

A Note on Typology of Coordination^{**}

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1. Introduction

A lively discussion of coordinate structures can be found in Johannessen(1993, 1998), Munn(1993), Borsley(1994), Progovac(1998), Zoerner (1995) and others. To analyze a syntax of coordination, we cannot get by with avoiding problems with symmetries and asymmetries of coordinate structures. Coordinate constructions have symmetrical properties such that conjuncts are paratactically construed, that a conjunct is not subordinated to another conjunct, that conjuncts have the same syntactic and semantic function, and that DP conjuncts bear the same Case. On the other hand, they have asymmetrical properties such as c-command relation between the first and second conjuncts, Coordination-internal constituency (Ross 1967), Unbalanced Case (Johannessen 1998), First conjunct agreement with the finite verb (McCloskey 1986), and Unbalanced categories and first conjunct selection (Sag et al. 1985).

Several researchers have tried to explain these properties of coordinate

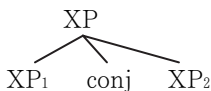
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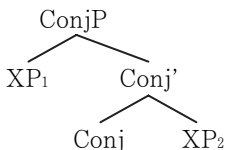
constructions on the following assumptions:¹

- (1)a. the traditional flat structures, as shown in (2a). (Kayne 1984)
- b. conjunction phrase with the conjunction head, as shown in (2b). (Johannessen 1998, Zoerner 1995)
- c. conjunction phrase with the conjunction head adjoined to the initial conjunct, as shown in (2c). (Munn 1993)
- d. the flat structures with adjoined conjunctions, as shown in (2d). (Keyser&Postal 1976, Sag et al. 1985)

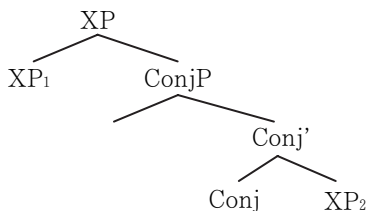
(2)a.



b.



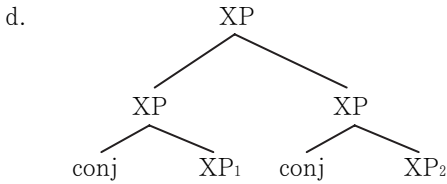
c.



¹ There is another assumption where each conjunct is embedded in its own coordination phrase (CoP), and the first Co then represents an initial coordinator. (Lakoff&Peters 1969). This assumption has other variants like the following:

- (i) a. CoPs are right-adjoined to an abstract DP. (Progovac 1998)
- b. CoPs are behind each other. (Grootveld 1994)
- c. CoPs are embedded in an agreement phrase. (van der Heijden 1999)

We will not deal with these assumptions. For problems with these assumptions, see Johannessen(1998), Bredschneider(1999), Hendricks(2001/2004), Hendricks&Zwart (2001), Skrabalova (2003).

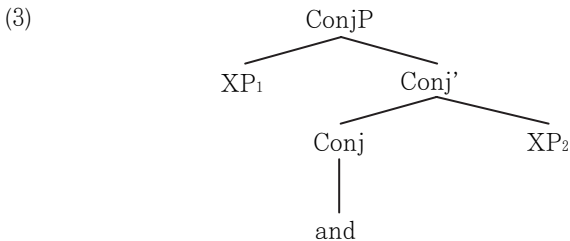


All of these assumptions have in common the presupposed assumption that the conjunction like "and" is present in syntactic structures. In other words, in the minimalist program, the conjunction is merged in the narrow syntax. However, some languages don't make use of the overt conjunction in the coordinate constructions. This paper challenges these presupposed assumptions.

