

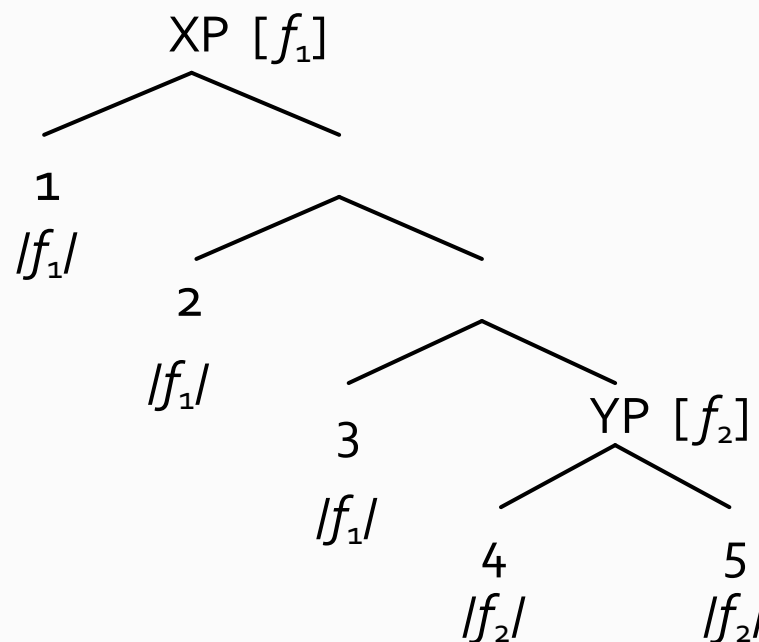
Maximization of the concord domain

Anna Grabovac

anna.grabovac.16@ucl.ac.uk
University College London
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Concord via domination

- CONCORD – agreement typically found in the nominal domain
- Results from the spell-out of dominating nodes*
- Maximization of the concord domain
 - *Feature percolation*
 - *Low realization*



Roadmap

- Deriving concord
 - *Syntax of numeral constructions*
 - *Central hypotheses of the concord system*
- Predicted effects and applications of the system
- Implications
 - *Alternative analyses*
 - *Sources of language variation*

Overview of Slavic patterns

(1) <èt-i> pjat' <èt-ix> star-yx knig
 this-NOM.PL five.NOM this-GEN.PL old-GEN.PL book.GEN.F.PL
 'these five old books'/'five of these old books'

(2) <èt-im> pjat-i <èt-im> star-ym knig-am
 this-DAT.PL five-DAT this-DAT.PL old-DAT.PL book-DAT.F.PL
 'to these five old books'/'to five of these old books'

Russian

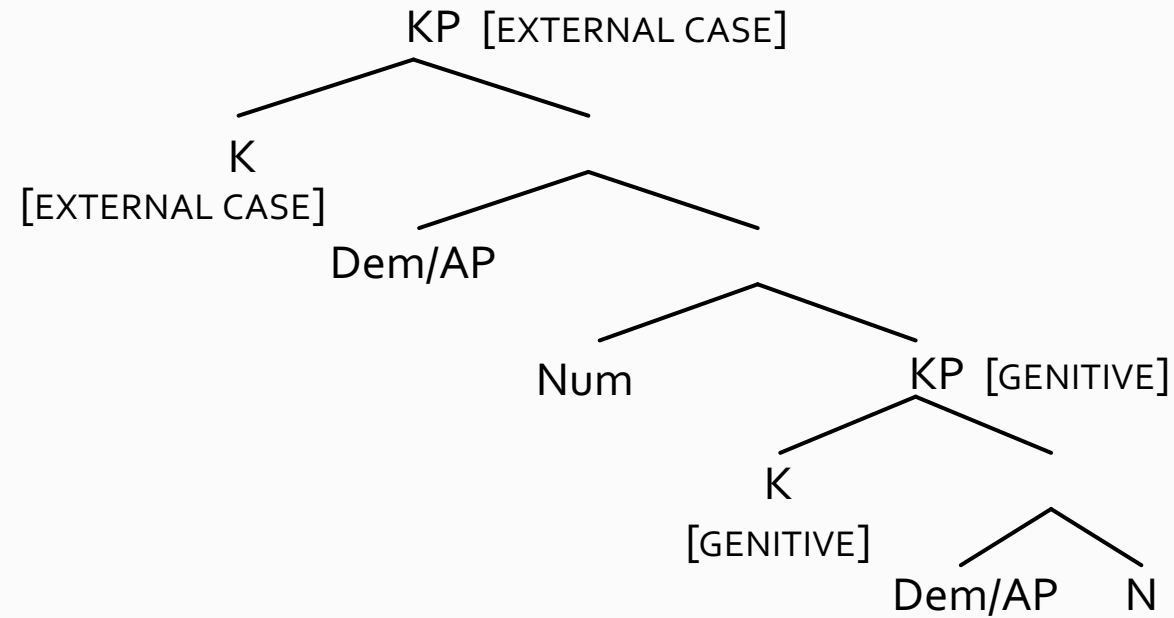
(3) <ov-ih> pet <ov-ih> star-ih knjig-a
 this-GEN.PL five this-GEN.PL old-GEN.PL book-GEN.F.PL
 'these five old books'/'five of these old books'

