Cleaving idioms with right-node-raising

An LF copying approach

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This paper examines right-node-raising (RNR) with idiom chunks. RNR sentences allow idiomatic interpretation when they contain the whole idiom chunk within the pivot (i.e., the shared element) (e.g., Jessica believed, but Zac doubted, that Justin *popped the question.*), but those containing only a part of the idiom within the pivot do not (e.g., #John *kicked*, and Mary filled, *the bucket.*). Given this, Woo (2015) argues for a multidominance approach (cf. Wilder 1999) to RNR in that the multiply dominated pivot must not be partially shared for idiomatic interpretation. However, we report that even if the pivot contains the whole idiom part, the issue of missing idiomatic interpretation in RNR still lingers (e.g., #We played a party game, and they used an ice hammer, to *break the ice.*). In order to deal with this problem, multidominance, movement, or PF deletion analyses must resort to an extra interpretive parallelism according to which a pivot cannot be used in two different senses simultaneously. From this perspective, we argue that an LF copying approach can explain the idiomaticity in RNR without extra proviso since under this analysis, it is not necessary to postulate a separate LF constraint of interpretive symmetry. We extend our analysis to Korean (and Japanese) data pertaining to RNR with idiomatic or polysemous expressions. We thus conclude that lexical mismatches and interpretive mismatches in English and Korean RNR are solid evidence of interpretive identity in RNR.

Keywords: Anti-Pun Ordinance, idiom, interpretive identity, LF copying, right-node-raising (RNR)

1. Introduction

English has a right-node-raising (RNR; Postal 1974) construction in which the shared string, which we call the *pivot* following Postal (1998), appears in the right periphery of the coordinate structure, as follows:[1]

(1) John likes, and Peter hates, your best friend.
'John likes your best friend, and Peter hates your best friend.'

RNR has been a thorny problem in generative literature. Thus far, at least three competing strands of analyses have been proposed: movement-based analyses, deletion-based analyses, and multidominance-based analyses. These analyses have in common that they assimilate RNR to coordination of full-fledged clauses at some level of grammatical representation that ultimately feeds into semantic interpretation.

What is interesting about idiom in RNR is that (2a) has idiomatic reading, but (2b) does not (Woo 2015), as indicated by the hash mark "#".

(2) a. John *kicked the bucket*.
'John died.'
b. #John *kicked*, and Mary filled, *the bucket*.
'John died, and Mary filled the bucket.' (Woo 2015: (5))

It has been recognized that some idioms can undergo syntactic transformations and preserve idiomaticity (Fraser 1970; Machonis 1985; Gibbs & Nayak 1989; Hornstein et al. 2005; Stone 2013, etc.). For example, some verb-object idioms can be passivized while others cannot, as illustrated in (3) and (4).

(3) a. Mary spilled the beans.
'Mary divulged a secret.'
b. The beans were spilled by Mary.

(4) a. John kicked the bucket.
b. #The bucket was kicked by John.

As is well known, idioms range from the highly analyzable (e.g., *spill the beans*) to the less analyzable (e.g., *kick the bucket*) (Hamblin & Gibbs 1999; Svenonius 2005).

In this light, the purpose of this study is to compare previous analyses of RNR with respect to idiomatic interpretation, and to show that the right solution comes from an LF copying ellipsis approach, based on interpretive identity. This

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1. We shall use the term RNR in a neutral way without vouching for a particular analysis of this phenomenon.

paper is organized as follows: §2 discusses the availability of idiomaticity in RNR. §3 outlines three representative analyses of RNR regarding idiomatic interpretations: across-the-board (ATB) movement analyses, backward deletion analyses, and multidominance analyses. In §4, we first argue that an LF copying approach can better explain the idiomaticity in RNR, and then explore how the proposed ellipsis approach can account for Korean (and Japanese) data pertaining to RNR with idiomatic or polysemous expressions. In addition, we discuss some theoretical implications regarding the idiosyncratic and almost paradoxical nature of RNR phenomena. §5 is a conclusion.

2.   Idiomatic interpretation in RNR

As mentioned above, idioms usually lose their idiomatic interpretation in RNR configurations. In the following, the only available interpretation is literal rather than idiomatic:

(5) a. #John *kicked*, and Mary filled, *the bucket.*
          'John died, and Mary filled the bucket.'
     b. #Bill *brings home*, but Susan cooks, *the bacon.*
          'Bill earns money, but Susan cooks the bacon.'
     c. #Rupa *cut*, and Eugene bought, *the cheese.*
          'Rupa farted, and Eugene bought the cheese.'(based on Woo 2015: (8), (9))

The examples below show that directionality does not matter:

(6) a. #Mary filled, and John *kicked, the bucket.*
          'Mary filled the bucket, and John died.'
     b. #Susan cooks, but Bill *brings home, the bacon.*
          'Susan cooks the bacon, but Bill earns the money.'
     c. #Eugene bought, and Rupa *cut, the cheese.*
          'Eugene bought the cheese, and Rupa farted.'

Although the idioms in (6) are continuous, only the literal interpretation is available.

    However, RNR can interact with idioms when the entire idiom expression appears in the pivot as follows:[2]

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2. A reviewer pointed out that the grammaticality of (7) is slightly degraded as "?", although there is a clear grammaticality (or acceptability) contrast between (5–6) and (7) with respect to the idiomatic reading.

(7)   John thought that Mary, while Tim thought that Peter, *kicked the bucket.*
       'John thought that Mary died, while Tim thought that Peter died.'

<div align="right">(Woo 2015: (13))</div>

This shows that it is not simply RNR that eliminates idiomatic interpretation. In short, idiomatic interpretation is disallowed when the pivot does not contain the whole part of idioms as in (5) and (6). On the basis of this, Woo (2015) adopts Bruening's (2010) account of the interpretation for idioms (cf. O'Grady 1998):

(8)   The Principle of Idiomatic Interpretation
       X and Y may be interpreted idiomatically only if X selects Y.

<div align="right">(Bruening 2010: 532)</div>

According to Bruening, idioms consist of one element selecting another, and these two may be interpreted as an idiom. For example, the idiom in (9) satisfies the principle in (8).

(9)   [$_{VP}$ *kick the bucket*]

Above, the combination of V (*kick*) and NP (*the bucket*) may have idiomatic interpretation.

