

adapted from
Polinsky 2012

Moroccan Arabic

VS order: ✓ **CCA**

ža **Omar** w Karim
came. **3MSg** Omar and Karim
'Omar and Karim came'

VS order: ✓ **RA**

žaw Omar w Karim
came. **3PL** Omar and Karim
'Omar and Karim came'

SV order: ✓ **RA**

Omar w Karim žaw
Omar and Karim came. **3PL**
'Omar and Karim came'

SV order: ***CCA**

*Omar w Karim ža
Omar and Karim came. **3MSg**

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English:

① There ^{✓was}? were a man and two women in the room.

② There ^{?was}✓ were two women and a man in the room.

“no two of [19 consultants] accepted exactly the same set of sentences, ... vacillating from moment to moment or day to day about whether certain examples were acceptable or not” (Green 1984)

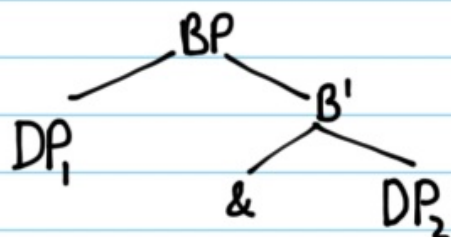
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Four approaches to Closest Conjunct Agreement (CCA)

- ① CCA follows from the antisymmetry of "BP" (Boolean Phrase, a.k.a. &P)
- ② CCA vs. RA = clausal vs. phrasal coordination
- ③ CCA = Late Merger of coordinate
- ④ CCA = agreement under adjacency $\Rightarrow$ at PF

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① antisymmetry of BP



Either because of -

locality (Munn 1999)

feature percolation only from DP_1 (Johannassen 1996)

Suppression of Ψ -features on DP_2 under c-command (Boskovic 2009)

- a probe outside of BP ends up seeing the features of DP_1 alone

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② phrasal vs. clausal coordination

CONJUNCTION REDUCTION —

$[SUBJ_1, \cancel{VP}]$ and $[SUBJ_2, VP]$

③ Agreement followed by late merger

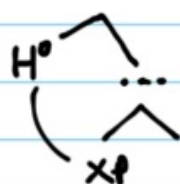
$[T^0, [SUBJ_1, VP]] \Rightarrow [SUBJ_1, [T^0, [t, VP]]]$

$\Rightarrow [[\textcircled{SUBJ_1}, [\& SUBJ_2]] [T^0, [t, VP]]]$

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④ Adjacency

Agreement consists of two components —



— a link established in syntax

— transfer of feature values

at PF

alliterative

agⁱ

Match

PF

can be "overridden" under
adjacency

Benmamoun,
Bhatia & Polinsky (2009)
Bhatt & Walkow (2012)
⋮

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Hindi

raam aa-yaa
 Ram.ABS.**MSg** come-Perf.**MSg**
 'Ram came.'

raam-ne **film** dekh-ii
 Ram.MSg-Erg movie.ABS.**FSg** see-Perf.**FSg**
 'Ram watched a/the movie.'

raam film dekh-taa hai
 Ram.ABS.**MSg** movie.ABS.**FSg** see-Hab.**MSg** Pres.**Sg**
 'Ram watched a/the movie.'

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LDA (Bhatt 2005) -

maiM-ne [chaRii khariid-nii] chaah-ii
 I-Erg stick.FSg buy-Infin.F want-Perf.FSg
 'I wanted to buy a stick.'

Requires adjacency:

*maiM-ne [chaRii khariid-nii] parasoM chaah-ii
 I-Erg stick.FSg buy-Infin.F day.before.yesterday want-Perf.FSg
 'I wanted to buy a stick day before yesterday.'

