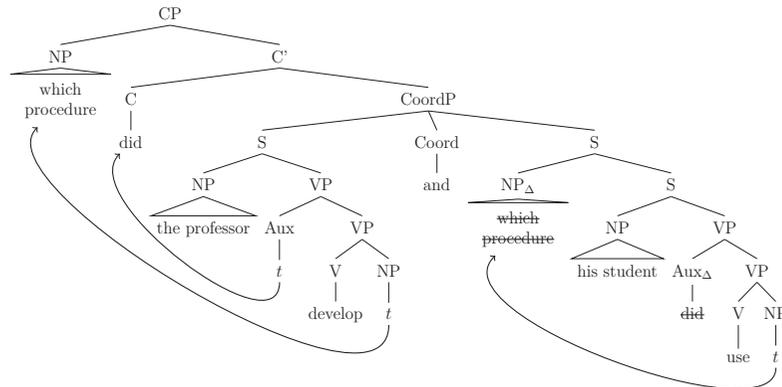
### 1.3 Ellipsis

In the spirit of Ha (2007); Barros and Vicente (2011); Salzmann (2012, 2013)...

- (19) Factorizing at the right edge with (structural or non-structural) ellipsis (inspired from Ha (2007))



- (20) Factorizing at the right edge with ellipsis (inspired from Salzmann (2013))



- (21) Factorizing at the center with ellipsis (inspired from Coppock (2001))  
*The professor nicely used questionnaires, and his PhD student [~~nice~~ used] another procedure.*

Properties of ellipsis:

- syntactic structure is preserved (subject-object asymmetry)
- syntactic structure is still representative of linear order (linear trees)

**Advantages/Effects:** the shared item corresponds to two formal objects (one visible on the surface, the other one being reconstructed syntactically/semantically/pragmatically)

- lack of morphosyntactic identity<sup>3</sup> (see Shiraishi (2018))

- (22) a. *John didn’t see anyone, but Mary did [~~see someone~~].* (Sag (1976))  
 b. *C’est alors que surgit un renard d’un champ et [~~surgissent] des lapins d’un buisson.~~*  
 It-is then that arise.3SG a fox from-a field and arise.3PL some rabbits from-a bush  
 (Lit.) ‘That is when arises a fox from a field and rabbits from a bush.’  
 (inspired from Bilbūie (2017))  
 c. *?The professor developed [~~some experiment(s)] but (he) didn’t use any experiment.~~*  
 d. *The professor has used questionnaires and the students [~~have used] another procedure.~~*

- strict/sloppy identity (see Fiengo and May (1994))

- (23) a. *Max saw his<sub>strict/sloppy</sub> mother, and Oscar did [~~—~~], too.*  
 b. *I wonder which picture of himself<sub>1/sloppy</sub> John<sub>1</sub> likes — and Bob<sub>2</sub> hates —.*  
 c. *Paul likes [~~—~~] but John hates his<sub>strict/sloppy</sub> sister.*  
 d. *Paul saw his<sub>strict/sloppy</sub> sister yesterday, and John [~~—~~] this morning.*

- reconstruction effects (asymmetric)<sup>4</sup>

- (24) Condition C obviation:  
 a. *Mary likes this picture of John<sub>1</sub> and he<sub>1</sub> does [~~—~~] too.*  
 b. *Which picture of John<sub>1</sub> does Mary like — and/but he<sub>1</sub> hate [~~—~~]?*  
 c. *He<sub>2</sub> knows — but the organizers have no idea — when John<sub>1</sub> arrives.*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup>This criteria is in contradiction with the one concerning cumulative morphology.  
<sup>4</sup>reconstruction data are highly controversial, as studies seem to contradict themselves (Haik (1990); Munn (1993)), maybe because many potential variables are not controlled for.  
<sup>5</sup>Intuitively, coreference would be restricted to a specific information structure where *when John arrives* corresponds to background (topical) information.

d. *Mary gave a picture of John<sub>1</sub> to her sister and he<sub>1</sub> (did) [<sub>Δ</sub> \_ ] to his girlfriend.*

(25) Asymmetric effect with Condition A:

- a. *Which pictures of himself<sub>1</sub> did John<sub>1</sub> buy \_ and Mary paint \_?*
- b. *\*Which pictures of herself<sub>2</sub> did John<sub>1</sub> buy \_ and Mary paint \_?*

(26) Asymmetric effect with Variable Binding:

*Quelle photo de lui<sub>1</sub> est-ce qu' aucun homme<sub>1</sub> n'a apportée \_*  
 which picture of him INT.PRT no man NEG.CL-has brought  
*mais Marie a vue \_? La photo de son mariage.*  
 but Mary has seen the picture of his wedding

‘Which picture of himself did no man bring, but Mary see? The picture of his own wedding.’

