

Pseudo Noun Phrase Coordination

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1. Introduction

Nunes (2001) observes a contrast between Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and English in the possible interpretations of strings of the form P-NP-*and*-(P)-NP. These constructions are notable because they appear to involve the coordination of NPs or PPs. Surprisingly, what appear to be coordinated NPs/PPs can yield interpretations that are not like the conjunction of the interpretations of individual NPs/PPs, but are instead similar to the conjunction of the interpretations of VPs or clauses.

- (1) John spoke with Mary and with Susan.

Single event reading: one three-person *talking* event (J & M & S)

Multi-event reading: two two-person *talking* events (J & M) & (J & S)

While in both BP and English, the multi-event reading is available in apparent PP coordinations, BP disallows multi-event readings in the apparent NP complement of a P (examples due to Nunes (2001); see also Hornstein & Nunes (2002)); English allows them here.

- (2) ‘PP’ coordination

a. Eu conversei com o João e com a Maria.

I spoke with the João and with the Maria

OK 1-event reading, *OK* 2-event reading

b. I talked with João and with Maria.

OK 1-event reading, *OK* 2-event reading

- (3) ‘NP’ coordination

a. Eu conversei com o João e a Maria.

I spoke with the João and the Maria

OK 1-event reading, *2-event reading

b. I talked with João and Maria.

OK 1-event reading, *OK* 2-event reading

Insofar as they involve coordinations with verbal material that is present in the interpretation of both conjuncts but only in the surface form of the left conjunct, the constructions in (2) and (3) are similar to other phenomena from the literature with apparently subsentential coordination which have been analyzed in terms of reduction of larger conjuncts, via ellipsis or Across-the-Board (ATB) movement, for example.¹

- (4) **Left-Peripheral ellipsis** (Sag (1976), Agbayani & Zoerner (2004))

I gave a book to John and a magazine to Mary.

I gave a book to John and ~~I gave~~ a magazine to Mary.

- (5) **Gapping** (Ross (1970), Hankamer (1973a), Johnson (1996), etc.)

I spoke with John, and Bob, with Mary.

I spoke with John, and Bob ~~spoke~~ with Mary.

¹ Paraphrases are given for illustration of interpretation, and do not constitute a theoretical claim about the size of the missing material.

(6) **Stripping** (Ross (1969); Hankamer & Sag (1976))

I spoke with John but not with Mary.

I spoke with John but ~~I did not speak~~ with Mary.

We treat examples like (2) as Left-Peripheral Ellipsis (LPE) with single PP remnants (= the elements **not** missing in the right conjunct), and call Pseudo-NP coordination (PNPC) those cases of LPE that appear to occur in the complement of a P, as in (3). Although we follow Nunes in claiming that the two-event reading of both LPE and PNPC results from the coordination of categories larger than NP, we claim that the distribution of constructions with these multi-event interpretations indicates they are derived from coordination of larger categories. We argue that these constructions involve clausal ellipsis, and have a similar derivation to Stripping (6) (contra Hornstein & Nunes (2002), Agbayani & Zoerner (2004)).

1.1. Evidence for ellipsis

A possible objection to any analysis of LPE/PNPC that posits reduced structure is that the structures in question may be genuine NP-coordination, with the multi-event reading derived by extra-syntactic means (the ‘direct’ analysis, Heim (1985), Hankamer (1973b), Bhatt & Takahashi (2011); see Lechner (2001) for discussion). Here we point out some problems for this analysis.

1.1.1. Adverbial modification

Including adverbs in the remnants forces the multi-event reading, and renders PNPC-like examples ungrammatical in languages that disallow PNPC, such as BP, Spanish, and French (shown below).

(7) LPE with NP remnants

a. Jean saw Marie today and Pierre yesterday.

b. Jean a vu Marie aujourd’hui et Pierre hier. (French)

Jean PAST saw Marie today and Pierre yesterday

(8) LPE with PP remnants

a. Jean spoke with Marie today and with Pierre yesterday.

b. Jean a parlé avec Marie aujourd’hui et avec Pierre hier.

