How Germans move their *but*s: A case of Prosodic Inversion across phrases*

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1. Introduction

It has long been debated whether the order of syntactic elements can solely be determined by syntactic rules or whether we need to allow some elements to be placed in reference to their phonological or prosodic properties (see amongst many others Schütze 1994, Halpern 1995, Bošković 2001, Embick and Noyer 2001). But in recent years, it seems that some case studies have been conducted discussing elements whose placement cannot plausibly be governed by syntactic rules (see e.g., the placement of Irish object pronouns in Bennett et al. 2016 or that of the Russian question particle in Franks 2017).

One of the poster children of this line of reasoning is the Latin conjunction *que* which occurs after the first word of the second conjunct (1) (Marantz 1988, Embick and Noyer 2001, Agbayani and Golston 2010). The minimal pair in (2) and (3) shows that the placement is conditioned by phonological wordhood. Monosyllabic prepositions which do not constitute their own phonological word (3) are skipped while polysyllabic ones are not.

(1) bonī puerī bonae-que puellae
good.PL boy.PL good.PL-and girl.PL
'good boys and good girls'
Embick and Noyer (2001)

(2) circum-que ea loca
around-and those places
'...and around those places.'
Embick and Noyer (2001)

(3) sub occasum-que solis
before setting.ACC-and sun.GEN
'...before the setting of the sun'
Agbayani and Golston (2010)

The major reason why this example constitutes such clear evidence for prosodically or phonologically determined placement is that we can pinpoint its syntactic base position exactly. For many other clitic-like elements, it is a constant matter of debate where

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exactly they are base-generated syntactically and a great deal of the actual theory and typology of cliticization processes ultimately depends on very subtle assumptions about the underlying syntax. In contrast, we know that coordinators such as the conjunction *que* are base-generated in between the two constituents they conjoin. They cannot plausibly be analyzed as an internal part of the second conjunct. We know this since this is where they are semantically interpreted and where they c-select the two conjuncts.

There are a number of reasons why the placement of *que* cannot be dealt with by means of syntactic movement. First, we find that *que* occurs inside of syntactic constituents that can otherwise not be separated by movement such as the PP in (2a). Second, we would need to move non-constituents across the conjunction as in (2b) where *que* follows the preposition and the head noun while preceding the modifier *solis*. Third, the question of whether only the preposition or more material moves across *que* in (2) clearly seems to depend on the phonological weight of the preposition itself, a fact that can hardly be modelled in the syntax.

Against this background, it is all the more striking that, apart from the Latin conjunction *que*, very little work has been done on the crosslinguistic patterns of shifting coordinators. The only notable exceptions are Agbayani and Golston 2010 and Mitrović 2014 who discuss the same pattern in other Indo-European languages of that time period.

In this paper, I will discuss a long-known but rarely discussed instance of coordinator shift of the German adversative conjunction *aber* ('but') and argue that it shows remarkable resemblance to the placement of the Latin conjunction *que*. It also appears inside syntactic islands, it also ignores syntactic constituency in favor of prosodic phrasing and it also counterfeeds various syntactic processes. Crucially, unlike the Latin conjunction *que*, it does not follow the first phonological word of the second conjunct but rather the first phonological/prosodic phrase of the second conjunct. I thus argue that we need to extend the typology of prosodically determined instances of coordinator shift to include prosodic inversion across phonological/prosodic phrases.

I will proceed as follows: In Section 2, I will briefly introduce the general pattern of shifting *aber* and show a number of arguments that shfited *aber* is neither a contrastive adverb nor a modal particle but rather a proper (although shifted) conjunction. Then, I will go on to highlight the arguments that the shifting is an instance of prosodic dislocation in the sense of Halpern 1995 and others. I will propose a simple rule governing the placement of *aber* in German that highlights its parallel behavior to the Latin case. Finally, in Section 4, I discuss whether this pattern should be modelled by means of Local Dislocation (Embick and Noyer 2001) or by means of Prosodic Dislocation. Section 5 concludes.

