

What happened when a puppy slept. An attempt to derive the syntactic structure of a two-word sentence in Czech¹

The target:

- (1) Štěně spalo.
puppy.NOM.3.N.SG slept.PP.N.SG
'A/The puppy slept.'

The primary question:

- is neuter (N) and singular (SG) a default value of GENDER and NUMBER feature in Czech?
- if so, what constitutes a default and how is it syntactically represented?

A (not so?) naive answer:

- N and SG are a default value

Empirical support:

- if there is no suitable probe (in Czech: Nominative DP; NOM) agreeing predicates appear in N.SG (failed Agree; Preminger 2009)
 - predicates with quirky subjects, sentential subjects, and infinitival subjects, weather predicates, impersonal passives etc.
- (2) Udělalo se mu špatně.
made.PP. N.SG REFL him sick.ADV
'He became sick.'
- (3) Pršelo.
rained.PP. N.SG
'It rained.'
- (4) Tancovalo se.
danced.PP. N.SG REFL
'They danced.'
- (5) Učit se na zkoušku bylo nudné.
to-study REFL at exam was.PP. N.SG boring. N.SG
'To study for an exam was boring.'

¹This talk recounts the aftermath of my recent attempt to reconcile various irregular Czech agreement patterns for a new Czech encyclopedia of linguistics. Some of the ideas and data appeared in a recent talk with Jitka Bartošová (Bartošová and Kučerová, 2015), some have been on my mind since my undergraduate thesis (Kučerová, 2000), and some ideas are a direct descendent of discussions within our Insight Grant on copular agreement (#435-2013-1756, PI: Susana Béjar; co-investigators: Ivona Kučerová and Arsalan Kahnemuyipour.) I am grateful to Petr Karlík, Jarmila Panevová, Saša Rosen, Vladimír Petkevič Oldřich Uličný, Jitka Bartošová and Susana Béjar for literally years of discussions. Intellectually I am indebted mainly to the work of Morris Halle, Roman Jakobson, Ora Matushansky, David Pesetsky, Mark Baker, Susana Béjar, Elizabeth Cowper, Betsy Ritter, Heidi Harley, Andrew Nevins, Ian Roberts, Daniel Harbour, Andres Holmberg, Jonathan Bobaljik, Alan Munn and Susi Wurmbrand. The responsibility for the remaining errors and unresolved puzzles falls entirely upon me and the Czech language.

Is default a minus value of a lack of value?

- at least for N the answer seems to be a lack of value

Empirical support:

- in coordination² N.SG + N.SG \neq N.PL even though there is a designated morphology for N.PL
- the intuition: coordination needs to combine ϕ -features of the conjuncts: N and SG don't have a 'visible' feature representation

(6) Kotě a štěně *jedla / ✓jedly ze stejné misky.
kitten.N.SG and puppy.N.SG *ate.N.PL / ✓ate.F.PL from same bowl
'A/the kitten and a/the puppy ate from the same bowl.'

Problem:

- if N lacks any feature representation and that's the reason N cannot contribute to the plural agreement, we expect that a coordination should never yield N.PL agreement
- not borne out: the coordination structure can yield N.PL but only if **all** conjuncts are in N.PL

(7) a. Kotě a štěňata *jedla / ✓jedly ze stejné misky.
kitten.N.SG and puppies.N.PL *ate.N.PL / ✓ate.F.PL from same bowl
'A/the kitten and (the) puppies ate from the same bowl.'

b. Kořata a štěně *jedla / ✓jedly ze stejné misky.
kittens.N.PL and puppy.N.SG *ate.N.PL / ✓ate.F.PL from same bowl
'(The) kittens and a/the puppy ate from the same bowl.'

c. Kořata a štěňata ✓jedla / *jedly ze stejné misky.
kittens.N.PL and puppies.N.PL ✓ate.N.PL / *ate.F.PL from same bowl
'(The) kittens and (the) puppies ate from the same bowl.'

²Czech allows for partial conjunct agreement. Depending on the predicate and tense, the partial agreement can be with the first conjunct, the second conjunct, including combined first and second conjunct agreement in complex verbal structures:

(i) ...aby nebyla ČNB ani jiný
SUBJ.COMPL not-was.PP.F.SG Czech National Bank.NOM.F.SG nor other.NOM.MI.SG
centrální úřad zaskočen.
central.NOM.MI.SG office.NOM.MI.SG taken-by-surprise.MI.SG
'...so neither the Czech National Bank nor any other central office was taken by surprise.' (Kučerová, 2000)

I leave the partial agreement facts aside.

