

Across-the-board dependencies in Japanese Sign Language

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This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP19K00559.

Aim of my talk

Coordination and across-the-board dependencies

To account for the data concerning...

(1) Extraction from 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 ___]?
 <Repaired in ATB extraction>

JSL

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

- (4) *Wh-final*
 a. [FATHER / ___ / LIKE] ^{wh}WHAT? 'What does father like?'
 b. *[FATHER / ___ / LIKE] ^{hn}[MOTHER / APPLE / DISLIKE] / ^{wh}WHAT? <Violation of CSC >
 c. [FATHER / ___ / LIKE] ^{hn}[MOTHER / ___ / DISLIKE] / ^{wh}WHAT? <Repaired in ATB>

- (5) *Wh-double (wh-final + in-situ)*
 a. [FATHER / ^{wh}WHAT / LIKE] ^{wh}WHAT? 'What does father like?'
 b. *[FATHER / ^{wh}WHAT / LIKE] ^{hn}[MOTHER / APPLE / DISLIKE] / ^{wh}WHAT? <Violation of CSC >
 c. *[FATHER / ^{wh}WHAT / LIKE] ^{hn}[MOTHER / ^{wh}WHAT / DISLIKE] / ^{wh}WHAT? <No repair with ATB>

not the same

Japanese

English

(6) *Overt movement + wh-in-situ*

- a. **Nani-o** [John-ga ___ kai] [Mary-ga ___ uri] -masita ka?
 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?'

(7) *Overt wh-movement*

- a. *I wonder **what** [John bought ___] and [Peter sold a house].
 b. I wonder **what** [John bought ___] and [Peter sold ___].
 (8) *Wh-in-situ*
 *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.

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

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)

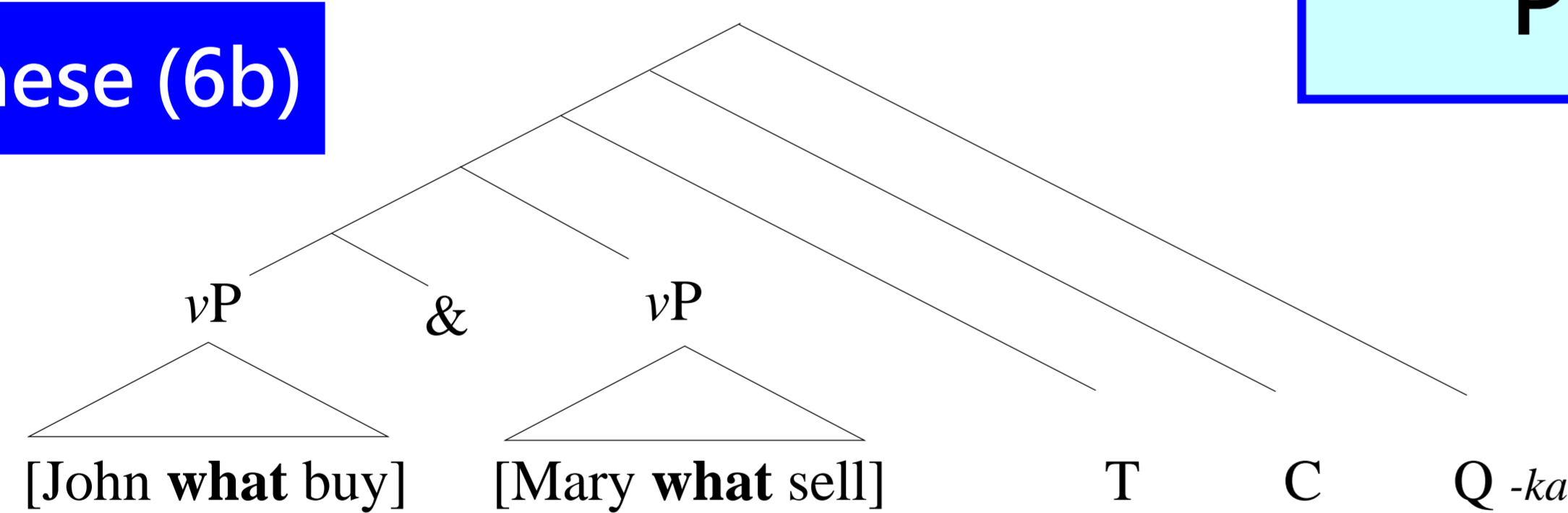
(10) *LFS of (2a)*
 John bought a car
 sold a house

