

Coordination in Syntax in the Romance Languages

Summary

Coordination exhibits unusual syntactic properties: the conjuncts need not be identical but they must obey some parallelism constraints, and their number is not limited.

Romance languages have conjunctive ('and'), disjunctive ('or'), adversative ('but'), and negative ('nor') conjunctions, some of which have a correlative use, such as (French) *soit... soit*, (Italian, Spanish) *o... o*, (Portuguese) *quer... quer*, (Romanian) *sau... sau* ('either... or'). They allow coordination of clauses and phrases but also of words (French: *le ou la secrétaire* 'the.M.SG or the.F.SG secretary') and even some word parts (Italian: *pre- o post-moderno* 'pre- or post-modern').

Romance languages show intricate agreement patterns in case of coordination. For number agreement, disjunctive coordination allows for total or partial agreement (*Paul ou Marie viendra/viendront*. 'Paul or Mary come.FUT.SG/PL'). For gender agreement, conjunctive coordination obeys gender resolution (French: *un garçon et une fille gentils* 'a boy.M.SG and a girl.F.SG nice. M.PL') or closest conjunct agreement (Spanish: *El idioma y literatura rusa* 'the language.M.SG and literature.F.SG Russian.F.SG').

Coordination may also involve nonconstituents (Italian: *Darò un libro a Giovanni e un disco a Maria*. 'I'll give a book to Giovanni and a record to Maria') and ellipsis, such as gapping (French: *Paul arrive demain et Marie aujourd'hui*. 'Paul arrives tomorrow and Mary today'), with possible mismatches between the elided material and its overt antecedent.

Keywords

coordination, agreement, Romance, syntax, coordinators, French, Italian, Spanish, Romanian, Portuguese

1. What Is a Coordinate Structure?

This overview of Romance coordination, involving complex syntactic structures that link together two or more elements, mainly focuses on French (Abeille & Mouret, 2021; Mouret, 2007), Italian (Scorretti, 1991), European Portuguese (Matos, 2003), Spanish (Camacho, 1999, 2003), and Romanian (Bilbie, 2017).

1.1 The Three Types of Coordinate Structures

Following Huddleston et al. (2002), three syntactic subtypes of coordinate structures can be distinguished: ordinary coordination, with at least one conjunction on the last conjunct (1); omnisyndetic or *correlative* coordination, with a conjunction on each conjunct (2); and asyndetic or *paratactic* coordination without a conjunction (3).

- (1) a. *Paul parle [français et anglais].* (Fr.)
‘Paul speaks French and English’
b. *Paolo parla [francese e inglese].* (It.)
‘Paul speaks French and English’
- (2) a. *Paul parle [et français et anglais].* (Fr.)
b. *Paolo parla [e francese e inglese].* (It.)
Paul speaks and French and English
‘Paul speaks both French and English’
- (3) a. [*Des papiers, des livres*] *trainaient sur la table.* (Fr.)
INDF.PL papers, INDF.PL books lay.IMPF.3PL on the table
b. [*Dei documenti, dei libri*] *giacevano sul tavolo.* (It.)
INDF.PL papers, INDF.PL books lay.IMPF.3PL on-the table
‘Papers, books were laying on the table’

There can be more than two conjuncts. In that case, the conjunction is optional on non-final conjuncts in ordinary coordination (4).

- (4) a. *Paul parle [espagnol, (et) français et anglais].* (Fr.)
 b. *Paolo parla [spagnolo, (e) francese e inglese].* (It.)
 ‘Paul speaks Spanish, (and) French and English’
- (5) a. *Paul parle [et espagnol et français et anglais].* (Fr.)
 b. *Paolo parla [e spagnolo e francese e inglese].* (It.)
 ‘Paul speaks Spanish, French and English’
- (6) a. *Paul parle [espagnol, français, anglais].* (Fr.)
 b. *Paolo parla spagnolo, francese, inglese.* (It.)
 ‘Paul speaks Spanish, French, English’

The conjuncts can be of various syntactic categories—for example, nominal (1–6), adjectival (7), prepositional (8), or clausal (9).

- (7) a. *Paul est [grand et fort].* (Fr.)
 b. *Paul è [alto e forte].* (It.)
 ‘Paul is tall and strong’
- (8) a. *par le peuple et pour le peuple* (Fr.)
 b. *por el pueblo y para el pueblo* (Sp.)
 ‘by the people and for the people’
- (9) a. *Il pleut et il fait froid.* (Fr.)
 It rains and it makes cold
 b. *Piove e fa freddo.* (It.)
 Rain.3SG and make.3SG cold
 ‘It rains and it is cold’

1.2 Parallelism Constraints on Conjuncts

1.2.1 Coordination of Different Categories

As with many other languages (Sag et al., 1985), Romance languages can coordinate different categories, such as nominal and adjectival predicates (10) and nominal and verbal complements (11), provided they can be assigned the same syntactic function: predicative complement in (10) and direct complement in (11).

- (10) a. *Paul est [médecin]_{NP} et [fier de l'être]_{AP}.* (Fr.)
 Paul is physician and proud.M.SG of it be.INF
 b. *Paolo è [un dottore]_{NP} e [orgoglioso di esser=lo]_{AP}.* (It.)
 Paolo is a physician and proud of be.INF=it
 'Paul is a doctor and proud of it'
 c. *Ion este [mincinos]_{AP} și [mare măgar]_{NP}.* (Bilbîie, 2017) (Ro.)
 Ion is liar and big donkey
 'Ion is a liar and a jerk'
- (11) a. *Paul aime [lire des livres]_{VP} et [le cinéma]_{NP}.* (Fr.)
 Paul likes read.INF a.P books and the movie
 'Paul likes reading books and the movies'
 b. *Paolo preferisce [leggere libri]_{VP} e [il cinema]_{NP}.* (It.)
 Paolo prefers read.INF books and the movie
 'Paul prefers reading books and the movies'

With verbs that allow a nominal and a clausal complement, with the same meaning, both categories can be conjoined (Bilbîie, 2017; Camacho, 1999; Mouret, 2007):

- (12) a. *Je redoute [l'arrivée de Paul]_{NP} et [que Marie refuse de le voir]_s.* (Fr.)
 I fear the arrival of Paul and that Marie refuse.SBJV.3SG to him see.INF
 'I fear Paul's arrival and that Mary refuses to see him'
 b. *Odio [la llegada de Secundino]_{NP} y [que Maria siempre se niegue a ver=lo]_s.* (Sp.)
 hate.1SG the arrival of Secundino and that Maria always REFL refuse.SBJV.3SG to see.INF=it
 'I hate Paul's arrival and Mary's refusing to see him'
 c. *Ador [sportul]_{NP} și [să fac cumpărături]_s.* (Ro.)
 love.1SG sport.DEF.ACC and that do.SBJV.1SG shopping
 'I love sport and doing shopping'

Two unlike adjuncts can also be coordinated, provided they modify the same head (13).

- (13) a. *Il va chez le médecin [souvent]_{Adv} et [sans raison]_{PP}.* (Fr.)
 ‘He goes to the doctor often and without reason’
 b. *Va al médico [frequentemente]_{Adv} y [sin pretexto]_{PP}.* (Sp.)
 go.3SG to-the doctor frequentl and without reason
 c. *A criança leu o livro [lentamente]_{Adv} mas [com prazer]_{PP}.* (Pt.)
 the child read the book slowly but with pleasure
 ‘The child read the book slowly but with pleasure’

(14a and 14b) are ruled out since the adverb is an adjunct and the NP a complement. The only exception to the same function rule is with interrogative words and quantifiers, as in (14c–14e). (14d and 14e) can be analyzed as cases of clausal coordination with ellipsis (Bilbie, 2017).