Lingering questions:

- what constitutes a default? zero value/minus value?, failed agree, default agree, markedness?
- if markedness matters, is feature markedness absolute or does it depend on syntactic environment?
- is nominal agreement in any interesting way different from verbal agreement (Agree vs Concord)? if so, is past participle nominal, verbal or somewhere in between? are there any differences within the nominal domain?
- can syncretism save a day?
- how does past participle agree with the Nominative DP subject if at no point of the derivation the participle c-commands the DP?
- does agreement reflect a derivational history? (distinct markedness hierarchies, the appearance of upward/reverse agree; ‘mixed’ agreement patterns on participles etc.)

Take-home message

- need to distinguish morphological agreement as a post-syntactic PF operation, labeling by minimal search as CI operation, and Agree as narrow-syntax operation

Outline:

- markedness based on coordination
- agreement gaps: past participles vs adjectival predicates
- labelling vs Agree
- reverse agree as a side effect of derivational timing
- case?

1 Basic facts about Czech agreement

- NUMBER: singular (SG), plural (PL)
- GENDER: masculine (M), feminine (F), neuter (N)
- ANIMACY: overtly marked only for masculine agreement; in plural throughout the paradigm, in singular only if there is an independent case difference: masculine inanimate (MI), masculine animate (MA)
- gender/number agreement:
 - D elements: demonstratives, pronouns
 - Adj elements: adjectives, numerals
 - verbal participles: past participle (PP), passive participle (PASSP)

- number/person agreement:
 - finite auxiliaries
 - finite main verbs
 - note: in past tense the finite auxiliary is overt only for 1 and 2 person
- case agreement:
 - D and Adj elements
 - ... but only if modifying a noun inflected for case

(8) Viděla \emptyset jsem Petra opilá/ opilého.
 seen.PP.F.SG *pro* AUX.1.SG Peter.ACC.MA.SG drunk.NOM.F.SG/ drunk.ACC.MA.SG
 ‘I saw Peter drunk.’
 NOM: I was drunk; ACC: Peter was drunk

(9) *Singular paradigm (Standard Czech)*

- a. t-en roztomil-ý chlapec spal
 that.NOM.M.SG cute.NOM.MA.SG boy.NOM.3.M.SG slept.PP.M.SG
 ‘that cute boy slept’
- b. t-a roztomil-á kočka spal-a
 that.NOM.F.SG cute.NOM.F.SG cat.NOM.3.F.SG slept.PP.F.SG
 ‘that cute cat slept’
- c. t-o roztomil-é kotě spal-o
 that.NOM.N.SG cute.NOM.N.SG kitten.NOM.3.N.SG slept.PP.N.SG
 ‘that cute kitten slept’
- d. t-en star-ý hrad shořel
 that.NOM.M.SG old.NOM.MI.SG castle.NOM.3.M.SG burned_down.PP.M.SG
 ‘that old castle burned down’

(10) *Plural paradigm (Standard Czech)*

- a. t-i roztomil-í chlape-i spal-i
 those.NOM.MA.PL cute.NOM.MA.PL boys.NOM.3.MA.PL slept.PP.MA.PL
 ‘those cute boys slept’
- b. t-y roztomil-é kočk-y spal-y
 those.NOM.F.PL cute.NOM.F.PL cats.NOM.3.F.PL slept.PP.F.PL
 ‘those cute cats slept’
- c. t-a roztomil-á kořata spal-a
 those.NOM.N.PL cute.NOM.N.PL kittens.NOM.3.N.PL slept.PP.N.PL
 ‘those cute kittens’
- d. t-y star-é hrad-y shořel-y
 those.NOM.MI.PL old.NOM.MI.PL castles.NOM.3.MI.PL burned_down.PP.MI.PL
 ‘those old castles burned down’

(11)

SG	D	Adj	PP	PL	D	Adj	PP
MA	-en	-ý	-∅		-i	-í	-i
F	-a	-á	-a		(-y)	(-é)	(-y)
N	-o	-é	-o		-a	-á	-a
MI	-en	-ý	-∅		(-y)	(-é)	(-y)

Surface-form observations:

- morphological syncretism:
 - MI.PL = F.PL³
 - N.PL = F.SG
 - the difference in the pronunciation of *-i* and *-y* in PPs (but not Adj and D!) disappeared by the end of the 14th century → syncretism as well?
- agreement on D elements is ‘pronominal’, so-called short adjectival agreement; historically present on adjectives as well, now only in a limited environment (stylistically marked)⁴ while the endings on participles are adjectival⁵

1.1 What counts as a default?

Two (possibly) distinct notions of default:

- failed agree (Preminger, 2009): an absolute (?) value

(12) **Failed agree**

If there is no goal G that could value the unvalued features of the probe P, the unvalued features of P get reset to a default value.

