

Agreement, Case Assignment and Nominal Coordination



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Abstract

The topic of this dissertation is agreement and case assignment, with particular reference to conjoined noun phrases. The initial chapters look at the different possibilities available in such contexts, including agreement with the features of each individual conjunct, agreement with the features of only one conjunct, or agreement with features computed on the basis of those of the individual conjuncts but not necessarily possessed by them. We propose a way of handling all of these patterns with a single formal mechanism, later applying the same intuitions to the assignment (or non-assignment) of case values by a head to its dependents. Attempts are also made to explore in greater depth some of the factors that might influence the choice of alternative agreement configurations, as well as to extend the scope of the model which we elaborate as we go along to non-conjoined environments where variable agreement occurs. Special emphasis is laid throughout on fluctuations in agreement, either because the controller has mismatched attributes or because the syntactic structure and/or the semantic interpretation allow variation. The final conclusion is that a modular approach to grammar is best placed to deal with the empirical facts. The complexities of the data call for bringing together purely morpho-syntactic, declensional information, syntactic hierarchy, order and constituency, coupled with semantics and pragmatics. The successful, appropriately regulated, interaction of these modules is shown to offer a satisfactory explanation which is difficult to obtain by exclusively relying on syntax or semantics alone.

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List of Abbreviations

A/ADJ – adjective	OBL – oblique argument
ACC/Acc – accusative	OE – Old English
ADJ – adjunct	P – preposition
AGR – agree(ment)	PASS – passive (voice)
ANIM – animate	PERS – person
AP – adjectival phrase	PL – plural
AUX – auxiliary	POSS – possessive
BNC – British National Corpus	PP – prepositional phrase
C – complementiser (node in constituent-structure trees)	PPRT – past participle
C – closest	PRED – predicate (LFG)
c-structure – constituent structure (in LFG)	PREDLINK – predicative /subject complement
COCA – Corpus of Contemporary American English	PRES/Pres – present tense
COMP – complementiser/complement	PSN/PSNL – person(al)
Conj – conjunction	Q – question (particle)
ConjP/CoP – conjunction phrase	R – right(most)
Coord. – coordination	REFL – reflexive
COUNT – count plural form of nouns	S – speaker
CP – complementiser phrase (=clause)	SG – singular
DAT – dative	SPEC – specifier
DEF – definite (article)	SUBJ – subject
Det – determiner	V – verb
DIM – diminutive	VOC – vocative
DP – determiner phrase	VP – verb phrase
F/FEM – feminine	
f-structure – functional-structure (in LFG)	
FUT – future	
GEN – genitive	
GEND – gender	
GPSG – Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar	
HPSG – Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar	
I – inflection (node in a constituent-structure trees)	
INANIM – inanimate	
Ind. – indirect (object)	
INST – instrumental	
IP – inflection phrase (=clause)	
L – left(most)	
LFG – Lexical-Functional Grammar	
LFSG – local f-structure sequence	
M/MASC – masculine	
ME – Middle English	
N – noun	
N – number (of items)	
N/NT – neuter	
NEG – negative (particle)	
NOM/Nom – nominative	
NP – noun phrase	
NUM – number (grammatical category)	
OBJ – object	

Transliteration from Cyrillic

(following Comrie and Corbett (1993: xii-xiii))

<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Cyrillic</i>	<i>Latin</i>
<i>а</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>п</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>б</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>р</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>в</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>с</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>г</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>т</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>д</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>у</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>е</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ф</i>	<i>f</i>
<i>ж</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>х</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>з</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ц</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>и</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ч</i>	<i>č</i>
<i>й</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ш</i>	<i>š</i>
<i>к</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>щ</i>	<i>št</i>
<i>л</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ъ</i>	<i>ǎ</i>
<i>м</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ь</i>	<i>'</i>
<i>н</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ю</i>	<i>ju</i>
<i>о</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>я</i>	<i>ja</i>

CHAPTER 1

Introduction and General Literature Review

1. Introduction and Overview

Despite long years of extensive research that has brought with it numerous advances in the field, nominal coordination, case and agreement still seem to be a grey area of uncharted syntactic territory in many respects. Why do we use a singular determiner and a plural verb with a pair of conjoined singular nouns like *this boy and girl are...*? Why does the determiner have to be plural in analogous contexts in other languages? Still more confusingly, what makes it possible to get either a singular or a plural determiner with the same noun phrase, in the same language? Are there any regularities that might govern the choice? What other agreement patterns are there? Is it a random fact that a speaker who is happy with the sentence *Him and me tried* is not likely to accept **Him tried*? How can we come to grips with these phenomena by building a consistent theoretical model? These are some of the questions to which we set out to seek answers.

In the introduction, we outline the basic theoretical premises that underlie the present work and compare the non-derivational, constraint-based approach to coordination and agreement that we take to the influential strand of transformational research. Typological work on agreement will also feature prominently, informing the general framework which we adopt and sketch out at the end of the introduction. Each chapter will contain further discussions of previous literature that has particular relevance to the topic at hand.

Chapter 2 draws data from Serbian/Croatian (South Slavic) and provides a qualitative analysis of the agreement patterns with conjoined nouns found in this language. It is concluded that the data necessitate modifications to our theoretical

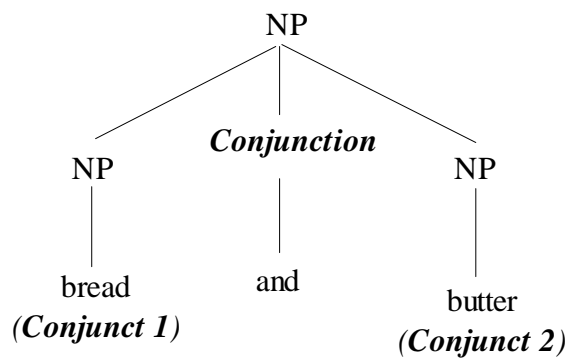
model, so that it can offer a better fit for the empirical observations. In Chapter 3, we embark on a quest for syntactic and extra-syntactic factors that might influence the choice of agreement pattern with conjoined nouns. Restricting ourselves to the attributive domain, we examine material from Bulgarian (South Slavic), analyse it statistically and attempt to reflect some of the trends that emerge in the formalism. Chapter 4 briefly revisits some tacit assumptions made in the preceding chapters regarding agreement with the features of only one conjunct; we will justify these assumptions and assess the alternatives which were implicitly rejected. Chapter 5 investigates how our model can be extended to cover agreement with nouns which are not simply conjoined with *and*. We focus on coordinate phrases containing *or*, *every* or *each*, as well as on collective nouns like *government* and *family*, quantified expressions like *ten miles* and non-conjoined phrases with more than one noun such as *a group of people*. The examples in this chapter come mostly from English and Bulgarian. Finally, Chapter 6 goes beyond agreement and looks at how the same intuitions can be applied to government and case assignment. A fairly comprehensive account of English pronominal case is put forward, with special attention paid to the assignment of feature values to conjoined phrases. Chapter 7 brings things to a close and sums up the findings.

2. Coordination

2.1. Definition

Haspelmath (2004b: 34) defines coordination as referring to ‘syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger

Fig. 1: *Nominal Coordination*



unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements’. The words *bread* and *butter* in Fig. 1 are standardly termed conjuncts connected by the coordinating conjunction *and*. In addition, the tree diagram represents coordinate phrases as exocentric: neither conjunct is the head of the entire construction. There is an ongoing controversy about this issue, pitting linguists from different camps against each other, and it will come up again below.

The nominal coordination in Fig. 1 features two nouns. However, one should not expect the combined units to be of the same category, as has sometimes been done in transformational syntax (cf. Chomsky (1957), Peterson (2004: 647)). There is ample evidence against that (cf. (1) and (2)), which makes it preferable to express the constraint in functional, rather than categorial, terms (Peterson (2004: 650), Dik

(1968: 28-9), Sag et al. (1985), Huddleston and Pullum (2006: 200-2); and Yatabe (2004)). It is the equivalence of grammatical relations such as subject, object or subject complement (a. k. a. predicative complement) that is important, and not the syntactic category of the conjuncts.

(1) *The article was* [very long (AP) and of little relevance (PP)]. [Huddleston and Pullum (2006: 200)]

(2) *He can see you* [this afternoon (NP) or on Tuesday (PP)]. [Huddleston, Payne and Peterson (2002: 1275)]

It is not at all obvious how to label a coordinate phrase with heterogeneous components (cf. Farkas and Ojeda (1983: 669-671) and Yatabe (2004)). Combinations of an NP and PP may be unimaginatively, but nonetheless accurately, labelled as NP/PP-coordination (Huddleston, Payne and Peterson (2002: 1275-6); see also Hudson (1988: 317)). Strictly speaking, even a pairing of two NPs should be given the tag “NP-coordination”. As Huddleston, Payne and Peterson (2002: 1276) note, an NP-coordination is not equivalent to an NP – it can have the same range of functions, but it does not have the structure of an NP. This will prove crucial in chapters to follow. Leaving coordinations of unlikes and naming disputes aside, we will only be concerned with conjoined nouns, NPs and pronouns for the rest of the exposition. Although we will not encumber the notation with the innovative designation of “NP-coordination”, this is what will be implied.

Yuasa and Sadock (2002) (quoted in Haspelmath (2004b: 34)) list the following five criteria which can determine if something is a coordination:

- Reversibility – the truth conditions remain unaffected if the order of the conjuncts is changed¹;
- Coordinate Structure Constraint (cf. Ross (1967)) – the conjuncts of one

¹This criterion is problematic. Examples of what are undoubtedly coordinations (e.g. *She had a cup of tea and made dinner.*) change their meaning if the order of the conjuncts is reversed (*She made dinner and had a cup of tea.*). See, for example, Kuhn and Sadler (2007).

coordinate structure cannot be questioned separately (it would be ungrammatical to ask **Who did Peter see Mary and ___?*);

- No backward anaphora is allowed – a pronoun in the first conjunct (e.g. the first clause) cannot co-refer with a full NP in the second conjunct (e.g. the second clause);
- Multiple conjuncts are possible;
- All conjuncts are equally asserted.

Having thus briefly introduced coordination, we will proceed to discuss and assess how it is tackled in transformational and non-transformational syntax (Section 2). We will then define agreement, the other major concept central to this dissertation, as well as the way it is formalised in different syntactic theories (Section 3). Finally, Section 4 sketches out the non-transformational approach that we adopt in a little more detail.

2.2. Transformational Approaches to Coordination

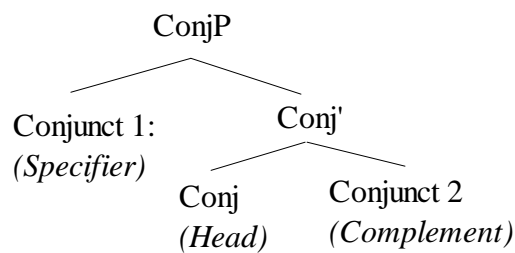
2.2.1. Endocentric Conjoined Phrases

According to Fig. 1 above, the two paired nouns form a headless, exocentric constituent. Some transformational accounts² of coordination, however, insist that it is not an exocentric construction and postulate a conjunction phrase (CoP/ConjP). The conjunction phrase is said to conform to X-bar theory and is headed by the conjunction, as shown in Fig. 2 (cf. Johannessen (1998: 1-2); Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994); Zoerner (1995); Munn (1999: 662); Rebuschi (2005: 446); for criticism, see Borsley (2005: 475)). The conjuncts are believed to occupy the specifier and complement positions in the ConjP. At first glance, this view seems quite

²There is no consensus on the treatment of coordinate structures even within transformational syntax. Cormack and Smith (2005), for example, argue that the conjuncts are best seen as adjuncts, rather than complements and specifiers. Another proposal involves a “Boolean Phrase” which is adjoined to the first conjunct [NP1 [B NP2] (Munn (1999: 664)).

appealing, as it gives conjunctions phrasal projections (similarly to prepositions or auxiliaries), and thus achieves consistency for all phrasal categories.

Fig. 2: *Johannessen's (1998, 1996: 669) ConjP*



If conjunctions were really heads, we would expect them to meet the criteria for head-hood. However, the various tests devised to date produce rather inconclusive and ambivalent results. Unlike other endocentric (i.e. headed) phrases, the ConjP does not describe its head (cf. Johannessen (1998: 75-7)). A *heavy stone*, for instance, is a description of the head noun *stone*, and not of *heavy*; *towards the hotel* is a description of a direction encoded by the prepositional head, and not of a hotel. By contrast, *a boy and a girl* is not a description of a type of *and* (although, it may be construed as a description of ‘collectivity’, as Johannessen argues).

Whereas other endocentric phrases show agreement controlled by the head, no such agreement exists in ConjPs. Nor are conjunctions the elements in the ConjP which determine the morpho-syntactic properties of the phrase (Johannessen (1998:

78)). Borsley (2005: 466) points out that a ConjP analysis has difficulty explaining the fact that both conjuncts usually share features characteristic of the whole phrase, since specifiers and complements do not normally possess the same features as the constituents that contain them.

Conjunctions may be argued to subcategorise the conjuncts, but they cannot stand alone as what Johannessen (1998: 81) dubs the distributional equivalent of the whole phrase. While it is possible to use *He is* to replace *He is reading a book*, it would be unthinkable to say *He and* for *He is reading and writing*. Similarly to other heads, conjunctions are generally obligatory, but so are the conjuncts. It is also problematic to treat conjunctions as obligatory heads, in the face of asyndetic (conjunctionless) coordinated phrases. The solution of positing empty conjunctions offered by Johannessen (1998: 84) seems more like a technically convenient way out of a tricky situation than a faithful reflection of the empirical facts.

Coordinate phrases can have a theoretically unlimited number of conjuncts, which goes against the principle that heads normally place restrictions on the number of their complements and specifiers (Borsley (2005: 466)). The transformational solution is to embed multiple ConjPs in order to generate as many conjuncts as required. Borsley objects to this artificial remedy, because an embedded ConjP is proved to be a non-constituent (i.e. the phrase *Jacob and Sam* in *I met John, Jacob and Sam* does not behave as a single syntactic unit). While complements and specifiers are expected to be maximal projections, this is not always the case with coordination – *like* is not a maximal projection in *He liked and admired his wife* (Borsley (2005: 471)).

Johannessen (1998) seeks additional support for the constituent structure proposed in Fig. 2 from what she calls unbalanced coordination, showcased in (3).

(3) ***She and him*** will drive to the movies. [Johannessen (1998: 16)]

Roughly speaking, it is claimed that the conjunction, which is the head of the conjoined subject in (3), receives nominative case and only passes it to the conjunct occupying the specifier slot (that is, the initial one) via the mechanism of Specifier-Head agreement, which is central in Minimalism. The second pronoun (*him* in (3) above) is left to its own devices and can host whatever the default case form is (accusative in Present-Day English). We demonstrate in Chapter 6 that this analysis in terms of Spec-Head agreement is implausible. Not only does it fail to account for having two nominative (or accusative) subjects in a non-stipulative manner, but there are also subjects made up of an unambiguously accusative pronoun, followed by an unambiguously nominative one (i.e. the reverse of Johannessen’s prediction; see Chapter 6 for more). Although the conjunction is assumed to be the head and has to have its specifier (i.e. the first conjunct) ‘agree’ with it, even Johannessen (1998: 119) concedes that the conjunction cannot assign case. What is more, the mechanism of agreement which relies on sharing features between the head and the specifier does not hold in other contexts. The head and the specifier can differ in number, as the following noun phrase illustrates: *the children’s room* (Borsley (2005: 476)).

At first sight, some constituency tests might suggest that the conjunction forges close links with the second conjunct (Huddleston, Payne and Peterson (2002: 1277)). The two of them can be moved together, as demonstrated in (4) and (5). Secondly, coordinators such as *and*, *or* and *but* can be placed at the beginning of a sentence, as in (6). Thirdly, the natural intonation break comes before the conjunction, and not after it (Huddleston, Payne and Peterson (2002: 1277)).

- (4) a. *They allowed the others **but not me** a second chance.*
 b. *They allowed the others a second chance **but not me**.* [Huddleston, Payne and Peterson (2002: 1277)]
- (5) a. *Did the boss **or her secretary** tell you that?*
 b. *Did the boss tell you that **or her secretary**?* [Huddleston, Payne and Peterson (2002: 1277)]
- (6) *She thoroughly enjoyed it. **And so did her mother**.* [Huddleston, Payne and Peterson (2002: 1277)]

However, such evidence is not unassailable. The initial *and* in (6) can equally plausibly be deemed a sentential adjunct. Likewise, (4)b. and (5)b. may be treated as elliptical clausal coordinations more akin to afterthoughts, as opposed to noun coordinations with a dislocated second conjunct. The fact that *John and Mary* is a conjoined phrase which serves as subject is evident from the plural verb agreement in (7)a. If what is supposed to be a constituent consisting of the conjunction and the second conjunct (*and Mary*) is moved, as in (7)b., then the agreement marking on the verb only singles out *John* as subject, leaving *and Mary* as an afterthought attached to the clause, but without really belonging to it³. Movement totally fails in (8) (M. Dalrymple, p.c.).

- (7) a. *John and Mary were elected.*
 b. *John was elected and Mary.*
- (8) a. *John and Mary resemble each other.*
 b. **John resembles each other and Mary.*

Although they believe that the conjunction and the second conjunct do form a unit, Huddleston and Pullum (2005: 230) point out that it is inadmissible to propose such a putative constituent, as demonstrated in (9)a., which stands in sharp contrast to a subordinate clause, shown in (9)b. So the only test that supports the claim that the string *and Mary* somehow works together turns out to be on rather shaky ground. It is well known that one test is seldom enough to establish constituency – we usually need the converging evidence of at least several independent tests (cf. Carnie (2007, ch. 3)).

- (9) a. **But they are not members, they attended the dinner.* [Huddleston and Pullum (2005: 230)]
 b. *Although they are not members, they attended the dinner.* [Huddleston and Pullum (2005: 230)]

³While it is sometimes possible for verbs to agree with only one conjunct of a coordinate subject, resolved plural agreement is usually also an option. This is not the case here. Cf. Chapter 2, as well as Chapter 4, on ellipsis and single-conjunct agreement.

2.2.2. Conjunct Deletion

Transformational syntacticians often maintain that a coordinate phrase is derived through deletion or so called “constituent reduction” (cf. Johannessen (1998)) – that is, (10)a. is taken to be a product of (10)b. However, (11)a. cannot have resulted from (11)b., because the verb in (11)a. is plural (cf. (7) above). The potential sources, given in (11)c., are ill-formed (cf. Johannessen (1998: 61)). Furthermore, there is no way the example in (8) above could have started out as two separate clauses with non-conjoined singular subjects.

- (10) a. *John and Mary went there.*
b. *John went there and Mary went there.*
- (11) a. *John and Mary are happy*
b. *John is happy and Mary is happy.*
c. **John are happy and Mary are happy.*
- (12) a. *John and Mary went swimming.*
b. *John went swimming and Mary went swimming.*

A transformation according to which (12)a. is a shorthand for (12)b. can only be upheld if we interpret the output sentence in (12)a. to mean that John and Mary went swimming separately. If, however, John and Mary went swimming together, it would be impossible on semantic grounds to obtain *John and Mary went swimming (together)* from *John went swimming (together)* and *Mary went swimming (together)*⁴ (cf. Lakoff and Peters (1969) and Borsley (2005: 471); see also Gleitman (1965: 268)).

There is extensive literature on the problems arising from deletion transformations; see Klima (1964: 9-10), Gleitman (1965: 268, 289-92), Dik (1968: 80-91), Lakoff and Peters (1969), Lakoff and Ross (1970), Schachter (1977), Gazdar et al. (1982), Hoeksema (1983: 67-8), Sag et al. (1985: 134-5), Quirk et al. (1985:

⁴While it is clear that *John and Mary went swimming together* is best viewed as a coordination of nouns, as opposed to a coordination of full sentences which have undergone deletion, we would not insist that sentential coordination and ellipsis are ruled out in principle. Indeed, there are constructions which should be analysed in this way (see the previous section and Camacho (2003, Chapter 3)). Unlike transformational theorists such as Camacho, however, we do not envisage an operation of reduction/deletion, but just ellipsis (cf. Chapter 4 of the present work).

935-945, 1347), van Oirsouw (1987), Cremers (1993, chap. 2), Lasersohn (1995), Baker (1995: 509-510), Bayer (1996: 585), Peterson (2004). We will return to issues of deletion and ellipsis in Chapter 4.

2.2.3. Summary

Above we saw that there is little justification for characterising coordinate phrases as endocentric entities which might be derived via deletion in what starts out as sentential coordination. In contrast to schools of transformational syntax like Principles and Parameters or Minimalism, which tend to superimpose a stratified X-bar template onto what they call Conjunction Phrases, constraint-based approaches like Lexical-Functional Grammar or Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar take as their point of departure the notion that coordinate structures are exocentric, putting each conjunct on an equal footing (see Borsley (2005: 462); also cf. Dik (1968 52-4) for a more theory-neutral discussion in favour of a flat structure for conjoined phrases). We can now move on to the phenomenon of agreement.

3. Agreement

3.1. Definition

Agreement is generally taken to refer to ‘some systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another. For example, adjectives may take some formal indication of the number and gender of the noun they modify’ (Steele (1978: 610), quoted in Corbett (1991: 105); cf. Corbett (1988b: 24)). Note that the definition explicitly states that the covariance may be sensitive either to a semantic or to a formal property of one element, but at the same time it has to “activate” a formal property of the other element. This will turn out to

be essential for the theoretical analysis which we will sketch out in the next section, as it aims to capture those two instantiations of agreement – formal and semantic.

The important factors to consider when working on agreement are as follows: the controllers (the constituents that determine agreement), targets (the constituents that agree with the controllers), domains (e.g. whether agreement is within the boundaries of the NP, the clause, etc.), the agreement features (e.g. person, number, gender), and the conditions on agreement (e.g. animacy could be a possible condition exerting an influence on agreement patterns⁵) (cf. Corbett (2006)).

Corbett (2003a: 151-2, 2003b) writes that, like many other linguistic concepts, agreement is not a well defined, but rather a fuzzy, category. He does not find it particularly fruitful or plausible to try to delimit the extremes of the category. Instead, he adopts a ‘canonical’ approach, which groups the indisputable instances as a core and then adds some less prototypical ones which are more marginal and therefore gravitate to the fringes. There are different criteria to determine what is canonical agreement – they never conflict but converge, thus creating ‘a multi-dimensional space within which particular constructions can be located’ (Corbett (2003a: 152)). The criteria for canonicity can be summed up in three overarching principles (taken from Corbett (2003a: 151-2) and Corbett (2003b, 2003c: 164)⁶):

- Canonical agreement is redundant rather than informative;
- Canonical agreement is syntactically simple;
- The closer the expression of agreement is to canonical (i.e. affixal) inflectional morphology, the more canonical it is as agreement.

There is a raging controversy about the status of anaphora, for example. Many researchers would refuse to recognise it as a type of agreement. However, the same

⁵For instance, it has been observed that animate controllers are more likely to have semantically justified agreement than inanimate ones (Corbett (2006: 26)). We return to this in Chapter 3.