BCS

(4) <t-ych> pięć <t-ych> star-ych książek
 this-GEN.PL five.NOM this-GEN.PL old-GEN.PL book.GEN.F.PL
 'these five old books'/'five of these old books'

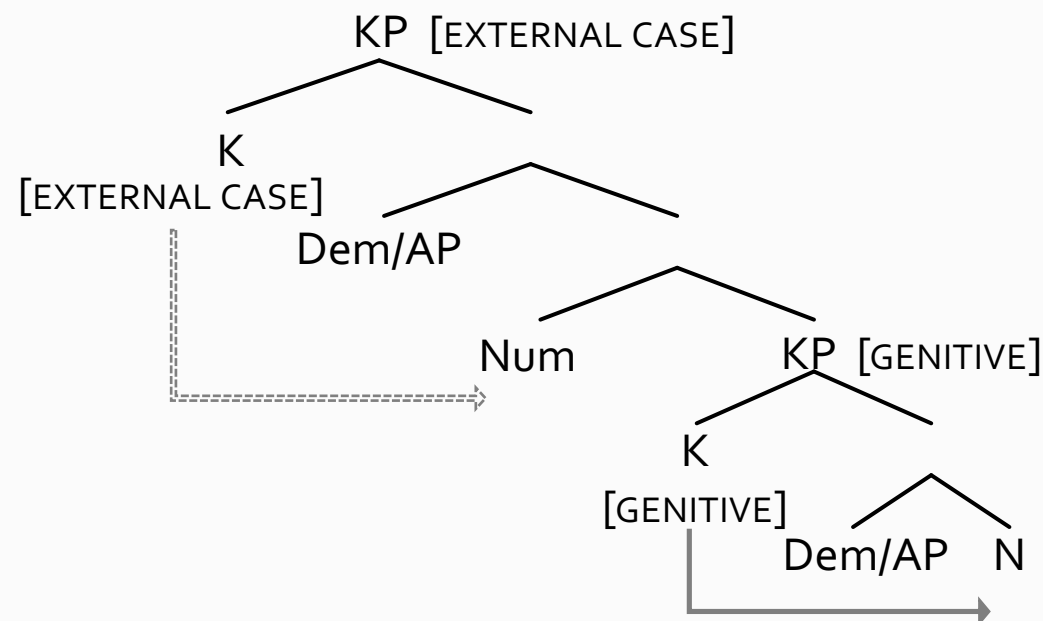
Polish

Syntax of numeral constructions



Central hypotheses

- Potential head-to-head agreement between Num and K
- Impoverishment
 - *By necessity, restricted to nodes that have the feature targeted for deletion*
- Complementarity of case assignment and case concord



Some predicted effects

- Num agrees: *aligned heterogeneous (Russian)*

[_{KP} EXTERNAL CASE ... [_{KP} GENITIVE ...]]

