An Asymmetry between Multi-Valued Ns and Ts
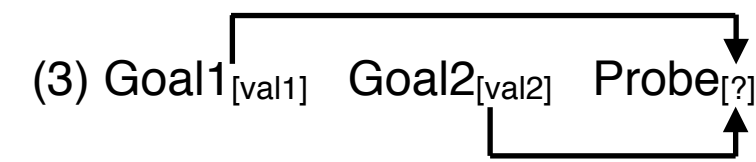
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1. Introduction

(1) Nominal Concord
a. This student is tall.
b. *These student is tall.

(2) Predicate-Argument Agreement
a. John runs.
b. *John run.

A novel asymmetry between nominal concord and argument-predicate agreement involving *multi-valuation*.

(3) Goal1[val1] Goal2[val2] Probe[?]

An analysis showing that the asymmetry can be accounted for under a unified Agree approach to agreement and concord.

2 Cont. Why not Ellipsis for NRNR?

(11) This tall ~~student~~ and that short student are a couple.

NRNR yes, NPE no
English adjectives
(12) a.*John likes this tall student and Mary likes that short. (*NPE)
     b. This tall and that short student are a couple. (NRNR)

German possessive pronouns
(13) a.*Dein Student und mein sind ein Paar. (*NPE)
         your student and my   are a couple
         'Your student and my are a couple.'
     b. Mein und dein Student sind ein Paar. (NRNR)
         my   and your student are a couple
         'My and your student are a couple.'

Spanish pre-nominal adjectives
(14) a.* vi a la verdadera terrorista y a la supuesta (*NPE)
         saw to the true   terrorist and to the alleged
         'Yesterday I saw the true terrorist and the alleged one.'
     b. La supuesta y la verdadera terrorista son pareja. (NRNR)
         the alleged and the true   terrorista are couple.
         'The alleged terrorist and the true terrorist are a couple.'

Serbo-Croatian Non-Agreement Adjectives
(15) a. ?*Ivan je izgubio braon čarap, a   Marko je izgubio bež. (*NPE)
         Ivan is lost   brown sock, and Marko is lost   beige
         'Ivan lost a brown sock and Marko lost a beige one.'
     b. braon i   bež čarap su par. (NRNR)
         brown and beige sock are pair.
         'The brown sock and the beige sock are a pair.'

NRNR no, NPE yes.
(16) a. I like John's student and Bill likes Mary's. (NPE)
     b. *John's and Mary's student are a couple. (*NRNR)

