

The Conjunct Constraint is Inviolable

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Abstract

I argue against the false conflation of comitatives and coordinates (McNally 1993; Zhang 2010). I particularly show that so-called "comitative coordinates" in Chinese are in fact comitatives that have a structure distinct from a coordinate structure. A comitative does not involve a complex NP, while a coordinate NP does. Consequently, extraction of the first NP in a comitative should be licit and does not constitute a violation of the Conjunct Constraint.

1 Introduction

It has been established that extraction out of coordinate complexes is constrained by the coordinate structure constraint (CSC) (Ross 1967: 89).

- (1) "In a coordination structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct."

Grosu (1981) divides the CSC into two parts. The first part is called the Conjunct Constraint (CC). The CC bans extracting a whole conjunct. Examples of CC violations are listed in (2). The second part of the CSC is referred to as the Element Constraint (EC). The EC bars moving an element out of the coordinate complex, as in (3).

- (2) The Conjunct Constraint (Chaves 2012, 469, (7))
 - a. *Who did you see [_ and Tim]?
 - b. *Who did you talk to [Kim and_]?
- (3) The Element Constraint
 - a. *What did Kim [cook _ for two hours and eat shrimps in four minutes]? (Chaves 2012, 475, (19); modified)
 - b. *We went to see a movie which [the critics praised *American Sniper*], but [_ was too violent for my taste]. (Chaves 2012, 475, (21a); modified)

It has long been assumed that the the CC is inviolable (Postal 1998). However, there have been recent claims that the CC may be violated in some contexts. One instance of violation occurs in languages in which a lexical item is ambiguous between a coordinator and a comitative

marker. For example, Zhang (2010) claims that Chinese *he/gen* coordinates may violate the CC in specific contexts. In (4a), Zhang (2010) proposes that *houche* is extracted out of the coordinate complex [*...gen qiche*] and raised to the subject position. A similar extraction occurs in (4b) with the verb *caixiang*. Following McNally (1993), she dubs these constructions *comitative coordinates*.

- (4) a. Huoche hui [*...gen qiche*] xiangzhuang ma?
 train might [*...and bus*] collide Q
 ‘Might the train collide with the bus?’ (Zhang 2010a, 114, (4.81a))
- b. Wo caixiang, Baoyu yinggai gen Daiyu xia-zhe qi ne.
 I guess Baoyu should and Daiyu play-PRG chess PRT
 ‘I guess, Baoyu should be playing chess with Daiyu (now).’ (Zhang 2010b, 227, (85))

I will show that the violations, such as the one in so-called “comitative coordinates” are due to the false conflation of comitative structure and coordinate structure. My claim, contra Zhang (and previously McNally (1993)), is that comitatives do not involve complex NPs. Thus they should allow extraction.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 establishes that the CC is not a movement constraint. Rather, it is constraint on pronunciation. In Section 3, I show that comitatives have different structure from coordinates. In section 4, I argue against Zhang’s analysis of comitative coordinates. Section 5 is a the conclusion.

2 The CC as a Constraint on Pronunciation

I will adopt and defend the idea that the CC is a constraint on pronunciation. Conjuncts cannot be unpronounced (Grosu (1981); Munn (1993); Merchant (2001); Zhang (2010a)). In this section, I review evidence in favor of this analysis.

Merchant (2001) argues that the CC is a PF constraint, along the lines of the Null Conjunct Constraint, proposed by Grosu (1981), which states that conjuncts may not be null. Merchant provides various examples from phenomena that exhibit a ban on deletion at PF, in which coordinating a null element and an overt element is barred.

The first example comes from VP ellipsis. In cases of VP ellipsis, it is ungrammatical to coordinate a null VP with an overt VP (Grosu 1973). As pointed out by Merchant, one explanation for the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (5) is that conjunct cannot be null.

- (5) *I couldn’t lift this weight but I know a boy who could [*... and lift a crowbar, too*].
 (Grosu 1973, (53))

Similar facts are found in Right Node Raising (RNR). In many analyses, RNR is analyzed as PF deletion (Wilder 1995; Swingle 1995). The ungrammaticality of (6), then, must be due to a ban on leaving a conjunct unpronounced.

- (6) *[[Tom is writing an article on Aristotle and *...*], [and Elaine has just published a monograph on Mesmer and *...*]], Freud. (McCawley 1988)

Another argument for the non-movement analysis of the CC comes from Greek null subjects. Greek allows null subjects (*pro*), but if the subject is a conjunct phrase, one of the conjuncts may not be *pro*. Since clearly no movement occurs here, the ungrammaticality must be due to a constraint that bans a null conjunct.¹

- (7) {*Afros*/**pro*} kai o Pavlos ine adherfia
 he/pro and the Paul are siblings
 ‘He and Paul are siblings.’ (Merchant 2001: ex. 103a: p197)
- (8) {*Esi*/**pro*} kai o pavlos iste adherfia
 you.sg/pro and the Paul are siblings
 ‘You and Paul are siblings.’ (Merchant 2001: ex. 103b: p197)

An argument which I wish to add comes from pied-piping. Pied-piping is known to get around island violations. If the CC is a constraint on movement, pied-piping should get around a CC violation. This prediction is not borne out. A sentence with *wh*-conjunct is ungrammatical.

