

## On the Rule of Right Node Raising in French

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### Introduction

‘Right Node Raising’, or rightward factorization, has to our knowledge never been investigated in any detail in French. In fact, its mere existence might be regarded with suspicion given the high variability of speakers judgements on prototypical examples such as (1a), especially when compared to their pronominalized competitors such as (1b):

- (1) a. Marie a épluché et Paul a mangé les pommes.  
Marie has peeled and Paul has eaten the apples
- b. Marie a épluché les pommes et Paul les a mangées.  
Marie has peeled the apples and Paul them-has eaten

Building on both written and spoken attested data (see appendix), we show that more natural (and unambiguous) patterns can be provided that give a safer ground to assess the facts and evaluate competing analyses, such as (2a) which is perfectly acceptable and maybe even preferred over (2b):

- (2) a. Il y a **des langues qui ont et des langues qui n’ont pas de flexion casuelle**.  
(Attested ex. cited by Abeillé 2006)  
There CLIT-are **some languages that have and some languages that don’t have DE (=any) case inflection**
- b. Il y a **des langues qui ont une flexion casuelle et des langues qui n’en ont pas**.  
There CLIT-are **some languages that have some case inflection and some languages that don’t have it**

Our conclusions concur with those of Chaves & Sag (2007)’s for English, who also make rich use of attested data:

- 1- RNR may, under certain conditions, occur in any syntactic context, and not only in coordinate constructions
- 2- RNR involves ellipsis rather than extraction, extraposition, multidominance or delayed combination
- 3- Ellipsis, in the particular case of RNR, requires syntactic (and not only semantic) reconstruction

### I. Assessing the facts

Though recognized (cf. Yatabe 2001), the range of overlapping between RNR output and unrelated constructions is often underestimated in practice. Unless specified, we use throughout unambiguous patterns such as (2a) above, namely constructions with rightward factorization across strings S1...Sn such that:

- (i) S1... and/or Sn do not arguably form standard constituents (vs. rightward sharing under constituent coordination)
- (ii) S1, ... Sn-1 do not easily allow the omission of the factorized chunk outside RNR (vs. null cplt anaphora, VP-ellipsis and/or absolute uses of predicates)

Borrowing Sag (1976: 190-201)’s words on gapping, we examine in turn 1) what can be RNRed, 2) when it can be so, and 3) where.

## 1. What to RNR

There seems to be no restriction on the syntactic category, nor on the grammatical function of the factorized chunk.

As the attested examples below illustrate, one may right-node raise NPs (3a,b,c), PPs (3d,e), APs (3f), S' (3f,g), finite and non finite VPs (3h,i), etc. with various grammatical functions: direct complement (3a,g,h), predicative complement (3b,f), oblique complement (3d,e) inverted subject (3c), adjunct (see (4) below)), and even head (3i).

- (3) a. J'ai eu à traiter et je traite encore un certain nombre de dossiers de ce type.  
(J. Méjean, *Le guide du divorce*, 2008) - **direct NP cplt**  
I had to deal-with and I still deal-with a certain number of cases of this kind
- b. ce n'est que le 13 décembre 36 jours après l'élection que George Bush **est déclaré et se déclare président des États-Unis** (Ester) - **predicative NP cplt**  
This is only the 13th of december, 36 days after the election that George Bush **is declared and REFL-declares (= declares himself) President of the US**
- c. Il est bien évident qu'il est impossible de dire **où commence et où finit le document**.  
(Frantext, H.-I. Marrou, *Connaissance historique*, 1954, p. 77) - **inverted NP subject**  
It is quite obvious that it is impossible to tell **where begins and where ends the document**
- d. S'agit-il seulement pour lui [J. Chirac] de rechercher un effet d'humiliation des Anglo-américains, ou bien **se prépare-t-il et prépare-t-il l'opinion à une forme de rupture ou de prise de distance, notamment avec les Américains** ? (Ester) - **oblique PP**  
(...) **REFL-prepares-he and prepares-he the opinion to a kind of rupture or distance, especially with-respect-to the Americans ?**  
'Is he preparing himself and (preparing) the public opinion to (...)'
- e. [alors le mot déconstruction fait le tour du monde] **je ne suis pas sûr et le New York Times non plus n'est pas sûr de de du sens qu'il faut lui donner** (Ester) - **oblique PP**  
**I'm not sure and the NY Times neither is not sure of of of-the [dysfluency] meaning that one must to-it-give**
- f. Pour Mr Kaspar, « la CGT **a été et reste solidaire des forces syndicales soumises au parti unique des pays de l'est** ». (FTB) - **predicative AP cplt**  
For Mr Kaspar, the CGT **has been and remains solidary with trade-union forces subjected to the 'parti unique' of east countries**
- g. On découvrit alors - ou on feignit de découvrir - **que les métiers de la fonction publique s'exercent là différemment**. (FTB) - **direct sentential cplt**  
We discovered then or we pretended to discover that national services jobs are-practised here differently
- h. S'y ajoutent des bilans professionnels destinés à amener les intéressés à se demander **s'ils veulent ou s'ils doivent changer** » (...). (FTB) - **direct VP[inf] cplt**  
Add to it professional assessments intended to lead the interested to REFL-ask (= ask themselves) **if they want or if they must change-INF**
- i. Quelles erreurs graves seraient évitées **si nos hommes politiques et si nos hommes de science s'en souvenaient dans leurs critiques et dans leurs projets** ! - **head finite VP**  
(Frantext, J. Fourastie, *Le grand espoir du 20ème siècle*, 1969, p. 337)  
What serious mistakes would-be avoided **if our political men and if our scientists remembered it in their critics and their projects !**

In fact, the factorized chunk does not even need to correspond to an established constituent: one may RNR nonconstituents (4), as first noted by Abbot (1976) for English, or word parts (5), as convincingly argued for by Chaves (2008):

