

Across-the-Board Constructions in Japanese

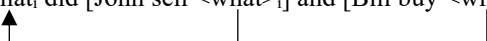
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1. Two approaches to ATB constructions

This paper investigates Across-the-board (ATB) constructions in Japanese. These constructions are characterized by each conjunct containing a gap, with the left edge of the first conjunct being associated with the gaps. (1) illustrates this construction in English, where a single *wh*-phrase located at the left edge associates with multiple gaps in first and second conjuncts.

- (1) What_i did John sell e_i and Bill buy e_i ?

In the literature, there has been discussion on how the gap in the second conjunct is associated with the left-edge item. Previous analyses can be classified into two groups. The first group of analyses posits a direct dependency between the left-edge item in the first conjunct and the gap in the second conjunct, such as through movement, as illustrated in (2) (Williams 1977; Hornstein and Nunes 2002; Citko 2005; Blümel 2017, a.o.).

- (2) What_i did [John sell <what>_i] and [Bill buy <what>_i]?


However, the ATB movement approach has faced criticism for involving a construction-specific operation or for violating the coordinate structure constraint. Consequently, several studies have attempted to eliminate ATB movement from the grammar (George 1980; N. Zhang 2009; 2010; 2023; Salzmann 2012). The second group of analyses posits an indirect dependency between the left-edge item and the second gap, treating the gap as a silent element, such as a null pronoun, null operator, or elided element, as illustrated in (3) (Sjoberg 1980; George 1980; Franks 1992; Munn 1993; Wilder 1994; N. Zhang 2009; 2010; 2023; Salzmann 2012).

- (3) a. [What_i did John sell t_i] and [Bill buy *pro*_i]?
b. [What_i did John sell t_i] and [*Op*_j Bill buy t_j]?
c. [What_i did John sell t_i] and [~~what_i did~~ Bill buy t_j]?

The goal of this study is to defend the ATB movement approach by investigating two types of ATB constructions in Japanese. Japanese serves as an ideal testing ground since it independently employs a null pronoun strategy (Kuroda 1965; Hoji 1998) and various ellipsis phenomena, including argument ellipsis (Oku 1998; Saito 2007; Sakamoto 2019). The findings suggest that both approaches are necessary to account for the two different ATB constructions in Japanese (cf. N. Zhang 2023). Furthermore, the results imply that the structural size of conjuncts affects the possibility of movement/ellipsis analyses in ATB constructions.

2. Two types of conjunction in Japanese

This section shows that *te*-coordination and *si/kedo*-coordination are different in the size of their conjuncts. As shown in (4), *te*-coordination cannot contain morphological tense information, whereas the conjuncts of *si/kedo*-coordination must include tense.

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- (4) a. John-ga Mary-o home(*-ta)-**te**, Bill-ga Nancy-o sikat-ta.
 John-NOM Mary-ACC praise-PAST-**and** Bill-NOM Nancy-ACC scold-PAST
 ‘John praised Mary and Bill scolded Nancy.’
- b. John-ga Mary-o home*(-ta)-**si/kedo**, Bill-ga Nancy-o sikat-ta.
 John-NOM Mary-ACC praise-PAST-**and/but** Bill-NOM Nancy-ACC scold-PAST
 ‘John praised Mary and Bill scolded Nancy.’

Crucially, the tense of the first verb phrase in (4a) depends on the tense of the second verb phrase (i.e. it cannot be interpreted as present or future), which indicates that the conjoined clauses are embedded under TP. (4) thus suggests that *te*-coordination conjoins phrases smaller than TP, while *si/kedo*-coordination phrases larger than TP. I argue that, assuming Narrog’s (2009) hierarchy of Japanese functional categories, the conjuncts in *te*-coordination are as large as low-level modal phrases, while those in *si/kedo*-coordination are as large as CP.

