

Does ATB LBE Exist?

Barbara Citko

bcitko@u.washington.edu

Outline:

1. Puzzle
2. Previous Approaches to LBE
 - 2.1 No DP Approaches
 - 2.2 Remnant Movement Approaches
 - 2.3 Scattered Deletion Approaches
3. Previous Approaches to ATB Movement
 - 3.1 Null Operator Movement Approaches
 - 3.2 Sideward Movement Approaches
 - 3.3 Multi-Dominant Approaches
4. Principled Exception
 - 4.1 Elliptical ATB LBE
 - 4.2 Determiner Sharing

1. Puzzle

• Across-the-Board Wh-Movement:

- 1) $WH_i [XP \dots e_i \dots]$ and $[XP \dots e_i \dots]$?

• Left Branch Extraction:

- 2) $WH_i [[DP e_i \dots]]$

• Across-the-Board Left Branch Extraction:

- 3) $WH_i [XP \dots [DP e_i \dots]]$ and $[XP \dots [DP e_i \dots]]$?
- 4) * Which did John recommend e_i book and Mary read e_i book?
- 5) a. * *Which*_i did John read $[DP e_i$ book]?
- b. * *Whose*_i did John read $[DP e_i$ book]?

- c. * *This*_i John has read $[DP e_i$ book].
- d. * *Interesting*_i John has read $[DP e_i$ books].

• Exceptions to the Left Branch Condition:

- 6) a. Którą Jan przeczytał książkę? Polish
 which Jan read book
 'Which book did Jan read?'
- b. Čju ty čítaeš knihu? Russian
 whose you read book
 'Whose book are you reading?'
- c. Jakou čte Petr knihu? Czech
 which reads Peter book
 'Which book is Peter reading?'
- d. Kiro je Janez prebral knjigo? Slovenian
 which is Jan read book
 'Which book has John read?'

• Across-the-board wh-questions:

- 7) a. Którą książkę Maria poleciła i Jan przeczytał? Po
 which book Maria recommended and Jan read
 'Which book did Maria recommend and Jan read?'
- b. Kakuju knihu Džon porekomendiroval a Meri pročitala? Ru
 which book John recommend and Mary read
 'Which book did John recommend and Mary read?'
- c. Kterou knihu Jan doporučil a Marie přečetla? Cze
 which book Jan recommended and Marie read
 'Which book did John recommend and Mary read?'
- d. Kiro knjigo je Janez priporocu in Marija prebrala? Sl
 which book John recommend and Mary read
 'Which book did John recommend and Mary read?'

• Across-the-Board Left Branch Extraction:

- 8) a. * *Którą*_i Maria poleciła $[DP t_i$ książkę] i Jan przeczytał $[DP t_i$ książkę]? Po
 which Maria recommend book and Jan read book
 'Which book did Mary recommend and John read?'

- b. * Kakuju Džon porekomendiroval knigu a Meri pročitala knigu? *Ru*
 which John recommended book and Mary read book
 'Which book did John recommend and Mary read?'
- c. ??? Kterou Jan doporučil knihu a Maruška si přečetla knihu? *Cze*
 which Jan recommend book and Mary refl read book
 'Which book did John recommend and Mary read?'
- d. * Kiro je Janez priporocu knjigo in Marija prebrala knjigo? *Sl*
 which has Jan recommend book and Maria read book
 'Which book did John recommend and Mary read?'

• ATB LBE improves if the verb in the second conjunct is gapped ('salvation by deletion' of Ross 1969, Merchant 2001, Lasnik and Fox 2003)

- 9) a. Jaka Maria zamówiła kawę a Jan herbatę? *Po*
 what-kind-of Maria ordered coffee and Jan tea
 'What kind of coffee did Mary order and what kind of tea did Jan order?'
- b. Kakuju Džon pročital knigu a Meri gazetę? *Ru*
 which John read book and Mary newspaper
 'What kind of book did John read and what kind of newspaper did Mary read?'
- c. Kterou Jan přečetl knihu a Maruška báseň? *Cze*
 which Jan read book and Mary poem
 'Which book did John read and which poem did Mary read?'
- d. Cigavo je Janez prebral pesem a Marija knjigo? *Sl*
 whose has Jan read poem and Mary book
 'Whose poem did John read and whose book did Mary read?'

Q: Why is 'canonical' ATB LBE ungrammatical?

Q: Why does ATB LBE improve with gapping?