- in Czech: N.SG, (2)–(5)
- markedness (Jakobson, Trubetskoy, Dresher, Cowper, Béjar...): local resolution of valuation (or feature conflict) along a markedness hierarchy
- traditional descriptive generalizations use coordination facts to argue for a markedness feature hierarchy

³In the domain of agreement. The nominal case endings are partially distinct.

⁴Note that the vocalic endings on the demonstratives are identical to the vocalic endings of their corresponding nouns, ± phonological changes in backness due to palatalization environment.

⁵More precisely, they correspond to so-called short adjectival forms.

(13) (modelled after Panevová and Petkevič 1997):

1st conjunct	2nd conjunct	gender
MA	α	MA, where $\alpha \in \{MA, MI, F, N\}$
MI	α	MI, where $\alpha \in \{MI, F, N\}$
F	α	F, where $\alpha \in \{F, N\}$
N.SG	N.SG	F
N.SG	N.PL	F
N.PL	N.PL	N

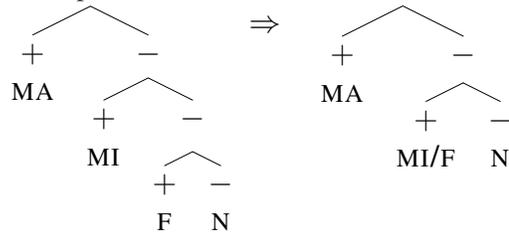
- (14) Petr a Pavla randili.
Petr.MA.SG and Pavla.F.SG dated.PP.MA.PL
'Peter and Paula dated.' MA + F = MA
- (15) Kotě a pes jedli ze stejné misky.
kitten.N.SG and dog.MA ate.PP.MA.PL from same bowl
'The kitten and the dog ate from the same bowl.' N + MA = MA
- (16) Kotě, kočka a pes jedli ze stejné misky.
kitten.N.SG cat.F.SG and dog.MA ate.PP.MA.PL from same bowl
'The kitten and the dog ate from the same bowl.' N + F + MA = MA
- (17) Kotě a dobytek jedly ze stejné misky.
kitten.N.SG and cattle.MI.SG ate.PP.MA.PL from same bowl
'The kitten and the cattle ate from the same bowl.' N + MI = MI
- (18) Kotě a kočka jedly ze stejné misky.
kitten.N.SG and cat.F.SG ate.PP.F.PL from same bowl
'The kitten and the dog ate from the same bowl.' N + F = F
- (19) Kočka a dobytek jedly ze stejné misky.
cat.F.SG and cattle.MI.SG ate.PP.MI/F.PL from same bowl
'The kitten and the dog ate from the same bowl.' F + MI = MI/F

Summary:

- recall: MI = F in plural
- coordination agreement → only three distinctions:
 - animate marked: MA
 - gender marked: MI/F
 - 'plural' marked: N.PL

(20) animacy \succ gender \succ plural

(21) *Descriptive label-non-committal version of the markedness hierarchy:*



Crucial observation:

- according to this hierarchy N ends up being highly marked which is at odds with it being the default value for failed agree
- also, the fact that MA ends up being less marked than MI is suspect

Could we reverse the hierarchy?

- that would make F less marked than M which is at odds with other markedness facts

2 Agreement gaps

- there is nothing in the markedness set up that would indicate that markedness in coordination should get resolved differently for different lexical categories
- novel observation: agreement gaps in adjectival predicate agreement

Baseline for plural past participial and adjectival predicate agreement (MA, N, {MI/F}):

- (22) Psi/hoši byli unavení.
dogs/boys.NOM.MA.PL were.PP.MA.PL tired.MA.PL
'(The) dogs/boys were tired.'
- (23) Kočky/dívky byly unavené.
cats/girls.NOM.F.PL were.PP.{F/MI}.PL tired.{F/MI}.PL
'(The) cats/girls were tired.'
- (24) Kočata/batolata byla unavená.
kittens/toddlers.NOM.N.PL were.PP.N.PL tired.N.PL
'(The) kittens/toddlers were tired.'
- (25) Hrady byly zavřené.
castles.NOM.MI.PL were.PP.MI.PL closed..{F/MI}.PL
'(The) castles were closed.'