(11) *LFS of (2b)*
 a. **what_i** did John buy *t_i*
 b. **what_i** did John sell a house
 Vacuous Quantification (VQ)
 Unlicensed

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

Proposed account

Japanese (6b)



(13) *LFS of (6b)*

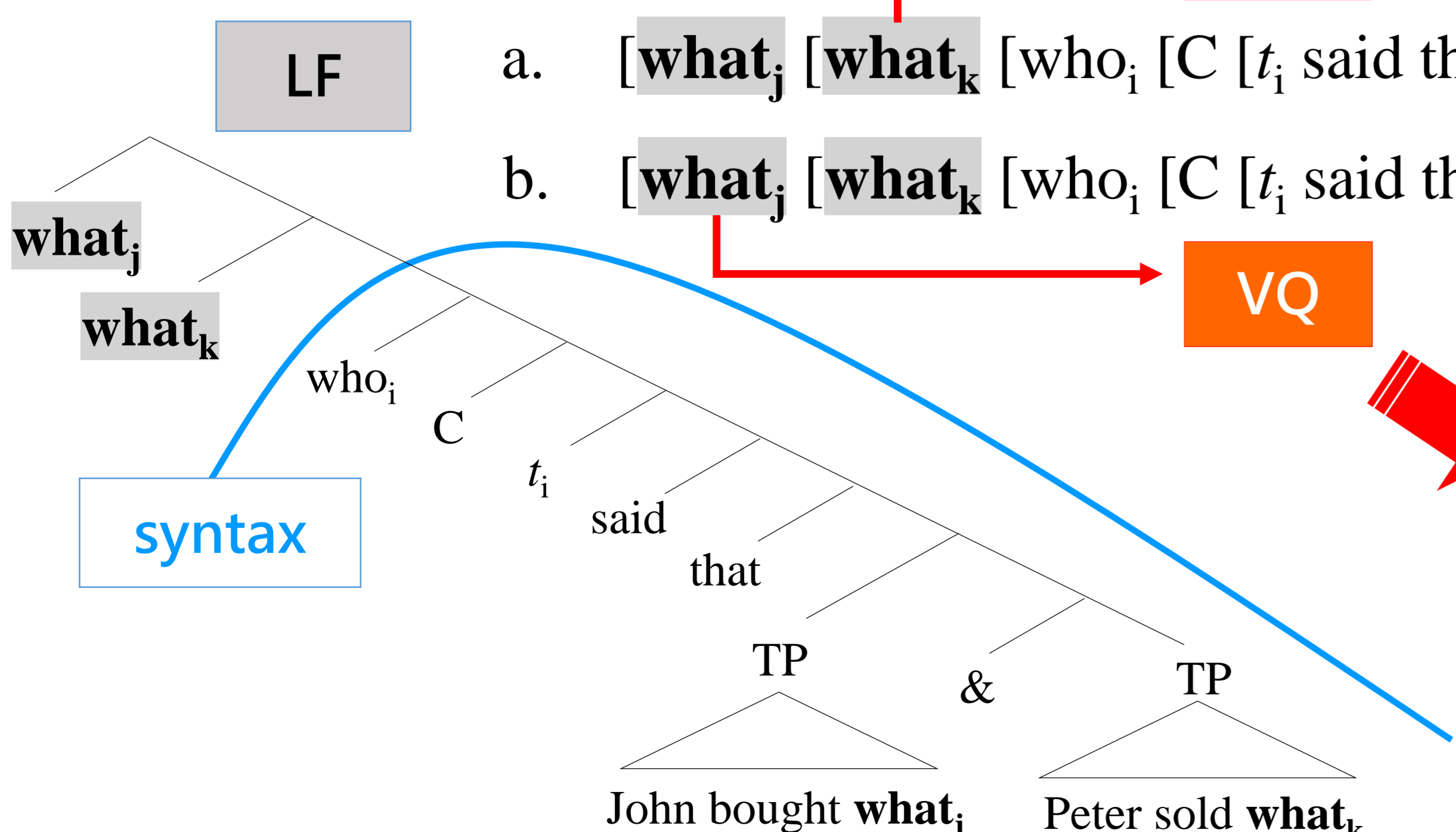
- a. [CP[CP[TP[John what buy] T] C] Q_{ka}]
 b. [CP[CP[TP[Mary what sell] T] C] Q_{ka}]