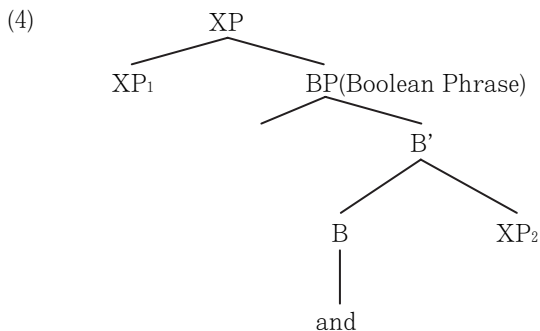
2. Extant analyses

The extant analyses, as shown above, can be divided into two types: one is the traditional flat structure analysis and the other is the functional projection ConjP analysis.

Let us consider the ConjP analysis. According to Johannessen (1998) and Zoerner (1995), the conjunction projects a functional projection whose specifier is filled with the initial conjunct and whose complement is filled with the second conjunct, as shown in (3).



On the other hand, Munn (1993) assumes that the conjunction heads a functional projection, which adjoins to the initial conjunct, and that the functional projection takes the second conjunct as its complement, as shown in (4).



Both approaches can account for one of the asymmetrical properties that the first conjunct behaves as if it is higher in a coordinate structure than the second conjunct. This property is observed by the binding condition C effect in (5a), contrasting with (5b), and by the lack of weak crossover effects in (5c), contrasting with (5d).

- (5)a. Bill's_i dog and {he_i / him_i } took a walk in the park.
- b. *He_i and John's_i dog took a walk in the park.
- c. Every mother_i and her_i daughter went shopping on Sunday.
- d. *Her_i son and every mother_i went shopping on Sunday.

Such an asymmetries between the first and second conjuncts can be accounted for by the ConjP analysis, in that it allows the first conjunct to be located in a structurally higher position than the second conjunct, as

illustrated in (3) and (4).

The ConjP approach of Johannessen (1998) and Zoerner (1995) might account for differences in the word order of the head and the conjuncts. With respect to Case, according to Johannessen (1998), the features of ConjP are inherited not only from its head, but also from its specifier through Spec-head agreement. For example, the expected Case, nominative Case in the subject position or accusative Case in the object position can be checked against the head of TP or the head of VP, respectively. It then follows that the Case features of the first conjunct can be checked, leading to deletion of the uninterpretable Case feature, which is consistent with the generalization that the first conjunct occurs with the expected Case, as shown in the following:

- (6)a. [She and him] are going to arrive early.
- b. *[Her and he] are going to arrive early.
- c. *[Her and him] are going to arrive early.
- d. [She and he] are going to arrive early.

As pointed out in Borsley (2005), however, there is no evidence that a specifier and its phrase agree for Case through Spec-head agreement.²

Further, a problem arises with the ConjP approach with respect to the Case of the second conjunct. Johannessen (1998) makes use of two kinds of mechanisms: one is head-complement agreement and the other is default Case. The head-complement agreement might account for the fact that all

² For details, see Borsley (2005).

conjuncts have expected Case. The Case features of the second conjunct is checked through head-complement agreement, just as that of the first conjunct is checked through spec-head agreement. As a consequence, the first conjunct as the specifier has the same Case feature as the second conjunct when it is the complement. However, there is no evidence that the specifier and the complement share the same Case feature. The internal and external Case mismatch might be accounted for by the default Case. According to Johannessen (1998), the head of ConjP undergoes Case licensing where the head of ConjP assigns the particular Case or default Case as the lexical entry, and the default Case in English is accusative.³

However, the ConjP approach cannot account for symmetrical properties of coordination without recourse to any extra devices, since the ConjP analysis makes use of both the spec-head agreement and the head-complement agreement in order to account for the same categorial status and Case of the conjuncts.

Moreover, the ConjP analysis has a serious empirical problem. As pointed out in Haspelmath (2005), all languages seem to possess coordinate constructions of some kind, but there is a lot of cross-linguistic variation which cannot be accounted for by the ConjP analysis. Coordinate constructions are expressed by the following devices, depending on languages:

- (7)a. conjunction: conjunctive conjunction "and" or disjunctive conjunction "or"
- b. coordinator: a particle or an affix which serves to link the

³ For the internal and external mismatches of Case and categories, see Kubo et al. (2006).

conjuncts

c. juxtaposition: no overt conjunction or coordinator

Some languages have an overt linking device like conjunction or coordinator whereas others lack an overt conjunction or coordinator. Let us see how the ConjP analysis cannot account for coordinate constructions which lack an overt conjunction or coordinator.