- (14) a. **Ion mange [vite et un sandwich].* (Fr.)
 b. **Ion mănâncă [repede și un sandviș].* (Ro.)
 ‘Ion eats quickly and a sandwich’
 c. *[Qui et quand] consulter quand on a un problème?* (Fr.)
 ‘who and when to consult when one has a problem?’
 d. *[Ce și cum] mănâncă?* (Ro.)
 what and how eat.3SG
 ‘what does he eat and how?’
 e. *[Oricine și oricând] poate intra aici.* (Ro.)
 everyone and always can.3SG enter here
 ‘Everyone can always enter here’

1.2.2 Clauses With Different Mood

Coordination of different clause types is possible. In (15), an imperative and an indicative clause are conjoined (see section 1.4).

- (15) a. *Viens ici et tu auras un beau cadeau !* (Fr.)
 come.IMP.2SG here and you have.FUT.2SG a nice present
 b. *Vieni qui e avrai un bel regalo !* (It.)
 come.IMP.2SG here and have. FUT.2SG a nice present
 ‘Come here and you’ll have a nice present !’

A matrix verb that allows for different moods, allows for the coordination of unlike clausal complements, as in (16) with an indicative and a subjunctive (Camacho, 1999; Mouret, 2007).

- (16) a. *Il semble* [que tout est fini] et [qu'on puisse partir]. (Fr.)
 it seems that all be. IND.3SG finished and that one can. SBJV.3SG leave. INF
 'It seems that all is done and that we can leave'
 b. *No sabía* [que estaba cansado] y [que tuviera problemas]. (Sp.)
 NEG knew.1SG that be. IND.3SG tired and that have.SBJV.3SG problems
 'I didn't know that he was tired and that he would have problems'

1.2.3 Case Mismatches

In some specific cases (e.g., indefinites with numerical quantifiers), Romanian allows coordination of different case markings, provided each is allowed by the same verb (Bilbie, 2017); in (17), a dative noun is conjoined with an accusative NP introduced by the preposition *la* ('to'):

- (17) *Le-am dat mere* [băieților și la trei fete]. (Ro.)
 CL-PERF give.PPART apples boys.DAT and to three girls.ACC
 'I gave apples to the boys and to three girls'

Other Romance languages do not have case marking on nouns, but their personal pronouns have different subject and complement forms. Inside a coordination, some case mismatches may appear. In Italian, the second person complement form must be used after a conjunction, even in subject position (Scorretti, 1991).

- (18) a. *Io e te* /**Io e tu* andremo insieme a Roma. (It.)
 I and you.ACC /* I and you.NOM go.FUT.1PL together to Rome
 'I and you will go to Rome together'
 b. *Tu* /**Te* andrai a Roma. (It.)
 You.NOM /*You.ACC go.FUT.2SG to Rome
 'You will go to Rome'

In Spanish, after a preposition, the complement form of the pronoun must be used, but not inside a coordination (19) (Camacho, 1999):

- (19) a. *para él y para mí* /**para yo* (Sp.)
 for him and for me.ACC/ *for me.NOM
 ‘for him and for me’
 b. *para [él y yo]* /**mí* (Sp.)
 for. him and me.NOM /*me.ACC
 ‘for him and I’

1.2.4 Parallelism and Extraction

It is usually assumed that extraction must apply to none or all the conjuncts, as in other languages (Ross, 1967).

- (20) a. *Quel livre est-ce que [Jean achète -] et [Anne lit -]? (Fr.)*
 ‘Which book does Jean buy - and Anne read -?’
 b. **Quel livre est-ce que [Jean achète -] et [Anne lit deux chapitres]? (Fr.)*
 ‘*Which book does Jean buy - and Anne read two chapters?’
 c. *Que livro [a Joanna comprou -] e [a Ana leu -]? (Pt.)*
 which book the Joanna bought and the Ana read?
 ‘Which book did Joanna buy - and Ana read -?’
 d. **Que livro [a Joanna comprou -] e [a Ana leu dois capítulos]? (Pt.)*
 which book the Joanna bought and the Ana read two chapters?
 ‘*Which book did Joanna buy - and Ana read two chapters?’

However, when an asymmetric discourse relation holds between the two clauses, extraction out of only one conjunct may be possible (Bilbie, 2017; Mouret, 2007), as in English (Kehler, 2002).

- (21) a. *Quel cours peut-on [rater -] et [avoir quand même son diplôme en juin]? (Fr.)*
 ‘Which class can one miss - and have still their diploma in June?’

b. *Mă întreb câte beri poți [bea _] și [totuși să rămâi întreg la minte].* (Ro.)

Me wonder how-many beers can.2SG drink and still that stay.SBJ.2SG whole in mind
 ‘I wonder how many beers one can drink - and still stay sober’

1.3 Lexical Coordination

Abeille (2006) argues that lexical coordination should be distinguished from phrasal coordination. Verb coordination (22a) allows for a shared relational modifier, which would be difficult to interpret in this way with a VP coordination: (22b) would mean that he lives and that he works in the same city as previously mentioned.

(22) a. *Paul [habite et travaille] dans la même ville.* (Fr.)

‘Paul lives and works in the same city.’

b. # *Paul [habite dans la même ville et travaille dans la même ville].* (Fr.)

‘Paul lives in the same city and works in the same city.’

Although clitic pronouns can be analyzed as affixes in Romance (Miller & Monachesi, 2010; Miller & Sag, 1997), coordination of verbs is sometimes possible with a shared clitic pronoun, in French (Kayne, 1975) or Spanish (Bosque, 1986), if a single event is at stake.

(23) a. *Je le [lis et relis] sans cesse.* (Fr.)

I it read and reread without stop

‘I read and reread it all the time’

b. *Lo [leyó y resumió] en un santiamén.* (Sp.)

it read.1SG and summarized.1SG in a second

‘I read and summarized it in a second’

1.3.1 Coordination of Weak Elements

Coordination of weak (clitic) pronouns is usually blocked, and the strong form is preferred (24a). However, disjunction with different genders is possible and recommended in non-androcentrist writing (24b and 24c).

- (24) a. *Paul et lui* /**et il* *viennent demain.* (Fr.)
 Paul and him/*and he come.1PL tomorrow
 ‘Paul and him are coming tomorrow’
 b. [*Il ou elle*] *devra être disponible.* (Fr.)
 He or she must.FUT.3SG be available.SG
 ‘He or she will have to be available’
 c. ?[*Lo o la*] *vedrà.* (It.)
 him or her see.FUT.1SG
 ‘I will see him or her’

Coordination of prepositions is allowed, with a shared complement (Abeillé, 2006; Camacho, 1999; Matos, 2003). The coordination of weak prepositions such as *à* or *de* is possible in French (25c) but not in Spanish (25d).

- (25) a. [*por y para*] *el pueblo* (Sp.)
 ‘by and for the people’
 b. *Eles estavam [com ou contra] os manifestantes?* (Pt.)
 ‘They were with or against the demonstrators?’
 c. *un film [de et avec] Woody Allen* (Fr.)
 d. **una película [de y con] Woody Allen* (Sp.)
 ‘a movie by and with Woody Allen’

Coordination of determiners is also difficult, in all languages (26) (Camacho, 1999), and they can be argued to be clitics (Miller, 1991). Disjunction with different genders is possible, and even recommended in non-androcentrist writing (27).