2. The shifting conjunction *aber* in German

Ross (1967) already observed that the German adversative conjunction *aber* can occur in a position that seems to be linearly embedded inside the second of its conjuncts. The example in (4) shows *aber* between the two CPs it conjoins but it is also possible to have it after the finite verb of the second conjunct.

(4) [$_{CP}$ Sie will tanzen], (**aber**) [$_{CP}$ ich will (**aber**) nach hause gehen].
she wants dance but I want but to home go
'She wants to dance but I want to go home' German: (Ross 1967:163)

Ross did not provide an analysis for these examples but merely took them to indicate that the conjunction forms a constituent with the second conjunct to the exclusion of the first. In addition to the example noted in Ross (1967), we can also add another pattern. If the preverbal position is filled either with a strong contrastive pronoun or a full DP, then we can also place *aber* in between the preverbal position and the verb.

(5) [$_{CP}$ Sie will tanzen], [$_{CP}$ ICH **aber** will nach hause gehen].
she wants dance I but want to home go
'She wants to dance but I want to go home'

In the rest of this section, I will show that these are really conjunctions rather than contrastive adverbs or particles (Section 2.1). Further, I will show that the placement of *aber* ignores syntactic constituency, is insensitive to syntactic islands and counterfeeds syntactic processes.

2.1 *aber* is really a conjunction

In this section, I will show that *aber* should really be analyzed as a clausal conjunction despite its clause-internal position. A priori, it would also be possible to treat it as contrastive adverbs similarly to English *however* in examples like *'She wanted to dance, I however wanted to leave.'*,[1] but it can be shown that this assumption is problematic for various reasons.

I will present four arguments that *aber* is adequately analyzed as a conjunction rather than as a contrastive adverb or a particle. The first argument is the observation that *aber* is in complementary distribution with the standard conjunctions in between the clauses. This would be completely unexpected if *aber* were an adverb. We can see this when we compare the behavior of *aber* to English *however* which is free to cooccur with *but* (7)) (see also Büring and Hartmann (2015) for the same observation).

(6) Julia will nach hause (*?und/*aber) ich will **aber** noch bleiben.
Julia wants to home and/but I want but still stay
'Julia wants to go home but I still want to stay.'

(7) Julia wants to go home but John however wants to stay.

[1] In fact, at least for German, it was claimed by Zhang (2006) in a footnote that clause-internal *aber* is an adverb of the *however*-type, while Büring and Hartmann (2015) state that clause-internal *aber* is a modal particle.

The second argument comes from the observation that *aber* licenses coordination-specific processes such as ATB-movement or Right Node Raising (RNR) even in clause-internal position. In the following examples, ungrammaticality arises if we leave *aber* out.

(8) Was hat sich Winston gewünscht Julia ihm *(**aber**) nicht gekauft?
what has self Winston wished Julia him but not bought
'What did Winston wish for but Julia didn't buy him?' German, ATB

(9) ... dass Winston Tennis, Tischtennis *(**aber**) nicht spielt
... that Winston tennis table.tennis but not plays
'... that Winston plays tennis but not table tennis' German, RNR

Such behavior would be completely unexpected if *aber* were an adverb or a modal particle. There is no reason why the presence or absence of an adverb/ modal particle should matter for the purposes of ATB-movement or RNR. But, clearly, if *aber* is a conjunction, then it is expected that coordination-specific processes are sensitive to its presence.

The third argument is that upon closer inspection, both elements do not pattern with adverbs concerning the respective rules of the two languages. As for the verb-second requirement of German, *aber* is the only element with can occur together with any given constituent preceding the finite verb in the second position (10). Neither adverbs nor modal particles that can go into this position (11).

(10) ... Winston **aber** will nach hause
... Winston but wants to home
'... but Winston wants to go home.