As pointed out in Goldberg (2006), many languages have constructions where no verb is expressed. For example, in Russian, the verb is not expressed in certain motion constructions, as shown in the following examples, which are taken from Goldberg (2006):

(8)a. Kirill v magazin.
 Kirill-NOM to store-ACC
 'Kirill goes/will go to the store.'

b. Kirill iz magazina.
 Kirill-NOM from store-GEN
 'Kirill just got back from the store.'

In (8a), when the manner of motion is relevant, and a telic goal of motion is expressed, the verb can be omitted. On the other hand, when a telic goal of motion is not expressed, the required meaning can be coerced by the construction as in (8b). According to Goldberg (2006), (8b) requires an end point and so an implicit deictic goal is referred to, resulting in the appropriate interpretation. Goldberg (2006) claims that in order to account

for such verbless constructions, it is possible to posit a null verb, but such an approach might be motivated only by the desire to maintain the position that the verb determines the overall form and meaning of a sentence. The constructionist approach assumes an alternative which avoids positing an unseen verb.

Then, let us consider some languages which lack an overt coordinator or conjunction linking the conjuncts. In Komi (the Permian group of the Uralic language family), Nenets (the Tundra Nenets languages), Selkup (Ostyak Samoyedic), Cassubian (Polish dialect), Polish, Old Turkic, Tatar and Bashkir (Volga Kipchak language), Old Tamil, Belorussian (one of the three distinct East Slavonic languages) and so on, coordination can be expressed by juxtaposition.⁴

From the constructionist point of view, in languages where coordinate constructions lack an overt coordinator or conjunction, the whole meaning of the coordinate structures cannot be determined by a non-existent coordinator or conjunction, but by juxtaposition and prosodic means like intonation or pause. Moreover, there are languages which make use of a coordinator like an affix to show coordination, which will be discussed in the next section. Therefore, the ConjP approach cannot account for coordination in languages where coordination lacks an overt coordinator or conjunction, and where coordination has an overt coordinator like an affix, in that the ConjP leads to have a null head or it requires some extra movement of conjuncts to the head (affix) of the ConjP. In other words, the ConjP approach has to appeal to lowering of the first conjunct to the head

⁴ See Abondolo, D. (ed.) (1998), Comrie, B.&G.Corbett (eds.) (1993), Hetzron, R.(ed.) (1997), Johnson, L.&E.A.Csato (eds.) (1998), and Steever, S. (ed.)(1998).

or raising of the head to the first conjunct in a [X-& Y] type of coordination, which will be discussed in the next section.

3. Typology of coordination

According to Haspelmath (2005), coordination can be divided into two types, asyndetic and syndetic coordination with respect to the presence or absence of some overt linking device. Furthermore, syndetic coordination can be subdivided into two types, monosyndetic and bisyndetic coordination, depending on whether the overt linking device makes use of single or double coordinators. We will schematize as follows:

(9)a. asyndetic coordination: X Y

b. syndetic coordination: monosyndetic: X &-Y

X-& Y

X Y-&

(&-X Y)⁵

c. syndetic coordination: bisyndetic: &-X &-Y

X-& Y-&

X-& &-Y

&-X Y-&

Asyndetic coordination (9a) lacks an overt coordinator while syndetic coordination has some overt linking device. Monosyndetic coordination makes use of a single coordinator whereas bisyndetic coordination employs

⁵ According to Haspelmath (2005), with one exception [&-X Y], all these possibilities occur in languages. However, not all of them are equally common.

two coordinators.

