Left Branch Extraction and the Coordinate Structure Constraint
Sandra Stjepanović
West Virginia University

Serbo-Croatian (SC) allows conjunct extraction out of coordinate structures (&P), as illustrated in (1).

(1) Filmove, je Marko [t, i knjige] kupio
movies is Marko and books bought
‘Marko bought movies and books.’ (Bošković 2010)

In this paper I attempt to explain why such examples are not violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) (Ross 1967), as one would expect. I argue that they are not because &Ps in SC can be headed by a trace. Therefore, represent another example of Bošković’s (2012, to appear) generalization that traces do not head islands, which is deductible from a rescue by PF deletion mechanism that involves copy deletion at PF. The paper also has implications for the structure of &Ps. In particular, it provides evidence for a structure that combines aspects of Kayne’s (1994), Collins’s (1988) and Progovac’s (1998) analysis. As in Kayne (1994), initial conjuncts are left-adjointed to the &P, formed with the conjunction and the final conjunct. As in Progovac (1998) and Collins (1988), initial conjuncts are also &Ps.

Evidence is based on a surprising parallelism between coordinate structures and structures involving left branch extraction (LBE), as in (2), with respect to certain cases of accent shift and extraction possibilities. More precisely, evidence that &Ps can be headed by a trace is based on a parallelism between coordinate structures and extraordinary LBE illustrated in (3) in relation to the phenomenon of accent shift from a host to a proclitic, observed in the variant of the language spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnian).

(2) [Adj Novu], on kupi [NP t, kuću]. (3) [U novu], on uđe [ t, kuću].
new he bought house in new he entered house
‘He bought a new book.’ ‘He entered a new house.’

Bošković (2005, to appear) shows that adjectives in SC are AdjPs adjoined to NP, and that LBE involves movement of AdjP out of NP, as in (2). Furthermore, he shows that in examples involving extraordinary LBE, such as (3), AdjP moves to SpecPP. P then raises and adjoins to it, and then the whole complex undergoes movement out of PP. Talić (2013) provides independent evidence for this analysis based on accent shift in Bosnian. As discussed by Riđanović and Aljović (2009), among others, Bosnian is characterized by a falling or rising pitch accent. Proclitics, including prepositions, can take over the falling accent from the first syllable of the host. This can occur in the P+Adj sequence in (3), where preposition u ‘in’ is a proclitic, while the following Adj has a falling pitch accent on its first syllable. The accent shift is represented in (4).

(4) u novu → ū novu

However, based on the contrasts in (5) and (6), Talić (2013) observes a constraint on accent shift in (7).

(5a) u novoj velikoj kući → ū novoj velikoj kući (in new big house) ‘in the big new house’
(5b) u novoj bratovoj kući → ū novoj bratovoj kući (in new brother’s house) ‘in his brother’s new house’

(6a) *Novu je on veliku kuću kupio. b. *U novoj je on velikoj kući živio.
new is he big house bought in new is he big house lived
‘He bought a new big house.’ ‘He lived in a new big house.’

c. Novu je on bratovu kuću kupio. d. U novoj je on bratovoj kući živio.
new is he brother’s house bought in new is he brother’s house lived

(7) A proclitic can take over the accent from the host only if the host is allowed to move independently. The contrast between (5a) and (5b) with respect to the possibility of accent shift on one hand, and the contrast between (6a) and (6b) with respect to the mobility of the host AdjP on the other, show that AdjP must move for the shift to happen. Thus, the correlation between the mobility of the host and accent shift straightforwardly falls out from Bošković’s (2005) proposal about the derivation of extraordinary LBE, under which AdjP undergoes raising, and P then adjoins to it.

Now, going back to coordinate structures, I show that they can involve the same type of accent shift. Bosnian conjunction i ‘and’ is a proclitic, capable of ‘stealing’ the pitch accent from the first syllable of the following word, as in (8). Accent shift is also possible in cases like (1).

(8a) Vidjeli su njega i nju. c. Odveli su i kravu i telad.
seen3pl are him and her took-away3pl are and cow and calves
‘They saw him and her.’ ‘They took away both the cow and the calves.’

b. i njù → i nju d. i kravu → i kravu; i têlad → i telad
Furthermore, it can be shown that accent shift is constrained by the constraint in (7).
between extraordinary LBE and apparent N insights. That the first conjunct) is available for movement. Spec

Bošković voided, and if all other locality constraints are obeyed, extraction should be possible. Leaving the coordinate structure, which is otherwise an island, because the head of &P can undergo raising, as features with LBE is &P (11) Marko je [Zbog 'He met man

in (10). As shown in Bošković (to appear2011), LBE is not possible from genitive complements of Ns (b), nor out of the complements of Ns which are themselves complements of Qs such as mnogo ‘many’ (f). LBE is possible from inherently case-marked complements of Ns (d), as well as out of adjuncts (h). (10a, c, e, g) show that conjunct extraction patterns with LBE extraction in all of these cases. Recall that LBE involves extraction of adjuncts. Given this parallelism, I conclude that initial conjuncts are also adjuncts. Furthermore, I follow Progovac (1998) in assuming that these conjuncts are &P, given that SC allows repeated conjunctions, as in (8c), and given that there is no c-command relation between the conjuncts, as shown by Progovac (1998). Therefore, the structure of &P in (1) before movement is as in (11).

(11) Marko je [API1 [API2 & knjige ] [API1 i filmove]] kupio.

&P2 is headed by a null & in (1), though this head can also be overt, as in (8c). The patterning of these structures with LBE is now not a surprise, since they also involve LBE. Also, the conjunct is free to leave the coordinate structure, which is otherwise an island, because the head of &P can undergo raising, as shown above, leaving the phrase headed by a trace. As shown by Bošković (2011, to appear3) in such cases, islandhood is voided, and if all other locality constraints are obeyed, extraction should be possible. It can be shown that Bošković’s deduction of his generalization in terms of a rescue by PF deletion mechanism can easily be applied to these cases. The impossibility of extraction of ‘i+host’ from the second conjunct when ‘i+host’ is in Spec&P, is explained in terms of Bošković’s (2013) proposal that only the highest phasal edge (in this case, the first conjunct) is available for movement. I will also show that the analysis can easily be applied to cases that involve more than two conjuncts.