- Num agrees + impoverishment: *downward homogeneous (Russian)*

[_{KP} EXTERNAL CASE ... [_{KP} EXTERNAL CASE ...]]

- Num does not agree: *upward homogeneous (BCS)*

[_{KP} GENITIVE ... [_{KP} GENITIVE ...]]

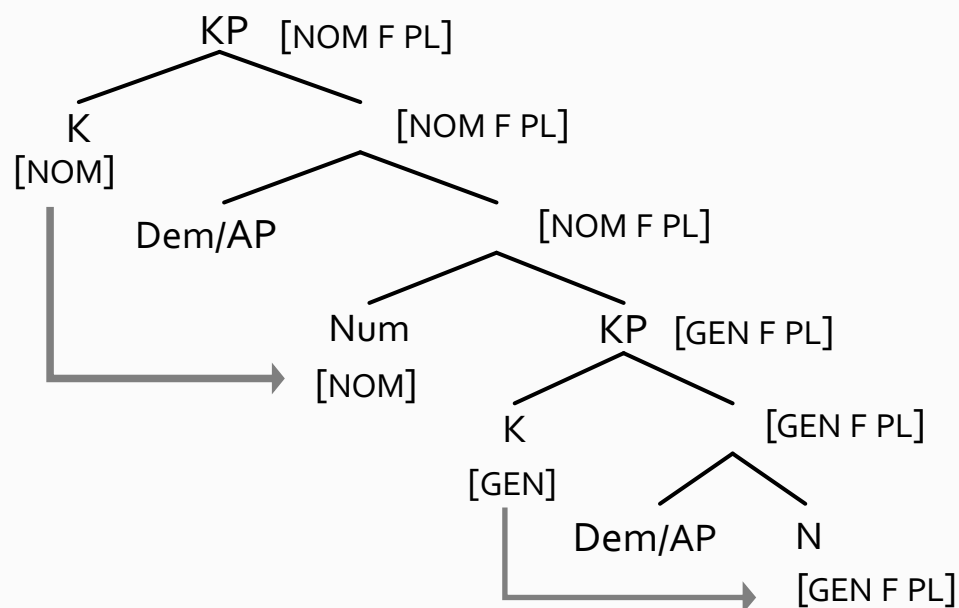
- Num does not agree or participate in concord: *interrupted homogeneous (Polish)*

[_{KP} GENITIVE ... Num_{NOM} [_{KP} GENITIVE ...]]

Aligned heterogeneous (Russian)

(5) èt-i pjat' star-yx knig
 this-NOM.PL five.NOM old-GEN.PL book.GEN.F.PL
 'these five old books'