- (9) a. This book, [NP the first chapter of which] everyone says is full of lies, ...
 b. *this book, which everyone says the first chapter of is full of lies, ... (Kayne 1983)
- (10) a. *The man [who and you] they were going to meet _ together is over there.
 b. *You & who were they going to meet _ together?

¹There are cases where it appears that an overt conjunct is coordinated with a null element. This is in verb coded coordination in which the first conjunct appears as an agreement morpheme on the verb while the second conjunct is an overt full fledged NP as in the Bulgarian and Dakota sentences below (Schwarz 1988).

- (1) Bulgarian
 Otidohme s majka mi na paza
 went.IP and mother my to market
 ‘My mother and I went to the market.’ (Schwarz 1988)

- (2) Dakota
 Niye kiči Tim oūkiyakte.
 2S and T. helpt.3S/12.Fut
 ‘Tim will help you and me.’ (Schwarz 1988)

One possibility is that the agreement morpheme in the Bulgarian example is a pronoun that cliticizes on the verb. Similar cliticization of the pronoun on the verb is found in Modern Standard Arabic. In this case there is no null conjunct. The conjunct is overt but it is a clitic.

- (3) safar-na w usra-ta-hu fi riḥlah ?ila Turkia
 travel-3PL and family-?LOC-3SG.POSS in trip to Turkey
 He went with his family on a trip to Turkey.’

As for the Dakota case, it could also be the case that the agreement morpheme on the verb is a clitic. However, I suspect that the sentence involves a comitative rather than coordination. The reason is that the subject intervenes between the verb and the rest of the apparent conjunction. Discontinuity is one of the properties of comitatives (McNally (1993)Zhang (2007)).

Before I end this section, I wish to point out two arguments advanced in Merchant (2001) which I believe do not argue for the PF status of the CC. The first argument is the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (11) where all conjuncts are ATB moved. Merchant (2001) claims that since ATB movement is in principle allowed, the ungrammaticality must be derived from non-syntactic principles, that is PF constraints.

- (11) a. */#Which books did Bob read [_ and _]?
 b. *I wonder who she saw both [_ and a picture of _].
 c. *I wonder who you saw [[a picture of _]and _]. (Adapted from Merchant 2001: ex. 106: p198)

However, the examples above do not really constitute a valid argument because the ungrammaticality of the sentences could be due to their semantic ill-formedness. If we assume that the ATB-moved constituent is in construction with the gaps or bind both gaps, it is semantically ill-formed to coordinate the same constituent. A better example that sets the context better is in (12). Again, here the extraction would be acceptable since it is across the board, but it is ungrammatical. This shows that the CC is not a constraint on movement.

- (12) a. It was strange to see Bill and a statue of Bill at the same time.
 b. * Who was it strange to see _ and a statue of _ at the same time.

Another argument Merchant proposes which I believe equally argues for a movement and a non-movement analysis comes from resumption. Merchant claims that resumption can ameliorate the effects of the CC in English (Merchant 2001; Pstesky 1998). In (13), the pronoun *him* that is co-indexed with the extracted conjunct *the guy* makes the sentence acceptable.

- (13) a. That's the guy_i, that they were going to meet [you and him_i] together.
 b. Which wine_i would you never serve it_i and sushi together? (Petesky 1998a:366 n. 28)

I do not think that this constitutes a strong argument. Resumption is a strategy that ameliorates movement violations as well. For instance in (14), the island violation can be fixed by inserting the resumptive pronoun *it*. Resumptive pronouns are consistent with both a PF constraint and the view that the CC is a constraint on movement.

- (14) This is the thing that I was wondering if you want it.

Therefore, there is strong evidence against the analysis that the CC is a movement constraint and for the analysis that it is a constraint on pronunciation. I adopt this analysis and will argue that this pronunciation constraint cannot be violated.

3 Comitatives vs Coordinates

Now I will turn to investigating the validity of the claim that a coordinate allows extraction of a conjunct if it has a comitative meaning as reproduced below.

- (15) Huoche hui [-gen qiche] xiangzhuang ma?
 train might [-and bus] collide Q
 ‘Might the train collide with the bus?’