- (26) a. ?*Ce sont [mes ou tes] tableaux?* (Fr.)
 this are my or your paintings?
 ‘Are these my or your paintings?’
 b. * [*Tus y mis*] *cuadros hacen una buena colección.* (Sp.)

‘Your and my paintings make a good collection’

- (27) a. *Je cherche [un ou une] responsable.* (Fr.)
 I look a.M.SG or a.F.SG manager.SG
 ‘I’m looking for a male or a female manager’
 b. *la presenza di [uno o una] studente* (Università di Trento, 2017) (It.)
 the presence of a.M.SG or a.F.SG student.SG
 ‘the presence of a male or female student’
 c. *[los o las] integrantes del Poder Electoral* (El Tiempo, 2017) (Sp.)
 the.M.PL or the.F.PL member.PL of-the power elective
 ‘the male or female members of the elective power’
 d. *[vreun sau vreo] colegă* (Ro.)
 a.M.SG or a.F.SG colleague.F.SG
 ‘a male or female colleague’

An analysis of lexical coordination as phrasal coordination with ellipsis (Kayne, 1994) would be difficult for examples such as (22a) or (23), as well as (25c) and (27), since a phrase should not end with a weak determiner or preposition. Analyses of lexical coordination have to account for the apparent contradiction that lexical coordination is a syntactic construct (a phrase) with word properties {for an account of lexical coordination in HPSG, see Abeillé (2006), who proposes that such phrases have a [LEX +] or [WEIGHT light] feature}.

1.3.2 Coordination of Word Parts

As in other languages like English (Arstein 2005, Chaves, 2008), word parts can sometimes be coordinated, such as prefixes with some autonomous prosody (Camacho, 1999; Scorretti, 1991):

- (28) a. *Che sia [pre- o post-]moderno non mi interessa.* (It.)
 COMP be SBJV.3SG pre- or post-modern NEG me interests
 b. *Qu’il soit [pré ou post-]moderne ne m’intéresse pas.* (Fr.)
 COMP he be. SBJV.3SG pre- or post-modern NEG me interests NEG
 ‘whether he is pre or post-modern does not interest me’
 c. *coaliciones [pre- y post-]electorales* (Sp.)
 coalitions pre- and post-electoral.PL
 ‘pre and post-election coalitions’

Coordination of bases with a common suffix is more difficult. It is possible with Spanish – *mente* (Bosque, 1986), but not in French nor Italian:

- (29) a. *Comimos* [maravillosa- y estupenda-]mente (Sp.)
 eat. PST.1PL wonderful- and great-ly
 ‘we ate wonderfully and beautifully’
 b. *Nous mangeons rapidement et voracement*/*rapide- et voracement (Fr.)
 c. *Mangiamo velocemente e voracemente*/ *veloce- e voracemente (It.)
 ‘We eat rapidly and voraciously’

1.4 The Syntactic Structure of Coordination

Contrary to what is sometimes assumed, the internal structure of coordinations can be argued to be hierarchical (Ross, 1967), with the conjunction part of a subconstituent with the following conjunct: (30a) and not (30b).

- (30) a. [*Max*] [*et Paul*] (Fr.)
 b. [*Max*] *et* [*Paul*] (Fr.)
 ‘Max and Paul’

There are several arguments in favor of the structure in (30a). The conjunction may be in clause initial position, in a dialogue context:

- (31) a. *Et Paul?* (Fr.)
 b. *E Paolo?* (It.)
 c. *Y Pablo?* (Sp.)
 ‘And Paul?’

There can be a prosodic boundary before but not after the conjunction:

- (32) a. *J’ai vu Max, et Paul.* (Fr.)
 ‘I have seen Max, and Paul’
 b. **J’ai vu Max et, Paul.* (Fr.)
 ‘*I have seen Max and, Paul’

- c. *Ho visto Max, e Paolo.* (It.)
 Have.1SG seen Max, and Paul
- d. **Ho visto Max e, Paolo.* (It.)
 *Have.1SG seen Max and, Paul

Conjunctions may give rise to sandhi phenomena with the following conjunct, never with the previous one. French *mais* ('but') allows for liaison before a vowel (33a). In Italian, *e* ('and') may become *ed* before a vowel. In Spanish, *y* ('and') becomes *e* before *i*-, and *o* ('or') becomes *u* before *o*-.

- (33) a. *triste mais aimable* [mɛzɛmabl] (Fr.)
 'sad but nice'
- b. *Vede la luce ed entra.* (It.)
 see.3SG the light and enter.3SG
 's/he sees the light and enters'
- c. *Julieta e/*y Ignacio* (Sp.)
 'Julieta and Ignacio'
- d. *siete u/*o ocho* (Sp.)
 'seven or eight'

Last argument, some coordinators can be iterated before each conjunct (34), and some must (as Fr. *soit...soit* or Ro. *fie ...fie*) (see section 2.2). A hierarchical structure with conjunction initial subphrases accounts for the placement of such correlative coordinators.

- (34) a. *Je verrai [[ou Paul] [ou Marie]].* (Fr.)
 I see.FUT.1SG or Paul or Marie
- b. *Vedr  [[o Paolo] [o Maria]].* (It.)
- c. *Ver  [[o Pablo] [o Maria]].* (Sp.).
 'I will see either Paul or Mary'

Following Jackendoff (1977) and Borsley (2005), among others, coordinate phrases can be analyzed as unheaded, n-ary structures, with specific principles percolating features from the conjuncts to the coordinate phrase (Figure 1). If the conjunction were the head of the structure

(as proposed by Kayne, 1994), it would not project its syntactic features to the coordinate phrase, which behaves like an AP, an NP, a VP, a PP, etc. depending on the category of the conjuncts. This head analysis also would not account for correlative conjunctions (34) because there is supposed to be only one lexical head per phrase.

<COMP: INSERT FIGURE 1 NEAR HERE>

If the coordination is itself unheaded, the conjunction can be analyzed as a marker (Borsley, 2005) or as a ‘weak’ head, inheriting most properties of the conjunct it combines with (Abeillé, 2005).

1.5 Pseudo-Coordination

Some clausal coordinations, sometimes called pseudo-coordinations, are binary and asymmetric. Their meaning is close to subordination, and the order of the clauses cannot be changed with the same meaning (Culicover & Jackendoff, 1997). In Romance, they occur with ‘and’ (35) and ‘or’ (36), with a conditional interpretation (Bilbie, 2017; Dobrovie-Sorin, 1984; Scorretti, 1991). The overall meaning is usually a threat: if you repeat it, I will break your neck, in (35a and 35b); if you drink another glass of wine, I leave you, in (35c); if you don’t raise your hands, I will shoot, (36).

(35) a. *Ripetile e ti rompo la testa ! (It.)*
Repeat=it and you break.1SG the head

b. *Répète-le et je te casse la figure ! (Fr.)*
Repeat-it and I you break the face
‘Repeat it and I break your neck’

c. *Mai bea un pahar de vin și apoi te las ! (Ro.)*
More drink.2SG a glass of wine and then you leave.1SG
‘You drink another glass of wine and I leave you’

(36) a. *Haut les mains ou je tire ! (Fr.)*
high the hands or I shoot

b. *Alza le mani o sparo ! (It.)*

- Raise.2SG the hands or shoot.1SG
 c. *Manos arriba o tiro !* (Sp.)
 Hands high or shoot.1SG
 ‘Hands up or I shoot !’