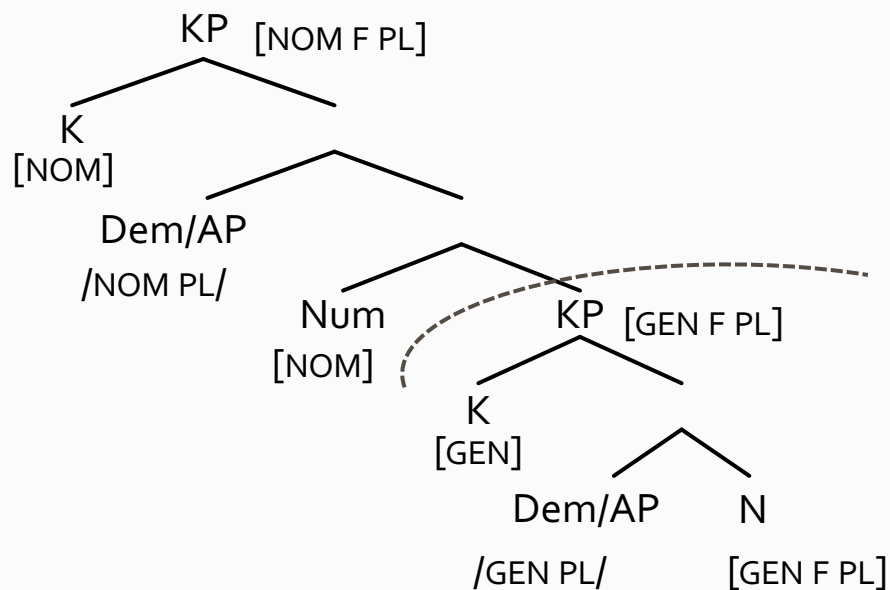
(6) Syntactic agreement/percolation



Aligned heterogeneous (Russian)

- (5) èt-i pjat' star-yx knig
 this-NOM.PL five.NOM old-GEN.PL book.GEN.F.PL
 'these five old books'

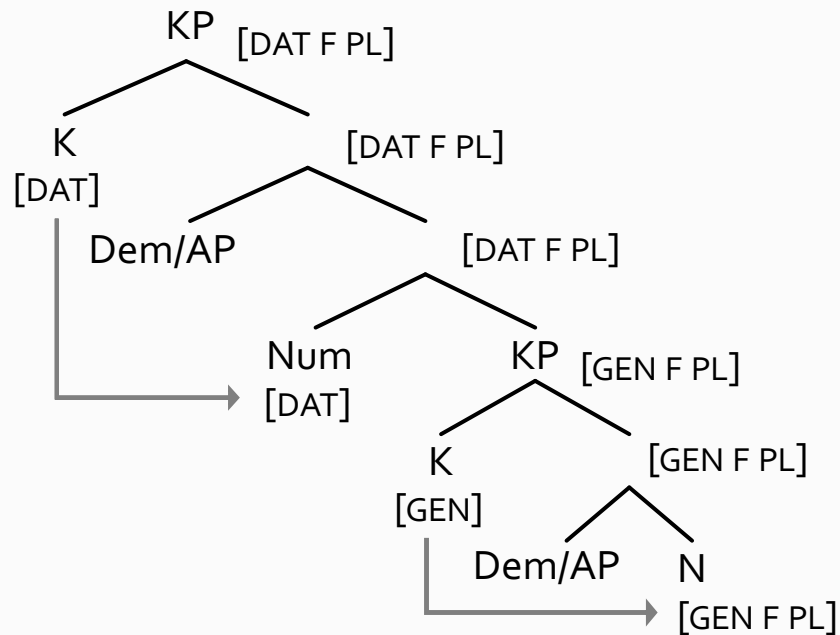
- (6) Syntax → Post-syntactic mapping/concord



Downward homogeneous (Russian)

(7) k èt-im pjat-i star-ym knig-am
 to this-DAT.PL five-DAT old-DAT.PL book-DAT.F.PL
 'to these five old books'

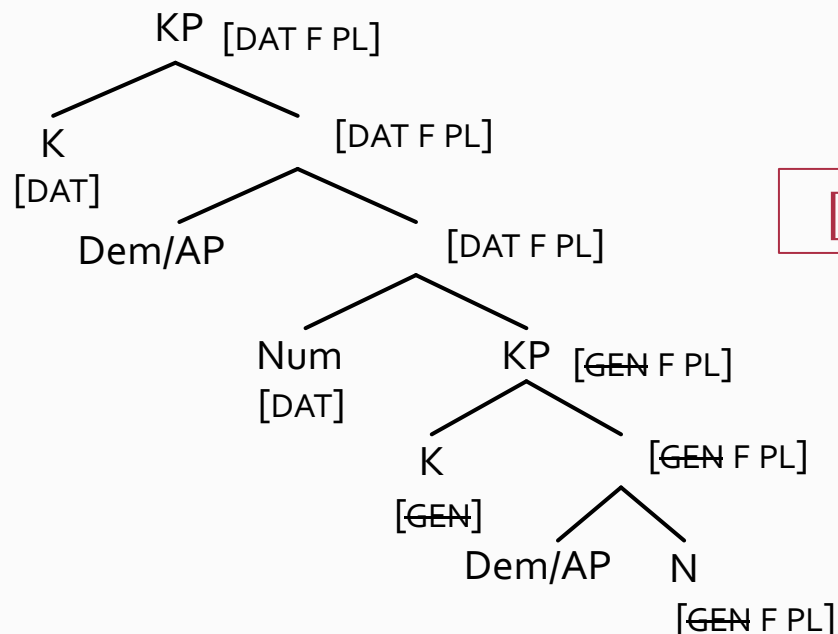
(8) Syntactic agreement/percolation



Downward homogeneous (Russian)

