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VP COORDINATION AND THE
   VP-INTERNAL SUBJECT
   HYPOTHESIS
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Sentences such as those in (1) have long been considered problematic because they do not submit to a classical analysis of coordination if the passive subject is derived in the syntax,[1] unless conjoined IPs are posited at some stratum of representation.

(1) a. I sinned and was forgiven.
   b. The employees complained and were allotted more vacation.
   c. Marta asked for red wine and was given white.
   d. The dog was startled by the burglar and barked loudly.

IP coordination is required by (1a–d) for two reasons. First, if we assume both VP coordination and a derived passive, Spec of IP will have to be a θ- and a non-θ-position simultaneously. As Goodall (1987) describes it, the internal argument of the passive conjunct cannot move to subject position at S-Structure if the subject position is already filled (at D-Structure) by the external argument of the other conjunct. The second problem

[Editors' note: This squib and the article "Coordination and VP-Internal Subjects" by Strang Burton and Jane Grimshaw, published in the Remarks and Replies section of this issue, have arrived independently at very similar proposals. Because squibs and articles are edited separately, this similarity was not noted until the issue was in press.]

   [1] By *derived* I refer to analyses of passive where the S-Structure subject of the passive is an internal argument of the verb that forms a chain with a trace that is (typically) a sister to V^0, the chain being either static and licensed by some set of well-formedness conditions or else the result of movement in some more literal sense. A reviewer has observed that there are important differences of detail between these two approaches to passive; however, these differences do not affect the essence of the present proposal and, since discussion of them is beyond the scope of this squib, I will assume the (less problematic) chain formation approach in my discussion.
   It has also been pointed out to me that the solution proposed here may require adjustments if an analysis of passive such as that of Baker, Johnson, and Roberts (1989) is assumed; however, space considerations preclude elaboration of any such adjustments for the present.

becomes apparent by considering the (ill-formed) representation for (1a) in (2).[2]

(2)
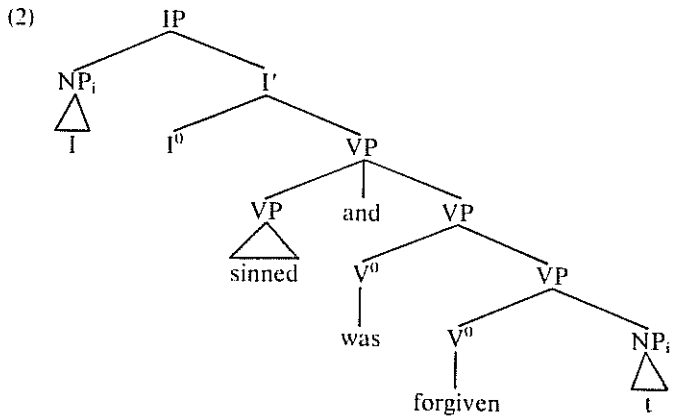
Under the above-stated assumptions, the NP in Spec of IP binds a trace in one half of the coordination but not the other, a violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) (see Ross (1967), Williams (1978)).[3]

The problem with positing conjoined IPs in (1a–d) is that unless one takes a very different approach to coordination (such as Goodall's parallel structures analysis; see Goodall (1987)), either a Conjunction Reduction transformation or a null pronominal subject in the second half of the coordination must be assumed. Neither is desirable. Conjunction Reduction, a notoriously complicated transformation, is simply incompatible with a theory that posits exactly one operation (Move α) linking D-Structure and S-Structure. The null pronominal subject analysis (see Van Valin (1986) for further discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of this as well as an alternative involving PRO) assigns a pro to the subject of the second conjunct, resulting in structure (3a) for (1a), which is synonymous with (3b), where an overt pronoun appears.

(3) a. [[I [sinned]$_{I'}$]$_{IP}$ and [pro [was forgiven t]$_{I'}$]$_{IP}$]$_{IP}$
    b. I sinned and I was forgiven.

Although this analysis is not theoretically problematic, Godard (1989) shows that it encounters empirical difficulties, most no-

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[2] I follow Stowell's (1978) analysis of passive, where the passive participle is the head of a small clause complement to *be*, although the analysis presented here is compatible with other structures.

[3] Although the CSC was not originally conceived of with NP-movement in mind, Williams's (1978) reformulation of the CSC as across-the-board rule application is clearly intended to cover NP-movement in addition to *wh*-movement.

ticeably when the subject NP denotes a generalized quantifier, as in (4).

(4) a. Every student passed the test and was praised for it.
   b. Few politicians behave morally and are rewarded for doing so.
   c. Nobody in the factory asked for a raise and then was given one.