- (4) a. En descendant vers le port **d'où ne part et où n'arrive plus aucun navire depuis des mois**, les trois hommes vêtus à l'égyptienne, comme d'honnêtes marchands, sont pris de la même crainte. (Frantext, J. Lanzmann, *La horde d'or*, 1994)-**Adv+NP+PP**  
By going down towards the port **from where NE-leave and where NE-arrive no-more no boat since several months**, the three men dressed like Egyptians, like honest sellers, are stroke by the same fear
- b. Et l'esprit ici, semble-t-il, a soufflé fort, car pendant plusieurs années, c'est comme un tourbillon de feuilles dans le grand vent, une déambulation sans attaches et sans bagage de libres esprits **qu'assemble et qu'agrège ça et là pour un moment seulement, d'Iéna à Heidelberg, de Tubingue à Halle, la plus haute préoccupation spirituelle**. (Frantext, J. Gracq, *Préférences*, 1961, p. 256) - **Adv + PP + PP + PP + NP**  
And the spirit there, as it seems, has blown hard, because during several years, it's like a whirl of leaves in the great wind, a strolling without any attache and without luggage of free spirits **that assembles and that agregates here-and-there for a moment only, from Iena to Heidelberg, from Tübingen to Halle, the highest spiritual concern**
- (5) a. Mais tout cela n' est évidemment intelligible que si l'on admet que la recherche métaphysique vise à l'immédiat pur (qui est en deçà de l' hypothétique), soit qu' elle atteigne au delà de l'hypothétique une réalité nouvelle, soit encore que **cet infra et ce supra-hypothétique** se rejoignent et se confondent. (Frantext, G. Marcel, *Journal métaphysique*, 1923, p. 283)  
(...) **this infra- and this supra-hypothesis** REFL-meet and REFL-get-mixed-up
- b. Les instables thyroïdiens (Léopold Lévi) alternent les deux tableaux **de l'hyper et de l'hypo-thyroïdie** et parfois les combinent. (Frantext, E. Mounier, *Traité du caractère*, 1946, p. 168)  
(...) the two (clinical) pictures **of the hyper- and of the hypo-thyroid** (...)

## 2. When to RNR

### 2.1 Lexical condition

First, some identity (or 'non distinctness') must hold, which is neither purely formal, nor purely semantic, but rather lexeme-based, between the linguistic expressions that get RNRred under a single chunk.

- the RNRred chunk does not necessarily meet the formal subcategorization requirements of each of the strings it depends on (see §II below for more data and discussion):

- (6) a. Il y a **des langues qui ont et des langues qui n'ont pas de flexion casuelle**.  
There CLIT-are some languages that have and some languages that NE-have not DE (= any) case inflection
- b. Il y a des langues qui ont **une / \*de flexion casuelle**.  
There CLIT-are some languages that have some/DE case inflection
- c. Il y a des langues qui n'ont pas **de / \*une flexion casuelle**.  
There CLIT-are some languages that NE-have not DE /some case inflection

- the RNRred chunk may correspond to an idiom part:

- (7) a. Tout le monde riait en cachette lorsqu'il **montait ou feignait de monter sur ses grands chevaux**.  
Everyone laughed in secret when he **was-riding or was-pretending to ride on his big horses**  
'Everyone smiled secretly when he lose or was pretending to loose his temper'
- b. Il **a avalé et avalera encore bien des couleuvres**.  
He **has swallowed and will-swallow again so many grass snakes**  
'He was sold and will be sold again so much snake oil'

- Homonymous lexical words cannot be RNRed under a single chunk:

- (8) a. On y achète souvent des avocats.  
We-here-buy often some avocados  
b. On y croise rarement des avocats.  
We-NE-here-meet only rarely some lawyers  
c. \*On y achète souvent mais on y croise rarement des avocats.  
we-here-buy often but we-NE-here-meet only rarely some avocados / lawyers  
'We often buy here avocados but only rarely meet there lawyers'

## 2.2 Semantic condition

Conversely, strings across which RNR applies must stand in semantic contrast alongside one dimension, or more such as:

- Polarity (see also (2a) above):

- (9) **Qu' il y ait ou qu' il n'y ait pas rareté d'argent**, Montparnasse installe toujours en plein trottoir des terrasses bourrées de buveurs. (Frantext, L.-P. Fargue, Le piéton de Paris, 1939, p.169)  
**That there CLIT-be or that there NE-CLIT-be not scarcity of money**, Montparnasse always has on pavements some terraces full of drinkers

-Tense, aspect, or modality:

- (10) a. elles paraissent presque anecdotiques comparées aux épreuves **qu'a vécues que vit et que vivra le peuple irakien** (Ester)  
they seem almost anecdotal compared to the ordeals **that have lived that are-living and that will-live the Iraqi people**  
b. voilà demain nous verrons si les socialistes **se sont remis ou se remettent de leur débâcle du 21 avril 2002**. (Ester)  
so tomorrow we will-see if the socialist **REFL-are recovered (=have recovered) or REFL-recover (= are recovering) from the rout of April 21th 2002**  
c. **il ne pouvait il ne voulait rien lui refuser** et cette passion funeste l'a fait plonger (Ester)  
**he NE-could he NE-wanted nothing him-refuse-INF** and this passion made him plunge  
'He could'nt (and) he didn't want to refuse him anything and (...)'

- Lexical meaning of predicates and/or arguments:

- (11) a. ces ondes vont provoquer des interférences qui empêcheront **de passer et de recevoir des appels** (Ester)  
those waves will create some interferences that will-prevent from make-INF and from receive-INF (phone) calls  
b. [alors le mot déconstruction fait le tour du monde] **je ne suis pas sûr et le New York Times non plus n'est pas sûr de de du sens qu'il faut lui donner** (Ester) - oblique PP  
I'm not sure and the NY Times neither is not sure of of of-the [dysfluency] meaning that one must to-it-give  
c. aujourd'hui chacun **entend à la radio et voit à la télévision les épreuves que vivent les Irakiens** (Ester)  
today everyone **hears on the radio and sees on the TV the ordeals that are-living the Iraqi people**

- Contextual (inferred) meaning:

- (12)a. et puis **Éric, je rappelle ou je redonne le nouveau tracé du prochain Paris / Dakar** (Ester)  
and also Eric, **I recall or I give-again the new route of the next Paris / Dakar**  
'I recall (to those who listened since the beginning) or give again (to those who joined us under way) the new route of the next Paris-Dakar'
- b. bien évidemment une bonne police républicaine, c'est une police **qui est au service et qui prend en compte en particulier les besoins des Français aux moments où ils sont les plus forts c'est-à-dire souvent la nuit et les fins de semaine** (Ester)  
of course a good republican police, it's a police **which is in-the service and which takes into account in particular the needs of-the French (people) at those times where they are the strongest, namely often at night and in the week-ends**  
'A good republican police is a police which is in the service of French people and, better, a police which can take into account their particular needs when they are the strongest, namely often at night and in the week-ends (...)'

