Maximizing concord through impoverishment: Evidence from Slavic

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Overview

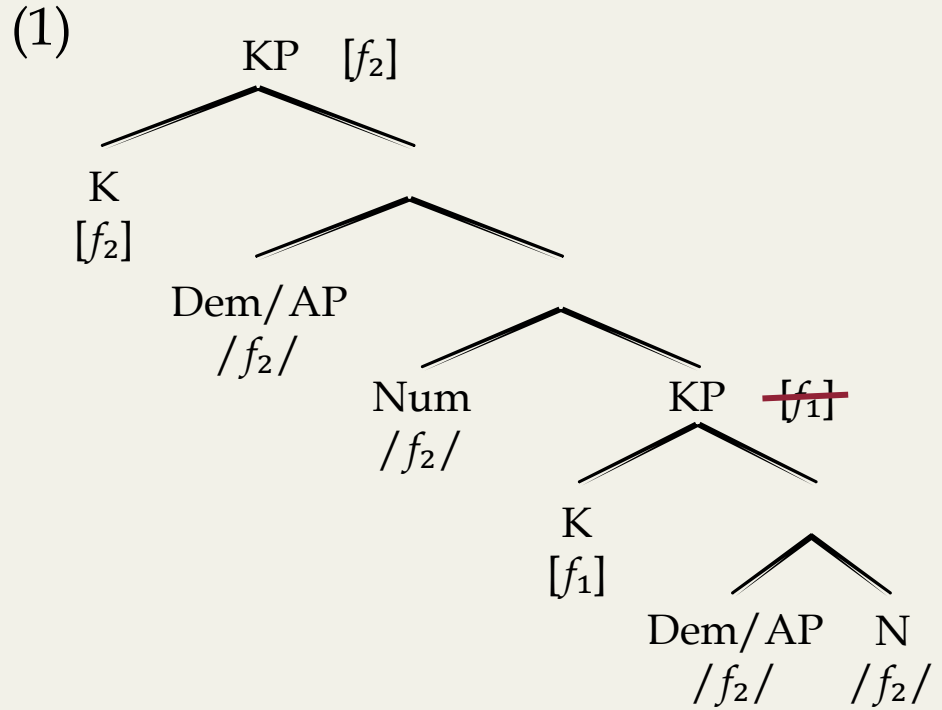
- Concord defined
- Syntax of numeral constructions
- Three additional hypotheses
- Derivations
  - *Aligned heterogeneous*
  - *Upward homogeneous*
  - *Downward homogeneous*
  - *Non-aligned heterogeneous*
- Conclusions/open questions

Impoverishment
=
domain extension

What is concord?

- Agreement in the nominal domain
- Realization of dominating nodes (Norris 2014; Ackema & Neeleman 2020)
- Domain maximization
  - *Feature percolation*
  - *Impoverishment*

(1)



