

FASL handout On some instances of distributive binding

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1. Introduction

- Binding requires C-command

(1) [Peter_i [saw [himself_i [in the mirror]]]]

- This explains why only the entire coordination can bind the anaphor, but not individual conjuncts:

(2) a. [Marija₁ i Milan₂]₃ ja povikaa svojata_{*1/*2/3} kjerka. Macedonian
 Marija & Milan her called.3PL REFL.poss+the daughter
 “Marija and Milan called their daughter.”

b. [Marija₁ in Milan₂]₃ sta poklicala svojo_{*1/*2/3} hčerko. Slovenian
 Marija & Milan aux.DU call REFL.poss daughter
 “Marija and Milan called their daughter.”

- in **double coordination constructions**, (Progovac 1998b, 1999 calls them **conjunction doubling**) such binding is possible in Macedonian and Slovenian, (3)
 - and in a number of other languages (B/C/M/S, Japanese, Greek, ?Russian ...) not always with the same doubling strategy of the main coordinator

(3) a. [I Marija₁ i Milan₂]₃ ja povikaa svojata_{1+2/?3} kjerka. Macedonian
 & Marija & Milan her called.PL REFL.poss+the daughter
 “Both Marija and Milan called their daughter.”

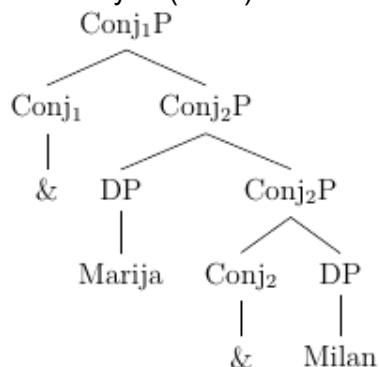
b. [In Marija₁ in Milan₂]₃ sta poklicala svojo_{1+2/?3} hčerko. Slovenian
 & Marija & Milan aux.DU called REFL.poss daughter
 “Both Marija and Milan called their daughter.”

c. “Marija₁ called her₁ daughter and Milan₂ called his₂ daughter.”

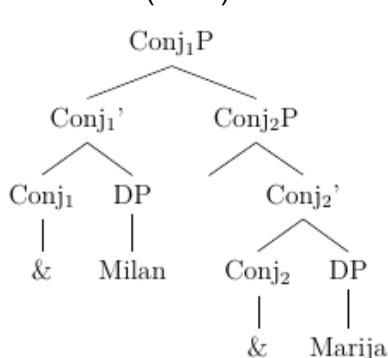
- Not just simple distributivity with two events of M&M calling their daughter separately
- We mark this with the ‘+’ sign between the two indices that are combined in the same reading. These are not two readings, but a single reading with two binding relations

- Given the structure of conjunction doubling, such binding should not be possible:

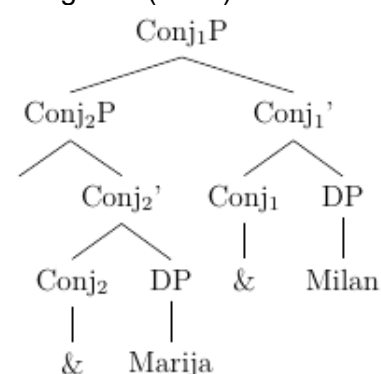
(4) a. Kayne (1994)



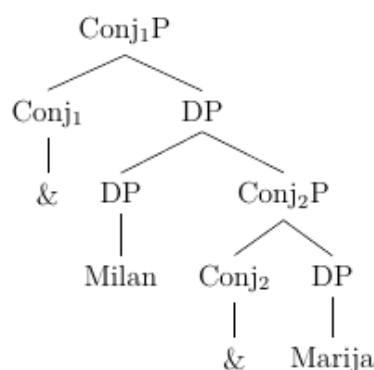
b. Collins (1988)



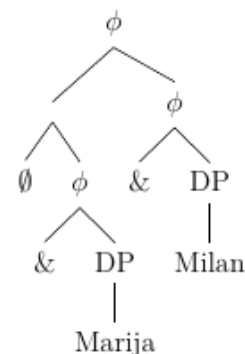
c. Progovac (1998)