⁶Cf. the original sources for more detailed discussion of these and other criteria.

features are usually involved in anaphora and the covariance in gender and number of adjectives and nouns; Corbett's Agreement Hierarchy (see Section 4.2 below) shows that clause-internal and clause-external agreement are points on the same scale, so they should consequently be perceived as belonging to the same phenomenon (cf. Corbett (1991: 112)).

3.2. Agreement in Transformational and Constraint-Based Syntax

Agreement rarely received much attention in early Transformational Grammar as an object of study in its own right. Instead, it was frequently harnessed as a test for exploring what were seen as trickier topics, like subject-raising for instance (Corbett (2006: 114)). When considered a viable research endeavour in itself, agreement was transformationally handled by copying feature values from one phrase-structure node to another (from controller to target) (cf. Pollard and Sag (1988: 237) and Corbett (2006)). By contrast, non-derivational offshoots of generative syntax like LFG and HPSG do not model agreement as feature copying; instead, they assume that two elements which participate in an agreement relation provide partial information about a single linguistic object (Pollard and Sag (1988: 237)). In other words, agreement in constraint-based theories is treated as multiple specification of compatible feature values by a controller and target (Bresnan (2001, chap. 8); Dalrymple (2001, chap. 5), Pollard and Sag (1994, chap. 2), Corbett (2006: 115), Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 7) and Dalrymple and Hristov (2010: 186)).

In a pro-drop language like Bulgarian, Italian or Polish, it is unclear where the information on a verbal target was "copied" from, as the subject is often not expressed overtly (cf. Pollard and Sag (1988: 240) and Pollard and Sag (1994, chap. 2)). This poses a challenge to the mechanism of directional feature copying. Alternatively, the controller can be present but underspecified, which is not easy to explain in

transformational terms either⁷ (cf. *The sheep is/are in the field.*). In later Minimalist work, copying was replaced by feature checking, which has brought the theory closer to the intuitions of feature co-specification, but it has the undesirable consequence of deleting or eliminating the features of the target (Corbett (2006: 116)).

The brief discussion in this section has demonstrated that constraint-based syntactic frameworks are generally better equipped to deal with agreement phenomena. However, the co-specification of features is not without its pitfalls either, especially when it comes to agreement mismatches, which will be the main topic of our subsequent discussion (cf. Corbett (2006: 115)). The fundamental underpinnings of our theoretical affiliations have now been declared and we are ready to introduce the model that we will be working with for the rest of the exposition.

4. The Formal Model

4.1. Concord and Index Features

As mentioned in the introduction, it is puzzling enough that the English NP *boy and girl* should be simultaneously compatible with a singular determiner (e.g. *this*) and a plural verb (e.g. *are*). A plural determiner is disallowed in English: **these boy and girl* is ungrammatical. Another curious fact is that there are nouns in Serbian/Croatian that take feminine singular attributive targets, but at the same time agree with neuter plural verbs (cf. Wechsler and Zlatić (2003)).

A model designed to explain such “oddities” is offered in Wechsler and Zlatić’s book *The Many Faces of Agreement*. It follows a line of research that can be traced back to the work of Pollard and Sag (1988, 1994) and Kathol (1999). Wechsler

⁷For a treatment of underspecification in the setting of a constraint-based theory, see Dalrymple, King and Sadler (2009). For other problems with derivation-based accounts of agreement, see Pollard and Sag (1988: 238-242) and Pollard and Sag (1994, chap. 2). For a short sketch of how agreement is handled in recent Minimalist literature, see Baker (2008, esp. chap. 2) and the references cited there.

and Zlatić (2003: 3) point out that the agreement features of a noun are not arbitrary, but closely related to its semantic and morphological properties (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 4-5)). There is interplay between meaning (i.e. semantics) on the one hand, and morphology (e.g. declension classes) on the other.

Agreement has been traditionally classified according to numerous criteria. For example, we can split it into syntactic or semantic agreement, i.e. matching the form or the meaning of the controller (e.g. *The committee has/have decided.* cf. Corbett (2006: 155)). Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 8-9) differentiate between anaphoric and grammatical agreement, and between pragmatically triggered (pragmatic) and grammatically triggered (grammatical) agreement. The latter can in turn be subdivided into index and concord agreement⁸. Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 10) believe that ‘index agreement involves sharing of referential indices that are part of the semantic content of a nominal’. These referential indices are important in semantic interpretation, but are not restricted to it⁹. Index features are defined as grammaticalizations of semantic and pragmatic anchoring conditions (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 11)). On the other hand, concord is described as ‘the sharing of morphosyntactic head features between certain designated elements’ (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 14)).

Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 14-15) also note that index and concord agreement comprise different features. Index is associated with *person*, number and gender, whereas concord incorporates *case*, number and gender¹⁰. The general idea of the

⁸See Corbett (2006) for a similar classification. Corbett (2000: 187) talks about syntactic and semantic agreement, which roughly correspond to concord and index, respectively. The concord-index dichotomy resembles Bloomfield’s distinction between ‘concord’ and ‘congruence’ (Bloomfield (1933: 191), quoted in Corbett (2006: 6)). However, concord and agreement are sometimes used interchangeably (cf. Quirk et al. (1985), Corbett (1991)). See Pollard and Sag (1994: 24-7, as well as chap. 2) for the original definitions of the terms *index agreement*, *syntactic agreement* (of which *case concord* is a subtype), and *pragmatic agreement* in HPSG; cf. the discussion in Kathol (1999: 227ff).

⁹Dummy elements, for example, do not have a semantic interpretation, but they still receive index features (cf. Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 13)).

¹⁰See Corbett (2003b, Section 2.3) on the issue of whether case matching is actually agreement. Nouns

model is that an inflected noun has a set of morphosyntactic (concord) features including number, gender and case specification. A noun phrase also has a referential index with its own information about person, number and gender (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 16)). While concord is more closely affiliated with morphology, index is more semantics-related (cf. Kim and Sells (2008: 112-7)).

Concord is generally assumed to operate within NPs, whereas index is usually active outside the NP domain. In Serbian/Croatian, for instance, the concord feature normally determines the inflection on attributive targets, while the index feature is often responsible for agreement with pronouns and finite elements (verbs and auxiliaries) (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 17)). It is worth emphasising that concord does not have to remain within the NP, however. In the same way, index agreement can work NP-internally¹¹. And yet, concord features, unlike index, are unavailable for cross-sentential anaphora (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 16)). There is interaction between the following “layers” of agreement presented in (13):

(13) *Wechsler and Zlatić’s (2000: 800) model of agreement:*
declension <=> concord <=> index <=> semantics

All feature values in the chain in (13) above will normally correlate. Wechsler and Zlatić (2000: 800) illustrate this default scenario with regular Serbian/Croatian nouns like *žena* ‘woman’ or *knjiga* ‘book’, in which all types of information coincide: they belong to the second declension feminine class, trigger feminine concord, have feminine referential indices, and consequently go with feminine bound pronouns. Although concord and index features are expected to match, this is not

have no inherent case and it is debatable whether it is assigned to the head of the NP, which then triggers agreement on its dependents, or whether both nouns and, say, adjectives are assigned case directly by the governor.

¹¹This should allay fears that the split between concord and index might entail a claim that NP-internal agreement is intrinsically somehow different from NP-external agreement. As discussed in Section 3 above, there is no evidence to justify such partitioning (cf. Corbett (2006: 228-9), Corbett (1998: 36), Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 92), and Baker (2008: 108)). On the contrary – relative pronouns, for instance, are NP-internal, but do not pattern with attributive modifiers (Corbett (2006: 228-9)). We return to this issue in Chapter 2.

always the case, and it is interesting to observe what happens when they do not align neatly (cf. Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 49)).

One such exception is the concord-index discrepancy in *deca*-type nouns in Serbian/Croatian, which agree with feminine singular modifying adjectives and neuter plural or masculine plural anaphoric pronouns. According to Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 60), the Serbian/Croatian *deca*-type collective nouns provide evidence for the separation of concord from index features, because they trigger different agreement on the two classes of target.

4.2. Typological Hierarchies

We have seen so far that languages can choose concord or index features for indicating relations between the subject and the predicate, a noun and a determiner, a noun and a modifier, and so on (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 84)). There is a tendency for attributive targets to pick out concord, and for predicative targets to pick out index. However, it will be demonstrated in the next section, as well as in Chapter 2, that this need not be the case (as pointed out above). There are intriguing correspondences between the agreement target and the type of agreement. Based on cross-linguistic observations, Corbett's Agreement Hierarchy, reproduced in (14) below, predicts that semantically motivated agreement will increase monotonically at the expense of syntactic agreement in the order shown in (14) (Corbett (1979, 1981b, 2006: 207 and elsewhere)). In line with the definitions of concord and index, the latter has greater semantic justification than the former, despite the fact that both are grammatical features.

(14) *Corbett's Agreement Hierarchy:*

attributive < predicate < relative pronoun < personal pronoun

For example, if the attributive target exhibits syntactic (i.e. concord) agreement, a predicative target may select either the syntactic (i.e. concord) or

semantic (i.e. index) features. If, however, the attributive target is semantically justified, the predicate is virtually certain to also match the semantic (i.e. index) feature. This hierarchy is claimed to be universal. Corbett (2006: 230-1) also elaborates a sub-hierarchy, called the Predicate Hierarchy:

(15) *The Predicate Hierarchy (originally proposed by Comrie):*
verb < participle < adjective < noun

What the Predicate Hierarchy tells us is that ‘for any controller that permits alternative agreements, as we move rightwards along the Predicate Hierarchy, the likelihood of agreement with greater semantic justification will increase monotonically’ (Corbett (2006: 231)). The effects are pretty much the same as those of the Agreement Hierarchy mentioned above. These hierarchies will prove particularly useful in Chapter 2, where they will be analysed in greater detail. We now return to the task of fleshing out the formal model of agreement which we adopt.

4.3. Lexical-Functional Grammar

Wechsler and Zlatić’s (2003) ideas are taken up and developed in King and Dalrymple’s (2004) article ‘Determiner Agreement and Noun Conjunction’. Special attention is paid here to the behaviour of the concord and index features in conjoined environments. Before we launch into all the subtleties, however, we first need to be familiarised with the theoretical framework in which the model is situated.

King and Dalrymple (2004) make use of the formalism of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) in order to express their generalisations¹². In addition to constituent-structure (c-structure), which in many respects resembles phrase-structure trees in other theories, LFG postulates another level of syntactic representation – functional structure (f-structure). F-structure is the place to address grammatical relations such as subject and object, as well as agreement. F-structures are attribute-value matrices

¹²For introductions to LFG, see Bresnan (2001), Dalrymple (2001) and Falk (2001).

enclosed in square brackets (see Fig. 3 below). The value of an attribute like number (NUM), for instance, might be SG or PL. Alternatively, the value of an attribute may be supplied by an embedded f-structure; for example, the value of SUBJ will be the f-structure of the noun that functions as subject. In the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar, index and concord are also features in the realm of functional structure.

LFG is a non-transformational approach to syntax. Instead of transformational operations, it appeals to constraints which can be attached to word forms. The constraints usually list the lexical and grammatical contribution of the item, including its number, case and gender features (where relevant). It is such lexical entries that specify the agreement restrictions a grammatical form can impose. The entry for *this* in (16) states that *this* will contribute to the structure above it, signified by (\uparrow), the value of the specifier (SPEC) attribute, in addition to a singular concord number feature, requiring the concord of the noun with which it combines to be singular. The noun *boy* is associated with the syntactic predicate (PRED) of ‘boy’, in addition to possessing a singular concord number. Since both the noun and the determiner/specifier in the f-structure in Fig. 3 are singular, the string is grammatical. The f-structure for *this boy* also shows that the phrase as a whole has a singular concord number, as well as a singular index.

(16) *Lexical entries and constraints (from King and Dalrymple (2004: 72)):*

this	(\uparrow SPEC) = ‘THIS’
	(\uparrow CONCORD NUM) = SG
boy	(\uparrow PRED) = ‘BOY’
	(\uparrow CONCORD NUM) = SG

Fig. 3: *F-structure representation for the phrase “this boy” (from King and Dalrymple (2004: 72)):*

SPEC	‘THIS’
PRED	‘BOY’
CONCORD	[NUM SG]
INDEX	[NUM SG]

If the features of the noun and the determiner had incompatible values (e.g. singular *this* and plural *boys*), the resulting f-structure specification would have no solution, as the value for the NUM feature cannot be singular (as required by the determiner) and plural (as required by the head noun) at the same time (King and Dalrymple (2004: 72)). This ensures that phrases like **this boys* are marked as ungrammatical.

At the level of f-structure, LFG models coordinate phrases as sets – ‘the functional structure of a coordination of constituents is the set of functional structures of the coordinated elements’ (Peterson (2004: 651)). The distinction between distributive and non-distributive features is important for the operations performed on sets, as will become clear below¹³. The members of the set in Fig. 4 are the conjuncts *boy* and *girl*, tagged as *b* and *g* respectively, whereas the coordinate phrase is the set labelled *bg*. The curly brackets indicate that what we have inside them is a set which can have a theoretically unlimited number of members. The constituent structure assumed for two conjoined nouns will be as in Fig. 5 (in accordance with the discussion from previous sections). The rule that has generated this string is given in (17).

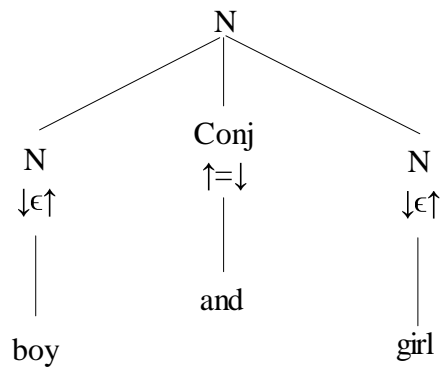
Fig. 4: A set of conjuncts at f-structure (following King and Dalrymple (2004)):

$$bg \left\{ \begin{array}{l} b: [PRED: 'BOY'] \\ g: [PRED: 'GIRL'] \end{array} \right\}$$

¹³Cf. Lasersohn (1995) for a discussion of the more (formal) semantic side of distributive and non-distributive interpretations – as seen in (i) and (ii), respectively.

- (i) *John and Mary are asleep.*
- (ii) *John and Mary are a good couple.*

Fig. 5: Noun Coordination



(17) *Phrase structure rule from Dalrymple (2001) (also given in King and Dalrymple (2004: 73)):*

$$\begin{array}{ccccc}
 N & \rightarrow & N & \text{Conj} & N \\
 & & \downarrow\epsilon\uparrow & \uparrow=\downarrow & \downarrow\epsilon\uparrow
 \end{array}$$

According to the rule in (17), each daughter node is a member of the set represented by the mother node, as spelled out in the $\downarrow\epsilon\uparrow$ annotation under the nouns. These annotations provide the links between c- and f-structure. The $\uparrow=\downarrow$ equation under the conjunction means that the relevant features associated with the conjunction are also associated with the mother node (King and Dalrymple (2004: 73-4)). The downward arrow refers to the current node, whereas the upward-pointing one refers to the node above.

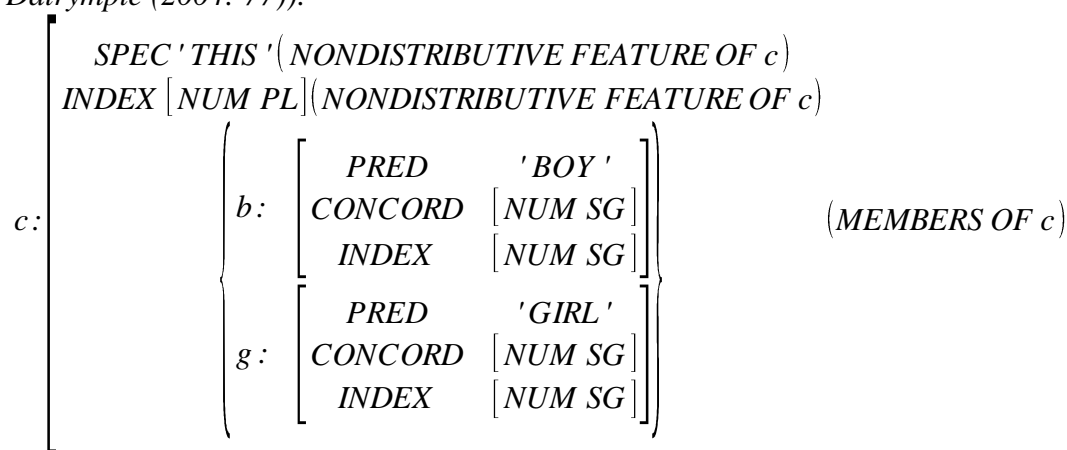
4.4. Concord, Index and Coordination

As mentioned in the previous section, sets can be characterised by two types of features. Non-distributive features pertain to a set as a whole. Distributive features, on the other hand, can only belong to the individual members of the set (in our case, the conjuncts) (King and Dalrymple (2004: 74)). King and Dalrymple (2004: 74-5) propose that index is non-distributive, while concord is distributive.

In this way, an important property of concord features, which makes them different from their index counterparts, is that they are always confined to the specifications of individual conjuncts (King and Dalrymple (2004: 77)). Consequently, concord agreement in cases of coordination is determined by the concord features of the members of the set (King and Dalrymple (2004: 77)). Only if the concord of each conjunct is, for example, singular, will the conjoined phrase be allowed to agree with a singular target that cares about concord. Each individual conjunct has its concord value, but the coordinate phrase as such has none (King and Dalrymple (2004: 76); cf. Fig. 6).

By contrast, the set corresponding to the entire coordinate structure can have index features of its own which need not match the index of all its members (King and Dalrymple (2004: 74)). A pairing of nouns is therefore treated as plural, no matter whether the conjuncts are singular or not. The index feature of a conjoined NP reflects the number of entities it refers to (King and Dalrymple (2004: 75); cf. Fig. 6). If it refers to a single entity it will have singular index, but if it refers to more than one, the index will be plural (King and Dalrymple (2004: 71)).

Fig. 6: *F*-structure for the coordinate phrase “this boy and girl” (from King and Dalrymple (2004: 77)):



It becomes evident from Fig. 6 that the set c has two non-distributive features: the SPEC attribute, whose value is ‘THIS’, and the plural INDEX characteristic of the entire coordinate construction (King and Dalrymple (2004: 77)). According to the *f*-structure, distributive features, such as the concord of each individual conjunct, cannot be associated with the set c . In the representation above, the plural index of the phrase as a whole is responsible for the (index) agreement between the subject *this boy and girl* and a plural verb (e.g. *are*). By contrast, the determiner *this* must be compatible with the concord features of each conjunct (cf. **these boy and girl*, **this/*these boy and girls*, **this/*these girls and boy*)¹⁴. King and Dalrymple (2004: 77) note that ‘any requirement that holds of a distributive feature of a set must hold of each member of the set’. In other words, if the coordinate phrase is expected to have singular concord, then each of its constituents must have singular concord as well¹⁵.

¹⁴Corbett (2000: 200) considers phrases like *this man and woman* as instances of closest-conjunct agreement, claiming that *this* agrees only with *man*. King and Dalrymple (2004) point out that if this were closest-conjunct agreement, it would be natural to say **this boy and girls*, or **these boys and girl*; the alleged ungrammaticality of such combinations proves that an analysis involving closest-conjunct agreement is not viable. Corbett (p.c.), however, reports numerous attestations of the former pattern on the Internet (i.e. *this boy and girls*), which would make distributive agreement redundant in such contexts. Different idiolects might employ different strategies.

¹⁵Unlike Dalrymple and Kaplan (2000) and King and Dalrymple (2004), Peterson (2004: 645) argues that grammatical functions such as subject or object are always distributive, whereas lexical properties like person, number, gender and case can never distribute across coordinate structures. Peterson (2004: 650-1) also cites as evidence the coordination of two singular conjuncts triggering plural agreement, as in (i).

(i) *this boy and girl are...*

Indeed, the number specification of the plural verb *are* does not require each of the conjuncts to be

To sum up, the determiner *this* in ***this boy and girl are*** wants the value of the concord number to be singular (King and Dalrymple (2004: 78)) – since concord is a distributive feature, this requirement is passed down to each conjunct. Index, however, is non-distributive and takes into account how many entities the conjoined NP refers to (see below for a discussion of feature resolution). So, the index of the NP *this boy and girl* is plural, which explains the agreement with the plural verb.

4.5. Inter- and Intra-Linguistic Variation in Terms of Concord and Index Agreement within NPs

King and Dalrymple (2004: 83) do not expect that all determiners will behave like English *this*, looking out for the singular distributive concord feature. In their paper, they note that both concord and index are available for NP-internal agreement (more discussion to follow in Chapter 2). *The*, on the other hand, is interested in neither of the properties. The model (King and Dalrymple (2004: 83)) anticipates the following four patterns for number agreement with determiners, each of which will be reviewed in turn below:

- a) determiners requiring neither concord nor index agreement (e.g. *the*);
- b) determiners requiring both concord and index agreement;
- c) determiners requiring concord agreement (e.g. *this/these*);
- d) determiners requiring index agreement.

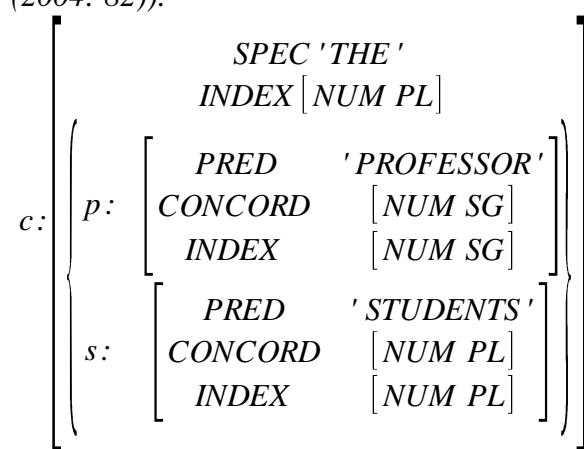
plural. However, Peterson's proposal fails to account for the fact that the determiner in (i) agrees with the distributive number of each conjunct. It would likewise be hard to explain single-conjunct agreement, as the features of the separate conjuncts should not be visible at the level of the coordinate phrase (cf. Chapter 2). Peterson (2004: 671) dismisses single-conjunct agreement as a 'gap' in the grammar, which does not shed much light on the phenomenon.

4.5.1. Systems with no Number Specifications

The first, and most permissive, category is comprised of determiners which place no restrictions on either the index or the concord features of the nouns with which they co-occur. This is the case of the English definite article, which is compatible with non-coordinated singular nouns (*the boy*), non-coordinated plural nouns (*the boys*), coordinated singular nouns (*the boy and girl*), coordinated plural nouns (*the boys and girls*), and coordinated singular and plural nouns (*the boy and girls*)¹⁶. The Georgian determiner *es* ‘this/these’ and the Armenian demonstratives *ais/aid* ‘this/these/that/those’ are claimed to work in a way similar to English *the* (King and Dalrymple (2004: 85)). The behaviour of such targets can be accounted for if their lexical entries do not include any index or concord number information, as shown in (18) (King and Dalrymple (2004: 88)). It is important to stress that, unlike *this*, *the* specifies no concord value. Since there are no relevant specifications, the definite article can surface with mixed conjuncts, as indicated in the f-structure in Fig. 7.