Before I go through Zhang’s arguments, in this section I will establish that coordinates and comitatives are different semantically and syntactically. Throughout the discussion, I will refer to the NP that precedes the comitative marker as NP1 and the one the follows the comitative marker as NP2.

It is essential to draw a distinction between comitative and coordinate constructions. This distinction becomes crucial in languages that encode coordinates and comitatives using the same lexical item. In English, comitative phrases involve the preposition *with* (Lackoff & Peters 1966; Kayne (1994); Stolz (2001); Zhang 2007).

On the other hand, in many languages a lexical item is ambiguous between a coordinator and a comitative marker. In Modern Standard Arabic, *wa* is ambiguous between a coordinator and a comitative marker as in (16).

- (16) a. xaraža almudīir wa musaʿid-a-hu fi žawlah
 go.out.3SG.M the.manager and-with assistant-LOC-3SG.M.POSS in tour
 tafaqudiyyah
 inspection
 ‘The manager went out in an inspection tour with his assistant.’
 b. iṣṭarat Salma wa Muna kol waḥidah kitaba-an
 buy.3SG.F Salma and Muna each one.F book-ACC
 ‘Muna and Salam bought each one a book.’

In traditional Arabic grammar, the comitative version of *wa* is referred to as *waw al-maʿiyyah* ‘comitative *and*’ to distinguish it from *waw al-ṣatīf* ‘conjunctive *and*’. Comitative *and* is special in that it assigns case to its complement or the NP it adjoins to. To distinguish the conjunctive use of *wa*, I use a distributive adverb *kol waḥidah* ‘each one’. In (16a), in which *wa* is a comitative marker, ‘the manager’ and ‘the assistant’ do not seem to be on par. The sentence means, ‘the manager together with the assistant went on an inspection tour.’ This is pretty much different from, ‘the manger and the assistant went on an inspection tour.’ In contrast, in (16b), *Salma* and *Muna* are on par. Each one seems to hold a parallel role in the eventuality described.

In what follows, I will discuss the diagnostics of comitatives in terms of movement and intervention; and meaning and iterativity. Then, on the basis of what these diagnostics show, I propose two structures for comitatives, which are different from coordinate structure.

It has been claimed that in English comitative, it is possible for NP1 to move out of the comitative phrase as in (17) (Zhang 2007; Kayne 1994).

- (17) a. I ate pasta with meatballs.
 b. Pasta is often eaten with meatballs.

Contrastively, raising the first conjunct from a coordinate phrase is impossible in English as it constitutes a violation of the the CC (18b).

- (18) a. I ate pasta and meat balls.
 b. *Pasta is often eaten [_iand meatballs].

I should point out that (18b) can be grammatical with a long pause before *and* and with emphasis on *and meatballs*. In this case, the coordinator and what follows might be analyzed as a remnant of ellipsis with clausal coordination.

- (19) Pasta is often eaten and meatballs [~~are often eaten~~].

Similarly, wh-movement shows that there is a contrast between a comitative and a coordinate. *with*+NP2 may be wh-moved, but the coordinator along with the conjunct may not (McNally 1993; Zhang 2007).

- (20) a. I mixed baking soda and vinegar.
 b. I mixed baking soda with vinegar.
 c. With what did you mix baking soda?
 d. * And what did you mix baking soda?

Furthermore, elements may disrupt NP1 *with* NP2, but it is ungrammatical for an element to interrupt a coordinate complex. In (21a), *together* may occur after NP1, but it is impossible for *together* to occur after the first conjunct (21b).

- (21) a. A mother together with her son attended John's talk.
 b. A mother (*together) and her two kids came.

Coordinates and comitatives are different in the iterativity of the coordinator/comitative marker plus NP2. Coordinates allow iterativity, but comitatives do not (McNally 1993).

- (22) a. I had drinks with my friends (*with my colleagues).
 b. I and my friends and my colleagues had drinks.

In some cases iteration of the comitative plus NP2 is possible, but here the iterating NP is stacked over the preceding NP. Thus changing the order of NPs results in change of meaning. In (23a), *with hot peppers* is stacked over the combination of *with meatballs*. The sentence could mean that hot peppers have been eaten with pasta and meatballs as an appetizer. Changing the order of NPs result in change of meaning. In (23b), *with meatballs* is stacked over *pasta with hot peppers*. One meaning is that hot peppers are actually cooked or mixed with the pasta as a single dish with which another dish, namely meatballs, is eaten.

- (23) a. I ate [[pasta with meatballs] with hot peppers].
 b. I ate [[pasta with hot peppers] with meatballs].

Changing the order of conjuncts in a coordinate do not change the meaning.

- (24) a. I ate pasta and meatballs and salad.
 b. I ate pasta and salad and meatballs.