First, let us consider asyndetic coordination. Coordination without an overt linker occurs widely in the world's languages, and although in European languages monosyndesis of the type [X &-Y] is the norm, asyndesis, which is also called juxtaposition, also occurs commonly, especially with the meaning of conjunction.

(10)a. Slowly, stealthily, she crept towards her victim.

b. Dans quel philtre, dans quel vin, dans quelle tisane noierons-nous ce vieil ennemi?

'In which love potion, in which wine, in which herbal tea shall we drown this old enemy?'

c. John Bill ru-?-yuu-k (Maricopa: a Yuman language of John-Acc Bill-Acc Pl.Obj-1-see.Sg-Realis Arizona)

'I saw John and Bill.'

d. wumburu-nurru wangal-nurru bi-l-d (Kayardild: a Tangkic language of northern Australia)

spear-having boomerang-having they-Pl-Nom

'They have spears and boomerangs with them.'

In asyndesis, intonation is the only means by which the coordinated structure can be indicated. Languages without writing systems often lack indigenous coordinators and now use coordinators borrowed from prestige languages such as Spanish, English, and Arabic. Asyndesis is often preferred in natural conjunction, i.e., when the two conjuncts habitually go together and form some kind of conceptual unit.

Second, let us consider Monosyndetic coordination: [X &-Y], [X-& Y], [X Y-&]. As noted in Stassen(2003), the order of the coordinator correlates with other word order patterns of the language, in particular verb-argument order: languages with a postpositive coordinator such as Latin and Classical Tibetan tend to have verb-final word order, whereas verb-initial languages tend to have a prepositive coordinator. For example, Turkish and Japanese, which have verb-final word order, i.e., head-final languages, coordination is expressed by the postposition "ile" in Turkish and "to" in Japanese which are attached to the first conjunct. However, Stassen's generalizations are based exclusively on conjunctive coordinators. Disjunctive coordinators may confirm to different ordering patterns.

- (11) kam ad'-a kamu tudu-a (Lezgian: a verb-final Daghestanian
 man this-and woman that-and language)
 kitawu ad' ra tudu raam?
 book this or that you.like

Since the conjuncts in natural conjunction occur together very frequently, as pointed out in Haspelmath (2005), the relation between them is predictable and overt marking is redundant. Gil(1991) argues that Maricopa (a Yuman language of Arizona) has no coordinate structures, though he defines coordination formally, starting out from English-like patterns. According to Gil (1991), Maricopa speakers have a variety of ways of expressing 'X and Y', e.g. simple juxtaposition or a form of the verb "uDaav" which means 'accompany' (so that 'John and Bill will come' is literally 'John, accompanying Bill, will come'). As pointed out in

Haspelmath (2005), coordination is expressed by compounding as follows:

- (12)a. t et at-avat (Erzya Mordvin: a Finno-Ugrian language of
father.Pl-mother.Pl Russia)
'father and mother = parents'
- b. mu: mu:mi (Burushaski: an isolate of northern Pakistan)
father mother
'father and mother'

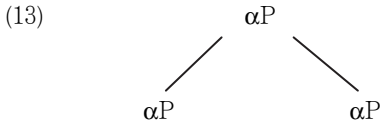
4. Insertion of conjunction or coordination

In the previous section, we have seen that the extant ConjP analyses have theoretical and empirical problems. Each ConjP analysis presents a knotty problem such that it must appeal to some additional mechanism in order to account for the basic fact that coordinate structures have the same syntactic status as their conjuncts. As long as we assume a functional category such as ConjP, we must rely on some mechanism of the categorial makeup of coordinate structures. Then, we will propose a simple merger analysis on coordinate structures, making use of no functional categories in the narrow syntax.