Preview:

	<i>Op movement</i>	<i>sideward movement</i>	<i>multi-dominance</i>
'No DP'	☹	☹	☺
<i>remnant movement</i>	☹	☹	☺
<i>scattered deletion</i>	☹	☹	☺

2. Some Background on Left Branch Extraction

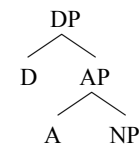
2.1. 'No DP' Approach (Corver 1992, Gij 1987, Kennedy and Merchant 2000, Zlatić 1997, Uriagereka 1988, Bošković 2005)

• LBE correlates with the lack of overt articles:

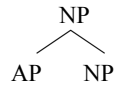
- 10) a. * *Kakva* prodade Petko *t* kola? *Bulgarian*
 what-kind sold Petko car
 'What kind of a car did Petko sell?'
- b. * *Kakva_i* prodade Petko *t* kola? *Macedonian*
 what-kind-of sold Petko car
- 11) a. *Wieviel* hat er *t* Bücher gelesen? *German*
 how-many has he books read
 'How many books has he read?'
- b. *Wat* heft hij *t* voor romans geschreven? *Dutch*
 what has he for novels written
 'What kind of novels has he written?'
- c. *Combien* a-t-il vendu *t* de livres? *French*
 how-many has-he sold of books
 'How many books did he sell?'
- d. *Cîti e* Maria *t* de frumoasă! *Rumanian*
 how is Mary of beautiful
 'How beautiful Mary is!'
- 12) a. [_{CP} which_i [_{C'} did [_{IP} John read [_{DP} *t_i* book]]]] *English*
 _____*_____
- b. [_{CP} which_i [_{C'} [_{IP} Jan read [_{NP} *t_i* book]]]] *Slavic*
 _____*_____

Bošković's 2005: NP over AP/AP over NP parameter

- 13) a. English-type languages, AP over NP:



b. Slavic-type languages, NP over AP:



• Other D-like elements have to be reanalyzed as adjectives:

- 14) a. ten pan Po
 this man
 b. każdy pan
 every man
- 15) a. język polski
 language polish
 ‘Polish language’
 b. kraj ojczysty
 country paternal
 ‘motherland’
 c. sos własny
 sauce self’s
 ‘natural sauce’
- 16) a. I *samu Mariju* to nervira. (Progovac 1998) SC
 and alone Mary that irritates
 ‘And that irritates even Mary.’
 b. *I *Mariju samu* to nervira.
 and Mary alone that irritates
- 17) a. I *nju/mene samu* to nervira.
 and her/me alone that irritates
 ‘And that irritates even her/me.’
 b. *I *samu nju/mene* to nervira
 and alone her/me that irritates
- 18) a. *La *sola lei si e* presentata. (Longobardi 1994)
 the only she REFL has showed
 ‘Only she showed up.’

b. *Lei sola si e* presentata.
 she only REFL has showed

c. *Sola lei si e* presentata.
 only she REFL has showed
 ‘Only she has showed.’

• The assumption that there is no DP layer does not (in itself) account for what looks like movement of non-constituents:

19) *Z którymi rozmawiałaś studentami?*
 with which you-talked students
 ‘Which students did you talk to?’

2.2 *Remnant Movement Approach (Borsley and Jaworska 1988, Franks and Progovac 1994)*

20) a. *Którą Jan przeczytał książkę?*
 which Jan read book

b. Jan read book_i [which *t_i*]

c. [which *t_i*]_j Jan read book_i *t_j*

21) a. *Z którymi rozmawiałaś studentami?*
 with which you-talked students

b. You talked students_i [_{PP} to which *t_i*]

c. [_{PP} to which *t_i*]_j you talked students_i *t_j*

2.3 *Scattered Deletion Approach (Fanselow and Cavar 2002, Fanselow 2005)*

• PP are islands:

22) a. **Jakie drzewo* Jan wszedł [_{PP} na *t*]?
 what-kind-of tree Jan climbed on
 ‘What kind of tree did Jan climb?’

b. **Co* Jan wszedł [_{PP} na duże *t*]?
 what Jan climbed on big
 ‘What big thing did Jan climb?’

- c. * *Drzewo* Jan wszedł [PP na duże *t*]
 tree Jan climbed on big
 'Jan climbed a big tree.'

• LBE is a consequence of a *Copy* and *Merge* approach to movement coupled with the assumption that copy deletion can take place in a discontinuous manner:

- 23) a. Którą Jan przeczytał książkę?
 which Jan read book
 b. which book Jan read which book? (Copy)
 c. which ~~book~~ Jan read ~~which~~ book? (Delete)

• How to constrain it?

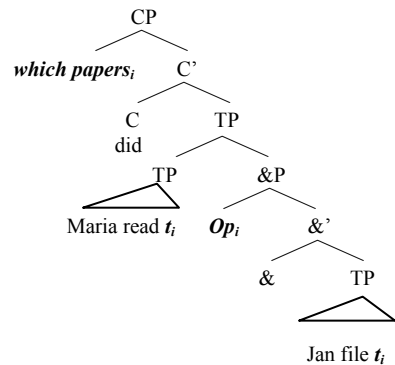
• Why do some Copy and Delete operations obey islands, and others don't?

3. Some Background on ATB Movement

3.1 *Empty Operator Movement Analysis* (Franks 1993, 1995, Munn 1993, 2001)

- 24) a. Which papers did Mary read and John file?
 b. Which paper did Mary file without reading?

25)



• Case matching in ATB questions and parasitic gap constructions (Franks 1993, 1995):

- 26) *Kogo-ACC* Jan polubił *e-ACC* a Maria zaczęła unikać *e-ACC*? *Po*
 who Jan liked and Maria started avoid
 'Who did Jan begin to like and Maria begin to avoid?'