(11) *Winston wohl/wahrscheinlich will nach hause
Winston MOD.PART/probably wants to home
'Winston presumably wants to go home.'

The fourth argument already leads up to Section 2.2 and shows that the placement of *aber* is not that of adverbs because it ignores syntactic constituency and islandhood. Consider (12), where *aber* intervenes in between the head noun and a relative clause. Crucially, this is not a position in which adverbs or modal particles go (13).

(12) Remus will jemanden über Dinos ausfragen...
('Remus wants to ask so. about dinosaurs...')
... jeder **aber**, der sich damit auskennt, ist beschäftigt
... everyone but who self with.it know is busy
'... but everyone who knows about it is busy right now.'

(13) *Jeder vielleicht/wohl, der sich damit auskennt ist beschäftigt.
everyone maybe/MOD.PART who self with.it know is busy

Cases of this sort become even clearer when we look at syntactic island configurations. In (14) the respective second conjuncts start with an adjunct clause (in brackets) and what we find is that *aber* floats into these adjuncts.[2]

(14) Tom will noch bleiben... ('Tom still wants to stay...')
... [weil sie **aber** müde ist] will Pia nach hause
because she but tired is wants Pia to home
'... but because she is tired, Pia wants to go home.'

Crucially, the contrast expressed by *aber* is between the two conjuncts as a whole (Tom wants to go but Pia wants to stay). Thus, the scope of the respective conjunctions is clearly outside of the adjunct clause. In other words, even when located inside an adjunct, *aber* takes scope outside of it, that is, in the position where its English counterpart *but* is located in the respective translations. This is fundamentally different from adverbs whose scope is strictly clause-bound when they are located inside an adjunct. In (15), the adverb *wahrscheinlich* or the modal particle *wohl* (both: 'probably') is located inside the adjunct and crucially its scope is restricted to the adjunct clause. The assertion made in the matrix clause is certain, the uncertainty expressed by *wahrscheinlich* or *wohl* is restricted to the adjunct clause.

(15) Weil ich wahrscheinlich/wohl früh raus muss, will ich nach hause.
Because I probably/MOD.PART early out must, want I to home
'Because I probably have to get up early tomorrow, I want to go home.'

To conclude, we have plenty of reason to believe that *aber* is not an adverb or a modal particle. Rather *aber* take scope in the position between the clauses like a regular conjunction, it is in complementary distribution with other conjunctions and, maybe most importantly, it licenses coordination-specific processes. All these arguments point towards the conclusion that *aber* is a proper conjunction despite its unusual surface position.

2.2 *aber* is not placed in the syntax

In this subsection, I will argue that *aber* does not arrive at its surface position by syntactic movement. We have already seen parts of the relevant arguments in the previous section. First, we observed that the placement of *aber* ignores syntactic constituency as evidenced by the relative clause structures shown in (12). In this example, *aber* showed up in between the head noun and the relative clause. This placement is found when the relative clause is set apart by a prosodic break but if it is not, then we can even place *aber* inside the respective relative clauses. This suggests that the placement is sensitive to the prosodic phrasing.

[2]Note that another argument against the claim that *aber* is actually a modal particle comes from the fact that it can only occur in an adjunct when the adjunct is clause-initial. *aber* can never occur in clause-final adjunct clauses. If *aber* were an adverb, that would be a very unexpected restriction. But under the notion that *aber* is a shifted coordinator, this restriction falls out as expected.

(16) Remus will jemanden über Dinos ausfragen...
('Remus wants to ask so. about dinosaurs...')
... jeder, der sich **aber** damit auskennt, ist beschäftigt
... everyone who self but with.it know is busy
'... but everyone who knows about it is busy.' German

We find similar evidence for weak pronouns which form a prosodic phrase with another constituent. Consider the minimal pair in (17). The subject of the second conjunct is non-contrastive as it was introduced in the first conjunct. But if we use a pronoun in the preverbal position, we cannot place *aber* in between the pronoun and the verb because a weak pronoun itself does not constitute its own phonological phrase. It is parsed inside the phonological phrase of the verb. Consider now (17b), where instead of a pronoun we used a epithet-like DP that is similarly non-contrastive. Here, placing *aber* in between the preverbal constituent and the verb is grammatical.

