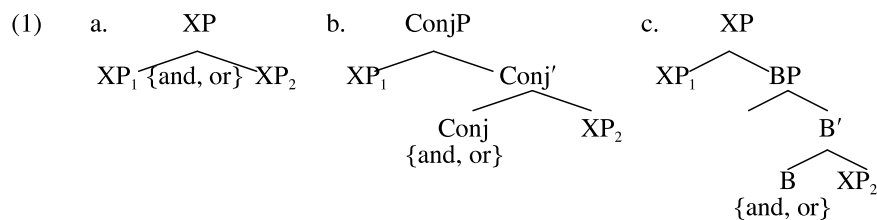


Nupe Coordinate Structures: A Syntactically Heterogeneous Class

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0. Introduction: The Many Flavors of Nupe Coordination

In the wake of Kayne (1984, 1994), the traditional flat structures associated with coordinate constructions (1a) have been widely reanalyzed as asymmetric binary branching structures (1b,c). Conceptually speaking, flat representations such as (1a) are non-endocentric and thus do not conform to X-bar theory. Empirically, one can show that the coordinator and the second coordinate form a constituent (Ross 1967:90-91), which is asymmetrically c-commanded by the preceding coordinate (Munn 1993). Regarding the asymmetric structure of coordination, there are two leading analyses, both of which are held to regulate all varieties of coordinate constructions within and across languages. According to Kayne (1994), Johannessen (1998), and Zoerner (1999), the coordinator projects a phrase whose specifier is filled by the initial coordinate and whose complement hosts the second in cases of binary coordination (cf. (1b)). Munn (1993), Büring and Hartmann (1998), and Velde (2000) analyze the coordinator as heading a functional projection (Boolean phrase (BP) in Munn 1993), which adjoins to the initial coordinate and takes the second coordinate as its complement (cf. (1c)).



Does coordination in every language exclusively pattern with respect to one of these analyses or is the phenomenon syntactically heterogeneous? In this paper, we restrict ourselves to the phenomenon of conjunction in Nupe (Niger-Congo: Kwa) and show that it is not reducible to a single homogeneous syntactic analysis.

As in a number of languages, the identity of the coordinating morpheme in Nupe is determined by the size/categorical status of the conjoined constituents. As such, conjunction comes in three flavors in the language: phrases outside the extended projection of the verb (e.g. DP, PP, AP) are conjoined by the morpheme *tò* (2a-c); verb phrase conjunction proceeds via covert coordination (2d); and the conjunction of clausal constituents (TP, CP) is mediated either by *ma* or *ci* (2e,f).

- (2) a. Musa si [_{DP}bise nana] tò [_{DP}nakàn sási].
 Musa buy chicken this CONJ meat some
 ‘Musa bought this chicken and some meat.’
- b. Musa ba nakàn [_{PP}bè foki yin] tò [_{PP}bè èbi yin].
 Musa cut meat with fork PRT CONJ with knife PRT
 ‘Musa cut the meat with a fork and with a knife.’
- c. Musa pa eci [_{AP}dzúrí tò bókùn] zì [_{AP}yína tò tsúwó].
 Musa pound yam red CONJ white PL today CONJ yesterday
 ‘Musa pounded the red and white yams today and yesterday.’
- d. Eza guba [_{VP}ba nakàn] [_{VP}lo dzukó] à.
 person two cut meat go market NEG
 ‘Two people didn’t (both) cut the meat and go to the market.’
- e. [_{TP}Musa à ba nakàn] [_{TP}Gàná ma/ci à gi eci].
 Musa FUT cut meat Gana CONJ FUT eat yam
 ‘Musa will cut the meat and Gana will eat the yam.’
- f. [_{CP}Ze ba nakàn o] [_{CP}ke ma/*ci Gàná gi o]?
 who cut meat FOC what CONJ Gana eat FOC
 ‘Who cut the meat and what did Gana eat?’