Here I am excluding coordination subgroups. Changing grouping will definitely change the meaning, but with a subgroup, changing the order result in changing the meaning. In (25a), *milk and cookies* forms a subgroup. Milk and cookies are eaten together as a single snack. But in (25b), *ice cream, milk and cookies* is a group, so the sentence can mean that each item was eaten separately.

- (25) a. I ate [ice cream and [milk and cookies]].
- b. I ate [ice cream and milk and cookies].

Iterativity effects results from an underlying semantic difference between comitatives and coordinates. A comitative can only involve two participants, while coordination involves numerous participants.

A comitative and a coordinate are not semantically equivalent. Consider examples in (). Pairs, such as in (26), have been related to each other in meaning (Lackoff and Peters 1966; Kayne 1994; Zhang 2010). However, these sentences are not semantically equivalent. In (26a), NP2 may be stationary, but in (26b), both conjuncts are moving necessarily. Note that it is semantically odd for *a lamppost and a car* to be a subject of *collide* because coordination requires that both conjuncts are moving.

- (26) a. A car collided with a truck.
- b. A car and a truck collided
- (27) # A lamppost and a car collided.

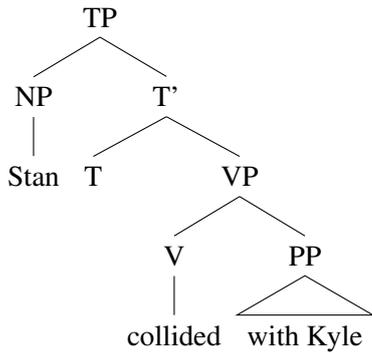
On the basis of the above differences, I propose that comitatives and coordinates should also be different in structure contra McNally (1993), Kayne (1994), Zhang (2007), among others. I will build on the three-way categorization of comitatives highlighted in Yamada (2010), and propose that those three types have two distinct syntactic structures. Then I will rule out the claim that a comitative has a structure similar to coordinates, namely a complementational structure (Kayne 1994; Zhang 2007).

Yamada points out that there are three types of comitatives as exemplified below.

- (28) a. Stan collided with Kyle.
- b. Stan built a raft with Kyle
- c. Shelly cooked with her baby (Yamada 2010: p. 126: ex. 177)

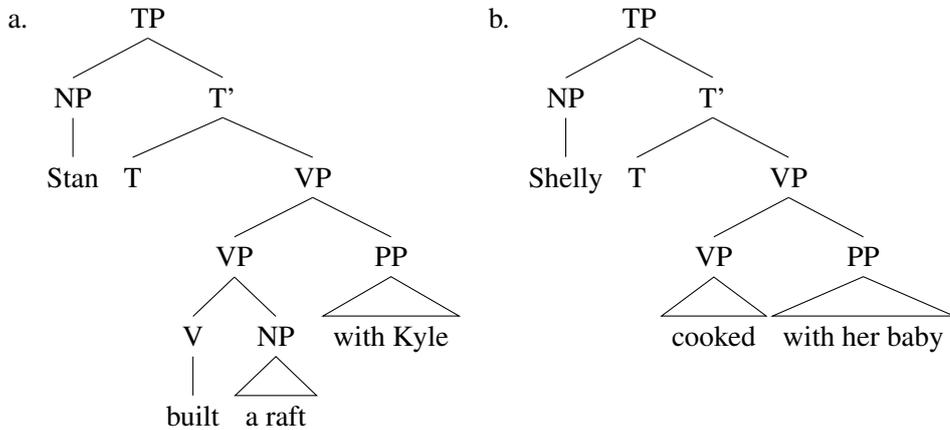
I will assume that in (28a) the comitative PP *with-Kyle* is an argument. The verb *collide* requires this phrase as complement, so the with-phrase is a part of the selectional requirements of the verb. On the basis of this assumption, I propose the structure 29 for (28a).

- (29)



In (28b) and (28c), I will assume that PP *with+NP* functions as a VP adjunct. The PP is optional and does not hold a thematic relation with the verb. I illustrate the structures below.

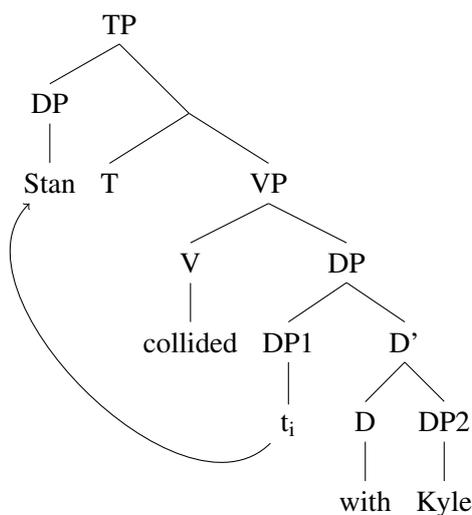
(30)



Following Kayne (1994), Zhang (2007) argues that a comitative has the same structure as a coordinate. For Zhang, NP1 and NP2 are arguments of the comitative marker in a complex NP. Thus, Zhang relates sentences such as (31a) and (31b) by movement as represented in (32). Zhang assumes that a coordinator is a D and the coordinate complex is a DP, but it is not clear to me how a coordinator may be a DP.