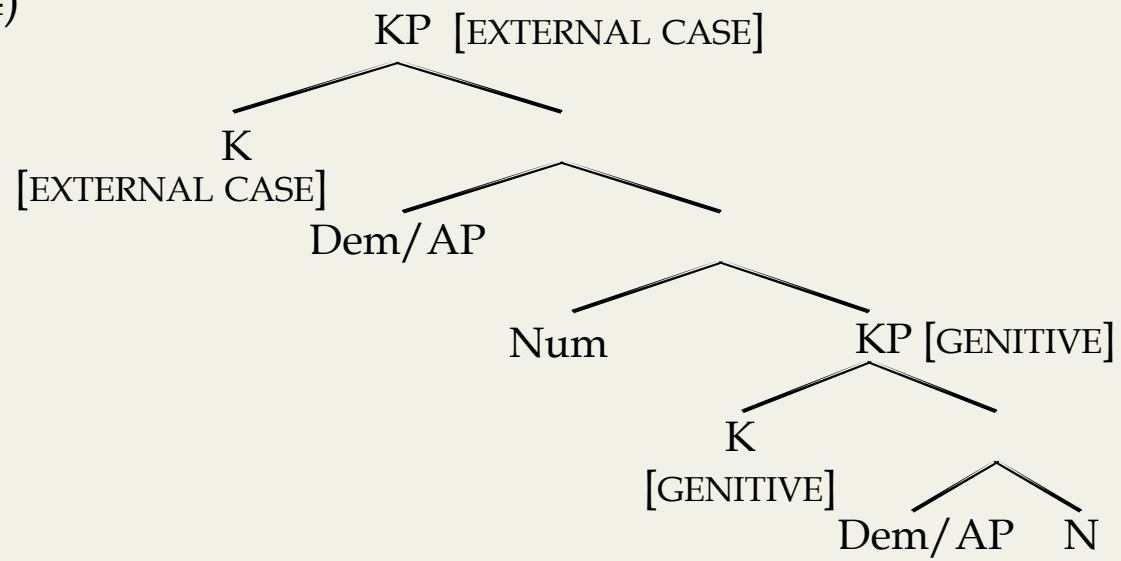
Neeleman & Van de Koot 2002

The syntax of numeral constructions

(2) <èt-i> pjat′ <èt-ix> star-yx knig
these-NOM.PL five.NOM these-GEN.PL old-GEN.PL book-GEN.PL
'these five old books' / 'five of these old books' *Russian*

(3) <t-ih> pet <t-ih> star-ih knjig-a
those-GEN.PL five those-GEN.PL old-GEN.PL book-GEN.PL
'those five old books' / 'five of those old books' *BCS*

(4)

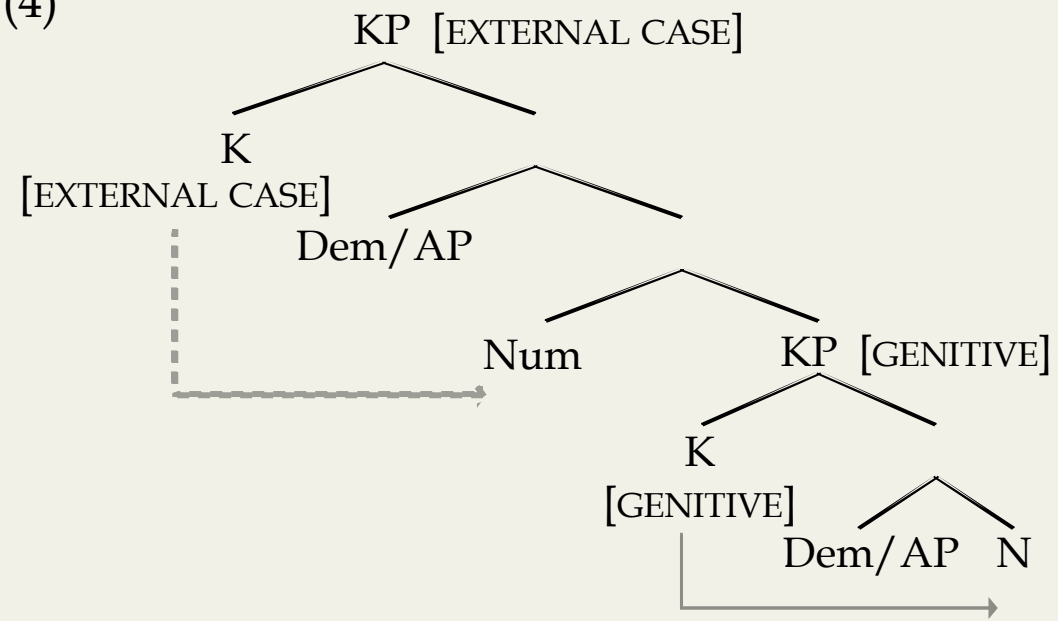


Greenberg 1963; Mel'čuk 1980; Franks 1995; Cinque 2005

Three additional hypotheses

- Head-to-head agreement between N and K_{low}
- Potential head-to-head agreement between Num and K_{high}
- Impoverishment
  - *By necessity, restricted to nodes that have the feature targeted for deletion*

(4)