(17) Der Ball kam zu Cristiano Ronaldo... ('The ball came to C.R.')
a. * ... er aber schoss daneben.
he but hit next.to.it
'but he missed.'
b. ... der Stürmer aber schoss daneben.
the striker but hit next.to.it
'but the striker missed'

This indicates that the relevant factor for placement of *aber* is prosodic phrasehood because we know that syntactically, the pronoun and the DP are in the same position (i.e. SpecCP). The same argument can be made with weak postverbal pronouns. If weak pronouns are postverbal, *aber* has to follow them as they form a prosodic phrase together with the verb.

(18) John mag Pia, ruft (***aber**) sie **aber** nicht an.
John likes Pia calls but her but not up
'John likes Pia but doesn't give her a call.'

A potentially even stronger argument comes from the violation of syntactic islands. We have already seen above that *aber* can occur inside of relative clauses (16) or adjunct clauses (14), if these clauses appear sufficiently close to the position in between the two conjuncts. Relative clauses as well as adjunct clauses in German are amongst the strongest syntactic islands that German has and it is not at all clear how a syntactic account would explain how the island violations arise in these cases.[3] And in fact, since we can move all kinds of islands to the clause initial position of the second conjunct, we can place *aber* inside of all different sorts of islands such as factive islands. Factive verbs like German *bedauern* ('regret') do not allow for extraction out of their complement, but if that comple-

[3]Zhang (2007) proposes a movement account for Mandarin Chinese, according to which a topical DP can optionally move across a conjunction. But such an approach can straightforwardly be ruled out for German. Not only would we have to move other elements but topical DPs, such as the finite verb in German, complementizers in (14) or relative pronouns in (16), but also would we have to move them out of strong syntactic islands.

ment clause has been moved to the clause-initial position, we can freely place *aber* inside of it.

(19) Dass er das nicht wusste, ist unglücklich, ('That he didn't know it is unfortunate')
... [[$_{CP}$ dass ich ihm es **aber** nicht gesagt habe], bedaure ich nicht].
... that I him that but not told have regret I not.
'... but I do not regret that I didn't tell him.'

I would thus like to conclude that the placement of *aber* cannot plausibly be accounted for by syntactic rules. This is, on an abstract level, quite similar to the behavior of Latin *que*, which also pays no attention to syntactic constituency and ignores syntactic islands completely. In the next section, I will sketch that an account that places *aber* after the formation of prosodic phrasing is much more plausible.

3. A general placement rule for *aber*

Now that we have established that *aber* is (a) a conjunction rather than a modal particle or a contrastive adverb, and (b) that its placement is governed by prosodic rather than by syntactic factors, we can try to formulate a rule that governs the placement of clause-internal occurences of *aber*. I will first go over the relatively simple patterns and show that this rule makes the correct predictions for all the examples we have seen so far. In Subsection 3.1, I will then discuss a minor complication that needs to be addressed and propose a way how this complication can be made sense of.

3.1 Simple Patterns

As I mentioned in the introduction, it is syntactically and semantically plausible to assume that a coordinator is syntactically merged in the position between the two constituents it coordinates. I will thus assume that *aber* is base-generated in this position and potentially undergoes a process that I will call prosodically determined dislocation to its final position. This dislocation process takes place at a late point of the derivation during the mapping from syntactic structure to prosodic phrasing. This explains, amongst other things, why the placement of *aber* has no effect on syntactic restrictions such as the verb-second requirement in German. The dislocation *aber* simply comes to late; it counterfeeds syntactic processes. Similarly, it is unaffected by syntactic restrictions on movement. The displacement comes to late to violate syntactic islands, etc.