3.   Previous analyses of RNR phenomena

3.1   Movement-based analyses

Ross (1967) and others (Sabbagh 2007; Clapp 2008; Larson 2011; Abe & Hornstein 2012, etc.) propose movement-based analyses of RNR. In these analyses, every copy of a pivot is base-generated within conjuncts. ATB movement applies to every copy of the pivot, and a single copy of the pivot is adjoined to some position external to coordinate structure:

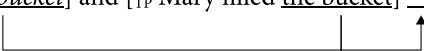(10)   [$_{TP}$ John likes __ and Peter hates __] [$_{NP}$ your best friend]

There are several pieces of evidence for the (rightward) movement-based analyses of RNR. One is that the PP complement of certain adjectives cannot be moved (Stowell 1991):

(11)   a.   That was wonderful of John.
        b.   *Of whom was that wonderful __?

Postal (1998) observes that the same set of adjectives prohibits RNR constructions:

(12) *That may have been wonderful __, and probably was wonderful __, of the person who I had just met in the park.

However, the RNR example with idioms like (5a) is problematic for movement-based analyses, where the pivot undergoes an ATB rightward movement:

(13) [TP [TP John *kicked <u>the bucket</u>*] and [TP Mary filled <u>the bucket</u>] __]

Given that such a movement takes place before the derivation splits at Spell-Out (cf. Chomsky 1995; 2000), just sharing an expression would count as being identical in licensing ATB movement. Then, before the movement, the idiomatic reading of the first conjunct would be licensed, contrary to fact. In order to avoid this problem, movement-based analyses must resort to an extra interpretive parallelism according to which an element cannot be part of both literal and idiomatic expressions simultaneously.

3.2   Deletion-based analyses

Deletion-based analyses of RNR have been introduced by Wexler & Culicover (1980) and others (Kayne 1994; Bošković 2004; Ha 2008, etc.). On this family of analyses, (1) is analyzed in terms of some kind of PF deletion operation as in (14); every copy of a pivot is base-generated in conjuncts, and only the last copy is pronounced:

(14) [TP John likes ~~your best friend~~] and [TP Peter hates your best friend]

As one of several pieces of evidence supporting deletion-based analyses of RNR, many distinct properties of VP ellipsis are also detected in RNR: Vehicle Change (Fiengo & May 1994) effects, morphological mismatches, sloppy identity, parallelism, etc. (cf. Wexler & Culicover 1980; Bošković 2004). For instance, the morphological identity between missing and antecedent elements is not necessary for VP ellipsis:

(15) John has *slept in her house*, and now Peter will ~~sleep in her house~~.

(Bošković 2004: 15)

The same property is observed in RNR:

(16) John has ~~slept in her house~~, and Peter definitely will, *sleep in her house*.

(Bošković 2004: 15)

Under Ha's (2008) PF deletion analysis of RNR, Woo (2015) conjectures that (5a) would be analyzed in the following way:
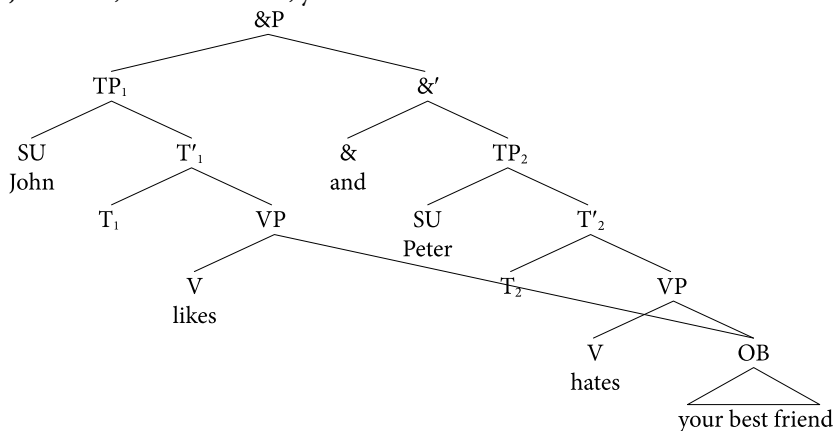
(17)   John [$_{VP}$ *kicked ~~the bucket~~*] and Mary [$_{VP}$ filled the bucket]

According to Woo, Bruening's (2010) theory predicts that idiomatic interpretation is available under deletion-based analyses. Apparently, the idiom in (17) sticks to (8): the first conjunct V selects an object NP, so the V and the NP may be interpreted idiomatically. In order to obviate such a problem, deletion-based analyses must also specify a certain interpretive parallelism based on which an element may not be included in both literal and idiomatic expressions at the same time.

3.3   Multidominance-based analyses

Multidominance analyses have been explored in various ways (McCawley 1982; Goodall 1987; Wilder 1999; Abels 2004; de Vos & Vicente 2005; Johnson 2007; de Vries 2009; Citko 2005, 2011; Grosz 2015; Bachrach & Katzir 2017, etc.). Within multidominance analyses, a single constituent may have two mothers. Therefore, the No Crossing Branch Constraint no longer holds under multidominance analyses. For an analysis of RNR constructions, Wilder (1999) proposes that coordination is syntactically asymmetric and the RNRed part is shared by both conjuncts. According to this proposal, (1) would be analyzed as follows:

(18)   John likes, and Peter hates, your best friend.

In this proposal, syntactic representations are dominance-only trees, with precedence defined for terminals only by Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA).

Among the several pieces of evidence for multidominance analyses of RNR, one shows that if the pivot in RNR contains a relational adjective such as *same*

or *different*, an internal reading is available (Abbott 1976; Jackendoff 1977; McCawley 1982; Carlson 1987; Postal 1998; Abels 2004, etc.):
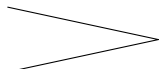
(19)   John whistled, and Mary sang, the same tune.

(both internal and external readings)

(19) is ambiguous between two readings. On one reading, the word *same* anaphorically refers to some entity already salient in the discourse and identifies the entity with the tune that John whistled and Mary sang. This is the external reading. However, there is another reading of the RNR sentence in which it does not make reference to any discourse-salient entity. On this reading, the sentence simply asserts the identity of the tune that John whistled and Mary sang. This is the internal reading. The availability of the internal reading in RNR is difficult to explain under deletion-based accounts. This reading is not available in non-RNR sentences in which the alleged deletion process does not take place. (20) has only the external reading.[3]

(20)   John whistled the same tune, and Mary sang the same tune.

(only external reading)

As mentioned above, Woo (2015) observes that the following RNR sentence has no idiomatic interpretation:

(21) [#]John *kicked*, and Mary filled, *the bucket*.

(22)   John *kicked*
            and   *the bucket*
         Mary filled

In (22) the pivot is shared by two VPs; it is selected by an idiomatic verb, following Bruening's principle. Therefore, the idiom is predicted to be available, contrary to fact. In light of this, Woo suggests that (21) violates the constraint in (23) and thus its idiomatic interpretation is blocked.

(23)   The multiply dominated pivot must NOT be *partially shared* by idiomatic
         structure in order to allow idiomatic interpretation of the pivot.