**Main concern:** how to predict (im)possible ellipses, and their directionality?

- At the right edge: catalepsis
- At the left edge: analepsis
- At the center: analepsis

## 1.4 Adding more puzzling facts...

Even more complex to account for, whatever the analysis:

- correlative coordination (doubling): how to reconcile wide-scope semantic coordination on propositional contents with lower-scope morphological coordination?

(27) *Joan en a parlé et à Laurence la semaine passée, et à Nicolas hier.*  
 Joan CL.IND.OBJ has talked and to Laurence the week past and to Nicolas yesterday  
 (Lit.) ‘Joan talked about it and to Laurence last week, and to Nicolas yesterday.’

(28) *Puis s'avanceront et les professeurs par la droite et les étudiants par la gauche.*  
 then step forward.FUT.3PL and the professors from the right and the students from the left  
 (Lit.) ‘Then will step forward and the professors from the right and the students from the left.’

(29) *Et Joan aujourd'hui et Laurence demain pourront être présents.*  
 and Joan today and Laurence tomorrow can.FUT.3PL be present  
 (Lit.) ‘And Joan today and Laurence tomorrow will be able to be present.’

- constituency problems for coordination and ellipsis: if the targets are not constituents, what are they? Sequences? But which ones?

- (30) a. *The professor prepared [<sub>?</sub> a course last week], and [<sub>?</sub> a talk this week].*  
 b. *The professor prepared a course last week, and [<sub>?</sub> ~~the professor~~ prepared] a talk this week.*

## 2 New perspectives (part of a developing project)

General assumptions:

- syntax is hidden, and deduced from (i) morphological cues, (ii) semantic cues, and (iii) prosodic cues
- sharing constructions: when cues do not converge...

### 2.1 Prosody

**Sources of inspiration:** few studies to show the role of prosody in sharing<sup>6</sup>

- Factorizing at the right edge (Féry and Hartmann (2005) or Cann et al. (2005b)): prosody as a trigger/marker for ellipsis

(31) *Le prof a conÇU [<sub>Δ</sub>] et son doctorant a utilisé un nouveau protocole.*  
 the professor has developed and his PhD-student has used a new protocol

- Factorizing at the left edge (Bruening (2015)): ellipsis targets syntactic or prosodic groups, and elides everything except the most prominent sub-constituent

(32) *(Le prof) (a préparé (un protoCOLE)) (la semaine paSSÉE), et (a préparé (une communicaTION)) (cette seMAINE).*  
 the professor has prepared a protocol the week past and has prepared a talk this week

But we still don't know when prosody can or cannot trigger ellipsis?

(33) *\*Le prof a conçu un nouveau protocole et son doctorant a utilisé [<sub>Δ</sub>].*  
 the professor has developed a new protocol and his PhD-student has used

<sup>6</sup>My idea of considering prosody as a driving source of syntactic structuring and sharing is part of a developing project and partnership with Elisabeth Delais-Roussarie.

**Observation #1:** a clear link between elided or coordinated sequences in sharing constructions and the notion of Phonological Phrase (PhP)

**Phonological Phrase:** linear rhythmic sequence of items (marked by final accentuation on the last syllable in French), defined in various ways in the literature (each version in Verlyuten (1982); Nespor and Vogel (1986); Selkirk (1986); Büring (1995) seems perfectible))

- (34) Some constraints on PhP formation according to Verlyuten (1982):
- (i) adjoin to N, V, or Adj all the words that precede inside the constituent
  - (ii) adjoin any remaining functional word to first N, V, or Adj that follows
  - (iii) consider as autonomous PhP any other N, V, or Adj that remains
  - (iv) some adjusting rules (a too short PhP can get integrated to the following PhP; 2 PhPs can be merged if some accentuation/*schwa* is not realized;...)
- (35) a. (*Le prof*) (*a conçu*) (*et son doctorant*) (*a utilisé*) (*un nouveau protocole*).  
the professor has developed and his PhD-student has used an other protocol
- b. (*Quel protocole*) (*est-ce que le prof*) (*a conçu*) (*et son doctorant*) (*a utilisé*)?  
which protocol INT.PRT the professor has developed and his PhD-student has used
- c. (*Le prof*) (*a préparé*) (*un cours*) (*la semaine passée*), (*et une communication*) (*cette semaine*).  
the professor has prepared a course the week past and a talk this week
- d. (*Le prof*) (*a utilisé*) (*des questionnaires*), (*et son doctorant*) (*une autre méthode*).  
the professor has used some questionnaires and his PhD-student an other method
- e. (*Le prof*) (*a déjà préparé*) (*et utilisera bientôt*) (*un nouveau protocole*).  
the professor has already prepared and use.FUT.3SG soon a new protocol