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Hindi CCA

- Possible with both preverbal & postverbal BPs

(1) maiM-ne ek chaataa aur ek **saaRii** khariid-ii
 I-Erg an umbrella.MSG and a saaree.FSg buy-Perf.FSg
 'I bought an umbrella and a saree.' (Kachru 1980: 147)

(2) maiM-ne khariid-ii ek **saaRii** aur ek chaataa
 I-Erg buy-Perf.FSg a saaree.FSg and an umbrella.MSG
 'I bought an umbrella and a saree.'

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— occurs with both conjunction & disjunction —

(1) Conjunction (CCA optional):

maiM-ne chaataa aur saaRii khariid-ii/-e
 I-Erg umbrella.MSg and saaree.FSg buy-Perf.FSg/MPI
 'I bought an umbrella and a saree.' (Kachru 1980: 147)

(2) Disjunction (CCA required):

us-ne chaataa yaa saaRii khariid-ii/*-e thii/*the
 she-Erg umbrella.MSg or saaree.FSg buy-Perf.FSg/MPI Pst.FSg/*MPI
 'She had bought an umbrella or a saree.'

(Works the same postverbally)

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Effects of verb type (Bhatt & Walkow 2012)

- possible w/unaccusatives:

(1) Both conjuncts inanimate:

tabhii chaataa aur **chaRii** gir-ii/-e
just.then umbrella.MSg and stick.FSg fall-Perf.FSg/MPI
'Just then the umbrella and the stick fell.'

(2) One conjunct animate and the other inanimate:

baakii sab to Thiik hai par baccaa aur **attaichii** khoo ga-yii/e **hai/haiM**
rest all Emph ok is but child.MSg and suitcase.FSg loose Aux-Perf.FSg/MPI Pres.Sg/Pl
'Everything else is fine but the kid and the suitcase have gone missing.'

(3) Both conjuncts animate:

un siiRhiyoM par baccaa aur **aurat** fisal-ii/e **thii/the**
those stairs on kid.MSg and woman.FSg slip-Perf.F/MPI Pst.FSg/MPI
'The kid and the woman had slipped on those stairs.'

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-impossible w/unergatives:

- (1) kuttaa aur billii ThiThak ga-ye/ *ga-yii
dog.MSg and cat.FSg cringe Aux-Perf.MPI/ Aux-Perf.FSg
'The dog and the cat cringed.'

NB: Hindi unergatives don't have ERG subjects
(cf. Basque)

But some speakers allow CCA with a postverbal BP
in unergatives

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- impossible w/transitives, regardless of adjacency:

subject of transitive, no CCA, even when the verb and the subject are adjacent

(1) kitaab [laRkaa aur laRkii] paRh rah-e/*rah-ii haiM/*hai
 book.FSg boy.MSg and girl.FSg read Prog-MPI/*FSg Pres.PI/*Sg
 'The book, the boy and the girl are reading.'

subject of transitive, no CCA, intervening object

(2) [laRkaa aur laRkii] kitaab paRh rah-e/*rah-ii haiM/*hai
 boy.MSg and girl.FSg book.FSg read Prog-MPI/*FSg Pres.PI/*Sg
 'The boy and the girl are reading the book.'

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Further properties of Hindi CCA – sensitivity to DP content

- (1) kal maiM-ne park meiM **ek** hiran aur
 yesterday I-Erg park in one deer.MSg and
ek batakh dekh-ii/?dekh-e CCA/*/??RA
 one duck.FSg see-Perf.FSg/?see-Perf.MPI

'Yesterday I saw a deer and a duck in the park.'

- (2) kal maiM-ne park meiM hiran aur
 batakh
 Yesterday I-Erg park in deer.MSg and duck.FSg
 dekh-ii/dekh-e CCA/RA
 see-Perf.FSg/see-Perf.MPI

'Yesterday I saw a deer and duck in the park.' (Bhatia 2011: 171)

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Further properties of Hindi CCA – abatement of adjacency requirement in preverbal position

biscuit aur coffee jaldii hii khatam ho ga-yii thii
 cookie and coffee fast only finish be Aux-Perf.FSg Pst.FSg
 'The cookies and the coffee were finished quite soon.'

cf.:

(1) khatam ho ga-yii thii coffee aur biscuit aaraam se
 finish be Aux-Perf.FSg Pst.FSg coffee and cookie easily
 'The coffee and the cookies were finished easily.'