1.5.1 Comparative Correlatives

Comparative correlatives are binary constructions, with each clause starting with a comparative. In Romance, there is an optional ‘and’ (37). They are analyzed as coordinated by Abeillé and Borsley (2008) for French. However, there are two subtypes in Spanish and Italian (Abeillé et al., 2006): (37b and 37c) are cases of coordination, whereas in (38), the *cuanto/quanto* clause is subordinate—and cannot be inserted and the *cuanto/quanto* clause may be moved. Romanian only has the subordinate type (38d) (Bilbie, 2016).

- (37) a. *Plus je lis (et) plus je comprends.* (Fr.)
 More I read (and) more I understand
 b. *Più leggo (e) più capisco.* (It.)
 More read.1SG (and) more understand.1SG
 c. *Más leo (y) más entiendo.* (Sp.)
 more read.1SG (and) more understand.1SG
 ‘The more I read, the more I understand’
- (38) a. *Quanto più leggo, (tanto) più capisco.* (It.)
 how-much more read.1SG, (that-much) more understand.1SG
 ‘The more I read, the more I understand’
 b. *Cuanto más leo, (tanto) más entiendo.* (Sp.)
 how-much more read.1SG, (that-much) more understand.1SG
 ‘The more I read, the more I understand’
 c. *Entiendo más, cuanto más leo.* (Sp.)
 understand.1SG more, how-much more read.1SG
 ‘I understand more, the more I read’
 d. *Cu cât citesc (mai mult), (cu atât) inteleg (mai bine).* (Ro.)
 With how-much read.1SG (more), (with that-much) understand.1SG (better)
 ‘The more I read, the better I understand’

2. The Different Coordinators in Romance

Romance languages distinguish conjunctive ('and'), disjunctive ('or'), adversative ('but'), and negative ('nor') coordinators.

2.1 Conjunctive Coordinators

All Romance languages have an 'and' conjunction: French *et*; Italian *e, sia*; Portuguese *e*; Spanish *y*; Romanian *și, iar*. They allow for a distributive (39a and 39b) and a collective (39c and 39d) reading.

- (39) a. [*Paul et Marie*] *ont les yeux bleus*. (Fr.)
 Paul and Marie have the eyes blue
 b. [*Paolo e Maria*] *hanno gli occhi blu*. (It.)
 Paul and Marie have the eyes blue
 'Paul and Mary have blue eyes'
 c. [*Paul et Marie*] *sont un beau couple*. (Fr.)
 d. [*Paolo e Maria*] *sono una bella copia*. (It.)
 'Paul and Mary are a nice couple'

Conjunctive coordination triggers plural agreement, except in case of coreferent (40a) or clausal (40b) subjects. In (40c), a nominal and a clausal subject are conjoined (Camacho, 1999):

- (40) a. [*Un ami et un poète*] *est mort ce soir*. (Fr.)
 'A friend and a poet has died tonight'
 b. [*Qu'il pleuve et qu'il vente*] *n'est pas surprenant à cette période de l'année*. (Fr.)
 'That it's raining and that's is windy is not surprising at this time of year.'
 c. *Me sorprendió* [*Secundino y que Cecilia estuviera todavía*]. (Sp.)
 Me surprise.PST.3SG Secundino and that Cecilia was still
 'I was surprised by Secundino and that Cecilia was still there'

In Romanian, *iar* is restricted to clausal coordination, with contrast (Bilbie & Winterstein, 2011):

- (41) a. *Ion doarme, și/ iar Maria citește.* (Ro.)
 ‘Ion sleeps, and Maria reads’
 b. *Maria mănâncă [o pară și/*iar un măr].* (Ro.)
 ‘Maria eats a pear and an apple’

2.1.1 Conjunction of Bare Nouns

French does not allow bare nominal arguments, whereas other Romance languages allow bare plural and mass nouns. ‘And’ coordination allows bare singular count nouns, which would not be possible outside coordination (Heycock & Zamparelli, 2003; Le Bruyn & de Swart, 2014; Roodenburg, 2005). The bare noun can also be licensed by the coordination of a modifier (42e).

- (42) a. [*Père et fils*] *s’entendaient bien.* (Fr.)
 Father and son REF get-along.IMPF well
 b. [*Padre e figlio*] *andavano d’accordo.* (It.)
 Father and son go.IMPF in agreement
 ‘Father and son got along well’
 c. [*Perro y gato*] *andaban sueltos.* (Sp.)
 Dog and cat roam.PST loose.M.PL
 ‘Dog and cat roamed freely.’
 d. **Perro andaba suelto.* (Sp.)
 ‘*Dog roamed freely’
 e. [*Syndicats [de droite et de gauche]*] *vont se réunir demain.* (Fr.)
 Unions of right and of left will REFL gather tomorrow
 ‘Left and right Unions will gather tomorrow’

2.1.2 Correlative Conjunctive Coordinators

French and Italian have correlative ‘and’, but not Spanish or Portuguese. Italian *sia* (‘and’) must be repeated on each conjunct, but the last conjunct can be marked by *che* instead of *sia* (43b).

- (43) a. [*Et Jean et Marie*] sont venus *à la fête*. (Fr.)
 and Jean and Marie PERF come to the party
 b. [*Sia Gianni sia/che Maria*] sono venuti alla festa. (It.)
 c. **[Y Juan y Maria] han venido a la fiesta*. (Sp.)
 ‘Both John and Mary have come to the party.’

Like *both...and*, correlative ‘and’ always has a distributive reading, and is difficult with group predicates (44):

- (44) a. # [*Et Paul et Marie*] s’entendent bien. (Fr.)
 ‘Both Paul and Mary get along well’
 b. # [*Sia Paul che Maria*] vanno d’accordo. (It.)
 ‘Both Paul and Mary get along well’

Such correlative coordinations may be difficult with main clauses (Mouret, 2005; Scorretti, 1991).

- (45) a. ?*Et il pleut et il fait froid*. (Fr.)
 b. **Sia piove sia fa freddo*. (It.)
 ‘Both it rains and it is cold’

We also find specific correlative conjunctions: Fr. *tant . . . que*, Sp. and Pt. *tanto . . . como*, always with a distributive reading (Camacho, 1999; Piot, 2000, Matos, 2003). They are coordinations as witnessed by plural agreement.

- (46) a. [*Tant Pierre que Marie*] ont les yeux bleus. (Fr.)
 as Pierre as Marie have the eyes blue
 ‘Both Pierre and Marie have blue eyes’
 b. [*Tanto mi tío como mi abuela*] viven en Bogotá. (Sp.)
 ‘Both my aunt and my grand-mother live in Bogotá’
 c. [*Tanto o Pedro como a Ana*] vieram visitar-nos (Pt.)
 as the Pedro as the Ana come.FUT.3PL visit-us
 ‘Both Pedro and Ana will visit us’

2.2 Disjunctive Coordinators

Romance languages have several disjunctive conjunctions: French *ou*, *ou bien*; Italian *o*, *oppure*, *ovvero*²; Spanish *o*; Portuguese *ou*, *ora*; Romanian *sau*, *ori*:

- (47) a. *Conosci* [Mario o Marco]? (It.)
 know.2SG Mario o Marco
 b. *Tu conosci* [Mario ou Marco]? (Fr.)
 ‘You know Mario or Marco?’
 c. *Je voudrais* aller [en Chine ou bien en Inde]. (Fr.)
 I want.COND go.INF in China or in India
 d. *Vorrei* andare [in Cina oppure in India]. (It.)
 want.COND.1SG go.INF in China or in India
 ‘I would like to go to China or to India’

2.2.1 Correlative Disjunctive Coordinators

Most Romance languages can double the disjunctive coordinator, with an exclusive reading;

French and Portuguese *ou...ou*, Portuguese *ora...ora*, Italian and Spanish *o...o*, Romanian *sau...sau* ; *ori...ori*. French, Portuguese, and Romanian also have a correlative coordinator (*soit...soit*, *quer...quer*, *fie...fie*). Coordination of unlike categories is possible (48d) (Bilbie, 2017).