- 27) * *Komu-DAT/kogo-ACC* Maria dawała pieniądze *e-DAT* a Jan unikał *e-ACC*?
 whom Maria gave money and Jan avoid
 'Whom did Maria give money and John avoid?'

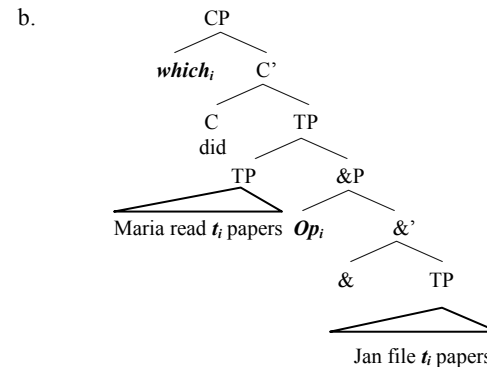
- 28) * *malčik, ktoromu/kotorogo* Maša dawała den'gi *t-DAT* do tego, kak (ona)
 boy who-DAT/who-GEN Masha gave money until she
 stała izbegat' PG-GEN
 started to-avoid
 'the boy who Masha gave money to until she started to avoid'
 (Franks 1995:79)

- 29) *devuška, ktoroj* Ivan dawała den'gi *t-DAT* do tego, kak (on)
 girl who-DATGEN Ivan gave money until he
 stal izbegat' PG-GEN
 started to-avoid
 'the girl who Ivan gave money to until he started to avoid'
 (Franks 1995:78)

- 30) a. *The man* OP_i Mary saw *t_i* is my brother.
 b. *John* is easy OP_i to please *t_i*.

• What rules out the empty operator movement out of the left branch?

- 31) * *Jakie_i* Maria przeczytała [_{DP}*t_i* artykuły] i Jan odłożył [_{DP} *t_i* artykuły]? *Po*
 which Maria read papers and Jan filed papers



• Comparative subdeletion (Merchant and Kennedy 2000, Kennedy 2002, among many others)

- 32) a. Michael Jordan has more scoring titles than Dennis Rodman has tattoos. (*Chicago Tribune*, 7.17.98)
 b. The shapes seem to be longer than they are thick . . . (Greg Bear, 1997, *Slant*, New York, Tor, p. 262)
 (Kennedy 2002:554)

- 33) a. Michael has more scoring titles than [_{CP} *Op* Dennis has [_{DP} *Op* tattoos]]
 b. The shapes are longer than [_{CP} *Op* they are [_{DEGP} *Op* thick]]

- 34) a. * Pico wrote a more interesting novel [_{CP} *Op* than Brio wrote *t_i* a play]
 b. * Erik drives a more expensive car [_{CP} *Op* than Polly drives a *t_i* motorcycle.

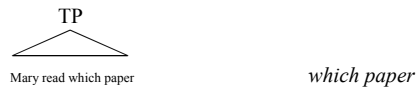
- 35) a. Pico wrote a more interesting novel than Brio {wrote, did, expected}.
 b. Erik drives a more expensive car than Polly {drives, does, said}
 (Kennedy and Merchant 2000:94)

- 36) a. Jan napisał dłuższy list niż Paweł napisał sztukę. *Po*
 Jan wrote longer letter than Paweł wrote play
 'Jan wrote a longer letter than Paweł did a play.'
 b. Jan kupił droższy samochód niż Paweł kupił motocykl.
 Jan bought more-expensive car than Paweł bought motorcycle
 (Kennedy and Merchant 2000:105)

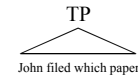
3.2 *Sideward Movement* (Nunes 1995, Nunes 2001, Nunes and Hornstein 2002)

- 37) a. Which paper did Mary read and John file?
 b. N = {which paper, Mary, John, file, read, v₂, T₂, &, C}

- 38) a. Build TP₁ *Mary read which paper*
 b. Copy *which paper*

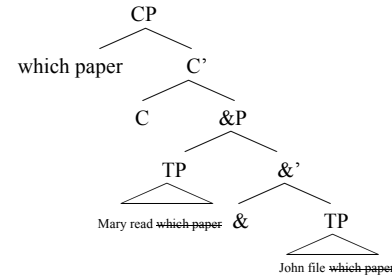


- c. Merge *which paper* with *file*
 d. Build TP₂ *John filed which paper*



- e. Merge TP₁ with &
 f. Merge TP₂ with &P
 g. Merge &P with C
 h. Copy and Merge *which paper* with C

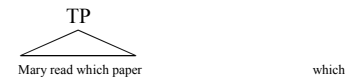
39)



• What rules out sideward movement out of the left branch?