New data: coordination and adjectival predicates

- (26) Petr a Pavla byli unavení.
Petr.MA.SG and Pavla.F.SG were.PP.MA.PL tired.PP.MA.PL
'Peter and Paula were tired.'

MA + F = MA

- (27) Pes a kočka byli unavení.
dog.MA.SG and cat.F.SG were.PP.MA.PL tired.PP.MA.PL
'A/the dog and a/the cat were tired.' MA + F = MA
- (28) ??Kočka a kotě byly unavené.
cat.F.SG and kitten.N.SG were.PP.F.PL tired.PP.F.PL
'A/the cat and a/the kitten were tired.' F + N = ??MI/F
- (29) ??Dobytěk a kotě byly unavené.
cattle.MI.SG and kitten.N.SG were.PP.MI.PL tired.PP.MI.PL
'The cattle and the kitten were tired.' MI + N = ??MI/F
- (30) ??Dobytěk a kočka byly unavené.
cattle.MI.SG and cat.F.SG were.PP.MI.PL tired.PP.MI.PL
'The cattle and the cat were tired.' MI + F = ??MI/F
- (31) ⊗ Pes a kotě byli ??unavené/ ??unavení/
dog.MA.SG and kitten.N.SG were.PP.MA.PL tired.PP.MI/F.PL/ tired.PP.MA.PL/
??unavená.
tired.PP.N.PL
Intended: 'A/the dog and a/the kitten were tired.' MA.SG + N = ???
- (32) ⊗ Psi a koťata byli ??unavené/ ??unavení/
dogs.MA.PL and kitten.N.SG were.PP.MA.PL tired.PP.MI/F.PL/ tired.PP.MA.PL/
??unavená.
tired.PP.N.PL
Intended: 'The dogs and the kittens were tired.' MA.PL + N.PL = ???

Note on notation:

- ⊗ stands for a gap⁶; i.e., there is no agreeing form native speakers would consider a plausible target⁷

The pattern:

- animate + animate⁸ ((33)–(34)) ⇒ MA.PL
- inanimate + inanimate ((35)–(37)) ⇒ adjectival predicate downgraded but speakers identify the target form: ??MI/F.PL
- animate + neuter ((38)–(39)) ⇒ ⊗

Syncretism at play?

- doesn't look like
- PP forms highly syncretic but there is syncretism in the adjectival paradigm as well

⁶Or a derivation crash, if you wish.

⁷Thanks to Alan Munn for suggesting this symbol, to David Pesetsky for suggesting entertaining alternatives. See my FB page for more details.

⁸Or can be construed as animate

- note that the downgraded forms *are* syncretic forms
- note also, that the morphological distinction between MA and N is the same for PPs and ADJ, yet only the adjectival agreement has a gap

3 Proposal

The basic idea:

- conspiracy of morphological agreement as post-syntactic operation, labelling by minimal search as CI operation, and Agree as narrow-syntax operation
- agreement in coordination requires minimal search by CI (Narita, 2011; Chomsky, 2013)⁹
- in other words, the coordination first needs to be labelled by minimal search before it can become a goal
- only features present in the label are accessible to Agree
- only features relevant to CI become part of the label
- why CI? because coordination forms semantic plurality (Munn, 1993; Bošković, 2009; Bhatt and Walkow, 2013)
- the paradigm gaps do not arise from clash in the operation of Agree but they arise because of a clash within labelling
- consequently, failed Agree cannot rescue the derivation

3.1 Predictions

- if agreement gaps result from labelling issues, we expect to find agreement gaps even if there is no morphological agreement with both conjuncts
- this prediction is borne out in comitative constructions and first-conjunct agreement constructions

Comitative constructions:

- in comitative constructions, only one conjunct is in NOM, yet, agreement is with both conjuncts
- the agreement pattern, including agreement gaps is identical to the regular coordination pattern

(33) Petr s Pavlou byli unavení.
Petr.NOM.MA.SG with Pavla.INSTR.F.SG were.PP.MA.PL tired.PP.MA.PL
‘Peter and Paula were tired.’