(7) k èt-im pjat-i star-ym knig-am
 to this-DAT.PL five-DAT old-DAT.PL book-DAT.F.PL
 'to these five old books'

(8) Syntax → Post-syntactic impoverishment

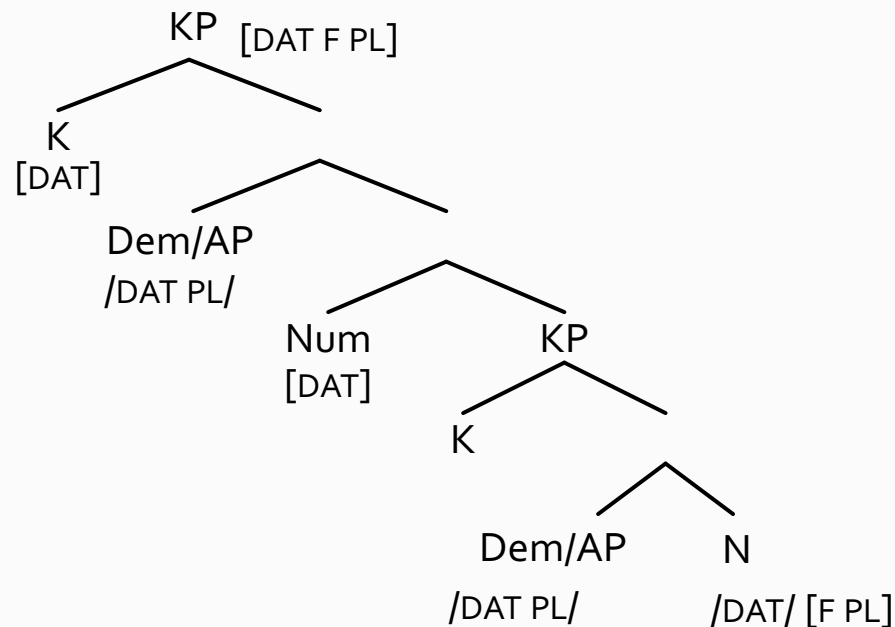


[GEN] → ∅ / nodes dominated by [DAT]

Downward homogeneous (Russian)

(7) k èt-im pjat-i star-ym knig-am
 to this-DAT.PL five-DAT old-DAT.PL book-DAT.F.PL
 'to these five old books'

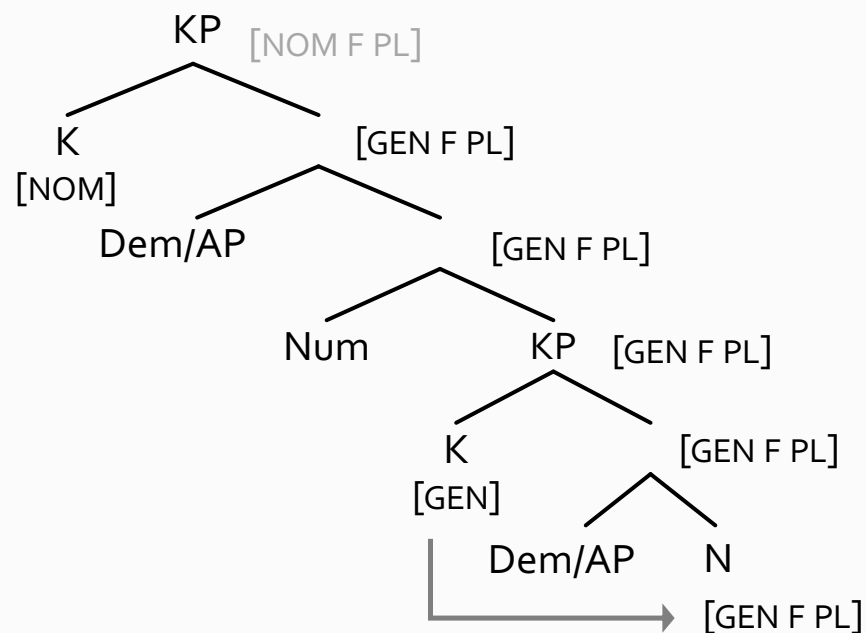
(8) Syntax → Post-syntactic impoverishment → Concord