- (5) [ConjP(*si/kedo*)] \cong CP > High Modal Phrase > TP > [ConjP(*te*)] \cong Low Modal Phrase > NegP > ProgP > VP

As shown in (6), conjunction phrases of *te*-coordination cannot be embedded under progressive aspects (6a), negation (6b), or low-level modals such as the evidential modal *-soo* (6c). However, they can be embedded under high modal phrases that appear above TP, such as epistemic modals *-hazu/daroo* (6d).

- (6) a. *Sonotoki John-ga hasit-**te**, Bill-ga arui-tei-ta.
 that.time John-NOM run-**and** Bill-nom walk-PROG-PAST
 int. ‘At that time, John was running and Bill was walking.’
- b. *John-ga tabe-**te**, Bill-ga noma-nak-atta.
 John-NOM eat-**and** Bill-NOM drink-NEG-PAST
 int. ‘John did not eat and Bill did not drink.’
- c. *Sonotoki John-ga wara-**te**, Bill-ga naki-soo data.
 that.time John-NOM laugh-**and** Bill-NOM cry-EVID COP.PAST
 int. ‘At that time, John looks like he will laugh and Bill looks like he will cry.’
- d. Konoato-wa John-ga ki-**te**, Bill-ga kaer-u-hazu/daroo.
 after.this-TOP John-NOM come-**and** Bill-NOM return-PRES-should/would
 ‘After this, John should/would come and Bill should/would return.’

Conjunction phrases of *si/kedo*-coordination cannot be embedded under progressive aspects, negation, or low-level modals either. They cannot even be embedded under high modals or interrogative complements, as shown in (7).

- (7) a. *Konoato-wa John-ga ku-ru-**si/kedo**, Bill-ga kaer-u-hazu/daroo.
 after.this-TOP John-NOM come-PRES-**and/but** Bill-NOM return-PRES-should/would
 int. ‘After this, John should/would come and/but Bill should/would return.’
- b. *[John-ga Mary-o home-ta-**si/kedo**, Bill-ga Nancy-o sikat-ta ka] siritai.
 John-NOM Mary-ACC praise-PAST-**and/but** Bill-NOM Nancy-ACC scold-PAST Q want.know
 ‘I want to know [whether John praised Mary and/but Bill scolded Nancy].’

Therefore, *te*- and *si/kedo*-coordination differ in the size of their conjuncts. In this study, I refer to the former as *vP*-coordination and the latter as *CP*-coordination. It should be noted that the particles *te* and *si* can also express non-conjunction meanings, where two phrases are conjoined asymmetrically, such as causality, reason, and temporal sequence (NINJAL 1951; Hasegawa 1996). To avoid confusion with these non-coordination uses, this study focuses specifically on their conjunction use, where the conjoined phrases are interchangeable with each other (S. Zhang 1994).

3. ATB constructions in Japanese

In this section, I investigate ATB constructions involving Japanese ν P- and CP-coordination. In Japanese ATB constructions, the left-edge item is dislocated through an optional scrambling operation and associates with a gap in each conjunct, as shown in (8).

- (8) a. Mary- ni_i John- ga t_i ringo-o age-**te**, Bill- ga e budoo-o age- ta .
 Mary-DAT John-NOM apple-ACC give-**and** Bill-NOM grape-ACC give-PAST
 lit. ‘To Mary, John gave apples and $_{\nu P}$ Bill gave grapes.’
- b. Mary- ni_i John- ga t_i ringo-o age- ta -**si/kedo**, Bill- ga e budoo-o age- ta .
 Mary-DAT John-NOM apple-ACC give-PAST-**and/but** Bill-NOM grape-ACC give-PAST
 lit. ‘To Mary, John gave apples and/but $_{CP}$ Bill gave grapes.’

The question we address is how the second gap in ATB constructions is associated with the left-edge item. I argue that ATB ν P- and CP-coordination constructions behave differently, and thus both direct and indirect dependency approaches are necessary. Specifically, I propose that in ATB ν P-coordination, the second gap is a trace or copy of the left-edge item, derived through ATB movement (cf. Nakao 2009).¹ In contrast, in ATB CP-coordination, the second gap is an elided element or phonologically null pronoun.

