

Type A Coordination as Adjunction

Ross (1967) already observed that non-across-the-board movement is possible from certain asymmetric coordinate structures, as illustrated in (i). The example in (i) is what Lakoff (1986) calls a Type A coordinate structure, characterized as a sequence of events in which the first event facilitates the second event.

(i) Here's the whisky which₁ I [[went to the store] and [bought t_1]].

In this talk we argue, following Ross, that extraction is possible because the second conjunct in asymmetric coordinate structures is in fact an adjunct. We present experimental evidence showing that the pattern of argument and adjunct extraction from Type A asymmetric coordination matches the pattern of argument and adjunct extraction from adjunction structures in a number of crucial respects. We then develop a theory of coordination and coordinators which captures similarities between regular symmetric coordination and Type A asymmetric coordination (for an overview, see Kehler 2002). Our theory crucially separates the role of the coordinator from syntactic coordination (which is argued to be a symmetrical structure of mutual adjunction). This separation allows coordinators to show up in non-coordinate structures, including the structure in (i).