Corver & van Riemsdijk 2001; Klockmann 2012, 2017

Some predicted effects of impoverishment

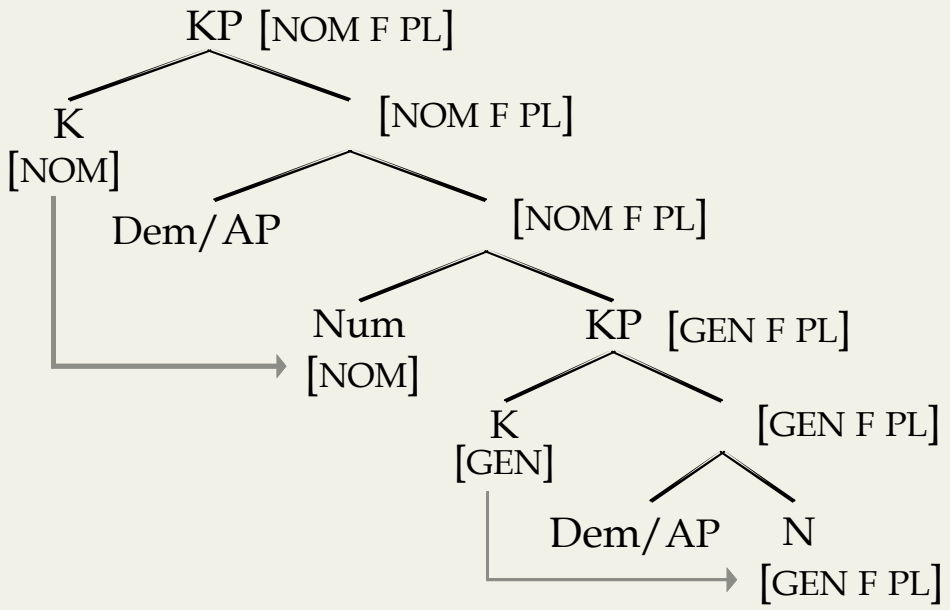
- No impoverishment
  - If Num agrees: *aligned heterogeneous*
    [$_{KP}$ EXTERNAL CASE … [$_{KP}$ GENITIVE …]]
  - If Num does not agree: *upward homogeneous*
    [$_{KP}$ GENITIVE … [$_{KP}$ GENITIVE …]]
- Impoverishment in lower domain: *downward homogeneous*
  [$_{KP}$ EXTERNAL CASE … [$_{KP}$ EXTERNAL CASE …]]
- Impoverishment in both domains: *non-aligned heterogeneous*
  [$_{KP}$ EXTERNAL CASE … [$_{KP}$ EXTERNAL CASE … [$_{N}$ GENITIVE]]]
- Impoverishment on N

Babby 1985, 1987

Aligned heterogeneous (no impoverishment)

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

(6) Syntactic agreement/percolation



Di Sciullo & Williams 1987

Aligned heterogeneous (no impoverishment)