This paper argues that the proper analysis of the conjunction of smaller categories such as DP, PP, and AP in Nupe is as in Kayne (1994)/Johannessen (1998) and others (cf. (1b)), whereas the syntax of clausal conjunction involves adjunction as in Munn (1993), among others (cf. (1c)). We argue that covert coordination of verb phrases represents a third type of coordination in the language, despite the fact that it admits neither structural analysis. These constructions are shown to be syntactically akin to serial verb constructions, where the coordination takes place in the semantics rather than in the syntax. Nupe thus provides evidence that coordination is not amenable to a unitary syntactic analysis and thus that efforts to reduce all instances of it to a single clausal variety are misguided.

1. Small Category Conjunction

1.1. Basic Properties

As shown in (2a-c), the morpheme *tò* is used to conjoin constituents below the VP level, namely, DPs, PPs, and APs. The particle may not coordinate verb phrases (3a) or clauses (3b), nor can the clausal conjunctions *ma* and *ci* combine small categories in the language (3c). Coordination of DPs, PPs, or APs may not be

Nupe Coordinate Structures

covert as in verb phrase coordination (3d). Lastly, the order of the conjuncts is reversible in the case of *tò* coordination (cf. (2a) and (3e)).

- (3) a. *Musa à [_{VP}ba nakàn] tò [_{VP}gi eci].
 Musa FUT cut meat CONJ eat yam
- b. *[__{TP}Musa à ba nakàn] [__{TP}Gàná tò à gi eci].
 Musa FUT cut meat Gana CONJ FUT eat yam
 Also BAD as: *[Musa à ba nakàn] tò [Gana à gi eci].
- c. *Musa si [_{DP}bise nana] ma/ci [_{DP}nakàn sási].
 Musa buy chicken this CONJ meat some
 Also BAD as: *Musa si [bise nana] [nakàn ma/ci sási].
- d. *Musa si [_{DP}bise nana] [_{DP}nakàn sási].
 Musa buy chicken this meat some
- e. Musa si [_{DP}nakàn sási] tò [_{DP}bise nana].
 Musa buy meat some CONJ chicken this
 ‘Musa bought some meat and this chicken.’

1.2. Syntax of Nupe *tò* Conjunction

The proposals in (1b) and (1c) make a number of parallel claims and predictions. For instance, in line with the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA - Kayne 1994), they both claim that the first conjunct asymmetrically *c*-commands the following constituent, given the precedence relation that holds between them. The truth of this claim is easily substantiated in Nupe, given binding facts. Bound variable readings are possible when the quantified DP appears in the first conjunct, but not when in the second.

- (4) a. [Bagi ndondo]_i tò [egi u_i] dzò eyì.
 man every CONJ child 3rd.SG plant corn
 ‘Every man_i and his_i child planted corn.’
- b. [Egi u_i] tò [bagi ndondo]_{*i/j} dzò eyì.
 child 3rd.SG CONJ man every plant corn
 ‘His_i child and every man_{*i/j} planted corn.’

The second commonality between the two approaches is that they both predict the impossibility of coordinating heads. This prediction is clearly borne out in Nupe.

- (5) a. *Musa yébo bagi [nana] tò [wuncìn]
 Musa love man this CONJ that
 *‘Musa loves this and that man.’
 OK as: Musa yébo [bagi nana] tò [bagi wuncìn].
- b. *[nda] tò [nna] Musa
 father CONJ mother Musa
 *‘the mother and father of Musa’
 OK as: [nda Musa] tò [nna Musa]

Both approaches also predict the reversibility of the conjuncts, given that neither conjunct contains the other structurally.

There is a direct syntactic reason for rejecting the structure in (1c) in favor of a Kaynian theory of small category conjunction in Nupe. The argument comes from patterns of agreement with coordinated subjects. In a limited range of constructions in the language (e.g. subjunctives and optatives), reduced pronominal elements pro-cliticize to embedded verbs (Smith 1967:9). These clitics agree with the ϕ -features (person and number) of the subject. This is illustrated below with singular subjects.