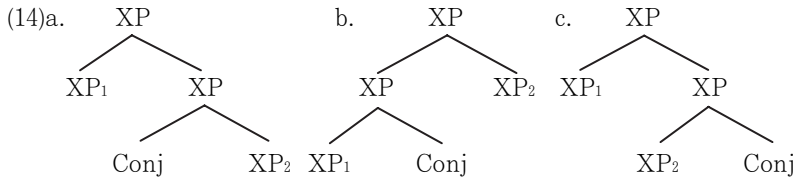
Let us recall that coordination without an overt linking device like a conjunction and coordinator, and that since the conjuncts in natural coordination occur together very frequently, the relation between them is predictable and an overt linking device is redundant. Furthermore, many languages have a variety ways of expressing coordination. For example, Belorussian, one of the three distinct East Slavonic languages, which has free word order, makes use of various types of coordination (Comrie&

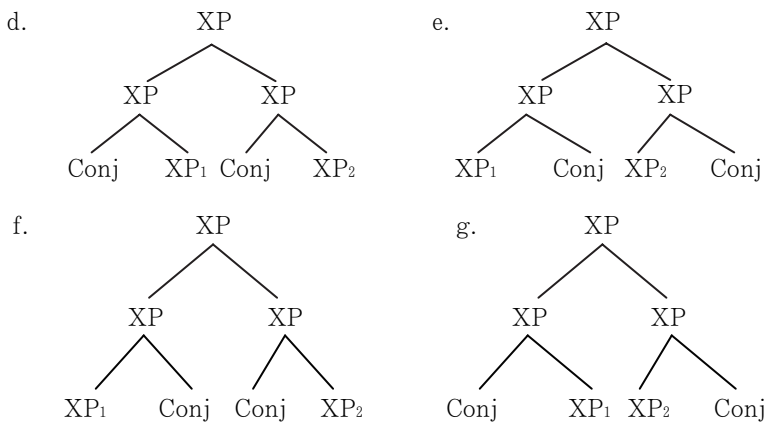
Corbett 1993). In Belorussian coordination is expressed by asyndetic coordination [X Y], monosyndetic coordination [X &-Y]("NP i NP"), and bisyndetic coordination [&-X &-Y]("i NP i NP").

In the minimalist program, all phrases can be formed by an operation of merger whereby two categories are merged together to form a new category. The new category must be a projection of the head, i.e., one of the two categories. Given these observation, we assume that a coordinate structure can be derived by merging two conjuncts, as follows:



We further assume that the conjunction or coordinator can be inserted by an operation of the late Merge in the narrow syntax before Spell-Out or at the PF component after Spell-Out. In other words, coordinate constructions can be assumed to have a flat structure at the first stage of the derivation and become a hierarchical structure at the later stage of the derivation as follows:





The merging operation is different across languages. Following Johannessen (1998) and Stassen (2003), we assume that in head-initial languages coordinate constructions have types of (14a) or (14d) whereas in head-final languages they have types of (14b), (14c) or (14e). For example, English has a type of (14a) while French has a type of (14d), as shown in the following:

- (15)a. John [and Bill]
- b. [et Jean][et Paul]

Let us examine the first assumption of the merger analysis. According to the merger analysis, the coordinate structure can be derived by merging each conjunct. It then follows that the coordinate structure has the same syntactic status of each conjunct without recourse to any mechanism of the categorial makeup.

Let us turn to the second assumption that the level of insertion of the

conjunction or coordinator varies among languages. In other words, the conjunction or coordinator can be assumed to be inserted by an operation of the late Merge in the narrow syntax before Spell-Out or at the PF component after Spell-Out. Some evidence can be provided to support this assumption. First, let us consider English coordination. English coordinate constructions can be assumed to have an operation of the late Merge in the narrow syntax before Spell-Out. It then follows that the asymmetrical property like c-command relation between the first and second conjuncts. Let us recall that English has properties like the binding condition C effect or the lack of weak crossover effect as seen in section 2. Given that these properties are dealt with at the LF component and that the coordinate construction has a form [X [and Y]] before Spell-Out by the operation of late Merge, it then follows that these properties can be appropriately accounted for on the basis of c-command relation. For example, in (5b) "John" in the second conjunct is bound by "He" in the first conjunct, which is ruled out by the binding condition C, which states that an R-expression must be free (Chomsky 1981, 1995).

