

Reconstruction Conflict

An Argument for multi-dominance and Parallel Merge

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University of Connecticut

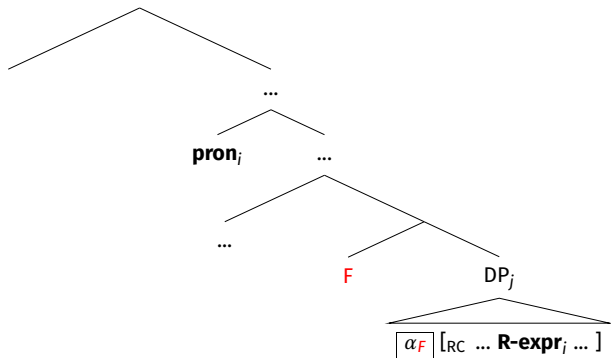
Jun 24, 2023

Slides

<https://sites.google.com/uconn.edu/yusukeyagi/home>

Conflict in Reconstruction

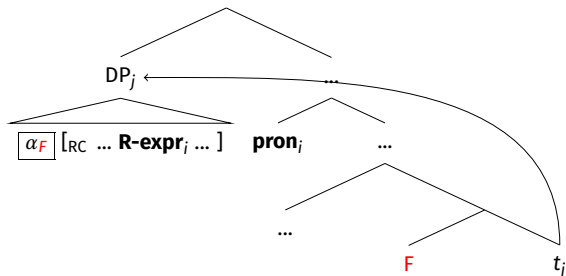
(1)



α_F must be local to **F**.

Conflict in Reconstruction

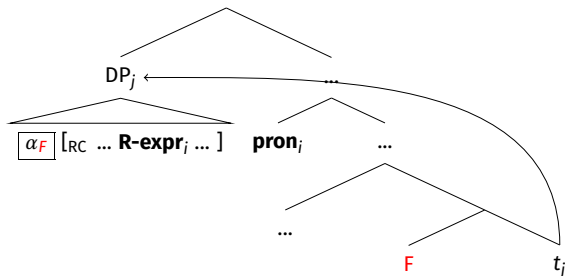
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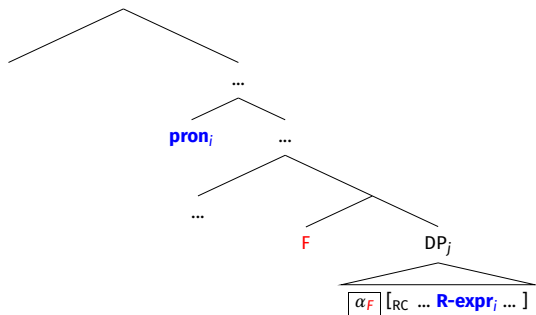


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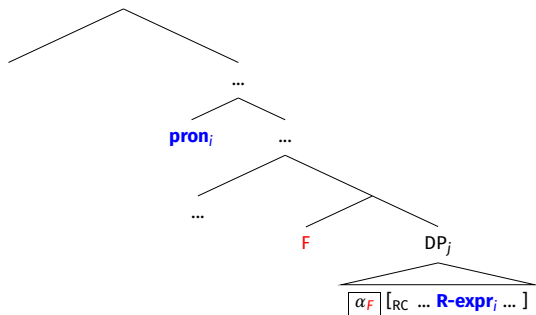


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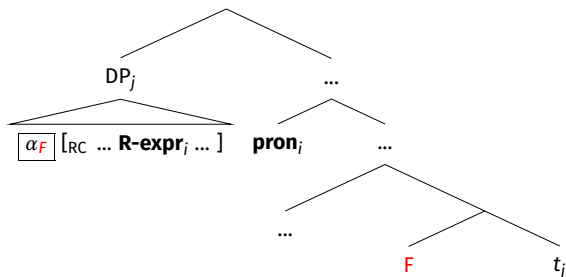
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⚠ **But reconstruction causes a Condition violation.**

Conflict in Reconstruction

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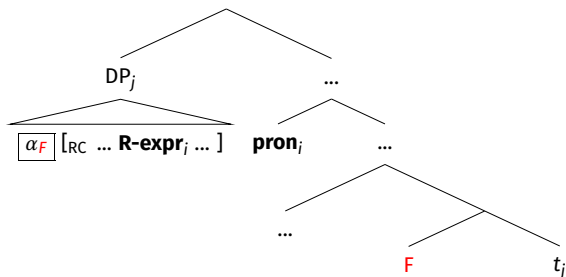