- (6) a. **Mi** è wá cènkafa **n-** gi.
 1st.SG PRES want rice 1st.SG-eat
 ‘I want to eat rice.’
 b. **Wo** è wá cènkafa **o-** gi.
 2nd.SG PRES want rice 2nd.SG-eat
 ‘You want to eat rice.’
 c. **Wun** è wá cènkafa **u-** gi.
 3rd.SG PRES want rice 3rd.SG- eat
 ‘S/he wants to eat rice.’

In many languages, agreement is triggered by elements in the first conjunct, but not in the second (Munn 1993, Johannessen 1998).

- (7) a. There are [three unicorns] and [a man] in the garden.
 b. *There is [three unicorns] and [a man] in the garden.
 c. There is [a man] and [three unicorns] in the garden.
 d. ?There are [a man] and [three unicorns] in the garden.

Munn (1993) argued that the second coordinate is invisible for purposes of agreement because it is not generated in an A-position. We can determine whether or not the second conjunct in Nupe is an adjunct or an argument on the basis of the identity of the agreement marker that surfaces when DP subjects with conflicting ϕ -features are conjoined. The following data involving conjoined first and third person DPs show that there is no asymmetry with regard to the conjunct that triggers agreement in Nupe. Unless one of the conjuncts is a quantified DP (8c,d), first person agreement is triggered regardless of whether the first person pronominal element is generated in the first conjunct or the second.

- (8) a. [Mi tò wun] è wá cènkafa **n/ *u-** gi.
 1st.SG CONJ 3rd.SG PRES want rice 1st.SG/*3rd.SG-eat
 ‘Me and her/him want to eat rice.’
 b. [Wun tò mi] è wá cènkafa ***u/ n-** gi.
 3rd.SG CONJ 1st.SG PRES want rice *3rd.SG/1st.SG-eat
 ‘S/he and I want to eat rice.’

Nupe Coordinate Structures

- c. [Mi tò eza ndondo] è wá cènkafa *n/ u- gi.
 1st.SG CONJ person every PRES want rice *1st.SG /3rd.SG-eat
 ‘I, along with everyone, want to eat rice.’
- d. [Eza ndondo tò mi] è wá cènkafa u/ *n- gi.
 person every CONJ 1st.SG PRES want rice 3rd.SG/*1st.SG-eat
 ‘Everyone and I want to eat rice.’

Thus, the ϕ -features of *both* DP conjuncts must be syntactically visible for purposes of agreement computation. This argues against the adjunct analysis represented in (1c) because the ϕ -features of the adjunct-internal DP conjunct cannot percolate up outside the adjunct to the maximal projection containing both conjuncts. The reason for this is that feature movement, like constituent movement, is island-sensitive. Hence, only those ϕ -features of the first conjunct should be visible for agreement under Munn’s analysis.

2. Clausal Conjunction

2.1. Basic Properties

Both root TPs and CPs can be conjoined using *ma* (9). In both cases, the conjunction head is a second-position particle that is preceded by a nominal element, typically the subject (cf. Latin and Somali). Once again, the linear order of the conjoined constituents is reversible (9b,c).

- (9) a. Musa à du nakà_i Gàná ma à gi wun_i.
 Musa FUT cook meat Gana CONJ FUT eat 3rd.SG
 ‘Musa will cook the meat and Gana will eat it.’
 BAD as: *Musa à du nakà_i **ma** Gàná à gi wun.
- b. Ze du nakà_i o ke ma Gàná gi o.
 who cook meat FOC what CONJ Gana eat FOC
 ‘Who cooked the meat and what did Gana eat?’
- c. Ke Gàná gi o ze ma du nakà_i o.
 what Gana eat FOC who CONJ cook meat FOC
 ‘What did Gana eat and who cooked the meat?’

However, although root CPs may be conjoined (9b,c), embedded CPs may not.

- (10) *Musa kpe [ganan Gàná bé] mi ma [ganan ba nakà_i].
 Musa know that Gana come 1st.SG CONJ that cut meat
 *‘Musa knows (two things) that Gana came and that I cut the meat.’
 Also BAD as: *Musa kpe [ganan Gàná bé] **ma** [ganan **mi** ba nakà_i].
 OK as: Musa_i kpe ganan Gàná bé wun_i ma kpe ganan mi ba nakà_i.

