Aim of my talk

To account for the data concerning...

(1) Extraction of a conjunct in a coordinate structure leads to a violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) (Ross 1967), while this effect disappears when a wh-phrase is extracted in an across-the-board (ATB) manner.

(2) a. John [bought a car] and [sold a house].
   b. *What did John [buy [ ] and [sell a house]]? <Violation of CSC>
   c. What did John [buy [ ] and [sell [ ]]]? <Repairs in ATB extraction>

JSL

(3) [FATHER / STRAWBERRY / LIKE] [MOTHER / APPLE / DISLIKE]. ‘Father likes strawberries and mother dislikes apples.’

(4) Wh-final
   a. [FATHER / [ ] / LIKE] WHAT?
      ‘What does father like?’
   b. *[FATHER / [ ] / LIKE] [MOTHER / APPLE / DISLIKE] WHAT?
      <Violation of CSC>
   c. [FATHER / [ ] / LIKE] [MOTHER / [ ] / DISLIKE] WHAT?
      <Repairs in ATB>

(5) Wh-double
   a. [FATHER / WHAT / LIKE] WHAT?
      ‘What does father like?’
   b. *[FATHER / WHAT / LIKE] [MOTHER / APPLE / DISLIKE] / WHAT?
      <Violation of CSC>
   c. *[FATHER / WHAT / LIKE] [MOTHER / DISLIKE] / WHAT?
      <No repair with ATB>

Japanese (6b)

(6) Overt movement + wh-in-situ
      what-ACC John-NOM buy Mary-NOM sell -polite.past Q
   b. [John-ga nani-o kai ] [Mary-ga nani-o uri ] -masita ka?
      John-NOM what-ACC buy Mary-NOM what-ACC sell -polite.past Q

‘What did John buy and Mary sell?’

English (7b)

(7) Overt wh-movement
   a. *I wonder what [John bought [ ] and [Peter sold [ ]].
   b. I wonder what [John bought [ ] and [Peter sold [ ]].

ATB in-situ

(8) *Who said [that John bought what] and [that Peter sold what]? cf. Who said [that John bought what]? (Bošković & Franks 2000)

The pattern of coordination in JSL is similar to that in English.

LF/semantic representational approach to the CSC

(9) Each conjunct in a coordinate structure forms an independent structure at LF by sharing all the material above the conjunct, and that a sentence with coordination is well-formed only if each of these LF structures (LFS) independently satisfies grammatical constraints.

(see Goodall 1987, Fox 2000, Kato 2006)

(10) LFS of (2a)
   John bought a car and sold a house

(11) LFS of (2b)
   a. what_i did John buy t_i
   b. what_i did John sell a house

Proposed account

(12) LFS of (2c)
   a. what_i did John buy t_i
   b. what_i did John sell t_i

Japanese (6a) ✓ JSL (4c) ✓ English (7b) ✓ ATB in-situ: Japanese (6b) ✓ JSL (5c) * English (8) *

JSL (5c)

(13) LFS of (6b)
   a. [C-[V]]*TP [John what buy] T] C ] Q_{a1}
   b. [C-[V]]*TP [Mary what sell] T] C ] Q_{a2}

(14) LFS of (8)
   a. [what_i what_i [who_i [C_i [t_i said that John bought what_i]]]]
   b. [what_i what_i [who_i [C_i [t_i said that Peter sold what_i]]]]

Unlicensed: This is why (8) is ungrammatical.

English (8)

(15) LFS of (5c)
   a. [[[FATHER / WHAT / LIKE] [MOTHER / DISLIKE]] WHAT_i]
   b. [[[MOTHER / WHAT / LIKE] [DISLIKE]] WHAT_i]

Unlicensed: This is why (5c) is ungrammatical.

Conclusion

The semantic approach to coordination can account for the data concerning ATB dependencies in JSL/Japanese/English.