Upward homogeneous (BCS)

(9) ov-ih pet star-ih knjig-a
 this-GEN.PL five old-GEN.PL book-GEN.F.PL
 'these five old books'

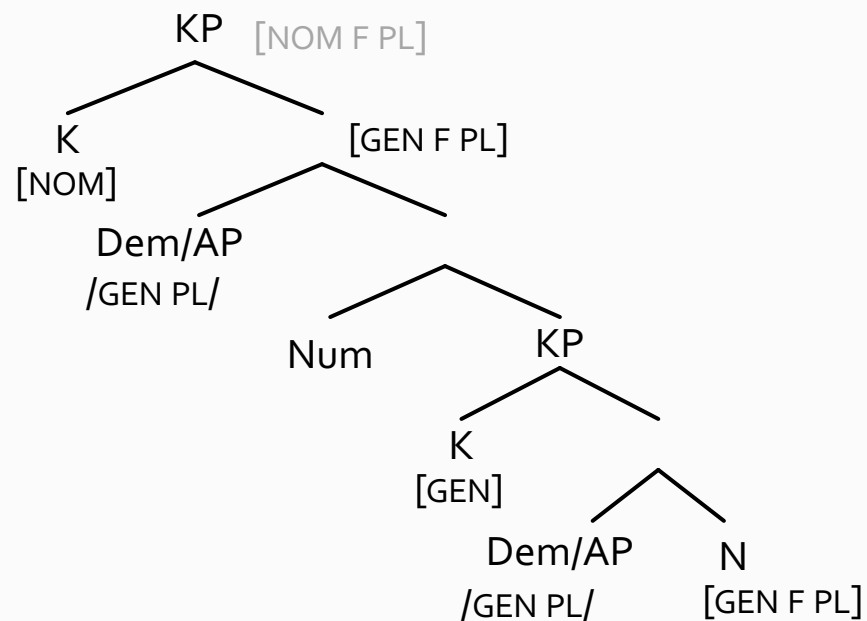
(10) Lack of agreement on Num/percolation



Upward homogeneous (BCS)

(9) ov-ih pet star-ih knjig-a
 this-GEN.PL five old-GEN.PL book-GEN.F.PL
 'these five old books'

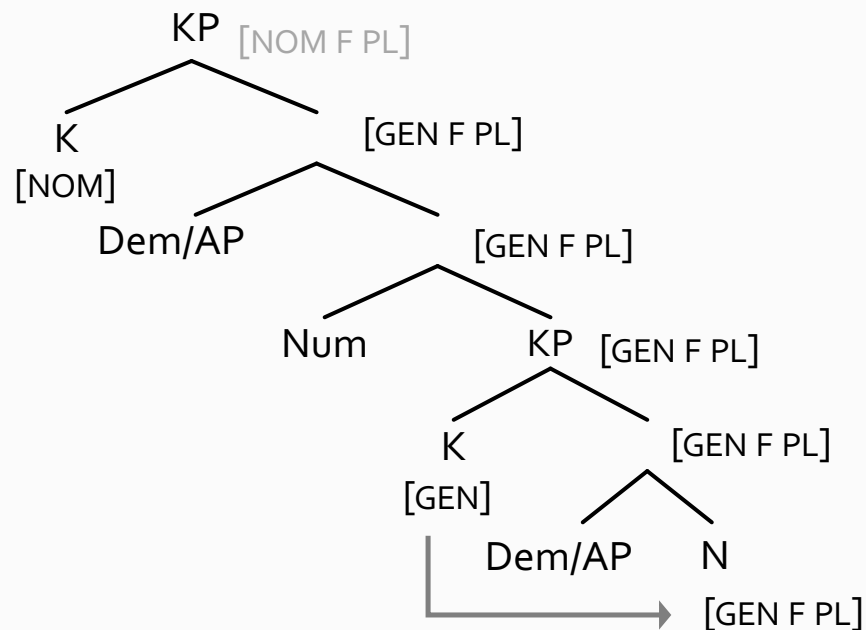
(10) Syntax → Post-syntactic mapping/concord