A variant of *ma* exists in the language that is used to conjoin clauses and relate them temporally. When two sentences are conjoined by *ci*, the eventuality denoted by the second conjunct is understood to hold at a time posterior to that of

the first conjunct (11a); otherwise, the resulting sentence is semantically ill-formed (11b). The temporal interpretation of the second conjunct in this construction is thus parasitic on the prior coordinate, unlike the case of *ma* conjunction. Similar facts hold in Maasai (Caponigro 2003), Korean, and Turkish.

- (11) a. Musa à ba nakàn yínna Gàná ci à gi eci èsun.
 Musa FUT cut meat today Gana CONJ FUT eat yam tomorrow
 ‘Musa will cut the meat today and Gana will eat the yam tomorrow.’
 BAD as: *Musa à ba nakàn yínna **ci Gàná** à gi eci èsun.
- b. #Musa à ba nakàn èsun Gàná ci à gi eci yínna.
 Musa FUT cut meat tomorrow Gana CONJ FUT eat yam today
 #‘Musa will cut the meat tomorrow and Gana will eat the yam today.’
 (Compare with: ✓Musa à ba nakàn èsun Gàná **ma** à gi eci yínna.)

The *ci* particle is thus similar to English *then*. Semantically, it is a function from pairs (or n-tuples) of events to temporal orderings. When conjoining exactly two TPs, for instance, its denotation is given by the following.

- (12) $[[ci]] = \lambda e. \lambda e' [(e \wedge e') \wedge (e' < e)]$

As such, the arguments of *ci* are events/event variables (e.g. TPs). The inability of *ci* to coordinate constituents smaller than TP (cf. (3c)) immediately follows from the fact that event variables in such constituents are unbound and thus outside its scope. Because propositions also lie outside the scope of *ci*, the particle cannot conjoin CP constituents (13), unlike *ma* (cf. (9b,c)).

- (13) *Ze du nakàn o ke ci Gàná gi o.
 who cook meat FOC what CONJ Gana eat FOC
 *‘Who cooked the meat and (then) what did Gana eat?’

2.2. Syntax of Nupe Clausal Conjunction

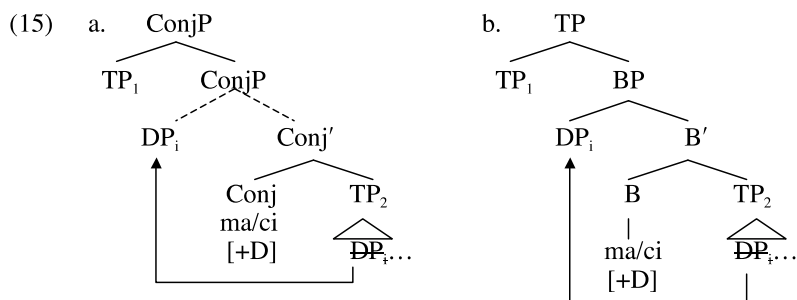
Many of the syntactic properties of Nupe clausal conjunction fall into place once we consider the syntax of the *ma* and *ci* heads. That these heads are obligatorily preceded by a nominal expression (cf. (9a), (11a)) is not unique in the language. Infinitival *yin* and conditional *gá* impose a similar requirement.

- (14) a. Musa yá nakàn **yin** ba.
 Musa begin meat PRT cut
 ‘Musa began to cut the meat.’
 BAD as: *Musa yá **yin** ba **nakàn**.
- b. Musa **gá** è ba nakàn, Gàná à pa eci.
 Musa COND PRES cut meat Gana FUT pound yam
 ‘If Musa is cutting the meat, then Gana will pound the yam.’
 BAD as: ***Gá Musa** è ba nakàn, Gàná à pa eci.