### 2.3 Prosodic condition

Although empirical studies remain to be done, it seems plausible to assume that each component of the RNR construction must form an independent prosodic unit at some given level (phonological / intermediate / intonational phrase), as argued for a.o. by Hartmann (2000), Selkirk (2002), Chaves & Sag (2007) for English:

- a linguistic chunk cannot be easily RNRed when it corresponds to (13), or depends on (14a,b) a phonological weak form (cf. Bresnan 1974 for English, Abeillé 2006 for French), except in stylistically marked (written only) uses (14c):

- (13) a. ? Il paraît **qu'il ne voit et qu'il n'entend plus**.  
It seems **that he NE-sees and that he NE-hears no-more**
- b. ? Il lui doit ou du moins croit lui devoir **tout**.  
He **him-owes or at least believes him-owe- INF everything**
- c. Il paraît **qu'il ne voit et qu'il n'entend presque plus**.  
It seems **that he NE-sees and that he NE-hears almost no-more**
- d. Il lui doit ou du moins croit lui devoir **absolument tout**.  
He **him-owes or at least believes him-owe-INF absolutely everything**  
'He owes him or at least believes to owe him absolutely everything'
- (14) a. Les Centres d'accueil et de loisirs municipaux (CALM) accueillent les enfants, **le matin avant et le soir après l'école**. (www.rennes.fr/index.php?id=287) [ambiguous RNR / NC anaphora].  
Education centers welcome children, **the morning before and the evening after school**
- b. ??Les Centres d'accueil et de loisirs municipaux accueillent les enfants, **le mercredi à partir de et le samedi jusqu'à l'heure du déjeuner**  
Education centers welcome children **on Wednesday à leave-INF DE (=from) and on Saturday up to lunch time**  
'Education centers welcome children from lunch time on Wednesday, and up to lunch time on Saturday'
- c. Il est et se trouve avec un ami et copain qui lui conseille **de et l'incite à faire ajouter et coudre un bouton et un rond de corozo à son pardessus et manteau**. (Frantext, R. Queneau, Exercices de style, 1947, p. 10)  
He is and REFL-stands with a friend and mate who **him-advises to and him-urges to let add and be-sewed a button and a round of ivory on his overcoat and coat**

- RNR patterns of the form [Subject + V and Subject + V- RNRed object] that feed most syntactic argumentations are strongly dispreferred, as reported by Rigaud (2010), except with short pronominal subjects such as clitics or relative pronouns (15), and/or heavy objects such as S' (16), namely syntactic structures that favor the prosodic phrasing required:

- (15)a. Pour en arriver là, **il faut et il suffit que toute portée métaphysique soit déniée à la connaissance rationnelle.** (Frantext, M. Tournier, *Le vent paraquet*, 1977, p. 286)  
To arrive there, **it is-necessary and it is-sufficient that any metaphysical concern be denied to the rational knowledge**
- b. la FLN ne représente rien : ce sont les appareils du pouvoir **qui montent ou qui descendent un parti** selon la conjoncture (Ester)  
the FLN (= Algerian liberation front) NE-represents nothing: it be-PL the national force devices that **make-go-up or make-go-down a (political) group** according-to circumstances
- (16) a. Les institutions proclament et tout le monde fait semblant de croire qu'un Barbu égale un de Gaulle, qu'un Dumont égale un Giscard, qu'un Schivardi égale une Royal. (Libération, 30/03/07, cited by Bonami & Godard 2007)  
The institutions proclaim and everyone make seem-PRES-PART (= pretends to) believe-INF that a Barbu (= s.o. like Marcel Barbu) matches a de Gaulle (=s.o. like Charles de Gaulle), that a Dumont (=s.o. like Michel Dumont) matches a Giscard (=s.o. like Valérie Giscard d'Estaing), that a Schivardi (=s.o. like Gérard Schivardi) matches a Royal (=s.o. like Ségolène Royal)
- b. Le vendeur déclare et l'acquéreur reconnaît avoir été informé qu'il existe actuellement une procédure en cours diligentée par le syndicat des copropriétaires contre M.XXX pour charges impayées. (Private notarial deed)  
The seller declares and the purchaser recognizes have-INF been informed that there exists at -present a procedure in progress conducted by the association of property-owners against M. XXX for charges unpaid

### 3. Where to RNR

#### 3.1 In coordinate structures

(i) verbal coordinations (finite and non finite VPs / root and embedded Ss)

(ii) non verbal coordinations (PPs / NPs / APs / AdvPs):

- (17)a. Est élevé **au rang et à l'appellation de Général de corps aérien** le général de division aérienne Bernard Norlain. (FTB)  
Is elevated **to-the rank and to the designation of general of flying corps** the general of flying division Bernard Norlain
- b. Que penser d'une société qui admet des universités dans un tel état de délabrement contre **les efforts, et souvent les succès, de ses personnels** ? (FTB)  
What to-think of a society that tolerates some universities in a so-poor state against **the efforts, and often the successes, of its employees**
- c. La moitié des ménages français n'exerçant pas une activité agricole, avaient en 1955, un revenu annuel **inférieur ou au plus égal à 540000F**, soit 45000F par mois. (Frantext, Anonyme, *L'univers économique et social*, 1960, p. 4611)  
Half of the French households NE-practising not an agricultural activity, had in 1955, an annual wage **inferior or at the most equal to 540000 Francs**, namely 45000 francs by month
- d. **Dès que nous frôle, et si peu que nous frôle la fugace boiteuse**, nous nous tenons debout, les pieds solidement posés sur le sol, le front en plein vent, et les yeux grands ouverts sur le visible, le palpable. [PP and AdvP[Adv+Rel-clause]] (Frantext, D. Germain, *La pleurante des rues de Prague*, 1992, p. 98)  
**From that us-skims, and so few that us-skims the fleeting lame**, we stand up (...)  
'As soon as the fleeting lame skims us, and so little it skims us, we stand up'