As Godard points out, the quantificational NPs in (4) take scope over both conjuncts; however, the null pronominal account predicts that these sentences will have a reading identical to that obtained when an overt pronoun appears in subject position of the second conjunct. Comparison of the examples in (5) shows that this is not the case.

(5) a. Every student passed the test and (s)he was praised for it.
   b. Few politicians behave morally and they are rewarded for doing so.
   c. Nobody in the factory asked for a raise and then nobody was given one.

None of the quantificational NPs in (5) is able to bind the pronominal subject of the second conjunct. This unpredicted contrast, on top of the fact that English is not a pro-drop language, considerably reduces the attractiveness of the null pronominal analysis.

The purpose of this squib is to demonstrate that by adopting the VP-internal subject hypothesis for English,[4] we can provide an account of the sentences in (1) that preserves the derivational analysis of passive while allowing for completely straightforward VP (or I') coordination. Thus, there exists a viable alternative to Goodall's (1987) analysis that does not require Conjunction Reduction or the positing of a null pronominal tensed-S subject for English.

Assume that the pronoun *I* in (1a) is assigned internal to the projection of *sinned* at D-Structure, rather than external to the projection (viz., Spec of IP). This move establishes sufficient parallelism between the syntax of the passive and the syntax of the active to avoid the CSC violation, as (6) shows.[5]

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[4] See, for example, Kitagawa (1986), Koopman and Sportiche (1988), and Kuroda (1988). I will assume the version of this hypothesis in which the internal subject appears in the Specifier position of (the projection of) the predicate.

[5] I assume that passive *be* has a Specifier position in order to maintain maximum parallelism between the structures of the active and passive VPs. This should be unproblematic given that passive *be* has been argued to originate in V^0 (see, for example, Stowell (1978)) and that no
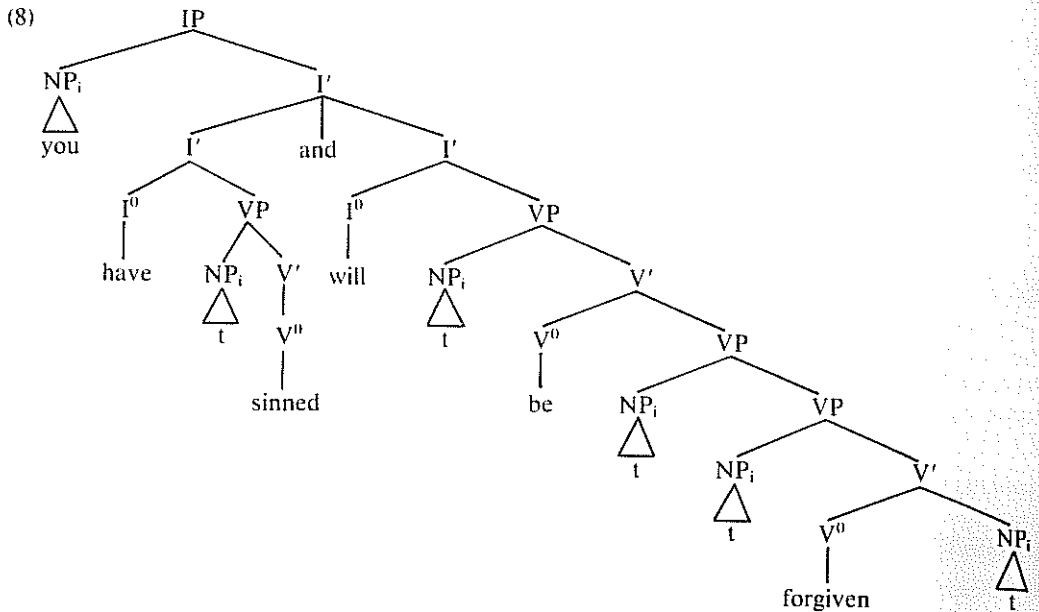
(6)
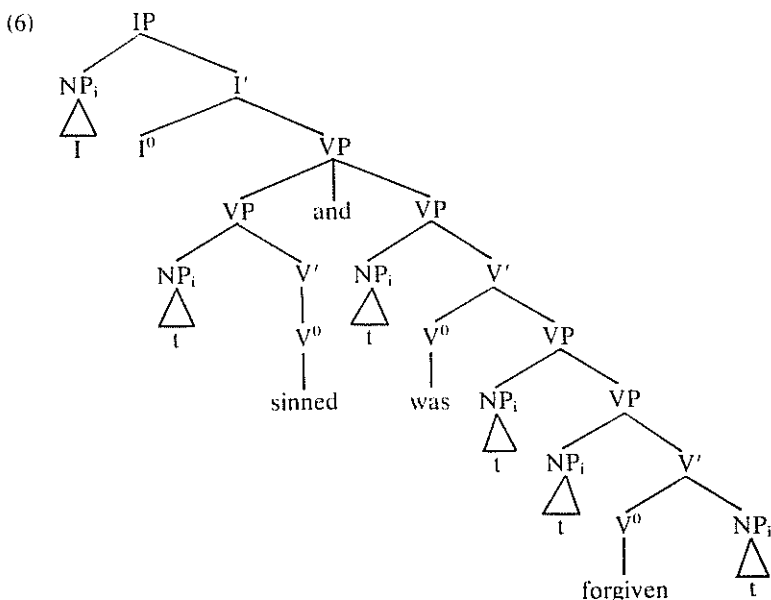
Now the S-Structure subject will bind a trace in Spec of VP in each half of the coordinate structure, avoiding a CSC violation. Moreover, adopting the VP-internal subject hypothesis entails that Spec of IP is a non-θ-position, eliminating the θ/non-θ conflict present in (2). Note that although I have posited VP coordination in (6), the proposed solution carries over to I' coordination as well, accommodating verb movement to I^0 if necessary.[6] Coordination of I', the only option for sentences such as (7) if modals are base-generated in I^0, is shown for (7a) in (8).