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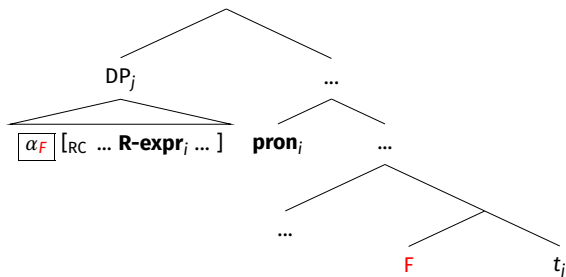
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⚠ **Non-reconstruction does not license** α_F

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How is the conflict resolved?

Instance of the Conflict: Negative Concord *shika*

Shika must be local to **NEG** at LF.

- (2) *Taro-wa hon-shika* { *yoma-nak-atta* / **yom-da* }.
Taro-TOP book-SHIKA read-NEG-PAST read-PAST
'Taro only read books.'

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1. **Raising to Object** of an ACC subject left to a matrix adverb

(Kuno, 1976; Tanaka, 2002)

- (3) *Taroo-wa daitooryoo-o orokanimo* [_{ACC} *tensai da to*]
Taro-TOP president-ACC stupidly genius COP C
omotteiru.
think
'Taro stupidly considers the president to be genius.'

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2. **Anti Reconstruction** – No *De dicto* reading in (3) for *president*.

Instance of the Conflict: Negative Concord *shika*

3. Embedded **NEG** does not license raised **shika**

- (4) **Taroo-wa Hanako-shika orokanimo* [t tensai de-*nai* to]
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Int. 'Taro stupidly considers that only Hanako is not a genius.'

(Tanaka, 2002, p.644, modified)

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⇒ **shika** must be local to **NEG** at LF.

RtO preserves an idiomatic meaning;
Reconstructable movement does not impede *shika*-licensing;
Ask me in Q&A for further justification.

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shika must be local to **NEG** at LF.

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(5) [_{DP_i} Hanako-ga **Taroo_i**-ni kaita tegami]-**shika**

Hanako-NOM Taro-DAT wrote letter -SHIKA

kare_i-wa [Mary-ga t_j yoma-**nak**-atta to] omotteiru.

he-TOP Mary-NOM read-NEG-PAST C think

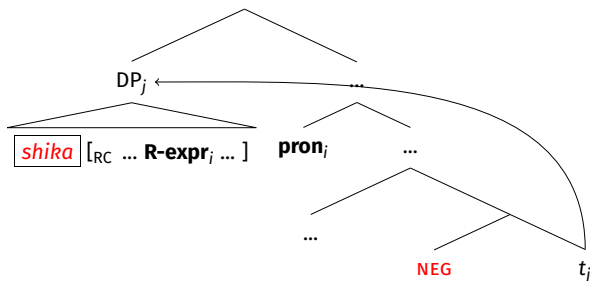
Lit: 'Only the letter Hanako wrote to Taro, he thinks Mary read.'

⚠ **Conflict:** *shika* licensing v.s. Condition C violation.

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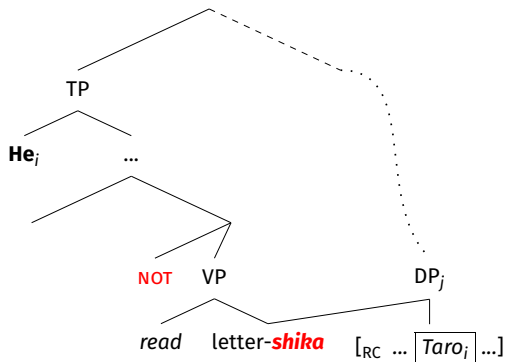
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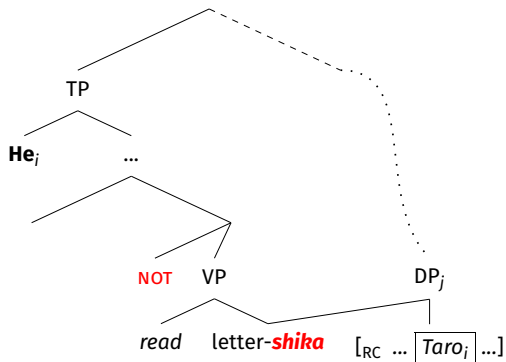
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The Parallel Merge (Citko, 2005) of *letter-shika* and RC

