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EST/FINN HYBRID AGR

In “NPs” with numerals, there is hybrid agreement in number:

need (ilusad) viis (ilusat) maja
 these beautiful five b'ful house
PL PL SG SG SG
 ‘these five beautiful houses’ (Est)

- noun, numeral, and intervening adjectives are singular
- anything before numeral is plural
- NB: adjective’s number value determined by position!

HYBRID AGR & DP

Salzmann (2020): hybrid agr in BCS is an argument for DP

Bruening (2020): NP-only analysis of hybrid agr in BCS

- BCS agr not an argument for DP
- Bruening’s lexical analysis does not work for Estonian/Finnish
- some hybrid agr is structural
- some “NPs” not headed by N

Hybrid agreement is structural in Estonian/Finnish

Mark Norris | morphosyntax.org | WCCFL 39, Apr 2021

Comparing hybrid agr in BCS and Est/Finn:

Lexical restrictions: BCS yes, Estonian/Finnish no

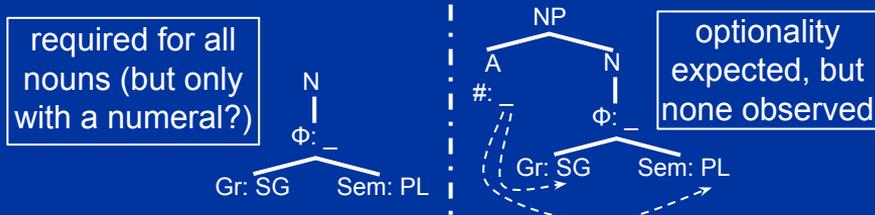
- **BCS**: some F nouns whose prototypical referents have sociocultural M gender (eg *vladika* ‘bishop’)
- **Estonian/Finnish**: any noun with a numeral

Optionality (of some form): BCS yes, Estonian/Finnish no

- **BCS**: in PL, agree-ers can choose either M or F (until one chooses M, then all others must be M)
- **Estonian/Finnish**: words up to and including the numeral must match noun (ie, SG); higher must be PL

Extending Bruening’s analysis of BCS to Est/Finn:

- Hybrid agr due to stipulated lexical representation
- Structured Φ -features: Φ :_ node dominates equidistant Gr(ammatical) & Sem(antic) nodes = agree-er choice!



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STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

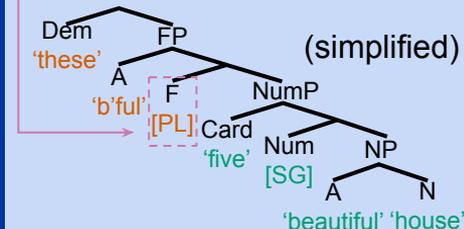
Defining traits of Est/Finn pattern

- tied to a specific structure
- fully syntactically productive

Existing idea: feature value on a

functional head (Matushansky 2013, Pesetsky 2013, Landau 2016)

- New feature value “takes over” for first value (b/c it is Closest)



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