(17) a. een groen en een rood boek zijn allebei duur (NPE)
         a   green and a   red book are both   expensive.
     b.*een groen-e en een rood boek zijn allebei duur (*NRNR)
         a   green-e and a   red   book are both   expensive.
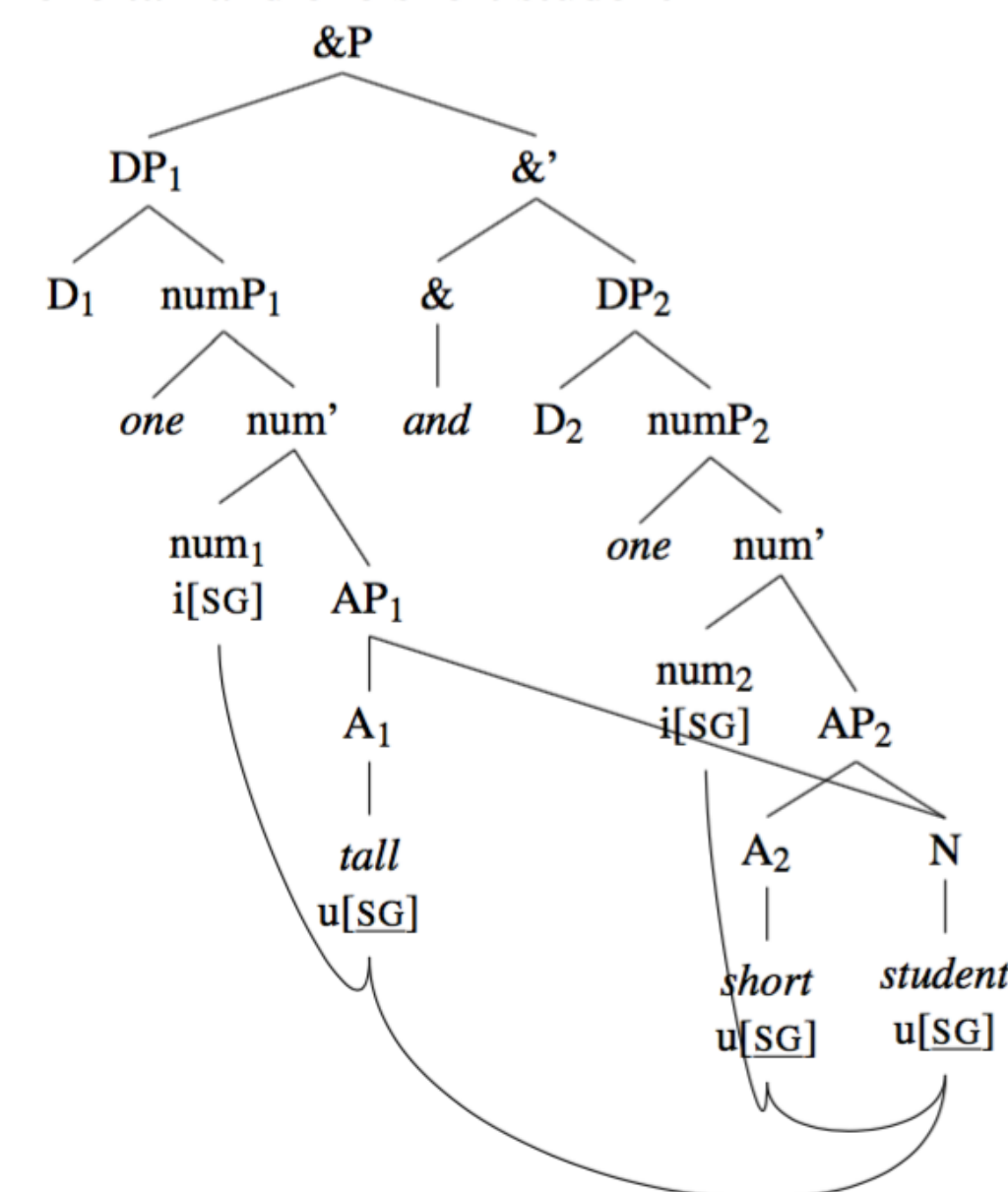   'A green book and a red book are both expensive.'

2. Multi-Valuation in DP

Nominal Raising Node Raising (Shen 2016)
(4) a. This tall and that short student are a couple.
     b. *This tall and that short students are a couple.
(5) a. John's tall and Mary's short student are a couple.
     b. *John's tall and Mary's short students are a couple.
(6) a. One tall and one short students are a couple.
     b. *One tall and one short students are a couple.

Also found in German, Dutch, Icelandic, Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Polish, Spanish, Greek, Bulgarian, etc.

(7) one tall and one short student

3. Multi-Valuation in TP

(8) Summative Agreement in RNR (Grosz 2015)
Sue's proud that Bill[SG] and Mary's glad that John[SG] have[PL] traveled.

Also found in Western Armenian, Standard Gujarati, Hebrew, Italian, Austrian German, Czech.

Composed Plurality in Nocte (Gluckman 2015)
(9) nga -ma nang hetho -e.
    1[SG] -nom 2[SG] teach -1[PL].
    'I shall teach you.'

(10) ni   roantang rang -ka -e.
     1[PL] always asp -go -1[PL].
     'We always go.'

(23) Multi-Valuation Asymmetry:
when N is valued by multiple [SG] values, it is spelled out as singular;
when T is valued by multiple [SG] values, it is spelled out as plural.