Nupe Coordinate Structures

One analysis that immediately suggests itself is that these heads bear [+D] EPP features that trigger the movement of a nominal to their specifier, in accordance with economy principles such as Shortest Move (Chomsky 1995). In fact, Kandybowicz (in prep) argues that all functional heads in Nupe bear generalized EPP features which (for the most part) guarantee that the specifier position of each functional head is filled by overt material at some point in the derivation. Suppose this is the correct analysis of the *ma* and *ci* heads. We then have an explanation for why clausal conjunctions are always preceded by subject DPs and why *ma* cannot conjoin embedded clauses. Because EPP features are uninterpretable and the attraction of subjects yields a shorter movement chain than the attraction of objects, the derivation of a clausal conjunction construction will not converge unless the coordinator is immediately preceded by the subject DP. Similarly, the derivation of a sentence in which embedded clauses are conjoined will not converge because the EPP features of *ma* will go unchecked. In this case, due to the fact that the second conjunct is a strong phase (CP), the only elements accessible to operations outside that phase (e.g. to the EPP-induced attraction of *ma*) are those syntactic occurrences in C^0 and Spec,CP by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001). Since Spec,CP is phonetically empty, the EPP features of *ma* cannot be eliminated and the derivation crashes.

With this analysis of the clausal conjunction heads in place, we can mount decisive arguments for a Munn-style analysis of Nupe clausal conjunction (1c/15b) over the Kayne/Johannessen approach (1b/15a). The first argument against (1b/15a) is conceptual; adopting such an analysis will force several stipulations which are otherwise unmotivated by the facts. Unlike the representation in (1b/15a), the structure in (1c/15b) makes available a position for the nominal expression to move into in order to check the EPP features of the conjunction head, namely Spec, BP. Because TP_1 occupies the specifier of *ma* under the analysis in (1b/15a), we would be forced to assume that a) Nupe allows multiple specifiers, an otherwise unmotivated assumption given the word orders observed in the language, and b) the EPP-driven movement of the nominal element “tucks-in” to an inner specifier (Richards 1997), another stipulation lacking adequate motivation in the language. These innovations are illustrated in (15a) below.



Empirical considerations also favor the analysis in (1c/15b). The subject of the first clausal conjunct can bind into the second conjunct, as shown below.

- (16) [Bagi ndondo]_i á lele [egi u_i] ma lo makanta.
 man every PRF sleep child 3rd.SG CONJ go school
 ‘Every man_i slept and his_i child went to school.’

This can be accounted for under the Munn analysis (1c/15b) alone, given a “first-branching category” definition of c-command (Kayne 1994). Unlike the Kayne/Johannessen approach, the c-command domain of the subject DP is the entire BP constituent containing the coordinator and the second sentential conjunct, given that the lower TP in (1c/15b) (TP₁) is not a *category*, but rather a *segment* of the TP category (May 1985).

A second (but less direct) empirical consideration favoring the Munn structure over the Kayne/Johannessen structure is extractability. Unfortunately, this is a sub-optimal diagnostic in this case because embedded clauses cannot be conjoined (10a) and economy principles such as Shortest Move favor conjunct-internal extraction. What we need, then, is a test construction where extraction is forced into a conjunct-external position. Under the Ross (1967)/Postal (1974) tradition, Right Node Raising is such a case. Without making any additional assumptions about Right Node Raising (e.g. the nature of the extraction/derivation), the data in (17) below minimally show that extraction from conjunct one is permitted (17a), while extraction from conjunct two (17b) is not.

- (17) a. Musa à ba __ Gana ma à gi nakàn.
 Musa FUT cut Gana CONJ FUT eat meat
 ‘Musa will cut and Gana will eat the meat.’
 b. *Musa à ba nakàn Gana ma à gi __
 Musa FUT cut meat Gana CONJ FUT eat

The Kaynian/Johannessen structure makes the opposite prediction. On that analysis, extraction from conjunct one should be ruled out by the Left Branch Condition/CED and only extraction from conjunct two should be possible. In contrast, the Munn analysis correctly predicts that only extraction from the second conjunct is blocked due to its status as an adjunct island.