• N = {which, *paper*₂, Mary, John, file, read, v₂, T₂, &, C}

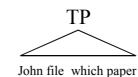
- 40) a. Build TP₁ *Mary read which paper*
 b. Copy *which*



- c. Merge *which* with *paper*

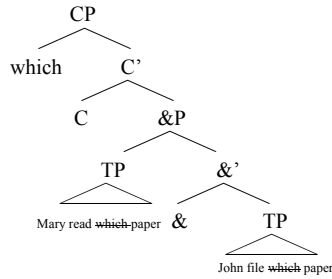


- d. Build TP *John file which paper*



- e. Merge TP1 with &
- f. Merge TP2 with &P
- g. Merge &P with C
- h. Copy and Merge *which*

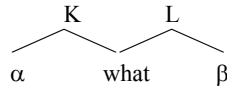
41)



3.3 *Multi-Dominance Approaches* (Williams 1977, Goodall 1983, 1987, Muadz 1991, Moltmann 1992, Wilder 1998, Citko 2002, to appear).

- ATB wh-questions involve a multi-dominance structure, in which the wh-pronoun is shared between the two conjuncts

42) *Parallel Merge*



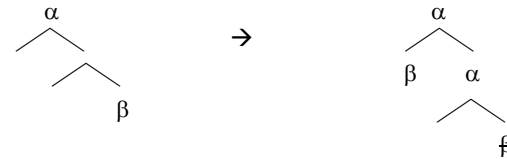
- How are *Parallel Merge* structures created? In one step (violating binarity of Merge) or in two steps (violating cyclicity)?
- How are *Parallel Merge* structures linearized?
- The existence of *Parallel Merge* structures is a natural consequence of a system that has *Internal Merge* and *External Merge* (Chomsky 2001).

• External Merge:

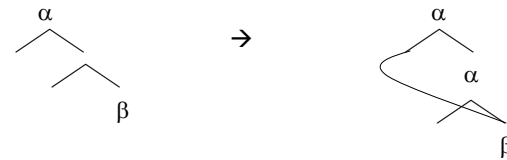


- Internal Merge (Chomsky 2001, see also Gärtner 1999, Starke 2001, Zhang 2001):

44) a. 'Copy and Paste' Theory of Movement

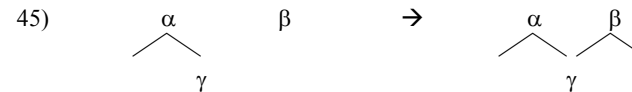


b. 'Move as Remergence' Theory of Movement



- The existence of *External Merge* and *Internal Merge* predicts the existence of a third type of *Merge* combining the properties of both. It is like *External Merge* in that it takes two distinct rooted objects but is like *Internal Merge* in that it combines them by taking a subpart of one of them.

• *Parallel Merge* (compare to Chomsky's 2001 *Pair Merge*):



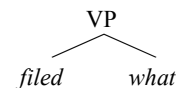
- Chomsky 2001:16: 'There is an operation SIMPL that converts $\langle \alpha, \beta \rangle$ to $\{ \alpha, \beta \}$... it is part of the operation TRANSFER which transfers the NS derivation to both Φ and Σ .'

- Only phonetically overt elements need to be linearized (Chomsky 1995, Moro's 2000 Dynamic Antisymmetry)

- *Parallel Merge* structures are linearizable as long as the shared element is a trace (more generally, an unpronounced element).

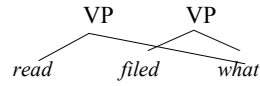
46) I wonder what *Mary read and John filed*.

47) a. Merge *filed* and *what*

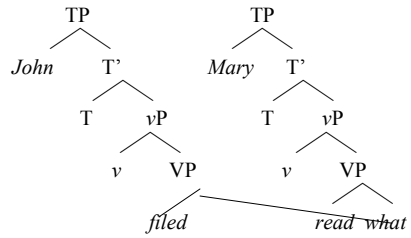


b. *Parallel Merge read with what*

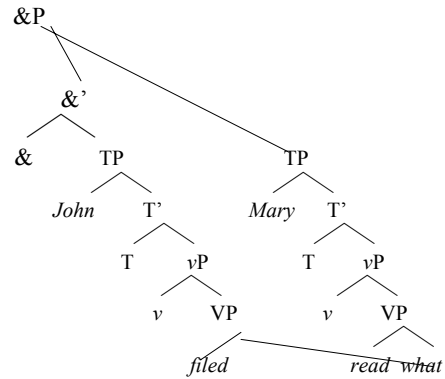
48)



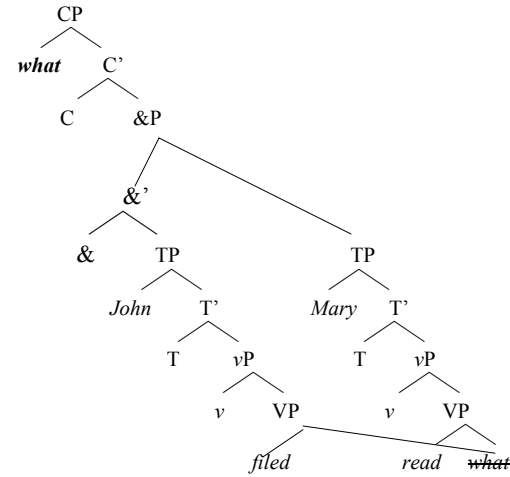
49)