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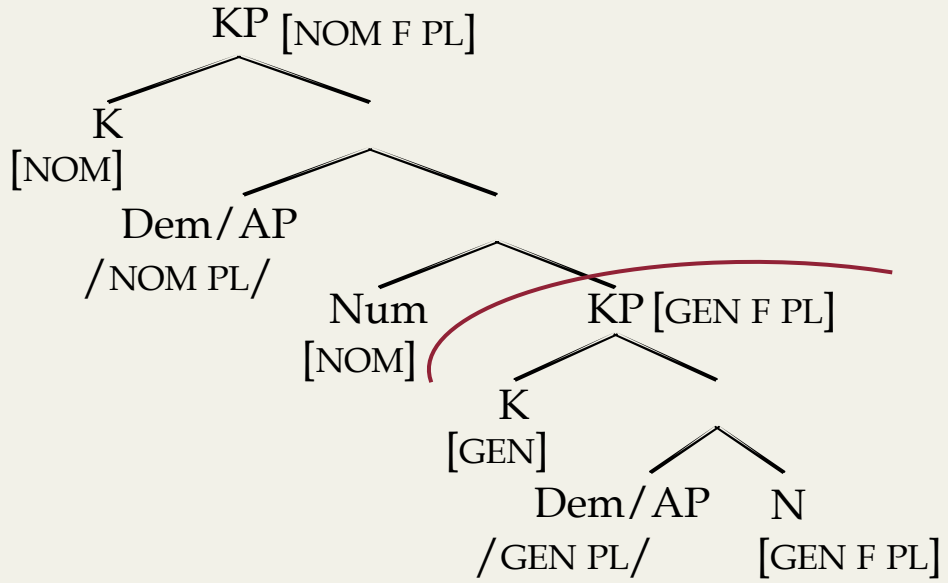
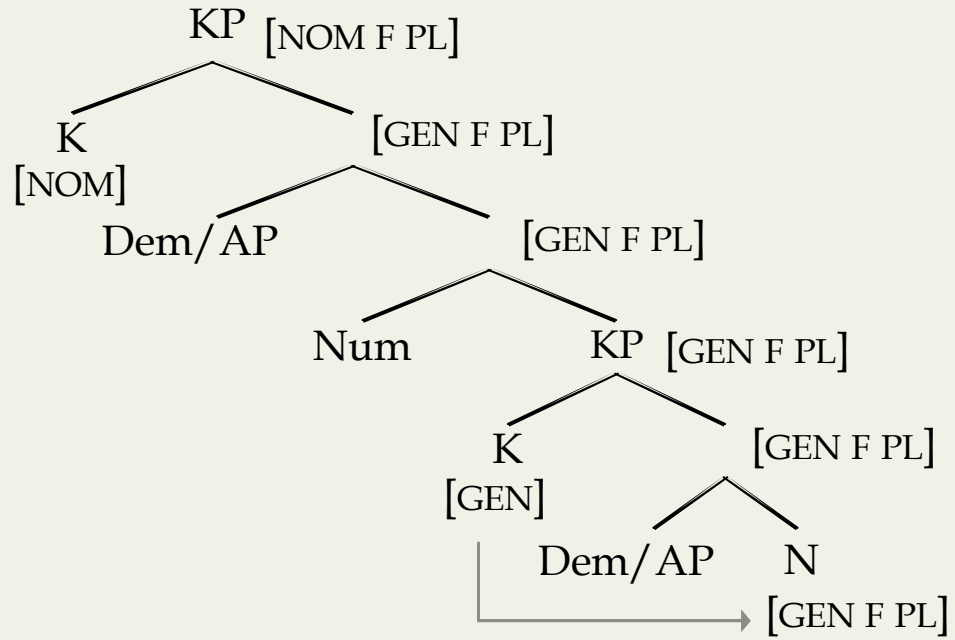
(6) Syntactic agreement/percolation → post-syntactic mapping/realization



Upward homogeneous (no impoverishment)

(7) t-ih pet star-ih knjig-a
those-GEN.PL five old-GEN.PL book-GEN.PL
'those five old books' *BCS*