(Woo 2015: (34))

Additionally, Woo points out that the following has idiomatic interpretation:

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3. As suggested by a reviewer, (20) is indeed pragmatically awkward (#) if there is no salient tune that has been previously mentioned in the discourse. That is, unlike (19), (20) may not be uttered in an unexpected context.

(24)   Jessica believed, but Zac doubted, that Justin *popped the question.*
'Jessica believed that Justin asked someone to marry him, but Zac doubted that Justin asked someone to marry him.'   (Woo 2015: (37))

(25)   Jessica believed
              but   that Justin *popped the question*
       Zac doubted

In (25) the pivot is not partially shared by idiomatic materials. According to Woo, (24) does not violate (23), thus offering idiomatic interpretation.

Nevertheless, Woo's constraint on idiomatic interpretation pertaining to RNR in (23) is surely a stipulation. Recall that the NP idiom chunk *the bucket* in the pivot is adjacent to and selected by the idiom verb *kick* in (22). Bruening's (2010) theory, adopted by Woo (2015), thus predicts that one conjunct may have idiomatic interpretation. That explains the basis for Woo's claim about how Bruening's theory should be accompanied by his constraint in (23). On empirical grounds, however, Woo's multidominance approach based on (23) is problematic in the following example:

(26)   #We played a party game, and they used an ice hammer, to *break the ice.*
'We played a party game to get to know each other, and they used an ice hammer to break the ice into pieces (e.g., for scotch drinkers).'

According to Woo's constraint in (23), (26) is predicted to rule in because the multiply dominated pivot is not partially shared by the VP-level idiom *break the ice.* The example in (26) thus indicates that the issue of missing idiomatic interpretation in RNR should be approached from a different angle. Even if the order of literal and idiomatic interpretation in RNR is reversed, idiomatic interpretation seems impossible, as illustrated below:

(27)   #John reached a dark cave, and Mary had a thorny problem, to *shed some light on.*
'John got to a dark cave to light up, and Mary had a big question to clarify.'

In short, in order to rule out idiomatic interpretation in certain RNR, multidominance-based analyses desperately call for an additional constraint of interpretive parallelism.

To summarize, the availability of idiomatic interpretation in RNR is not correctly predicted by the previous approaches. In the next section, we shall demonstrate how the availability of idiomatic interpretation in RNR can be properly explained by an LF copying approach.

4. Proposal

So far, we have seen that the previous analyses should supplement a certain interpretive parallelism constraint in order to settle the literal vs. idiomatic mismatch problem. The stipulative nature of such a constraint thus compels us to look for a more principled solution. In what follows, we explore an LF copying analysis of RNR based on interpretive identity to overcome the limitations of predecessors.

4.1 LF copying analysis

A piece of evidence against previous analyses involves lexically polysemous words. As noted by Zwicky & Sadock (1975) and Zaenen & Karttunen (1984), homophones cannot receive different interpretations across conjuncts, as formulated in (28) and illustrated in (29).

(28) Anti-Pun Ordinance: A phrase cannot be used in two different senses at the same time.   (Zaenen & Karttunen 1984: 316)

(29) a. #Stan *croaked*, and then Ollie *croaked*.
         'Stan made a croaking sound (e.g., like a frog), and then Ollie died.'
                                                           (Zwicky & Sadock 1975: 21)
     b. #John went for a loan, and Mary ran for a swim, to the *bank*.
         'John went to the money bank for a loan, and Mary ran to the river bank
         for a swim.'

For instance, the example in (29b) suggests that the LF identity of some shared material is relevant under an ellipsis approach to RNR.

(30) LF: #[... to the (money) bank] and [... to the (river) bank]

Meanwhile, the pivot of RNR in (31) contains the whole idiom expression:

(31) Jessica believed, but Zac doubted, that Justin *popped the question*.

What is crucial here is that *the question* in (31) is not referential, but part of a VP-level idiom. The idiomatic reading in (31) is maintained because the whole idiom chunk *pop the question* appears in the pivot position. Given that idioms must form a syntactic constituent (at some point in the derivation), it is ensured that (31) is grammatical. Below, we assume a split VP structure (cf. Koizumi 1995; Chomsky 1995, 2000), where the stranded main verb in the ellipsis clause is generated outside of the empty VP, and an LF copying approach to *argument-RNR*:

(32)   LF copying:
      ... [$_{VP1}$ believe [$_{VP2}$ Ø   ]] but
      ... [$_{VP1}$ doubt   [$_{VP2}$ __ that Justin [$_{pivot}$ *popped the question*]]]

Above, suppose that the antecedent verb *doubt* in the full conjunct moves to the higher V position without leaving its trace behind in the sense that head movement has no impact on the LF output (e.g., Lasnik 1999). Since the antecedent VP2 in the full conjunct contains the idiom in the pivot, the RNRed example in (31) can yield idiomatic reading.

A reviewer pointed out that the partial LF representation in (32) is suggestive of the verb-stranding VP ellipsis configuration (e.g., Goldberg 2005) in that the main verb is raised to a higher verbal head. For this raising to be possible, the reviewer noted that there has to be a full-fledged VP structure out of which the verb raising takes place.[4] In fact, under the LF copying analysis, an ellipsis site is empty both in overt syntax and in PF, but it has full-fledged internal structure in LF via copying of its antecedent. We assume that LF copying of the antecedent VP takes place after the V-to-V raising in (32). It suffices for our present purposes to point out that after the V-to-V raising happens either overtly or covertly (since this raising does not affect the word order), the LF copying site is created. The base-generated null VP receives its interpretation at LF when replaced by a copy of its antecedent VP's LF representation, a procedure termed "reconstruction" by Fiengo & May (1994). LF copying not only gives meaning to the null constituent but also achieves semantic identity between the null constituent and its antecedent. This contrasts with PF deletion, in which "separate" LF constraints enforce identity between the null constituent and its antecedent. If the first VP in (32) was sent out to LF for idiomatic interpretation after the application of the LF

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4. Instead of analyzing the current data under a VP ellipsis approach to RNR, one might formulate the same idea with either N'-ellipsis or NP ellipsis (with DP structure). Note, however, that English seems to disallow argument ellipsis (*aka* null pronouns or verb-stranding VP ellipsis) found in Korean (and Japanese) as in (i).

(i)   a.   *John-i   sakwa-lul sassta.*
           John-NOM apple-ACC bought
           'John bought apples.'
      b.   *Mary-to   ___ sassta.*
           Mary-also   bought
           'Mary bought (apples) too.'