### 3.2 In head-adjunct structures

(i) comparatives (inequality / equality):

- (18)a. Rassemblant toute son attention, toutes ses facultés, **il devina plus qu'il ne comprit le discours de son défenseur** (Frantext, M. Van der Meersch, Invasion 14, 1935, p. 94)  
Gathering all his attention, all his faculties, **he guessed more than he NE-understood the discourse of his defender**
- b. Mais **il balbutia plutôt qu' il n'articula cette phrase meurtrière**. (Frantext, G. Bernanos, Un mauvais rêve, 1948, p. 954)  
But **he stammered rather than he NE-articulated that killing sentence**
- c. "**Je ne prends, comme je n'ai jamais pris, aucune part à des mises en causes personnelles et à une campagne dont on voit bien l'objectif**", assure-t-il, en tant que membre du secrétariat du comité central (FTB)  
« **I NE-take, as I NE-have never taken, no part (= any part) to personal attacks and to a campaign DONT we see well the aim (= whose aim is clear)** », assures he, as a member of the secretariat of the central comity (...)
- d. J'ai été surpris autant qu'honoré **que vous m'avez cité dans votre "appel pour un quart d'heure laïc à la télévision" dans le Monde du 31 décembre 1989**. (FTB)  
I have been suprised as-much as honoured that you me-have cited in your 'call for a quater laique on TV» in Le Monde of 31th december 1989

(ii) circumstancials ?

- (19)a. On ne l'appelle déjà plus bien qu'elle s'appelle encore **«Kate» Middleton**.  
One NE-her-calls already no-more although she REFL-calls still « Kate » Middleton  
'No one calls her anymore though she's still called «Kate» Middleton
- b. Nous nous engageons à ce que **soient diffusées aussitôt que nous parviennent les informations collectées par notre correspondant sur place**.  
We REFL-engage to DEM that (= we garanty that) be-SUBJ broadcasted as-soon as us-reach the informations collected by our correspondant in place

### 3.3 Elsewhere

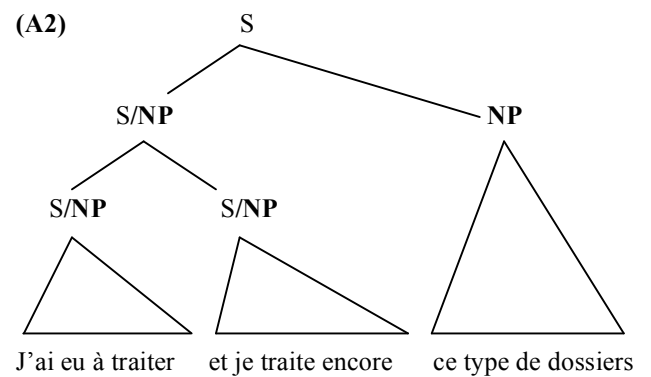
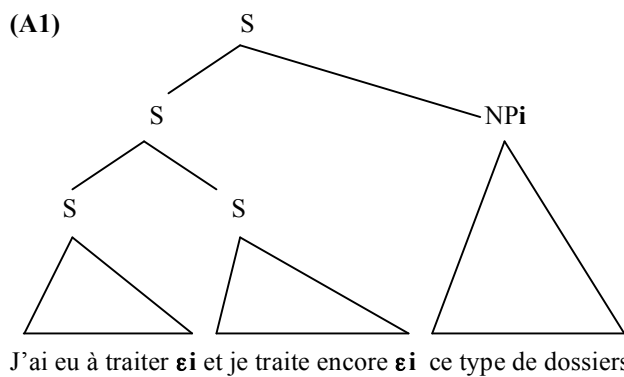
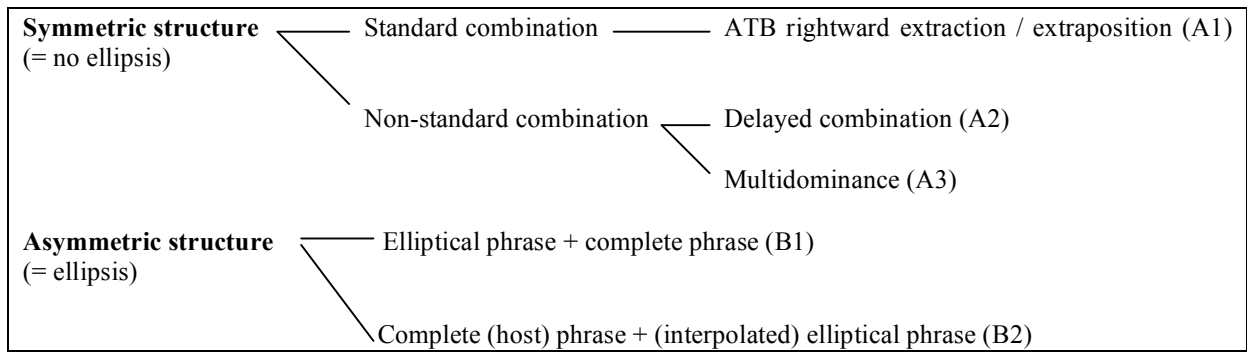
(i) NP structures:

- (20) a. Ne lit-on pas au sujet de la deuxième étape : « à ce stade, le comité ne juge pas possible de proposer un projet détaillé pour l'accomplissement de cette transition », à savoir le passage **de la première à la deuxième étape dans le domaine monétaire**. (FTB)  
(...) the transition from the first to the second step in the monetary domain
- b. Nous préparerons **cent à deux cents représentants** pour les élections en mai ", a déclaré à la foule en délire le militant d'opposition Lubomir Sobajiev du haut des marches de la cathédrale Alexandre-Neovski. (FTB)  
We will-prepare **a-hundred to two hundred representatives** for the election in May, has declared to the croud in delirium the opposition leader Lubomir Sobajiev from the top of-the steps of the cathedral Alexandre-Neovski

(ii) VP structures ?