Further, I will argue that the dislocation process has properties that are very similar to the displacement of the Latin conjunction *que*. The only difference is that unlike *que*, which, as we have seen, dislocates one phonological *word* to the right, I will argue that *aber* skips a category that is one step higher on the prosodic hierarchy than phonological words: A phonological phrase (φ). I will argue that the following generalization holds:

(20) German *aber* can undergo prosodically determined dislocation to a position after the phonological phrase to the right of its syntactic base-position.

If we apply this rule to the examples above, it becomes clear that it will give us a lot of empirical coverage. One of the advantages of this rule is that it derives the difference in behavior between weak and strong contrastive pronouns without further ado. Weak pronouns do not project their own prosodic phrase but are rather prosodified with adjacent material (an auxiliary, a verb or a complementizer). Therefore, what we find is that *aber* can attach only to the right of a preverbal pronoun if that pronoun is contrastive:[4]

(21) ... aber {ich will}$_\varphi$-aber {nach hause gehen}$_\varphi$.
... but I want but to home go (≡ ex. (4))

(22) ... aber {ICH}$_\varphi$-aber {will}$_\varphi$ {nach hause gehen}$_\varphi$.
... but I but want to home go (≡ ex. (5))

The placement rule also correctly predicts that *aber* should be able to float into adjunct clauses in the German prefield. As has been shown repeatedly, subordinate clauses in the German prefield are prosodically integrated, which means that they do not project their own intonation phrase. Rather, they are integrated into the intonation phrase of the matrix clause simply as prosodic phrases (see Frey and Truckenbrodt 2015 for discussion). Thus floating into a clause-initial adjunct (23) or a factive complement clause (24) is possible. In (24), we see that three subsequent weak pronouns all cliticize to the factive complementizer and form a prosodic phrase with it and thus shifted *aber* must follow all of them:

(23) ... aber {weil sie}$_\varphi$-aber {müde ist}$_\varphi$ {...}$_\varphi$.
... but because she but tired is (≡ ex. (14))

(24) ... aber {dass ich es ihm}$_\varphi$-aber {nicht gesagt habe}$_\varphi$ {...}$_\varphi$.
... but that I it him but not said have (≡ ex. (19))

3.2 Iterative Patterns

The account proposed above suggests that *aber* is prosodically dislocated to a position to the right of their immediately adjacent phonological phrase. However, purely descriptively speaking, this is not always correct. In fact, in many cases, we often find optionality as to whether the conjunctions float to right of a phonological phrase that is, linearly speaking less local. Consider the following example below which involves an full DP in the prefield, a verb plus a weak pronoun as well as a scrambled DP ('den DJ') in the middle field. In this case, we even get three possible landing sites for floating *aber*.

[4] In all of the examples below, curly brackets indicate the prosodic phrasing

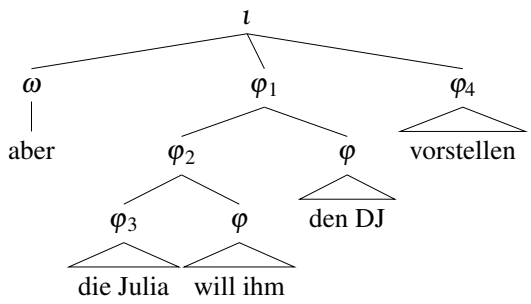
(25) Winston will nach hause ('Winston wants to go home') ...
... Julia (aber$_1$) will ihm (aber$_2$) den DJ (aber$_3$) vorstellen
... Julia but wants him but the DJ but introduce
'... but Julia wants to introduce him to the DJ.' German

It seems that prosodic dislocation does not necessarily have to target the adjacent phonological phrase. A similar picture emerges when we look more closely at the relative clauses discussed above. We already saw optionality as to whether we place *aber* above or inside the relative clause (see examples in (12), (16)).