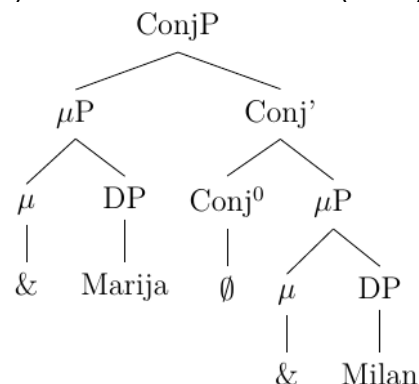
d) ext. of Munn (1994)



e) ext. of Wagner (2010)



f) Mitrović and Sauerland (2016)



- Neither the first DP *Marija* nor the second DP *Milan* c-command out from the complex ConjP, not even if one assumes Kayne's (1994) c-command (that allows specifiers to c-command out)
- One of the conjuncts is always embedded inside two ConjPs
- At least one of the conjuncts is a complement of the coordinator, which means it cannot c-command out

In this talk we will present this phenomenon in more detail. We will show:

- it cannot be explained away structurally;
 - it is not limited to (subject-oriented) possessive pronouns
 - it is most likely related to a distributor present in conjunction doubling
 - the distributor is a silent element inside the coordination
-

2. This is not:

2.1. An Instance of Clausal Coordination

- Aoun, Benmamoun, & Sportiche (1994) propose a clausal coordination structure for closest conjunct agreement cases.
- Clausal coordination would explain binding as within each conjunct, the anaphor is bound by the subject

- (5) a. [I Filip₁ ja saka svojata₁ kjerka,] a [i Petar₂ ja
& Filip her love.3SG REFL.poss+the daughter, but and Petar her
saka svojata₂ kjerka.]
love.3SG REFL.poss+the daughter
'Peter loves his daughter and Peter loves his daughter.' Mac

- b. [I Filip₁ ja saka svojata₄ kjerka,] a [i Petar₂ ja saka svojata₂ kjerka.]

- (6) a. [In Janez₁ uživa v svoji₁ knjigi] [in Metka₂ uživa v
& Janez enjoys.3SG in REFL.poss book and Metka enjoys.3SG in
svoji₂ knjigi.]
REFL.poss book
'Janez enjoys his book and Metka enjoys her book.' Slo

b. [In Janez₁ uživa v svoji₁ knjigi] [in Metka₂ uživa v svoji₂ knjigi.]

- **Agreement on the verb in (5) and (6) is singular**
 - clausal coordination was proposed to explain single conjunct agreement.
- **Agreement on the verb in (3) is plural in Mac and dual in Slo!**
 - using plural or dual agreement on the verb in clausal coordination results in *

(7) * [I Filip₁ ja sakaat svojata₁ kjerka.] a i [Petar₂ ja sakaat
& Filip her love.3PL REFL.poss+the daughter, but and Petar her love.3PL
svojata₂ kjerka.]
REFL.poss+the daughter.
intended: 'Filip loves his daughter and Peter loves his daughter.' Mac

(8) * [In Janez₁ uživata v svoji₁ knjigi] [in Metka₂ uživata v svoji₂ knjigi.]
& Janez enjoys.3DU in REFL.poss book and Metka enjoys.3DU in REFL.poss book
intended: 'Janez enjoys his book and Metka enjoys her book.' Slo

- These facts are the same even with coordinated personal pronouns.
 - In case number agreement could be tricked in some way, person agreement seems less likely to be tricked:

(9) [I ja₁ i ti₂]₃ ja sakame svojata_{1+2/(?)3} kjerka. Mac
& I & you her love.1PL REFL.poss+the daughter
"Both I and you love our? daughter." =
"I love my daughter and you love your daughter."
(10) [In jaz₁ in ti₂]₃ rada voziva svoje_{1+2/*3} kolo. Slo
& I & you like.1DU drive.1DU REFL.poss bicycle
"Both I and you like to ride our bike." =
"I like to ride my bike and you like to ride your bike."