See Kim (1999) and others (Otani & Whitman 1991; Oku 1998; Saito 2007; Sato 2020, etc.) for a variety of analyses of the apparent argument ellipsis in Korean (and Japanese). If RNR involves ellipsis, it is likely that English permits argument ellipsis in the contexts where RNR targets an argument. It is thus challenging to examine whether a given language might permit argument ellipsis only in a certain context. We shall leave this issue for future research.

copying operation of the pivot in the antecedent onto the ellipsis site, the copied element can be successfully interpreted as the idiomatic expression in the first VP.[5]

Consider next an example of the missing idiomaticity in RNR under an LF copying analysis of RNR:

(33) #John *kicked*, and Mary filled, *the bucket.*

As long as we take an LF copying approach to ellipsis, (33) ceases to pose problems for ellipsis analyses. We propose the following derivations for (33):

(34)   LF copying:
       ... [$_{VP1}$ kick [$_{VP2}$ Ø   ]] and
       ... [$_{VP1}$ fill   [$_{VP2}$ — [$_{pivot}$ the bucket$_{regular-θ}$]]]

The first conjunct in (33) cannot have idiomatic reading because the missing chunk (i.e., *the bucket*) recovered from the antecedent VP2 can only bear regular θ-role discharged by the regular verb *fill* before moving to the higher V position. In short, under the current LF copying analysis of RNR, it is not necessary to postulate a separate LF constraint of interpretive symmetry, which requires a pivot not be used in two different senses at the same time (cf. (28)).

Now consider the following counterpart of (33) where the idiom verb and the normal verb are inverted:

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5. According to Chung et al. (1995), sluicing involves the stranding of a wh-phrase in the ellipsis clause, which should be somehow plugged into a position within the ellipsis site. That is, LF copying analyses of sluicing assume the sluiced wh-remnant to be base-generated in the position (i.e., Spec-CP) to which it would have moved under the PF deletion approach.

Under our LF copying approach, the ellipsis site in (32) is the thematic VP. This is necessarily so since the LF copying approach regards ellipsis sites as base-generated null *pro*-forms. The higher VP is base-generated with internal structure, namely with a V node which contains the lexical item *believe*, and which in turn selects a VP node which contains an empty category. Thus, this internal structure blocks the higher VP to become elided. Meanwhile, the main verb understood as the head of this null VP appears as phonetically overt.

However, the generation of the verb outside VP does not arise for English *typical* VP ellipsis (e.g., *John loves Mary and Bill does too.*), since the main verbs of typical VP ellipsis must be unpronounced. This is thus an issue to be dealt with under the LF copying approach to argument-RNR, once verb-stranding VP ellipsis is considered as a type of English VP ellipsis. Furthermore, there is another issue surrounding verb-stranding VP ellipsis (e.g., in Irish) which is called the Verbal Identity Requirement (Goldberg 2005: 171): The antecedent- and target-clause main verbs of VP ellipsis must be identical, minimally, in their root and derivational morphology. At the moment, we speculate the contrastive focus effect in RNR as a starting point for settling these issues. We shall put off these issues for further study, though. We thank a reviewer for the theoretical implication of verb-stranding VP ellipsis under our current proposal.

(35) #Mary filled, and John *kicked, the bucket.*

(36) LF copying:

... [$_{VP1}$ fill [$_{VP2}$ Ø   ]] and
... [$_{VP1}$ kick [$_{VP2}$ — [$_{pivot}$ the bucket$_{\textbf{idiom-θ}}$]]]

In this case, the pivot in the antecedent VP receives an idiom θ-role discharged by the idiom verb *kick* in the thematic V position. If the pivot with an idiom θ-role is copied into the null VP at LF, there arises an interpretive mismatch problem between the normal verb *fill* and the idiom object chunk *the bucket*. In sum, an LF constraint of interpretive parallelism blocks the idiom reading in (35).

On the other hand, according to Woo (2015), PF deletion theories of *argument-RNR with idioms* would predict that the ellipsis of the nominal idiom chunk in (33) should be just fine as in (37).

(37) PF deletion:

... [$_{VP1}$ kick [$_{\overline{VP2}}$ — [$_{pivot}$ ~~the bucket~~]] and
... [$_{VP1}$ fill   [$_{VP2}$ — [$_{pivot}$ the bucket]]]

If RNR were implemented in terms of PF deletion, then it should be able to apply to the relevant idiomatic expression because the idiomatic object *the bucket* and the regular thematic object *the bucket* are phonologically the same. As pointed out by a reviewer, one might still claim that the unavailability of idiomatic reading in (33) could be compatible with the verb-stranding PF deletion theory if the antecedent chunk and the elided chunk are "semantically different" so that they end up being mismatched in the LF output. In fact, many PF deletion proponents of ellipsis (e.g., Merchant 2001; 2004; 2008; 2013) argue that PF deletion is enabled by the "semantic identity" condition imposed on an antecedent-elliptical clause pair. We agree with the reviewer that LF/semantic identity, which is required on idiom interpretation, does not necessarily undermine PF deletion theories, to the extent that PF deletion theories supplement their explanatory power with some sort of LF/semantic identity condition.[6] Recall, however, that

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6. Merchant (2001; 2004; 2008; 2013) proposes that ellipsis such as sluicing, fragment answers, or pseudogapping is licensed by an ellipsis feature, labeled as [E]. The presence of the [E] feature imposes syntactic, semantic and phonological requirements that must be satisfied for ellipsis to be licensed. More specifically, as the semantic requirement for the inclusion of [E], e-GIVENness must be fulfilled, which can be defined as follows: An expression E is e-GIVEN iff there is an antecedent A which entails E and which is entailed by E, modulo ∃-type-shifting (Merchant 2001). That is, according to Merchant (2001), ellipsis identity is semantic; the focus-closures of missing materials and their antecedents must form mutual entailment. However, such a requirement is too strong. Hartman (2009) points out that the following "relational opposites puzzle" cannot be explained by Merchant's ellipsis identity condition:

this is the essence of Anti-Pun Ordinance in (28), which we argue automatically follows from the LF copying approach to ellipsis.

In this vein, we shall explore the *idiomatic substitution* observed by Hamblin & Gibbs (1999). They show that non-decomposable idioms are not frozen in the sense that the meaning of some parts appears to contribute something to what people believe an idiom figuratively implies as a whole. Their experiments demonstrate that the meaning of non-decomposable idioms is actually affected by the specific meaning of the main verbs. The participants of their experiments accepted the idioms whose verbs were replaced with verbs with similar meanings with respect to the original figurative meanings of idioms, while they consistently rejected the idioms whose verbs were dissimilar in meaning to the original verbs. This finding suggests that the meaning of apparent non-decomposable idioms is still influenced by the meaning of their elements.