Jean PAST spoke with Marie today and with Pierre yesterday.

(9) Pseudo NP coordination

a. Jean spoke with Marie today and Pierre yesterday.

b. * Jean a parlé avec Marie aujourd’hui et Pierre hier.

Jean PAST spoke with Marie yesterday and Pierre today.

If the conjuncts were truly NPs/PPs, their ability to host temporal adverbs would be surprising. Moreover, the contrast between (7) and (9) would require that adjunction of temporal adverbs inside NPs is impossible in French only when such NPs are conjoined in the complement of a P, a highly implausible pattern.

1.1.2. Parallelism requirement

Syntactic parallelism between the antecedent clause and the ellipsis clause is required here, as in the case of sluicing and stripping (e.g. Merchant 2006, Van Craenenbroeck 2008). The non-ellipsis counterparts of these examples do not show such a restriction: with the struck-out portions pronounced

the contrast below disappear.² Note that for (10) the putative conjuncts are both PPs, so the example should not be ruled out by the ban on coordination of unlikes.

(10) Spray/load alternators

- a. * John loaded melons on the trucks yesterday and ~~John loaded the trucks~~ with squash today.
 b. John loaded the trucks with melons yesterday and ~~John loaded the trucks~~ with squash today.

(11) Dative alternation

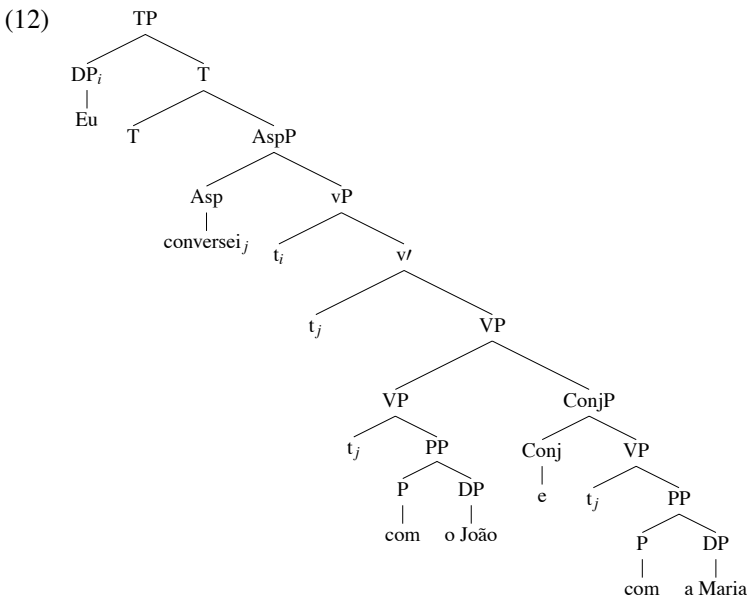
- a. * John showed Mary the book yesterday and ~~John showed the book~~ to Susan today.
 b. John showed the book to Mary yesterday and ~~John showed the book~~ to Susan today.

In general, then, PNPC and LPE with PP remnant constructions behave as we would expect from reduced clausal structures of some kind.

2. Problems with prior proposals

Agbayani & Zoerner (2004) present an analysis of similar LPE examples in terms of small-conjunct (i.e. VP or VP) coordination plus sideward movement, based on a treatment of Gapping following that in Johnson (1996) et seq. On this general class of analysis, the conjuncts are smaller than TP, and the absent material in the right conjunct has been moved out rather than deleted. In a similar proposal, Hornstein & Nunes (2002) correctly rule out the multi-event reading of (3a), but their sideward-movement ATB analysis has no straightforward way of distinguishing between English and BP in this dimension.