2.1.1. PostVerbal Subjects (Possibly an Instance of Clausal Coordination)

- In constructions with postverbal double coordinated subjects, a pattern of partial conjunct agreement emerges
 - Partial conjunct agreement seems to be more common with postverbal subjects ?crosslinguistically? (cf. Corbett 1983 – postverbal partial conjunct agreement occurs more frequently in Russian)
 - Behavior of postV subjects is different in Greek (p.c. Christos Vlachos)
- It holds for both Macedonian and Slovenian
 - The same does not happen with simple coordinated subjects (preverbal or postverbal)
 - this agreement pattern also necessitates rising intonation on the 2nd conjunct

(11) Macedonian:
a. Dojdoa i Marija i Petar.
Came.3PL & Marija & Petar
'Marija and Petar came.'

(12) Slovenian:
a. Včeraj sta prišla in Peter in Maja.
yesterday **aux.DU** came & Peter & Maja
'Both Peter and Maja came yesterday.'

- b. Dojde i Marija i Petar. b. Včeraj je prišel in Peter in Maja.
Came.3SG & Marija & Petar yesterday **aux.SG** came & Peter & Maja
 'Marija and Petar came.' 'Both Peter and Maja came yesterday.'

- Singular agreement would mean, these examples could involve clausal conjunction
 - These examples don't allow collective predicates (in support of clausal Conj)
 - Collective predicates are impossible also with preverbal Double Conj.

- (13) a. *Se sretna i Filip i Marko. Mac
 REFL.cl meet.3SG & Filip & Marko
 intended: *'Both Filip and Marko meet.'
 b. *Sreča se in Filip in Marko. Slo
 meet.3SG REFL & Filip & Marko
 intended: *'Both Filip and Marko meet.'

- But: partial conjunct agreement is not possible with possessive reflexives in Slovenian – it does not result in the same distributive binding:
 - (14a) is ok on distributive binding, but has dual agreement
 - (14c&d) is also ok, but is potentially a different construction.

- (14) a. Svoj_{1+2/*3} avto rada vozita [in Marko₁ in Martin₂]₃. Slo
 REFL.poss car like.DU drive.DU & Marko & Martin
 'Both Marko and Martin like to drive their car.'
 b. ?*Svoj_{1+2/3} avto rad vozi [in Marko₁ in Martin₂]₃. Slo
 REFL.poss car like.SG drive.SG & Marko & Martin
 'Both Marko and Martin like to drive their car.'
 c. Svoj_{1+2/*3} avto rada vozita [tako Marko₁ kot Martin₂]₃. Slo
 REFL.poss car like.DU drive.DU like Marko also Martin
 'Like Marko also Martin like to drive their car.'
 d. Svoj_{1+2/*3} avto rad vozi [tako Marko₁ kot Martin₂]₃. Slo
 REFL.poss car like.SG drive.SG like Marko also Martin
 'Like Marko also Martin like to drive their car.'

- (14b) is not completely out, but it also doesn't seem to be a clear case of single conjunct agreement because using a conjunction of different genders results in a much worse sentence:
 - If this were an instance of first conjunct agreement, (15) should be ok.

- (15) * Svoj_{1+2/3} avto rad vozi [in Marko₁ in Martina₂]₃. Slo
 REFL.poss car like.M.SG drive.SG & Marko_M & Martina_F
 'Both Marko and Martina like to drive their car.'

- Partial conjunct agreement + distributive binding is possible in Macedonian.

- (16) Svojata_{1+2/*3} kola saka da ja vozi [i Marko₁ i Martin₂]₃. Mac
 REFL.poss+the car like.3sg to it drive.3sg. & Marko & Martin
 'Both Marko and Martin like to drive their car.'