Given Hamblin & Gibbs's (1999) empirical study of idiomatic substitution, Woo (2015) reports that there are some cases where non-idiomatic expressions in RNR may have idiomatic interpretation, made available by extending the idiomatic interpretation of one conjunct to the other non-idiomatic conjunct as in (38).

(38)   John *kicked*, and Mary <u>punted</u>, *the bucket*.
       'John died, and Mary died.'

Above, the VP *punt the bucket* in the second conjunct originally did not have the meaning of 'to die'. Importantly, a deletion-based ellipsis account seems to be problematic because there is no idiomatic material in the second conjunct:

(39)   John kicked ~~the bucket~~ and Mary punted the bucket

Meanwhile, if the verbal part of the potential idiom in RNRed sentences is replaced with a verb dissimilar in meaning, idiomatic interpretation is unavailable (Woo 2015) as in (40). Compare (38) with (40).

(40)   John *kicked*, and Mary <u>nudged</u>, *the bucket*.
       'John died, and Mary died.'

While Hamblin & Gibbs's (1999) subjects judged the string *punt the bucket* as "similar" to the idiom *kick the bucket*, they rated *nudge the bucket* as "dissimilar" to the idiom.

(i)   *John will beat someone at chess, and then Mary will ~~lose to someone at chess~~.

Here, the antecedent predicate *beat* and the ellipsis predicate *lose* are relational opposites. Consequently, if A will beat B at chess, then B will lose to A at chess. Thus, the missing VP in (i) is e-GIVEN, which would license ellipsis in (i) under Merchant's semantic identity condition.

Regarding the potential difference between (38) and (40), we propose that the insight about the decomposability of idioms in RNR can be accommodated under an LF copying theory of ellipsis. Let us now explore the acceptability of (38):

(41)   punt: [+kick, +hard]
    a.   LF: [$_{VP}$ kick Ø] and [$_{VP}$ punt the bucket]
    b.   LF': [$_{VP}$ kick Ø] and [$_{VP}$ *kick* <u>*the bucket*</u>$_{idiom-θ}$ hard]

Although the LF in the second conjunct of (41a) apparently has no idiomatic interpretation, we propose a solution to this problem in terms of decomposition. More precisely, the transitive verb *punt* comes apart into the component of the verb *kick* and the adverb *hard*. Importantly, we assume that this decomposition is reflected in LF. The LF in (41a) can be reconstructed as that in (41b), where *punt* is decomposed into *kick* and *hard*. We thus argue that idiom spreading is possible from the lexically decomposed verb *kick* in the second conjunct, which is derived from the verb *punt*.

Let us next consider the LF representation of (40):

(42)   nudge: [+push, +gently]
    a.   LF: [$_{VP}$ kick Ø] and [$_{VP}$ nudge the bucket]
    b.   LF': [$_{VP}$ kick Ø] and [$_{VP}$ push <u>the bucket</u>$_{regular-θ}$ gently]

Since the verb *nudge* may be lexically decomposed into *push gently*, we propose that idiom spreading is not possible from the lexically decomposed verb *push* in the second conjunct, which is derived from the verb *nudge*. Thus, there is no chance of *the bucket* in the LF representations in (42) receiving an idiomatic θ-role.

To summarize, we argue in favor of LF copying over PF deletion to capture *argument-RNR with idioms* facts. We suggest that the verb *punt* (= *kick hard*) can be reconstructed as the verb *kick* by some sort of Vehicle Change (cf. Fiengo & May 1994) which feeds the idiom reading in (38), while the verb *nudge* (= *push gently*) cannot be reconstructed into the verb *kick* in (40).[7] On the other hand,

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7. In VP ellipsis contexts, Principle C violations can be avoided. In (i), if the elided copy were phonologically identical to its antecedent, we would expect a Principle C violation to occur because the subject of the main clause binds the R-expression in the second conjunct.

(i)   Mary loves John$_1$, and he$_1$ thinks Sally does ~~love John~~$_1$, too.

Fiengo & May (1994) argue that (i) is ruled in because reconstruction of elided material is not sensitive to the value of the feature ([±pronoun]) which differentiates proper names and pro-

under the PF-based approaches, Vehicle Change effects are unexpected since the phonological form between the RNRed material and its antecedent would not exactly match each other. In (38), for example, the RNRed VP *kick the bucket* differs phonologically from its antecedent VP *punt the bucket*.[8] Consequently, the PF-based account needs an additional assumption to explain this issue, whereas the LF-based account does not.

4.2   Korean RNR with idioms

There has been a growing body of literature on the LF copying approach to some of Japanese and Korean ellipsis. For instance, Abe & Hoshi (1997) propose that (i) in gapping, a contrasted element in the antecedent conjunct can move leftward (in Japanese gapping (*aka* RNR)) or rightward (in English gapping, following Jayaseelan (1990)) to create a structure for LF copying and that (ii) illegitimate derivations are excluded by independently motivated constraints. In addition, Sato (2020) develops an argument for the LF copying theory of argument ellipsis (Oku 1998; Saito 2007, 2017; Sakamoto 2016, 2017, 2019, etc.) via certain word order and semantic properties of rigid idioms and figurative expressions based on Japanese ditransitive verbs, rejecting other competing analyses such as VP ellipsis, null pronouns, and PF deletion. The analysis of RNR in Korean has been a controversial issue extensively discussed in the literature (Kim 1997; Sohn 1999; Chung 2004; Lee 2005; Ahn and Cho 2006; Park 2009; Kim & Lee 2014, etc.).[9] In what follows, we shall extend the current LF copying analysis of English RNR with idioms to Korean RNR data. In order to put the following discussion into perspective, let us begin with Japanese data.

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nouns. Thus, a proper name can be reconstructed as a pronoun in the ellipsis site. Given this, the ellipsis site in (i) is reconstructed as in (ii).

(ii)   Mary loves John$_1$, and he$_1$ thinks Sally does ~~love him~~$_1$, too.

The proper name is converted into a pronoun by Vehicle Change which bleeds the Principle C violation in (ii).

8. Merchant's (2001) mutual entailment would predict that the idiom spreading in (38) is not allowed because entailment only goes through in one direction. More precisely, the denotation of the antecedent VP entails that of its target VP for (38), in which the antecedent and target VPs are lexically non-identical. The antecedent's *punt the bucket* thus describes a more restricted event than that of the target: it is true in a proper subset of the cases in which the event described by the target VP – *kick the bucket* – is true. Thus, the antecedent VP *punt the bucket* entails the elliptic VP *kick the bucket*, but the reverse does not hold. Hence, the acceptability of (38) is not correctly predicted by Merchant's (2001) semantic identity (i.e., mutual entailment) condition.