- (31) a. Stan and Kyle collided.
 b. Stan collided with kyle.

(32)



A number of arguments have been advanced in support of the complementational structure for a comitative. The first argument comes from cases such as (33) which have been argued to show that a comitative has a plural feature. *He* and *Harry* are claimed to be base generated in a complex NP. This explains the use of the plural word *friends* (Kayne 1994; Zhang 2007; Yamada 2010). However, I believe the analysis of *friends* here is wrong. Other relational nouns such as *enemies*, may not occur in a similar construction. I propose that *friends with* is a nominal idiom that takes *Harry* as a complement.

- (33) a. He is friends with Harry.
 b. *John is enemies/siblings/colleagues/brothers with Bill.

Another argument for complementational structure is that *NP1+with+NP2* may not undergo A-bar movement as single unit (Zhang 2007). Zhang claims that this shows that NP1 and NP2 are base generated in a complex NP. It is not clear how the impossibility of A-bar movement is relevant to whether an NP is complex or not.

- (34) a. *The apple with the orange, Mary compared.
 b. *Which apple with the orange did Mary compare? (Zhang 2007, 148, (35a,b))

In addition, the argument runs into two problems. First, in Zhang's analysis, a comitative and a coordinate have a similar structure and both involve a complex NP. However, the coordinate may occur in a topic position. It can undergo A-bar movement.

- (35) The apple and the orange, Mary ate.

Second, the impossibility of movement is in fact because *NP1 with+NP2* cannot be a single constituent. For example, in (36), if we use substitution tests with *one*, we will find that *one* cannot replace *the blue apple with the orange*.

- (36) Mary compared the blue apple with the orange and Bill compared the red one. (*one* cannot mean *apple with the orange*).

Two arguments support my structure in (29) in which *with the truck* is an argument of verbs like *collide* and *compare*. The first comes from VP topicalization. In (37a), *with+the truck* moves with the verb. If *with the truck* is base generated in a complex NP. It is not clear how it can move with the verb.

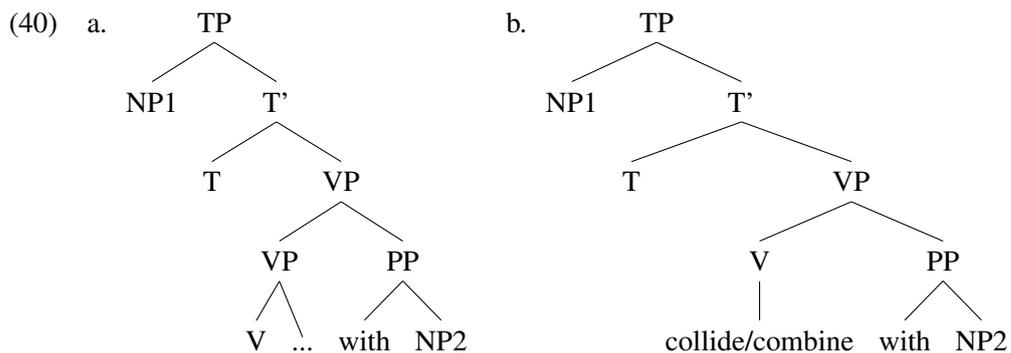
(37) Mary thought she would collide with the truck, and collide with the truck she did.

The second comes from VP ellipsis. In (38), *with-PP* is an argument. It must be included in VP ellipsis (38b) and may not be stranded (38c). Contrastively, in (39), *with-PP* is more like an adjunct because it may be stranded with VP ellipsis .

- (38) a. Mary compared the blue apple with the red one.
 b. ... and Bill did _ too.
 c. ... *and Bill did with the green one.

(39) Stand built a raft with Kyle, and Mary did with Sally.

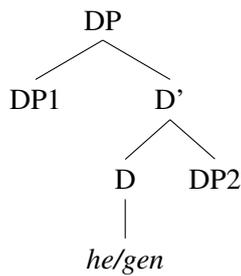
To conclude, I proposed that a comitative structure is distinct from a coordinate structure. A comitative does not involve a complex NP and the comitative PP can be a complement PP or a VP adjunct PP. Thus, the structures for comitatives that I adopt are listed in (40).