There are three arguments supporting the non-unified analysis of ATB constructions in Japanese. First, ATB ν P-coordination can target *wh*-phrases, whereas ATB CP-coordination cannot. For example, as shown in (9), the missing object in the second conjunct of ν P-coordination can be interpreted as a *wh*-phrase. In contrast, the second gap in ATB CP-coordination cannot be a *wh*-item, as shown in (10).

- (9) a. ?Dore-o John- ga t_{wh} tabe-**te**, Bill- ga e non- da no?
 which-ACC John-NOM eat-**and** Bill-NOM drink-PAST C
 ‘Which $_{i+j}$ did John eat t_i and $_{\nu P}$ Bill drink e_j ?’
- b. Dare-o John- ga t_{wh} home-**te**, Bill- ga e sikat- ta no?
 which-ACC John-NOM praise-**and** Bill-NOM scold-PAST C
 ‘Who $_i$ did John praise t_i and $_{\nu P}$ Bill scold e_i ?’
- (10) a. *Dore-o John- ga t_{wh} tabe- ta -**si**, Bill- ga e non- da no?
 which-ACC John-NOM eat-PAST-**and** Bill-NOM drink-PAST C
 ‘Which $_{i+j}$ did John eat t_i and $_{CP}$ Bill drink e_j ?’
- b. *Dare-o John- ga t_{wh} home- ta -**si**, Bill- ga e sikat- ta no?
 which-ACC John-NOM praise-PAST-**and** Bill-NOM scold-PAST C
 ‘Who $_i$ did John praise t_i and $_{CP}$ Bill scold e_i ?’

Importantly, neither a *pro* nor an elided argument can function as a *wh*-item (cf. Sugisaki 2012). In (11), although the object in the second question is missing following the same type of *wh*-question, this question cannot be interpreted as a *wh*-question; it can only be interpreted as a yes-no question.

¹ Nakao (2009) investigates ATB constructions involving *rentaikei* (attributive form)-coordination, as shown in (i), and compares them with null object sentences.

(i) Keeki- o_i John- ga t_i *tukuri*, (sosite) Mary- ga e_i *tabe-ta*.
 cake-ACC John-NOM make and.then Mary-NOM eat-PAST
 lit. ‘The cake, John made, and then Mary ate.’

Although she concludes, as I do, that Japanese permits ATB movement, her methods differ from those used in the current study in two ways. First, her analysis focuses on *rentaikei*-coordination, which does not include an overt conjunction head. Second, her study does not distinguish between the conjunction usage and cases where two phrases are conjoined asymmetrically, such as in temporal sequences. I am grateful to Yosuke Sato for bringing this study to my attention.

- (11) John-ga dore-o tabe-ta no? *Bill-ga e non-da no?
 John-NOM which-ACC eat-PAST C Bill-NOM drink-PAST C
 ‘Which did John eat?’ int. ‘Which did Bill drink?’

The contrast between (9) and (10)/(11) thus shows that (9) cannot be derived by applying *pro* or ellipsis to the second object, which suggests that ATB ν P-coordination is derived through ATB movement. Moreover, it also shows that ATB movement cannot be applied to ATB CP-coordination.

The ATB movement analysis of ATB ν P-coordination is further supported by the fact that the *wh*-antecedent must be the left-most item in the first conjunct, as illustrated in (12), even though *wh*-in-situ itself is generally allowed in Japanese.

- (12) *John-ga dore-o tabe-**te**, Bill-ga e non-da no? (cf. 9a)
 John-NOM which-ACC eat-**and** Bill-NOM drink-PAST C
 ‘Which_{i+j} did John eat t_i and _{ν P} Bill drink e_j?’