9. For the analysis of Japanese RNR, see Saito (1987); Abe & Hoshi (1997); Mukai (2003), etc.

Kubota (2015) observes that if a sentence with idiom chunks does not involve RNR, it is ambiguous between idiomatic and literal interpretations as in (43).

(43) *Isya-wa*   ***sazi-o***   ***nage-ta.***   *Kanzya-wa sara-o*   *nage-ta.*
doctor-TOP spoon-ACC throw-PAST patient-TOP plate-ACC throw-PAST
'The doctor gave up. The patient threw a plate.'   (idiomatic)
'The doctor threw a spoon. The patient threw a plate.'   (literal)
                                                          (Kubota 2015: 7)

However, when idiom chunks split as in (44), idiomatic interpretation is lost.

(44) #*Isya-wa*   ***sazi-o***,   *(sosite) kanzya-wa sara-o*,   ***nage-ta.***
doctor-TOP spoon-ACC (and)   patient-TOP plate-ACC throw-PAST
'The doctor gave up, and the patient threw a plate.'   (Kubota 2015: 8)

The following is another Japanese example pair showing that the split idiom chunk via RNR loses idiomatic interpretation:

(45) a. *Taroo-wa* ***kata-o***   *otosita. Hanako-wa saifu-o   otosita.*
Taro-TOP shoulder-ACC dropped Hanako-TOP wallet-ACC dropped
'Taro got disappointed. Hanako dropped her wallet.'   (idiomatic)
'Taro dropped his shoulder. Hanako dropped her wallet.'   (literal)
   b. #*Taroo-wa* ***kata-o***,   *(sosite) Hanako-wa saifu-o*,   ***otosita.***
Taro-TOP shoulder-ACC (and)   Hanako-TOP wallet-ACC dropped
'Taro got disappointed, and Hanako dropped her wallet.'

Again, a purely phonological deletion analysis fails to explain this fact.
    The same is true for Korean, as shown below:

(46) a. *John-i*   *cwungkankosa-eyse* ***miyekkwuk-ul***   *mekessta.* *Mary-ka*
John-NOM midterm-on   seaweed.soup-ACC ate   Mary-NOM
sayngil-ey   sokokikwuk-ul mekessta.
birthday-on beef.soup-ACC ate
'John failed the midterm exam.'   (idiomatic)
'Mary ate beef soup on her birthday.'   (literal)
   b. #*John-i*   *cwungkankosa-eyse* ***miyekkwuk-ul***,   *Mary-ka   sayngil-ey*
John-NOM midterm-on   seaweed.soup-ACC Mary-NOM birthday-on
sokokikwuk-ul, ***mekessta.***
beef.soup-ACC ate
'John failed the midterm exam, and Mary ate beef soup on her birthday.'

(47) a. *Jane-i   ton-ul   pilli-kose   Bill-uy **twithongswu-lul***
    Jane-NOM money-ACC borrow-after Bill-GEN back.of.the.head-ACC
    ***ttaylyessta.** Lisa-ka   cangnan-ulo Steve-uy   twithongswu-lul*
    hit   Lisa-NOM fun-for   Steve-GEN back.of.the.head-ACC
    ttaylyessta.
    hit
    'Jane backstabbed Bill after borrowing money.'   (idiomatic)
    'Lisa hit the back of Steve's head for fun.'   (literal)

 b. #*Jane-i   ton-ul   pilli-kose   Bill-uy **twithongswu-lul**,*
    Jane-NOM money-ACC borrow-after Bill-GEN back.of.the.head-ACC
    Lisa-ka   cangnan-ulo Steve-uy   twithongswu-lul,   ***ttaylyessta.***
    Lisa-NOM fun-for   Steve-GEN back.of.the.head-ACC hit
    'Jane backstabbed Bill after borrowing money, and Lisa hit the back of
    Steve's head for fun.'

The current LF copying approach to English RNR with idioms, depending on the
LF interpretive parallelism, can be applied to Korean data as well. Above, the first
conjuncts (with missing verbs) may have idiomatic interpretation as independent
sentences, but they do not in RNR environments. For example, (46b) would be
analyzed as follows:

(48)   LF: [John on the midterm seaweed soup Ø] and
              [Mary on her birthday beef   soup ate]

If the missing verb in (46b) is recovered at LF via copying from the antecedent
regular verb *mekessta* 'ate' as in (48), there is no chance of (46b) yielding the
idiomatic reading 'failed'. Thus, the LF interpretive parallelism naturally follows.

     Even if we change the order of conjuncts in (46) and (47), we still do not get
idiomatic interpretation as follows:

(49) a. *Mary-ka   sayngil-ey   sokokikwuk-ul mekessta. John-i*
    Mary-NOM birthday-on beef.soup-ACC ate   John-NOM
    *cwungkankosa-eyse **miyekkwuk-ul**   mekessta.*
    midterm-on   seaweed.soup-ACC ate
    'Mary ate beef soup on her birthday.'   (literal)
    'John failed the midterm exam.'   (idiomatic)

 b. #*Mary-ka   sayngil-ey   sokokikwuk-ul, John-i   cwungkankosa-eyse*
    Mary-NOM birthday-on beef.soup-ACC John-NOM midterm-on
    ***miyekkwuk-ul**,   mekessta.*
    seaweed.soup-ACC ate
    'Mary ate beef soup on her birthday, and John failed the midterm exam.'

(50) a. *Lisa-ka   cangnan-ulo Steve-uy   twithongswu-lul   ttaylyessta.*
Lisa-NOM fun-for   Steve-GEN back.of.the.head-ACC hit
*Jane-i   ton-ul   pilli-kose   Bill-uy **twithongswu-lul***
Jane-NOM money-ACC borrow-after Bill-GEN back.of.the.head-ACC
ttaylyessta.
hit
'Lisa hit the back of Steve's head for fun.'   (literal)
'Jane backstabbed Bill after borrowing money.'   (idiomatic)

b. #*Lisa-ka   cangnan-ulo Steve-uy   twithongswu-lul,   Jane-i*
Lisa-NOM fun-for   Steve-GEN back.of.the.head-ACC Jane-NOM
*ton-ul   pilli-kose   Bill-uy **twithongswu-lul**,   ttaylyessta.*
money-ACC borrow-after Bill-GEN back.of.the.head-ACC hit
'Lisa hit the back of Steve's head for fun, and Jane backstabbed Bill after
borrowing money.'

Notice again that the idiom expressions in (49b) and (50b) are continuous (being interrupted only by a pause or comma) to satisfy Bruening's (2010) Principle of Idiomatic Interpretation at the surface structure. However, RNR deprives idiomatic interpretation of the examples in (49b) and (50b).