- (48) a. *Je verrai* [ou Paul ou Marie]. (Fr.)
 I see.FUT.1SG or Paul or Marie
 ‘I will see either Paul or Marie’
 b. *Vedrò* [o Paolo o Maria]. (It.)
 see.FUT.1SG or Paolo or Maria
 ‘I will see either Paolo or Maria’
 c. *Vendré* [o el lunes o el martes] (Sp.)
 come.FUT.1SG or DEF.M.SG Monday or DEF.M.SG Tuesday
 ‘I will come either Monday or Tuesday’
 d. *Ion este* [fie naiv, fie un imbecil]. (Ro.)
 ‘Ion is either naïve or a fool.’

The same conjunction must introduce each conjunct (Matos, 2003):

- (49) a. *Vou [ou ao cinema ou ao teatro].* (Pt.)
 go.1SG or to-the movies or to-the theater
 b. *Vou [ora ao cinema ora ao teatro].* (Pt.)
 ‘I’m going either to the movies or to the theatre’
 c. **Vou [ou ao cinema ora ao teatro].* (Pt.)

Unlike correlative ‘and’, correlative ‘or’ can coordinate root sentences (Bilbie, 2008; Matos, 2003; Mouret, 2005):

- (50) a. *Soit il fera beau, soit il fera mauvais.* (Fr.)
 Or it be.FUT.3SG fine or it be.FUT.3SG bad
 b. *O farà bello, o farà brutto.* (It.)
 Or be. FUT.3SG fine or be. FUT.3SG bad
 ‘Either the weather will be fine or it will be bad.’
 c. *Quer tu querias quer não querias.* (Pt.)
 Or you want.PST.2SG or NEG want.PST.2SG
 ‘Either you wanted or you didn’t want to’
 d. *Ori plec în vacanță, ori lucrez.* (Ro.)
 Or go.1SG in vacation, or work.1SG
 ‘Either I go on vacation or I work’

Unlike English focus particles (*either, both*) (Hofmeister, 2010), initial coordinators such as

Fr. *ou, soit*, Sp. *o*, Ro. *sau, fie* cannot float outside the coordination:

- (51) a. **Je voudrais ou aller [en Chine ou en Inde].* (Fr.)
 ‘I would like to either go to China or to India’
 b. **Ou vou [ao cinema ou ao teatro].* (Pt.)
 ‘Either I go to the cinema or to the movies’

2.3 Adversative Coordinators

Romance languages have several adversative coordinators: French *mais*; Italian *ma*; Portuguese *mas*; Spanish *sino*, *pero*; Romanian *dar*, *ci*.

Like German *aber* and *sondern* ‘but’ (Koenig & Benndorf, 1998), Spanish *pero*, Romanian *dar* are contrastive, whereas *sino*, *ci* are corrective (Bilbie, 2017; Vicente, 2010). *Pero*, *dar* can be replaced by *y* (‘and’), whereas *sino*, *ci* occur after negation and mean ‘but rather’.

- (52) a. *Este tema es [difícil, pero interesante].* (Sp.)
 ‘This exercise is difficult, but interesting’
 b. *No ha estado en Barcelona, sino en Madrid.* (Sp.)
 NEG has gone to Barcelona but to Madrid
 ‘He hasn’t gone to Barcelona but to Madrid’
 c. *Rochia e [frumoasă, dar cam scumpă].* (Ro.)
 Dress is nice but little expensive
 ‘The dress is nice but a bit expensive’
 d. *Nu vin azi, ci mâine.* (Ro.)
 NEG come.1SG today, but tomorrow
 ‘I’m not coming today, but tomorrow’

French, Italian, and Portuguese, on the other hand, use the same conjunction for both meanings (Anscombe & Ducrot, 1977; Scorretti, 1991), like English.

- (53) a. *Cet exercice est [difficile mais intéressant].* (Fr.)
 ‘This exercise is difficult but interesting’
 b. *Je ne viens pas aujourd’hui mais demain.* (Fr.)
 I NEG come NEG today, but tomorrow
 ‘I’m not coming today, but tomorrow’

Contrastive ‘but’ is mainly used for clauses, predicative complements, or adjuncts. It is more difficult with referential NPs, unless they are quantified (Matos, 2003) or include a focus adverb (*also*) (Bilbie, 2017):

- (54) a. *[*Paul mais Marie*] *sont venus*. (Fr.)
 ‘*Paul but Mary have come’
- b. [*Peu de professeurs mais beaucoup d’étudiants*] *sont venus*. (Fr.)
 Few of professors but many of students PERF come.M.PL
 ‘Few professors but many students have come’
- c. [*Poucos professores mas muitos alunos*] *compareceram à reunião geral*. (Pt.)
 Few professors but many students attended the meeting general
 ‘Few professors but many students attended the general meeting’
- d. [*Medicii, dar și studenții,*] *au protestat ieri*. (Ro.)
 Physicians-the, but also students-the, have protested yesterday
 ‘The physicians, but also the students, have protested yesterday’

2.4 Negative Coordinators

Romance languages have a negative coordinator: *ni* (French, Spanish), *né* (Italian), *nem* (Portuguese), *nici* (Romanian), meaning ‘nor’, used in simple and correlative coordination.

Simple *nor* is a negative polarity item (55a, 55b, and 55d) (Bilbie, 2017; de Swart, 2001) and must occur with a negation (Fr. *pas* in 55a, Ro. *nu* in 55d). In French, correlative *ni* is a negative coordinator, triggering *ne* on the verb, and can occur without *pas* (55c) (Mouret, 2006b) (see article on “Negation and Polarity in the Romance Languages” in this encyclopedia, forthcoming).

- (55) a. *Je n’ai pas vu [Paul ni Marie]*. (Fr.)
 ‘I didn’t see Paul nor Mary’
- b. **J’ai* /**Je n’ai vu [Paul ni Marie]*. (Fr.)
 ‘*I have seen Paul nor Mary’
- c. *Je n’ai vu [ni Paul ni Marie]*. (Fr.)
 ‘I have seen neither Paul nor Mary’
- d. *Nu vin [azi, nici mâine]*. (Ro.)
 NEG come.1SG today, nor tomorrow
 ‘I’m not coming today nor tomorrow’

Simple *nor* is equivalent to ‘or’, but because it must appear in a negative context, with negation taking scope over the disjunction, the interpretation (‘not (x or y)’) is equivalent to (‘not x and not y’).

In Italian (56), Portuguese (57), and Spanish (58), simple *nor* is as a negative polarity item, whereas correlative *nor* is an n-word that obeys negative concord (Camacho, 1999) (see article on “Negation and Polarity in the Romance Languages” in this encyclopedia, forthcoming).