(2) *khatam ho ga-yii thii aaraam se coffee aur biscuit
 finish be Aux-Perf.FSg Pst.FSg easily coffee and cookie
 'The coffee and the cookies were finished easily.'

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CCA + LDA

maiM-ne [chaataa aur chaRii khariid-nii] chaah-ii/*-e
 I-Erg umbrella.MSg and stick.FSg buy-Infin.F] want-Perf.FSg/*Mpl
 'I wanted to buy an umbrella and a stick.'

But: must be preverbal and adjacent for this to work —

(2) *maiM-ne khariid-nii chaah-ii [chaataa aur chaRii]
 I-Erg buy-Infin.F want-Perf.FSg umbrella.MSg and
 stick.FSg]

(3) *? maiM-ne chaah-ii [chaataa aur chaRii khariid-nii]
 I-Erg want-Perf.FSg umbrella.MSg and stick.FSg buy-Infin.F]

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Contra what has been observed/argued for other languages,
Hindi CCA is not sensitive to collective vs. distributive
readings –

raam-ne ek saath (ek haath se) ek baksaa aur ek thailaa

Ram-Erg together one hand with a box.MSg and a bag.MSg

uthaa-yaa

lift-Perf.MSg

'Ram lifted a box and a bag together (with one hand).'

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Hindi - interim summary:

	BP (...) V	V (...) BP
Adjacency	not required	required
CCA+LDA	✓	✗
CCA w/unerg SUBJ	✗	%

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Towards an analysis

Adjacency in LDA+CCA is actually a restructuring requirement
(Behnamoun et al., 2009)

(1) restructuring, adjacency

maiM-ne [_{VP}[_{VP} [chaataa aur chaRii] khariid-nii] chaah-ii]
I-Erg umbrella.MSg and stick.FSg] buy-Infin.F want-
Perf.FSg

(2) non-adjacent

* / ?? maiM-ne chaah-ii [[chaataa aur chaRii] khariid-nii]
I-Erg want-Perf.FSg umbrella.MSg and stick.FSg buy-Infin.F

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Hindi CCA is sensitive to the distinction between unergs & unaccs
(even though it's not reflected in, e.g., case morphology)

———— " ————— the type/size of DPs

Not really PF's "business"...

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⇒ Proposal (Benmamoun, Bhatia & Polinsky) :

Phrasal coordination: RA (plural agreement)

Clausal coordination: the two NP conjuncts are subjects/objects of separate clauses, with conjunction reduction in the first clause (backward gapping)

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BB+P: both forward + backward gapping are well attested in Hindi:

Backward gapping:

(1) kuch log beans GAP aur kuch log caawal khaa-eMge
 some people beans and some people rice eat-Fut.MPI
 'Some people will eat beans and others rice.'

Forward gapping:

(2) kuch log beans khaa-eMge aur kuch log caawal GAP
 some people beans eat-Fut.MPI and some people rice
 'Some people will eat beans and others rice.'

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Expected properties under gapping analysis —