The reason for this is as follows. Hornstein & Nunes (2002) follow Nunes (2001) in assuming that sideward movement must normally be licensed by Last Resort. For instance, when a verb in one subtree contains an undischarged theta role that could be satisfied by sideward movement of an NP from another subtree, sideward movement is licensed. They extend this proposal to allow the parallelism requirement of coordinate structures to license sideward movement as well. The parallelism requirement is simply that the two conjuncts must be of the same category. The two-event reading of (3a) is impossible because P is unable to sideward move, having no incremental/local motivation for doing so, and so any derivation of (3a) employing VP-coordination crashes when one of the object NPs fails to get Case. Movement of V, on the other hand, is licensed by parallelism, since there is nothing else in the numeration that could be used to build a second VP for the coordinator to take as its specifier. Their analysis therefore predicts that English (3b) should exhibit the same pattern, contrary to fact.



² Note that these examples are LPE, not PNPC, since P-omission destroys the contrast in English alternating verbs.

In order to adapt Agbayani & Zoerner (2004) or Hornstein & Nunes (2002)'s analysis to PNPC, we need to somehow license sideward movement of the preposition, which should be ruled out as satisfying neither Parallelism nor Last Resort (at least not locally/incrementally). It is not clear how an account in these terms can rule this derivation in for English and out for BP and similar languages. Indeed, PNPC is quite restricted cross-linguistically, and its distribution is not straightforwardly accounted for under a small-conjunct analysis.

2.1. *P-stranding cross-linguistically*

The availability of PNPC correlates with P-stranding. As we have seen, English allows PNPC while French and BP do not. Other P-stranding languages, such as Swedish (illustrated below) and some dialects of Modern Welsh (Schumacher p.c., Willis 2000), allow PNPC as well.

- (13) a. PNPC available in Swedish
 Robin ska prata med Kim idag och (med) Björn imorgon.
 Robin will talk with Kim today and (with) Björn tomorrow.
- b. P-stranding available generally
 Vem ska Robin prata med?
 Who will Robin talk with?

Similarly, a number of typologically diverse non-P-stranding languages (Spanish, Russian, Basque, Palestinian Arabic, Romanian, Kazakh, Malayalam, Japanese, Korean, Romanian) surveyed prohibit PNPC as well but allow LPE with single PP remnants. Russian provides a particularly clear illustration of the relevance of prepositions to this distinction. Certain Russian verbs, such as *sprosit' ask*, can take either PP or appropriately case-marked NP complements. LPE is permitted only with two PP remnants or none; that is, PNPC is excluded.

- (14) a. Askar sprosit u Daset-a segodnja i u Ermek-a zavtra.
 Askar will.ask to Daset-ACC today and to Ermek-ACC tomorrow
- b. Askar sprosit Daset-a segodnja i Ermek-a zavtra.
 Askar will.ask Daset-ACC today and Ermek-ACC tomorrow
- c. * Askar sprosit u Daset-a segodnja i Ermek-a zavtra.
 Askar will.ask to Daset-ACC today and Ermek-ACC tomorrow