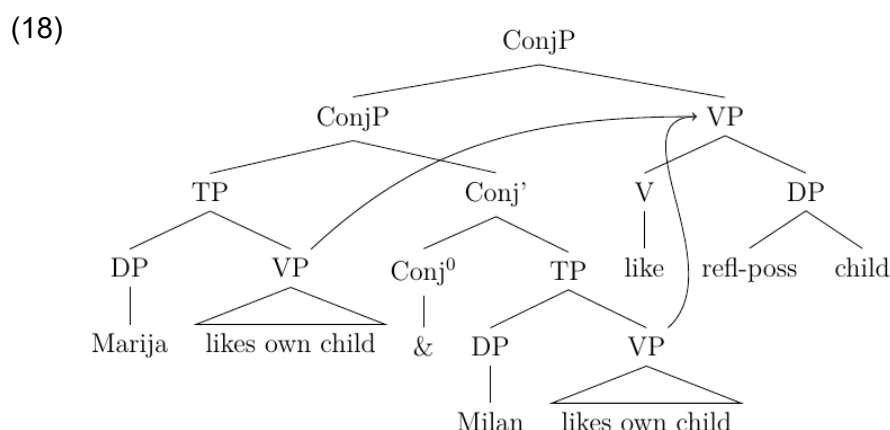
- Clausal coordination cannot really explain the position of the doubled coordinators:
 - The first doubled coordinator is inside the first conjunct not at its edge.
 - The overt clausal coordination structure seems a different construction.

- (17) a. [I dojde Marija] [i dojde Petar]. Mac
 & came.3SG Marija & came.3SG Petar
 intended: 'Both Marija and Petar came.'
- b. [In včeraj je prišel Peter.] in [včeraj je prišla Maja] Slo
 & yesterday aux.SG came Peter & yesterday aux.SG came Maja
 intended: 'Both Peter and Maja came yesterday.'

- At this point we will assume clausal coordination is not a possible source.

2.2. Right node raising

- Could the observed binding be derived from Right-node-raising?
- Ignoring what the actual structure of doubled coordination is, it would look something like this:



- In this case it would be somewhat similar to clausal coordination
 - And the relevant sentences above have plural/dual agreement
- The examples that are more likely to include RNR on the other hand have singular agreement on the verb – as expected – and there's no conjunction doubling here.

- (19) a. Peter₁ je včeraj, Slavko₂ pa danes opral svoj_{1+2/*3} avto. Slo
 Peter aux.SG yesterday Slavko PTCL today wash.SG REFL.poss car
 'Peter yesterday while Slavko washed his car today.'
- b. *Peter₁ sta včeraj, Slavko₂ pa danes oprala svoj_{1+2/*3} avto. Slo
 Peter aux.DU yesterday Slavko PTCL today wash.DU REFL.poss car
 intended: 'Peter yesterday while Slavko washed his car today.'
- (20) a. Petar včera, a Slavko deneska ja ispra svojata_{1+2/*3} kola. Mac
 Peter yesterday, but Slavko today it washed.3SG REFL.poss+the car
 'Peter yesterday while Slavko washed his car today.'

- b. * Petar včera, a Slavko deneska ja ispraa svojata_{1+2/*3} kola.
 Petar yesterday, but Slavko today it washed.3PL REFL.poss+the car
 intended: 'Peter yesterday while Slavko washed his car today.' Mac
- (21) a. Vid običajno z gobico, Črt pa vedno s krtačo pere svoj_{1+2/*3} avto.
 Vid usually with sponge Črt PTCL always with brush wash.SG REFL.poss car
 'Vid usually with a sponge while Črt always washes his car with a brush.' Slo
- b. *Vid običajno z gobico, Črt pa vedno s krtačo pereta svoj_{1+2/*3} avto.
 Vid usually with sponge Črt PTCL always with brush wash.DU REFL.poss car
 'Vid usually with a sponge while Črt always washes his car with a brush.' Slo
- (22) a. Lazar često so sungjer, a Risto sekogaš so četka ja mie Mac
 Lazar usually with sponge, but Risto always with brush it wash.3SG
 svojata_{1+2/*3} kola.
 REFL.poss+the car
 'Lazar usually with a sponge, but Risto always washes his car with a brush.'
- b. *Lazar često so sungjer, a Risto sekogaš so četka ja mijat Mac
 Lazar usually with sponge, but Risto always with brush it wash.3PL
 svojata_{1+2/*3} kola.
 REFL.poss+the car
 intended: 'Lazar usually with a sponge, but Risto always washes his car with a brush.'
- There are some examples of conjunct doubling with plural agreement that seem to involve RNR, (22). The Slovenian counterpart of (22) is not good.
- not clear to us just yet what to do about these cases – we'll get back to them
- (23) I Petar včera i Marija deneska ja ispraa svojata_{1+2/*3} kola. Mac
 & Peter yesterday & Marija today it washed.3PL REFL-poss.+the car.
 'Both Peter yesterday and Marija today washed their cars'