3. Verb Phrase Conjunction

3.1. Basic Properties

Verb phrases may not be conjoined by any of the overt linkers previously discussed. Coordination must be covert in this case (cf. Edo (Stewart 2001)).

- (18) *Musa ba nakàn **tò/ma/ci** lo dzukó.
 Musa cut meat CONJ go market
 ALSO *: Musa ba nakàn dzukó (ma/ci) lo.

Nupe Coordinate Structures

It is often difficult to distinguish verb phrase conjunction from clausal coordination with subject ellipsis. Two facts suggest that when a pair of adjacent verb phrases surface without marking of coordination in Nupe, the verb phrases themselves (and not two clauses containing the verb phrases) are being covertly conjoined. First, although an overt tense marker may precede the initial verb phrase, one may not precede the second (19a). Second, quantifiers do not distribute over each verb phrase individually, but rather take wide scope (19b).

- (19) a. Eza sisi è ba nakàn (*à) lo dzukó.
 person some PRES cut meat FUT go market
 ‘Some person is (both) cutting the meat and going to the market.’
 b. i. $Lf(19b) = \exists x(\text{cut-meat}(x) \wedge \text{go-market}(x))$
 ii. $Lf(19b) \neq \exists x \exists y(\text{cut-meat}(x) \wedge \text{go-market}(y))$

Speakers judge (19a) to be true exclusively in contexts where the intersection of [[cut-meat]] and [[go-market]] is non-empty (cf. (19b.i)). Thus, in contrast to (19b.ii), $[[19a]] = 0$ in contexts where $[[\text{cut-meat}]] = \{A\}$ and $[[\text{go-market}]] = \{B\}$.

Semantically, covert coordinations are pseudo-purposives. In (20a), for example, the subject is understood as taking the knife for the purpose of using it as an instrument for cutting the meat. (20b) is semantically anomalous because meat-cutting cannot naturally be construed as a purpose for yam-eating.

- (20) a. Musa lá ebi ba nakàn.
 Musa take knife cut meat
 ‘Musa took the knife and cut the meat.’
 Alternatively, ‘Musa used the knife to cut the meat.’
 b. #Musa ba nakàn gi eci.
 Musa cut meat eat yam

Unlike in purposives, however, the event denoted by the second verb phrase conjunct is asserted. Given the semantic relationship between the two conjuncts, it is not possible to reverse the order of the verb phrase conjuncts, as it is in other instances of conjunction in the language.

- (21) a. #Eza sisi lo dzukó ba nakàn. (compare with (19a))
 person some go market cut meat
 b. #Musa ba nakàn lá ebi. (compare with (20a))
 Musa cut meat take knife

3.2. Syntax of Nupe Verb Phrase Conjunction

A number of facts suggest that neither structural analysis previously considered adequately characterizes the syntax of Nupe covert coordination. Following Kandybowicz and Baker (2003), we assume that in Nupe, object Case-licensing occurs outside of the VP and that verbs raise to v^0 to support its affixal features.

Given these assumptions, we analyze covert coordination as vP conjunction, rather than conjunction of VPs.

Consider first the Kayne/Johannessen structure shown in (1b). Despite the fact that neither vP is subordinate to/contained within the other, the linear order of the conjuncts is not reversible (cf. (21)). More serious grounds for rejecting this type of analysis, however, comes from the existence of various movement operations which should be impossible given the structure in (1b), setting aside the Coordinate Structure Constraint. Because vP₁ occupies the specifier position of the Conjunction Phrase, any movement of a sub-constituent to a position outside vP₁ is predicted to be impossible, given the CED. Nonetheless, vP-internal subject raising for EPP/Case, predicate clefting (22a), and object focus (22b) are all possible from within the first conjunct of Nupe covert coordination constructions, suggesting that vP₁ does not occupy the specifier position of a phonetically null CONJ head.

- (22) a. Bi-ba Musa ba nakàn lo dzukó o.
 cutting Musa cut meat go market FOC
 ‘It’s cutting that Musa did to the meat as well as go to the market.’
 b. Nakàn Musa ba lo dzukó o.
 meat Musa cut go market FOC
 ‘It’s meat that Musa cut and (he) went to the market.’

