

Pied-Piping in the External Merge in Collins Conjunctions

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In a Collins Conjunction (CC, Collins 1988), a sentential adverb occurs in an argumental nominal conjunct (1). It has a weak and strong reading (Munn 1993, Condoravdi *et al* 2019).

- (1) a. John, Bill and *maybe Mary* went to the store.
 Weak: ‘J and B, or J, B and M.’ Strong: ‘J, B and x and x may be M.’
 b. John, Bill and {*allegedly/sometimes*} *Mary* get together on Friday nights.

❶ The clausal coordination approach to CCs, as in (2) for (1a) (cf. Schein 2017), has problems.

- (2) [John, Bill ~~went to the store~~] and [maybe Mary went to the store].

◆ A binding problem: No c-command relation is seen between the binder and variable in (3b).

- (3) a. They have praised each professor_i and *perhaps his_i best student*. (both str & wk readings)
 b. *[They have praised each professor_i] and [perhaps ~~they have praised~~ his_i best student].

◆ An NP CC problem: (4a) is not derived from (4b).

- (4) a. My [friend and maybe future colleague] will also attend.
 b. *My friend ~~will attend~~ and maybe future colleague will also attend.

◆ An adverb problem: the approach fails to explain the acceptability contrast in (5).

- (5) John, Bill ~~went to the store~~ and {maybe/*quickly} Mary went to the store.

❷ A cleft approach (also the clausal coordination approach) has a collective predicate problem (the capitalized forms are PF-null in (6)). ∴ The clause modified by the adverb has no VP ellipsis.

- (6) *John, Bill and [maybe IT BE Mary WHO ~~went to the store together~~] went to the store together.

❸ A transparent relative clause (RC) approach (Bogal-Allbritten & Weir 2017) fails to explain why the post-adverb DP is definite if it is assumed to be a predicate of a PRO subject in the approach.

❹ Proposal: The Adverb-Containing Conjunct (ACC) in a CC is a reduced specificational clause (RSC). Unlike in a predicational clause, in a specificational one, the post-copula nominal is of type *e* (e.g., den Dikken 2006, Mikkelsen 2011). The full form of the ACC in (1a) is (8).

- (7) a. Jane Austen was a novelist. [*pred.*] b. The author of *Emma* was Jane Austen. [*specif.*]

- (8) [^{ACC} maybe [A PERSON BE Mary]]

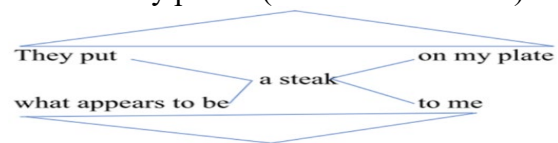
◆ The RSC analysis explains the ban of a manner adverb (9a), (5) (Collins 1988), and an event-token modifier (9b) (cf. Rothstein 1999). Event kind ones (*sometimes*; Gehrke 2019) are fine (1b).

- (9) a. *Kim and *intelligently Mary* avoided the teacher. b. *Kim and *yesterday Mary* went to the store.

◆ The RSC in an ACC is not contained in a DP. It is not a complement of a noun. It is not a non-restrictive RC, since it is prosodically integrated into the CC (Collins 1988). It is not a Headless (free) RC, which must start with a wh-form in English (Little *et al.* 2024; *I read what he writes*).

◆ In the matrix clause view, an ACC is a DP like the other DP conjuncts; but locally, it is a clause. The Graft (van Riemstijk 2000) and Bud (Geraci 2023) theories capture the mismatch: an element is merged with a non-root element of another tree (10). In a CC, a clause is also merged onto a DP position of the matrix clause.

(10) They put *what appeared to be a steak* on my plate. (van Riemstijk 2000)



In (1a), when *Mary* is targeted by *and*, its containing clause in (8) is pied-piped.

◆ Both the Graft and Bud theories satisfy the selection in the matrix clause, but violate the Extension Condition; however, the two theories can be viewed as pied-piping in external merge.

- (11) In which house does John live?

In (11), what should move is *which*, but the PP is pied-piped. Similarly, in a CC, what the matrix clause targets is a DP, but the clause that contains the DP is merged, instead.

This study suggests that keeping the selection of the syntactic context and recognizing a flexibility of the Extension Condition can lead to a further unification of external and internal merge.

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