3. These facts exist also with other types of "binding":

3.1 Regular reflexives

- (24) a. [In Peter₁ in Maja₂]₃ sta brala o sebi_{1+2/*3}. Slo
 & Peter & Maja aux.DU read.DU about REFL
 'Both Peter and Maja read about themselves.'
 = Peter read about himself and Maja read about herself
- b. [Peter₁ in Maja₂]₃ sta brala o sebi_{*1+2/3}. Slo
 Peter & Maja aux.DU read.DU about REFL
 'Peter and Maja read about themselves.'
 = Peter and Maja read about Peter and Maja.
- (25) a. [I Peter₁ i Maja₂]₃ čitaa za sebesi_{1+2/*3}. Mac
 & Peter & Maja read.3PL about REFL
 "Both Peter and Maja read about themselves."
 = Peter read about himself and Maja read about herself.

- b. [Peter₁ i Maja₂]₃ čitaa za sebesi_{*1+2/3}. Mac
 Petar & Maja read.3PL about REFL
 "Peter and Maja read about themselves."
 = Peter and Maja read about Peter and Maja.

3.2. object-bound possessive pronouns

- (26) a. Marija go pretstavi [na Petar₁ i na Filip₂]₃ nivniot_{*1+2/3} protivnik. Mac
 Marija him introduce to Peter & to Filip their+the opponent
 'Marija presented Peter and Filip to his opponent.'
 b. Marija go pretstavi [i na Petar₁ i na Filip₂]₃ nivniot_{*1+2/3} protivnik. Mac
 Marija him introduce & to Peter & to Filip their+the opponent
 'Marija presented both Peter and Filip to his opponent.'
- (27) a. Maja je predstavila [Črta₁ in Vida₂]₃ njegovemu_{*1+2/*3/4} nasprotniku. Slo
 Maja aux introduce Črt.M & Vid.M his opponent.SG
 'Maja presented Črt and Vid to his opponent.'
 b. Maja je predstavila [in Črta₁ in Vida₂]₃ njegovemu_{*1+2/*3/4} nasprotniku. Slo
 Maja aux introduce & Črt.M & Vid.M his opponent.SG
 'Maja presented both Črt and Vid to their opponent.'
- mixing genders causes unavailability of binding from the binder that doesn't match.
 - but (28) is still read distributively – two events of presenting
- (28) a. Maja je predstavila [in Črta₁ in Vido₂]₃ njegovemu_{*1/*2/*3/4} nasprotniku. Slo
 Maja aux introduce & Črt.M & Vida.F his opponent.SG
 'Maja presented both Črt and Vida to his opponent.'
 b. Maja je predstavila [in Črta₁ in Vido₂]₃ njenemu_{*1/2/*3/4} nasprotniku. Slo
 Maja aux introduce & Črt.M & Vida.F her opponent.SG
 'Maja presented both Črt and Vida to her opponent.'
- using dual pronoun forces a joint interpretation (distributively remains – two events)
- (29) Maja je predstavila [in Črta₁ in Vido₂]₃ njenemu_{*1+2/3/4} nasprotniku. Slo
 Maja aux introduce & Črt.M & Vida.F his opponent.SG
 'Maja presented both Črt and Vid to their opponent.'
- mixing numbers also has a similar effect.
 - Two presenting events, but only one person being presented.
- (30) Maja je predstavila [in predsednika₁ in ministre₂]₃ njihovemu_{*1/2/3} tajniku.
 Maja aux introduce & president & ministers their secretary.SG
 'Maja presented both the president and the ministers to their secretary.' Slo