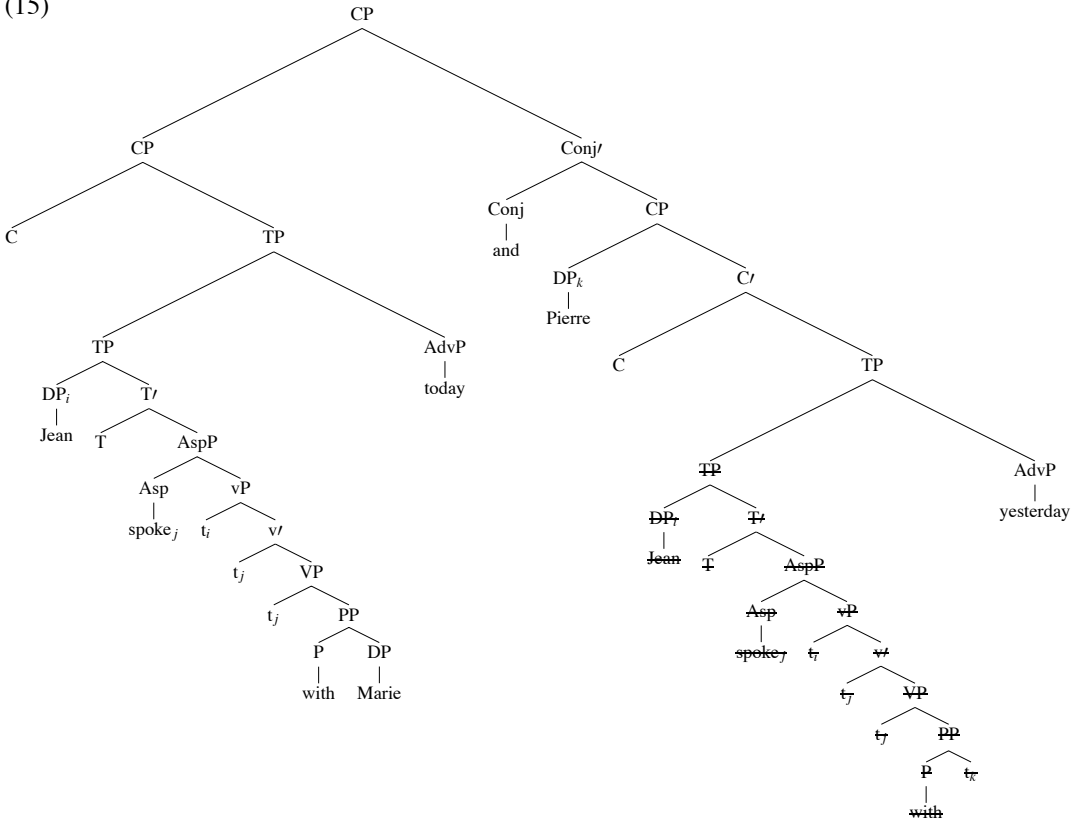
This particular kind of LPE thus seems to be restricted to languages that allow P-stranding generally. This is one initial impetus to consider the possibility of a large-conjunct, ellipsis-based account of LPE/PNPC. A large-conjunct analysis of LPE/PNPC predicts the P-stranding correlation, because P-stranding is required in order for the remnant in the right conjunct to escape ellipsis. A small-conjunct analysis does not straightforwardly predict that sideward movement of P should be ruled out in non-P-stranding languages: something must be added to account for this pattern.

3. LPE/PNPC as derived by clausal ellipsis

What we propose instead is that PNPC and similar kinds of LPE are derived from Stripping-like clausal ellipsis. The basic features of a Stripping-like analysis of LPE/PNPC are the following. The conjuncts are full CPs, as in Stripping constructions. Elements present in the right conjunct are remnants that have fronted into some Spec position in the C-domain (cf. Depiante 2000). Subsequently TP-ellipsis has deleted TP or a segment thereof.³ The structure we propose is as in (15).

³ For deletion of segments, see Hornstein (1994), Merchant (2000), Merchant (2001), Merchant (2002), etc., and Sag (1976) for an early similar proposal.

(15)



An analysis in these terms better accounts for some of the properties of PNPC and similar LPE constructions, as we show below.

3.1. Against a small-conjunct analysis

Some of the behaviors of the conjuncts in LPE/PNPC are inconsistent with the hypothesis that the category of the conjuncts is vP or VP. Instead, they tend to behave like reduced instances of a larger category. Below we review several of these behaviors.

3.1.1. S-adverbs under nonfinite auxiliaries

Sentential adverbs (Potsdam (1997), Jackendoff (1972)) are possible in the second conjunct of LPE constructions. Under a small conjunct analysis, this indicates that there must be a position for the sentential adverb within the VP.

- (16) a. George will certainly be calling his mother on Monday and probably his father on Tuesday.
 b. Tim has evidently been drinking beer at the pub and apparently wine at home.
 c. Spencer has probably been speaking to Mary and definitely (to) Susan.

However, these adverbs cannot appear below a non-finite auxiliary in canonical constructions (Jackendoff (1972)). It would be unmotivated to stipulate that S-adverbs are licensed in this position only if the verb is subsequently displaced via sideward movement.

- (17) a. *George will be probably calling his mother ...
 *George will be calling probably his mother ...
 b. *Tim has been apparently drinking wine ...
 *Tim has been drinking apparently wine ...