MA + F = MA

⁹Following Munn (1993, 1999) I assume that these are not clausal coordinations.

- (34) Pes s kočkou byli unavení.
dog.NOM.MA.SG with cat.INSTR.F.SG were.PP.MA.PL tired.PP.MA.PL
'A/the dog and a/the cat were tired.' MA + F = MA
- (35) ??Kočka s kotětem byly unavené.
cat.NOM.F.SG with kitten.INSTR.N.SG were.PP.F.PL tired.PP.F.PL
'A/the cat and a/the kitten were tired.' F + N = ??MI/F
- (36) ??Dobytěk s kotětem byly unavené.
cattle.NOM.MI.SG with kitten.INSTR.N.SG were.PP.MI.PL tired.PP.MI.PL
'The cattle and the kitten were tired.' MI + N = ??MI/F
- (37) ??Dobytěk s kočkou byly unavené.
cattle.NOM.MI.SG with cat.INSTR.F.SG were.PP.MI.PL tired.PP.MI.PL
'The cattle and the cat were tired.' MI + F = ??MI/F
- (38) ⊗ Pes s kotětem byli ??unavené/
dog.NOM.MA.SG with kitten.INSTR.N.SG were.PP.MA.PL tired.PP.MI/F.PL/
??unavení/ ??unavená.
tired.PP.MA.PL/ tired.PP.N.PL
Intended: 'A/the dog and a/the kitten were tired.' MA.SG + N = ???
- (39) ⊗ Psi s koťetem byli ??unavené/
dogs.NOM.MA.PL and kitten.INSTR.N.SG were.PP.MA.PL tired.PP.MI/F.PL/
??unavení/ ??unavená.
tired.PP.MA.PL/ tired.PP.N.PL
Intended: 'The dogs and the kittens were tired.' MA.PL + N.PL = ???

First conjunct agreement:

- even if the predicate morphologically agrees only with the first conjunct, the same agreement gaps arise
- this is expected if agreement is a post-syntactic PF operation but Agree targets the label of the coordination

- (40) *Byl unaven pes a kotě.
was.PP.M.SG tired.M.SG dog.NOM.MA.SG and kitten.N.SG
Intended: 'A/the dog and a/the kitten were tired.'

Adjuncts within a coordination:

- furthermore, we predict that only elements outside of a coordination can morphologically agree with both conjuncts
- consequently, adjectival adjuncts and determiners should not be able to morphologically agree with both conjuncts if attached within the coordination
- this prediction is borne out as well
- adjectival adjuncts must be in singular

- (41) a. mladý muž a žena
young.M.SG man.MA.SG and woman.F.SG
'a young man and a young woman' or 'a young man and a woman'
b. *mladí muž a žena
young.MA.PL man.MA.SG and woman.F.SG

- furthermore, determiners that must refer to both conjuncts, such as *oba* 'both', are ungrammatical

- (42) a. obě kočky
both.F.PL cats.F.PL
'both cats'
b. obě kořata
both.N.PL kittens.N.PL
'both kittens'
c. ⊗ *oba/ obě kočka a kotě*
both.MI/ both.F/N.PL cat.F.SG and kitten.N.SG
Intended: 'both cat and kitten'

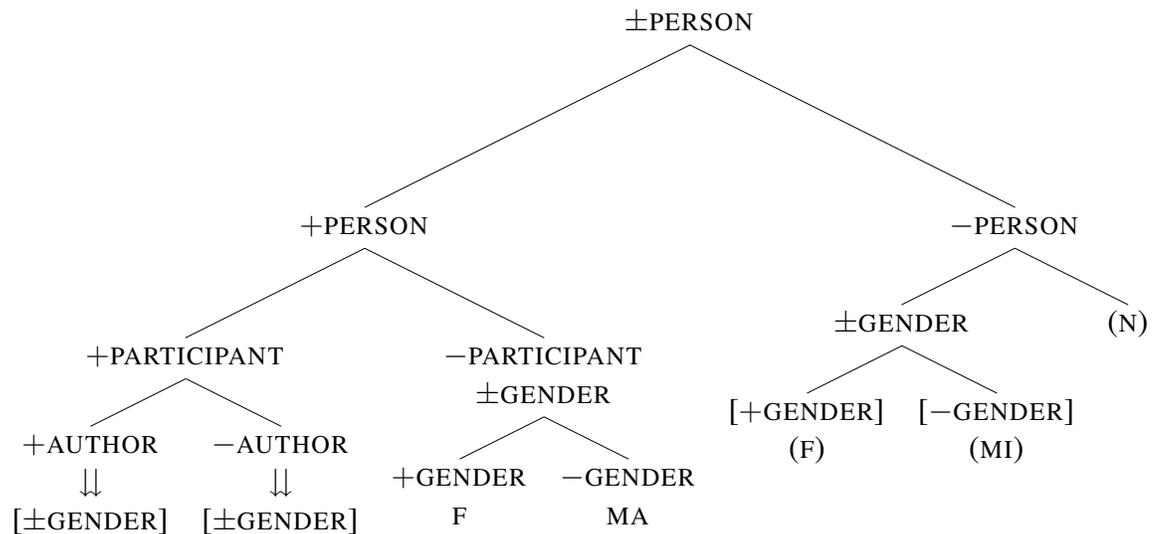
- note that 'both' is historically a dual and dual forms still have a syncretism of F and N forms
- thus, the fact that (42-c) is an agreement gap is even more striking because there is a syncretic form that would fit the features