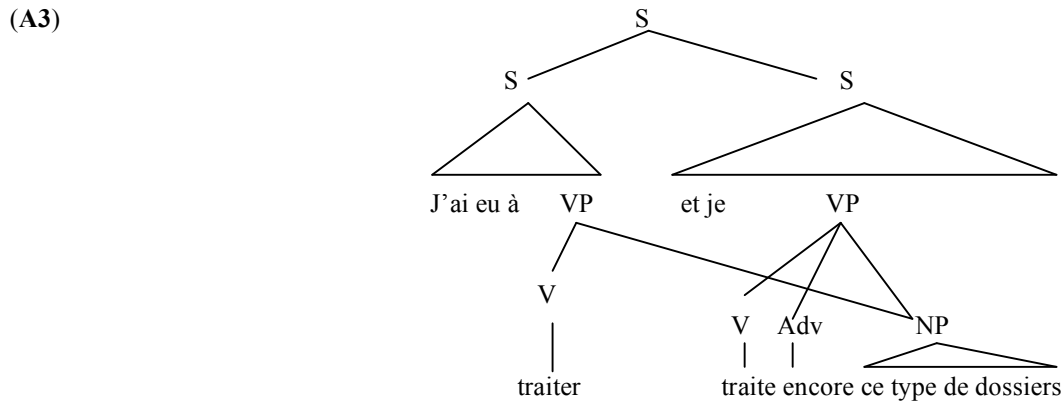
- (21) a. On préfère souvent **ce que dit à ce que fait un Président**.  
One prefers often DEM that (=what) says to DEM that (=what) does a President  
'One often prefers what a Président says to what he does'
- b. Il faut distinguer **les informations que reçoivent de celles que diffusent les medias**.  
One must distinguish **the informations that receive from those that broadcast the medias**

## II. Contrasting structures

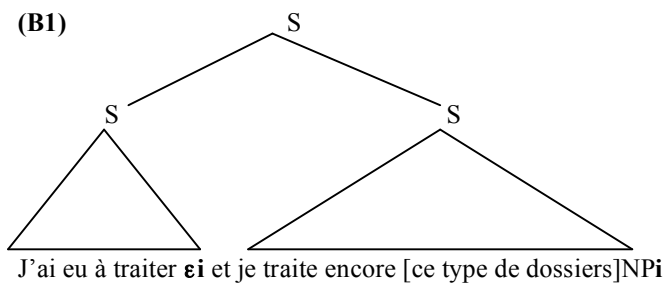


[cf. Ross 1967, Hankamer 1971, Bresnan 1974, Postal 1974, Gazdar 1981, Postal 1998, etc.]

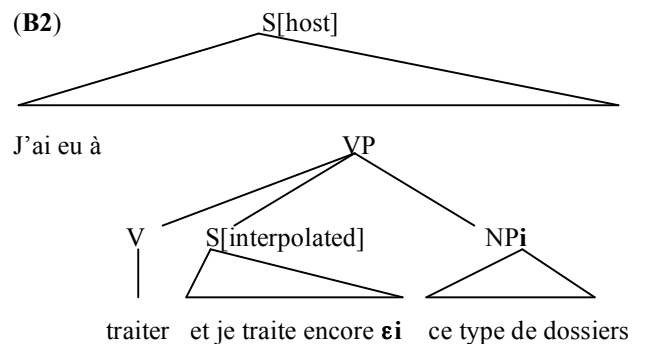
[cf. Dowty 1988, Steedman 1985, 1996, 2000, Bayer 1996, Morrill 1994, etc.]



[cf. McCawley 1982, Goodall 1987, Muadz 1991, Philips 1996, etc.]



[cf. Chomsky 1957, Gleitman 1965, Wexler & Culicover 1980, Levine 1985, van Oirsouw 1988, Hartmann 2000, etc.]



[Extending Espinal 1991]



## Outline

- 1- The syntactic structure is not symmetric
- 2- The elliptical constituent is not - repairs left aside - interpolated
- 3- Remaining issues

### **1. The syntactic structure is not symmetric**

#### **1.1 Against ATB rightward extraction or extraposition (A1)**

##### (i) No island sensitivity (cf. Wexler & Culicover 1980)

RNR may target constituents embedded in (strong) islands for leftward extraction such as relative clauses (22), sentential subjects (23) or PPs (24) in French:

- (22) a. Il y a **des langues qui ont et des langues qui n'ont pas de flexion casuelle**.  
There CLIT-are **some languages that have and some languages that don't have DE case inflection**  
b. \*[Quel type de flexion]<sub>i</sub> y-a-t-il des langues [qui ont  $\epsilon_i$ ] ?  
[What kind of inflection]<sub>i</sub> are there some languages [that have  $\epsilon_i$ ] ?
- (23) a. **Qu'il y ait aujourd'hui ou qu'il y ait encore après le prochain comité directeur, plusieurs textes d'orientation en présence** n'est pas en soi nuisible. (FTB)  
**That there CLIT-be today or that there CLIT-be after the next leading comity several texts of orientation at stake** NE-is not by itself harmful  
b. [Quel texte]<sub>i</sub> n'est pas nuisible [qu'il y ait encore  $\epsilon_i$  après le prochain comité] ?  
Which text NE-is not harmful [that there CLIT-be still  $\epsilon_i$  after the next leading comity] ?
- (24) a. Il faut dire qu'il y a au Havre deux escales par jour **en provenance ou à destination de l'Asie** (Ester)  
One must say that there CLIT-is at the Havre two stop-over by day **in origin or to destination from Asia**  
'It should be pointed out that there are at Le Havre by day two stop-over of boats coming from or going to Asia'  
b. \*[De quel pays] y a-t-il deux escales par jour [à destination  $\epsilon_i$ ] ?  
[From which country]<sub>i</sub> are there two stop-over by day [to destination  $\epsilon_i$ ]

##### (ii) Non-constituent RNR (cf. Abbot 1976)

There may be more than one RNRed constituent, while there can't be more than one filler in a given extracted position (in languages such as French):

- (25) a. En descendant vers le port **d'où ne part et où n'arrive plus aucun navire depuis des mois**, les trois hommes vêtus à l'égyptienne, comme d'honnêtes marchands, sont pris de la même crainte. (Frantext, J. Lanzmann, La horde d'or, 1994)-**Adv+NP+PP**  
By going down towards the port **from where NE-leave and where NE-arrive no-more no boat since several months**, the three men dressed like Egyptians, like honest sellers, are stroke by the same fear  
b. \*Depuis quand que part de ce port ?  
Since when what leaves from this port  
'What does leave from this port, and since when ?'