3.1.2. Obligatory reconstruction in VP-fronting vs. optional reconstruction in PNPC/LPE

As is well known, a fronted VP is obligatorily interpreted in its base position (see Huang (1993), Heycock (1995), Takano (2000), *inter alia*). This is shown in (18), where the reflexive in the fronted VP-coordination cannot be bound at an intermediate position. This leads to the ungrammaticality of (18a), since the VP containing ‘himself’ obligatorily reconstructs to its base-position, where there is no gender-appropriate antecedent for the reflexive.

- (18) Obligatory VP reconstruction
 a. *Talk about himself₁ today, and talk to Susan tomorrow, John₁ said Mary would.
 b. Talk about himself₁ today, and talk to Susan tomorrow, Mary said John₁ would.

On the other hand, apparent fronting of the PNPC string does not show such a contrast. It does not obligatorily reconstruct to its base position as VP fronting does, and so the reflexive can be bound at an intermediate position. Thus, both (19a) and (19b) are grammatical (with appropriate intonation).

- (19) Optional PNPC reconstruction
 a. Himself₁ today, and Susan tomorrow, John₁ said Mary would talk about.
 b. Himself₁ today, and Susan tomorrow, Mary said John₁ would talk about.

This is unexpected if PNPC/LPE is derived from coordinated VPs. Instead, this is similar to the behavior seen in ‘backwards’ Stripping-type clausal ellipsis, as in (20).

- (20) Optional Stripping reconstruction
 a. Himself₁ but not Susan John₁ said Mary would talk about.
 b. Himself₁ but not Susan Mary said John₁ would talk about.

3.2. Against assimilating LPE/PNPC to Gapping

Apart from the more direct evidence above that LPE/PNPC conjuncts do not behave like VPs, LPE/PNPC pull apart from Gapping on a number of empirical dimensions, and tend to pattern with Stripping instead. Provided a small conjunct analysis is implicated in Gapping, then, this class of phenomena tell indirectly against a small-conjunct analysis of LPE/PNPC. Regardless of the particular analysis given for Gapping, however, if LPE/PNPC is a form of Gapping without a subject remnant, the two constructions should exhibit a similar distribution. Below we show that a Gapping-like analysis fails to account for the distribution of LPE/PNPC in different sentential contexts.

3.2.1. Possibility of P-stranding in LPE (=PNPC) vs. impossibility in Gapping

Even in P-stranding languages that disallow P-stranding in Gapping (Jayaseelan (1990), Lasnik & Saito (1991)), such as Swedish and some varieties of English, P-stranding is still possible in LPE: this, after all, is just PNPC itself. If LPE is a form of Gapping, this is unexpected.⁴

⁴ Note that this is similar to the unavailability of P-stranding in the right remnant in LPE discussed below. This fact, while suggestive, is not immediately compatible with an identification of Gapping and LPE because even speakers who allow P-stranding in Gapping, including the majority of English informants consulted, do not allow it in the right remnant in LPE constructions.

- (21) a. Gapping:
Robin ska prata med Kim och Martin *(med) Björn. (Swedish)
Robin will talk with Kim and Martin (with) Björn.
- b. LPE/PNPC:
Robin ska prata med Kim idag och (med) Björn imorgon.
Robin will talk with Kim today and (with) Björn tomorrow.

3.2.2. *Differential sensitivity to complementizers*

Inclusion of a complementizer in the second conjunct causes LPE/PNPC, Stripping, and Gapping (cf. Fiengo (1974)) to all be degraded, but, for some speakers, the degradation is more severe in LPE/PNPC and Stripping than in Gapping.

- (22) LPE/PNPC
I know that John talked to Mary today and *(that) (to) Susan yesterday.
- (23) Stripping
I know that John talked to Mary and/but *(that) not (to) Susan.
- (24) Gapping
I know that John talked to Mary and ??(that) Peter, to David.