Lastly, the structure in (1b) incorrectly predicts that right-adjoining adverbs should be able to appear between the coordinated verb phrases and modify the first conjunct exclusively (23a), given that neither verb phrase contains the other. Although adverbs may follow the second verb phrase, they cannot be interpreted as modifying vP₂ alone (23b). This too runs contrary to the predictions of (1b).

- (23) a. *Musa lá ebi sanyin/karayin ba nakàn.
 Musa take knife quietly/carefully cut meat
 b. Musa lá ebi ba nakàn sanyin/karayin.
 Musa take knife cut meat quietly/carefully
 ‘Musa quietly/carefully took the knife and cut the meat.’

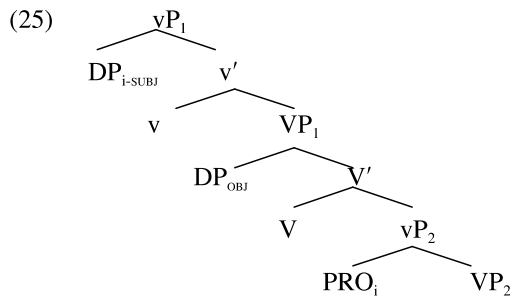
Similar types of considerations suggest that a Munn-style analysis is also inadequate. That is, vP₂ cannot be generated in a projection that is an adjunct of vP₁. Because OV word orders are not attested in the second vP conjunct (18), we needn’t assume that the silent Boolean head triggers an EPP movement of a nominal expression to its specifier as in Nupe clausal conjunction. Thus, structures like (1b), when applied to verb phrase conjunction, violate the general condition that all Nupe specifier positions be filled (Kandybowicz in prep). Additionally, the adjunction analysis incorrectly predicts the impossibility of predicate cleft and object focus from vP₂, an island on this analysis.

Nupe Coordinate Structures

- (24) a. Bi-ba Musa lá ebi ba nakàn o.
cutting Musa take knife cut meat FOC
‘It’s cutting that Musa took the knife and did to the meat.’
- b. Nakàn Musa lá ebi ba o.
meat Musa take knife cut FOC
‘It was meat that Musa took the knife and cut.’

Furthermore, the Munn approach shares the shortcomings of the Kaynian analysis with regard to adverb placement and conjunct reversibility.

We thus have solid syntactic evidence that neither of the structures assumed for small category conjunction and clausal coordination adequately accounts for the syntactic properties of Nupe verb phrase coordination. Given that the order of the verb phrases is fixed (i.e. they are not commutable), that right adjoining adverbs cannot come between the two verb phrases, and that extraction of all constituents within each verb phrase is possible, we propose that vP_2 is merged as a complement of V_1 and that the coordination of the two constituents takes place in the semantics rather than in the narrow syntax, as in (consequential) serial verb constructions (Stewart 2001:ch. 2). We analyze the identity of the subject in both verb phrases to be mediated by Control, as opposed to ATB movement of two identical VP-internal DPs. Nupe covert coordination is thus *asyntactic* conjunction on this analysis. The structure we assume is provided below.



4. Conclusion

Our study of Nupe conjunction has yielded a number of theoretical insights. We have argued that there are three distinct conjunction strategies in the language, each exhibiting distinct syntactic properties. That is to say, there is evidence for a typology of coordinate structures. This conclusion runs counter to several recent trends in the literature that strive to provide a unified syntax for all coordinate constructions (Munn 1993, Kayne 1994, Johannessen 1998, etc.). Although we have found evidence for each of the leading types of structures proposed in this literature, it is clear that there is no homogeneous analysis of coordination, at least for Nupe. This discovery carries with it the corollary that coordination is not universally reducible to a single clause-level phenomenon supplemented with

Jason Kandybowicz

ancillary transformational operations such as “conjunction reduction” (Johannessen 1998, among others). This paper thus bears witness to the encouraging amount of progress made in the field of coordination, but at the same time highlights the fact that our understanding of the phenomenon is still limited.

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