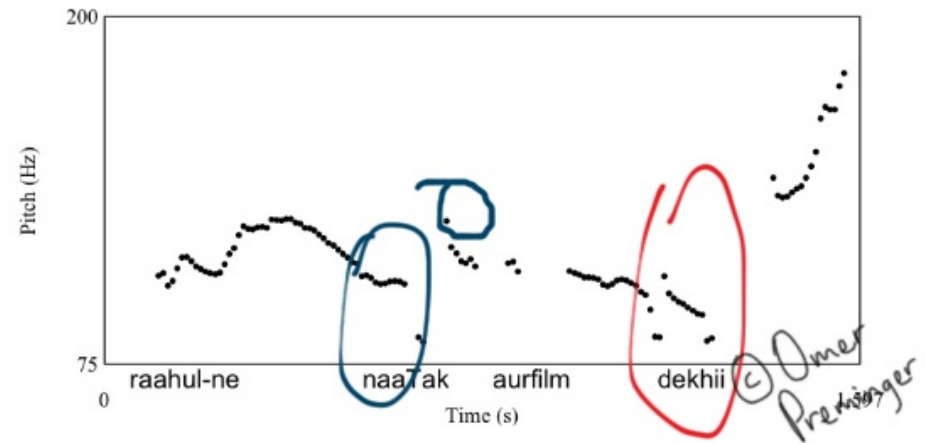
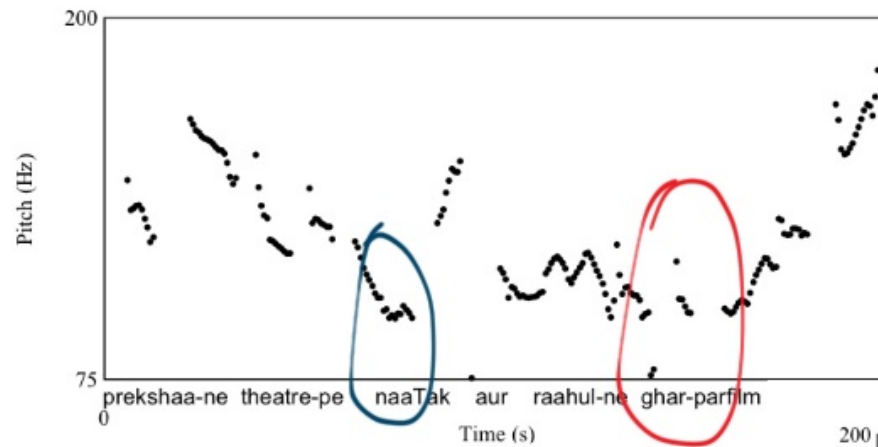
- coordination required (triv)
- conjuncts have to be at same "syntactic level"
- cannot cross robust clause boundaries $\Rightarrow$ restructuring required for LDA just in case CCA
- should resist collective reading ☹️

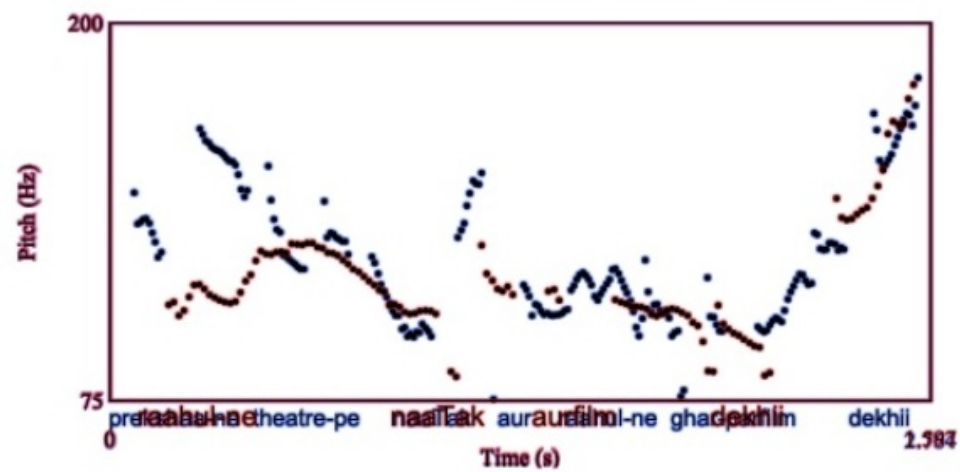
Well, maybe it does, after all...

