

Alternations between second and final position of Caucasian conjunctions and a general theory of second position placement

Claim: Based on a case study on additive markers in a number of Caucasian languages, I identify a yet undescribed placement alternation of second position elements and show that this alternation provides arguments for the following claims: ❶ The placement of 2nd position placement is due to a lexical subcategorization feature rather than due to the element’s morphophonological make-up. ❷ Some instances of morphosyntactically determined 2nd position cannot be due to syntactic movement of an XP across the respective head (à la Bošković 2001). ❸ The 2nd position element attaches directly to the XP in 1st position rather than to the functional head below it. This rules out derivations in terms of Lowering (à la Marantz 1988, Embick & Noyer 2001). Building on these three claims, I propose a second position placement transformation that makes crucial use of the notion of (structural) adjacency (Siegel 1978, Bobaljik 1995, 2012) that attaches the element directly to the highest specifier of its complement.

Background: In a number of Caucasian languages from different families, so-called additive markers, which diachronically used to conjoin noun phrases, have extended their distribution to conjoin full clauses synchronically (see e.g. Forker 2016). Interestingly, this change correlates with a change in placement. With nominal conjuncts, the markers attach to the right edge of the conjuncts, with clausal conjuncts, they attach in a second position after the first XP. The examples in (1) and (2) show the alternation for the Lezgian additive marker *-ni*:

- (1) [Zu buba-**ni**] [bubadi-n buba-**ni**] čuban-ar x̂a-ji-bur ja
 I.GEN father-AND father-GEN father-AND shepherd-PL become-AOR-SBST.PL COP
 ‘Both my father and my father’s father were shepherds.’
- (2) ... [wiš jis.u-z-**ni** dünja.di-n sir-er čir-a]
 ... hundred year-DAT-AND world-GEN secret know-IMP
 ‘... and know the world’s secrets for a hundred years.’
- (3) ... [Dağustandi-n har sa xür-e lap q^hsan wa ag’alt’aj pis adet-ar
 ... Daghestan-GEN every one village-INCESS very good and extremely bad custom-PL
 awa-j-da-l sa šak-**ni** ala-č]
 be.in-PTCP-SBST-SRESS one doubt-AND be.on-NEG
 ‘... and there is no doubt that there are very good and extremely bad customs in every
 Daghestanian village.’ Haspelmath(1993)

In (1), the conjunctions attach to the right of each conjunct. In (2), they attach after the first phrase of the conjunct. Note that, in (1), both conjuncts contain possessors, which could potentially host the element if it strived into 2nd position with nominals too but it does not. The example in (3) shows that the 2nd position is defined in terms of syntactic constituency (and not prosodic phrasing, etc.) The first XP that hosts the clitic can be extremely complex.

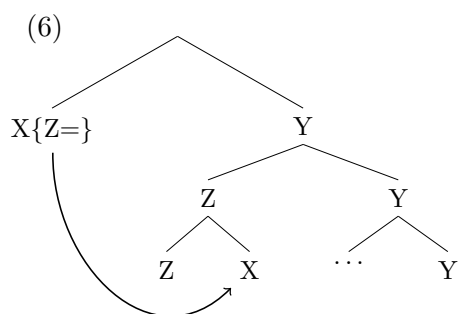
Argumentation: ❶ The extension of the distribution of the coordinator can be modelled by assuming that what was once a c-selection-feature of the additive marker [uDP] has been reinterpreted as a subcategorization feature [DP=] that requires it to attach to a nominal element. The additive marker is base-generated in the right-peripheral position of its syntactic complement but this subcategorization feature triggers 2nd position displacement in case when it conjoins clauses but not when it conjoins nominals. This explains the positional alternation and why the element does not strive towards 2nd position in (1). A subcategorization-based approach to 2nd placement is thus more adequate for the pattern at hand compared to an approach in which the element is displaced because of its suffixal/enclitic nature. Its alleged underlying position at the right edge of the conjunct is already suffixal so that there would be no need to dislocate. The same holds for approaches in which 2nd position placement arises as the result of a constraint STRONGSTART (see e.g. Bennett et al 2016) that does not tolerate weak elements at the beginning of a given domain. ❷ Building on the discussion above, it can be shown that the displacement of the element to the position after the first XP is not due to syntactic movement of that XP across it (e.g. Bošković 2001). Since the additive marker is

head-final in its base-position, movement of an XP to a left-peripheral specifier will not change anything about its conjunct-final position. ③ Similarly, the placement cannot be due to Lowering of the additive marker onto the next lower head (e.g. Embick & Noyer 2001). The rigidly head-final nature of these languages makes it very implausible that the head below the conjunction is consistently head-initial in all of these languages just to derive the 2nd position placement.