- (18) *Lexical entry for English “the”* (King and Dalrymple (2004: 82)):
the (↑ SPEC) = ‘THE’

Fig. 7: *F-structure for “the professor and students”* (after King and Dalrymple (2004: 82)):



¹⁶This goes to show that different determiners of the same language may participate in different agreement patterns, favouring a lexicalist approach like LFG (cf. King and Dalrymple (2004: 85)).

4.5.2. Index and Concord Systems

The second, and most restrictive, category is made up of determiners that impose both concord and index requirements on the nouns with which they occur. In the singular, such targets want index (and redundantly concord) agreement, and in the plural, they want concord (and redundantly index) agreement (King and Dalrymple (2004: 85)). In the singular, both the index (the reference of the NP as a whole) and the concord (the number specification of each conjunct) have to be singular, which means that such a system would only license phrases like *my friend and colleague* if the two roles are filled by the same individual (cf. (19)). Singular determiners requiring both concord and index agreement can appear with non-conjoined nouns but are disallowed with conjoined ones (unless the nouns are co-referential). On the other hand, a plural determiner is only compatible with plural nouns, and cannot step in when one or more of the conjuncts is singular (King and Dalrymple (2004: 85)).

German definite articles are claimed to function like that: the masculine singular form *der* ‘the’ is only acceptable with conjoined singular nouns referring to the same individual, as shown in (19). A plural index value results in ungrammaticality, as shown in (20)a. In these circumstances, the determiner needs to be repeated, as in (20)b. In the plural, both plural concord and index are a *sine qua non*, which means that conjunction is only possible with plural conjuncts, as in (21).

- (19) *der* *Präsident* *und* *Vorsitzende*
the.M.SG president(M)[SG] and chairman(M)[SG]
‘the president and chairman’ [King and Dalrymple (2004: 93)]
- (20) a. **der* *Hund* *und* *Kanarienvogel*
the.M.SG dog(M)[SG] and canary(M)[SG]
‘the dog and canary’
- b. *der* *Hund* *und* *der* *Kanarienvogel*
the.M.SG dog(M)[SG] and the.M.SG canary(M)[SG]
‘the dog and the canary’ [King and Dalrymple (2004: 93-4)]

- (21) a. *die* *Hund-e*
the.PL dog(M)-PL
‘the dogs’
- b. *die* *Hund-e* *und* *Kanarienvögel*
the.PL dog(M)-PL and canary(M)\PL
‘the dogs and canaries’
- c. **die* *Hund* *und* *Kanarienvogel*
the.PL dog(M)[SG] and canary(M)[SG]
‘the dog and canary’
- d. **die* *Hund-e* *und* *Kanarienvogel*
the.PL dog(M)-PL and canary(M)[SG]
‘the dogs and canary’ [King and Dalrymple (2004: 94)]

The system that imposes both concord and index restrictions can be thus formally summarised as follows:

(22) *Determiners imposing both index and concord requirements (from King and Dalrymple (2004: 85)):*

- Singular determiner: (↑ CONCORD NUM) = SG
(↑ INDEX NUM) = SG
- Plural determiner: (↑ CONCORD NUM) = PL
(↑ INDEX NUM) = PL

4.5.3. Concord Systems

Agreement can exclusively pick out concord features, disregarding index altogether – above we zoomed in on the English demonstratives *this/these, that/those* (cf. Chapter 5). The singular target “feels comfortable” with singular nouns and with coordinate structures in which each conjunct is singular. The plural target is reserved for plural nouns and coordinate structures in which each conjunct is plural (King and Dalrymple (2004: 86)). Another such determiner mentioned in King and Dalrymple (2004: 90) is Hindi/Urdu *wah* ‘that’, which also thrives on singular concord. It is compatible with coordinated singular nouns, but not with coordinations where one or more of the conjuncts is plural. The formal representation of a concord system is given in (23).

(23) *Determiners imposing distributive concord requirements (from King and Dalrymple (2004: 86)):*

- Singular determiner (e.g. *this*): (↑ CONCORD NUM) = SG
Plural determiner (e.g. *these*): (↑ CONCORD NUM) = PL

4.5.4. Index Systems

The fourth conceivable scenario involves determiners that prefer index agreement inside the NP, at the same time ignoring concord. What is interesting about index systems is that they allow plural targets with coordinated singular nouns (because the index of the whole NP is plural) (King and Dalrymple (2004: 86)). This is the case in Hebrew. Such a system will prevent a pairing of singular nouns from combining with a singular determiner – due to the plural index (King and Dalrymple (2004: 86))¹⁷. However, a singular determiner will be licit if the two conjoined nouns describe one and the same person/object, which means that the index is singular. The formal representation of the relevant constraints is given in (24).

(24) *Determiners imposing index agreement (from King and Dalrymple (2004: 86)):*
Singular determiner: (\uparrow INDEX NUM) = SG
Plural determiner: (\uparrow INDEX NUM) = PL

It should be acknowledged that index systems are less common cross-linguistically. The default tactic for agreement within the NP is the deployment of concord features, and not index, in accordance with Wechsler and Zlatić's (2000, 2003) original proposal (see also King and Dalrymple (2004: 86)).

¹⁷In fact, things are not always as straightforward as that. It is sometimes possible to get either a plural or a singular determiner that agrees with two conjoined singular nouns. This can happen in Bulgarian and will be discussed in Chapter 3.

5. Resolution and Partial Agreement

When faced with a mismatch of features in the coordinate phrase, for example when the conjuncts differ in gender and/or number, languages can choose from two agreement strategies: resolution or partial agreement (cf. Corbett (1982, 1983b, 1991, 2006) and Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 171)). In resolution, the features of a coordinate NP are computed on the basis of the features of all the nouns. In partial agreement, on the other hand, the target agrees with one conjunct only and remains blind to the other(s), as in (25), which illustrates agreement with the closest of two controllers in English.

- (25) a. There is a table and three chairs.
b. There are three chairs and a table.

An example of the former strategy is the way in which two singulars in English give rise to plural agreement, as in *this boy and girl are*. Thus, index can be considered a resolving feature – we will go into more detail in Chapter 2. Both gender and number are subject to resolution in French. Two feminine conjuncts resolve to feminine plural, whereas a coordination with at least one masculine noun triggers masculine plural agreement – the masculine therefore emerges as the default or unmarked gender¹⁸ (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 173)). A summary of the French rules is given in (26).

(26) *Gender and number resolution in French:*

F.PL: F + F

M.PL: elsewhere (M + M or M + F)

Various feature computation mechanisms have been proposed in the literature¹⁹. Dalrymple and Kaplan (2000)²⁰, for example, develop a theory of feature

¹⁸However, default agreement should not be confused with resolution (for default agreement, cf. Vincent and Börjars (2008)). The unmarked or default form is the form in which agreement targets appear when the controller lacks the necessary features; for example, when the controller is a clause, which does not have person, default third person morphology comes to the rescue (cf. Chapter 5). It is also important to emphasise that the unmarked gender is not the same as the resolved form (cf. Corbett (1991) and Vincent and Börjars (2008: 304)).

¹⁹Cf. Farkas and Ojeda (1983) for early work on resolution in GPSG, as well as Sag et al. (1985: 153-5)

resolution based on the operation of set union and implemented within the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar. The situation in French can be captured by the notation in (27).

(27) *Formalising gender resolution in French (Dalrymple and Kaplan (2000)):*

$$\text{Masculine} = \{M\} \quad \text{Feminine} = \{ \} \quad \{M\} + \{ \} = M$$

Masculine, which overrides the feminine, is signified by a set consisting of a member M. The feminine, on the other hand, is denoted by the empty set. In this way, it is easy to figure out that the empty set (i.e. feminine) combined with another empty set (i.e. another feminine noun) yields feminine agreement. Likewise, masculine plus masculine returns masculine, as does an encounter of M with the empty set. The situation in Icelandic, where heterogeneity of gender is settled with the neuter plural form, is accounted for in (28)²¹. Crucially, the neuter is assumed to be a set consisting of M(asculine) and F(eminine). This gives the right predictions for Icelandic.

(28) *Gender resolution in Icelandic (from Dalrymple and Kaplan (2000)):*

$$M = \{M\} \quad F = \{F\} \quad NT = \{M, F\} \Rightarrow \{M\} + \{F\} = MF$$

However, Dalrymple and Kaplan's (2000) system fails for Slovene, and Serbian/Croatian, where two neuters resolve to masculine (i.e. NT + NT = MASC) (cf. Chapter 2, Corbett (1982) and Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 174)). Such problems can be overcome by appealing to the distinction between syntactic and semantic resolution (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 174)). Corbett (1991: 269) writes that 'gender resolution by the semantic principle involves reference to the meaning of the conjoined elements even if this implies disregard for their gender. The syntactic principle operates according to the gender of the conjoined items irrespective of their meaning'²². It becomes evident that Dalrymple and Kaplan's gender computation

for early GPSG person and number resolution rules relevant to English; see Sag (2003) for resolution in HPSG.

²⁰See Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 172), Dalrymple, King and Sadler (2009) and Vincent and Börjars (2008) for criticisms and refinement of Dalrymple and Kaplan's (2000) model.

²¹Although it is not clear whether this is resolution or default agreement in cases of feature clash.

²²Another strategy for defusing conflicts between the features of conjuncts might entail relying on

mechanism deals only with the syntactic variety. Semantic resolution is the more basic phenomenon, though, and must be understood first (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 176)).

Going back to the state of affairs in French, Corbett (1991) claims that coordinating inanimates sets syntactic resolution in motion (such as the one proposed by Dalrymple and Kaplan), whereas coordinating animates activates semantic resolution. When there is a mismatch between grammatical and natural gender, the resolved features are determined by the latter type of resolution, not the former. Bringing together a feminine word typically denoting a male (e.g. *sentinelle* ‘sentry’) and a feminine word denoting a female (e.g. *femme* ‘wife’) produces masculine, rather than feminine, plural features. Similar results are reported for Icelandic and Serbian/Croatian (cf. Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 177-8) and Chapter 2 herein).

Wechsler and Zlatić’s theory of resolution relies on set intersection and attempts to reflect the distinction between the syntactic and the semantic principle. The idea behind intersection is that, if you coordinate two feminine nouns, their femininity is what they have in common (hence the conjoined NP is also feminine). This has parallels in the real world (cf. Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 183)). The revised formal treatment of gender resolution in French is presented in (29), where the unmarked status of the masculine gender is acknowledged by labelling it ‘non-feminine’.

(29) *Gender resolution in French (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 183-4)):*

fem {F}
masc NON-FEM
 $\{F\} \cap \{F\} = \{F\}$
 $\{F\} \cap \{ \} = \{ \}$

purely phonological information. Due to syncretism, a target may be ambiguous in the morpho-syntactic information it encodes and thus satisfy the separate requirements of both controllers – see Pullum and Zwicky (1986); on feature indeterminacy, see Dalrymple, King and Sadler (2009) and Yatabe (2004).

Turning to Serbian/Croatian, Wechsler and Zlatić exclude inanimate nouns from the computation of the resolved features because inanimate nouns do not have an extra-linguistic reference to sex. This is achieved by designating the neuter an empty gender (e-gender). There is also a semantic s-gender, the feminine, whereas the masculine is once again treated as non-feminine. (30) illustrates how this approach can be implemented for Serbian/Croatian, making use of set intersection, as well as additional intersection with the set of s-gender features in order to remove e-genders from the output. The masculine, represented by the empty set, will always be the outcome of the intersection operation, except for cases where all input forms are feminine. The intersection of two neuters alone would produce neuter, but, further intersection with the semantic gender feature of {F} results in the empty set. At first sight, this operation might seem a little mysterious and esoteric, but it is needed for the machinery to work (for this particular language). Arguably, this move was indeed inspired by a desire to incorporate semantics in the formalism, with the feminine considered more tangible and semantically justified than the unmarked, less specific, “elsewhere” masculine (at least in cases of animate denotation).

(30) *Gender resolution in Serbian/Croatian (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 185))*²³:

a. set of s-gender features

$G_s = \{F\}$

b. Set representations of the genders

FEM: {F} (< ‘female’)

MASC: { } (< ‘non-female’)

NT: {N} (e-gender)

c. Calculating gender for plural referents

$MASC \& MASC = MASC \{ \} \cap \{ \} \cap G_s = \{ \}$

$FEM \& FEM = FEM \{F\} \cap \{F\} \cap G_s = \{F\}$

$NT \& NT = MASC \{N\} \cap \{N\} \cap G_s = \{ \}$

$MASC \& FEM = MASC \{ \} \cap \{F\} \cap G_s = \{ \}$

$MASC \& NT = MASC \{ \} \cap \{N\} \cap G_s = \{ \}$

$FEM \& NT = MASC \{F\} \cap \{N\} \cap G_s = \{ \}$

²³Gender resolution rules in Serbian/Croatian will also feature prominently in Chapter 2.

In its idiosyncratic way, this approach takes account of the insight that both semantics and morphology matter in resolution. It thus successfully explains the patterns attested in Serbian/Croatian and Icelandic which dogged previous treatments. Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 192) believe that coordinate phrases are exocentric and therefore lack inherent gender. That is why they tend to trigger semantic agreement whenever possible (e.g. when they denote animates). When semantic agreement stalls (e.g. because the referent is inanimate) recourse must be had to the above computational mechanisms.

Finally, Corbett (2006: 256) observes that resolution constitutes semantic agreement, whereas singling out the closest conjunct constitutes grammatical agreement. Consequently, he expects that the decision to go for one or the other will be constrained by his Agreement Hierarchy presented above. Semantic factors can also affect the choice of resolved gender, as well as whether to opt for resolution or single-conjunct agreement, as demonstrated by the situation in Latin (Kühner and Stegmann (1955: 44-52), Corbett (2006: 252); cf. Chapter 3 on Bulgarian). Latin has three genders and admits both closest-conjunct agreement and resolution. When resolution occurs, same-gender nouns take targets of that gender. If the genders do not match, the resolved form depends on whether the NPs refer to humans or not – the masculine is recruited for humans and the neuter for non-humans. If the conjoined phrase contains both humans and non-humans, closest-conjunct agreement is preferred (or, more rarely, resolution resulting in neuter plural agreement)²⁴.

²⁴The gender resolution system operating in a given language is also constrained by the gender assignment system of that language, as suggested by Corbett (1991: 306).

6. Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the major concepts that will be the focus of our attention for the rest of the dissertation, notably coordination and agreement, as well as how they are tackled in different syntactic theories. Furthermore, we have outlined the model that we will be guided by and will develop in chapters to follow. To repeat Wechsler and Zlatić's (2003: 94) dichotomy, a noun can have up to 'two sets of grammatical agreement features, one associated with the noun's form (CONCORD features) and the other with the noun's meaning (INDEX features)'. Languages can use these features in various ways. In Chapter 2, we will explore how such a syntactic bifurcation can lead us to a better understanding of the complex agreement patterns with conjoined nouns, building on the work discussed here. Chapter 3 is dedicated to factors which have a say on what pattern gets selected, whereas Chapter 4 takes a closer look at partial agreement. Chapter 5 takes index and concord beyond coordination, whereas the final chapter offers a treatment of case government in the same spirit as the treatment of agreement.

CHAPTER 2

Concord, Index and the Range of Agreement Patterns

1. Introduction

This chapter expands and modifies the LFG model of coordination and agreement outlined in Chapter 1. Agreement with the features of just one conjunct presents a challenge for this model because the only features which it currently makes available are those of the coordinate phrase as a whole or those which are shared by all conjuncts. We evaluate previous LFG work on this topic and point out problematic issues arising from the treatments of single-conjunct agreement which are offered there. We then look at data from Serbian/Croatian¹ (South Slavic) in order to answer some questions about single-conjunct agreement which have been left unresolved by earlier authors and in order to arrive at a better integrated and more consistent theory of agreement by introducing alterations to the formalism we currently have. As we will see later in the chapter, Serbian/Croatian boasts a very complex system of intricate agreement patterns against which our updated model of agreement and coordination can be tested.

2. Previous Work on Single-Conjunct Agreement

2.1. Transformational Approaches

Before discussing how LFG's constraint-based theory of coordination and agreement tackles the phenomenon, we will take a brief look at some transformational research in this area. Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994), for example, claim that first-conjunct agreement with subjects in Moroccan and Lebanese Arabic is ultimately derived from a coordination of two clauses in which the first conjunct starts out as the subject of the first clause, while the second conjunct starts out as the subject

¹In order not to clutter up the presentation, we use the designation "Serbian/Croatian", as opposed to the more politically acceptable designation "Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian", because our material mostly comes from the Serbian variety, with a few Croatian examples.

of the second one. Subsequently, all of the second clause undergoes deletion, apart from its subject (cf. Munn (1999: 644), Lakoff and Peters (1969), as well as Chapter 4 herein, for arguments against this).

However, Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche's (1994) transformational analysis of single-conjunct agreement in terms of clausal coordination does not work for other languages because of the possibility of mixing patterns in the same clause. Some targets may be exclusively interested in a distinguished conjunct while others may pick out the resolved features, as in (1) below.

- (1) *Gwelaist ti a'th frawd eich hunain.* [Welsh]
 Saw.2SG 2SG and.2SG brother 2PL self
 2SG [2SG and 3SG] 2PL
 'You and your brother saw yourselves' [Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 2)]

The existence of single-conjunct agreement within the NP is also troublesome for such a view (cf. Munn (1999)). In addition, Czech and German data from Johannessen (1996) show that such a reductionist treatment of first-conjunct agreement is cross-linguistically untenable (cf. Munn (1999: 645)).

2.2. Work within LFG

In typological and constraint-based frameworks, both feature resolution and single-conjunct agreement are normally recognised as independent strategies in their own right, with no need to derive anything from underlying structures. The verb in (1), for instance, agrees only with the first conjunct, while the anaphoric pronoun 'yourselves' matches the resolved features of the superordinate NP. Sadler (1999) and Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 3) draw attention to the fact that agreement with just one noun of a coordinate NP poses a problem for the current LFG architecture, as it only allows access either to the resolved features of the coordinate NP as a whole or to the distributive features which are alike for each conjunct (cf. Chapter 1). However, single-conjunct agreement uses neither the former (which would be masculine plural

in (2)), nor the latter, as shown in (2) for Czech.

- (2) *Na rohožce seděla kočka a pes.* [Czech]
On mat was.sitting.F.SG [cat.F.SG and dog.M.SG]
'A cat and a dog were sitting on the mat.' [Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 3)]

The distinction between distributive concord and resolved index² cannot help us here, because the conjuncts have different concord values – one is masculine and the other feminine. If they were both feminine then we would be able to say that the verb agreed with the distributive concord features of each conjunct, but this is clearly not the case. Neither can resolution be of any use, as the verb does not mirror the resolved masculine plural index of the entire coordinate phrase.

Therefore, Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 14) introduce ordered sets, which they label 'local f-structure sequences'. These ordered sequences are meant to replace the traditional LFG unordered sets utilised for coordinate structures (represented by curly brackets)³. The motivation behind this innovation is that the way constituents are sequentially strung together does seem to make a difference in coordination – it is not one and the same thing to say *He went home and had dinner.* and *He had dinner and went home.* (Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 14); Quirk et al. (1985: 920)). Furthermore, relative position does matter in sentences like *I met Sue_i and her_i sister.*, which is well-formed, unlike **I met her_i sister and Sue_i.* (Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 14))⁴.

²As already stated in the previous chapter, following Wechsler and Zlatić (2003), both index and concord belong to the category of syntactic agreement features, but index is more semantics-related (traditionally called *notional* or *semantic agreement*), whereas concord is more closely affiliated with declension (traditionally referred to as *grammatical agreement*). As proposed by King and Dalrymple (2004), in coordinate structures concord is assumed to be distributive (i.e. a target requiring concord agreement checks the concord features of each conjunct), whereas index resolves (i.e. it is computed to give an index feature associated with the coordinate structure).

³Falk (2006) also acknowledges the necessity of referring to order in f-structure, especially when it comes to single-conjunct agreement with coordinate NPs. He considers this to be a valid reason for postulating a new level of representation in the architecture of LFG; this new level of representation is supposed to deal with agreement phenomena and is called grammatical marking structure (g-structure). Such a proposal is deemed superfluous here, as it multiplies notation beyond necessity. Therefore, we treat agreement at the f-structure level, which is the established LFG practice.

⁴Lakoff and Peters (1969: 123) argue that coordination is usually symmetrical, as in *John and Harry drank a glass of beer together.* vs. *Harry and John drank a glass of beer together.* Apparent counterexamples like *Harry robbed a bank and drove off.*, which is different from *Harry drove off*

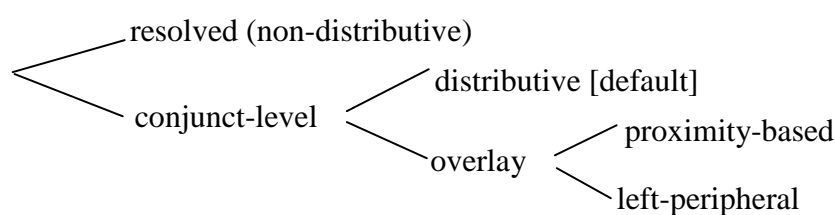
Corbett (2006: 170) also believes that single-conjunct agreement constitutes proof that linear order, rather than simply vertical syntactic stratification, plays a part in agreement.

Kuhn and Sadler's proposal aims to offer a consistent LFG account of the three agreement possibilities available to conjoined phrases (cf. Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 15)):

- Agreement can be with properties of the coordinate structure as a whole (e.g. resolved index features);
- Agreement can be with common properties each individual conjunct possesses (e.g. distributive properties like concord features);
- Agreement can be with properties of only one conjunct.