Under the ATB movement approach, the linear order requirement naturally follows; the trace in the second conjunct can be c-commanded only when the *wh*-phrase in the first conjunct moves, as in (9). However, under the indirect dependency approach, it is unclear why indirect dependency between the in-situ antecedent and the gap in the second conjunct cannot be established.

In addition, as expected under the ATB movement approach, the left-edge item must be movable by itself. In Japanese, modifiers such as adjectives do not undergo movement independently, as shown in (13).

- (13) *Akai John-ga [t_{Adj} kuruma]-o kat-ta.
 red John-NOM car-ACC buy-PAST
 lit. ‘Red, John bought [a t_{Adj} car].’

Consequently, such immobile items cannot be targeted by ATB-movement. For instance, as illustrated in (14), an adjective modifying an object in the first conjunct cannot be associated with a gap for an adjective in the second conjunct.

- (14) a. *Donna-kuruma-o_i John-ga t_i suitei-**te**, Bill-ga [e_{Adj} kuruma]-o kirattei-ru no?
 what.kind.of-car-ACC John-NOM like-**and** Bill-NOM car-ACC hate-PRES C
 int. ‘What kind of car does John like and _{ν P} what kind of car does Bill hate?’
 b. *Donna-kuruma-o_i John-ga t_i suitei-**te**, [e_{Adj} kuruma]-o_j Bill-ga t_j kirattei-ru no?
 what.kind.of-car-ACC John-NOM like-**and** car-ACC Bill-NOM hate-PRES C
 int. ‘What kind of car does John like and _{ν P} what kind of car does Bill hate?’

The second argument for the non-unified analysis of ATB constructions is that ATB CP-coordination allows interpretational mismatches between the left-edge item and the second gap, similar to ellipsis, whereas ATB ν P-coordination does not. It is known that ellipsis can cancel polarity sensitivities of polarity items (Sag 1976; Johnson 2001; Merchant 2013). In (15a), the elided NPI *anyone* is not licensed by negation, and in (15b), the elided PPI *someone* is interpreted under negation, behaving like ‘anyone.’

- (15) a. John didn’t see anyone, but Mary did ~~[see anyone]~~. (cf. *..., but Mary saw anyone.)
 b. John saw someone, but Mary didn’t ~~[see someone]~~. (cf. #..., but Mary didn’t see someone.)

The same effect is observed with argument ellipsis in Japanese (Saito 2007). In (16a), the antecedent is an NPI ‘anyone,’ but its interpretation is ‘someone’ in the ellipsis site. In (16b), the object antecedent involves a PPI ‘someone,’ but in the ellipsis site, it is interpreted as ‘anyone.’

- (16) a. John-wa darenimo aw-anak-atta. Bill-wa {e/ dareka-ni / *darenimo} at-ta.
 John-TOP anyone.DAT meet-NEG-PAST Bill-TOP someone-DAT anyone.DAT meet-PAST
 ‘John did not meet anyone. Bill met e (= someone/ *anyone).’

- b. John-wa kurasumeeto-no dareka-to suretigat-ta.
 John-TOP classmate-GEN someone-with pass.by-PAST
 Bill-wa {e / kurasumeeto-no daretomo / #kurasumeeto-no dareka-to} suretigaw-anak-atta.
 Bill-TOP classmate-GEN anyone.with classmate-GEN someone-with pass.by-NEG-PAST
 ‘John passed by some classmates. Bill did not pass by *e* (= any of them/ #some of them)’

Interestingly, such interpretational mismatches are permitted in ATB CP-coordination but not in ATB vP-coordination. As shown in (17a), although the left-edge item is an NPI ‘anyone,’ the second gap of ATB CP-coordination can be interpreted as ‘someone.’ In contrast, such an interpretation mismatch is not possible in ATB vP-coordination, as in (17b).