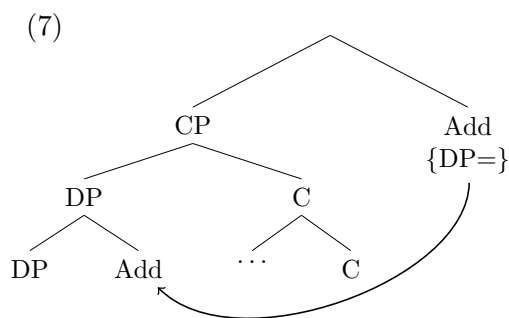
The Proposal: Neither syntactic movement nor Lowering derives the surface position of at least a subset of morphosyntactically determined 2nd position elements. Instead, I propose an analysis of second position effects that is based on the transformation in (4) as well as the definition of structural adjacency (cf. Siegel 1978, Bobaljik 1995,2012) in (5).

(4) INTEGRATION: An element X that is adjacent to an element Y can be adjoined to an element Z within Y if there is no element within Y that is adjacent to Z.

(5) Structural Adjacency: An element X is adjacent to an element Y if X c-commands Y and there is no element W such that X c-commands W and W c-commands Y.



The tree in (6) illustrates the configuration. X is adjacent to Y (as it c-commands it and there is no intervener) and within Y, Z is the highest element (i.e. there is nothing that c-commands it within Y). Therefore, INTEGRATION can apply to attach X to Z in order to fulfill X's subcategorization requirement {Z=}. Crucially, INTEGRATION only relies on c-command as a structural relation; it thus does not matter if X is head-final or head-initial.



This gives us exactly what we need for the alternation of conjunctions in Lezgian and other languages. The conjunct-final additive marker in (7) is dislocated to attach to the highest specifier within its complement in order to fulfill its subcategorization feature. Crucially, with DP-conjunction, the subcategorization feature is already fulfilled in its base-position; then INTEGRATION will not apply. Relying on structural adjacency as the crucial notion, this proposal thus derives the placement alternation in (1) and (2).

Extension: However, some 2nd position patterns rely on the notion of linear adjacency. This can be accommodated in the current proposal by abstracting over structural and linear relations:

(8) Linear adjacency: An element X is linearly adjacent to an element Y if X precedes Y and there is no element W such that X precedes W and W precedes Y.

Under the notion of linear adjacency (cf Embick 2010), the 2nd position element will be right-attached to the linearly adjacent element. This derives 2nd position patterns such as that of the Latin conjunction *-que* (see Marantz 1988, Embick & Noyer 2001, Anderson 2005). Depending on whether the subcategorization triggering the application of INTEGRATION is located on the syntactic head or the exponent, the operation will be triggered upon Spell-Out or upon Vocabulary Insertion and depending on that, it will be sensitive to structural or linear adjacency.

Conclusion: Building on alternations between second and final position conjunctions, I have argued that we need a theory of second position placement that is (a) subcategorization-based and (b) does not rely on syntactic movement or Lowering to accommodate morphosyntactically determined second position patterns. The theory I propose relies on the operation INTEGRATION and different notions of adjacency depending on the derivational timing.

Sel. References: Bennett, Elfner & McCloskey (2016): Lightest to the right. LI 47.2 • Bošković, Ž(2001): On the nature of the syntax-phonology interface: Cliticization and related phenomena. • Forker, D. (2016): Toward a typology for additive markers, *Lingua* 180, 69–100. • Haspelmath, M. (1993): A Grammar of Lezgian. •