⇒ coordinated and shared sequences correspond to one or two phonological phrases. Even if phrasing is not ‘canonical’, prosodic boundaries are respected<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>One potential exception is the case of *est-ce que*. But this unit doesn’t have to be factorized as it is outside the scope of coordination.

**Question:** Which role for the prosodic marking in sharing constructions?

- to trigger ellipsis?
- to trigger factorization?
- or just to express continuity and incompleteness (intonation morphemes suggested in Rossi (1985) a.o.) in a more semiotic approach to language (Bouchard (2013))

- (36) a. *Le professeur /ct/ de linguistique /CT/ a développé /ct/ un protocole /ct/ inintéressant /CC/.*  
the professor of linguistics has developed a protocol uninteresting
- b. *les professeurs /ct-CT/ et les étudiants /ct-CT/ qui le souhaitent...*  
the professors and the students who CL.OBJ.3PL wish

- or why not to amend syntax, as long as it is compatible with semantics (in the spirit of Steedman (2000) who proposes an isomorphic mapping between syntax and prosody)

- (37) *[[les professeurs] et [les étudiants]] qui le souhaitent...*  
the professors and the students who CL.OBJ.3PL wish

- (38) *ceux qui le souhaitent...*  
those who CL.OBJ.3PL wish

## 2.2 Incremental/dynamic syntax

**Observation #3:** a clear link between possible sharing constructions in one language and word/linear order in that language

- SVO (French,...) → SV & SV | O

- (39) *Le professeur a conçu et son doctorant a utilisé un nouveau protocole.*

- VSO (Welsh,...) → VS & VS | O ; V | SO & SO

- (40) *Gwelodd Gwen, a rhybuddiodd Ifor y dyn.*  
saw Gwen and warned Ifor DEF man  
‘Gwen saw and Ifor warned the man.’

- SOV (German,...) → SO & SO | V

- (41) *Ich glaube daß Peter Kartoffeln und Maria Brod aß.*  
I think that Peter potatoes and Maria bread ate  
‘I think that Peter ate potatoes, and Maria bread.’

**Observation #4:** some constraints in sharing constructions seem to be sensitive to linear locality (rather than structural locality), and thus suggest an incremental approach to syntax, prosody, and semantics.

(42) *Which picture of [himself<sub>1</sub>/\*herself<sub>2</sub>] did every boy<sub>1</sub> who saw \_ say Mary<sub>2</sub> liked \_?* (Munn (1994))

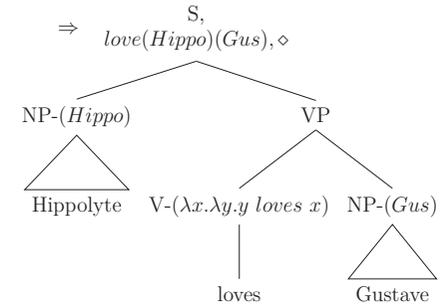
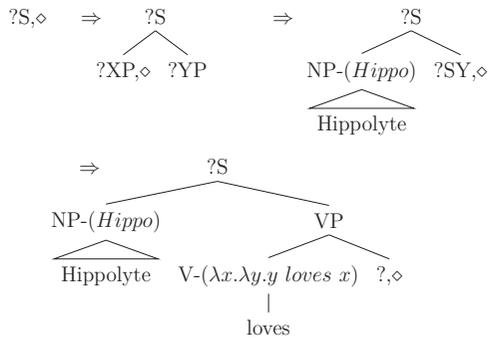
Incremental/dynamic approaches to grammar: Phillips (1996), Cann et al. (2005b), Beck and Tiemann (to appear)

- grammar-parsing association
- incremental/dynamic building of representations (dynamic constituency)
- lexical units and grammar rules as dynamic procedures (movement → filler-gap dependency; coreference → active resolution of anaphora)
- dynamic integration of context
- grammatical anticipation (requirements, expressed through ?, to formalize local predictions)