- (56) a. *Non coltivo [soia né grano].* (It.)
 NEG grow.1SG soy nor wheat
 ‘I don’t grow soy nor wheat’
 b. **[Soia né grano] coltivo* (It.)
 ‘*Soy nor wheat, I grow’
 c. *[Né soia né grano] coltivo.* (It.)
 ‘Neither soy nor wheat, I grow’
- (57) a. *Não veio [o Eduardo nem a Gloria].* (Pt.)
 NEG came.3SG Eduardo nor Gloria
 ‘Neither Eduardo nor Gloria came’
 b. **[O Eduardo nem a Gloria] vieram.* (Pt.)
 ‘*Eduardo nor Gloria came’
 c. *[Nem o Eduardo nem a Gloria] vieram.* (Pt.)
 ‘Neither Eduardo nor Gloria came’
- (58) a. *No vino* [Eduardo ni Gloria]. (Sp.)
 NEG come.PST.3SG Eduardo nor Gloria
 ‘neither Eduardo nor Gloria came’
 b. **[Eduardo ni Gloria] vinieron.* (Sp.)
 Eduardo nor Gloria come.PST.3PL
 ‘*Eduardo nor Gloria came’
 c. *[Ni Eduardo ni Gloria] vinieron.* (Sp.)
 nor Eduardo nor Gloria come.PST.3PL
 ‘Neither Eduardo nor Gloria came’

2.5 Connective Adverbs

Other discourse connectives (*nevertheless, therefore, thus, ...*) bear some family resemblance with coordinators and are sometimes classified as conjunctions in some grammars. The main syntactic differences between adverbs and coordinating conjunctions is that adverbs are more

mobile (59a) and that they can co-occur with a conjunction (59b), whereas two conjunctions cannot co-occur (59c).

- (59) a. *Il pleut, (donc) je prends (donc) mon parapluie.* (Fr.)
 ‘It’s raining, (therefore) I’m taking (therefore) my umbrella’
 b. *Il pleut, et donc je prends mon parapluie.* (Fr.)
 ‘It’s raining, and therefore I’m taking my umbrella’
 c. **Il pleut et mais /mais et je prends mon parapluie.* (Fr.)
 ‘It’s raining and but /but and I’m taking my umbrella’

In French *donc* (‘thus’), *pourtant* (‘though’), *puis* (‘then’) are thus analyzed as adverbs (Mouret, 2007; Piot, 1993). The same criteria apply to Italian *però* (‘though’), *tuttavia* (‘nevertheless’), *quindi* (‘therefore’) (Scorretti, 1991; M. Loporcaro, personal communication).

- (60) a. *Mario gioca bene, (ma) però / tuttavia perde.* (It.)
 ‘Mario plays well, (but) though/ nevertheless loses’
 b. *Mario gioca bene, perde però.* (It.)
 ‘Mario plays well, he loses though’
 c. *Mario gioca bene e però / tuttavia perde.* (It.)
 ‘Mario plays well and though/nevertheless loses’

Using this criterion, Spanish correlatives *bien ... bien*, *sea ... sea* (‘either ... or’) are adverbs, since they are compatible with *o* (‘or’), unlike true coordinators (61c) (Camacho, 1999):

- (61) a. *Vendré [bien en la tarde (o) bien en la mañana].* (Sp.)
 come.FUT.1SG either in the afternoon or either in the morning
 ‘I’ll come either in the afternoon or in the morning’
 b. *sea verdad (o) sea mentira.* (Sp.)
 either truth or either lie
 ‘either truth or lie’
 c. **Hace sol y pero hace frío.* (Sp.)
 Make.3SG sun and but make.3SG cold

‘*it’s sunny and but it’s cold’

Bilbiie (2008, 2017) argues that Romanian pairs *și ... și* (‘both ... and’) and *nici ... nici* (‘neither ... nor’) are correlative adverbs, rather than conjunctions, since they are compatible with the coordinator *și*. The correlative adverb *și* should thus be distinguished from the coordinator *și*. The adverbs *și* (‘also’) and *nici* (‘neither’) also occur outside coordination (62c and 62d).

- (62) a. [*Și* Ion (*și*) *și* Maria] *au venit*. (Ro.)
also Ion (and) also Maria have come
‘Both Ion and Maria have come’
b. *nici* Ion (*și*) *nici* Maria (Ro.)
‘neither Ion (and) nor Maria’
c. [*Și* Ion] *a picat examenul*. (Ro.)
‘Also Ion has failed the exam’
d. [*Nici* Ion] *nu a picat examenul*. (Ro.)
neither Ion NEG has failed exam-the
‘Neither Ion has failed the exam’

3. Coordination and Agreement

In case of nominal coordination, Romance languages allow for full agreement (with the coordinate phrase) or partial agreement (with the closest conjunct).

3.1 Coordination and Agreement in the Noun Phrase

In the Noun Phrase, determiners and adjectives agree in gender and number with the head Noun.

3.1.1 Number Agreement

Spanish and Portuguese use a singular determiner before two singular coordinated nouns (Arnold et al., 2005; Demonte & Pérez-Jiménez, 2012), whereas French uses a plural determiner for non-coreferent human nouns (63c) and allows both singular and plural for other non-coreferent nouns (63d) (An & Abeillé, 2017) (see article on “Number Marking in Nouns and Adjectives in the Romance Languages” in this encyclopedia, forthcoming).

- (63) a. [*El hornero y hornera*] *cobran en panes.* (Sp.)
the.M.SG baker.M.SG and baker.F.SG pay.IMP.F.PL in breads
‘The male and female bakers were paid in breads’
b. [*O presidente e amigo*] *comeram juntos.* (Pt.)
the.M.SG president.M.SG and friend.M.SG eat.PST.PL together
‘The president and his friend ate together.’
c. [*Les président et vice-président*] *étaient d’accord.* (Fr.)
the.PL president(M).SG and vice-president(M).SG were of agreement
‘The president and vice-president agreed’
d. *vos/votre nom et prénom* (Fr.)
your.PL/SG name(M).SG and first-name(M).SG
‘your name and first name’

With a plural noun, attributive adjectives must be plural (64a), except if their coordination has a distributive interpretation: the Russian flag and the Italian flag in (64b and 64c), the Romanian President and the French President in (64d) (Croitor & Giurgea, 2009).

- (64) a. *des garçons [loyaux et intelligents]* (Fr.)
INDEF.PL boy(M).PL loyal.M.PL and clever.M.PL
‘loyal and intelligent boys’
b. *les drapeaux [russe et italien]* (Fr.)
DEF.PL flag(M).PL Russian.SG and Italian.M.SG
c. *le bandière [russa e italiana]* (It.)
DEF.F.PL flag(F).PL Russian.F.SG and Italian.F.SG
‘the Russian and Italian flags’
d. *președinți-i [român și francez]* (Ro.)
president.DEF.PL Romanian.SG and French.SG
‘the Romanian and French presidents’

With coordinated nouns, the adjective can be plural or agree with the last noun (closest conjunct agreement). The singular adjective is sometimes said to only modify the last noun, but wide scope reading is available: ‘Russian language and Russian literature’ in (65).

- (65) a. [*la langue et la littérature*] *russe/russes* (Fr.)
 the language(F).SG and the literature(F).SG Russian.SG/PL
 b. [*lingua e letteratura*] *russo/russa* (It.)
 language(F).SG and literature(F).SG Russian.F.SG/PL
 c. [*lengua y literatura*] *rusa/rusas* (Sp.)
 language(F).SG and literature(F).SG Russian.F.SG/PL
 ‘Russian language and literature’

3.1.2 Gender Agreement

Most Romance languages have two grammatical genders (masculine and feminine). In case of Nouns with different genders, Det or Adj agreement can follow a gender resolution strategy (Corbett, 1991) to the masculine agreement form (Demonte & Pérez-Jiménez, 2012) (see article on “Gender in the Romance Languages” in this encyclopedia, forthcoming).