- (17) a. Darenimo John-wa t_{NPI} aw-anak-atta-**kedo**, Bill-wa *e* at-ta.
 anyone.DAT John-TOP meet-NEG-PAST-**but** Bill-TOP meet-PAST
 lit. ‘John did not meet anyone, but_{CP} Bill met *e* (= someone).’
 b. *Darenimo John-wa t_{NPI} aw-anaku-**te**, Bill-wa *e* at-ta.
 anyone.DAT John-TOP meet-NEG-**and** Bill-TOP meet-PAST
 lit. ‘John did not meet anyone, and_{vP} Bill met *e* (= someone).’

Similarly, as illustrated in (18a), ATB CP-coordination allows an interpretational mismatch between the left-edge object containing a PPI and the second gap, which is interpreted as ‘anyone.’ However, ATB vP-coordination does not permit such an interpretational mismatch. In (18b), the only possible interpretation is that the second gap shares the same PPI interpretation as the left-edge item.

- (18) a. Kurasumeeto-no dareka-to John-wa t_{PPI} suretigat-ta-**kedo**,
 classmate-GEN someone-with John-TOP pass.by-PAST-**but**
 Bill-wa *e* suretigaw-anak-atta.
 Bill-TOP pass.by-NEG-PAST
 ‘John passed by some classmates but_{CP} Bill did not pass by *e* (= any of them)’
 b. *Kurasumeeto-no dareka-to John-wa t_{PPI} suretigat-**te**,
 classmate-GEN someone-with John-TOP pass.by-PAST-**but**
 Bill-wa *e* suretigaw-anak-atta.
 Bill-TOP pass.by-NEG-PAST
 int. ‘John passed by some classmates, but_{vP} Bill did not pass by any of them.’
 (‘There were some classmates who John passed by and Bill did not pass by.’)

This suggests that an ellipsis analysis can be applied to the second gap in ATB CP-coordination, but not to the one in ATB vP-coordination.

The third argument for the non-unified treatment to Japanese ATB constructions is based on case-mismatch. Consider first ATB vP-coordination. In (19a), there is no case mismatch between the left-edge item and the object gap in the second conjunct, where the verb *yogosi-* ‘defend’ assigns accusative case to its internal argument. In contrast, (19b) is degraded due to the case-mismatch between the dative left-edge item and the accusative second gap (cf. Nakao 2009).

- (19) a. Dono-setu-o John-ga t_{wh} hihansi-**te**, Bill-ga *e* yoogosi-ta no?
 which-theory-ACC John-NOM criticize-**and** Bill-NOM defend-PAST C
 ‘Which theory_{ACC} did John criticize *t* and_{vP} Bill defend_{ACC} *e*?’
 b. ?*Dono-setu-ni John-ga t_{wh} hanronsi-**te**, Bill-ga *e* yoogosi-ta no?
 which-theory-DAT John-NOM argue.against-**and** Bill-NOM defend-PAST C
 ‘Which theory_{DAT} did John argue against *t* and_{vP} Bill defend_{ACC} *e*?’

This effect is predicted under the direct dependency analysis of ATB vP-coordination since the second gap is a trace or copy of the left-edge item in the first conjunct.

However, such a case-mismatch effect is not observed in ATB CP-coordination. As shown in (20), the left-edge item is dative, but the second gap can be accusative.

- (20) Kono-setu-ni John-ga t_{obj} hanronsi-ta-**kedo**, Bill-ga e yoogosi-ta (koto)
 This-theory-DAT John-NOM argue.against-PAST-**but** Bill-NOM defend-PAST fact
 lit. ‘(The fact that) This theory_{DAT}, John argued against t but_{CP} Bill defended_{ACC} e.’

The absence of a case-mismatch effect in ATB CP-coordination aligns naturally with the indirect dependency approach. Under this approach, the association between the left-edge item and the second gap is established indirectly, such as through reference. Consequently, there is no requirement for the second gap to match the form of the left-edge item in ATB constructions. In fact, case-mismatch is permitted in regular elliptical contexts, as illustrated in (21) (Saito 2007).