##### (iii) RNR outside verbal coordinations (see I.3.2 & I.3.3 above)

## 1.2. Against delayed combination (A2) or multidominance (A3)

### (i) Right Node « wrapping » (against CCG's version of A2)

The RNR chunk may be followed by a complement which is appropriate for the second conjunct, but not for the first (cf. Whitman 2009 for a solution in Type-Logical CG)

- (26) a. L'une des principales figures de l'union des forces démocratiques (...) analyse dans un entretien avec Le Monde **l'origine et les conséquences de la crise actuelle sur la question turque**.(FTB)  
(...) the origine and the consequences of the crisis current on the turkish issue  
= the origin of the current crisis and its consequences on the turkish issue  
≠ ??the origin of the current crisis on the turkish issue and its consequences on this issue
- b. Il convient en somme **d'appliquer et de faire connaître l'arrêté de 1977 aux futurs maîtres et aux écoliers**. (from (24c))  
One has afterall **to apply and to make know the (law) order of 1977 to-the future teachers and their pupils**  
= **to apply the order and to make future teachers and their pupils know it**  
≠ **to apply the order to future teachers and their pupils and make them know it**
- c. Il convient en somme, **après avoir revu, d'appliquer, de faire connaître, d'enseigner aux futurs maîtres et aux écoliers l'arrêté de 1977**. (N Catach *et al.*, Un appel de linguistes sur l'orthographe, Le Monde de l'Education, octobre 1989)  
One has afterall, after having corrected, to apply, to make know, to teach to future teachers and their pupils the order of 1977 [N.B. % acceptability due to what looks like a parasitic gap]

### (ii) Subcategorization mismatches (against both CCG's and TLCCG's versions of A2, and against A3)

The RNR chunk must match the formal subcategorization requirements of the second conjunct, but not necessarily those of the first (cf. Cann *et al.* 2005 for similar data in English):

- Negative/Positive polarity licensing: cf. ex. (10) above

- Prepositional marking:

- (27) a. Ce parti **ne parvient pas, voire ne souhaite pas, surmonter les contradictions idéologiques qui entravent son action et rendent ses choix confus**. (Le Monde, 15/11/2008)  
This party **NE-succeeds not, even NE-wishes not, overcome-INF the contradictions ideological that impede his action and make his choices confusing**  
'This political party does not succeed in, and even maybe does not want to overcome the ideological contradictions that impede his action and make his choices confusing'
- b. Ce parti {ne parvient pas à surmonter ces contradiction / \*ne parvient pas surmonter ces contradiction}.
- c. Ce parti {\*ne souhaite pas à surmonter ces contradiction / ne souhaite pas surmonter ces contradiction}.
- (28) a. En raison de douleurs, une personne sur trois **est incapable ou a beaucoup de mal à mener une vie indépendante** (Ester)  
Due to pain, one person out-of 3 **is incapable or has a lot of difficulty to live a life independant**
- b. Elle est {incapable de mener une vie indépendante / \*incapable à mener une vie indépendante / \*incapable mener une vie indépendante}
- c. Elle a {\*beaucoup de mal de mener une vie indépendante / beaucoup de mal à mener une vie indépendante }

- (29)a. **Grâce, ou à cause de cette hausse**, les prix de l'immobilier dans l'ancien ne sont pas loin de retrouver leurs niveaux d'avant-crise.  
(<http://www.avendrealouer.fr/conseils/actu-immo/le-prix-de-l-immobilier-atteint-des-sommets-dans-les-grandes-villes+718.aspx>)  
**Thanks, or to cause of (= because of) that increase**, the prices of the real-estate in the old NE-are not far from recover-INF their levels of before crisis
- b. Grâce {à cette hausse / \*de cette hausse / cette hausse}, les prix reviennent à leur niveau d'avant-crise.
- c. À cause {\*à cette hausse / de cette hausse / \*cette hausse}, les prix reviennent à leur niveau d'avant-crise.
- (30)a. Ils seront conseillés sur toutes les décisions qui portent sur l'organisation du service, la vie collective **pendant et hors du service**, les constructions de casernement, et ils seront chargés d'informer le commandement de l'état d'esprit et des préoccupations des sous-officiers ou de leurs familles. (FTB)  
They are advised on all the decisions that scope on (= concern) the organization of-the service, the life collective **during and out of-the service** (...)
- b. Ils seront conseillés sur tout ce qui concerne la vie collective pendant {le service / \*du service}.
- c. Ils seront conseillés sur tout ce qui concerne la vie collective hors {du service / ?le service}.

(iii) RNR outside coordination (see I.3.2, I.3.3 above)

## 2. The elliptical member is not interpolated

### (i) Conjunction doubling

Conjunctions can be doubled in RNR constructions, but not when they introduce an interpolated phrase:

- (31)a. Il convient en somme **(et) d'appliquer et de faire connaître l'arrêté de 1977**. (26b)
- b. Il y a chaque jour au Havre deux escales **(ou) en provenance ou à destination de l'Asie** (24a)
- c. Personne ne sait **(ni) d'où provient ni à qui est destiné ce fameux colis**.  
No-one NE-knows **(neither) from where comes nor to whom is adressed this famous parcel**

- (32)a. (Ou bien) Paul a triché à l'examen, ou bien j'ai mal compris.  
(Or else) Paul has cheated, or else I mis understood
- b. **(\*Ou bien) Paul, ou bien j'ai mal compris**, a triché à l'examen.  
**(\*Or else) Paul, or else I misunderstood**, has cheated at the exam

(ii) Subcategorization mismatches (cf. (10), (27), (28) and (29) above)

(iii) RNR outside coordinate or head-adjunct structures (see I.3.3 above)