A more forceful argument against Woo's multidominance approach based on (23) comes from the following Korean RNR example, too:

(51) #*John-i   cwungkankosa-eyse, Mary-ka   sayngil-ey,   **miyekkwuk-ul***
John-NOM midterm-on   Mary-NOM birthday-on seaweed.soup-ACC
mekessta.
ate
'John failed the midterm exam, and Mary ate seaweed soup.'

According to Woo's multidominance approach, (51) is predicted to have idiomatic interpretation because the whole part of the idiom *miyekkwuk-ul mekessta* 'failed' is located in the pivot; thus, it is not partially shared. Under the current LF copying approach, however, (51) can be ruled out by the interpretive mismatch in LF because the full (i.e., antecedent) conjunct has only literal interpretation as follows:

(52) LF: [John on the midterm   Ø   ] and
[Mary on her birthday seaweed soup ate]

Above, the pivot *miyekkwuk-ul mekessta* 'ate the seaweed soup' should be literally interpreted in the full conjunct, triggered by the adjunct *sayngil-ey* 'birthday-on'. Hence, if the literal pivot is copied at LF, the gapped conjunct in (52) cannot be interpreted idiomatically.

Next, let us consider the lexical mismatch in Korean RNR as follows:[10]

(53) a. *John-i   syechu-lul, Mary-ka   chima-lul,* **kelessta.**
　　 John-NOM shirt-ACC Mary-NOM skirt-ACC hung
　　 'John (hung) (his) shirt, and Mary hung (her) skirt.'

　 b. *Bill-i   kyeyyakkum-ul,   Jane-i   hyensangkum-ul,* **kelessta.**
　　 Bill-NOM down.payment-ACC Jane-NOM prize.money-ACC put
　　 'Bill (put) a down payment, and Jane put prize money.'

　 c. **John-i   syechu-lul, Bill-i   kyeyyakkum-ul,   kelessta.*
　　 John-NOM shirt-ACC Bill-NOM down.payment-ACC hung/put
　　 'John (hung) (his) shirt, and Bill put a down payment.'

　 d. **Bill-i   kyeyyakkum-ul,   John-i   syechu-lul,* **kelessta.**
　　 Bill-NOM down.payment-ACC John-NOM shirt-ACC put/hung
　　 'Bill (put) a down payment, and John hung (his) shirt.'

The pivots in (53) involve the polysemous verb *kelta*: 'to hang (something)' or 'to put (money)'. (53a) and (53b) are grammatical because they observe LF interpretive parallelism; the pivots of both conjuncts have identical meaning. By contrast, the ungrammaticality of (53c) and (53d) shows that RNR cannot be formed in such a way that the different collocational expressions share the same morphological verb with different meanings in the pivot, as shown below:

(54) a. LF: [John shirt   Ø] and
　　　　 [Bill   down payment put]

　 b. LF: [Mary down payment Ø   ] and
　　　　 [Bill   shirt   hung]

For example, if the meaning of the pivot verb *kelessta* 'put' is copied at LF into the missing slot in (53a), the first conjunct in (53c) cannot have the relevant meaning 'hung the shirt'. Also, if only the meaning of the pivot verb is copied at LF into the missing slot in (53b), the first conjunct in (53d) cannot have the relevant mean-

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10. In Kim (2019), an online survey was conducted regarding the lexical mismatch in Korean RNR:

(i) a. **Ted-nun kyopok-ul,   John-un   sonhay-lul, ipessta.*
　　 Ted-TOP school.uniform-ACC John-TOP loss-ACC   wore/suffered
　　 'Ted (wore) (his) school uniform, and John suffered (a) loss.'

　 b. **Jane-un phyenci-lul, Susan-un khemphyuthe-lul, ssessta.*
　　 Jane-TOP letter-ACC   Susan-TOP computer-ACC   wrote/used
　　 'Jane (wrote) (a) letter, and Susan used (a) computer.'   (Kim 2019: 226)

Ahn & Cho (2006) judge (ib) as grammatical sentences (marking with "?"), and claim that the acceptability of (ib) causes a problem for the multidominance analysis. Kim (2007) reports that lexical mismatches in Korean RNR are somewhat degraded (marking with "??"). According to the survey, lexical mismatches in Korean RNR are generally unacceptable.

ing 'put a down payment'. Such lexical mismatch effects might remain mysterious under both deletion-based and multidominance-based accounts without further assumption. In other words, the pivots in (53c) and (53d) violate Anti-Pun Ordinance in (28).

Before concluding this section, we would like to point out an additional piece of evidence of the LF copying approach to *RNR with idioms* in Korean. Similar to English idiom spreading in RNR, as observed in (38), Korean also seems to allow idiom spreading in RNR, as in (55b).

(55) a. *John-i   cwungkankosa-eyse **miyekkwuk-ul**   mek-ko Mary-ka*
      John-NOM midterm-on   seaweed.soup-ACC eat-and Mary-NOM
      *chwiepmyencep-eyse **kimchiskwuk-ul** masyessta.*
      job.interview-on   kimchi.soup-ACC drank
      'John failed the midterm exam, and Mary failed the job interview.'

   b. *John-i   cwungkankosa-eyse miyekkwuk-ul,   Mary-ka*
      John-NOM midterm-on   seaweed.soup-ACC Mary-NOM
      *chwiepmyencep-eyse **kimchiskwuk-ul**, masyessta.*
      job.interview-on   kimchi.soup-ACC drank
      'John (failed) the midterm exam, and Mary failed the job interview.'

In (55a), the first conjunct VP *miyekkwuk-ul mekta* 'to eat the seaweed soup (literal)' and the second conjunct VP *kimchiskwuk-ul masita* 'to drink the kimchi soup (literal)' have the idiomatic reading of 'to fail something', respectively. What is notable here is that although the missing idiom verb *mekta* 'to eat' and the antecedent idiom verb *masita* 'to drink' in (55b) are not lexically (thus, phonologically) identical, the idiomatic reading in the first conjunct is still available. While this is obviously unexpected from the PF deletion approach, it may follow from the LF copying approach in that the missing verb *mekta* 'to eat' is the hypernym of the antecedent verb *masita* 'to drink' so that the two verbs are semantically related.[11]

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11. Lee (2020) reports that Korean seems to permit a peculiar case of argument coordination as long as the non-final argument conjuncts are semantically compatible with the pivotal verb, as illustrated in (i). This type of example is not frequently used but easily available on the website:

(i) *Achim   siksa-lo na-nun cwusu-wa ssiliel, ppang-kwa kuliko khephi-lul masi-pnita.*
    morning meal-as I-TOP   juice-and cereal bread-and and   coffee-ACC drink-DEC
    (lit.) 'I drink juice, cereal, bread, and coffee as breakfast.'
    = 'I drink juice, eat cereal, eat bread, and drink coffee as breakfast.'   (Lee 2020: 153)
    (taken from http://en-co.co.kr/customer/view.php?seq=556&no=27&code=freelecture
    &url=customer06.php (Accessed 2021-05-05))

In (i), two different types of coordinators such as *(k)wa* and *kuliko* are used simultaneously prior to the final conjunct. Note that the verb *masita* 'to drink' in (i) normally does not s-select *ssiliel* 'cereal' and *ppang* 'bread'.