Therefore Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 15) distinguish the following types of features:

(3) *Kuhn and Sadler's (2007) classification of features:*



The typology envisions either resolved (non-distributive) or conjunct-level features. In turn, conjunct-level features can be either distributive, which is the default, or overlay. Overlay features can be either proximity-based (as in closest-conjunct agreement) or left-peripheral (which handles furthest-conjunct agreement with the leftmost conjunct). Since Kuhn and Sadler's sets are ordered, it becomes easy to refer

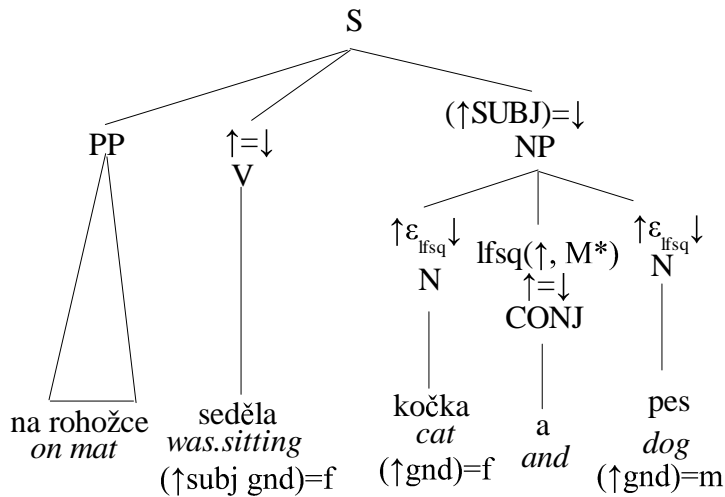
and robbed a bank., are due to different underlying representations. The latter case is said to be derived from the conjunction of 'and then', with 'then' subsequently deleted. That is why interchangeability is not allowed. The present author is reluctant to accept such transformational explanations for the reasons set out above.

to the first or last constituent, f_L or f_R , in their local f-structure sequences (Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 17))⁵. The revised version of the coordination rule proposed by Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 17) is given in (4) (cf. Chapter 1). This is exemplified with a c-structure (5) and f-structure (6) borrowed from the same source:

(4) *Modified version of the coordination rule, following Kuhn and Sadler (2007):*

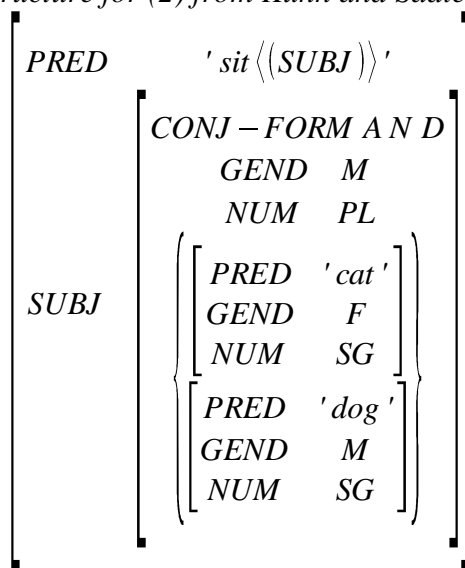
$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{NP} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{NP} \\
 \downarrow \epsilon_{\text{Ifsg}} \uparrow \quad \text{Ifsg}(\uparrow, M^*) \quad \downarrow \epsilon_{\text{Ifsg}} \uparrow \\
 \uparrow = \downarrow
 \end{array}$$

(5) *c-structure for example (2) (from Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 17)):*



⁵See Hudson (1988: 317) for a Word Grammar analysis of coordination which also makes the leftmost and rightmost conjuncts available by treating clauses as strings of words in which order matters. However, he does not consider single-conjunct agreement.

(6) *F-structure for (2) from Kuhn and Sadler (2007):*



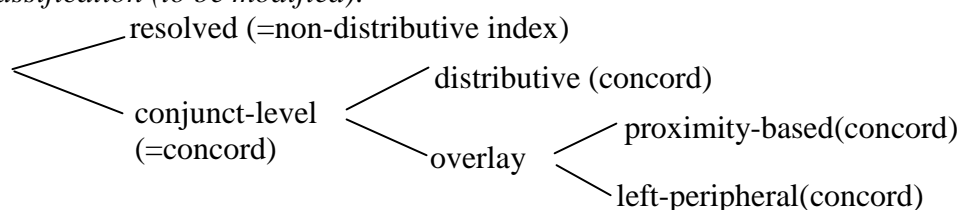
2.3. Some Unresolved Issues

Kuhn and Sadler's (2007) paper is undoubtedly a significant improvement, but some unresolved issues still remain. Although Kuhn and Sadler maintain that their classification is compatible with the concord and index dichotomy, we run into problems when we try to map one onto the other. As pointed out above, index features are generally declared to be non-distributive – the coordinate phrase has its own index over and above the index of the individual conjuncts. By contrast, concord features are generally classified as distributive, applying to all conjuncts (cf. King and Dalrymple (2004) and Wechsler and Zlatić (2003)). We should then define index as a non-distributive feature at the level of the coordinate construction, and concord as a distributive conjunct-level feature in Kuhn and Sadler's (2007) typology. This leaves us with the question of what happens in cases of single-conjunct agreement.

From our discussion so far, we would be led to believe that, since we find resolved index at the level of the coordinate phrase, the index properties of the individual conjuncts have become inaccessible and invisible after resolving (in

compliance with King and Dalrymple (2004) and the general architecture of LFG). So, we would expect that Kuhn and Sadler’s conjunct-level nodes will have to do with concord, which can be either distributive (where a target requires the concord to be the same for all conjuncts) or overlay (in which case the agreement target is interested in the concord of only one of the potential controllers). Indeed, J. Kuhn (p.c.), as well as the layout of features in the paper, suggests that single-conjunct agreement should be restricted to concord, with distributive and overlay being subtypes of concord. In other words, we would arrive at the following mapping, in which the only available agreement features of the coordinate phrase are its resolved index and the concord of the individual members. This much is implied by the original configuration of Kuhn and Sadler’s classification.

(7) *Expected mapping of concord and index onto Kuhn and Sadler’s (2007) classification (to be modified):*



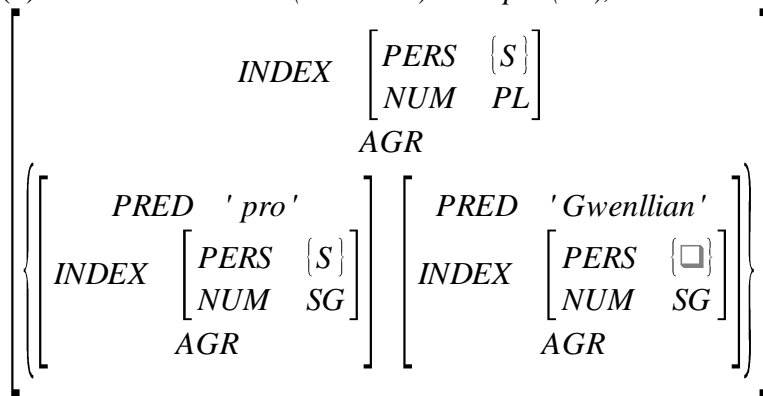
But is this really so? Is there a way to determine whether it is index or concord that actually participates in single-conjunct agreement? Kuhn and Sadler (2007) do not explicitly discuss this matter, and it does not become entirely clear from their paper what their actual position is. However, it seems that they correctly (but implicitly) assume that index is also available for closest-conjunct agreement. Example (21) on p. 11 of their article illustrates subject-predicate agreement with the person of the closest conjunct. Person is believed to belong to index, and not to concord (cf. Wechsler and Zlatić (2003) and Chapter 1). Therefore, this example,

repeated as (8) below, must show closest-conjunct agreement in index, similarly to the sentence in (1) (although this is not explicitly stated in Kuhn and Sadler’s work).

- (8) *Dw i a Gwenllian heb gael ein talu.* [Welsh]
 am.1S [1S and Gwenllian] without get 1PL pay
 ‘Gwenllian and I have not been paid.’ [Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 11)]

Moosally (1999) and Villavicencio, Sadler and Arnold (2005: 4-5) report closest-conjunct agreement with what must be the index features in the language Ndebele. In addition, English existential constructions like *There is a man and two women in the room* must likewise be instances of single-conjunct index agreement, as those are the features which are normally active outside the NP in English (Villavicencio, Sadler and Arnold (2005: 5-6); cf. King and Dalrymple (2004) and Chapter 5 of this dissertation). F-structure (22) in Kuhn and Sadler (2007: 11), repeated in (9) below, shows that the unresolved index of the first conjunct is made available for single-conjunct agreement⁶.

(9) *Kuhn and Sadler’s (2007: 11) example (22), which is the f-structure for (8) above:*



It will be demonstrated in subsequent sections that both concord and index can in fact participate in single-conjunct agreement. Kuhn and Sadler’s (2007) classification is therefore best seen as a classification of agreement patterns, because if it is regarded as a typology of features, one and the same feature will be disallowed to occupy different slots. In order to establish beyond reasonable doubt what

⁶The empty box opposite the person attribute of the name “Gwenllian” reflects the unmarked status of the third-person as non-speaker (=S), and non-hearer. It may also be conveniently taken to indicate that nouns have no inherent person (unlike pronouns).

properties are involved in the different agreement patterns, we will be examining data from Serbian/Croatian (South Slavic)⁷.

3. The Serbian/Croatian Data

3.1. Resolution Rules and Some Agreement Templates

Serbian/Croatian preserves a rich morphological system, with three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter), singular and plural number, as well as seven different cases, albeit with a certain amount of syncretism, as will become clear below. Therefore, it is a good testing ground for theories of agreement like the one described here. We will first give a brief outline of some grammatical characteristics of the language which will be used in the subsequent analysis of our data.

The following resolution rules operate in Serbian/Croatian (cf. Corbett (1982: 356-360) and Chapter 1)⁸:

(10) *Resolution rules in Serbian/Croatian (from Wechsler and Zlatic (2003: 174)):*

F + F → F.PL
elsewhere → M.PL

The combination of two feminine nouns produces feminine plural agreement. Otherwise, i.e. when at least one conjunct is not feminine, gender always resolves to masculine. This South Slavic language permits the following agreement configurations with conjoined NPs (among others):

(11) *Some agreement patterns with coordinated nouns in Serbian/Croatian (from Wechsler and Zlatic (2003: 54)):*

[F.SG + F.SG] F.PL predicate	(as expected; according to the resolution rules presented above)
[SG + NT.PL] NT.PL predicate	(single-conjunct agreement)

The first template in (11) is a schematic representation of a coordinate NP made up of two feminine singular conjuncts. A feminine plural target is “tuned in” to

⁷Some of the findings presented in subsequent sections also appeared in Dalrymple and Hristov (2010).

⁸These resolution rules will be somewhat modified below, but the modifications are irrelevant for our present purposes, as they have no bearing on the points we will make here.

the resolved feminine plural features of the coordinate NP as a whole (as expected from the resolution rules in (10)). The second formula illustrates closest-conjunct agreement: a pairing of a singular and a neuter plural noun is placed side by side with a neuter plural predicate which agrees only with the conjunct closest to it. The resolution rules in (10) stipulate that the resolved features of the coordinate NP are masculine, and not neuter, so the target does not match the resolved features, but only the neuter gender of the second conjunct. It is important to emphasise that neuter plural targets ‘cannot result from the operation of the resolution rules’ (Corbett (1982: 371, 376); cf. Chapter 1 above). Sentences (12) and (13) demonstrate that two neuters resolve to masculine plural. Therefore, example (14) from Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 54), as well as (15) from the present author’s fieldwork, must be instantiations of single-conjunct agreement.

(12)

Njegov-o *mest-o* *u* *razvitku* *kasabe* *i* *njegov-o*
 his-NT.SG place(NT)-SG in development of.town and his-NT.SG

značenj-e *u* *životu* *kasablija* *bi-l-i* *su*
 importance(NT)-SG in life of.inhabitants be-PPRT-M.PL AUX.3PL

onakv-i *kako* *smo* *ih* *napred* *ukratko* *opisa-l-i*.
 such-M.PL as AUX.1PL them before briefly describe-PPRT-M.PL

‘His place in the development of the town and his importance in the life of the townspeople were as we briefly described them above.’ [Corbett (1982: 357)]

(13)

Ogledal-o *i* *nalivper-o* *su* *bi-l-i/*bi-l-a*
 mirror(NT)-SG and fountain.pen(NT)-SG AUX.3PL be-PPRT-M.PL/*-NT.PL

na *stolu*.
 on table

‘The mirror and the fountain pen were on the table.’ [Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 174)]

(14) *Ov-a varošic-a i sv-a sel-a su*
 this-F.SG town(F)-SG and all-NT.PL village(NT)-PL AUX.3PL

*poplavljen-a/?poplavljen-i*⁹
 flooded-NT.PL/M.PL

‘This town and all the villages were flooded.’ [Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 54)]

(15) *Nov-a kuć-a i kol-a su košta-l-a*¹⁰ *puno*¹¹
 new-F.SG house(F)-SG and car(NT)-PL AUX.3PL cost-PPRT-NT.PL a.lot.

‘The new house and car cost a lot.’ [informant]

In (15), the adjective *nova* ‘new’ ends in *-a*, which is ambiguous between feminine singular and neuter plural. The ending marks concord agreement with *kuća* ‘house’ (feminine singular); it might arguably also be compatible with *kola* ‘car’ (neuter plural), as it can be interpreted as neuter plural too, and the context tells us that the modifier applies to the car in equal measure¹². Because of the plural auxiliary verb, the predicative participle is best treated as neuter plural, and therefore it must agree with its closest conjunct only¹³.

3.2. Nouns with Mismatched Index and Concord; Preliminary Findings

Having introduced some of the agreement patterns with coordinate noun phrases in Serbian/Croatian, we can now proceed to a preliminary assessment of relevant data whose aim is to establish whether it is concord or index that is involved in single-conjunct agreement. The material was harvested by conducting Google searches on the Internet. The examples were then given to three native speakers of Serbian who evaluated their grammaticality and helped with the glossing. Additional sentences were elicited from the native informants.

⁹Cf. Arnold, Sadler and Villavicencio (2006: 7-8) for similar examples from Portuguese, as well as Corbett (1988a: 19) for more on agreement patterns and resolution in Serbian/Croatian.

¹⁰The informant points out that it is more standard to have the resolved form *koštal-i*, which is masculine plural; the neuter plural, though, is commonly used.

¹¹Unless otherwise indicated, the data have been collected by the author.

¹²See Dalrymple, King and Sadler (2009) for an LFG treatment of similar cases.

¹³These issues, including the ambiguity, will be discussed at great length below.

It is an obstacle for the present investigation that concord and index normally coincide. In order to tease them apart, we tried to find Serbian/Croatian conjoined phrases which would foster closest-conjunct agreement, but where each conjunct has different values for its concord and index attributes. Following Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 86), the nouns that were selected for the analysis all have concord-index mismatches, as shown below:

- *deca* ‘children’ (feminine singular concord and neuter plural index);
- *braća* ‘brothers’ (feminine singular concord and neuter plural index);
- *gospoda* ‘gentlemen’ (feminine singular concord and masculine plural index);
- *unučad* ‘grandchildren’ (feminine singular concord and neuter plural index).

These concord-index misalignments arise from the fact that the nouns above belong to a declension class (usually feminine singular) which is in direct contradiction to their plural semantics¹⁴. As a result, such controllers tend to co-occur with feminine singular NP-internal targets, but normally trigger more semantically justified (i.e. plural) agreement outside the NP (e.g. on verbs and pronouns). Our searches turned up many examples like (16) below, which confirms that a relative pronoun can agree with the resolved masculine plural features of the coordinate NP. However, there were also examples that seem to show closest-conjunct index agreement on the relative pronoun. One of them is given in (17).

(16)

Stranc-i *i* *gospoda,* *koj-i* *su* *doš-l-i*
 Foreigner(M)-PL and gentlemen who-M.PL AUX.3PL come-PPRT-M.PL

‘The foreigners and gentlemen who came’

[web]

www.hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Linđo (accessed on 20 March 2009)

¹⁴This split between grammar and semantics goes back to the earliest attested stages in the history of the South Slavic dialect continuum, represented by Old Bulgarian/Old Church Slavonic (a language approximating the ancestor of today’s Balkan Slavic varieties). For more information, cf. Huntley (1989).

(17)
Njihov-a deca i unučad koj-a su rođen-a u drugoj
 their-F.SG children and grandchildren who-NT.PL AUX.3PL born-NT.PL in another
*državi*¹⁵
 country

‘Their children and grandchildren who were born in other countries’ [web]
www.durmitorg.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=9&t=6064&start=0&st=0&sk=t&sd=a
 (accessed on 20 March 2009)

In (17), the same ending *-a* is again ambiguous between feminine singular and neuter plural; it is first analysed as feminine singular in *njihova* ‘their’, since determiners are normally tied to concord, and both *deca* ‘children’ and *unučad* ‘grandchildren’ have feminine singular concord. However, *-a* is glossed as neuter plural in the relative pronoun (*koja* ‘who’) and the past participle (*rođena* ‘born’), because the relative pronoun triggers plural, and not singular, agreement on the auxiliary verb in the relative clause. Since we would expect the resolved features to be masculine plural, the relative pronoun in (17) must be an instance of single-conjunct agreement with the (neuter plural) index features of the closest conjunct¹⁶. We have

¹⁵*Koja* (NT.PL/F.SG) can also be *koji* (M.PL) and *rođena* (NT.PL/F.SG) can also be *rođeni* (M.PL) (C. M. MacRobert’s Serbian informant). Not all combinations of resolved and single-conjunct agreement are possible in this example and analogous ones below; the relative clause verb must agree with the relative pronoun, and the predicative participle *rođen-a/i* ‘born’ is virtually certain to be masculine plural if the relative pronoun is masculine plural. Agreement patterns in such constructions obey Corbett’s Agreement and Predicate Hierarchies introduced in Chapter 1 (Corbett (2006 and elsewhere)).

¹⁶Instead of subscribing to what we believe to be the correct view, namely that, due to syncretism, Serbian/Croatian has two homophonous relative pronouns *koja*, one with F.SG concord and index, and the other with NT.PL concord and index, we cannot rule out the theoretical possibility that there is a third relative pronoun *koja*, which has F.SG concord and NT.PL index. This mismatched relative pronoun could then be claimed to agree in concord with the F.SG properties of the antecedent (‘grandchildren’) and in index with the plural auxiliary verb inside the relative clause. This would mean that our example above is actually not an instance of closest-conjunct agreement involving the index feature. We cannot eliminate this possibility, although it seems unlikely. Positing another relative pronoun with mismatched features is not empirically justified and violates Occam’s Razor, which states that entities should not be multiplied beyond necessity.

Alternatively, we could argue that Serbian/Croatian has only one relative pronoun with the form *koja*, which has F.SG concord and NT.PL index. On this analysis, the pronoun would always agree in concord with feminine antecedents and in index with neuter antecedents. What is more, the relative clause verb would have to sometimes pick up the index and sometimes the concord of the relative pronoun. All of these are inelegant and theoretically undesirable consequences. Most importantly, we have examples of closest-conjunct index agreement which is unmediated by relative pronouns (cf. later sections). Therefore, our claim that closest-conjunct index agreement is attested in Serbian/Croatian remains valid.

other similar examples, but before we turn to them, we need to justify the treatment of the syncretic ending, making a robust case for it.

3.3. Justifying the Analysis of the Ambiguous *-a* Ending

It emerged above that the suffix *-a* in Serbian/Croatian can mark feminine singular or neuter plural. Before pressing ahead with the main line of our argument, we need to take a brief detour in order to shed some light on the rationale behind our treatment of the ambiguous *-a* ending. When it serves as an exponent of agreement with *deca*-type nouns, we choose to analyse it as feminine singular (CONCORD) if it appears on attributive adjectives or determiners, and as neuter plural (INDEX) if it appears on relative pronouns and predicative past participles (teamed up with plural auxiliaries). It must be conceded that this analysis is not uncontroversial (cf. Corbett (1983a) and Wechsler and Zlatić (2003)). The first decision to defend will be why we consider the syncretic *-a* on nominative relative pronouns as neuter plural, rather than feminine singular. We then go on to motivate the same choice with regard to the predicative past participle. We will finally adduce evidence from Corbett’s typological hierarchies and discuss attributive targets too.

- (18) *deca koj-a su tada bi-l-a*
 children who-F.SG/NT.PL AUX.3PL there be-PPRT-F.SG/NT.PL
 ‘the children who were there’ [Corbett (1983a: 78)]
- (19) *deca koj-u vidite*
 children who(m)-ACC.F.SG you.see
 ‘the children whom you can see’ [Corbett (1983a: 79)]
- (20) *deca koj-e / koj-ih se svi boje*
 children who(m)-GEN.F.SG/who(m)-GEN.PL REFL all fear
 ‘the children who everyone is afraid of’ [Corbett (1983a: 79)]

While the relative pronoun *koja* ‘who’ and the participle *bila* ‘been’ are indeterminate in (18), perhaps feminine singular or perhaps neuter plural, the accusative form is unambiguously feminine singular, as shown in (19). This goes against treating the nominative *koja* in (17) and (18) as neuter plural (as opposed to

feminine singular). What is more, informants do not accept a neuter plural relative pronoun in the accusative (Corbett (1983a: 79)). And yet, a choice exists in the genitive between the feminine singular and the plural, which is the same for all genders, as shown in (20).

Since the accusative relative pronoun (*koju*) triggers no agreement in the relative clause comparable to the agreement triggered by its nominative counterpart, it is treated as feminine singular in accordance with its unequivocal morphological marking. However, when the relative pronoun is in the nominative, it takes a plural auxiliary verb (*su*). The plural verb is the strongest argument that tips the balance in favour of the neuter plural interpretation, coupled with the availability of both an unambiguously singular and an unambiguously plural pronoun in the genitive (cf. Corbett (1983a: 78) and Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 56)). Consequently, it can be said that the agreement on *koji*-relative pronouns in Serbian/Croatian vacillates between index and concord, depending on the case form, with the nominative sensitive to index, the accusative to concord, and the genitive to either (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 56)). Wechsler and Zlatić attribute this inconsistent behaviour to the fact that a relative pronoun is simultaneously an NP-internal modifier (so concord agreement is expected), and also a pronoun (with pronouns usually interested in index).

The past participle *došla* ‘come’ in (21) can also be analysed either as feminine singular or as neuter plural. Moreover, the agreement is clearly feminine in non-nominative cases involving what Wechsler and Zlatić term “secondary predicates”, as in (22).

- (21) *Ta dobr-a deca su doš-l-a.*
 that.F.SG good-F.SG children AUX.3PL come-PPRT-NT.PL/F.SG
 ‘Those good children came.’ [Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 51)]
- (22) *Ja smatram decu gladn-om/*gladn-im.*
 I consider children hungry-INST.F.SG/*hungry-INST.PL
 ‘I consider the children hungry.’/ ‘I think the children are hungry.’
 [Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 53)]

However, Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 54) demonstrate that primary, (21), and secondary, (22), predicates are different in that the former pick out index, while the latter pick out concord. Their verdict rests on the outcome of a somewhat intricate litmus test. We know that a pairing of two feminine singulars produces resolved feminine plural agreement; by contrast, combining feminine singular with neuter plural results in neuter plural closest-conjunct agreement (cf. Section 3.1.). Keeping that in mind, we can bring together a noun of the type of *deca* (F.SG concord, NT.PL index) and a feminine singular noun. A neuter plural participle will be a sign of index agreement, whereas a feminine plural participle will indicate resolved concord agreement¹⁷. To avoid complications with animate nouns, Wechsler and Zlatić use *dugmad* ‘buttons’ (F.SG concord, NT.PL index) for their experiment. Their findings are repeated in (23).

(23)

<i>Moj-a</i>	<i>igl-a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>sva</i>	<i>plava</i>	<i>dugmad</i>	<i>su</i>
my-F.SG	needle(F)-SG	and	all	blue	buttons	AUX.3PL

*nesta-l-a/*nesta-l-e/*nesta-l-i.*
 disappear-PPRT-NT.PL/*-F.PL/*-M.PL

‘My needle and all the blue buttons have disappeared.’

[Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 55)]

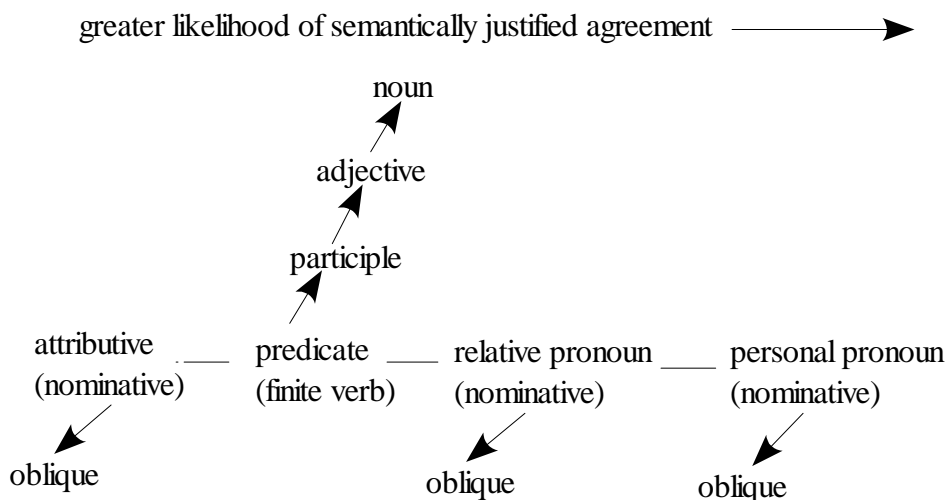
According to the grammaticality judgements in (23), the participle *nestala* ‘disappeared’ clearly shows index, and not concord, agreement. If the concord features were active, the feminine plural form would be acceptable (assuming that concord resolved), but as we can see, it is ruled out. This leads Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 55) to conclude that secondary (non-finite) predicates care about concord, while primary non-finite predicates agree in index.

Additional support for the neuter gender and the plural number of the past

¹⁷Wechsler and Zlatić (2003) seem to assume that concord, just like index, can resolve (i.e. the concord features of a conjoined phrase can be computed on the basis of the concord features of each conjunct). King and Dalrymple’s (2004) model, on the other hand, precludes concord from resolving. This controversy needs empirical testing and we will return to it later in the chapter.

participle in examples like (17), (18), (21) and (23) comes from Corbett’s Combined Target Hierarchies, repeated in (24) for convenience (cf. Chapter 1).

(24) *Corbett’s (1983a: 88) Combined Target Hierarchies:*



Typological research has verified that the likelihood of agreement with greater semantic justification will increase monotonically, with no corresponding decrease, as one moves rightwards along the hierarchy (Corbett (1979, and elsewhere)). It would be a violation of Corbett’s otherwise overwhelmingly exceptionless generalisation to think of the relative pronoun in (17) and (18) as feminine singular, of the verb in the relative clause as plural, and then of the participle as feminine singular again; this would mean that the relative pronoun exhibits grammatical agreement, the finite verb switches to more semantically-driven agreement, and the participle goes back to grammatical agreement. Such breaks are predicted to be impossible by Corbett’s cross-linguistic observations which are based on data from numerous languages, including Slavonic in particular.

It is worth mentioning, however, that the Agreement and the Predicate Hierarchy have two possible application domains (as noted in Corbett (1983a) and Corbett

(1986: 1017-8)). The Agreement Hierarchy (attribute, predicate, relative pronoun, personal pronoun) was found to always apply at the level of the corpus. In other words, the total number of semantically agreeing personal pronouns in a large collection of texts will exceed the total number of semantically agreeing relative pronouns, which in turn will exceed the total number of semantically agreeing predicates, and so on and so forth. By contrast, the Agreement Hierarchy does not always work within the bounds of individual sentences. It has been established that it invariably constrains attributives and predicates – if the attributive matches the semantic features of the controller, the predicate is never allowed to match its syntactic features (if different), but not vice versa. However, the same cannot be said about relative pronouns and predicates. Corbett (1983a: 65-7) has proved that a relative pronoun can host more syntactically justified agreement than the predicate of the same sentence, as in (25), which, as it happens, comes from Serbian/Croatian.

(25)

Dva tima, koja¹⁸ se nalaze u donjem delu table,
 Two teams, **which.DUAL** REFL find in the.lower part of.the.table,

Radnički i Olimpija, u Kragujevcu na teškom terenu igra-l-i
 Radnički and Olimpija, in Kragujevac on a.difficult pitch **play-PPRT-M.PL**

su *prljavo i nesportski.*
AUX.3PL dirtily and unsportingly

[Corbett (1983a: 64-5)]

‘The two teams which find themselves in the lower part of the table, R. and O., played dirtily and unsportingly on a difficult pitch in K.’

Unlike the Agreement Hierarchy, the Predicate Hierarchy undeniably holds at sentence level as well (cf. Corbett (1983a: 87)). Within a clause, semantic justification increases in the following order: finite verb, participle, adjective, noun. Corbett argues that the participle *provodila* ‘spent’ in (26) must be neuter plural, not feminine singular; otherwise, the finite verb would have agreement with greater semantic

¹⁸Due to yet another syncretism, the phonological shape of this pronoun also happens to be *koja*. We will not go into detail, as this is not our main concern. See Browne (1993) for more on the remnants of the old Slavic dual in Serbian/Croatian.

justification than the participle, which would contravene the robust Predicate Hierarchy in the clausal domain of its application.

(26)

sv-a *drug-a* *deca...* *provodi-l-a* *su*
all-F.SG/NT.PL other-F.SG/NT.PL children spend-PPRT-F.SG/NT.PL AUX.3PL

‘all other children... spent’

[Corbett (1983a: 87)]

Finally, we treat the *-a* ending on attributive modifiers or determiners like *sv-a* ‘all’, or *drug-a* ‘other’, as feminine singular, rather than neuter plural, for two reasons. Firstly, non-nominative attributive targets with nouns like *deca* ‘children’ are unambiguously feminine singular, as in (27). Secondly, attributive targets do not trigger any agreement to merit a split analysis comparable to the one proposed for relative pronouns.

(27) *kad* *sam* *video* *njegov-u* *dec-u*
when AUX.1SG seen his-F.SG.ACC children-ACC

‘When I saw his children’ [web]

www.mojheroj.com/dobrotvori/195.html (accessed on 12 Sept 2011)

We have thus provided evidence as to why the notoriously syncretic *-a* ending on relative pronouns and predicative participles should be analysed as neuter plural, and not as feminine singular. Despite indisputably feminine singular accusative relative pronouns, nominative forms are taken to be neuter plural on the basis of the plural agreement they induce on the verb in the relative clause, as well as on the basis of the unambiguously plural option in the genitive. Predicative participles and adjectives ending in *-a* are also treated as neuter plural if they co-occur with a plural finite verb, because it would be a violation of Corbett’s hierarchy to postulate a predicate made up of a plural finite verb and a singular participle or adjective. However, nominative attributive targets agreeing with nouns like *deca* ‘children’ are glossed as feminine singular, because the non-nominative cases have uncontroversial marking and there is no other agreement with attributive elements (comparable to the agreement on the

relative clause verb) to warrant a split analysis.

4. Agreement Patterns in Serbian/Croatian

4.1. Resolved and Single-Conjunct Agreement with Index Features

Over the course of the previous sections, we have learned that the ambiguous *-a* morpheme on the relative pronoun in (17) above, or on the predicate in the analogous (28) below, stands for neuter gender and plural number. Moreover, neuter plural cannot have resulted from the operation of resolution rules, and must therefore flag up agreement with the closest conjunct. Since that conjunct (*unučad*) is feminine singular in concord, but neuter plural in index, we seem to have found examples of single-conjunct agreement geared towards index features.

(28)

*Moj-a deca i unučad su se odrodi-l-a*¹⁹
my-F.SG children & grandchildren AUX.3PL REFL become.estranged-PPRT-NT.PL

‘My children and grandchildren have become estranged.’ [web]
www.stareguslejavaorove.com/prljava%20rabota.htm (accessed on 20 March 2009)

And yet, both conjuncts in (17) and (28) project F.SG concord and NT.PL index, so the target might be taken to co-vary with both controllers, rather than just the nearest one. According to Browne (1993: 355), Serbian/Croatian has an extra resolution rule which decrees that two neuter plurals resolve to neuter plural (instead of masculine plural, as we have assumed so far). In view of this assertion, it might seem a better idea to treat the patterns in (17) and (28) (i.e. [NT.PL_{first conjunct} + NT.PL_{second conjunct}] NT.PL_{target}) as instances of resolution or distributive agreement with each conjunct.

Further data are needed to determine what the correct solution is. In (29) and (30) below, there is a feminine singular first conjunct and a neuter plural second conjunct, side by side with a neuter plural verb phrase. The marking on the participle

¹⁹*Odrodila* (NT.PL) can also be *odrodili* (M.PL) (C. M. MacRobert’s Serbian informant).

in (29), or the predicative adjective in (30), cannot be plausibly linked to the influence of a resolution rule whereby a neuter plural target conforms to the resolved (or distributive) features of two neuter plural co-ordinate nouns, because the first noun has neither neuter nor plural properties.

(29)

Moj-a suprug-a i deca su staja-l-a pored vrata
 my-F.SG wife(F)-SG and children AUX.3PL stand-PPRT-NT.PL in.front.of door

i plaka-l-i su
 and cry-PPRT-M.PL AUX.3PL

‘My wife and children stood in front of the door and cried.’ [web]
<http://forumsr.poznanici.com/viewtopic.php?f=16&t=1421&p=39122> (accessed on 06 April 2009)²⁰

(30) *Majk-a i deca su jako osetljiv-a²¹ na svetlo.*
 mother(F)-SG and children be.3PL very sensitive-NT.PL to daylight

‘The mother and children are very sensitive to the daylight.’ [web]
<http://www.kurir-info.rs/clanak/kurir-07-05-2008/tajne-mracnog-podruma>
 (accessed on 06 April 2009)

Crucially, (29) shows what we claim is closest-conjunct index agreement (on *stajala*) and resolved agreement (on *plakali*), happily living together! It would be strange to find two different resolution rules affecting the same constituent in the same sentence – one producing neuter plural, and the other masculine plural, features. Therefore, we can safely conclude that our treatment of the above examples as tokens of closest-conjunct agreement with index remains valid. It is still suspicious, however, that all the targets and controllers in (29) and (30) end in *-a*. Could this point to some sort of phonetic conditioning which allows a target to end in *-a* (ambiguous between F.SG and NT.PL) if all the controllers also end in *-a* (and are either F.SG or NT.PL,

²⁰A curious thing to note about this example is that swapping the places of the two conjuncts can only give rise to resolved agreement, as in (i), which supports analysing (29) as closest-conjunct agreement. This observation is courtesy of C. M. MacRobert.

(i) *Moj-a deca i suprug-a su staja-l-i*
 my-F.SG children and wife(F)-SG AUX.3PL stand-PPRT-M.PL
 ‘My wife and children stood’

²¹*Osetljiva* (NT.PL) can also be *osetljivi* (M.PL) (C. M. MacRobert’s Serbian informant).

or both)? The answer to this question is no. Not all nouns in examples (31) and (32) below have the ambiguous *-a* suffix.

(31)

Bebe *i* *deca* *su* *uvek* *gladn-a*²²
baby(NT)[SG] and children.F.SG/NT.PL be.3PL always hungry-NT.PL

‘The baby and the children are always hungry.’

[web]

<http://www.stokke-stroller.com/sr-rs/stroller-advisor/travelling-with-your-child.aspx>

(accessed on 06 April 2009)

(32)

Bebe *i* *deca* *su* [...] *izložen-a*
baby(NT)[SG] and children.F.SG/NT.PL AUX.3PL exposed-NT.PL

toplotnom *udaru.*

to.heat to.stroke

‘The baby and children are exposed to heat stroke.’

[web]

www.mojabeba.com (accessed on 06 April 2009)

In (31) and (32), *bebe* is neuter singular, so *gladna* ‘hungry’ or *izložena* ‘exposed’ cannot be due to a resolution rule of the form NT.PL + NT.PL → NT.PL. Distributive agreement is ruled out too, because the nouns differ in number. Neither can this be some kind of phonetically conditioned agreement whereby a target that ends in *-a* is acceptable if all controllers end in *-a*, irrespective of their grammatical features. So the patterns in (17), (28), (29), (30), (31) and (32) must exemplify closest-conjunct agreement in which the verb phrase is sensitive to the neuter plural index values of the second conjunct *deca*.

Nevertheless, suspicions might still linger, despite the evidence marshalled above. All of the examples are built around either neuter or feminine controllers (or controllers which are ambiguous between F.SG and NT.PL), and the target can always be interpreted as neuter plural or feminine singular. Could it be the case that the target is indeterminate and can adjust to both? Should we not leave the target underspecified? The material in (33) can dispel these lingering doubts. The masculine

²²*Gladna* (NT.PL) can also be *gladni* (M.PL) (C. M. MacRobert’s Serbian informant).

gender of the first conjunct precludes the possibility that the relative pronoun could somehow agree with both a feminine and a neuter conjunct. Therefore, the only logical inference is that (33), as well as the other similar sentences in this section, illustrates single-conjunct agreement with the index features.

(33)

Tineidžer-i i deca koj-a preglasno i prečesto sluša-ju
teenager(M)-PL and children who-NT.PL too.loudly and too.often listen.to-3PL

muziku putem MP3 playera riskira-ju da ogluve 30 godina ranije od
 music on MP3 player risk-3PL COMP go.deaf 30 years earlier than

generacije svojih roditelja.
 generaton of.their parents

‘Teenagers and children who listen to music on MP3 players too loudly and too often risk going deaf 30 years earlier than their parents’ generation.’ [web]

www.zdraviilepi.com/Magazin-deca!P7.aspx (accessed on 17 Nov 2009)

There are also uncontroversial attestations of resolved index agreement, for instance in the second clause in (29) above, as well as (34) below. The first conjunct in both of them is feminine, while the second one is F.SG in concord and NT.PL in index. The predicate is masculine plural – it agrees neither with features shared by each conjunct (distributive agreement), nor with features of the nearest or furthest conjunct. The target matches the resolved masculine plural index of the coordinate NP. Examples (29) and (34) demonstrate that *deca* ‘children’ behaves like a neuter plural noun, and not a feminine singular one, when it comes to resolution. It is clear that the features of *deca* ‘children’ which resolve are its neuter plural index properties, rather than its feminine singular concord. The latter would have given feminine plural agreement. This vindicates the claim from Section 3.3 that (primary) predicates normally pick out index.

(34)
Žen-e i deca su bi-l-i spasen-i
 woman(F)-PL and children.F.SG/NT.PL AUX.3PL AUX-PPRT-M.PL saved-M.PL

‘The women and children were saved’ [web]
www.cafe.ba/.../13612_Britanci-vise-stradali-na-Titaniku-zbog-lepoh-manira.html
 (accessed on 06 April 2009)

The patterns that have been highlighted so far in this section include resolved agreement and closest-conjunct agreement, both with index. Serbian/Croatian also admits furthest-conjunct agreement (cf. Corbett (1986: 998-9) and Corbett (1988b: 26-7)). As pointed out above, a combination of feminine and neuter nouns triggers masculine resolution (cf. (34) and Corbett (1983a: 101)). For that reason, the NT.PL verb in (35) must have remained oblivious to the resolved features of both conjuncts. The target must have only registered the attributes of the first one, which happens to be the conjunct furthest away from it. Since verbs are usually interested in the index of their subjects, we are most likely dealing with an instance of furthest-conjunct agreement involving index features. In addition, (35) is remarkable for hosting closest- and furthest-conjunct agreement in the same sentence.

(35)²³
Ona stalna, duboko urezana svijetla (nt pl) i sjene (fem pl) koje (fem pl)
 those constant, deeply cut lights (**nt pl**) and shades (**fem pl**) which (**fem pl**)
je naslikao umjetnikov kist bila (nt pl) su jača (nt pl) od realne svijetlosti
 has painted the artist’s brush were (**nt pl**) stronger (**nt pl**) than real light

‘Those constant, deeply cut lights and shades painted by the artist’s brush were stronger than real light’ [Corbett (1983a: 101); Corbett (1983b: 180)]

A short summary of how our analysis has proceeded is in order at this point. We first established that single-conjunct agreement is problematic for our theoretical framework in its current state. Although concord and index participate in distributive

²³This sentence comes from the Ijekavian dialect of Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian, unlike most of the others in this chapter, which are from the Ekavian dialect (also cf. (42) below). For more examples and discussion of furthest-conjunct agreement, see Corbett (1983a: 101) and the references cited there. Corbett notes that furthest-conjunct agreement is rare. We do not know much about the conditions governing this particular pattern, but it seems to occur mainly with inanimate nouns. Besides, the controller always comes before the target.

and resolved agreement respectively, we do not know what to do with single-conjunct agreement. In order to find out what features are active in such cases, we chose nouns with concord-index mismatches like *deca* ‘children’ – such controllers have feminine singular concord and neuter plural index. We presented examples where conjoined noun phrases containing mismatched nouns co-occurred with a neuter plural target and subsequently justified why the target should be viewed as neuter plural, as opposed to feminine singular. The neuter plural target was then shown to agree with the index features of the closest controller – resolution was ruled out because the resolution rules of Serbian/Croatian never lead to neuter agreement; distributive agreement was likewise discarded because the conjuncts in some of the examples had different attributes. Crucially, we demonstrated the availability of index for resolved and furthest-conjunct agreement. Now that index has been examined in a little more detail, it is time to direct our attention to concord and the agreement configurations it can enter.

4.2. Distributive and Closest-Conjunct Agreement with Concord Features

Apart from index, concord is also at the disposal of language users when they opt for agreement with a distinguished conjunct. Closest-conjunct agreement with determiners and attributive modifiers is attested in Serbian/Croatian, as shown in (36) (Browne (1993: 355)).

(36)
Njen otac i majk-a su doš-l-i
 her[M.SG] father(M)[SG] and mother(F)-SG AUX.3PL come-PPRT-M.PL
 ‘Her mother and father came’ [Browne (1993: 355)]

(37)
Njen-a sestr-a i majk-a su doš-l-e.
 her-F.SG sister(F)-SG and mother(F)-SG) AUX.3PL come-PPRT-F.PL
 ‘Her mother and sister have come’ [Browne (1993: 355)]

(38)
Njen-o d(ij)et-e i tele su doš-l-i.
 her-NT.SG child(N)-SG and calf(N)[SG] AUX.3PL come-PPRT-M.PL
 ‘Her child and calf have come’ [Browne (1993: 355)]

At first sight, the attributive elements in (37) and (38) might seem to require each conjunct to have the same properties: feminine singular in (37) and neuter singular in (38). But as we saw in (36) above, and as we shall see in (39) and (40) below, attributive targets only insist that the closest conjunct should match their specifications. They do not seem to care about the number and gender of the furthest controller, which may or may not replicate those of the initial one. So, even constructions like (37) and (38), which on the surface appear to obey the dictates of distributive agreement, should be treated as closest-conjunct agreement where the second noun just happens to have the same features as the first. This is confirmed by Corbett (1979: 206-7), who also analyses the attributive domain in Serbian/Croatian in the same way (cf. (39) and (40)). Furthermore, the ungrammaticality of the masculine plural in (39) probably entails that it is impossible to discover resolved agreement on an attributive modifier (this issue will be revisited below).

(39)
*najsvirepije (fem pl) (*najsvirepiji- masc pl) kazne (fem pl) i mucenja (nt pl)*
 the cruellest (fem pl) (*masc pl) punishments (fem pl) and tortures (nt pl)

(Andrić, *Travnicka Hronika*) [Corbett (1979: 206)]

(40) *Sve njegov-e molb-e (fem pl) i uveranj-a (nt pl)*
 all his-F.PL prayer(F)-PL and assurance(NT)-PL

*ni-su pomaga-l-i (masc pl) ništa. (Andrić, *Anikina Vremena*)*
 NEG-AUX.3PL help-PPRT-M.PL at.all.

‘All his prayers and assurances did not help at all’ [Corbett (1979: 206), and Corbett (1991: 283)]

On the basis of the data above, supplemented by our knowledge of Serbian/Croatian grammar in general, we acquire indirect, but more or less solid, evidence that closest-conjunct concord agreement is staring us in the face here. There are several logical steps involved:

- We know that nouns like *deca* ‘children’ are characterised by feminine singular concord and neuter plural index. A nominative (attributive) adjective or determiner in a phrase headed by *deca* gets the infamous *-a* ending, which can be either feminine singular or neuter plural.
- However, all oblique attributive targets are unambiguously feminine singular, so we infer that agreement in the NP-internal domain must operate with concord, and not index, features (cf. Section 3.3 and Corbett (1983a: 81)).
- Applying this reasoning to the material from this section, we have obviously encountered agreement on the attributive elements which is neither resolved (that would be masculine plural) nor distributive. Therefore, it must be closest-conjunct concord agreement.

To recapitulate, some non-nominative relative pronouns are clearly feminine singular, but we still categorise nominative ones (ambiguous between F.SG and NT.PL) as neuter plural, because they trigger plural agreement on the verb in the relative clause and because there exist uncontroversially plural genitive forms (cf. Section 3.3). By contrast, attributive determiners and modifiers are invariably glossed as F.SG. Although in the nominative they could be either F.SG or NT.PL, they are certainly F.SG in the other cases. In addition, there is no agreement with attributive targets (comparable to the plural finite verbs controlled by nominative relative pronouns) to justify a split analysis whereby nominative attributive items are treated as NT.PL, and non-nominative ones as F.SG. For the sake of consistency and simplicity, and in the absence of evidence suggesting otherwise, we consider all attributive targets F.SG.

This means that, apart from index, concord can also be a proximity-based feature recruited for closest-conjunct agreement. The Serbian sentence in (41), and the

Croatian one in (42) below, both of them with mismatched nouns, demonstrate that the accusative relative pronoun can pick out the concord of the controller nearest to it (cf. Section 3.3 above). However, the pattern in (41) and (42) can be regarded as distributive concord agreement, because all the Google searches conducted so far with the parameters “* i decu/unučad koju” “* and children/grandchildren who-F.SG.ACC” only return results in which both conjuncts share feminine singular properties. In the absence of counter-examples, we will be assuming that the relative pronoun in (41) and (42) imposes distributive concord restrictions, but more research is needed to verify this.

(41)

dobiti minimum materijalne i egzistencijalne sigurnosti za svoj-u
to.get minimum material and existential security for own-F.ACC.SG

porodic-u i dec-u koj-u ima-te
family(F)-ACC.SG and **children(F)-ACC.SG** **who-F.ACC.SG** have-2PL

u Australiji
in Australia

‘To get the minimum material and existential security for your family and children whom you have in Australia’ [web]

<http://www3.serbiancafe.com/eng/diskusije/mesg/.../gde-su-deca.html> (accessed on 10 Aug 2010)

(42) *to je živi otrov i opasnost za naš-u*
it is real poison and danger for our-F.ACC.SG

dic-u²⁴ i unučad koj-u mora-mo...
children(F)-ACC.SG and **grandchildren(F).SG** **who-F.ACC.SG** must-1PL

‘It is a real poison and danger for our children and grandchildren whom we must...’
[web]

<http://limun.hr/main.aspx?id=540539&Page=1> (accessed on 10 Aug 2010)

²⁴This Croatian sentence contains the Ikavian form *dicu*, as opposed to Ekavian *decu* typical of Serbia. The dialect division has to do with the reflexes of the Old Slavic *jat* vowel, which comes out as /e/ in Ekavian, /i/ in Ikavian, and /ije/ in Ijekavian.