- (21) John-ga kono-setu-ni hanronsi-ta. Bill-wa e yoogosi-ta.
 John-NOM this-theory-DAT argue.against-PAST Bill-TOP defend-PAST
 lit. ‘John argued against this theory_{DAT}. Bill defended_{ACC} e.’

In summary, this section has shown that Japanese ATB constructions reveal significant distinctions between *vP*-coordination and *CP*-coordination. Specifically, ATB *vP*-coordination can target *wh*-phrases and demands strict matches in case and polarity sensitivity between the left-edge item and the second gap. In contrast, ATB *CP*-coordination cannot target *wh*-phrases but tolerates mismatches in case and polarity sensitivity. These differences indicate the necessity of employing both direct and indirect dependency approaches to account for ATB constructions in Japanese. I propose that ATB *vP*-coordination is derived via ATB-movement, whereas ATB *CP*-coordination arises through *pro* or ellipsis, as illustrated in (22).

- (22) a. X [_{ConjP} [_{vP} S t_X V] te [_{vP} S t_X V]]
 b. [_{ConjP} [_{CP} X S t_X V] si/*kedo* [_{CP} S ~~X~~/*pro* V]]

This distinction emphasizes the importance of conjunct size in determining the structural analysis of ATB constructions.

4. Implications

In this section, I explore why an ellipsis analysis cannot be applied to ATB *vP*-coordination and why ATB-movement cannot be applied to *CP*-coordination. Recall that ATB *vP*-coordination does not tolerate mismatches between the second gap and the antecedent, in contrast to argument ellipsis. This suggests that ATB *te*-coordination cannot be analyzed in terms of ellipsis, as in (23).

- (23) * [_{ConjP} [_{vP} X S t_X V] te [_{vP} S ~~X~~ V]]

The impossibility of (23) cannot be attributed to *vP*-internal scrambling applied only in the first conjunct. As shown in (24), *te*-coordination can conjoin an OSV clause and SOV clause.

- (24) [[Mary-o John-ga t_{obj} home]-te, [Bill-ga Nancy-o home]]-ta.
 Mary-ACC John-NOM praise-& Bill-NOM Nancy-ACC praise-PAST
 lit. ‘Mary, John praised and_{vP} Bill praised Nancy.’

The impossibility of (23) can be naturally explained by Fujiwara’s (2022) analysis of argument ellipsis, which posits that an element affected by argument ellipsis must first undergo movement to the matrix SpecCP. According to this analysis, argument ellipsis cannot apply to the second object in *vP*-coordination because the movement required would violate the coordinate structure constraint.

In addition, we have observed that ATB movement cannot be applied to ATB *CP*-coordination. Recall that ATB *CP*-coordination, unlike ATB *vP*-coordination, cannot target *wh*-items, suggesting that a structure like (25) is not feasible.

- (25) * [_{CP} X [_{ConjP} [_{CP/C} S t_X V] si/*kedo* [_{CP/C} S t_X V]]]

(25) involves the coordination of inner *CP*s or *C'*-level phrases, with the object extracted from *ConjP* via ATB movement. The impossibility of (25) could be attributed to an anti-locality violation, which occurs

when the distance of movement is too short (Abels 2003). If we assume that an element extracted by ATB movement first moves to the edge of each conjunct, as in (26), the movement from the edge of an inner CP or C' to Spec CP would violate this principle.

(26) *[_{CP} X [_{ConjP} [_{CP/C'} t_X [S t_X V]]] *si/kedo* [_{CP/C'} t_X [S t_X V]]]]

A similar restriction seems to exist in English ATB constructions as well. As shown in (26), ATB C'-coordination is not permitted (Wood, class lecture fall 2023).

(27) ?*What [_{C'} did John like t] and [_{C'} did Bill hate e]?

This suggests a general prohibition against ATB C'-coordination across languages, but further investigation into this issue is necessary for a more comprehensive understanding.

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