3.2 Labelling by Minimal Search: PERSON

- labelling by CI minimal search targets PERSON¹⁰
- animate 3 person = +PERSON (Ormazabal and Romero, 1998, 2007; Adger and Harbour, 2007; Nevins, 2007; Trommer, 2008; Lochbihler, 2012; Ritter, 2014; Ritter and Wiltschko, 2014; Welch, 2014; Lochbihler and Oxford, 2015)
- Bartošová and Kučerová (2015): M and F nouns show animacy effects in Czech
- modelled as ±PARTICIPANT (Nevins 2007 and the literature cited there)

¹⁰I believe this is what underlies the repeating intuition that there is a connection between D, PERSON and case.

(43) *Feature hierarchy:*¹¹



ϕ -features as part of Coord-label

- by minimal search, coordination gets labelled only for PERSON
- if ϕ -features part of the label \rightarrow free riders on PERSON
- valuation either within syntax by Agree, or from the context via CI (think gender on I/you; see Kučerová 2015 and references cited there)
- coordination: a multiple-Agree chain (Hiraiwa, 2005) with all conjuncts
- if the features in the chain clash or fail to get valued \rightarrow a ‘default’ value

What counts as default?

- a CI triggered operation \rightarrow no fission etc.
- features cannot be deleted; they can only be set to their unmarked value

How it works:

- MA + α , where $\alpha \in \{MA, MI, F, N\}$
 - label: [+PERSON]
 - if no feature clash for GENDER, regular valuation: [-GENDER] \Rightarrow MA
 - if feature clash, the value gets reset to the least marked value: [-GENDER] \Rightarrow MA
- MI + α , where $\alpha \in \{MI, F, N\}$:
 - label: [-PERSON]
 - if no feature clash for GENDER, regular valuation: [-GENDER] \Rightarrow MI (MI/F)

¹¹Modelled after Harley and Ritter (2002) and Bartošová and Kučerová (2015).

- if feature clash, the value gets reset to the least marked value: $[-\text{GENDER}] \Rightarrow \text{MI (MI/F)}$

$F + \alpha$, where $\alpha \in \{F, N\}$:

- if no feature clash for GENDER, regular valuation: $[+\text{GENDER}] \Rightarrow F \text{ (MI/F)}$
- if feature clash, the value gets reset to the least marked value: $[+\text{GENDER}] \Rightarrow F \text{ (MI/F)}$

N.SG + N.SG:

- no GENDER value \rightarrow failed agree
- the value gets reset to the least marked value: $[-\text{GENDER}] \Rightarrow \text{MI (MI/F)}$

N.SG + N.PL:

- no GENDER value \rightarrow failed agree
- the value gets reset to the least marked value: $[-\text{GENDER}] \Rightarrow \text{MI (MI/F)}$

N.PL + N.PL:

- ???

3.3 Labelling by Minimal Search: NUMBER?

- coordination creates semantic plurality (Munn, 1993)
- CI minimal search thus labels not only for PERSON but also for NUMBER
- $[+\text{ATOMIC}]$ on one or more conjuncts $\Rightarrow [+NUMBER]$

The basic idea:

- something goes wrong with NUMBER of N.PL and this affects GENDER
- Noyer (1992); Harley and Ritter (2002, among others): NUMBER \Rightarrow GENDER
- suggestive evidence: N systematically appears in number-defective environments (deverbal nouns, collectives, relational nouns etc.)
- gender switch to from N to F in defective pluralities crosslinguistically common (see Kučerová 2015 for a case study)
- but how exactly?