Second, let us consider Japanese coordination. In Japanese coordinate constructions have structural type (14b) or (14e).

(16)a. [John-to] Bill

b. [John-to] [Bill(-to)]-ga byoki-da.

John-Conj Bill-Conj-Nom sick-be

'John and Bill are sick.'

In Japanese, however, multiple coordination allows juxtaposition, like

other languages.

- (17) [John][Bill][Mary][Jenny]-ga paatii-ni ki-ta.
-Nom party-to come-PAST
'John, Bill, Mary and Jenny came to the party.'

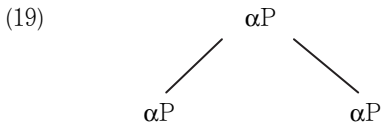
Japanese "zibun", as discussed in Fiengo&Haruna (1986) and Tsujimura(1996), is subject to the binding condition A, which states that an anaphor must be bound by its subjects. Let us consider the following:

- (18)a. *[Taroo-to] [zibun_i-no inu]_i-ga byooki-da.
Taroo-Conj self-GEN-dog-Nom sick-be
'Taro and his dog are sick.'
- b. ?[zibun_i-no inu-to] [Taroo_i]-ga byooki-da.
'His dog and Taro are sick.'
- c. *niwa-niwa [Taroo_i-to] [zibun_i-no inu]_i-ga i-ta.
garden-in Taroo-Conj self-GEN dog-NOM be-PAST
'There's Taro and his dog in the garden.'
- d. ?niwa-niwa [zibun_i-no inu-to] [Taroo_i]-ga i-ta.
'There's his dog and Taro in the garden.'
- e. niwa-niwa [Taroo] [Ziroo] [Saburoo] [Hanako]-ga i-ta.
'There's Taro, Ziro, Saburo and Hanako in the garden.'
- f. niwa-niwa [Taroo_i] [zibun_i-no inu] [zibun_i-no neko]-ga i-ta.
garden-in self-NOM dog self-GEN cat-NOM be-PAST
'There's Taro, his dog and his cat in the garden.'

In (18a) and (18c), when the overt linking marker "to" is present, "zibun" is not c-commanded by the antecedent "Taroo", which violates the binding condition A, yielding unacceptability. On the other hand, in (18b) and (18d), "zibun" can refer to "Taroo" since "zibun" is c-commanded by "Taroo", which is consistent with the binding condition A. The acceptability of (18e) suggests that Japanese multiple coordination allows juxtaposition, i.e., that multiple coordinate constructions in Japanese have a flat structure before Spell-Out and "to" is merged at the PF component. In other words, at the LF component the c-command relation holds among the conjuncts in multiple coordination. It then follows that in (18f) "zibun" is c-commanded by "Taroo" at the LF component where the binding conditions apply, and so "zibun" can refer to "Taroo".

Let us examine the second assumption of "and" insertion at PF.

We assume that at PF the conjunction "and" is inserted on the following configuration, based on the adjacency condition:



Following Bobaljik (1995), Lasnik (1995) and Pesetsky (1995), we assume that PF operations are involved in adjacency, in that an operation such as affixation, which is one kind of merger process in the PF component, is required to satisfy an adjacency condition.⁶

In Japanese, binary coordination makes use of "to" whereas multiple

⁶ This mechanism of "and" insertion at PF has the same effect as the so-called the Coordinate Structure Constraint. We will not pursue it here.

coordination makes use of "to" or juxtaposition. This means that Japanese coordination makes use of two devices: the merger process works before Spell-Out or in the PF component.

5. Concluding remarks

From the typological point of view, we have seen that coordinate constructions do not constitute a uniform structure, and that one language makes use of various linking devices to indicate coordination, and such linking devices vary across languages. However, such a variation can be attributed to the application level of merger process.

Further research will be required to motivate other languages' coordination and to complete our approach.

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