(1) bahut ciizoM meiM truck aur gaaRii
 many things in truck.MSg and car.FSg
 ek jaise haiM/*??ek jaisii hai
 similar.Pl be.Pl/similar.FSg be.FSgl
 'In many ways, a truck and a car are similar.'
 (RA/*??CCA)

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Prosodic evidence

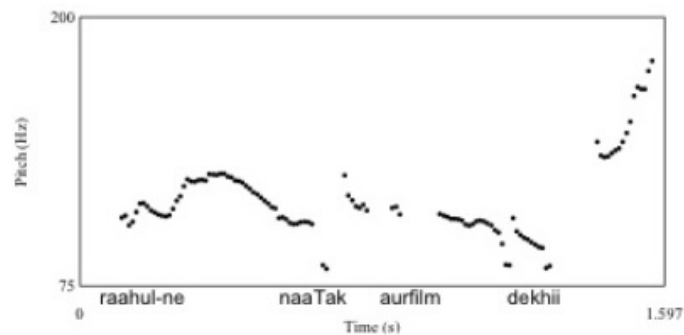




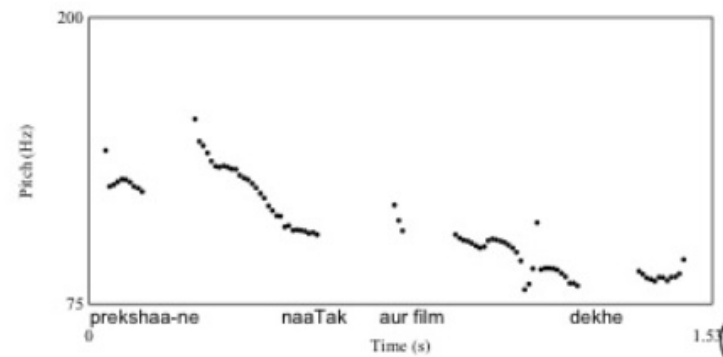
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Significant? Let's compare with RA:

CCA



RA



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Idioms

Gapping (for most people) allows idiomatic readings in both conjuncts (for some idioms)

She still holds sway and he, promise

% Mary hit the sack and Bill, the road

% Jim lost face and Kim, faith

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A pair of Hindi idioms that share V:

- (1) aMguuThaa dikhaanaa
thumb show
'to say no at a critical juncture'

- (2) aaMkheM dikhaanaa
eyes show
'to be furious with someone'

[Because of the rumor...] sunil-ne rahul-ko aMguuThaa
Sunil-Erg Rahul-to thumb.MSG

GAP

aur niina-ne dev-ko aaMkheM dikhaa-iiM/*-ye
and Nina-Erg Dev-to eyes.FPI show-Perf.FPI/MPI

% '(Because of the rumor,) Sunil said no to Rahul and Nina was furious with Dev.'

No speakers
accept RA; some
accept CCA, others
insist on repeating
the verb.

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But all of this was just for preverbal BPs...

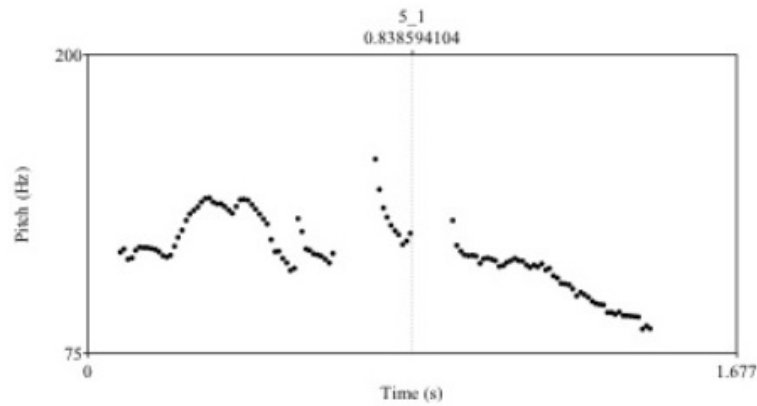
	pre-V	post-V
possible w/o adjacency	✓	X
CCA w/LDA	✓	X
"true" collective preds	RA only	RA or CCA!
idioms w/CCA	% Yes	No
sensitivity to unerg/unacc	✓ unacc ✗ unerg	✓ unacc % unerg
sensitivity to DP type/size	✓	X

→ doesn't look syntactic at all...