5. Fixing the Formalism

We have come across the following agreement patterns in Serbian/Croatian²⁵:

- agreement with the resolved index features of the entire coordinate phrase (34);
- agreement with the index features of the closest conjunct (32);
- possibly, agreement with the index features of the furthest conjunct (35);
- possibly, agreement with distributive concord features shared by each individual conjunct (41), (42);
- agreement with the concord features of the closest conjunct (39).

The significance of the data lies in the revelation that neither concord nor index seems to be averse to single-conjunct agreement. These findings call for introducing modifications to the treatments offered in earlier LFG work. King and Dalrymple's (2004) insight about distributive and non-distributive features takes care of resolved agreement with the index of the entire coordinate phrase, as well as distributive agreement with concord properties which are identical across the board. However, their paper does not address agreement with only one conjunct. Kuhn and Sadler's (2007) proposal, on the other hand, makes the features of individual conjuncts accessible to targets, thus enabling us to model single-conjunct agreement. However, both analyses need to be adjusted and integrated so that we can adequately account for the material that we have presented here. King and Dalrymple's (2004) definition of index as a non-distributive feature and concord as a distributive feature needs to be revised, so that the ability of index to resolve would not make the individual index features of each conjunct unavailable for agreement. Kuhn and

²⁵See Corbett (1983c) on the factors that determine the choice of pattern in Serbian/Croatian, notably animacy and the relative order of the subject and the predicate (cf. Chapter 3 herein on Bulgarian). Animacy and subject-predicate order generally favour resolution (Corbett (1983c: 96)).

Sadler's (2007) classification also needs to be updated in order to allow the same feature to belong to more than one type (i.e. resolved, distributive, overlay)²⁶. What is more, we believe that Kuhn and Sadler's classification is best thought of as a classification of agreement patterns or ways of applying agreement constraints, and not as a classification of features. A feature such as INDEX or CONCORD can agree in a "distributive", "resolved" or "overlay" manner.

The notation below represents the constraints associated with the agreement patterns which a given target can be plugged into²⁷. In other words, a target will impose one of the following types of restrictions delimiting the kind of controller it is compatible with.

- (f INDEX): the INDEX features of a non-coordinate phrase, or the resolved INDEX features of a coordinate phrase. This is the standard interpretation of this expression from previous LFG literature.
- (f_(L) INDEX): the INDEX features of a non-coordinate phrase, the resolved INDEX features of a coordinate phrase, or the index of the leftmost conjunct of a coordinate phrase. This accounts for optional single-conjunct agreement with the leftmost conjunct, as indicated by the brackets around the subscripted "L".
- (f_L INDEX): the INDEX features of a non-coordinate phrase or of the leftmost conjunct of a coordinate phrase. This will be the notation to use with a target that participates in obligatory single-conjunct agreement with the leftmost conjunct.
- (f_(R) INDEX): the INDEX features of a non-coordinate phrase, the resolved INDEX features of a coordinate phrase, or the INDEX of the rightmost conjunct of a coordinate phrase. This handles optional single-conjunct agreement with the rightmost conjunct.

²⁶Maybe that was Kuhn and Sadler's original intention, but as it stands, their model does not explicitly state that index, for example, can be interpreted as a resolved and an overlay attribute at the same time.

²⁷I am indebted to my supervisor, Prof. Mary Dalrymple, for the ideas about changing the formalism. The enriched notation can also be found in Dalrymple and Hristov (2010).

- (f_R INDEX): the INDEX features of a non-coordinate phrase or the rightmost conjunct of a coordinate phrase (obligatory single-conjunct agreement with the rightmost conjunct). This will be the constraint to associate with a neuter plural relative pronoun like *koja*. The notation will capture the fact that *koja* can co-occur with a non-coordinated noun that has neuter plural index or, when in the environment of conjoined nouns, it has to agree with the neuter plural index of the rightmost one (i.e. the one closest to it).
- (f CONCORD): the CONCORD features of a non-coordinate phrase, or the CONCORD features of each conjunct of a coordinate phrase (the standard interpretation of this expression from previous LFG literature).
- (f_L CONCORD): the CONCORD features of a non-coordinate phrase or the leftmost conjunct of a coordinate phrase.
- (f_R CONCORD): the CONCORD features of a non-coordinate phrase or the rightmost conjunct of a coordinate phrase.

As we saw in Section 4.2, when all conjuncts have the same concord features, optional closest-conjunct agreement becomes indistinguishable from obligatory closest-conjunct agreement, which makes drawing such a distinction redundant. In addition, our system eliminates the possibility of distributive index or resolved concord. For the time being, we do not envisage such further complications, in line with the findings above. However, we will explore somewhat inconclusive data below which suggest that concord might potentially resolve. As more research is needed into that, we opt for the simpler notation here, but it would not be inconceivable to add extra constraints in the same spirit to take care of, say, resolved concord or distributive index.

The expression $f_{(L)}$ is defined as follows:

(43) *Formal definition of the expression $f_{(L)}$:*

$$f_{(L)} \equiv f \quad \varepsilon^* \quad \neg[(\leftarrow \varepsilon) \prec f \rightarrow]$$

(In words: ' $f_{(L)}$ is an f-structure possibly embedded within f as a member of a set. If $f_{(L)}$ is embedded as a member of f, it must be the leftmost member: this is accomplished by the off-path constraint, which states that there may not be any (other) members of the same f-structure sequence that f-precede $f_{(L)}$.')

The formal notational conventions have the following meaning (see Dalrymple (2001, chapter 5), and Dalrymple and Hristov (2010: 198-9)):

- The set-membership symbol ε can be used as an attribute to non-deterministically pick out one of the members of a set. ε^* picks out an arbitrarily deeply embedded member, to account for nested coordinate structures whose conjuncts are themselves coordinate structures.
- Constraints appearing under attributes in a functional uncertainty path are off-path constraints, regulating the f-structures through which the path may pass. The symbol \leftarrow in an off-path constraint refers to the f-structure which contains the attribute on which the off-path constraint appears, and the symbol \rightarrow refers to the value for that attribute.
- The symbol $\prec f$ denotes the relation of functional precedence, a relation that holds between two f-structures if (roughly) a linear precedence relation holds between the constituent structure nodes that correspond to those f-structures.

The definition of $f_{(R)}$ is similar, the only difference being the reversed f-precedence requirement (for more details, see Dalrymple and Hristov (2010: 198-9)). The definition of f_L , on the other hand, is a little more elaborate as it needs to isolate the

closest conjunct in a coordinate structure and does not permit reference to the features of f if f is itself a coordinate structure.

(44) *Formal definition of the expression f_L :*

$$f_L \equiv f \quad \varepsilon^* \quad : \neg(f_L \varepsilon)$$

$$\quad \quad \quad \neg[(\leftarrow \varepsilon) \langle f \rightarrow]$$

(In words: f_L is an f -structure possibly embedded within f as a member of a set. If f_L is embedded as a member of f , it must be the most deeply embedded leftmost member. See Dalrymple and Hristov (2010: 199))

The expression f_R works in an analogous way. Finally, a target that participates in closest-conjunct agreement can come before or after the controller. For example, determiners and attributive adjectives in Serbian/Croatian or Bulgarian normally precede the head noun, but they are also allowed to follow it (cf. Browne (1993: 346) and the next chapter)²⁸. In such cases, we will need to refer to the closest conjunct independently of whether it surfaces to the left or to the right of the target. This is achieved in (45) by appealing to the relation between the f -structure of the agreement target, labelled with \downarrow , and the f -structure of the controller f . The closest conjunct is the leftmost one if the target is on the left, and the rightmost one if the target is on the right. The definition in (45)a. is for obligatory closest-conjunct agreement, whereas (45)b. covers optional closest-conjunct agreement. Both definitions rely on the ones already developed above.

(45)

<p>a. <i>Formal definition of the expression f_C:</i></p> $f_C \equiv \left\{ \begin{array}{l} f_L : \downarrow \langle_f f_L \\ f_R : f_R \langle_f \downarrow \end{array} \right\}$	<p>b. <i>Formal definition of $f_{(C)}$:</i></p> $f_{(C)} \equiv \left\{ \begin{array}{l} f_{(L)} : \downarrow \langle_f f_{(L)} \\ f_{(R)} : f_{(R)} \langle_f \downarrow \end{array} \right\}$
--	---

With these modifications in place, we can go back to example (17), repeated in (46), and examine the mechanics of agreement there.

²⁸It would also be instructive to remember phrases like *the matters pending* vs. *the pending matters*, so there is a certain amount of wiggle room even in a language as syntactically rigid as English.

(46)
njihov-a deca i unučad koj-a/-i su
 their-F.SG children and grandchildren who-NT.PL/-M.PL AUX.3PL

rodjen-a/-i...
 born-NT.PL/-M.PL
 ‘Their children and grandchildren who were born [in other countries]’ [web]

(47) *Constraints for the determiner njihova ‘their’:*

njihova
 (↑ PRED) = ‘their’
 (↑_C CONCORD GEND) = F
 (↑_C CONCORD NUM) = SG.

The relevant constraints for the determiner in example (46) are given in (47). These constraints ensure that *njihova* ‘their’ matches the concord gender and number of the conjunct closest to it (irrespective of the fact that the other conjunct also happens to have the same features). By virtue of the equations, the target *njihova* ‘their’ requires the noun next to it to have feminine singular concord. As discussed above, we prefer this analysis to distributive agreement, because there are unambiguous cases in which the determiner agrees with the first controller only.

In order to account for the closest-conjunct index agreement on the relative pronoun, we need the constraints associated with *koja* which are provided in (48). They tell us that this relative pronoun picks out the neuter plural index features of its closest conjunct – in our case this is the rightmost one. Of course, the definition of ↑_R makes *koja* compatible with a neuter plural non-coordinated noun too. What we want to capture is that, in the context of a coordinate construction, *koja* must only pay attention to the rightmost noun, which has to be neuter plural.

(48) *Constraints for the relative pronoun koja ‘who’:*

koja
 (↑ PRED) = ‘who’
 (↑_R INDEX GEND) = NT
 (↑_R INDEX NUM) = PL.

A masculine plural relative pronoun and predicate are also licit in (46). They are sensitive to the resolved index features of the conjoined NP. Consequently, the

pronoun will be fitted with the constraints given in (49), which inform us that *koji* is happy either with a masculine plural non-coordinated noun or with the resolved masculine plural features of a coordinate NP.

(49) *Constraints for the relative pronoun koji* ‘who’:

koji
(↑ PRED) = ‘who’
(↑ INDEX GEND) = M
(↑ INDEX NUM) = PL

A situation where a pairing of a non-masculine and a masculine plural controller (in that order) is followed by the masculine plural relative pronoun might arguably be perceived as closest-conjunct agreement, which, however, can hardly be teased apart from the outcome of resolution. Feminine plural targets, on the other hand, may be unambiguously linked up with the rightmost conjunct only (e.g. when resolution would have resulted in masculine plural), or with the resolved features of the conjoined phrase. Thus, the feminine plural relative pronoun will be regulated by the principles of optional single-conjunct agreement. In fact, we could coerce the whole series of *koji* relatives to specify optional $f_{(R)}$ agreement for the sake of uniformity and consistency across the paradigm. This is empirically adequate for the feminine plural form. The neuter plural pronoun would then be permitted to access resolved features, but as the resolution rules would never feed it a neuter gender, this pattern would be excluded anyway. The masculine relative pronoun would be redundantly allowed to agree with the rightmost conjunct (cf. Dalrymple and Hristov (2010: 203)). The blanket $f_{(R)}$ analysis, however, entails a lot of redundancy and is therefore discarded as inelegant.

We do not insist that a feature should behave in the same way all the time. It is not expected that, say, INDEX agreement will always be with the resolved INDEX features of the coordinate phrase. At least for Serbian/Croatian, however, we have up until now implicitly assumed that one and the same grammatical form (e.g. the

relative pronoun *koj-i* ‘who-M.PL’) will consistently impose the same restrictions, for instance always agreeing with all of the resolved index features of a conjoined phrase or the index features of a non-conjoined phrase. Even this does not have to be the case, though. Surprising as it may seem, there is evidence that a single item could join different types of agreement configuration within a given domain (cf. Arnold, Sadler and Villavicencio (2006) and Section 6.2). In (50) and (51) below, we adduce two examples in which a verb replicates the resolved number of a conjoined phrase, at the same time agreeing in person with the second conjunct only. This would necessitate two different constraints for the same item: one for number agreement (resolved) and one for person agreement (closest-conjunct). More discussion on this will follow in Section 6.3 below.

(50) [German]

wenn du und deine Schwester eine tüchtige Portion mehr bekommen werd-en...
 when you and your sister a good portion more get will-3PL

‘when you and your sister will get another good portion’ [Corbett (1983a: 182-3), cited in van Oirsouw (1987: 235)]

(51) [French]

... *comme l’ont montré Ferdinand Brunot et moi-même*
 as it-have.3PL shown Ferdinand Brunot and myself

‘As F. Brunot and I have shown’ [Corbett (1983a: 182-3), cited in van Oirsouw (1987: 235)]

6. Residual Problematic Issues

This section is dedicated to some further setbacks arising from the data. We first slightly adjust the resolution rules we have been working with. We then turn our attention to the existence of NP-internal index agreement, which is relatively straightforward and is not unheard of (cf. King and Dalrymple (2004) and Chapter 1). More problematic, however, is the “trespassing” of concord outside the NP domain, which remains a mystery under the current account and calls for lifting the ban on NP-external concord. Even more troublesome is the potential for concord to resolve, but the evidence there is inconclusive. After discussing all of these matters, we give a more comprehensive summary of the agreement patterns found in Serbian/Croatian.

6.1. Modified Resolution Rules

It was asserted above that Serbian/Croatian had two general resolution rules. If all conjuncts are feminine, we end up with feminine plural resolved features. Any other combination triggers masculine plural agreement. However, things are a little more complicated than that. Feminine nouns in Serbian/Croatian fall into two declension classes. Most of them end in *-a* in the nominative singular (cf. Section 3.3). The second, less numerous, group is comprised of nouns with no ending in the nominative singular (Corbett (1988b: 44)) – *lakomislenost* ‘capriciousness’ in (52) below belongs to the second group. If one of the two feminine conjuncts is like *lakomislenost* ‘capriciousness’, then the resulting resolution gender might in fact be the masculine, as becomes evident from (52) (cf. Corbett (1983c: 98, 1988b: 44) and Gudkov (1965)).

(52)

Vređa-l-i *su* *ga nebrig-a* *i lakomislenost*
offend-PPRT-M.PL AUX.3PL him carelessness(F)-SG and capriciousness(F)[SG]

Tahir-beg-ov-a

Tahir-beg-POSS-F.SG

‘The carelessness and capriciousness of Tahir-beg offended him.’ [Andrić, quoted in Corbett (1982: 358), also in Corbett (1983b: 203) and Corbett (1988b: 44)]

We will need to revise our resolution rules accordingly. The revised rules will look as follows (from (Corbett (1983b: 203); cf. Corbett (1982: 356-360, 1986: 1012)):

- If all conjuncts are feminine, then the feminine form will be used; if at least one of the conjuncts is a feminine ending in a consonant, then this rule is optional;
- Otherwise the masculine will be used.

Feminine nouns ending in a consonant hardly ever denote animates, so the feminine resolved gender does not have much semantic justification here. This might be the reason why agreement sometimes defaults to the masculine (Corbett (1983b: 204, 1983c: 101)). Corbett (1983b: 204) suggests that Serbian/Croatian is moving in the direction of the following semantic feature-computation system:

- If all the conjuncts refer to females, the feminine form is used;
- Otherwise the masculine form is used.

These generalisations are confirmed by (53), where two grammatically feminine nouns have resolved to masculine plural due to their inanimate nature, even though both end in –a (cf. Corbett (1983c: 98) and the references cited there). While such cases are still rare, they are attested. By contrast, Corbett (1983b: 205) reports that he is not aware of any instances of masculine resolved agreement with feminine nouns referring to persons. In Section 6.3 below, it will be demonstrated that if both conjuncts denote females, the conjoined NP can receive feminine plural resolved features, even though one of the conjuncts may not be a member of the feminine

gender class. This means that additional semantic constraints have to be incorporated into the resolution principles, so that the index of the coordinate phrase would not be always mechanically calculated simply on the basis of the index of the individual conjuncts (as already pointed out in Chapter 1). This does not undermine the analysis outlined above, but it will prove vital in tackling some of the thornier agreement patterns we shall encounter in later sections.

(53)

Štul-a *i* *štak-a* *bi-l-i* *su* *sve što*
a.wooden.leg(F)-SG and crutch(F)-SG be-PPRT-M.PL AUX.3PL all that

je *tadašnj-a* *medicin-a* *mog-l-a* *da* *mu* *pruži*
AUX.3SG of.that.time-F.SG medicine(F)-SG can-PPRT-F.SG COPM to-him offer

‘A wooden leg and a crutch were all that medical science of that time could offer him’
[Popović, in Corbett (1983b: 204), also in Gudkov (1974) and Corbett (1982: 359)]

6.2. Index Agreement within the NP and Concord Agreement outside the NP

The plural noun *zanatlije* ‘artisans’ in (54) is feminine in form but masculine in meaning (cf. Barlow (1999: 193)). Similarly, *gazda* ‘master’ in (55) is grammatically feminine, but typically denotes a male (cf. Corbett (1986: 1005, 1988b: 35), Barlow (1988: 121ff), Pollard and Sag (1994: 97)). As we can see from (54) and (55), both feminine (concord) and masculine (index) agreement are perfectly fine in the NP-internal domain (cf. Chapter 1, Pollard and Sag (1994: 97) and King and Dalrymple (2004)).

(54) *ov-i* *privatn-e* *zanatlij-e*
these-NOM.M.PL private-NOM.F.PL artisan(F)-NOM.PL
‘these private artisans’ [Corbett (1988b: 49), quoted in Barlow (1999: 193)]

(55) *naš-e/naš-i* *gazd-e*
our-NOM.F.PL/-NOM.M.PL master(F)-NOM.PL
‘our masters’ [Corbett (1988b: 35), quoted in Pollard and Sag (1994: 97)]

There have also been reports of attributive agreement in person (cf. Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 15) and Baker (2008: 114)). This either means that person should not be left out of the concord cluster of features or, more plausibly, that index is at least partially active in that domain. Since index does not include case in Wechsler and Zlatić's (2003) model, a claim can be made that gender and number agreement in (54) and (55) is with the index feature, whereas case agreement remains sensitive to concord. As mentioned above, it is not unprecedented to propose an analysis whereby one and the same target picks up different properties of its controller (cf. Kathol (1999: 240), as well as examples (50) and (51) above).

More fundamentally, the very existence of two grammatical types of agreement, which entails partitioning the conceptual space into NP-internal and NP-external aspects, has been questioned (cf. Baker (2008: 108), Corbett (2006: 228-9), Corbett (1998: 36), quoted in Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 92), and the discussion in Chapter 1). Baker argues that the agreement on attributive adjectives and on verbs is not intrinsically different and we should not distinguish separate features for the two domains. While there is no doubt that NP-internal agreement is the same phenomenon as NP-external agreement, it would not be a good idea empirically to completely dispense with concord and index (or at least two distinct properties, whether they be labelled concord and index, grammatical vs. semantic agreement, etc.). This in no way destroys the unity of the phenomenon – index and concord are just bundles of attributes available for targets to form bonds with. It might be convenient if things were easier, with one of the bundles operative NP-internally and the other elsewhere, but this does not comport with the data. Some languages might work like that – in Chapter 6, we argue that English is such a language. However, there should not be a strict requirement to this effect, especially in the face of empirical evidence to the contrary.

Above we demonstrated that (at least partial) index agreement may occur within the NP. It is also possible for targets outside the NP to access concord features. As noted by Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 76), it is damaging to their analysis, and to Corbett’s Agreement Hierarchies, that a singular verb is grammatical, alongside a plural one, in the Serbian/Croatian sentence in (56).

(56)
Moj-a unučad je/su uči-l-a.
 My-F.SG grandchildren AUX.3SG/AUX.3PL study-PPRT-NT.PL?/F.SG?

‘My grandchildren have studied.’ [Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 76)]

Readers will remember that *unučad* ‘grandchildren’ projects feminine singular concord and neuter plural index (Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 86)). The singular verb option points to concord agreement on the predicate, which goes against Wechsler and Zlatić’s (2003: 53-4) assertion that primary predicates are committed to index, rather than concord (cf. Section 3.3). The form of the participle *učila* could be interpreted either as feminine singular or as neuter plural, as discussed in Section 3.3; if we get a singular auxiliary, it is of course preferable to treat the participle as feminine singular²⁹. The examples below, this time with the peculiar collective noun *gospoda* ‘gentlemen’, cause even greater concern.

(57) *I ov-a gospoda izbra-l-a su*
 and this-F.SG gentlemen choose-PPRT-F.SG AUX.3PL

‘These gentlemen also chose...’ [web]

www.riznica.ihjj.hr (accessed on 20 March 2009)

(58) *Mlad-a gospoda su se poče-l-a buditi*
 young-F.SG gentlemen AUX.3PL REFL begin-PPRT-F.SG to.wake.up

‘The young gentlemen began to wake up...’ [web]

www.coolinarika.com/forum/viewtopic.php?id=18 (accessed on 20 March 2009)

²⁹However, Corbett (1986: 1021) writes that ‘in agreement with conjoined phrases, the finite verb may be singular and the participle plural’. Examples from Czech and Old Church Slavonic can be found in Corbett (1983a: 214).

The preferred glossing for the ambiguous *-a* ending in (57) and (58) is feminine singular, even for the verbal predicates. The other alternative, neuter plural, is ruled out, because *gospoda* ‘gentlemen’ does not possess any neuter features whatsoever: it belongs to a declension class that assigns it feminine singular concord; at the same time, it refers to a group of males, and is accordingly equipped with a masculine plural index (cf. Wechsler and Zlatić (2003: 86)). Judging by the concord-index mismatch, the participle seems to exhibit concord, and not index, agreement, contrary to expectations. It should be pointed out that the auxiliary verb is plural in both cases, consequently matching the index, and not concord, thus contravening Corbett’s Predicate Hierarchy. This is the most problematic issue for the feminine singular analysis, making our arguments inconsistent, because the plural auxiliary has up until now furnished the most persuasive evidence in favour of classifying the *-a* ending as neuter plural. Following the same line of reasoning, we might say that *-a* stands for neuter plural here as well. However, it remains unclear where those features would come from. For now, this matter remains unsolved.