At first sight, these cases seem to differentiate between the case of the floating conjunction *que* in Latin, which always attaches to the immediately adjacent word, and the cases in German where it often does not have to be the immediately adjacent phonological phrase. However, I would like to suggest that this is not a fundamental difference in terms of the dislocation operation itself but rather an independent property of the phonological category involved. I follow a recent suggestion by Bennett et al. (2016) that prosodic structures above the word-level are recursive. Following a large bulk of literature arguing that prosodic structures are ideally binary branching for reasons of eurythmy, Bennett et al. (2016) argue the prosodic structures employ recursive phonological phrases to accomodate this binarity requirement. Additionally, they argue that the mapping from syntax to prosody is often non-deterministic in a given domain so that one syntactic tree can mapped to more than one prosodic phrasing.

Thus, I would like to argue that the second conjunct in (25) can have several prosodic representations one of which is given in (26). And, as a result, we can maintain the assumption that prosodic dislocation always affects the adjacent phonological phrase after all. Crucially, however, there is optionality as to whether φ_1, φ_2 or φ_3 count as adjacent for the purposes of the dislocation operation. If prosodic dislocation targets φ_1, then the result will be the placement of *aber*$_3$ above, if it targets φ_2 then we get the position of *aber*$_2$ and if it targets φ_3, then we get the position of *aber*$_1$.[5]

(26)

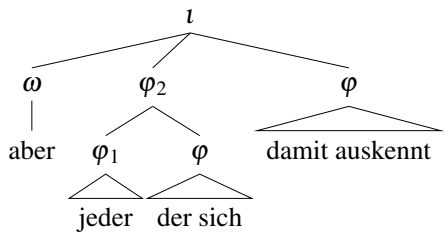


The same solution can be given to the optional placement patterns of *aber* with relative clauses (examples (12) and (16)). We get (at least potentially) a recursive prosodic structure and as a result, we can have several ways of placing *aber* in this particular configu-

[5]It should be mentioned that it can be observed that *aber* can never float into the prosodic material inside the VP (here represented by φ_4). I assume that this follows from the syntax-prosody mapping algorithm that prohibits that Given material and Focussed material be grouped together inside of the same prosodic phrase.

ration. The dislocation algorithm can either view φ_1 as the adjacent phonological phrase, in which case *aber* dislocates after the head noun *jeder*. Or it can view φ_2 as the adjacent phonological phrase, in which case, it dislocates to a position after *sich*.

(27)



So, to conclude, I would like to suggest that despite the first impression, we can maintain the theoretical stance that prosodic dislocation consistently targets the adjacent prosodic category of a given type. But since phonological phrases are, unlike smaller phonological categories, recursive in this sense, we get the impression that the mechanism is less restrictive with phonological phrases.

4. Discussion

4.1 Local Dislocation vs Prosodic Inversion

The discussion above largely remained agnostic with respect to the concrete modelling. In this subsection, I will briefly offer some thoughts on a more concrete model in which this account can be couched. The case of the Latin conjunction *que*, which served us as a reference point for our discussion, has featured prominently in theories of cliticization and, in particular, it was taken as a piece of evidence illustrating the necessity for a postsyntactic operation called Local Dislocation (Marantz 1988, Embick and Noyer 2001), which could reorder morphemes and words while making reference to their prosodic and phonological content.

Given the parallels between the two cases of coordinator shift in Latin and German, it seems desirable to derive them in a similar way. However, this is not so easily feasible using Local Dislocation (LD). The system that Embick and Noyer (2001, 2007) set up makes use of cyclicity to a certain extent inasmuch as it allows elements of various sizes to undergo LD. When undergoing LD, morphemes skip other morphemes and words (or m-words in their terminology) reorder with other (m-)words. In order to mimic effects where the skipped constituent is a phonological word, they assume that previous steps of LD form a constuent equivalent to a phonological word. Crucially for our purposes, they do not allow for LD skipping phrases (see also Shwayder 2015 for discussion). Thus, we cannot really transfer the LD solution to capture that German examples without further ado. And while it might be possible to adapt the Local Dislocation model to include cases of less local dislocation, i.e. dislocation across prosodic phrases, I leave this possibility to future research.

