1. Main Claim

- Concord in Archi is best analysed as feature copying in Harmonic Serialism.
- An existing approach posits an unrestricted copy operation (Polinsky, 2016).
- A parallel constraint based approach (SPOT) faces the sour grapes problem (McCarthy, 2009) and cannot derive gapped structures.
- A Harmonic Serialism account avoids these problems by allowing opaque interaction of a local operation.

2. Data: Concord in Archi

- Gender concord in Archi (Nakh-Daghestanian, Russia) occurs on particles, numerals, demonstratives, and pronominal possessors.
- It never occurs on quantifiers, nominal possessors and nominal adjectives.
- Concord in Archi is best analysed as feature copying in Harmonic Serialism.

3. Assumptions: Serial Copying

- A feature F with an index i on a head X is copied onto another head Y. This yields a feature F with an index i on head Y anymore.

4. Analysis

- Merge adds a new highest head to the NP, allowing LEFT(γ, NP) to trigger copying iteratively.
- The local copy operation combined with serial evaluation allows for an iterative, bounded concord process, potentially including intermediate feature hosts.

5. Extensions: Adverbs and beyond

- The account of the nominal concord can be extended to adverbial agreement.
- Constraint against gender features on v and constraint requiring the highest head in the VP to bear gender features restrict agreement to lower adjectives.
- Other possible rankings predict no concord or full concord.

6. Discussion: Alternative Approaches

- The operation-based account in Polinsky (2016) needs a non-local unrestricted operation and thus massively overgenerates. Copying is iterative and disregards barriers (Polinsky, 2016, 229-230).
- In contrast, the present account employs a local, iterative copy operation, bounded by feature cooccurrence constraint.
- It uses serial evaluation and counterbleeding interaction to solve the problems mentioned above.

References