4. Proposal and Derivation

Proposal: N = [uNum:___]
          T = [uNum:___, uNum: __]

Spell-out rules:
[uNum: SG] ←→ Singular
[uNum: SG, uNum: SG] ←→ Plural
[uNum: SG, uNum: PL] ←→ Plural
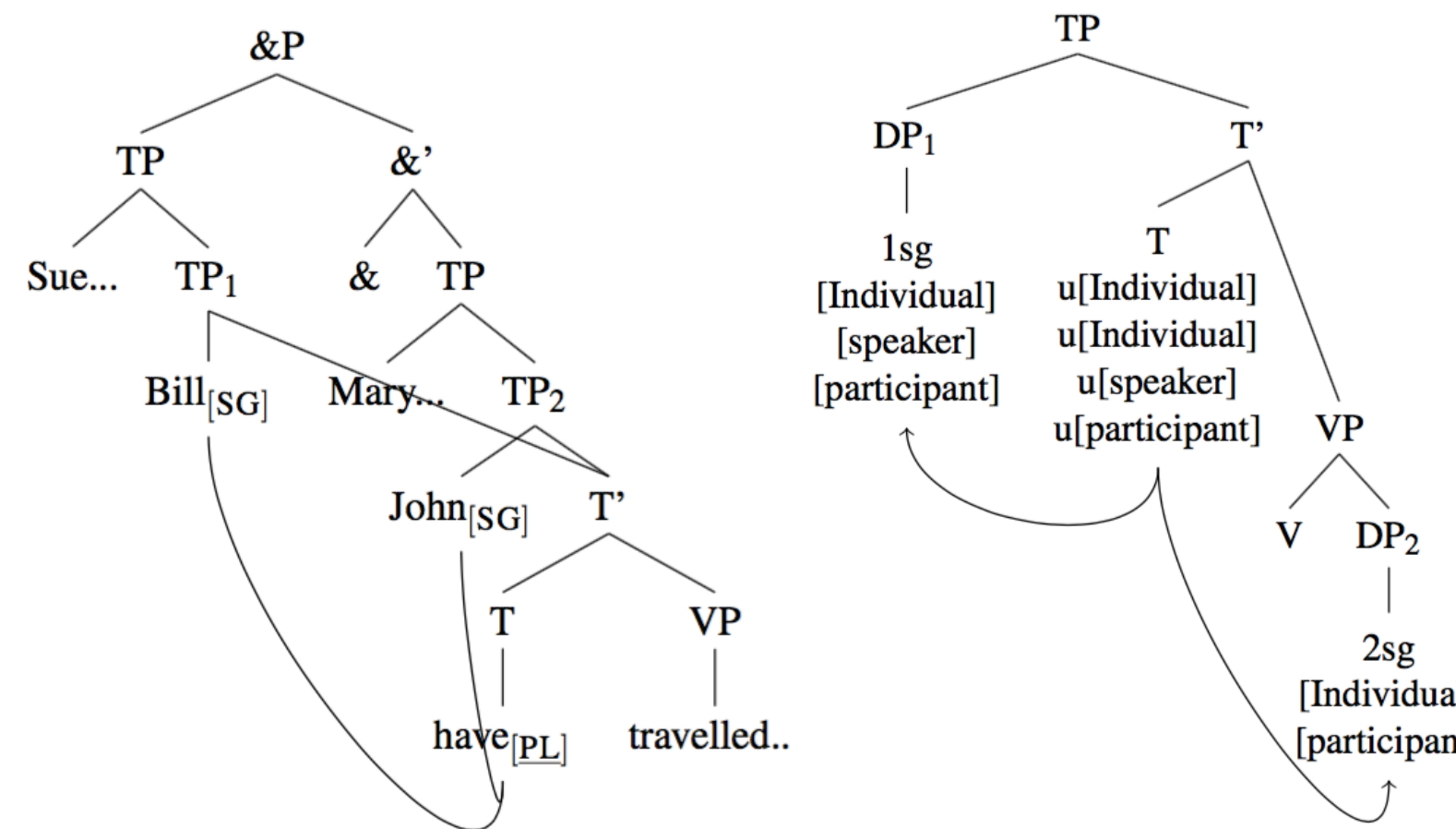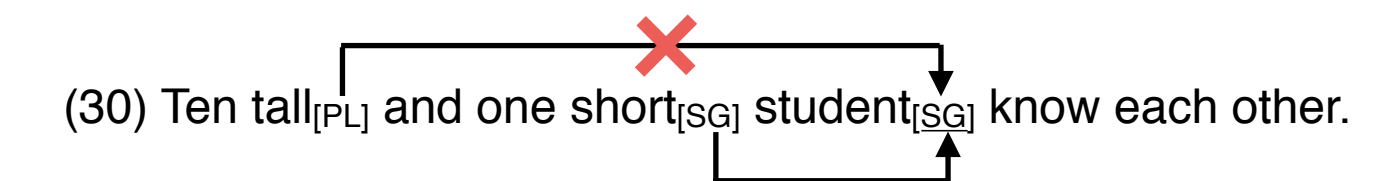[uNum: PL, uNum: SG] ←→ Plural