(8) Syntactic agreement/percolation



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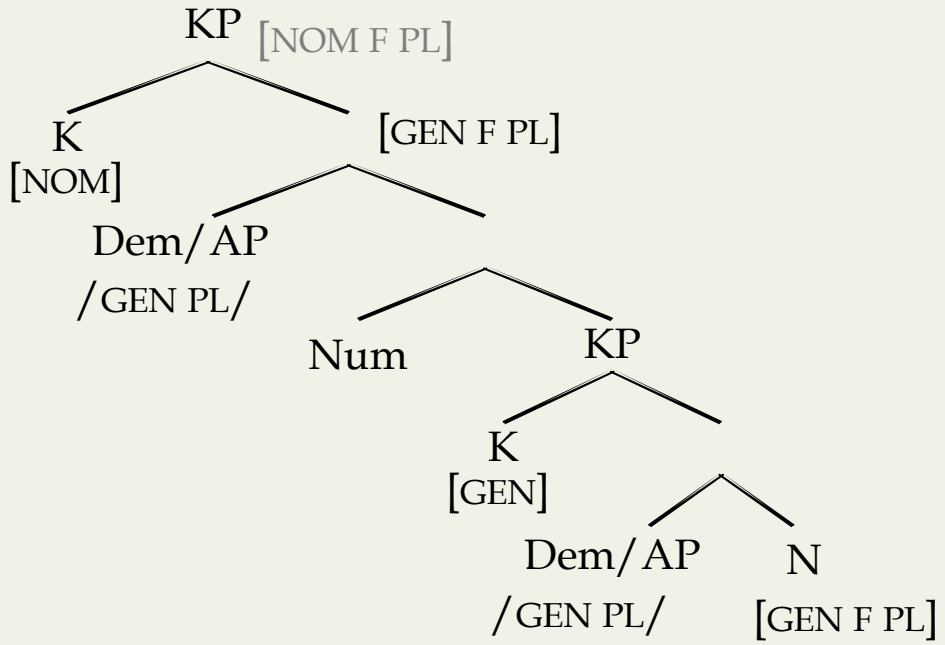
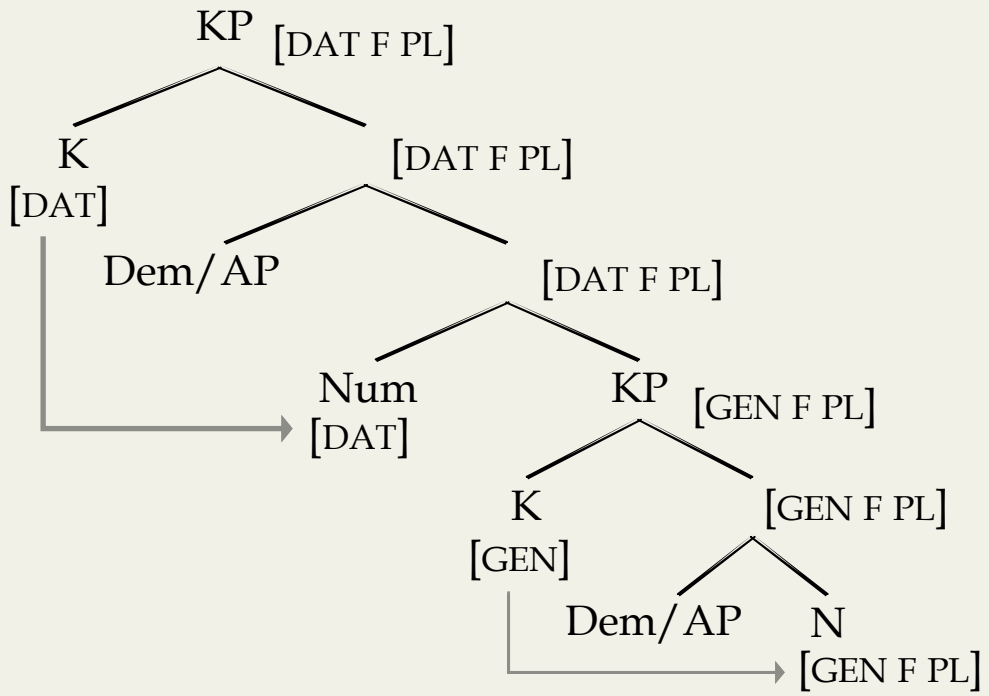


Downward homogeneous (impoverishment in lower domain)

(9) k ètim pjati stary knigami
to these-DAT.PL five-DAT old-DAT.PL book-DAT.PL
'to these five old books' *Russian*

(10) Syntactic agreement/percolation



Downward homogeneous (impoverishment in lower domain)