4 Against Comitative Coordinates

In this section, I will present Zhang's analysis of so-called 'comitative coordinates' particularly those involving coordinators *he/gen*. Zhang assumes the following structure for *he/gen* constructions.

(41)



Following Johannessen (1998), Zoerner (1995), among others, Zhang assumes that the coordinator projects conjuncts as arguments. What is different about Zhang's analysis is her claim that the coordinator is a D head. This was part of her main goal of eliminating coordinate specific categories such as &P. Thus she replaced &P with DP for the topmost node of the coordinate complex, and hypothesized D as the head that contains the coordinator.

Zhang contends that the first conjunct can be extracted, while the second conjunct cannot. Thus she redefines the CC so that the CC should be split into two constraints: the CCE which bans extraction of the external conjunct, and the CCI which bans extraction of internal conjuncts.

- (42) a. the CCE: extraction of the external conjunct (or the conjunct right before the coordinator) is not allowed.
 b. the CCI: extraction of the internal conjunct (or rightmost) is not allowed.

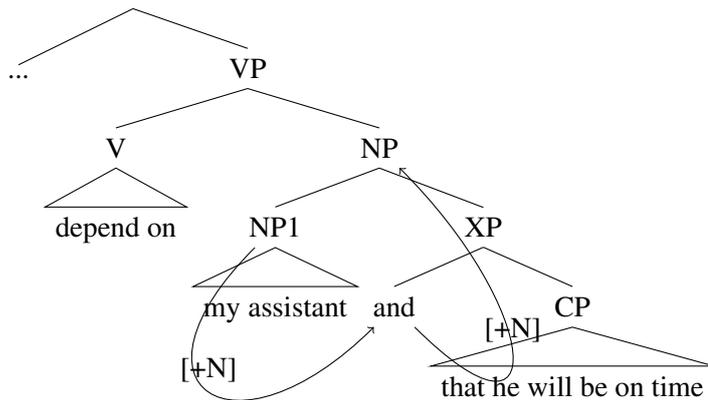
However, for extraction to be possible, two conditions must be met. The first condition is related to the coordinator. The coordinator must have categorial features in order for the first conjunct to be allowed to move. The second condition is that the coordination must have a non-distributive reading.

I start with the first condition. Zhang argues that if the coordinator lacks categorial features, the first conjunct must transfer its features to the coordinator. These features will percolate up to the conjunction. This was Johannessen (1998)'s assumption to explain why the first conjunct controls selection when category mismatch occurs.

In (43a), Zhang claims that the coordinator *and* lacks category features and instead gets them from *my assistant*. The verb *depend on* requires a nominal argument. The conjunct phrase gets nominal features from the first conjunct via the coordinator. On the other hand, (43b) is ungrammatical because the feature that the clause provides to the coordinator do not satisfy the selectional restrictions of the verb.

- (43) a. You can depend on [my assistant [and [that he will be on time]].
 b. * You can depend on [that my assistant will be on time] [and [his discretion]].

(44)



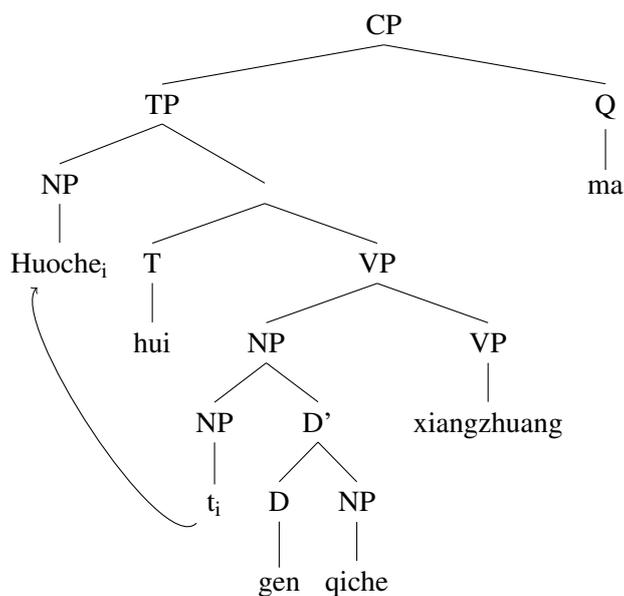
Feature transference causes the first conjunct to be frozen in place, assuming that movement is motivated by feature checking. If no features are available, there is no motivation for the first conjunct to move. So, *and* always lacks features in English and always gets its features from the first conjunct. Zhang does not show why the second conjunct may not be attracted in her framework. It seems that CCI is inviolable universally in her analysis.

- (45) a. John and Mary appear to be sick.
 b. * John appears to be sick [- and Mary].