Nominal Right Node Raising

one tall[SG] and one short[SG] student[__] are a couple

one tall[SG] and one short[SG] student[__] are a couple

one tall[SG] and one short[SG] student[SG] are a couple

Summative Agreement

Sue's proud that Bill[SG] and Mary's glad that John[SG] have[__, __].

Sue's proud that Bill[SG] and Mary's glad that John[SG] have[__, __].

Sue's proud that Bill[SG] and Mary's glad that John[SG] have[SG, SG].

Composed Plurality in Nocte

nga -ma nang hetho -e.
1[SG] -nom 2[SG] teach -1[__, __].

1[SG] -nom 2[SG] teach -1[SG, __].

1[SG] -nom 2[SG] teach -1[SG, SG].

5. Mismatch

Mismatch in Multi-Valued N: Closest Conjunct Agreement
(29) a. One tall and ten short students know each other.
     b. *One tall and ten short student know each other.
     c. Ten tall and one short student know each other.
     d. *Ten tall and one short students know each other.

(30) Ten tall[PL] and one short[SG] student[SG] know each other.

Mismatch in Multi-Valued T: Plural
(31)a. Sue's proud that the twins and Mary's glad that John have traveled.
     b. Mary's glad that John and Sue's proud that the twins have traveled.

(32) Sue's proud that the twins[PL] and Mary's glad that John[SG] have[PL,SG]…

6. Conclusions

· This study made a novel observation of an asymmetry in multi-valuation between DPs and TPs;

· This study proposed an account for the asymmetry compatible with a unified analysis of nominal concord and predicate-argument agreement.

7. Outlooks

· Multi-valued Adjective/Demonstratives (King et al. 2004, Heycock et al. 2005)

	Italian	English	Russian	Greek
this man and woman	*	✓	*	*
these man and woman	*	*	✓	*
this men and women	*	*	*	*
these men and women	✓	✓	*	*

· Multi-valued C (van Koppen 2005)
· Gender multi-valuation
  · [FEM] and [NEU] [???]
· Muti-valuation by dual
  · [DL] and [DL] [PL]
· Why N[__] and T[__, __]?
  · T with one slot?
    · No summative agreement in Croatian, Dutch, Greek, and northern dialects of German (Grosz 2015)
  · N with two slots?
    · Harizanov and Gribanova 2015:
      · Bulgarian and Russian allow first.sg and last.sg pages.pl
      · There are three additional restrictions.

Selected References: **Baker, Mark.** 2008. The Syntax of Agreement and Concord. Cambridge University Press. **Barros, Matthew, and Luis Vicente.** 2011. Right node raising requires both ellipsis and multidomination. In PLC 34. **Bhatt, Rajesh, and Martin Walkow.** 2013. Locating Agreement in Grammar: an Argument from Agreement in Conjunctions. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 31 (4): 951–1013. **Carstens, Vicki, and Michael Diercks.** 2013. Agreeing How? Implications for Theories of Agreement and Locality. Linguistic Inquiry 44 (2): 179–237. **Danon, Gabi.** 2011. Agreement and DP-Internal Feature Distribution. Syntax 14 (4): 297–317. **Gluckman, John.** 2015. Decomposing Morphological Number in Local Contexts. In Proceedings of WCCFL 33. **Grosz, Patrick.** 2015. Movement and Agreement in Right-Node Raising Constructions. Syntax. **Harizanov, Boris, and Vera Gribanova.** 2015. How Across-the-Board Movement Interacts with Nominal Concord in Bulgarian. In Proceedings from CLS 49. **Norris, Mark.** 2014. A Theory of Nominal Concord. PhD diss, UCSC. **Shen, Zheng.** 2016. No Clash Constraint in Nominal RNR Number Agreement. In Proceedings of PLC 39.