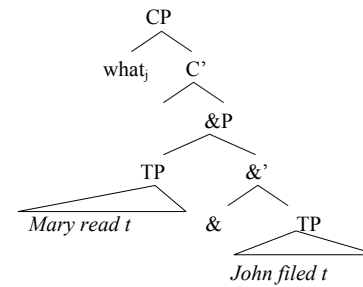
50)



51) a. *Copy and Merge what*



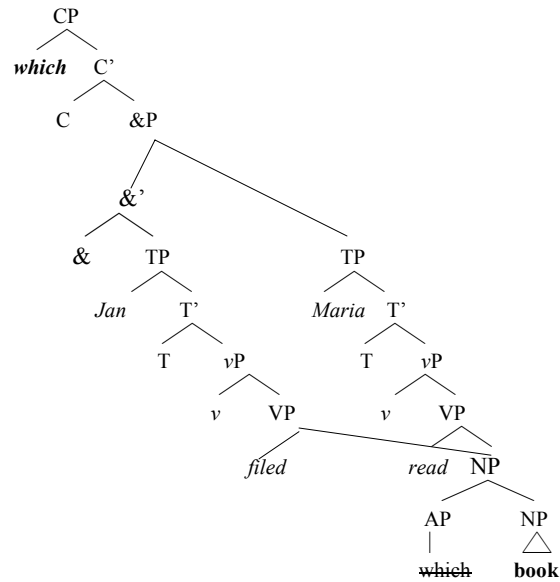
b.



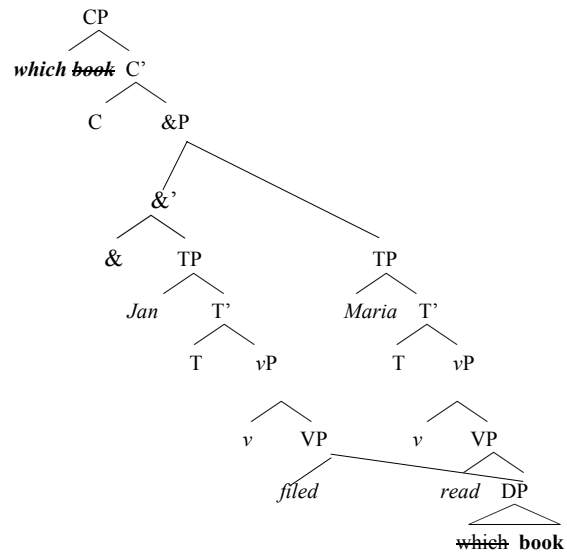
4. **The Lack of ATB LBE**

52) * *Którą* Maria przeczytała *t* książkę i Jan odłożył *t* książkę?
 which Maria read book and Jan filed book
 'Which book did Maria read and Jan file?'

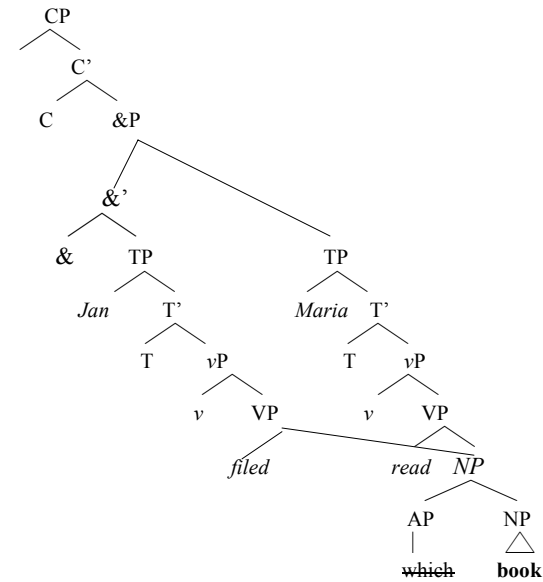
53) a. No DP Approach:



b. Scattered Deletion Approach:



c. Remnant Movement Approach:



- 54) a. * Którą Maria książkę poleciła i Jan przeczytał?
 which Maria book read and Jan read
- b. * Którą Maria poleciła a Jan książkę przeczytał?
 which Maria recommended and Jan book read

• Lack of covert ATB movement (Cho and Zhou 1999, Wu 1999 and Citko and Grohmann 2000, Bošković and Franks 2000):

Chinese:

- 55) Zhangsan xihuan *shenme ren* Lisi taoyan *shenme ren*?
 Zhangsan like which person Lisi hate which person
 'Which person does Zhangsan like and which person does Lisi hate?'