No Q/wh agreement (Cable 2010)

Licensed structures:
 This is why (6a) is grammatical.

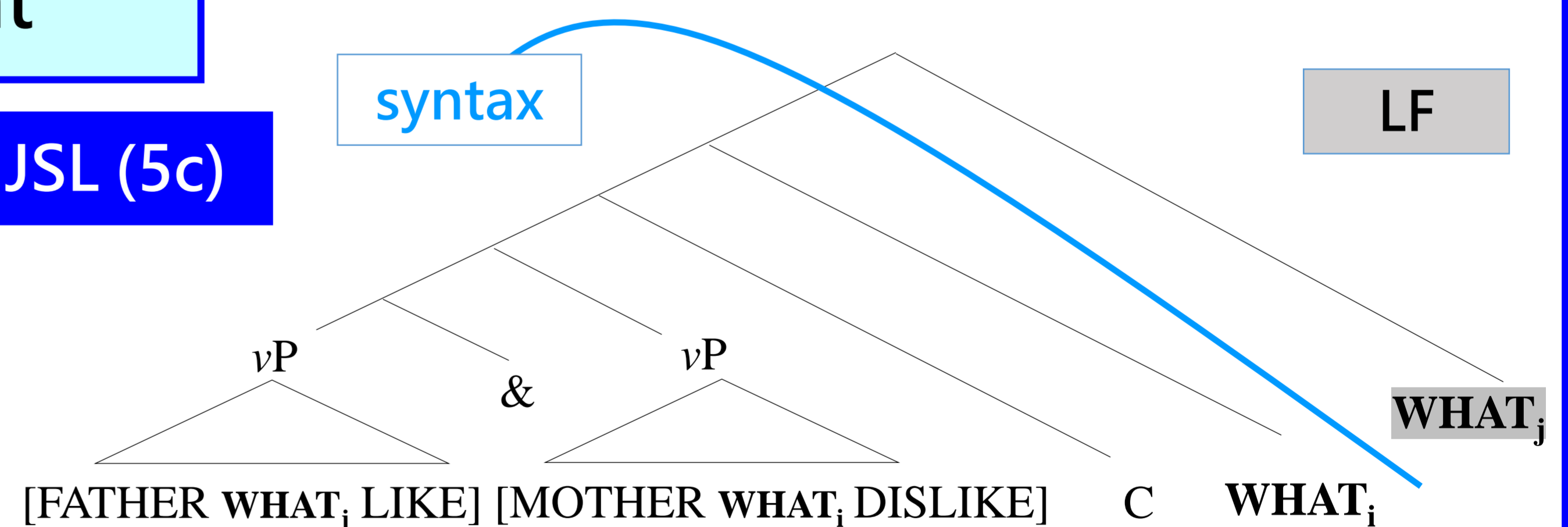
English (8)

- (14) *LFS of (8)*
 a. [**what_j** [**what_k** [who_i [C [*t_i* said that John bought **what_j**]]]]]
 b. [**what_j** [**what_k** [who_i [C [*t_i* said that Peter sold **what_k**]]]]]



Unlicensed:
 This is why (8) is ungrammatical.

JSL (5c)



(15) *LFS of (5c)*

- a. [[[FATHER / ^{wh}WHAT_i / LIKE] C] ^{wh}WHAT_i] ^{wh}WHAT_j
 b. [[[MOTHER / ^{wh}WHAT_j / DISLIKE] C] ^{wh}WHAT_i] ^{wh}WHAT_j

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.