

A typology of shifting coordinators and its implications for theories of clitics

Philipp Weisser¹

¹*Universität Leipzig*

philipp.weisser@uni-leipzig.de

Background: Instances of shifting coordinators (i.e. cases where a coordinator does not appear linearly in between the two conjuncts) in Latin and Ancient Greek have long been taken as the clearest examples of cases where syntax proper does not determine the linear order of elements (see Klavans 1995, Marantz 1988, Embick & Noyer 2001, Anderson 2005). Unlike in English where the coordinator appears in between the two conjuncts, the Latin or Ancient Greek coordinator appears after the first phonological word of the 2nd conjunct.

Shifting coordinators are particularly convincing cases of non-syntactic linearization because we can determine their syntacto-semantic base-position without further ado (i.e. in between the two conjuncts) and because coordination constructions are syntactically inflexible due to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1957), which means that we can rule out syntactic movement as a source for the shifted position of the coordinator. Given that these cases are often cited poster children for instances non-syntactic linearization, it is surprising that shifted coordinators have not been investigated at all beyond the cases above. The talk aims to fill this gap and provide a theoretically informed typology which includes cases of shifted coordinator patterns in 36 languages from 20 different language families (not counting cognates in related languages).

Findings and theoretical implications: (A) The patterns found with shifting coordinators mirror the established cases of clitic placement in the world's languages. This indicates that the phenomenon at hand can serve as the first crosslinguistic study of the clitic placement patterns of a single morphosyntactic category in a typologically diverse sample of languages. And, as such it might provide us with a typology of clitic placement patterns and a window to investigating many properties of clitics in a more controlled environment. (B) We

find that clitic placement patterns are constrained by syntactic constituency in that they only ever appear inside their syntactic complement. This indicates that syntactic structures but also prosodic structures are built cyclically bottom-up rather than in a parallel fashion. (C) We find a correlation between the clitic placement type and the ability of the clitic to appear inside of syntactic islands. Clitics with phonological targets can also appear inside syntactic islands. (D) We find a correlation between the clitic placement type and type of locality of 2nd position clitics. Clitics with morphosyntactic targets obey structural locality, clitics with phonological targets obey linear locality.

References: • Anderson, S. R., 2005. Aspects of the theory of clitics, OUP. • • Klavans, J., 1995. On Clitics and Cliticization: The Interaction of Morphology, Phonology, and Syntax. New York Garland. • Zhang, N., 2009. Coordination in Syntax.