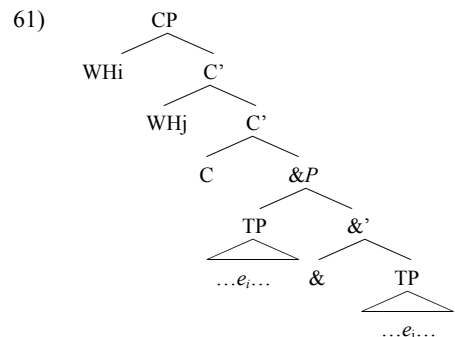
Korean:

- 56) John-i enu *salam-ul* cohaka-ko Maryka-ka enu *salam-ul* miweha-ni?
 John which person like-and Mary which person hate-Q
 'Which person does John like and which person does Mary hate?'

Japanese:

- 57) John-ga dono hito-o aisitei-te Mary-ga dono hito-o nikundeiru-no?
John which person love-and Mary which person hate-Q
'Which person does John love and which person does Mary hate?'
- 58) a. * which person x, Zhangsan/John likes x and Lisi/Mary hates x
b. which person x, Zhangsan/John likes x and which person y,
Lisi/Mary hates y
- 59) a. Shenmo ren Zhangsan xihuan Lisi taoyan?
which person Zhangsan like Lisi hate
'Which person does Zhangsan like and Lisi hate?'
- b. Enu salam-ul John-icohaka-ko Maryka-ka miweha-ni?
which person John like-and Mary hate-Q
'Which person does John like and Mary hate?'
- c. Dono hito-o John-ga aisitei-te Mary-ga nikundeiru-no?
which person John love-and Mary hate-Q
'Which person does John love and Mary hate?'
- 60) a. Some delegate represented every candidate and nominated every candidate. (* $\forall y\exists x$)
b. Some boy hugged every girl and hugged every girl.
(* $\forall y\exists x$) (Bošković and Franks 2000:114)

• Lack of ATB wh-questions with multiple fronted wh-phrases:



- 62) a. Co_i co_j Maria przeczytała e_i i Jan odłożył e_j?
what what Maria read and Jan filed
'What did Maria read and John file?'

- b. * Kogo_i komu_j Jan lubi e_i a Maria się przygląda e_j?
who-ACC who-DAT Jan likes and Maria REFL looks-at
- c. * Komu_j kogo_i Jan lubi e_i a Maria się przygląda e_j?
who-DAT who-ACC Jan likes and Maria REFL looks-at
'Who does Jan like and Mary looks at?'
- d. Co_i komu_j Jan wczoraj dał t_j t_i i Maria dzisiaj oddała t_j t_i?
what whom Jan yesterday gave and Maria today returned
'What did Jan give to whom yesterday and Mary return to whom today?'

5. Elliptical ATB LBE

- 63) a. Jaką Maria zamówiła kawę a Jan ___ herbatę? Po
what-kind-of Maria ordered coffee and Jan tea
'What kind of coffee did Mary order and what kind of tea did Jan order?'
- b. Kakuju Džon pročitao knihu a Meri ___ gazetu? Ru
which John read book and Mary newspaper
'What kind of book did John read and what kind of newspaper did Mary read?'
- c. Kterou Jan přečetl knihu a Maruška ___ báseň? Cze
which Jan read book and Mary poem
'Which book did John read and which poem did Mary read?'
- d. Cigavo je Janez prebral pesem a Marija ___ knjigo? Sl
whose has Jan read poem and Mary book
'Whose poem did John read and whose book did Mary read?'

• If the verb inside the second conjunct is *not* gapped, it has to be distinct from the verb inside the first conjunct:

- 64) Ile Maria zjadła pierogów a Janek wypił drinków?
how-many Mary ate pierogis and John drank drinks
'How many pierogis did Maria eat and how many drinks did John have?'

• The nominals inside the two conjuncts also have to be distinct:

- 65) a. * Ile Jan kupił kawy a Maria kupiła kawy?
how-much Jan bought coffee and Maria bought coffee

- b. Ile Jan kupił kawy a Maria ~~kupila~~ herbaty?
how-much Jan bought coffee and Maria bought tea

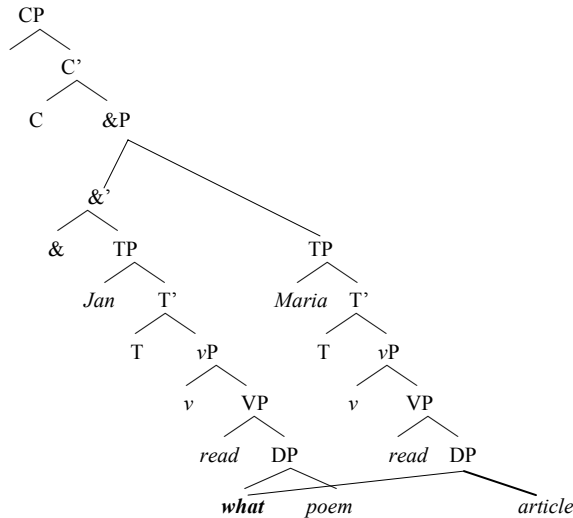
• More generally, the overt elements in the second conjunct have to contrast with the elements in the first conjunct. (*Disanaphora requirement*)

• The fronted determiner has to match both stranded nominals:

- 66) * *Jaki-MASC/jaka-FEM* Maria przeczytała *t książkę-FEM* a Jan *t artykuł-MASC*?
what Maria read book and Jan article

- 67) *Jaki-MASC* Maria przeczytała artykuł-MASC a Jan wiersz-MASC?
what Maria read article and Jan poem
'What kind of article did Maria read and what kind of poem did Jan read?'