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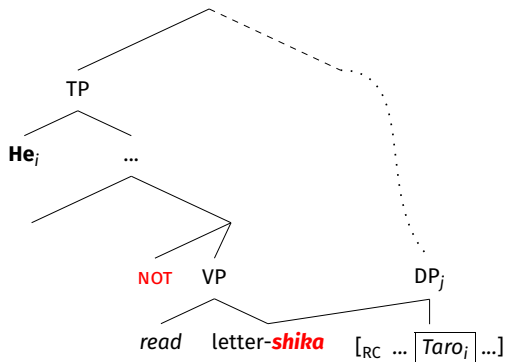
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Merger of TP and DP_j is semantically ignored. (Johnson, 2018)

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⚠ Semantic anomaly – RC has nothing to modify.

A Condition C violation again if RC is reconstructed together.

Parallel Merge v.s. Semantic Reconstruction

Lechner (1999): Semantic Reconstruction for scope reconstruction.

(9) [$Q_{\exists j}$ [$RC \dots \mathbf{R}\text{-expr}_i \dots$]] **pron** _{i} ... Q_{\forall} ... t_j

The $Q_{\forall} > Q_{\exists}$ reading is available.

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⚠ Condition C violation by Syntactic Reconstruction
Semantic Reconstruction (Cresti, 1995) a.o. as a rescue.

(10) [$Q_{\exists,j}$ [RC ... **R-expr**_{*j*} ...]] **pron**_{*j*} ... Q_{\forall} ... $T_{et,t}$

The scope is reconstructed while Q_{\exists} stays high.

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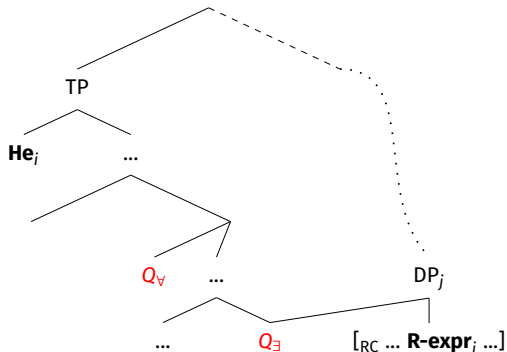
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Parallel Merge v.s. Semantic Reconstruction

Parallel Merge can be extended to Lechner's (1999) case.

(12)



Parallel Merge v.s. Semantic Reconstruction

Lechner's (1999) case in German is replicated in Japanese.

- (13) [_{DP_j} **Taroo**_i-ga kaita ronbun-no **doreka**]-o
Taro-NOM wrote paper-GEN some -ACC
kare_i-wa [**dono-gakusei-mo** t_{DP_j} yonda to] omotteiru.
he-TOP which-student-all read C think
Lit.'Some paper Taro wrote, he thinks every student read.'
($\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$)

Summing up the discussion...

Parallel Merge, Late Merge, and Semantic Reconstruction all let the R-expression in RC be unbound.

But only Parallel Merge explains the entire data.

Parallel Merge and Fox's (1999) observation

The *seem*> \exists reading is absent in (14a) due to Condition C.

- (14) a. A student of David's seems to him to be at the party.
(\exists > *seem* ; **seem* > \exists)
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Parallel Merge is allowed in the conflict case, but not in (14a).

Constraint(s) on Parallel Merge

It is not variation across *languages*.

Citko (2005) motivates Parallel Merge for English ATB-movement.

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He-NOM Hanako-NOM saw c think NMNL TOP

Taro_{*1}-ga totta syasin-o da.
Taroo-NOM took picture-ACC COP

'It is a photo that Taro took that He thinks Hanako saw.'

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The variation is across *configurations*.

Which configuration allows a derivation with Parallel Merge?

Conclusion

- ▶ Parallel Merge resolves the reconstruction conflict.
- ▶ Parallel Merge makes different predictions than Late Merge or Semantic Reconstruction do, and only Parallel Merge makes a correct prediction.
- ▶ But the operation must be properly constrained. Formalizing constraints is left for future work.

Thank You!

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