

Crucially, in Dagur there are two types of coordinators: *boloor* conjoins two argumental DPs (*pii boloor qas* ‘pen **and** paper’), whereas *beitleen* conjoins two predicates which can be NP, AP, or VP (*ene ger [engel beitleen geʔeeken]* ‘this room is [spacious **and** bright]’). Note that an [Adj-3S.POSS & Adj-3S.POSS] coordination, which conjoins two DPs like the one in (4b), requires argument coordinator but not predicate coordinator (5a-b). However, omitting 3S.POSS suffix on the first conjunct requires the predicate coordinator (5c), and is ungrammatical with the argument coordinator (5d).

(5) [context: there are many apples on the table]

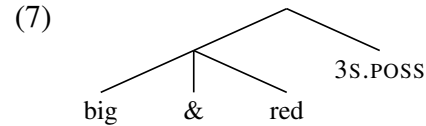
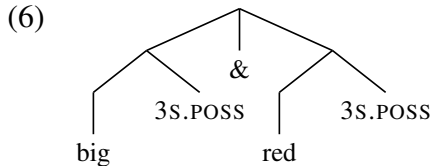
a. [*xiʔ-ii-nʏ boloor xulaan-ii-nʏ*] *id-sen-bi*
 [big-ACC-3S.POSS CONJ red-ACC-3S.POSS] eat-PST-1SG
 ‘I ate the big one and the red one’

b. **[xiʔ-ii-nʏ beitleen xulaan-ii-nʏ] id-sen-bi*

c. [*xiʔ beitleen xulaan-ii-nʏ*] *idsenbi*
 . [big CONJ red-ACC-3S.POSS] eat.PST.1SG
 ‘I ate the one that is big and red’
 *‘I ate the big one and the red one.’

d. **[xiʔ boloor xulaan-ii-nʏ] idsenbi*

If SA were ellipsis, which arguably applies at PF, the underlying structure in (5c-d) would be [~~big-3S.POSS~~ & red-3S.POSS] like (6) and hence would not require the predicate coordinator. But we see the predicate coordinator is obligatory in (5c), which requires that the structure is underlyingly (7), not (6). This is expected under the analysis where SA is low coordination.

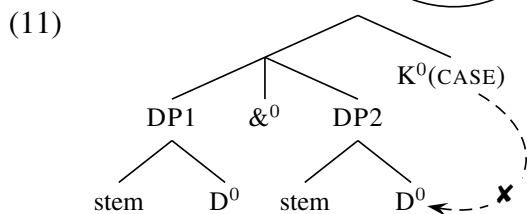
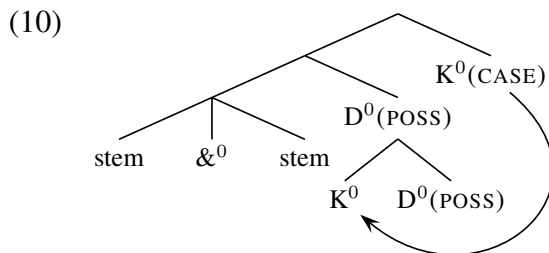


In order to see why CASE-POSS order is the result of Lowering, consider the following SA examples. (8) (an instantiation of (3b)) has severely degraded grammaticality, despite observing the REC. In contrast, suspending both CASE and POSS makes the sentence perfectly grammatical (9):

(8) *ʔʔ/*terʔ-eer boloor morʏ-eer-minʏ*
 vehicle-INST CONJ horse-INST-1S.POSS
irsen-taanʏ
 came-2PL
 Int. same as (9)

(9) *terʔ boloor morʏ-eer-minʏ irsen-taanʏ*
 vehicle CONJ horse-INST-1S.POSS came-2PL
 ‘you came on my vehicle and on my horse’

I take the POSS suffix to be located on D⁰, and the highest head in the nominal projection to be K⁰, taking DP as its complement. (10) shows the structure for (9). After syntax (at PF branch), K⁰ lowers to the head of its complement– D⁰, forming one complex head. Since (8) can only be derived from a structure where DP>KP, it’s correctly excluded. Furthermore, recall that (3a) is ungrammatical in



Dagur but grammatical in Mari. The Mari case is accounted for under G&W’s metathesis approach. In contrast, given that Dagur SA is low coordination, the fact that the REC is observed in Dagur (3a) cannot be explained through postsyntactic linear reordering operations like Local Dislocation. However, it directly falls out from the current Lowering analysis (11). According to the definition of Lowering, a head can only lower to the head of its complement (Embick & Noyer, 2001). Since in (11) the head of K⁰’s complement is &⁰, K⁰ cannot lower to D⁰.

References Embick, D., & Noyer, R. (2001). Movement operations after syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 32(4). Gu-seva, E., & Weisser, P. (2018). Postsyntactic reordering in Mari nominal domain. *Natural Lang & Ling Theory*.