- (66) a. *Sus pómulos y nariz aparecían afilados.* (Sp.)
 his.PL cheek(M).PL and nose(F).PL seem.PST.PL sharp.M.PL
 b. *Ses joues et son nez semblaient pointus.* (Fr.)
 his.PL cheek(F).PL and his.SG nose(M).SG seem.PST.PL sharp.M.PL
 ‘his cheeks and nose seemed sharp’

Romanian has a special resolution strategy that depends on animacy: masculine with animate nouns of conflicting genders, feminine with inanimate nouns (Croitor & Giurgea, 2009)³:

- (67) a. *Un scaun și o masă erau stricate.* (Ro.)
 a chair(M).SG and a wardrobe(F).SG were broken.F.PL
 ‘A chair and a wardrobe were broken’
 b. *Tată și mama erau obosiți /*obosite.* (Ro.)
 father(M).SG and mother(F).SG were tired.M.PL /*F.PL

‘the father and the mother were tired’

French, Spanish, and Portuguese also allow for another strategy called *closest conjunct agreement* (An & Abeillé, 2017, 2021; de Almeida Torres, 1981; Demonte & Pérez-Jiménez, 2012). The Det agrees with the first Noun and the Adj with the last Noun in (68a). In (68b–68d), the feminine Det agrees with the first Noun.

- (68) a. *no* *povo* *e* *gente* *hebreia* (Pt.)
 on-the.M.SG population(M).SG and people(F).SG hebrew.F.SG
 ‘in the Hebrew population and people’
- b. *certaines* [*viles* *et* *villages*] *du* *Mexique* (Fr.)
 certain.F.PL city(F).PL and village(M).PL of-the Mexico
- c. *alcune* [*città* *e* *villagi*] *del Messico* (It.)
 certain.F.PL city(F).PL and village(M).PL of-the Mexico
- d. *alcunas* [*ciudades y* *pueblos*] *de México* (Sp.)
 certain.F.PL city(F).PL and village(M).PL of Mexico
 ‘certain cities and villages of Mexico’

3.2 Subject–Verb Agreement

In Romance, the verb displays number and person agreement with the subject.

3.2.1 Number Agreement

In case of subject coordination, ‘and’ triggers plural agreement (69a and 69b) while ‘or’ permits both singular and plural agreement (69c and 69d).

- (69) a. *Paul et Marie viendront.* (Fr.)
 Paul and Mary come. FUT.3PL
- b. *Paolo e Maria verranno.* (It.)
 Paul and Mary come. FUT.3PL
 ‘Paul and Mary will come’
- c. *Paul ou Marie viendra/viendront.* (Fr.)
 Paul or Marie come. FUT.3SG/3PL
- d. *Paolo o Maria verrà/verranno.* (It.)

Paul or Mary come. FUT.3SG/3PL
 ‘Paul or Mary will come’

Verb agreement may also be sensitive to word order, with a singular verb possible in case of subject inversion in Portuguese (Matos 2003) and Romanian (Bilbie 2017):

- (70) a. *Tanto o Pedro como a Ana vieram/*veio visitar-nos.* (Pt.)
 as the Pedro as the Ana come.PST.3PL/*SG visit-us
 ‘Both Pedro and Ana came to visit us’
 b. *Veio/ Vieram visitar-nos [tanto o Pedro como a Ana].* (Pt.)
 come.PST.3PL/SG visit-us as the Pedro as the Ana
 c. *[Ploaia și vântul] se aud/*aude extrem de tare.* (Ro.)
 rain-the and wind-the REFL hear.3PL/*SG extremely loud
 ‘One hears the rain and the wind extremely loud’
 d. *Se aude /aud [ploaia și vântul] extrem de tare.* (Ro.)
 REFL hear.3SG/PL rain-the and wind-the extremely loud

3.2.2 Person Resolution

In case of different persons, the same resolution principle as in English applies: the first person has priority over the third (71a and 71b) and second person (71c and 71d), which has priority over the third person (71e and 71f).

- (71) a. *[Paul et moi] venons demain.* (Fr.)
 Paul and I come.1PL tomorrow
 ‘Paul and I are coming tomorrow’
 b. *[Paolo ed io] verremo domani.* (It.)
 Paolo and I come.FUT.1PL tomorrow
 c. *[Toi et moi] sommes amis.* (Fr.)
 You and I be.1PL friends
 ‘You and I are friends’
 d. *[Tu ed io] siamo amici.* (It.)
 You and I be.1PL friends
 e. *[Paul et toi] venez demain.* (Fr.)
 Paul and you come.2PL tomorrow
 ‘Paul and you are coming tomorrow’
 f. *[Paolo e te] venite domani.* (It.)
 Paolo and you come. FUT.2PL tomorrow

4. Nonconstituent Coordination

Romance languages display various kinds of nonconstituent coordination (see article on “Ellipsis in the Romance Languages” in this encyclopedia, forthcoming).

4.1 Coordination of Sequences

Sequences of nonconstituents can be coordinated in Romance (Bilbie, 2017):

- (72) a. *Paul donne [un disque] [à son fils] et [un livre] [à sa fille].* (Fr.)
‘Paul gives a record to his son and a book to his daughter’
b. *Paolo dà [un libro] [a suo figlio] e [un disco] [a sua figlia].* (It.)
‘Paul gives a book to his son and a record to his daughter’
c. *I-am oferit [o carte] [Mariei] și [un stilou] [Ioanei].* (Ro.)
PERF offer.PPT a book Maria.DAT and a pen Ioana.DAT
‘I gave a book to Maria and a pen to Ioana’

They have been sometimes analyzed as VP coordination with ellipsis of the second verb, but the placement of correlative conjunctions shows that coordination does not involve the first verb (Mouret, 2006a), unlike in English (Hofmeister, 2010):

- (73) a. *Paul donne [et [un disque] [à son fils]] [et [un livre] [à sa fille]].* (Fr.)
‘Paul gives both a record to his son and a book to his daughter’
b. **Paul [et donne [un disque] [à son fils]] [et [un livre] [à sa fille]].* (Fr.)
‘*Paul both gives a record to his son and a book to his daughter’
c. *Paolo dà [o [un disco] [a suo figlio]] [o [un libro] [a sua figlia]].* (It.)
‘Paul gives either a record to his son or a book to his daughter’
d. **Paolo [o dà [un disco] [a suo figlio]] [o [un libro] [a sua figlia]].* (It.)
‘*Paul either gives a record to his son or a book to his daughter’

4.2 Gapping in Romance

Gapping, with ellipsis of the verb in the second clause, is allowed in Romance, with simple (74a and 74b) or correlative coordination (74c and 74d) (Abeillé et al., 2014) (see article on “Ellipsis in the Romance Languages” in this encyclopedia, forthcoming).