A small-conjunct analysis predicts that complementizers will be bad in the right conjunct, but the fact that in French (25, 26) they are unproblematic in this position is not easily reconciled with a small-conjunct analysis. Speculatively, this difference between French and English may be related to whatever parameter is the source of ability of the COMP-trace effect to be obviated in certain contexts in French (Perlmutter (1971)). The configurations are broadly similar in that, though there is no trace after the complementizer in examples , they do, like classical COMP-trace contexts, involve a complementizer followed closely by an empty category. (Though note the normal complementizer *que* occurs here, rather than *qui*, the usual *that*-trace obviating complementizer in French).

- (25) Gapping:
Je sais que Louis a mangé le pain, et (que) Marie le gâteau.
I know that Louis PAST ate the bread, and (that) Marie the cake.
- (26) LPE:
Je sais que Jean a vu Marie aujourd'hui et (que) Pierre hier.
I know that Jean PAST saw Marie today and (that) Pierre yesterday.

3.2.3. *Topicalization in right conjunct*

Topicalization is allowed in the right conjunct of LPE and Stripping constructions, and is not in Gapping. This follows if LPE and Stripping have full clausal structure in the right conjunct including landing sites in the CP domain.

- (27) LPE
John talked to Mary about philosophy, and about linguistics to Susan.
- (28) PNPC
John talked to Mary about philosophy, and linguistics to Susan.
- (29) Stripping
John talked about philosophy a lot, but linguistics, not at all.
- (30) Gapping
*John talked about philosophy, and about linguistics, Bill.

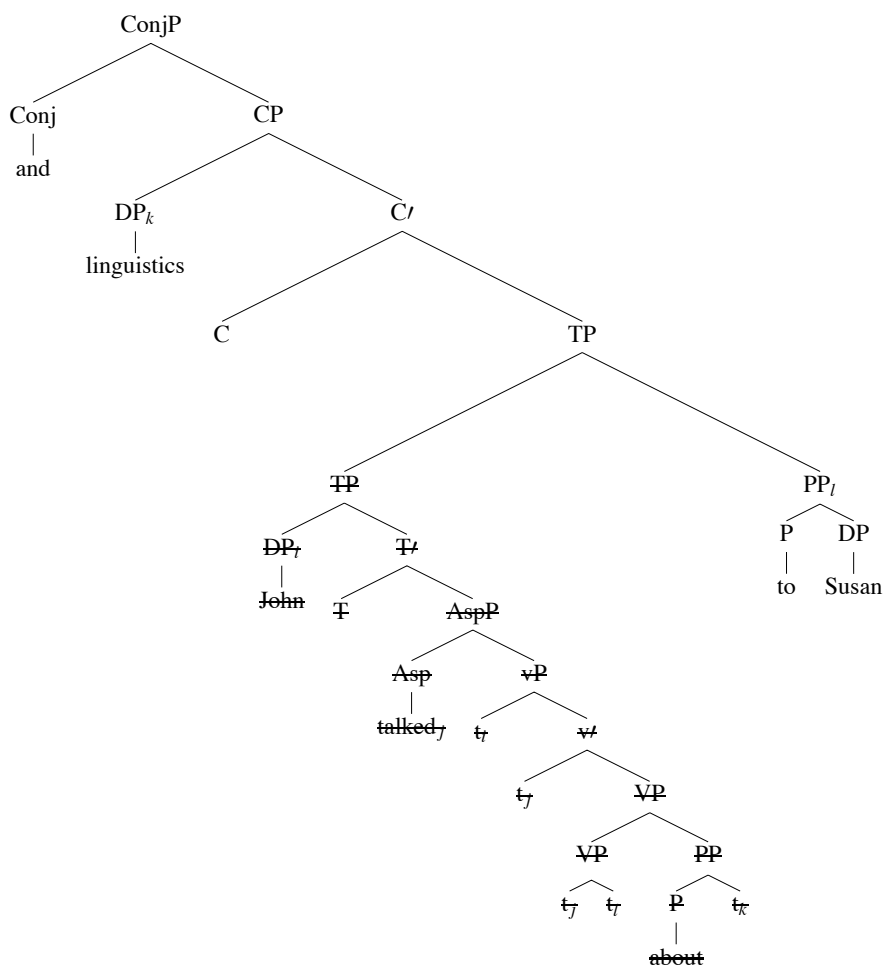
But surprisingly, P-stranding is only possible in the leftmost remnant.