(9) k ètim pjat-i star-ym knig-am
to these-DAT.PL five-DAT old-DAT.PL book-DAT.PL
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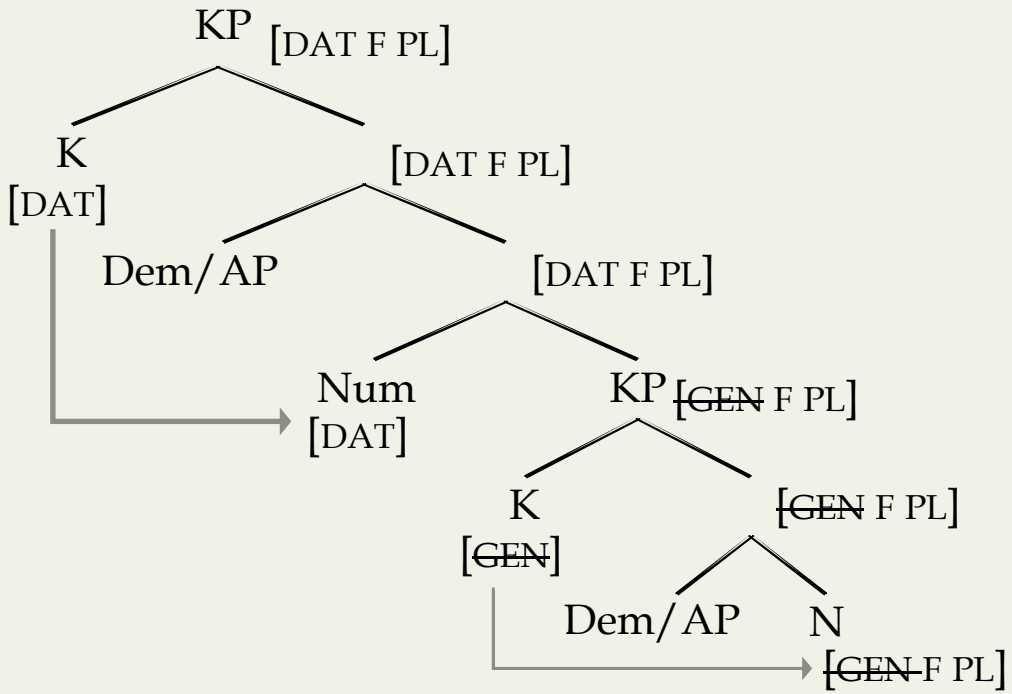
(10) Syntax → post-syntactic impoverishment

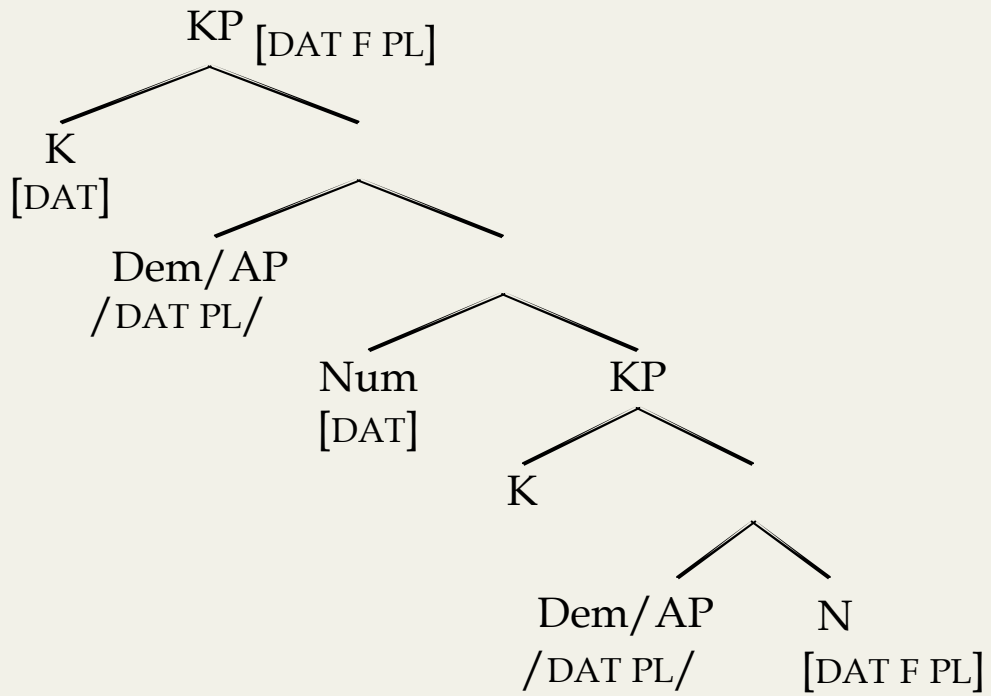


[GEN] → ∅ / nodes dominated by [DAT]

Downward homogeneous (impoverishment in lower domain)

(9) k ètim pjat-i star-ym knig-am
to these-DAT.PL five-DAT old-DAT.PL book-DAT.PL
'to these five old books' *Russian*

