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A qualitative typology of floating coordinators and its implications for theories of clitics

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Overview: In this talk, I present some findings of an ongoing research project about instances of non-canonical placement of clausal coordinators. Based on a number of in-depth case studies of coordinator placement in these languages I argue that despite the apparent rarity of the phenomenon, it presents an ideal testing ground for our typology and theory of clitic placement patterns in the world's languages. Unlike previous studies of clitic patterns, the present study keeps the morphosyntactic category of the cliticizing element constant across languages and therefore allows for a better comparison and a clear typology of which cliticizing patterns are attested in a given morphosyntactic configuration and which are not.

Background: Using the term floating coordinator, I refer to cases where the element coordinating two complex constituents A and B does not appear in between A and B but rather embedded into one of them. In Kalaallisuut (Fortescue 1997), we see the coordinators following the first phonological word of the second conjunct. In Yorùbá (own fieldnotes), the coordinator follows the first prosodic phrase of the second conjunct. In Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993), the coordinator ni follows the first syntactic phrase of the second conjunct. Note that, for all cases, independent tests have been used to identify the respective patterns.

Methodology: For each case study, it is first established that the element in question is a coordinator (and not e.g. a connective adverb). Diagnostics involve e.g. (i) the cooccurrence with other coordinators, (ii) the ability to license coordination-specific processes (ATB-movement, gapping), (iii) word-order restrictions on adverbs, (iv) syntacto-semantic scope (see also Dik 1968, Zhang 2006, Bodanyi 2013, Libert 2017). If an element passes the tests for coordinators, its distribution is tested in a variety of different configurations to identify its placement pattern. Finally, further tests are employed to see if the placement obeys different syntactic islands. For these reasons, this research project employs a qualitative method as the necessary language-specific details cannot be accomodated in a quantitative project. Currently, the data from this project come from 19 languages from 8 different language families with many more languages in which the phenomenon is attested and which, at least on the basis of the published data, seem to confirm the findings of the languages studied in more detail. Table 1 gives an excerpt of the current database including a subset of the variables controlled for.

Findings: In this talk, I will highlight the following findings:

(a) We find that coordinators always float into the second conjunct. The database contains no cases of a coordinator that is found linearly inside the first conjunct.

(b) The established types of 2nd-posititon clitics found in other domains are also found with coordinators. Clitic appearing after the first phonological word (1st ω) or after the first

syntactic phrase (1st XP) are widely attested but even rarer patterns (i.e. the clitic surfacing after the first phonological phrase (1st φ), see Chung 2003) are found in the data.

(c) There is no correlation between the phonological shape of the clitic and its positioning (see e.g. the Kalallisuut clitics), which strengthens the claim in Klavans (1995), Anderson (2005) that the phonological shape and the placement of the clitic are independent of each other.

(d) There is a correlation between the placement pattern and the sensitivity to syntactic is-lands. Clitics that appear after a phonological constituent (1st ω or 1st φ) will freely appear inside strong syntactic islands. In Yorùbá, the second conjunct of the conjunction starts with a conditional adjunct clause and the conjunction will appear inside the adjunct clause. In Mandarin, in a similar configuration, the conditional clause is skipped for clitic placement.

(e) Finally, I show that there is a correlation between the monosyndetic vs polysyndetic nature of the coordinator (see Haspelmath 2007) and the available clitic patterns. Polysyn-detic coordinators (such as Latin, Kalaallisuut, Ancient Greek or Khwarshi) have different cliticization patterns from monosyndetic ones: E.g. polysyndetic patterns that are sensitive to phonological phrasing pick out phonological words rather than phonological phrases. This indicates a difference in clausal integration between the types of coordinators (cf. Mitrovic 2014).

Language	Family	Sem Type	Form	Pattern	Ignoring Islands?	Type
Latin	Indo-Eu	AND, OR	*que, ve*	1st ω	YES	Poly
Polish	Indo-Eu	BUT	*zaś*	1st φ	YES	Mono
Yorùbá	Ni-Congo	AND	*sì*	1st φ	YES	Mono
Nupe	Ni-Congo	AND	*ma*	1st XP	NO	Mono
Kalaallisuut	Inuit	AND, OR, BUT	*lu,li,luuniit*	1st ω	YES	Poly
Yavapai	Yuman	AND	*pe:*	1st XP	NO	Mono
Rangi	Bantu	BUT	*maa*	1st XP	NO	Mono
Lezgian	NE-Cauc	AND	*ni*	1st XP	NO	Poly
Khwarshi	NE-Cauc	AND	*in*	ABSXP/1st XP	NO	Poly
Mandarin	Sino-Tib	BUT	*keshì*	1st XP	NO	Mono

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