(31) John talked to Mary about philosophy, and about linguistics *(to) Susan.

(32) John talked to Mary about philosophy, and to Susan *(about) linguistics.

This may result from the dearth of Topic/Focus projections available in English, under the assumption that multiple topicalization/focus movement is unavailable in English (Watanabe (1993)). If the right-hand remnant has no possible leftward landing site, and there are consequently no possible derivations for the sentence except those in which it has moved rightward (33), the unavailability of P-stranding here may fall under the general inability of rightward movement to P-strand, as shown in the contrasts between the P-stranding and non-P-stranding versions of (34, 35).

(33) Rightward movement of rightmost remnant in multi-remnant PNPC (left conjunct not shown)



(34) Heavy NP Shift

- a. * I spoke to yesterday a very talented student of linguistics from a university I wasn't familiar with.
- b. I spoke yesterday to a very talented student of linguistics from a university I wasn't familiar with.

(35) Extraposition

- a. * I spoke to a student from yesterday a university I wasn't familiar with.
- b. I spoke to a student yesterday from a university I wasn't familiar with.

3.2.4. Discourse amelioration of Backward Anaphora Constraint effects

Fronted or backward examples of LPE/PNPC (19), Stripping (20), and Gapping are all degraded, but backwards PNPC and Stripping improve with discourse context. Compare (19), (20) to (36), (37); the latter are very much ameliorated.

(36) PNPC

A: John talked to Mary on Tuesday and Susan on Monday, right?

B: No. Mary on Monday and Susan on Tuesday John talked to (...not vice versa).

(37) Stripping

A: John should talk to Mary and Susan, right?

B: Not Mary, but John should talk to Susan.

Gapping, in contrast, does not improve perceptibly in the same kind of ‘corrective’ context. Because it is unclear how much material remains in the left conjunct of a Gapping construction, three variations are presented below.⁵ **B**₁ and **B**₂ represent the scenarios where the verb moves ATB to a position outside both VPs, and where it remains in only the left VP, respectively, and **B**₃ the scenario where Gapping simply applies ‘backwards’, removing material from the left but not the right conjunct. All of the examples in (38) are highly degraded.

(38) Gapping

A: John has talked to Mary, and Peter, to Susan, right?

B₁: No. *To Susan, and Peter, to Mary, John has talked.

For: [[VP t_i [PP To Susan]], [and [VP Peter, t_i [PP to Mary]]]]_j, John has talked_i t_j.

B₂: No. *Talked to Susan, and Peter, to Mary, John has.

For: [[VP Talked_i [PP to Susan]], [and [VP Peter, t_i [PP to Mary]]]]_j, John has t_j.

B₃: No. *Peter, to Mary, and John has talked to Susan.