## 3. Remaining issues

Two classical arguments against an (exclusive) asymmetric analysis relying on backward ellipsis :

- non distributive readings shouldn't be available (cf. Abbot 1976, Jackendoff 1977, Gazdar 1981, etc.) - cf. (33)-(35)
- summative agreement should be ungrammatical (cf. McCawley 1988, Postal 1998, Yatabe 2003, etc.) - cf. (34)-(36)

But :

- Speakers' intuitions on non distributive readings remain unclear (cf. Hartmann 2000)
- Summative agreement, if to be generated (see Beavers & Sag 2004 for discussion), does not follow either from symmetric analyses

## English data

- (33) I borrowed, and my sisters stole, a total amount of \$3000 from the bank. (Abbot 1976: 642)
- ✓ (i) distributive reading: ‘I borrowed a total amount of \$3000 from the bank and my sisters stole a total amount of \$3000 from the bank’
  - ?? ✓ (ii) non distributive reading: ‘The total amount of what I borrowed and what my sisters stole is \$3000.’
- (34)a. The pilot claimed that the first nurse and the sailor proved that the second nurse were spies. (Postal 1998: 172)
- b. The pilot claimed that the first nurse and the sailor proved that the second nurse was a spy. (Given \* by Postal, but acceptable by Yatabe 2003, as well as Beavers & Sag 2004)

## French data

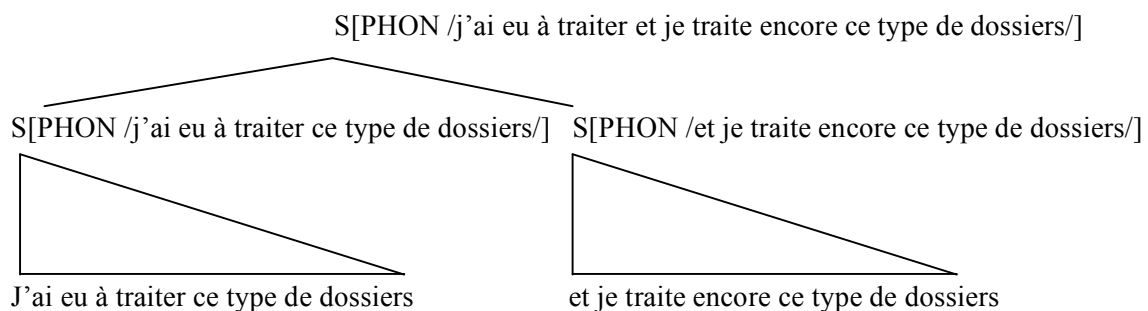
- (35)a. Il affirme **que certains lui ont légué et que d'autres lui ont prêté un montant total de 30000 euros**.  
He pretends **that some him-have bequeathed and DE others him-have loaned an amount total of 30000 euros**
- ✓ (i) distributive reading : ‘He pretends that some bequeathed him a total amount of 30000 euros and that others loaned him (as well) as total amount of 30000 euros’
  - ?? ✓ (ii) non distributive reading : ‘He pretends that the total amount of what he was bequeathed by some and loaned by others is 30000 euros’
- (36) a. (...) mais la pure ingéniosité dans l'invention romanesque, **qu'un style et qu'une vision originale du monde ne soutiennent pas dans l'oeuvre écrite**, acquiert parfois dans sa transposition en images une vigueur décisive (Frantext, J. Gracq, En lisant en écrivant, 1980, p. 246) (...)  
(...) but the pure ingeniosity in the invention novalistic, **that a style and that a vision original of-the world NE-support-PL not (= do not support) in the written production**, acquires sometimes in its transposition in images a vigor decisive
- b. L'ingéniosité dans l'invention romanesque, **qu'un style et qu'une vision originale du monde ne soutient pas dans l'oeuvre écrite**, acquiert parfois dans sa transposition en images une vigueur décisive  
(...) **that a style and that a vision original of-the world NE-support-SG not in the written production**

## III. Reconstructing ellipsis

### 1. Two kinds of reconstruction

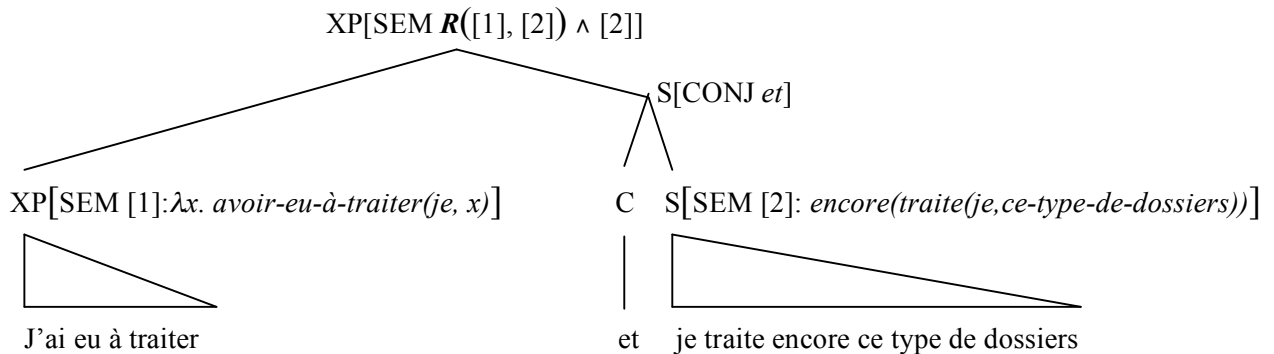
#### Ellipsis with ‘syntactic reconstruction’

A saturated syntactic structure with some material left unpronounced (=phonological deletion)



### Ellipsis with ‘semantic reconstruction’

An unsaturated syntactic structure paired with a rule of interpretation (and syntactic parallelism constraints as well, if needed)