The alternative would be to conceive of the pattern of German *aber* as an instance of Prosodic Inversion in the sense of Halpern 1995. According to this perspective, the dislocation of clitic-like elements arises as a repair that applies in order to remedy a prosodically ill-formed structure. In recent years, a number of proposals have modelled this idea in an Optimality-theoretic framework in which the dislocation is simply an unfaithful mapping from syntactic to prosodic structure (see amongst others Bennett et al. 2016, Branan 2018). Usually a faithful one-to-one mapping from syntax to prosody is preferred but in some cases, it may be that prosodic well-formedness constraints can be more important and thus reordering of syntactic elements may be the preferred option.

Bennett et al. (2016) for example suggest that the prosodic dislocation of weak pronouns to the right is triggered by a constraint STRONGSTART that penalizes the occurrence of a clitic-like weak element at the beginning of a given domain. And in principle, shfiting coordinators, which always target the second conjunct seem to follow the same pattern. Since the conjunction is prosodified together with the same conjunct (and least in languages like Latin, German or English), a faithful mapping of syntax to prosody would typically encounter a violation of STRONGSTART since the conjunction is in the beginning of a given prosodic domain and conjunctions are typically clitic-like weak functional elements.

However, this view according to which the trigger of coordinator shifting is mainly due to configurational circumstances also fails to capture the fact that there is an undeniable lexical effect at work here. If coordinator shifting were merely due to configurational properties, we would expect all (phonologically sufficiently similar) coordinators to behave the same. But this is crucially not the case. The neutral German coordinator *und* ('and') is not phonologically weaker than *aber* but still cannot undergo shifting at all. Even more revealing, German employs a number of less frequent (but still entirely productive) coordinators including *doch* and *jedoch*, which pass all coordinator tests just like *aber*. And crucially, they do not behave like *aber* with respect to shifting. While *aber* can but does not have to shift with CP-coordination, *doch* cannot shift at all and *jedoch* has to shift:

(28) Peter will noch bleiben (*?jedoch) Pia (jedoch) will nach hause.
Peter wants still stay but Pia but wants to home
'Peter still wants to stay but Pia wants to go home.'

(29) Peter will noch bleiben (doch) Pia (*doch) will nach hause.
Peter wants still stay but Pia but wants to home
'Peter still wants to stay but Pia wants to go home.'

The pattern is just the opposite from what we would expect. Given that *doch* is phonologically speaking a proper subset of *jedoch* we would expect the former to shift (if shifting were due to STRONGSTART) It seems that both lexical properties and configurational properties must be considered in order to decide whether a given coordinator can undergo dislocation or not. Thus, we need to combine the lexical operational view of the Local Dislocation perspective and the configurational view of the optimality-theoretic perspective. This could be done by including OT-style faithfulness constraints that make reference to lexical features such as subcategorization features à la Yu (2007) and Paster (2006).

4.2 Towards a typology of prosodically determined coordinator shifting

In the previous subsection, we saw that the question of whether a given coordinator shifts into the second conjunct is a combination of lexical and configurational factors. This raises the question whether the size of the skipped constituent is a lexical or a configurational matter. We have seen that Latin *que* skips phonological words whereas German *aber* skips phonological phrases. Is this just an arbitrary lexical property of the two elements? We have reason to doubt that. In both Latin and German, we find that a class of shifting coordinators behave alike (for Latin e.g. the disjunction *ve*, for German, the above-mentioned *jedoch*).