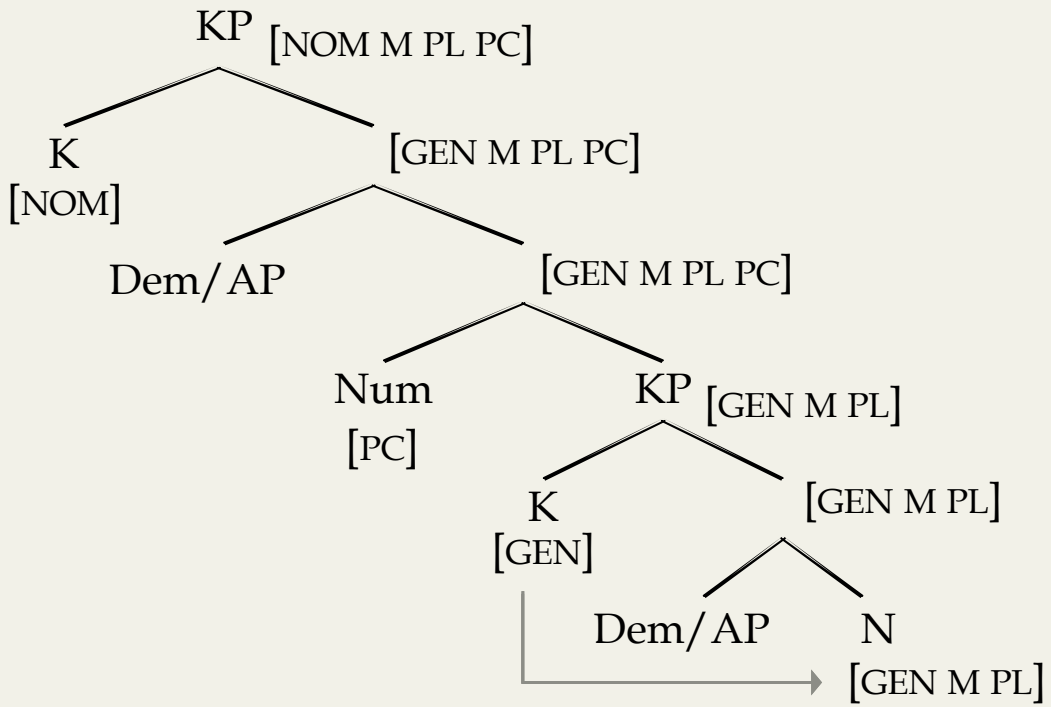
(10) Syntax → post-syntactic impoverishment → realization



Non-aligned heterogeneous (impoverishment in both domains, N)

(11) t-a dv-a velik-a stol-a
those-NOM.N.PL two-NOM.N big-NOM.N.PL table-GEN.M.SG
'those two large tables' *BCS*