In Chinese, on the other hand, Zhang argues that coordination with *he/gen* allows the first conjunct to move because the coordinator possesses categorial features. Consider the example again. Here Zhang argues that the first conjunct has moved because it did not transfer its features to the coordinator. (See Zhang 2010a, section 4.4.1 for arguments that *he/gen* have categorial features.)

- (46) Huoche hui [-gen qiche] xiangzhuang ma?
 train might [-and bus] collide Q
 'Might the train collide with the bus?'

(47)



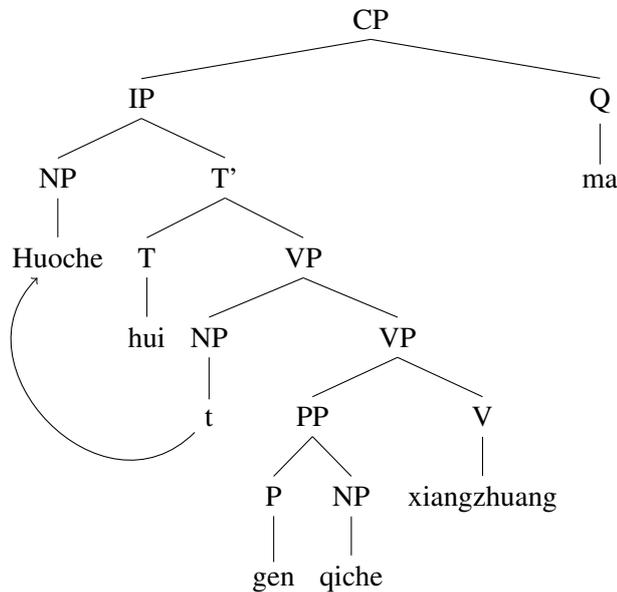
Now I turn to the second condition, that the coordinate must have a non-distributive reading in order for the first conjunct to move. Zhang notes that *he/gen* complexes give rise to two interpretations. Example (48a) has a distributive reading, as shown by its ability to license distributive adverbs like *ge* ‘each’. On the other hand, complexes like in (48b) give rise to comitative or non-distributive interpretation. They allow collective adverbs such as *yi liang* ‘together’.

- (48) a. Baoyu *he/gen* Daiyu *ge* mai-le yi liang che.
 Baoyu *he/gen* Daiyu each buy-prf one clf car
 Baoyu and Daiyu each bought a car. (Zhang 2010b, 221, (75))
- b. Baoyu *he/gen* Daiyu he-mai-le yi liang che.¹³
 Baoyu *he/gen* Daiyu co-buy-prf one clf car
 Baoyu and Daiyu bought a car together. (Zhang 2010b, 221, (76a))

I argue that the context which Zhang characterizes as comitative coordinates is in fact a comitative that has either of the structures I proposed in (40). In other words, *he/gen* just like coordinators in many languages, such as Modern Standard Arabic, are ambiguous between coordinators and comitative markers. When *he/gen* occur as true coordinators, extraction is impossible. When they occur as comitative markers, where Zhang claims they give a comitative or non-distributive reading, extraction should be licit because NP1 is structurally independent and is not part of a complex NP.

For instance, in the case at our hand in (46), it is clear that *he/gen+qiche* holds a thematic relation to the verb *xiangzhuang* ‘collide’ because it is obligatory. Thus, it must be a complement of the verb ‘collide’. Thus the structure should be as in (49). *Huoche* should be allowed to move with no restrictions because it is not base generated in a complex NP.

(49)



To further support my argument that *he/gen*+NP is a comitative phrase (PP), I checked whether the phrase can iterate. The prediction is that if it is a comitative (McNally 1993; Zhang 2010). This prediction is borne out.

- (50) *Huoche hui gen gongjiaocheng qiche xiangzhuang ma?
train might and bus and car collide Q
The intended meaning: ‘*The train might (have) collided with a bus with a car’

However, a native speaker indicates that when the second comitative marker is *he*, the sentence is grammatical. *he*+NP is possible as a second comitative combination. In (51), *bus and car* forms a subgroup, so the meaning is *train collided with [a bus and car]*. It appears that *he* here functions as a true coordinator while *gen* is a comitative marker.

- (51) Huoche hui gen gongjiaocheng he qiche xiangzhuang ma?
train might and bus and car collide Q
‘A train collided with [a bus and a car]’

Therefore, the inability of *gen*+NP to iterate shows that it is a comitative. In such cases, the NPs involved cannot be part of a complex DP and the structure is distinct from the coordinate structure.

In addition, if *he/gen* constructions are coordinates, the whole coordinate complex should be able to move to spec-TP in raising constructions. In fact, an NP complex that involves two occurrences of *gen* can move in a raising construction, but the interpretation here is more like true coordination according to a native speaker’s interpretation. When all NPs raise, they function

more like conjuncts that allow a distributive reading. The speaker reports that both ‘car’ and ‘train’ are moving in (52). This is not remarkable given that *gen* can be a true coordinator (Zhang 2009; 2010).