- (74) a. *Maria mange une poire [et Ion une pomme].* (Fr.)
 b. *Maria mănâncă o pară, iar Ion un măr.* (Ro.)
 ‘Maria eats a pear, and John an apple’
 c. *Ou Paul ira chez Marie [ou Marie chez Paul].* (Fr.)
 Either Paul go. FUT.3SG at Marie or Marie at Paul
 ‘Either Paul will go to Marie’s or Marie to Paul’s’
 d. *Ori eu te învăț pe tine franceza, ori tu pe mine engleza.* (Ro.)
 Either I you teach DOM you French or you DOM me English
 ‘Either I teach you French or you teach me English’

As in English, Romance gapping allows for agreement mismatch (75a–75c) but not for tense or voice mismatch (75d–75f):

- (75) a. *La mère va à la montagne et les enfants (vont) à la mer.* (Fr.)
 The mother goes to the mountain and the children (go) to-the sea
 b. *La madre va in montagna e i ragazzi (vanno) al mare.* (It.)
 The mother goes in mountain and the children (go) to-the sea
 ‘The mother is going to the mountain and the children (are going) to the seaside’
 c. *Eu iubesc animalele, iar Ioana (iubește) florile.* (Ro.)
 I like animals-the and Ioana (likes) flowers-the
 ‘I like animals, and Ioana (likes) flowers’
 d. # *Je suis arrivée hier [et toi demain].* (Fr.)
 e. # *Sono arrivata ieri [e tu domani].* (It.)
 ‘I arrived yesterday and you tomorrow’
 f. **Marie lave la vaisselle [et le linge par Jean].* (Fr.)
 *Marie washes the dishes and the clothes by Jean

4.2.1 Negative Mismatch

Negative mismatch is possible between the realized and the elided material. In Romanian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, negation (*non*, *nu*) should be present in the second conjunct together with the n-word *nothing*, though it is not in the first conjunct (Abeillé et al., 2014) (see article on “Negation and Polarity in the Romance Languages” in this encyclopedia, forthcoming).⁴

- (76) a. *Ho comprato qualcosa per il suo compleanno ma lui (non ha comprato) niente per il mio.* (It.)
 have.1SG bought something for the his birthday but he (NEG has bought) nothing for the mine
 ‘I bought something for his birthday, but he nothing for mine’
 b. *Eu i-am cumpărat ceva de ziua lui, dar el nimic (nu a cumpărat) de ziua mea.* (Ro.)
 I CL-PERF bought something for birthday his, but he nothing (NEG PERF bought) for birthday my
 ‘I bought him something for his birthday, but he nothing for mine’
 c. **(Non) ha comprato niente.* (It.)
 d. **(Nu) a cumpărat nimic.* (Ro.)
 ‘He has bought nothing’

In French, the *de* object is a negative polarity item and is not licensed by a positive verb in the second conjunct. It may, however, correspond to a positive object in the gapped clause.

- (77) a. *Paul ne voit jamais d'écureuils [mais Marie (voit des écureuils) tout le temps].* (Fr.)
 Paul NEG sees never POL squirrels but Marie (sees INDF.PL squirrels) all the time
 ‘Paul never sees squirrels but Marie all the time’
 b. **Marie voit d'écureuils tout le temps.* (Fr.)
 Marie sees POL squirrels all the time
 ‘Marie sees squirrels all the time’

4.2.2 Embedded Gapping

The second remnant can be a focus adverb (*also*, *even* ...), which is sometimes called *polarity gapping* or *stripping*. A single remnant without an adverb is possible with *or* (78d).

- (78) a. *Marie vient demain, et Paul aussi.* (Fr.)
 Marie comes tomorrow, and Paul too
 ‘Mary is coming tomorrow, and Paul is too’
 b. *Maria verrà domani, e anche Paolo.* (It.)
 Maria come.FUT.3SG tomorrow, and too Paolo
 c. *Maria venderá mañana [y Pablo también].* (Sp.)
 ‘Mary will come tomorrow, and Paul will too’
 d. *Marie viendra demain, ou bien Paul.* (Fr.)
 Maria come.FUT.3SG tomorrow, or Paul
 ‘Mary will come tomorrow, or Paul’

All Romance languages allow embedding gapping with a polarity adverb (López, 1995, Fernández-Sánchez (2016):

- (79) a. *Marie viendra demain et je crois [que Paul aussi].* (Fr.)
 Marie come.FUT.3SG tomorrow and I believe that Paul too
 b. *Maria venderá mañana y creo [que Pablo también].* (Sp.)
 Maria come.FUT.3SG tomorrow and believe.1SG that Pablo too
 ‘Marie will come tomorrow and I think that Paul will too’

Unlike French, Spanish and Romanian allow embedded gapping more generally (Bilbie, 2017; Bilbie & de la Fuente, 2019).

- (80) a. **Marie viendra demain et je crois [que Paul lundi].* (Fr.)
 Marie come.FUT.3SG tomorrow and I believe that Paul Monday
 ‘Marie will come tomorrow and I believe that Paul on Monday’
 b. *Pedro le regaló flores a María y creo [que Alicia unos libros].* (Sp.)
 Pedro her.DAT= offered flowers to Maria and think.1SG that Alicia some books
 ‘Pedro offered flowers to Maria and I think that Alicia some books.’
 c. *Nu eu îl=urăsc pe el, ci cred [că el pe mine].* (Ro.)
 NEG I him.ACC= hate.1SG DOM him but think.1SG that he DOM me
 ‘I don’t hate him, but I think that he hates me.’

4.3 Peripheral Ellipsis in Romance

Ellipsis with final shared material (‘Right node raising’) (Ross, 1967), with a first elliptical clause conjoined with a full clause, is possible in Romance:

- (81) a. [*Paul apprécie*] *mais il n’approuve pas cette proposition.* (Fr.)
 b. [*Paolo apprezza*] *ma non approva questa proposta.* (It.)
 ‘Paul appreciates but he does not approve this proposal’

Some mismatches are possible between the final and the missing material, such as a missing preposition in French (Abeillé & Mouret, 2010) and Spanish (Camacho, 2003):

- (82) a. [*Ce parti ne parvient pas*], *ou ne souhaite pas, surmonter ses contradictions.* (Fr.)
 This party NEG succeeds NEG or NEG wishes NEG overcome its contradictions
 ‘This party doesn’t succeed, or doesn’t want to overcome its contradictions’
 b. *Ce parti ne parvient pas *(à) surmonter ses contradictions.* (Fr.)
 This party NEG succeeds NEG to overcome its contradictions
 c. [*Primero amedrentaron*] *y luego dispararon contra los manifestantes.* (Sp.)
 First harassed.3PL and then shot.3PL against the demonstrators
 ‘First they harassed, and then they shot at the demonstrators’
 d. *Amedrentaron *(a) los manifestantes* (Sp.)
 harassed.3PL DOM the demonstrators

In French, voice mismatch is also possible, with an elided (reflexive) active and a final passive, or with an elided passive and a final (reflexive) active (Abeillé et al., 2015):

- (83) a. *tous ceux [qui se sont] ou qui ont été mobilisés pour lui* (Fr.)
 ‘all those who have themselves or who have been rallied for him’
 b. *tous ceux [qui ont été] ou qui se sont exclus, plus tard, dans leur vie d'adulte.* (Fr.)
 ‘all those who have been or have excluded themselves in their adult life’

These mismatches lead (Shiraishi et al., 2019) to analyze such ellipsis as deletion under lexeme identity and not under word form identity (Chaves, 2014).

Acknowledgments

I thank Alain Kihm, Patricia Cabredo, François Mouret, and Gabriela Bilibie and the reviewers for their helpful comments.

Links to Digital Materials

Coordination of mixed gender and non-androcentrist writing:

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Figure 1. Simple and correlative coordination.

Notes

² *Ovvero* (reformulating ‘or’) is restricted to coreferent conjuncts: it cannot coordinate clauses and cannot be doubled: *l’Irlanda, o/ovvero l’isola verde* (Scorretti, 1991).

³ Romanian is sometimes considered as having a neuter gender, which is similar to the masculine singular and to the feminine plural.

⁴ As observed by a reviewer, *nothing* can also be used as an (elliptical) answer to a wh-question: It. – *Che hai comprato?* (‘What did you buy?’) – *Niente.* (‘Nothing’).