6.3. Can Concord Resolve?

In order to test if concord could resolve, we asked a native informant (Sandra Šćepanović) to provide grammaticality judgements on the phrases listed in (59) below (readers are reminded that both *deca* ‘children’ and *unučad* ‘grandchildren’ have F.SG concord and NT.PL index):

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| (59) | a. | <i>dobr-a</i>
good-F.SG/NT.PL | <i>deca</i>
children | <i>i</i>
and | <i>unučad</i>
grandchildren |
| | b. | * <i>dobr-e</i>
good-F.PL | <i>deca</i>
children | <i>i</i>
and | <i>unučad</i>
grandchildren |
| | c. | ? <i>dobr-i</i>
good-M.PL | <i>deca</i>
children | <i>i</i>
and | <i>unučad</i>
grandchildren |

In (59)a., we find closest-conjunct (or distributive) agreement with the feminine singular concord features. This is the more plausible interpretation, as non-

www.ceeol.com/aspx/getdocument.aspx?logid=5&id=718a98ca-de7c-4d92-a73f-7d45a84e6edc (accessed on 20 March 2009)

The word *gospođice* ‘ladies’ is unambiguously feminine plural, as is the adjective *mlade* ‘young’. *Gospoda* ‘gentlemen’ has feminine singular concord, but masculine plural index. According to the resolution rules above, a feminine plural agreement marker, such as the one on the past participle, can only be due to the combination of two feminine nouns. Therefore, it must be the concord, and not the index, of *gospoda* ‘gentlemen’ that has resolved (cf. Villavicencio, Sadler and Arnold (2005: 9)). An alternative explanation is put forward in Arnold, Sadler and Villavicencio (2006). On their analysis, examples like (60) might indeed show closest-conjunct concord agreement in gender (i.e. the predicate is feminine because *gospoda* has feminine concord); at the same time number agreement is with the resolved plural features. We witnessed an analogous situation in (50) and (51) above. In Portuguese, there is likewise a choice between resolution (feminine if all conjuncts are feminine and masculine otherwise) and closest-conjunct agreement (Arnold, Sadler and Villavicencio (2006: 8-9)). Interestingly, the following pattern is attested in Portuguese:

- [N_{M.SG} conj N_{F.SG}] ADJ_{F.PL}

This configuration highlights a similar split – post-nominal closest-conjunct agreement in gender, with simultaneous number resolution (the individual conjuncts are singular but the adjective is plural) (Arnold, Sadler and Villavicencio (2006 8-9), cf. Munn’s (1999: 658)).

On the other hand, Corbett (1991: 282) maintains that ‘[number and gender resolution] are interrelated in that if one type of resolution rule operates then all must operate where possible. Given a subject consisting of a feminine singular and a neuter singular noun, it is not possible to apply gender resolution (to give a masculine) but at the same time to fail to apply number resolution, and so to have a masculine singular

predicate’. Although number and gender are rarely separated when it comes to agreement and are often cumulatively expressed with the same morpheme, splits are not inconceivable. If, however, splits should be avoided at any cost, the Serbian/Croatian sentence in (60) could be put down as a case of furthest-conjunct agreement, which is also attested in the language. A furthest-conjunct explanation is viable for (61), but not for (62) and (63). The latter contain no feminine plural conjuncts and must therefore exhibit resolved agreement that can only have resulted from the input of the feminine concord features (as long as we stick to mechanical computation).

(61)
žen-e i deca odvojen-e su od muškaraca
 woman(F)-PL and children separated-F.PL AUX.3PL from men

‘The women and children were separated from the men’ [web]
http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/sljivancanin_preispitivanje_presude/2060613.html (accessed on 04 June 2010)

(62)
žen-a i deca koj-e su pada-l-e u nesvest
 woman(F)-SG and children who-F.PL AUX.3PL fall-PPRT-F.PL in unconsciousness

‘The woman and children who lost consciousness’ [web]
http://www.slobodnavijacima.blogspot.com/2008/09/blog-post_853.html (accessed on 01 Jan 2010)

(63) *žen-a i deca su mu bi-l-e*
 wife(F)-SG and children AUX.3PL to.him be-PPRT-F.PL

u drugoj prostori
 in other areas

‘His wife and children were in other areas’ [web]
<http://www.ana.rs/forum/viewtopic.php?t=24328&postdays=0&postorder=asc&start=15> (accessed on 12 June 2010)

One prospective candidate for undergoing resolution is the feminine concord of *deca* ‘children’, which, upon coming into contact with the feminine singular concord (or index) of the word for wife, would produce feminine plural agreement. By contrast, the outcome of feature computation would have been masculine plural, if

the neuter plural index of *deca* ‘children’ had been used as an ingredient. Crucially, *deca* does not normally trigger feminine plural resolved agreement when conjoined with a feminine singular noun, as we learned in previous sections (cf. Corbett (1983a: 80-1)). We can look back to Section 6.1 for an alternative explanation that does not rely on resolving concord features. The culprit responsible for the patterns in (62) and (63) might be the semantics of the woman and children (probably all the children happen to be female³¹). According to the principle of semantic feature computation, feminine resolved agreement is permissible provided that all the controllers are semantically female, irrespective of their syntactic gender (Wechsler (1999) and Eggert (2002: 27), cf. Section 6.1 above). This is shown in (64): the phrase for ‘big girl’ is unambiguously feminine both grammatically (in concord and index), as well as semantically. By contrast, the phrase for ‘little girl’ has NT.SG index and concord, but it denotes a female. This confirms that no feminine grammatical features are needed for semantic resolution to take place, so in the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, we conclude that the same has happened in examples (61), (62) and (63), with (60) left as a bizarre performance error (in line with the evaluations of native informants)³².

(64)
Ov-a velik-a devojk-a i ov-o mal-o devoj-če
 this-F.SG big-F.SG girl(F)-SG and this-NT.SG little-NT.SG girl-DIM(NT)[SG]

su se lepo igra-l-e/?igra-l-i
 AUX.3PL REFL well play-PPRT-F.PL/-M.PL
 ‘This big girl (F) and this little girl (NT) played well’. [Wechsler (1999: 29)]

³¹However, it is worrying that ‘there are no unambiguous cases of feminine plural agreement with *deca*’ (Corbett (1983a: 81)).

³²There is an additional condition on this kind of semantic resolution: at least one of the conjuncts has to be syntactically feminine in order for the verb to take feminine agreement, as illustrated in (i).

(i) *Ov-o moj-e devoj-če i ov-o tvoj-e luče su se*
 This-NT.SG my-NT.SG girl-DIM(NT)[SG] & this-NT.SG your-NT.SG doll(NT)[SG] AUX.3PL REFL

*lepo *igra-l-e/igra-l-i*
 well play-PPRT-F.PL/-M.PL

‘My girl (NT) and your “doll” (=girl, NT) played well’. [Wechsler (1999: 55), quoted in Eggert (2002: 27)]

7. Summary. A Comprehensive Picture of Agreement Patterns in Serbian/Croatian

An attempt has been made in this chapter to sketch out the complex system of agreement patterns in Serbian/Croatian. In order to identify these patterns, we had to rely on *deca*-type collective nouns, which are notable for their mismatched concord and index features. The ambiguous *-a* ending on predicative targets agreeing with such controllers was taken to be neuter plural, since the other alternative, feminine singular, gives us unmotivated mixed predicates which violate Corbett's Agreement Hierarchies, and also because nouns like *deca* act as neuter plurals for the purpose of resolution (Corbett (1983a: 80-1)). In addition, nominative relative and personal pronouns compatible with *deca*, such as *koja* 'who' and *ona* 'they', cannot be feminine singular because they trigger plural agreement. Thus, we are left with the following properties associated with *deca* and the like (Corbett (1983a: 80-1)):

- feminine singular CONCORD (attributive domain: oblique cases);
- neuter plural INDEX (predicate; relative and personal pronouns: nominative case);
- masculine plural SEMANTICS (personal pronoun: nominative case)³³.

Corbett (1983a: 81) observes that there are no unambiguous instances of feminine plural agreement with *deca*. He therefore removes this option from the oblique cases³⁴ of the relative and personal pronouns, and summarises his findings in the two tables reproduced below. (65) lists various possibilities, some less likely than others, whereas (66) only keeps the preferred interpretations.

³³This is semantic, rather than index, agreement; see the general discussion of Wechsler and Zlatić's (2003) model in Chapter 1. Of course, the semantics can be feminine if reference is exclusively to females.

³⁴These oblique cases have gender syncretism.

(65) *Agreement Possibilities with deca (from Corbett (1983a: 81)):*

	attributive	predicate	relative pronoun	personal pronoun
Nominative	fem sg/nt pl	[fem sg]/nt pl	[fem sg]/nt pl	[fem sg]/nt pl <i>or</i> masc pl
Accusative	fem sg	-	fem sg	masc pl/[fem pl]/nt pl
Other oblique	fem sg	-	fem sg <i>or</i> masc pl/[fem pl]/nt pl	masc pl/[fem pl]/nt pl

Note: “/” indicates alternative analyses for a single form. “*or*” is used when different forms occur. [] signifies an alternative to be rejected.³⁵

(66) *Interpretation of Agreements with deca (from Corbett (1983a: 85)):*

	attributive	predicate	relative pronoun	personal pronoun
Nominative	fem sg/(nt pl)	nt pl	nt pl	nt pl <i>or</i> masc pl
Accusative	fem sg	-	fem sg	nt pl/masc pl
Other oblique	fem sg	-	fem sg <i>or</i> nt pl	nt pl/masc pl

Note: “/” indicates alternative analyses for a single form. “*or*” is used when different forms occur. () indicates a possible but less likely alternative.

Combining Corbett’s typological generalisations with the theoretical constructs presented so far, we arrive at the picture in (67), where we try to ascertain if concord or index is active in a given domain, and, if so, whether the relevant feature agrees in a distributive, overlay or resolved manner.

³⁵Due to this range of options (F.SG, NT.PL, M.PL), Corbett (1983a: 81, 1986: 1015) concedes that it is inadequate to talk merely of syntactic and semantic agreement – it is therefore a good idea to keep the four-way distinction between declension class, concord features, index features and semantics developed by Wechsler and Zlatić (2003). Since the non-nominative relative pronoun can be unambiguously feminine, Corbett (1983a: 84) has to make the stipulation that his hierarchy only works for the nominative case.

(67) *Agreement patterns in Serbian/Croatian:*

+ attested/preferred; ? possible (maybe); ?? unlikely; – impossible

C O N C O R D			I N D E X			
Distributive	Resolved	Overlay	Distributive	Resolved	Overlay	
?	??	+	??	+	??	Pre-modifying adjectives or determiners
(cf. the det. in B) ³⁶	(cf. C) ³⁷	(cf. E)	(cf. B; if the det. is Nt.Pl)	(cf. D)	(cf. B; if the det. is Nt.Pl)	
+		?	?	+	+	Relative pronouns
(cf. F)		(cf. F) ³⁸	(cf. (17) above)		(cf. A)	
??	?	??	?	+	+	Predicative participles and adjectives (primary predicates)
(cf. B; if <i>odrodila</i> is F.Sg)	(cf. C)	(if the participle in B is F.Sg)	(cf. B)	(cf. M.PL predicate in B)	(cf. NT.PL predicate in B)	

The letters “A, B, C, D, E, F” refer to the following examples which have been discussed above (respectively in (33), (28), (60), (59), (36) and (42)).

- A. *Tinejdžer-i i deca koj-a sluša-ju muziku*
 Teenager(M)-PL and children who-NT.PL listen.to-3PL music
 ‘Teenagers and children who listen to music’
- B. *Moj-a deca i unučad su se odrodi-l-a/-i*
 my-F.SG children and grandchildren AUX.3PL REFL become.estranged-PPRT-NT.PL/M.PL
 ‘My children and grandchildren have become estranged.’
- C. *Mlad-e gospođic-e i gospoda³⁹ su se odazva-l-e*
 young-F.PL lady(F)-PL and gentlemen AUX.3PL REFL respond-PPRT-F.PL
 ‘The young ladies and gentlemen responded’
- D. *dobr-i deca i unučad*
 good-M.PL children and grandchildren
- E. *Njen otac i majk-a*
 her[M.SG] father(M)[SG] and mother(F)-SG
- F. *opasnost za naš-u dic-u i unučad koj-u moramo...*
 danger for our-ACC.F.SG children(F)-ACC.SG & grandchildren who-ACC.F.SG we.must...

We repeat the same table in (68), leaving out the unlikely interpretations, in line with

³⁶As pointed out above, positing distributive concord on NP-internal targets in Serbian/Croatian is actually redundant because of the existence of closest-conjunct concord agreement. What masquerades as distributive agreement is more economically handled as another case of closest-conjunct agreement in which the controllers just happen to match in gender. Nevertheless, we leave the distributive analysis open. The same might apply to the outlier distributive pattern left in (69).

³⁷The attributive target in example C probably only imposes agreement constraints on the first conjunct.

³⁸The distributive analysis is preferred to one in terms of closest-conjunct agreement, because the online searches only produced results in which both nominal controllers shared the relevant concord features.

³⁹The noun *gospoda* also has mismatched concord and index. Its concord is F.Sg, so the F.Pl predicate can only agree with what would be the resolved concord feature (see previous sections).

the preceding discussion. In (69), we only give the preferred analyses of the data, without the question marks, which were the topic of Section 6.

(68) *Agreement patterns in Serbian/Croatian (second version):*

+ preferred ? possible (maybe)

C O N C O R D			I N D E X			
Distributive	Resolved	Overlay	Distributive	Resolved	Overlay	
?		+		+		Pre-modifying adjectives or determiners
+		?	?	+	+	Relative pronouns
	?		?	+	+	Predicative participles and adjectives

(69) *Agreement patterns in Serbian/Croatian (streamlined version):*

C O N C O R D			I N D E X			
Distributive	Resolved	Overlay	Distributive	Resolved	Overlay	
		+		+		Pre-modifying adjectives or determiners
+				+	+	Relative pronouns
				+	+	Participles (primary predicates)

Essentially, (69) shows that index in Serbian/Croatian can undoubtedly agree in a closest-conjunct manner, as well as in a resolved manner. We also saw evidence that it can agree in a furthest-conjunct manner. Concord, on the other hand, can certainly participate in single-conjunct agreement in the attributive domain, which makes the distributive pattern redundant there. The situation might be different with relative pronouns which pick out the concord features of the antecedent. Our research so far has revealed that they seem to require all conjuncts to have the same properties, but more work is needed to verify this. In addition, we confirmed that both concord

and index can be active NP-internally. All of these possibilities are covered by the revised formalism we presented in Section 5. In addition, there were some indications that concord might be active outside of NPs – this we leave for future investigations. The material either suggests that resolving concord is disallowed or there are equally convincing alternative explanations. We therefore do not envisage including resolving concord in our model for the time being.

8. Conclusion

After examining a variety of Slavonic agreement patterns, Corbett (1986: 999, 1988b: 27) draws the following conclusion:

‘The data from agreement with conjoined noun phrases require a theory to incorporate the following: resolution rules or their equivalent [...] to cover the cases where agreement is with all the conjuncts; the ability to identify the conjunct nearest the predicate, when agreement is with one conjunct only. [...] For some languages there is the additional requirement that it must be possible to identify the first conjunct’. We believe that our model addresses all these points and provides an adequate solution.

CHAPTER 3

Factors Affecting the Choice of Agreement Pattern

1. Introduction

Grammatical agreement is not based on purely morpho-syntactic properties. Non-grammatical factors often make their presence felt, and a model of agreement which purports to be able to account for real-language phenomena must have a mechanism for dealing with such external constraints. In the present chapter, we make a case for this by using material from Bulgarian (South Slavic). Before turning to Bulgarian, however, we will look at how such problems have been tackled in previous work. We will then outline the relevant characteristics of Bulgarian NPs in relation to coordination and agreement, as well as the normative position on what the agreement patterns with coordinated nouns should be. We will go on to present naturally occurring Bulgarian data, as well as data obtained through fieldwork, demonstrating interesting variation which seems to be influenced by the animacy of the controllers, among other possible factors. After analysing our results, we will give pointers to some typological literature on animacy as a semantic category affecting agreement and focus on the status of animacy in Slavic in general, and Bulgarian in particular. At the end of the chapter we will explore potential ways of incorporating our empirical findings into the LFG model which has been endorsed here.

2. Previous Work on Semantic Factors which Influence Agreement: Natural and Accidental Coordination

The behaviour of adjectives in Finnish poses a challenge for the constraint-based theory of coordination and agreement described in previous chapters. Apparently, a plural adjective is grammatical with conjoined singular nouns in some cases but disallowed in others. The distribution of the singular and plural adjectives is governed by the distinction between what is termed natural and accidental coordination (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006)). Natural coordination implies a salient and close relation between two nouns which often appear together, as for example *man and woman* do (Wälchli (2005: 1), Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 825)). On the other hand, a pairing of nouns which are not often placed side by side (e.g. *house and pet*) is called accidental coordination (cf. Haspelmath (2004b: 12-3)).

It is important to emphasise that the division between natural and accidental coordination is a semantic one, which, however, seems to be reflected in the syntax of certain languages. In German, for instance, it is possible to leave out determiners in cases of natural coordination (1), while this is generally discouraged with accidental coordination (2), similarly to what we observe in English *husband and wife* (cf. Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 831) and Heycock and Zamparelli (2003)).

- (1) *Natural coordination in German*
Sonne und Mond
sun and moon
'the sun and the moon' [Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 831)]
- (2) *Accidental coordination in German*
der Mond und ein Sechser
the moon and a sixpence
'the moon and sixpence' [Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 831)]

The Bulgarian subordinator/complementiser (COMP) *da/da* and the English infinitival marker *to* can be omitted from the second conjunct if it is regularly found in the company of the first (*read and write*), but not if the verbs are not typical collocates (*read and swim*); this is illustrated in (3) and (4) for Bulgarian, as well as

(5) and (6) for English (Wälchli (2005: 11)). However, there are Bulgarian counterexamples, in which the subordinator *да/da* is missing from what is arguably accidental coordination (see (7)). This goes to show that the boundaries delimiting the two categories are not set in stone, and the regularities identified are more akin to tendencies than to hard and fast rules.

(3)

<i>На тригодишн-а</i>	<i>възраст</i>	<i>Иван</i>	<i>вече</i>	<i>можеше</i>	<i>да</i>	<i>чете</i>	<i>и</i>	<i>пише</i>
Na trigodišn-a	vǎzrast	Ivan	veče	možeše	da	čete	i	piše
on three-year.ADJ-F.SG	age(F)[SG]	Ivan	already	could	COMP	read	and	write

‘Ivan could already read and write when he was three years old’. [Wälchli (2005: 11)]

(4)

<i>На тригодишн-а</i>	<i>възраст</i>	<i>Иван</i>	<i>вече</i>	<i>можеше</i>
Na trigodišn-a	vǎzrast	Ivan	veče	možeše
on three-year.ADJ-F.SG	age(F)[SG]	Ivan	already	could

<i>да</i>	<i>чете</i>	<i>и</i>	<i>да</i>	<i>плува</i>
da	čete	i	da	pluva
COMP	read	and	COMP	swim

‘Ivan could already read and swim when he was three years old’. [Wälchli (2005: 11)]

(5) *He was able to read and write*

(6) *He was able to read and to swim.*

(7)	<i>Винаги</i>	<i>бя-ха</i>	<i>нащрек</i>
	Vinagi	bja-xa	naštrek
	Always	be-PAST.3PL	careful

<i>да</i>	<i>не</i>	<i>се</i>	<i>хван-ат</i>	<i>на</i>	<i>въдиц-а-та</i>	<i>и</i>	<i>стан-ат</i>	<i>за</i>	<i>смях</i>
da	ne	se	xvan-at	na	vǎdic-a-ta	i	stan-at	za	smjax
COMP	NEG	REFL	get.caught-3PL	on	line(F)-SG-DEF	and	become-3PL	for	laughter

‘They were always on the lookout lest someone should pull their leg and they should become a laughing stock’ [Dimitrova (1985: 24)]

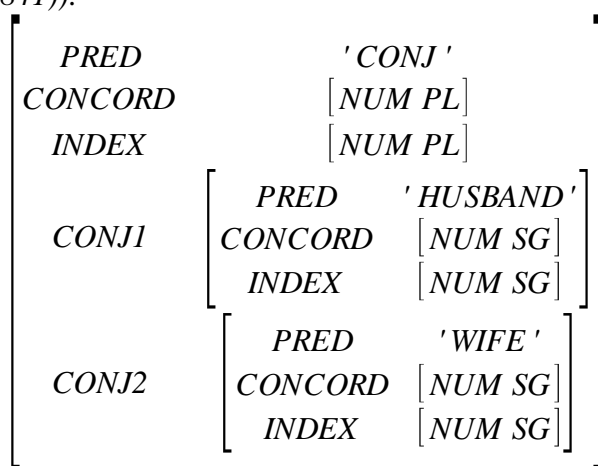
In addition, natural and accidental coordination are structure-specific, as becomes evident from comparing two analogous constructions: *be able to* is sensitive to the distinction, but *can* is not: cf. *He could read and write/could read and swim* (Wälchli (2005: 11)).

Similarly to German, Bulgarian and English, the semantic difference between the two types of coordination can be significant in certain grammatical environments in Finnish¹. Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 825) report that in Finnish, plural adjectives are acceptable with two naturally coordinated singular nouns, but not with two accidentally coordinated ones. In order to explain the behaviour of these attributive targets, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 840) start from the premise that they require both index and concord agreement; this means that conjoined singular nouns cannot be modified by a plural target, unless index and concord match. Consequently, neither a singular nor a plural adjective can occur (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 841)). A plural adjective is inappropriate because the NP has singular concord. A singular adjective is likewise ruled out because of the plural index of the coordinate unit as a whole.

Most pertinent to the present study, however, is the explanation for the fact that plural targets are licit with naturally coordinated singular controllers. It is assumed that Finnish specifies a separate functional structure for natural coordination – a functional structure which in some ways resembles that of a simple plural noun (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 841)). Since pairings like *brother and sister* often go together, they are perceived as a compound-like entity with plural reference. Finnish typical nominal collocates are therefore believed to possess plural concord and index (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 842)). A plural adjective is thus licensed, because concord and index are aligned. The f-structure Dalrymple and Nikolaeva propose for natural coordination is given in Fig 1.

¹For other ways in which natural and accidental coordination can be reflected in grammatical constructions in various languages, see Heycock and Zamaprelli (2003), Haspelmath (2004b), Heath (2004), Corbett (1983a), Bhat (2004), Lord and Craig (2004), and Moyse-Faurie and Lynch (2004).

Fig. 1: *F-structure for natural coordination (from Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 841)):*



The absence of curly brackets around the f-structures of the two spouses in Fig. 1 captures the fact that natural coordination is normally restricted to two conjuncts, while accidental coordination can in principle contain an unlimited number of conjuncts (and is therefore represented as a set enclosed within curly brackets) (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 841-2); cf. Kuhn and Sadler (2007)).

Having thus briefly outlined the effects which the semantic distinction between natural and accidental coordination can have on agreement patterns, as well as how those effects can be expressed in the formalism, we now turn to a description of some relevant features of the Bulgarian noun phrase, laying the groundwork for the discussion of our Bulgarian data in subsequent sections.