Summing up, RNR with idioms or polysemy can either be seen as an argument in favor of the LF copying theory of ellipsis, or as a unique window on the sub-word LF of pivotal items.

4.3   Exploring identity conditions in RNR

In the previous section, we argued that lexical mismatches and literal vs. idiomatic interpretation mismatches in English and Korean RNR are solid evidence that interpretive identity is crucial in RNR. In this section, we examine the claims in the literature that RNR is restricted by various kinds of identity conditions.

First, Hartmann (2000) claims that German RNR requires argument structure identity:

(56)   What are they doing with the book?
   *Hans überFLIEGT   ~~das Buch~~ und Maria SCHICKT Peter das Buch.
  Hans browses.through the book and Mary sends   Peter the book
                                    (Hartmann 2000: 120)

Above, *das Buch* is the object of the two-place predicate in the first conjunct and the object of the three-place predicate in the second conjunct, respectively. However, Chaves (2014) falsifies Hartman's claim via English RNR as in (57), where the argument structures of the underlined matrix verbs are not equivalent:

(57)   Sue <u>gave</u> me, but I don't think I will ever <u>read</u>, *a book about relativity.*
                                     (Chaves 2014: 839)

The valency of the verb triggering the RNR in (57) is different; *gave* is a three-place predicate, and *read* is a two-place predicate. Regarding argument structure identity, by the way, Korean RNR seems to pattern with German RNR. As documented in Kim (2019), the remnants in gapped conjuncts and the correspondents in full conjuncts should be parallel in Korean RNR:

(58) [??]*John-i*   *kangaci-eykey kong-ul, Mary-ka*   *cayngpan-ul, tencyi-essta.*
    John-NOM puppy-DAT   ball-ACC Mary-NOM tray-ACC   throw-PAST
    'John (threw) a ball to a puppy, and Mary threw a tray.'   (Kim 2019: 216)

Given the above discussion, there might be a crosslinguistic difference with respect to the requirement of argument structure identity in RNR.

Second, phonological identity is not sufficient as a licensing requirement of RNR:

(59)   a.   *John will and Mary built the *drive.*   (Milward 1994: 936)
     b.   *Robin swung and Leslie tamed *an unusual bat.*
                                   (Levine & Hukari 2006: 156)

In (59a) the pivot *drive* plays the role of different parts of speech: a verb and a noun. In (59b) the pivot *an unusual bat* must satisfy two different senses: a sports instrument and an animal. As discussed before, interpretive identity (or Anti-Pun Ordinance in (28)) is responsible for this oddity.

Third, RNR seems to ignore grammatical parallelism like Case identity. For example, in (60) the pivot *Frauen* is assigned accusative Case by the verb *findet* and dative Case by the verb *hilft*.

(60) *Er findet ~~Frauen~~ und hilft **Frauen.***
      he finds$_{ACC}$ ~~women$_{ACC}$~~ and helps$_{DAT}$ women$_{DAT}$
      'He finds and helps women.'   (Ingria 1990: 198)

Notice, however, that a sentence like (60) is permitted only when the Case of the pivot NP is morphologically identical. This Case identity is attested in Finnish as in (61).

(61) *He   lukivat hänen uusimman ~~kirjansa~~   ja   me hänen parhaat **kirjansa.***
      they read   his   newest   ~~book~~$_{SG.GEN}$ and we his   best   books$_{PL.NOM}$
      'They read his newest (book) and we (read) his best books.'
                                              (Zaenen & Karttunen 1984: 314)

The example in (61) is acceptable in that the genitive morphology derivationally attached to the pivot wipes out Case distinctions. In addition, English RNR pays no attention to grammatical markings like plurality or predication:

(62) a. Either they or you *are*$_{3PL/2SG}$ *going to have to go.*
                                              (Pullum & Zwicky 1986: 754)
      b. He wishes he could be or meet *Tiger Woods*$_{[±PRED]}$.   (Whitman 2005: 212)

In (62a) *they* selects third-person plural inflection, and *you* second-person singular inflection, both of which are morphologically non-distinct. In (62b) the pivot *Tiger Woods* acts as a predicate and an argument simultaneously.

To wrap up this section, we wish to stress that lexical mismatches and literal vs. idiomatic interpretation mismatches in English and Korean RNR are evidence that interpretive identity is fundamental in RNR.

5. Conclusion

Thus far, we have argued that interpretive identity is crucial for the understanding of right-node-raising (RNR) with idioms. RNR may interact with idioms when entire idiom chunks appeared in the pivot. By contrast, idiomatic interpretation was blocked if the pivot contained only part of idioms. Defending multidomi-

nance approaches to RNR, Woo (2015) proposed that the multiply dominated pivot should be fully shared by idiomatic structure for the idiomatic interpretation of the pivot. However, his proposal could not accommodate RNR with interpretive mismatches.

Instead, along the lines of ellipsis approaches to RNR, we proposed that the LF constraint of interpretive parallelism – which requires that a pivot not be used in two different senses at the same time – was responsible for the lack of idiomatic interpretation in certain RNR environments. It was also shown that the current LF copying approach to English RNR with idioms, relying on an LF interpretive symmetry, can be applied to Korean RNR with idioms or polysemy.

To the extent that our proposal is on the right track, it has certain theoretical implications. First, Barros & Vicente (2011) propose that RNR constructions are derived by either ellipsis or multidominance, while Chaves (2014) proposes that they are derived by VP/N'-ellipsis, extraposition, or backward periphery deletion. Of course, it is more important to explore which combination is better among three competing candidates – movement, ellipsis, or multidominance – once we are on the hybrid track. At this point, we conclude by noting that whatever options the hybrid approach takes, ellipsis should be one of the options. Second, RNR is not restricted by argument structure identity, phonological identity, or Case identity, but by interpretive identity. Third, the basic premise of idiom spreading in RNR is the same as that of the Vehicle Change between proper names and pronouns (cf. Fiengo & May 1994). As such, idiom spreading in RNR, which is a spin-off from the original idea of Vehicle Change, presents an argument for the LF interpretive identity theory of RNR resolution.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
ATB	across-the-board	PL	plural
DAT	dative	PRED	predicate
DEC	declarative marker	RNR	right-node-raising
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
LCA	Linear Correspondence Axiom	TOP	topic

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