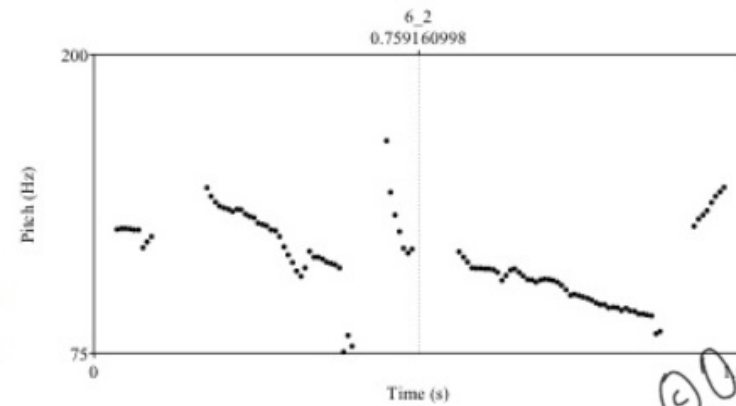
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Prosody in postverbal CCA/RA

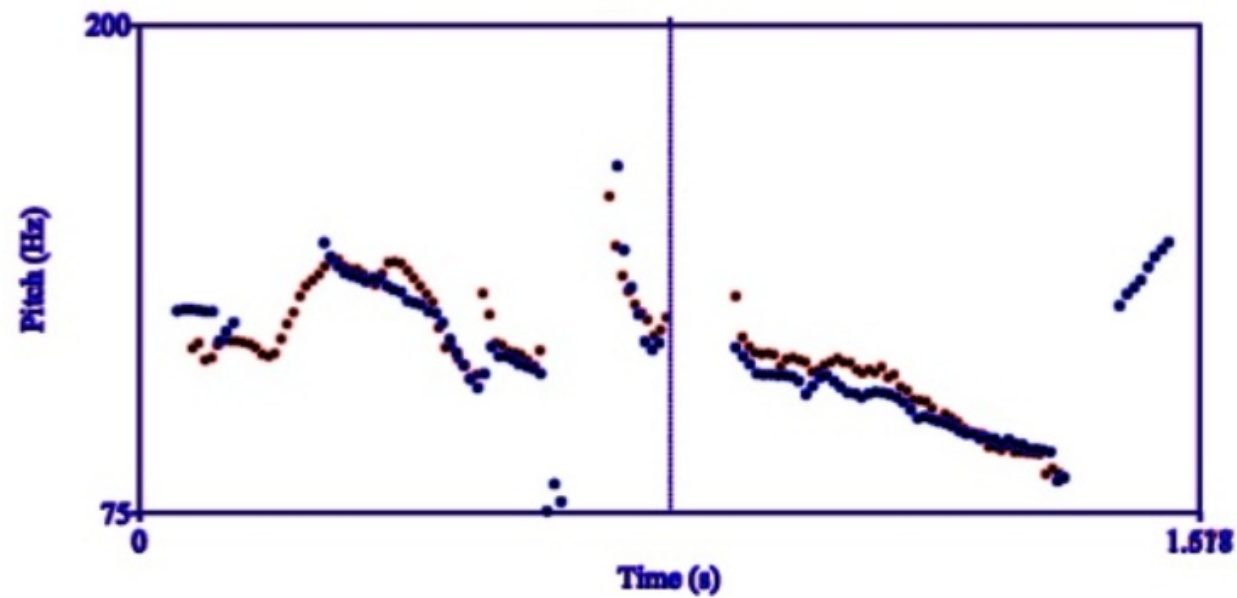
CCA



RA



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BB+P: post-verbal CCA reflects PF "overriding"
(or perhaps, just failing to carry out) the instructions
from syntax.

NB: English looks like Hindi postverbal CCA.

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