

I argue that the cross-linguistic morpho-syntactic diversity of expressions for 'and' is reflected in a diversity of semantic interpretations: while Boolean 'and' extends from the sentential domain to other domains pointwise, sum formation extends from type **e** to the sentential case metaphorically. I argue that this difference explains contrasts between two conjunctions in Q'anjob'al (Mayan, Guatemala).

Q'anjob'al employs both a comitative marker *yetoq* 'with' that functions both as a preposition and as a conjunction, and specialized conjunctions *k'al* and *i* 'and':

- (1) ch-w-ochej naq Xhun y-etoq / i / k'al naq Yakin
 INC-A1S-like 3MAN Xhun A3-with / and / and 3MAN Yakin
 'I like Xhun and Yakin.'

Several kinds of arguments given by McNally (1993) for Russian, support that *and*- and *with*- conjunctions in Q'anjob'al differ in meaning. Conjunction *i* can combine properly quantificational (type **ett**) and other non-referential NPs, and thus has to have a crosscategorical Boolean semantics.

- (2) miman ix jujun heb' kuywom ^{OK}i / *y-etoq jujun heb' ulawom
 big woman every PL student ^{OK}and / *A3-with every PL guest
 'every student and every guest is fat' (lit. 'is a big woman')

Yetoq, restricted to referential NPs (type **e**), is interpreted simply as a sum/group forming operator.

In many languages, *with*-coordination can conjoin only noun phrases but not sentences. But in Q'anjob'al, *yetoq* 'with' can combine sentences and other kinds of phrases.

But in this function, comitative coordination is still different from *i*. *Yetoq* is not acceptable in most contexts where *i* 'and' can be used.¹

Yetoq is only acceptable between clauses which contribute to a common topic, roughly paraphrased as *and in addition to that*. For *yetoq* to be used felicitously, the clauses it conjoins always have a common topic to which they make a joint contribution, compare:

- (3) a. x-kankan naq Xhun b'ay na ^{OK}i / *y-etoq x-toq y-istil naq b'ay txomb'al
 COMP-stay 3MAN Xhun to house ^{OK}and / *A3-with COMP-go A3-wife 3MAN to market
 'Xhun stayed home and (*in addition to that) his wife went to the market'
- b. merwal ch-kus naq Xhun y-uj tol x-k'ayil naq masanil s-tumin y-etoq
 very INC-sad 3MAN Xhun A3-by that COMP-lose 3MAN all OWN-money A3-with
 x-kam masanil yawb'ejal naq
 COMP-die all crops 3MAN
 'Xhun is sad because he lost all his money and (^{OK}in addition to that) his crops died.'
- c. k'am tzetalyetal ch-w-aq'a y-etoq k'am maktxel b'ay ch-w-aq'a
 no what INC-A1S-give A3-with no who to INC-A1S-give
 'I have nothing to give and (^{OK}in addition to that) nobody to give things to'

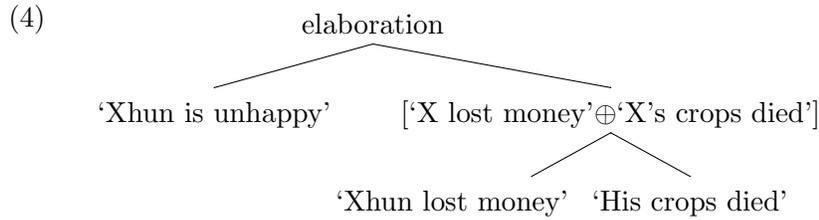
In (3-b), the common topic is Xhun's lack of luck. In (3-c), the common topic is that the speaker is unable to share. In both cases, the two clauses together elaborate on their shared topic.

I propose to formalize the property of *yetoq* to require a common topic from the clauses it conjoins by analyzing the sentential usage of *yetoq* as a metaphorical extension of group/sum formation. Assume that each clause can denote a minimal illocutionary act (Searle and Vanderveken, 1985); then

¹Glosses for grammatical elements include: INC 'incompletive aspect', COMP 'completive aspect', 3MAN '3rd person classifier/pronoun for men', A3 '3rd person ergative agreement prefix', A1S '1st person singular ergative agreement prefix', OWN '3rd person emphatic possessive prefix'.

a comitative coordination of clauses denotes a sum of two illocutionary acts (e.g. two assertives), and this sum relates to the rest of the discourse as a unit.

Assume that clauses/utterances in discourse are connected with *rhetorical relations* such as *background*, *motivation*, *conclusion*, etc. (Mann and Thompson, 1988). Intuitively, what I labeled above informally as “contributing to the same topic” can be represented as bearing the same (discourse) relation to the rest of the discourse structure, e.g. two (sub)utterances can be *elaborations* on the same preceding discourse. The role of *yetiq* then is to guarantee that the clauses it links stand in the same relation to the rest of the discourse. A natural implementation of this role, provided that *yetiq* otherwise denotes sum formation, is to assume that *yetiq* as a clausal linker forms a sum of two utterances. They, as a sum, are linked with a single discourse relation, schematically:



I have argued that as a clausal coordinator *yetiq* maintains traces of the sum formation meaning, as in the NP conjunction, with its pragmatics of ‘togetherness’ (McNally, 1993). This analysis of *yetiq* supports the hypothesis that sentential and NP coordination can be related in different ways in different languages. While some coordinators like Q’anjob’al *i* and English *and* can be given an order-theoretic denotation (Keenan and Faltz, 1985; Rooth and Partee, 1983), where NP coordination is a pointwise extension of the clausal case, the sentential usage of *yetiq* is a (metaphorical) extension of its basic sum meaning from entities to discourse units.

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