(7) a. You have sinned and will be forgiven.
    b. The strikers have picketed and cannot be intimidated.
    c. Ants are invading the house and must be eradicated.

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principle of the theory rules it out. Recall that I am assuming that the complement to passive *be* is a (VP) instantiation of an [NP XP]$_{XP}$ small clause structure. The verb that constitutes the predicate of the small clause will, like other verbs, assign all of its arguments internal to its projection and will have a (here non-θ-marked) Specifier position through which its NP complement can pass. Again, this aspect of the analysis is not crucial.

[6] I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out that if V-to-I movement is necessary, then only coordinated I' will be possible. However, even if coordination of I' is the only option, it is still preferable to the alternatives involving IP coordination discussed above.

(8)

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                        IP
          ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
         NPᵢ                             I'
         △              ┌───────────────┼───────────────┐
         you            I'             and              I'
                   ┌─────┴─────┐              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                  I⁰          VP             I⁰                    VP
                   │        ┌──┴──┐           │              ┌──────┴──────┐
                 have      NPᵢ   V'          will           NPᵢ           V'
                           △     │                          △       ┌─────┴─────┐
                           t     V⁰                         t      V⁰         VP
                                 │                                 │      ┌────┴────┐
                               sinned                             be     NPᵢ       VP
                                                                         △    ┌────┴────┐
                                                                         t   NPᵢ       V'
                                                                             △    ┌────┴────┐
                                                                             t   V⁰       NPᵢ
                                                                                 │         △
                                                                              forgiven     t
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Again, the subject NP binds a trace in each half of the coordination, and there is no CSC violation, as is consistent with the grammaticality of the examples in (7).[7]

To summarize, by adopting the VP-internal subject hypothesis for English, a classical approach to coordination can be reconciled with a syntactically derived passive, rendering coordination somewhat less problematic for the theory than previously believed.

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[7] An anonymous reviewer has pointed out that the current proposal predicts that languages that do not allow (subject) raising from Spec of VP to Spec of IP (for whatever reason) should not license coordinations like those under discussion here. Although Aoun and Li (1989) have argued that Chinese is such a language, apparently coordination of active and passive VPs is grammatical in Chinese as it is in English. However, since their conclusions about Chinese phrase structure are not universally accepted and since space does not permit further discussion of the Chinese facts, I leave the matter unresolved for the present.

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NONNEGATIVE POLARITY LICENSING MUST INVOLVE COMP

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Apart from being licensed by negation, negative polarity items (NPIs), such as *any*, are also licit in certain nonnegative contexts, for example, with adversative predicates (e.g., *doubt*), universal quantifiers, comparatives, and the determiner *only*:

(1) I doubt that Mary insulted *anyone*.
(2) Every man who *ever* reads books will vote for the library.
(3) Mary is smarter than *anyone* in her class.
(4) Only Mary showed *any* respect for the visitors.

In this squib I provide an argument from each of the above constructions that the licenser for NPIs in nonnegative (or covertly negative) contexts must be in Comp.[1] Therefore, as I will show, licensing of NPIs in these contexts is a property of clauses, rather than phrases, since only clauses have Comp positions.

[1] Assume that covertly negative elements are those that do not involve a separate negative morpheme or word, for example, *doubt* (as opposed to *not think*) and *only* (as opposed to *never*). In languages that exhibit negative concord, such as Italian (Zanuttini (1989)) and Serbo-Croatian (Progovac (1988; 1991)), one can define the class of nonnegative licensers as those that license NPIs but do not trigger negative concord.