Interrupted homogeneous (Polish)

(11) t-ych pięć star-ych książek
 this-GEN.PL five.NOM old-GEN.PL book.GEN.F.PL
 ‘these five old books’

(12) Lack of agreement on Num/percolation

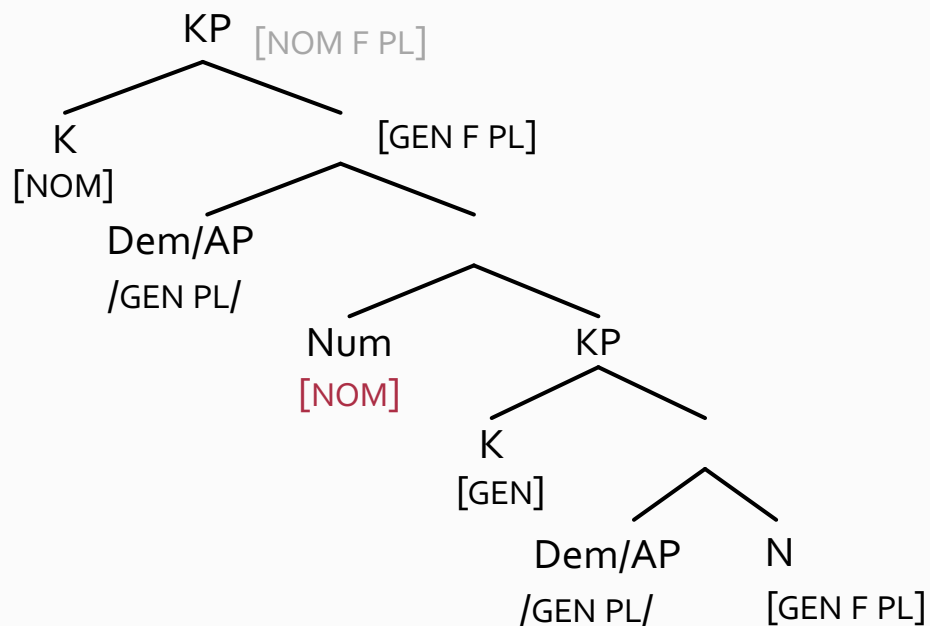


	<i>pięć</i>
NOM	-∅
ACC	-∅
GEN	-u
LOC	-u
DAT	-u
INSTR	-oma

Interrupted homogeneous (Polish)

(11) t-ych pięć star-ych książek
 this-GEN.PL five.NOM old-GEN.PL book.GEN.F.PL
 ‘these five old books’

(12) *Syntax* → Concord/complementarity of case assignment and case concord



Summary

- Concord results from the realization of dominating nodes
- The concord domain is maximized throughout the derivation
- A variety of complex concord patterns are easily derived following three additional hypotheses

Implications

- Concord via domination provides an alternative to analyses based solely on agreement mechanisms*
- The resulting system provides a novel account of the Slavic patterns
- Language variation is largely attributed to properties of the numeral

*see e.g., Carstens 2000; Baker 2008; Kramer 2009; Danon 2011; Chung 2014

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Thank you!

anna.grabovac.16@ucl.ac.uk