Option I: the face value of syncretism

- what looks like N.PL is in fact F.SG
- since there is no semantic plurality, the number feature cannot get set $\rightarrow [\text{NUMBER:0}]$

- in the context of [NUMBER:0], for example, in dual,¹² F and N are grouped together in the opposition to M → [+GENDER]
- a plausible insertion rule: [NUMBER:0, +GENDER] ⇒ F.SG

Option II: CI vs PF

- if NUMBER is not constructed, no GENDER is generated as part of the label
- morphological agreement based on post-syntactic copying of the first conjunct
- possible supporting evidence: the only time when a preverbal coordination triggers first conjunct agreement is when the conjuncts are number-defective and plurality cannot be constructed:

(44) Hrůza a strach nás přepadla.
horror.F.SG and fear.MI.SG us overcome.PP.F.SG
'We became overcome by horror and fear.'

Option III: Grammar counts

- switch to F as the more marked value reflects complexity of encoding

3.4 Participles vs adjectival predicates: where do gaps come from?

- another problem with the current system is that it does not predict the existence of agreement gaps
- missing: derivational timing

Past participles

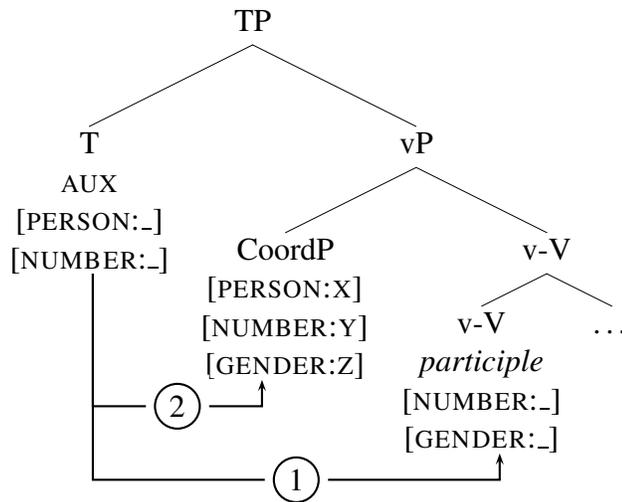
- Wurmbrand (2012): agreement properties of past participles are determined only after T is merged (or wherever the relevant Tense/Aspect auxiliary resides); for Wurmbrand, there must be reversed agree
- similar idea is expressed in Roberts (2010): past participle is dependent on Agree between v and T; for Roberts, there must be head movement
- Bartošová and Kučerová (2015): past participle creates a multiple-agree chain with T¹³
- the derivation: two Agree links established:
 - V head moves to v (Veselovská, 1998)
 - as part of Merge/c-selection, T agrees with v (Adger, 2003; Roberts, 2010; Wurmbrand, 2012) (1)

¹²Dual number in Czech is restricted to a relatively small number of lexical items, mostly body parts, but within this domain it behaves regularly and I am not aware of any dialectal levelling etc.

¹³Evidence comes from defective agreement with more than one NOM NP in copular clauses.

- v-V inherits ϕ -features in the process (NUMBER, GENDER)
- T probes NOM goal \Rightarrow matching and valuation of PERSON AND NUMBER (2)
- since v-V is part of the same Agree chain, matching and valuation of NUMBER and GENDER automatically takes place without the participle probing the NOM goal
- what appears to be reverse agree is a side-effect of the existing link between T and v-V

(45)



- the crucial property of this derivation is that GENDER is parasitic on PERSON
- that's where the Agree link between T and v plays role
- since participle agreement is based on PERSON, feature valuation gets resolved along markedness as sketched above
- no agreement gaps expected

Adjectival predicates

- different structure; no intermediary
- predicative adjectives directly merges with the goal – Agree as merge
- as part of their category they already come to the derivation with unvalued ϕ -features, including CASE, closely tied to declension class (Pesetsky, 2013)
- I argue that the feature that cannot be reconciled in the labelling process is CASE because there is no markedness hierarchy for the declension case
- if the declensions don't match, the label does not get valued for declension case
- if an item needs to agree with such a label, the derivation crashes because there is no default agree for declension case

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