3.3. Control

- These facts extend outside binding to control (not clear this is really control in Macedonian as Macedonian doesn't have infinitival clauses)
- (31) a. Filip im reče na [Petar₁ i Marko₂]₃ da go položat svojot_{1+2/3} ispit.
Filip them says to Peter & Marko that it pass REFL.poss+the exam
'Filip told Peter and Marko to pass their exam.' Mac
- b. Filip im reče [i na Petar₁ i na Marko₂]₃ da go položat svojot_{1+2/3} ispit.
Filip them says & to Peter & to Marko that it pass REFL.poss+the exam
'Filip told both Peter and Marko to pass their exam.' Mac
- (32) a. [Maja₁ in Vesna₂]₃ sta pozabili zakleniti svoj_{1+2/3} avto. Slo
Maja & Vesna aux.DU forgot lock REFL.poss car
'Maja and Vesna forgot to lock their car.'
- b. [In Maja₁ in Vesna₂]₃ sta pozabili zakleniti svoj_{1+2/*3} avto. Slo
& Maja & Vesna aux.DU forgot lock REFL.poss car
'Both Maja and Vesna forgot to lock their car.'
'Maja forgot to lock her car and Vesna forgot to lock her car.'

4. Parallelism between “Both-And” and “And-And”:

- Both Progovac (1998b, 1999) and Kayne (1994) treat “both-and” and “and-and” constructions as parallel, but they take different stances why this is so.
 - Both constructions get distributive reading
- (34) a. John and Bill collided. b. *Both John and Bill collided.
- (35) a. Marija i Milan se sreli.
Mary and Milan REFL met
'Mary and Milan met.'
- b. *I Marija i Milan se sreli.
and Mary and Milan REFL met
intended: 'Both Mary and Milan met.'
- Progovac (1998b, 1999):
 - these are parallel due to the presence of two conjunction markers
 - *Both* is essentially the first coordinator
 - Cross-linguistically, there is a pattern where *both* is not available and the conjunction is repeated (= *conjunction doubling*)
 - In English, we can have a repetition of the conjunction where *both* is not grammatical, and we still have a distributive reading (= *conjunction repetition*)
 - Progovac (1999) proposes an economy-based principle:
“n-Coordination: Where n-coor is unspecified for the number of events/states, (n+1)-coor necessarily implies multiple-events”.
 - By Kayne (1994):
 - If a coordinate phrase is headed by *and* and is preceded by *both*, it must receive a distributive sentential reading.

- In languages with Conjunction doubling (“& X & Y”), the first conjunct acts as the distributor as it takes scope over the rest of the phrase. In languages with Conjunction doubling of the type “X & Y &”, no such reading is possible as the second conjunct cannot take scope over the rest of the phrase (eg. Japanese).
- Neither of them mention binding, and neither proposal can account for distributive binding found in our examples.

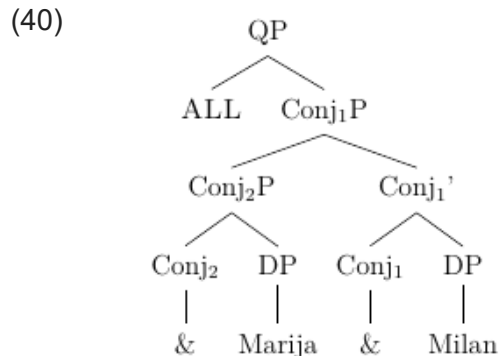
4.1. Distributivity

- This distributed reading of a coordination is available also with overt distributors.
- (36) a. [Peter₁ in Maja₂]₃ sta kupila po eno kolo. Slo
 Peter and Maja aux.DU bought PTCL one bike
 ‘Peter and Maja bought one bike each.’
- b. [Peter₁ in Maja₂]₃ sta kupila vsak eno kolo. Slo
 Peter and Maja aux.DU bought each one bike
 ‘Peter and Maja bought one bike each.’
- Same goes for binding, interpretation marked as ‘1+2’ is available also with plain coordination as long as there’s an overt distributor present in the sentence
- (37) [Peter₁ in Maja₂]₃ sta peljala vsak svoje_{1+2/*3} kolo. Slo
 Peter and Maja aux.DU rode each REFL-poss bike
 ‘Peter and Maja each rode their bike.’
- the only thing we need in our conjunction doubling structure is thus a distributor.
 - something like the English ‘both’
 - this is in principle what Kayne and Progovac claim
 - Distributive binding is really an instance of bound variable reading as in (38):
- (38) a. [Vsi kolesarji]_i pazijo na svoje_i kolo. Slo
 all cyclists look-after on refl-poss bike
 ‘All cyclists look after their bike.’
 = For each cyclist it is true, he takes care of his bike.
- b. [Site velosipedisti]₁ go pazat svojot₁ točak. Mac
 all+the cyclists it look-after refl-poss+the bicycle
 “Each cyclist takes care of his bike.”
- The head of the double-coordinator structure is a null universal quantifier.
 - The two coordinated noun phrases acts as its restrictor.
 - Contra Progovac: “both/all” does not sit into the position of the first coordinator.
 - Contra Kayne: “the silent distributor” is not the first coordinator.