68)

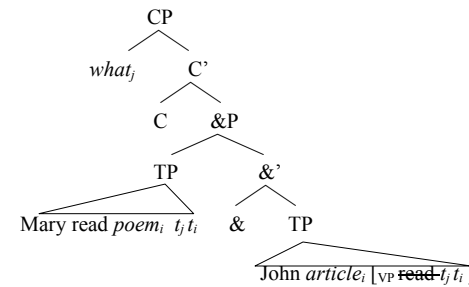


- 69) [CP [&P [TP Mary poem_i read what t_i]] and [TP John article_i read what t_i]]

- 70) [CP what_i [&P [TP Mary read poem_i t_j t_i]] and [TP John article_i read [DP t_i t_j]]]

- 71) [CP what_i [&P [TP Mary read poem_i t_j t_i]] and [TP John [VP ~~article~~ read [DP t_i t_j]]]]

72)



6. ATB LBE and Determiner Sharing?

• Elliptical ATB LBE bears some resemblance to the phenomenon known as 'determiner sharing' (McCawley 1993, Johnson 2000, Lin 2000, 2002, Szendroi and Ackema 2002, Culicover and Jackendoff (to appear)).

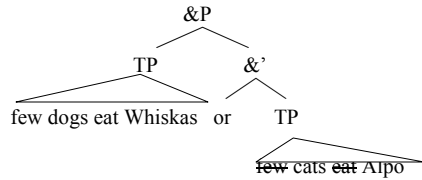
- 73) a. Few dogs eat Whiskas or ~~few~~ cats eat Alpo.
b. Too many Irish setters are named Kelly and ~~too many~~ German shepherds ~~are named~~ Fritz.
c. The duck is dry and ~~the~~ mussels are tough.
d. Your daughter is 16 and ~~your~~ son is 17 1/2.
e. No representative voted for the proposition or ~~no~~ senator ~~voted~~ against it.
f. Each student brought beer and ~~each~~ faculty member ~~brought~~ scotch.

• Determiner sharing is also dependent on gapping

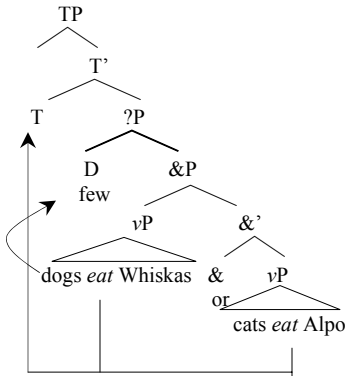
- 74) a. * Few dogs eat Whiskas or ~~few~~ cats eat Alpo.
b. * Too many Irish setters are named Kelly and ~~too many~~ German shepherds are named Fritz.
c. * The duck is dry and ~~the~~ mussels are tough.
d. * Your daughter is 16 and ~~your~~ son is 17 1/2.
e. * No representative voted for the proposition or ~~no~~ senator voted against it.

• Two approaches to determiner sharing

75) a. large constituent coordination (Ackema and Szendroi 2002)



b. small constituent coordination (Johnson 2000, Lin 2000, 2002)



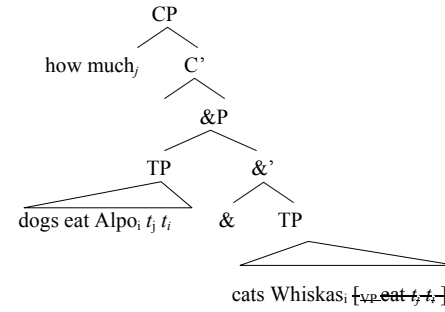
76) a. * No boy₁ joined the navy and his₁ mother headed the army.
 b. No boy₁ joined the navy and his₁ mother ~~join~~ the army.

77) a. Ward can't eat caviar and Mary eat beans.
 b. Ward can't eat caviar and Mary can't eat beans.

78) a. Sarah didn't skate on Saturday, or Samantha didn't skate on Sunday.
 b. Sarah didn't skate on Saturday, or Samantha skate on Sunday.

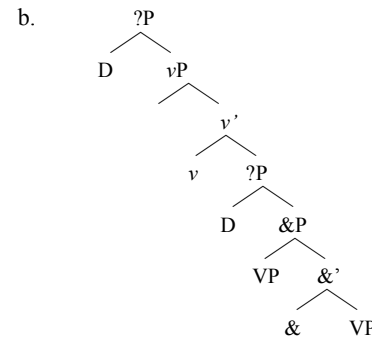
79) a. Ile psy jedzą Alpo a koty Whiskas?
 how-much dogs eat Alpo and cats Whiskas
 'How much Alpo do dogs eat and how much Whiskas do cats eat?'

b. large constituent coordination approach to ATB LBE



• Shared determiners have to be initial in their conjuncts (McCawley 1993), shared wh-determiners in ATB LBE do not.