Quick illustration of a *Dynamic Syntax* (largely inspired from Cann et al. (2005a))

- incremental syntax and semantics, with final representations being semantic

(43) Dynamic Syntax of *Hippolyte loves Gustave*



- semantic long-distance dependencies (pronoun, ellipsis): anaphoric underspecification (metavariable)

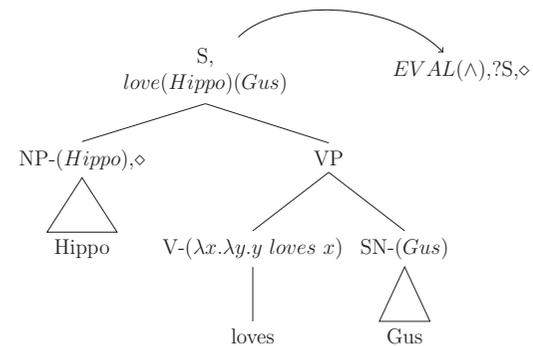
(44) Contribution of a pronoun like *he*:  $NP-(U_{Human})^8$

- syntactic long-distance dependencies: structural underspecification of *fillers* (ex: *Who did Nicolas see?*)

(45)  $?S, \Delta \Rightarrow \boxed{NP, WH_{Human}}$

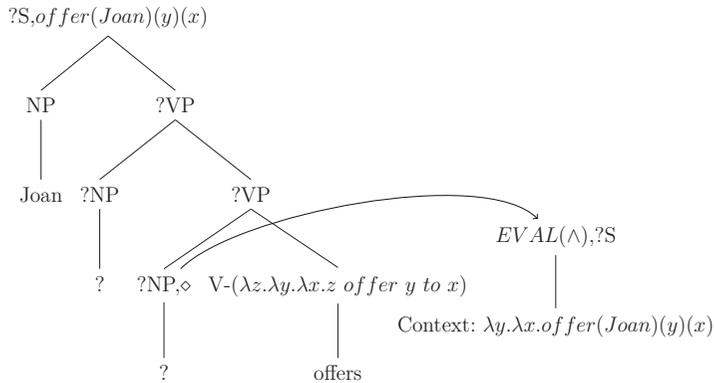
- coordination, relativization, and even adjunction with a similar procedure: LINK structures (that could target what prosody or correlative coordination suggests)

(46) *Hippo likes Gus and...*



<sup>8</sup>Instead of a metavariable, one could use variable free semantics' conception of pronouns as identity functions (see Jacobson (1999)).

(47) *Joan offers (and)... a book to Laurence and a lollipop to Nicolas*



### 2.3 Information structure

**Observation #4:** information structure (*Background/Focus*) is closely related to prosody, and thus to sharing and factorization.

Valmala (2013)'s study on sharing at the right edge: two information structures available

- (48) a. *What do you know about this new protocol?*  
 b. *What did the professor develop and his PhD student use?*  
 c. *The professor developed and his PhD student used [<sub>Background/Focus</sub> this new protocol].*

Consequences on other properties of sharing constructions

- (49) Negative Polarity Items licensing...  
 a. *Did the professor use new protocols?*  
 b. *#What did the professor develop without using?*  
 c. *#What did the professor do lately?*  
 c. *?The professor developed [<sub>Δsome new protocols</sub>] but (he) didn't use [<sub>Background/\*Focus</sub> any new protocol].*
- (50) Condition C obviation...  
 a. *Who knows when John arrives?*  
 b. *#What does John know and the organizers don't?*  
 c. *He<sub>1</sub> knows \_ but the organizers have no idea \_ [<sub>Background/\*Focus</sub> when John<sub>1</sub> arrives].*

## 3 How to test/confirm these correlations?

Overview of possible tests: variables and procedures

### 3.1 Possible procedures and designs

Experimental methods/designs, depending on the variable to test in sharing constructions:

- audio recordings of subjects to test some effects of prosody, (i) natural, based on contexts, or (ii) artificial, to be used for further judgments by other subjects;
- acceptability judgments on sentences based on previous context (scale from 1 to 7, along the lines of Schütze (1996) a.o.)
  - from written stimuli
  - from audio recordings

(51) Illustration: provide two distinct contents in the context, and ask for acceptability judgments (from 1 to 7) on the possible sharing constructions

⇒ <http://spellout.net/ibexexps/nicolas.guillot/share-fillers/experiment.html>

- a. *Laurence a dit que notre collègue allait bientôt arriver.*  
 Laurence has said that our colleague was going soon arrive
- a'. *Joan a confirmé que notre collègue allait bientôt arriver.*  
 Joan has confirmed that our colleague was going soon arrive
- b. *?Laurence a dit (que) et Joan a confirmé que notre collègue allait bientôt arriver.*  
 Laurence has said that and Joan has confirmed that our colleague was going soon arrive

### 3.2 Potential variables

A non-exhaustive list of potential variables...