(12) Syntactic agreement/percolation

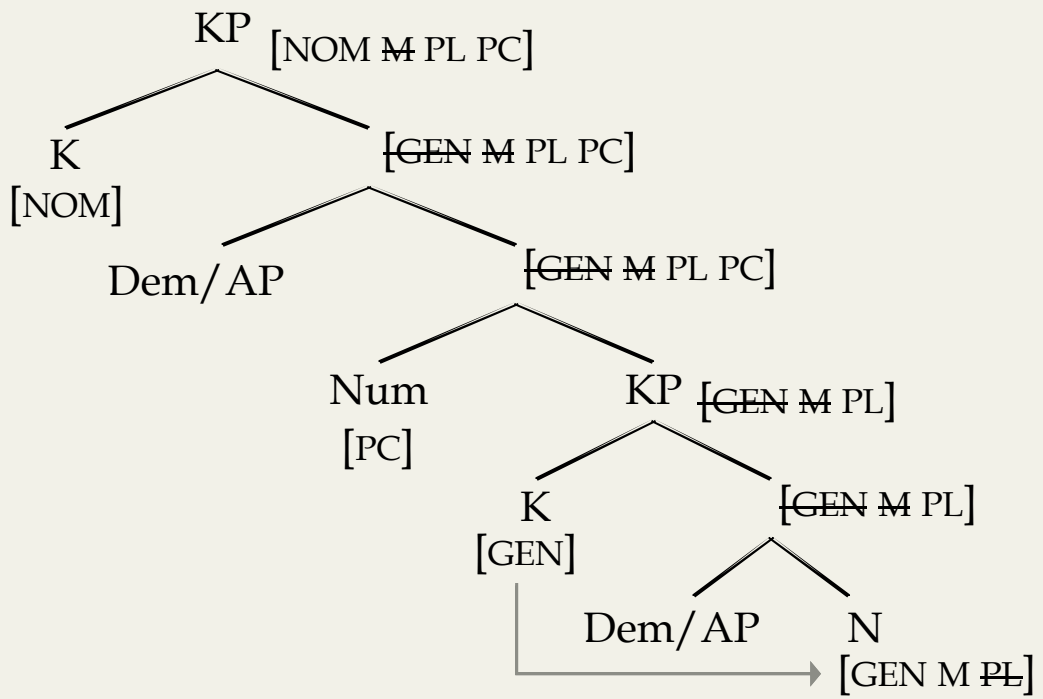


Corbett 2010; Despić 2013; Šarić 2014

Non-aligned heterogeneous (impoverishment in both domains, N)

(11) t-a dv-a velik-a stol-a
those-NOM.N.PL two-NOM.N big-NOM.N.PL table-GEN.M.SG
'those two large tables' *BCS*

(12) Syntax → post-syntactic impoverishment

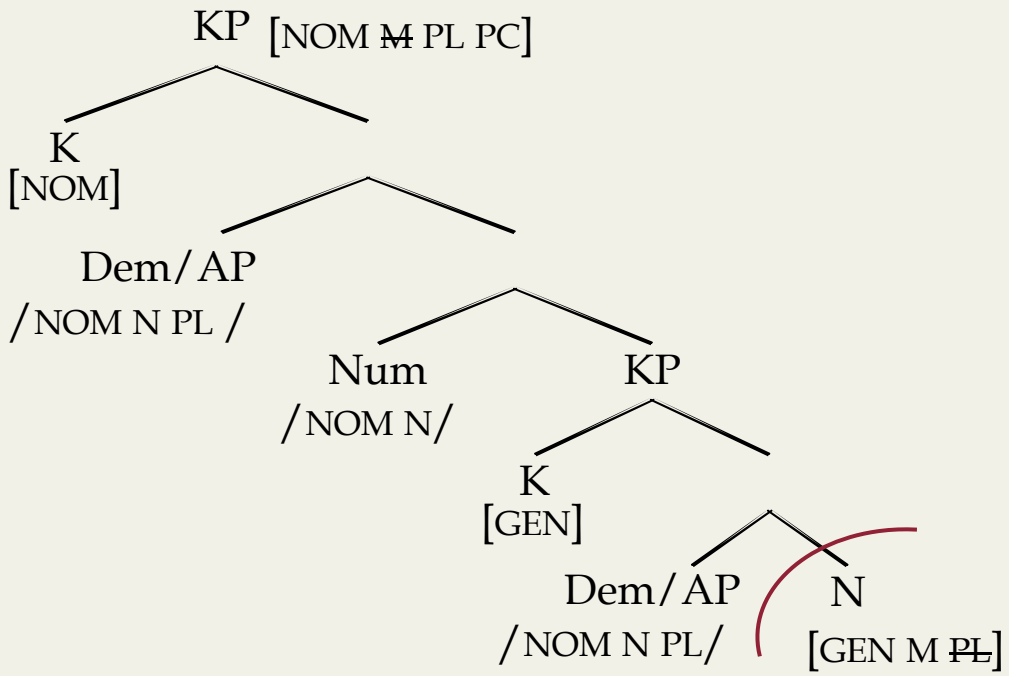


[GEN] → ∅ /non-terminal nodes dominated by [PC]
[M] → ∅ / non-terminal nodes dominated by [PC]
[PL] → ∅ / N dominated by [PC]

Non-aligned heterogeneous (impoverishment in both domains, N)

(11) t-a dv-a velik-a stol-a
those-NOM.N.PL two-NOM.N big-NOM.N.PL table-GEN.M.SG
'those two large tables' *BCS*

(12) Syntax → post-syntactic impoverishment → realization



Conclusions

- Concord results from the realization of dominating nodes
- Concord domain is maximized throughout the derivation
- Impoverishment extends the concord domain
- Alternative to analyses based solely on agreement mechanisms

Open questions

- Of the possible loci for impoverishment:
  - *Which are the most common?*
  - *Do any combinations generate unattested patterns?*
- Are any of the required deletions typologically prevalent?

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