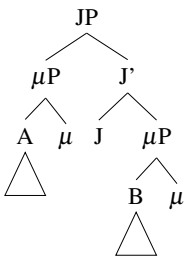
Further, we find that there is a structural difference between shifting coordinators of the Latin type and the ones of the German type. Independently of shifting, we know that coordinating constructions come in two different shapes, monosyndetic coordination and polysyndetic coordination. The former exhibits one coordinator in between the conjuncts and the latter marks every conjunct. Importantly, Mitrović (2014) argues that the word-skipping pattern is actually due to the fact that *que* is in fact a polysyndetic coordinator as it is actually very common to have a *que* in every conjunct Lewis and Short (1879).

(30) [noct-es=que] [die-s=que]
night-PL=AND day.PL=AND
'nights and days' Cicero: De Finibus, Book 1, Sect: 16:51

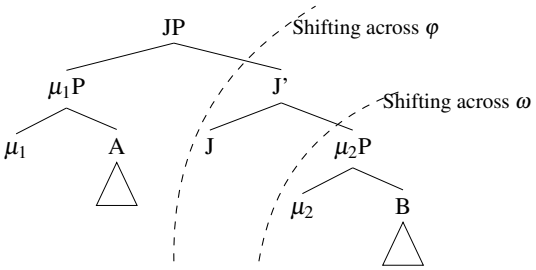
Other word-skipping coordinators from Ancient Greek, Sanskrit, Old Irish (Agbayani and Golston 2010, Mitrović 2014) follow the same pattern. Even the coordinators in the unrelated language West Greenlandic (Sadock 2003) parallels these examples. They also shift to a position after the first word *and* can be repeated in every conjunct.

In contrast, examples from shifting coordinators that skip phonological phrases cannot appear in every conjunct. German *aber* and Polish *zaś* can only appear once. I thus propose that whether a shifting coordinator that undergoes prosodic dislocation skips a phonological word or a phonological phrase can be read off its syntactic position. I use the coordination structure by den Dikken (2006), Mitrović and Sauerland (2014) for monosyndetic coordinators and polysyndetic ones in (31). Here, each conjunct is embedded in a μP and only then are the two μPs merged by a J(uncture)P. Languages differ as to whether they realize the J-head or the μ-head but usually one of them must be overt. Using this structure, we can predict the skipped constituent: If J-heads undergo prosodic dislocation, they skip phonological phrases and if μ-heads do, they skip phonological words.

(31)



(32)



This intuition coincides with the observation that polysyndetic coordinators have a strong tendency in the world's languages to be affixal and participate in word-phonology processes such as vowel harmony and occasionally undergo phonologically conditioned allomorphy. Monosyndetic coordinators do not seem to do that (with very few exceptions). It thus looks like the target of dislocation is determined by cyclicity considerations and monosyndetic coordinators like German *aber* are simply outside of the domain of word-phonological processes.

5. Conclusion

In this short paper, I have conducted a small case study that highlighted the necessity to allow for prosodic dislocation of a functional element across a prosodic phrase. The German adversative conjunction *aber* can stay in its syntactic base position but it can also dislocate into the second conjunct. This dislocation process ignores syntactic constituency and is purely sensitive to phonological phrasing. Further, I have shown that the placement of *aber* inside the second conjunct ignores virtually all syntactic islands, including adjunct clauses, factive complement clauses and relative clauses. Whenever one of these islands is sufficiently close to the syntactic base position of *aber* (e.g. by moving it into the prefield of the second conjunct of *aber*), it can dislocate into the island without problems. Further, I have shown that this dislocation process counterfeeds/counterbleeds syntactic processes and restrictions such as the verb-second requirement of German.

I have highlighted the parallels to a well-known instance of coordinator shift, namely the one of Latin *que*, arguing that they merely differ inasmuch as German *aber* skips a phonological category that is one step higher on the prosodic hierarchy.

Finally, I discussed the consequences of this case study against current theories of cliticization and prosodically determined dislocation. I have argued that a concept like Local Dislocation cannot capture the behavior of German *aber* without further ado and that a Prosodic Inversion account (e.g. Halpern 1995, Bennett et al. 2016) might be better suited to capture the overall variation of prosodically determined coordinator shift.

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