80) a. * Mary will eat the tofu and Bob ~~will eat the~~ hotdog.



81) a. Maria zje dużo tofu a Bob hotdogów.
 Maria will-eat much tofu and Bob hotdogs
 'Maria will eat much tofu and Bob will eat many hotdogs.'

b. Ile Maria zje tofu a Bob zje ile hotdogów?
 how-many Maria eat tofu and Bob eat how-many hotdogs
 'How much tofu will Maria eat and how many hotdogs will Bob eat?'

- Wh-determiner can have narrow scope with respect to both conjuncts:

- 82) Ile Jan napisał artykułów a Marek abstraktów?
 how-many Jan wrote articles and Marek abstracts
 'How many articles did Jan write and how many abstracts did Marek write?'
- 83) Jan napisał 5 artykułów a Marek 7 abstraktów.
 Jan wrote 5 articles and Mark 7 abstracts
 'Jan wrote 5 articles and Marek wrote 7 abstracts.'

- The missing verb inside the second conjunct can differ in features from the verb inside the first conjunct:

- 84) Ile Jan napisał-MASC artykułów a Maria ~~napisała~~-FEM abstraktów?
 how-many Jan wrote articles and Maria wrote abstracts
 'How many articles did Jan write and how many abstracts did Maria write?'

Conclusions

- Canonical ATB LBE creates unlinearizable structures;
- Grammatical ATB LBE involves ellipsis rather than ATB movement;
- Grammatical ATB LBE differs from determiner sharing.

References

- Ackema, P., and K. Szendroi. 2002. Determiner sharing as an instance of dependent ellipsis. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 5, 3-34
- Bošković, Ž. 2005. Left Branch Extraction. *Studia Linguistica*.
- Bošković Ž, and S. Franks. Across-the-board movement and LF. *Syntax* 3:107-129.
- Culicover, P. and R. Jackendoff. (to appear). *Simpler Syntax*. Oxford University Press.
- Fox, D. and H. Lasnik. 2003. Successive cyclic movement and island repair: The difference between Sluicing and VP Ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34:143-154.
- Franks, Steven. 1993. On Parallelism in Across-the-Board Dependencies. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4:509-529.
- _____. 1995. *Parameters of Slavic Morphosyntax*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Goodall, Grant. 1987. *Parallel Structures in Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gärtner, H-M. 1999. Phrase Linking Meets Minimalist Syntax. WCCFL 18 Proceedings, pp. 159-169. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Goodall, Grant. 1983. A Three-Dimensional Analysis of Coordination. In *Chicago Linguistic Society* 19.146-154.
- _____. 1987. *Parallel Structures in Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hornstein, Norbert. 2001. *Move*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hornstein, Norbert, and Jairo Nunes. 2002. On Asymmetries between Parasitic Gap and Across-the-Board Constructions. *Syntax* 5: 26-55.
- Johnson, Kyle 2000. "Few dogs eat Whiskas or cats Alpo," in *UMOP 23: Issues in semantics and its interface*, Kiyomi Kusumoto and Elisabeth Villalta (eds.), pp. 59-82.
- Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Lin, V. 2000. "Determiner Sharing." In R. Billerey and B. D. Lillehaugen (eds.), *Proceedings of the 19th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- _____. 2002. Coordination and Sharing at the Interfaces. Ph. D. dissertation, MIT.
- Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Muadz, Husni. 1991. *Coordinate Structures: a Planar Representation*. Ph.D dissertation, University of Arizona.
- McCawley, J. 1993. Gapping with shared operators. Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Moltmann, Fredererike. 1992. *Coordination and Comparatives*. Doctoral dissertation. MIT.
- Moro, Andrea. 2000. *Dynamic Antisymmetry*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Munn, Allan. 1987. A null operator analysis of ATB gaps. *The Linguistic Review* 9:1-26.
- Munn, Allan. 1993. *Topics in the Syntax and Semantics of Coordinate Structures*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Maryland, College Park.
- Muadz, Husni. 1991. *Coordinate Structures: a Planar Representation*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Arizona.
- Nunes, Jairo. 1999. Linearization of chains and phonetic realization of chain links in the Minimalist Program. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park.
- Nunes, Jairo. 2001. Sideward Movement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32:303-344.
- Ross, J. R. 1967. *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*. Doctoral dissertation. MIT.
- Starke, M. 2001. Move Dissolves into Merge: a Theory of Locality. Ph. Dissertation. University of Geneva.
- Carnie, J. Haugen, P. Norquest (eds.), pp. 586-598. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Williams, Edwin. 1978. Across-the-Board Rule Application. *Linguistic Inquiry* 9.31-43.
- Zhang, N. 2001. Move is Remerge. Paper presented at GLOW Asia.

University of Washington
 Department of Linguistics
 Box 354340
 Seattle, WA 98195-4340

bcitko@u.washington.edu