- Of the several options for coordination we adopt Progovac (1998b, 1999), but only for conjunction doubling:
 - 1st conjunct c-commands the 2nd in regular coordinations:
 - but not with doubled coordinator:

- (39) a. *every child & his mom*
 b. **&/both every child & his mom*

→ the complement of the silent ALL is a Progovac-type coordination structure:



- As there is a silent quantifier present in the structure, we predict there'll be QR
 - Doubled coordinator construction indeed is ambiguous

- (41) a. Ena punca je videla Vida in Črta.
 one girl aux saw Vid & Črt
 'One girl saw Vid and Črt.' $1 > V\&\check{C} // *V\&\check{C} > 1$
- b. Ena punca je videla in Vida in Črta.
 one girl aux saw & Vid & Črt
 'One girl saw both Vid and Črt.' $1 > V\&\check{C} // V\&\check{C} > 1$

- We adopt Heim and Kratzer's (1998) binding procedure by which the QNP QRs at LF
- The QNP leaves behind a trace in the original site. This trace is indexed and in our case, it can have multiple indices as from all the coordinated nouns inside the QNP.
- These indices are also adjoined to the sister node of the moved DP – and we are essentially then dealing with modified variable assignment.
- We furthermore adopt their principles which enforces semantic and syntactic binding to be connected, and that the two must absolutely correspond.
 - "A DP x semantically binds a DP y (in the derivative sense) iff y and the trace of x are (semantically) bound by the same variable binder." (Heim and Kratzer, 1998, 263).
 - "Let x and y be DPs, where y is not phonetically empty. Then x binds y syntactically at SS iff x binds y semantically at LF." (Heim and Kratzer, 1998, 264).

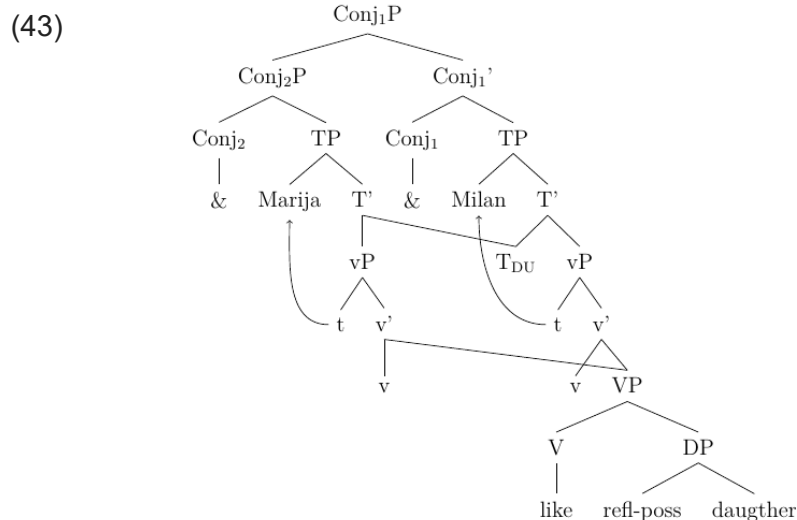
4.2 But

- Earlier we rejected the option that this could involve RNR as the agreement on the “shared” verb is plural rather than the expected singular.
- There are examples which seem to behave in parallel to the discussed doubled coordinated construction but seem to contain more structure:

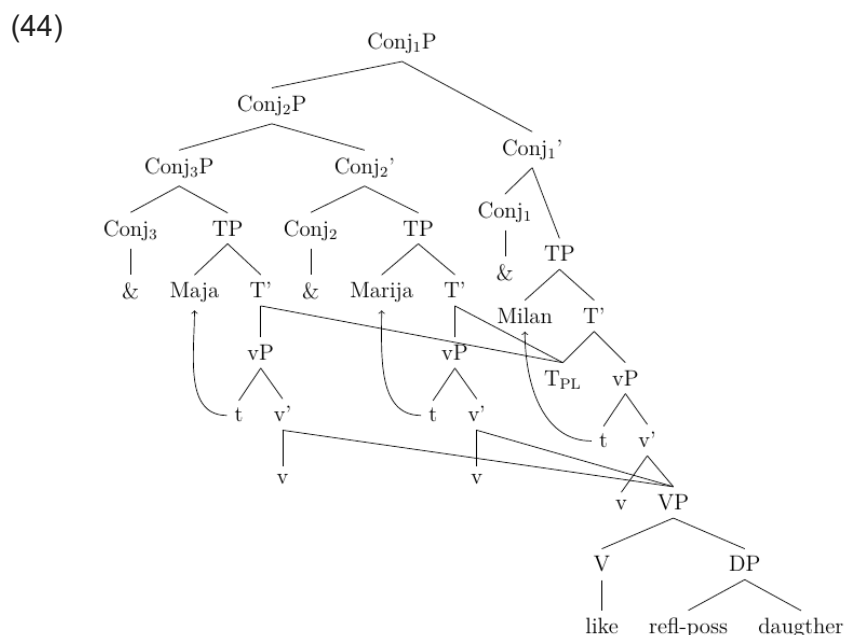
- (42) I Petar vchera i Marija deneska ja ispraa svojata_{1+2/*3} kola. Mac
& Petar yesterday & Marija today it washed.3PL REFL.poss.+the car.
'Both Peter yesterday and Marija today washed their cars

4.2.1. Multidominance

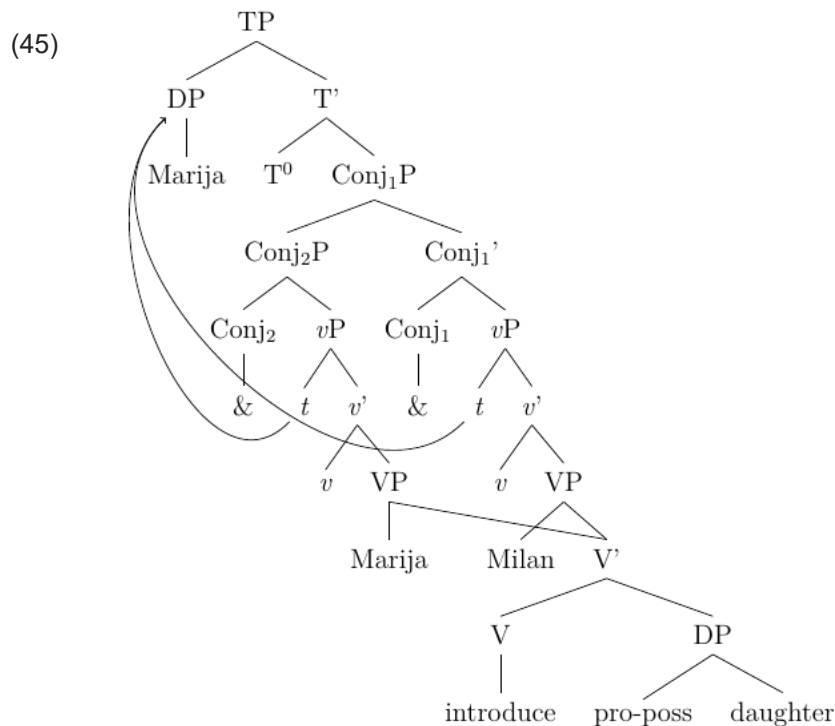
- Grosz (2015) discusses examples that involve RNR with “summative” agreement (cf. Yatabe 2003) and proposes a multidominant structure (cf. Citko 2011)



- This approach immediately explains binding and probably distributivity (linked to events) as it involves two *v* (assuming *v* introduced the event variable)
- Plural agreement on the verb is summative agreement, so not unexpected.
- This approach also has no issue with triple coordinations:



- similarly, it can handle easily the cases where the doubled coordinator is not the



- But the ambiguity in (41) (where the coordination has different scope with respect to the existential quantifier) is mysterious from what we can say (for now).

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