- (52) Huoche gen qiche gen gongjiaoche hui xiangzhuang?
 train and car and bus collide might collide
 ‘a train, a car and a train might collide.’

In addition, intervention is not allowed in coordination, but it is possible for NP1 and NP2 to be discontinuous in comitatives. We see that this is the case in (46). In comparison, in a language like Modern Standard Arabic, comitative *and* allows intervention, while conjunctive *and* does not. When intervention occurs, the construction is a comitative necessarily. The evidence is the case *wa* assigns to NP2. The expected case here is nominative if the case here is coordination.

- (53) safar-a fi riḥlah ?ila Turkia w usra-ta-hu
 travel-3SG in trip to Turkey and family-?LOC-3SG.POSS
 ‘He went with his family on a trip to Turkey.’

Note that intervention is ungrammatical with a conjunctive *wa*.

- (54) *iṣṭarat Muna Kitab min as-suuq wa maḏallah
 buy-3SG.F Muna book from the-market and magazine
 ‘Muna bought a book and a magazine from the market.’

Therefore, I conclude that *he/gen* can be comitative markers or coordinators. Comitatives and coordinates have distinct structures. Extraction of NP1 in a comitative is unrestricted, while extraction of NP1 in a coordinate is not permitted.

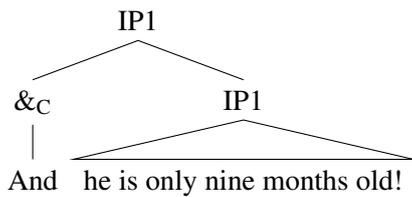
5 Remarks on Conjunct Drop and adjunctional *and*

In section 2, I have cited evidence the CC is a constraint on pronunciation. However, there are apparent cases that seem to defy this constraint. The first case is when the first conjunct is dropped when it is understood from the context, as in (55) (Hankamer and Sag 1976; Huttar 2003; Zhang 2010a, 2010b).

- (55) [Observing that the toddler started to walk]
 And he is only nine months old!

However, I believe the case here involves no conjunct drop. Rather, it appears that the coordinator, here a discourse initial coordinator, is different from a regular coordinator as in *John and Mary*, for instance. I will call the former a closed coordinator, and the latter an open coordinator. I hypothesize that open coordinators requires merging additional conjuncts, while closed coordinators combine with only one conjunct and does not trigger any further merge of conjuncts, as I show below.

- (56)



Note that this is the case with *or* and *but*. Thus, it is more likely given the wide pattern that those coordinators do not require combination with more than a single conjunct.

- (57) [A prisoner is about to be executed].
 - a. Prisoner: But I am innocent!
 - b. Prisoner: Or you could set me free!

A further argument against a conjunct drop analysis is the fact that it never occurs sentence medially. The cases that are claimed to involve conjunct drop all have to be sentence initial. If conjunct drop is available as a strategy, it should apply to initial and non-initial conjuncts equally.

- (58) [Observing that the toddler started to walk]
It is amazing that _ and she is only one month.
- (59) [Prisoner is about to be executed.]
*You know that _ or you could set me free.

The second case is when material intervene between the first conjunct and the rest of the coordinate complex. These cases have been thought to involve movement of the coordinator plus the conjunct (Collins (1988); Munn (1993), (Munn 1992); (Zoerner 1995); (Progovac 1998a), (Progovac 1998b); Cowper and Hall 2000).

- (60) Jane checked out a novel from the library yesterday, and a journal.

However, it has been shown that this case and similar ones can be explained as clausal coordination plus ellipsis (Hudson 1976; Neijt 1979; Moltmann 1992; Johnson 1996; Schwarz 1999).

- (61) [IP Jane Checked out a novel from the library], and [IP [a journal] [~~IP Jane checked out from the library.~~]]

Evidence for this analysis is that in similar examples, a collective verb is not licensed. *Hug* is a collective predicate that requires a plural argument. The ungrammaticality of sentences (90b,c) indicates that *Jane* and *Jill* are not base generated in a conjunction phrase and they cannot form a plural argument which is what the verb *hug* requires. In other words, the sentence is in fact clausal coordination that has undergone ellipsis.

- (62) a. Jane and Jill hugged.

- b. *Jane hugged, and Jill.
 - c. *Jane hugged and Jill hugged.
- (63) *Jane hugged and [IP Jill [IP ~~hugged~~.]]

6 Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that the Conjunct Constraint (CC) is inviolable. I have particularly argued against the claim that the CC may be violated in so-called Comitative Coordinates in Chinese. Comitatives do not involve complex NPs. Thus, extraction from a comitative should be licit.

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