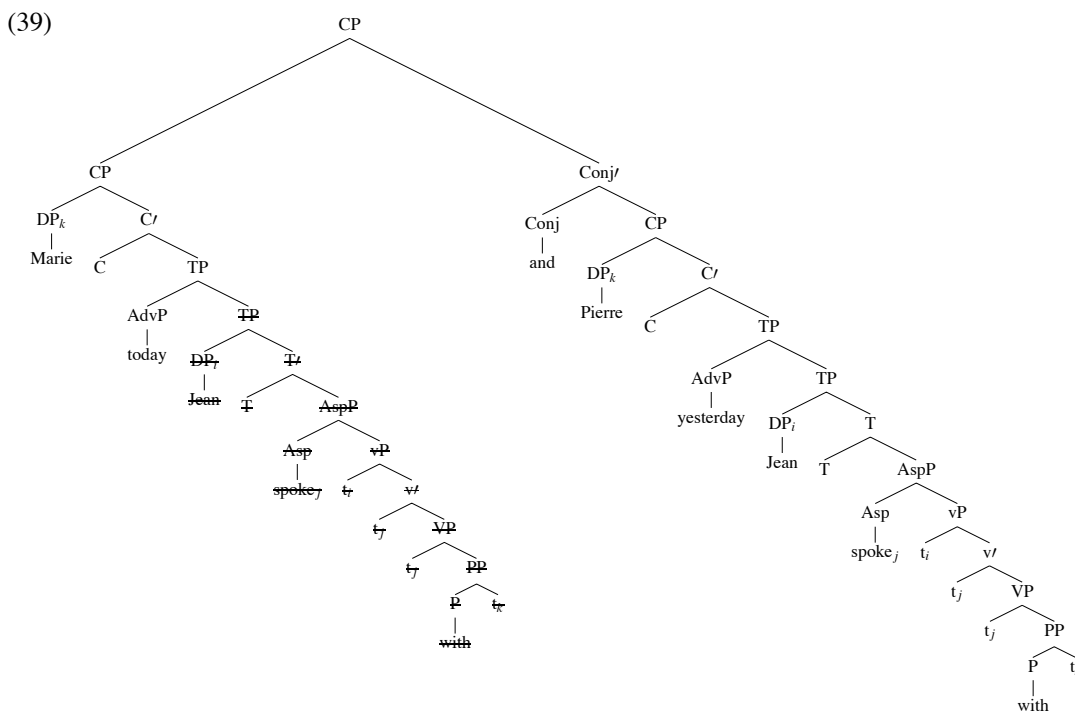
For: [TP Peter, [[VP t_i [PP to Mary]], [and [VP John has talked_i [PP to Susan]]]].

3.2.5. PNPC/LPE ‘Fronting’ as backwards ellipsis

A large-conjunct, Stripping-like analysis of single PP-remnant LPE and PNPC renders apparent fronting examples mysterious, since there is no constituent corresponding to the apparently fronted string. The prosody of apparently fronted examples suggests a possible resolution to this problem.

Apparent fronted PNPC/LPE strings have prosodic properties similar to the characteristic prosody of Right Node Raising (RNR; Ha (2008)), in particular an unusually strong pitch accent at the right edge of the left conjunct and at the right edge of the non-shared material in the right conjunct. This prosodic similarity suggests that that apparent fronting of LPE/PNPC elements may simply involve backwards ellipsis of the kind independently motivated for other RNR examples.

⁵ There are independent reasons for suspecting that Gapping and Stripping cannot be collapsed with one another; see Culicover & Jackendoff (2005).



We therefore hypothesize that the structural differences between ‘fronting’ and non-fronting examples of LPE/PNPC reduce to the following: in ‘fronted’ examples (where the LPE/PNPC string appears sentence-initially) both the remnant and its correlate in the unelided clause have raised into the C-domain of their respective conjuncts, and subsequently TP-ellipsis has applied in the left rather than the right conjunct.

4. Conclusion: summary of Stripping-like analysis

We argue that LPE/PNPC is an instance of Stripping-like clausal ellipsis. Unlike prior proposals of VP-coordination plus sideward movement, this analysis can account for the differences between LPE/PNPC and Gapping constructions on the one hand, and from conjoined VPs more generally on the other. As in other examples of clausal ellipsis, the possibility of P-stranding in LPE (=PNPC) correlates with the availability of P-stranding generally. Similarly, fronted PNPCs need not reconstruct, as is the case with fronting in Stripping contexts. In both of these respects, PNPC contrasts with Gapping, suggesting that the attempts to collapse PNPC with Gapping are misguided, and that the clausal ellipsis analysis proposed here is on the right track.

This analysis accounts naturally for cross-linguistic P-stranding facts. In languages where P-stranding is independently ruled out, the NP complement of a P will not be able to raise out of the scope of the ellipsis in the right conjunct. By assimilating this construction to Stripping, a large-conjunct, Stripping-like analysis simplifies the prospect of providing an account of differential complementizer sensitivity and discourse amelioration of BAC effects.

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