## 2. Some arguments for preferring syntactic reconstruction

### (i) RNR ellipsis does not alter word order:

- (37)a. On ne sait pas encore quand le Président présentera son nouveau programme aux militants.  
We NE-know not yet when the President will-present his new program to-the campaigners
- b. \*On ne sait pas encore quand présentera son nouveau programme aux militants le Président.  
We NE-know not yet when will-present his new program to-the campaigners the President
- c. Le programme est prêt, paraît-il, mais on ne sait pas encore quand le Président le présentera aux militants.  
The program is ready, as it seems, but we NE-know not yet when the President IT-will-present to-the campaigners
- d. Le programme est prêt, paraît-il, mais on ne sait pas encore quand le présentera aux militants le Président.  
The program is ready, as it seems, but we NE-know not yet when IT-will-present to-the campaigners the President
- (38)a. On ne sait pas encore **quand le Président présentera ni où il présentera son nouveau programme aux militants**.  
We NE-know not yet **when the President will-present nor where he will-present his new program to-the campaigners**
- b. \*On ne sait pas encore **quand présentera le Président ni où il présentera son nouveau programme aux militants**.  
We NE-know not yet **when will-present the President nor where he will-present his new program to-the campaigners**
- c. Le programme est prêt, paraît-il, mais on ne sait pas encore **quand le Président le présentera, ni où il le présentera aux militants**.  
The program is ready, as it seems, but we NE-know not yet **when the President IT-will-present nor where he IT-will-present to-the campaigners**
- d. Le programme est prêt, paraît-il, mais on ne sait pas encore **quand le présentera le Président, ni où il le présentera aux militants**.  
The program is ready, as it seems, but we NE-know not yet **when IT-will-present the President nor where he IT-will-present to-the campaigners**

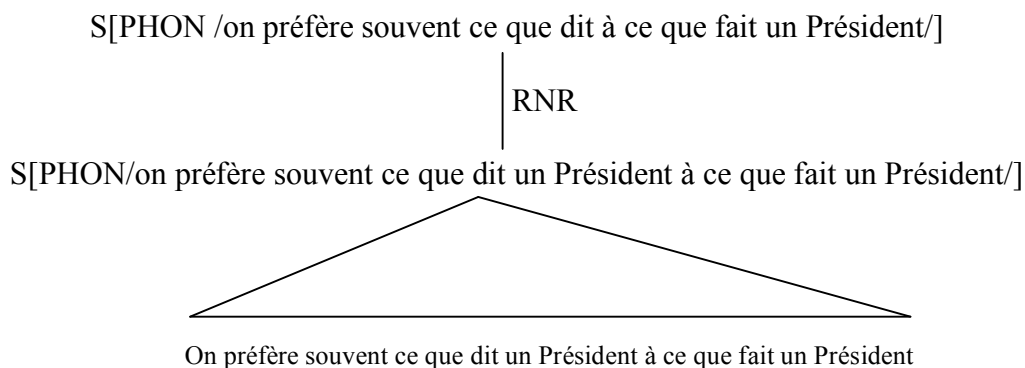
(ii) RNR ellipsis does not alter argument realization:

- (39) a. Nous ne leur faisons lire NP[d'oeuvres en langue étrangère] qu'occasionnellement.  
We NE-THEM(DAT)-make read-INF DE books in language foreign only occasionally  
'We make them read books written in a foreign language only occasionally'  
b. \*Nous ne les faisons lire NP[d'oeuvres en langue étrangère] qu'occasionnellement.  
We NE-THEM(ACC)-make read-INF DE books in language foreign only occasionally  
c. Nous ne les faisons lire qu'occasionnellement PP[en langue étrangère].  
We NE-THEM(ACC)-make read-INF only occasionally in language foreign  
'We make them read in a foreign language only occasionally'  
d. \*Nous ne leur faisons lire qu'occasionnellement PP[en langue étrangère].  
We NE-THEM(DAT)-make read-INF only occasionally in language foreign
- (40) a. Nous ne leur faisons lire et nous ne lisons nous-mêmes qu'occasionnellement NP[d'oeuvres en langue étrangère].  
We NE-THEM(DAT)-make read-INF and we NE-read ourselves only occasionally DE books in language foreign  
'We make them read and we read ourselves books in a foreign language only occasionally'  
b. \*Nous ne les faisons lire et nous ne lisons nous-mêmes qu'occasionnellement NP[d'oeuvres en langue étrangère].  
We NE-THEM(ACC)-make read-INF and we NE-read ourselves only occasionally DE books in language foreign  
c. Nous ne les faisons lire et nous ne lisons nous-mêmes qu'occasionnellement PP[en langue étrangère].  
We NE-THEM(ACC)-make read-INF and we NE-read ourselves only occasionally in language foreign  
'We make them read and we read ourselves in a foreign language only occasionally'  
d. \*Nous ne leur faisons lire et nous ne lisons nous-mêmes qu'occasionnellement PP[en langue étrangère].  
We NE-THEM(DAT)-make read-INF and we NE-read ourselves only occasionally in language foreign

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## Conclusion

'Right Node Raising' as a rule of leftward phonological deletion within any syntactic domain under certain lexical, semantic and prosodic conditions.



To be further investigated:

- Hard and soft constraints on the choice of RNR in discourse
- Explicit formalization (see Chaves & Sag 2007 for a proposal in HPSG)

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## Appendix

The research reported here relies on a study of (i) 1/5 of the French Treebank (sentence by sentence), (ii) a subset of the Ester Corpus comprising 20 hours of recording from France Inter, France Info, France Culture, Radio Classique and RFI channels (utterance by utterance with conjunctions ‘et’, ‘mais’, ‘ni’ ‘soit’ and ‘ou’), and (iii) the result of various requests using regular expressions on the 20th tagged subset of the Frantext corpus.

FTB (Abeillé *et al.* 2003): Written French Treebank comprising 699 945 words from the newspaper ‘Le Monde’ 1990-1994, annotated and disambiguated for parts of speech, inflectional morphology, compounds and lemmas, syntactic constituents and grammatical functions.

Ester (Gravier *et al.* 2004) : Spoken French corpus comprising 100 hours of recorded speech from the radio channels France Inter, France Info, Radio France International, Radio Television Marocaine, France Culture and Radio Classique, annotated for verbatim orthographic transcription, speakers turns and identities, information about acoustic conditions, and name entities.

Frantext (ATILF) : Written French corpus (from the XVIth to the XXIth century) comprising 210 million words, with a subset of 127 million words tagged for parts of speech (XIXth to XXIth century)

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