#### 3.2.1 Prosodic weight

Prosodic weight of the shared unit

- (52) a. *Laurence a invité et Nicolas a accueilli [le nouveau collègue du département].*  
 Laurence has invited and Nicolas has welcomed the new colleague of-the department
- b. *Laurence a invité et Nicolas a accueilli [Joan].*  
 Laurence has invited and Nicolas has welcomed Joan

functional words and syntactic/prosodic boundaries (Aux/Modals, Prep, Det,...)

- (53) a. *Mon chien est assis \_ et mon chat est allongé \_ sur le nouveau*  
my dog is seated and my cat is lying on the new  
*canapé que j'ai acheté.*  
couch that I-have bought
- b. *Mon chien est assis sur \_ et mon chat est allongé sous \_ le nouveau*  
my dog is seated on and my cat is lying under the new  
*canapé que j'ai acheté.*  
couch that I-have bought

### 3.2.2 Degree of syntactic inconsistency

How much prosody can bleed syntactic embedding (Delais-Roussarie et al. (2011/2))...

- (54) *Macron a incité les entreprises publiques à réduire leurs dépenses...*  
Macron has encouraged the companies public to reduce their expenses
- a. *et aidé les entreprises privées à investir.*  
and helped the companies private to invest
- b. *et les banques à investir.*  
and the banks to invest
- c. *et privées à investir.*  
and private to invest

### 3.2.3 Sharing with(out) licensing

Lexical/semantic ellipsis (lexical licensing) vs ‘prosodic ellipsis’

- (55) a. *Les musiciens se sont déclarés pour et les acteurs ont voté contre*  
the musicians REFL are declared for and the actors have voted against  
*le nouveau projet de spectacle.*  
the new project of show
- b. *Les musiciens se sont déclarés et les acteurs ont voté pour le*  
the musicians REFL are declared and the actors have voted for the  
*nouveau projet de spectacle.*  
new project of show
- c. *Les musiciens se sont installés sous et les acteurs se sont assis*  
the musicians REFL are settled under and the actors REFL are seated  
*sur la nouvelle scène de spectacle.*  
on the new stage of show
- d. *Les musiciens se sont installés et les acteurs se sont assis sur*  
the musicians REFL are settled and the actors REFL are seated on  
*la nouvelle scène de spectacle.*  
the new stage of show

### 3.2.4 Cumulative agreement or not

Agreement on verbs (person/number), and pronouns (number/gender)

- (56) a. *La réservation et le règlement des sapins se fera sur les*  
the booking and the payment of-the fir trees REFL do.FUT.3SG on the  
*temps de permanence (attested).*  
times of display
- c. *Nicolas sait déjà, mais Joan ignore encore à quelle heure il(s)*  
Nicolas knows already but Joan ignores still at what time he/they  
*rentrera/rentreront.*  
come back.FUT.3SG/PL
- d. *Nicolas réécrit tandis que Joan a terminé son/leur nouvel ouvrage.*  
Nicolas rewrites whereas Joan has finished his/their new book
- (57) a. *La France et l'Allemagne va/vont ouvrir un nouveau centre.*  
the France and the-Germany is/are going open a new center
- b. *La France demain et l'Allemagne dès le mois prochain*  
the France tomorrow and the-Germany as soon as the month next  
*va/vont ouvrir un nouveau centre.*  
is/are going open a new center
- c. *A l'entrée du bureau s'est/se sont présentée(s) Laurence et*  
at the-entrance of-the office appeared.3SG/PL Laurence and  
*Pauline.*  
Pauline
- d. *A l'entrée du bureau s'est/se sont présentée(s) Laurence hier*  
at the-entrance of-the office appeared.3SG/PL Laurence yesterday and  
*et Pauline ce matin.*  
Pauline today

THANKS! COMMENTS, QUESTIONS AND HELP WELCOME

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