3. Coordination and Agreement in Bulgarian

3.1. The Bulgarian Noun Phrase

In Bulgarian, what might initially seem to be erratic vacillation between alternative syntactic agreement patterns, upon closer inspection turns out to be at least in part influenced by semantic factors. This is what we established for Finnish above. However, there is still no neat formal solution to account for the Bulgarian variation, comparable to the postulation of different f-structures proposed for Finnish by Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006). We will revisit this issue at the end of the chapter.

Like its Slavic relatives, Bulgarian is a grammatical-gender and subject-null (pro-drop) language, but unlike most other members of the Slavic family, it lacks declension types for the noun system (Osenova (2003: 1)). That is why we will only be looking at gender and number agreement, as there is no agreement in case² (this sets Bulgarian apart from Serbian/Croatian, which was the object of investigation in the previous chapter). The Bulgarian Noun Phrase is similar to its English counterpart in that it has pre-posed determiners followed by optional pre-modifying adjectives and the head noun. Determiners usually come before the head, with the exception of the enclitic possessive pronouns and the definite article, which is a suffix attached to the first nominal element in the string (cf. Osenova (2008: 57))³. Although adjectives normally precede the noun, it is also possible to find them post-posed (cf. Scatton (1993: 223-4))⁴.

Dependent elements agree in number and gender with the head noun (cf. Brezinski (1988b: 84)). In the singular, agreement targets distinguish between the

²A somewhat artificial distinction is still made in the written standard language between the nominative and non-nominative cases of the masculine definite article, but this only survives in the formal written style and is not observed by most speakers.

³Although we choose to term it a suffix, the Bulgarian definite article can be regarded either as a suffix or as a clitic-like phrasal affix (cf. Osenova (2008: 147)). More discussion of the article will follow in later sections.

⁴For more detailed information on word order in the Bulgarian NP, see Brezinski (1988a), Brezinski (1995: 180-92) and Osenova (2008). For gender and number, see Molhova (1992: 68-114).

masculine (8), feminine (9), and neuter (10) genders. However, the gender distinction collapses in the plural. Plural determiners and modifiers are marked in the same way, irrespective of the gender of the controller⁵ (cf. (11), (12) and (13)).

- (8) *този дървен стол*
 tozi dărven stol
 this.M.SG wooden[M.SG] chair(M)[SG]
 ‘this wooden chair’ [invented by author]
- (9) *тази дървен-а мас-а*
 тази dărven-a mas-a
 this.F.SG wooden-F.SG table(F)-SG
 ‘this wooden table’ [invented by author]
- (10) *това дървен-о легл-о*
 това dărven-o legl-o
 this.NT.SG wooden-NT.SG bed(NT)-SG
 ‘this wooden bed’ [invented by author]
- (11) *тези дървен-и стол-ове*
 тези dărven-i stol-ove
 this.PL wooden-PL chair(M)-PL
 ‘these wooden chairs’ [invented by author]
- (12) *тези дървен-и мас-и*
 тези dărven-i mas-i
 this.PL wooden-PL table(F)-PL
 ‘these wooden tables’ [invented by author]
- (13) *тези дървен-и легл-а*
 тези dărven-i legl-a
 this.PL wooden-PL bed(NT)-PL
 ‘these wooden beds’ [invented by author]

3.2. Agreement with Conjoined Nouns in Bulgarian

Agreement is more complicated in the context of coordination. The focus here will be placed on singular conjuncts, to the exclusion of plural ones, which are more straightforward due to the lack of gender distinctions in the plural. One strategy involves opting for a plural determiner which has scope over two singular controllers, as illustrated in (14).

- (14) *тези момче и момиче*
 тези момче и момиче
 this.PL boy(NT)[SG] and girl(NT)[SG]
 literally: ‘these boy and girl’ (meaning: ‘this boy and girl’) [web]⁶

⁵We ignore the various plural endings of nouns, as well as the definite article. Some exceptions, including certain numerals, will be considered below. See Molhova (1992: 78) and the references cited there for evidence that plural nouns keep their gender (the Bulgarian equivalent of *each/every* agrees in gender with plural antecedents, too; cf. example (62) in Chapter 5, Section 7.3)

The index features seem to be active in the attributive domain in (14), where a pairing of singular controllers is compatible with a plural target. Although neither of the nouns is itself plural, the resolved index of the coordinated phrase is (i.e. there is more than one member in total), which justifies the choice of *these*⁷. However, a singular determiner is also fine in this case, without any change in meaning, as confirmed in (15).

- (15) *това момче и момиче*
 tova momče i momiče
 this.NT.SG boy(NT)[SG] and girl(NT)[SG]
 ‘this boy and girl’ [web]

Since the words for boy and girl in (15) are both neuter, it is unclear whether the neuter demonstrative is interested in both of them or only one of them (cf. Corbett (1988b: 25-6) for a discussion of similar data from Russian). If the nouns differ in their number and/or gender, a singular target will formally agree just with the conjunct closest to it. In (16), we find a sequence of a masculine and a feminine noun preceded by a masculine determiner, while (17) shows what happens if the order is reversed.

- (16) *този гланц и белот-а*
 tozi glanc i belot-a
 this.M.SG sheen(M)[SG] and whiteness(F)-SG
 ‘this sheen and whiteness’ [web]

- (17) *тази книг-а и компактдиск са...*
 тази knjig-a i kompaktdisk sa...
 this.F.SG book(F)-SG and CD(M)[SG] be.PRES.3PL...
 ‘This book and CD are...’ [web]

⁶See Appendix I and Appendix II for the sources.

⁷There are indications that masculine plus feminine resolves to masculine. Although we cannot really tell with most plural targets, some numerals have three forms: a) for groups of male persons; b) for masculine nouns; and c) for feminine or neuter plural nouns (see Section 7 below for more details). Only the masculine personal form is acceptable with a combination of a masculine personal and a feminine noun, as shown in (i) (thanks are due to A. Stoevsky for pointing this out to me; also cf. Stoevsky (2001) on anthropocentrism and androcentrism).

(i) *Джон и Мери и дв-а-ма-та* /**дв-е-те*
 John i Mary i dv-a-ma-ta /*dv-e-te
 John and Mary and both-M-PSNL-DEF/*both-F/NT-DEF
 ‘both John and Mary’

An important thing to note about examples (16) and (17) is that, while the target formally mimics the leftmost controller, at the same time it takes scope over both of them. This is verified by the fact that the second conjunct has no other determiner – i.e. *this* is the only determiner in the phrase and therefore it must apply to both nouns (regardless of whose features it superficially matches). A noun can appear with no overt determiner in Bulgarian, but then the interpretation is usually indefinite. If *kompaktdisk* ‘CD’ is left bare, without an article or a demonstrative pronoun, it will mean ‘a CD’, but this reading is unavailable in (17), where *CD* can only have specific reference. There are also coordinations involving two fully fledged phrases, with each head accompanied by its own determiner which agrees with it in number and gender, as demonstrated in (18).

- (18) *този бюлетин и подписка-а-ма*
 tozi bjuletin i podpisk-a-ta
 this.M.SG ballot.paper(M)[SG] and petition(F)-SG-DEF.F.SG
 ‘this ballot paper and the petition’ [web]

Unlike (16) and (17), *this* in (18) is only compatible with the first noun, both in terms of syntactic features and in terms of semantic scope (cf. Osenova (2004)). The other head, *подписка/подписка* ‘petition’, has its own definite article *-ma/-ta* (=the) suffixed to it – *подписка-а-ма/подписка-а-та*. We cannot say **мазу подписката/*тази подписката* ‘this the.petition’. The pattern in (18) is a coordination of two full noun phrases. We will be exclusively investigating cases such as (16) and (17), where the coordinated elements share a target, ignoring the pattern in (18)⁸.

Irrespective of the agreement within the noun phrase, the subject-verb agreement triggered by it is normally plural, as predicted by Corbett’s hierarchies. In (19), there is a singular determiner but a plural verb, whereas in (20), resolved features are marked both on the verb and on the possessive pronoun. Although

⁸One could surmise that the second conjunct in (16) and (17) in fact has an invisible ellipted determiner, so that we are after all dealing with two complete noun phrases, rather than a combination of two sub-phrasal nouns that share a determiner. There are reasons to reject this speculation which are given in Chapter 4.

conjoined subjects generally take plural verbs, the singular is not ruled out either, especially when the conjuncts are thought of as a unit, as in (21) (Scatton (1993: 227)).

(19)

<i>Мо-[й]-ят</i>	<i>дяд-о</i>	<i>и</i>	<i>баб-а</i>	<i>са</i>	<i>би-л-и...</i>
Mo-[j]-jat	djad-o	i	bab-a	sa	bi-l-i...
my-M.SG-DEF	grandfather(M)-SG	and	grandmother(F)-SG	AUX.3PL	be-PPRT-PL
'My grandfather and grandmother were...'				[web]	

(20)

<i>Мо-и-те</i>	<i>баб-а</i>	<i>и</i>	<i>дяд-о</i>	<i>са</i>	<i>много</i>	<i>добр-и</i>
Mo-i-te	bab-a	i	djad-o	sa	mnogo	dobr-i
my-PL-DEF	grandmother(F)-SG	and	grandfather(M)-SG	be.3PL	very	good-PL
'My grandmother and grandfather are very good.'				[web]		

(21) *в колата* *екна* *смях* *и* *кикот*
v kolata ekna smjax i kikot
'in the.car (there) resounded[3.SG] laughter(M)[SG] and giggling(M)[SG]'⁹
[Scatton (1993: 227)]

So far, we have established the existence of the following agreement patterns with two conjoined singular nouns in Bulgarian:

- the attributive target either picks out the resolved features of the coordinate phrase as a whole or the features of the closest conjunct;
- the verb agreeing with a coordinate subject is normally plural, but it can also be singular in certain circumstances.

Our concern here will be confined to NP-internal agreement, with the NP-external domain left for future work. Having listed these possibilities, one might wonder what governs the choice between the two alternatives available to attributive targets. Linguists and prescriptive grammarians express a preference either for closest-conjunct agreement or for repeating the target, with plural attributive elements criticised as unnatural (Popov (1974: 158ff); Popov (1988: 88ff); Osenova (2004)). Despite normative pronouncements to that effect, however, both the resolved and the

⁹An alternative interpretation would be that the subject is actually not "laughing and giggling", but the prepositional phrase. This remains to be ascertained with tests for subjecthood.

- (24) *мъж* *и* *жен-а*^{10, 11}
 mǎž i žen-a
 man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG
 ‘a man and a woman’

Crucially, a search for ‘my grandfather and grandmother’ returns 23 results with a plural *my* and 3 with a singular *my*, which means that assigning resolved determiners to human nouns is at best a tendency (see (25)).

- (25) *мо-[ъ]-ят/мо-и-те* *дя̀д-о*¹² *и* *ба̀б-а*
 mo-[j]-jat/mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a
 my-M.SG-DEF/my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG
 ‘my grandfather and grandmother’

The situation gets even more complicated if one looks for the frequencies of the Bulgarian equivalent of *this/these boy and girl* – at the time of writing, there are three attestations of a singular demonstrative pronoun, as in (26), and only one of a plural pronoun, as in (27).

- (26) *това* *момче* *и* *момиче*
 tova momče i momiče
 this.NT.SG boy(NT)[SG] and girl(NT)[SG] [3 instances on the web]
- (27) *тези* *момче* *и* *момиче*
 tezi momče i momiče
 this.PL boy(NT)[SG] and girl(NT)[SG] [1 instance on the web]

This is contrary to what would be expected from establishing a tendency for pairings of singular human nouns to take plural targets. The fact that both

¹⁰If the attributive element is *един/edin* ‘one’, which inflects for gender and number like an adjective, the hits with singular ‘one’ by far outnumber the hits with plural ‘one’. It is believed that this is due to the semantic nature of the target itself. More discussion appears below.

¹¹The opposition between personal and non-personal is important on the animacy scale. If, instead of *man and woman*, we have names like *John and Mary*, the only option is a resolved plural target, as shown in (i) (A. Stoevsky, (p.c.)).

(i) *тези/*този Джон и Мери*
 tezi/*tozi Džon i Meri
 ‘these/*this John and Mary’

It seems that, the more individuated two nouns are, the more likely they are to get resolved agreement, with proper nouns being more individuated than common nouns, which places them above the cut-off point above which single-conjunct agreement becomes ungrammatical (see Yamamoto (1999) for more on animacy and individuation, as well as Comrie (1989: 199); cf. Eggert (2002: 93, 162-3) for similar observations about English).

¹²In terms of declension, realised via the plural suffixes and/or the definite articles that they take, the lexemes *дя̀до/djado* ‘grandfather’ and *ба̀ща/bašta* ‘father’ behave like a neuter and a feminine noun, respectively. However, both of them control masculine agreement, which makes them grammatically masculine. We will come back to this later in the chapter (cf. Molhova (1992: 20, 76, Chapter IV)).

conjuncts in (26) and (27) are neuter makes resolution (plural) less likely and at the same time encourages the use of a neuter singular determiner which can easily be perceived as applying to both the boy and the girl. Note that all but three of our examples in Table 1 below feature nouns with heterogeneous genders; a difference in gender seems to foster increased resolution; by contrast, if the conjuncts belong to the same gender class, a singular matching target appears to be preferred. Some of the controllers from Table 1 below which have a relatively high percentage of singular agreement share a gender: *момче и момиче/момче и момиче* ‘boy and girl’ (both neuter) and *баца и син/баца и син* ‘father and son’ (both masculine). Nevertheless, the femininity of *мајка и даштерја* ‘mother and daughter’ has not led to a high number of feminine singular targets. In other cases, the high incidence of single-conjunct agreement is due to targets like *each* and *one*. They impose special requirements which will be discussed in more detail later on. In general, it can be concluded that naturally coordinated, singular, animate nouns which differ in gender *tend* to go with plural determiners (as long as they are not preceded by some exceptional targets such as *edin* ‘one’), as demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Coordinated animate nouns in Bulgarian attested on the web:

SG PL					SG PL		
This _{SG} /these _{PL} woman _F	man _M	and	0	7	This _{SG} /these _{PL} father _M and son _M ¹³	2	3
This _{SG} /these _{PL} woman _F ¹⁴	man _M	and	3	17	This _{SG} /these _{PL} mother _F and daughter _F (follow-up search)	1	4
This _{SG} /these _{PL} sister _F	brother _M	and	0	5	My _{SG} /my _{PL} grandfather _M and grandmother _F	3	23
This _{SG} /these _{PL} daughter _F	son _M	and	0	1	This _{SG} /these _{PL} boy _{NT} and girl _{NT}	3	1
This _{SG} /these _{PL} daughter _F	mother _F	and	0	2	Sg/Pl target + man _M and child _{NT} ¹⁵	3	1
Sg/Pl target + and young girl _F	young man _M		5	8			

By contrast, conjoined singular nouns with inanimate referents tend to prefer singular determiners or pre-modifiers which only match the features of the closest conjunct. There is one instance of a singular target for each of the phrases repeated in (28) and (29), with no plural targets found with the same nouns.

- (28) *тази вилиц-а и лъжиц-а*
 тази vilic-a i lăžic-a
 this.F.SG fork(F)-SG and spoon(F)-SG
 ‘this fork and spoon’ [web]
- (29) *канцеларск-о бюр-о и стол*
 kancelarsk-o bjur-o i stol
 office-NT.SG desk(NT)-SG and chair(M)[SG]
 ‘an office desk and [office] chair’ [web]

Likewise, the controllers in (30) occur nine times with a singular pre-modifying adjective, and never with a plural one. On seven occasions, the conjuncts

¹³It is worth mentioning that one of the two occurrences of a singular determiner with “father and son” is in a religious context, being an obvious allusion to the Holy Trinity; in other words, the form of the determiner may have been influenced by the singular reference of the coordinate phrase.

¹⁴A follow-up survey with the same parameters was carried out for ‘this/these man and woman’ and ‘this/these mother and daughter’ about a year after the initial one. This time the Internet yielded more examples: we found some singular determiners but the overall tendency to use a plural determiner was confirmed.

¹⁵The numerous singulars might be due to the fact that ‘man and child’ is not a typical collocation. At least two of the singular instances arouse suspicion as they involve determiners like *no* or *one*, which do not behave like other targets (see below). Similarly, all the singular targets with ‘young man and young girl’ are *one* or *each/every*.

in (31) are used with a singular target (e.g. a black-F.SG blouse(F)-SG and skirt(F)-SG), against none on which they agree with a plural word. There are five hits for (32), which has a singular pre-modifier, with no instances of (33), which is the same phrase but with a plural pre-modifier.

- (30) *пушк-а* *и* *пистолет*
 pušk-a i pistolet
 rifle(F)-SG and pistol(M)[SG]
- (31) *блуз-а* *и* *пол-а*
 bluz-a i pol-a
 blouse(F)-SG and skirt(F)-SG
- (32) *нов-а* *къщ-а* *и* *кол-а*
 nov-a kăšt-a i kol-a
 new-F.SG house(F)-SG and car(F)-SG
 ‘a new house and car’ [5 instances on the web]
- (33) *нов-и* *къщ-а* *и* *кол-а*
 nov-i kăšt-a i kol-a
 new-PL house(F)-SG and car(F)-SG
 ‘a new house and car’ [0 instances on the web]

In many of the above cases involving inanimates, the preference for singular targets might come from the fact that the conjuncts belong to the same gender. However, not all of them do, so there must be a correlation between inanimacy and single-conjunct agreement. Trawling through more material suggests that this is only a tendency too. The nouns in (34), for example, appear six times with a singular pre-modifying adjective, but there is also an instance where they admit a plural adjective¹⁶.

- (34) *тетрадк-а* *и* *химикалк-а*
 tetradk-a i ximikalk-a
 notebook(F)-SG and pen(F)-SG

Similarly, if one googles (35), a combination of inanimates with a plural determiner, one gets sixty results. Nevertheless, despite the sixty results, the same phrase, but with

¹⁶It should be noted that the plural adjective in this example was the equivalent of English *chaste*, which is not normally predicated of inanimate objects (see (i)). It seems that the notebook and pen are, as it were, personified, confirming the tendency to use plural pre-modifiers with animate conjuncts.

(i) *целомъдрен-и-те* *тетрадк-а* *и* *химикалк-а*
 celomădren-i-te tetradk-a i ximikalk-a
 chaste-PL-DEF notebook(F)-SG and pen(F)-SG
 ‘the chaste notebook and pen’

a singular determiner, as in (36), boasts ten times more hits – 603. So, inanimate controllers like to be in the company of singular determiners or pre-modifiers, as shown in Table 2.

- (35) *ваш-и-те име и фамилия*
 vaš-i-te ime i famili-ja
 your-PL-DEF.PL name(NT)[SG] and surname(F)-SG [60 hits on the web]¹⁷
- (36) *ваш-е-то име и фамилия*
 vaš-e-to ime i famili-ja
 your-NT.SG-DEF.NT.SG name(NT)[SG] and surname(F)-SG [603 hits on the web]

Table 2. Coordinated inanimate nouns in Bulgarian attested on the web

	SG	PL		SG	PL
This _{SG} /these _{PL} fork _F and spoon _F ¹⁸	1	0	Sg/Pl target + love _F and marriage _M	10	0
Sg/Pl adj + desk _{NT} and chair _M	1	0	Sg/Pl target + rain _M and wind _M ¹⁹	19	1
Sg/Pl adj + rifle _F and pistol _M	9	0	Heavy _{SG} /heavy _{PL} rain _M and wind _M	11,200	0
Sg/Pl adj + blouse _F and skirt _F	7	0	Sg/Pl target + soul _F and body _{NT}	13	4
New _{SG} /new _{PL} house _F and car _F	5	0	Sg/Pl target + [...], soul _F and body _{NT}	4	1
This _{SG} /these _{PL} box _F and [-animate]	2	0	Sg/Pl target + heart _{NT} and soul _F	41	0
Sg/Pl adj + notebook _F and pen _F	6	1	Sg/Pl target + appearance _M and condition _{NT}	16	3
Sg/Pl adj + church _F and school _{NT}	1	0	Sg/Pl target + sun _{NT} and moon _F ²⁰	6	9
Nice _{SG} /nice _{PL} bag _F and coat _{NT} ²¹	1	0	Friday _{SG} /Friday _{PL} day _M and night _F	1	0
Your _{SG} /your _{PL} name _{NT} and surname _F	603	60	That _{SG} /those _{PL} day _M and night _F	1	0
This _{SG} /these _{PL} day _M and night _F ²²	4	1			

¹⁷The high percentage of plural determiners with *име и фамилия/ime i familija* ‘name and surname’ may be attributed to two factors. Firstly, this is a natural coordination of two nouns which go together very often (as demonstrated by their frequency on the Internet). At the same time, all the other inanimate pairs here are typical collocates, too, but they evince no comparable predilection for plural targets. Secondly, the pronominal status of the determiner might have boosted the number of plural targets. More in-depth discussion of this is postponed until the next section.

¹⁸There are at least two reasons for closest-conjunct agreement here – the conjuncts are inanimate and belong to the same gender class. This goes for all same-gender nouns in the table.

¹⁹In Bulgarian, the adjective *silen* (translated as ‘heavy’) takes scope over both nouns. A more idiomatic English translation of *silen dăžd i vjatar* ‘heavy[M.SG] rain(M)[SG] and wind(M)[SG]’ would be ‘strong wind and heavy rain’.

²⁰At present I have no watertight explanation why ‘sun and moon’ does not follow the general trend. It is worth mentioning that, when they trigger resolved agreement, the two celestial bodies are often capitalised and invested with supernatural powers.

²¹It is not absolutely certain that the target here takes scope over the second conjunct.

‘Body and soul’ from the table above is very difficult to pigeonhole, because it so to speak straddles the divide between animacy and inanimacy (similarly to non-human animal nouns, to which we will shortly turn). It is unclear if the reference is to something that is alive according to language users’ perception of the extra-linguistic world: bodies and souls are not “complete” beings like people or deities, but at the same time they are metaphorically seen as “holding” or “serving as containers” of life, and are therefore not on a par with an ordinary object or abstract concept. Interestingly, this seems to be reflected in their agreement patterns, as evidenced by the relatively high percentage of plural targets.

It is informative to draw a comparison between ‘body and soul’ (which in Bulgarian is actually ‘soul and body’), and ‘heart and soul’. The latter has over forty singular targets, and no plural ones. Whereas the arguably “more animate” conjunct, namely ‘soul’, comes first in ‘soul and body’, it comes second in ‘heart and soul’. We have once again discovered that constituent order might play a part in determining the choice of agreement pattern (cf. example (29) (incl. the footnote) in Chapter 2 on Serbian/Croatian). It should also be noted that the majority of singular hits with ‘heart and soul’ are due to the frequent occurrences of the fixed expression “*ot cjaloto si sārce i duša*” ‘from my whole.NT.SG heart.NT.SG and soul.F.SG’, meaning ‘from the bottom of my heart’, ‘sincerely’. In addition, the semantic nature of the adjective ‘whole’ must have thrown its weight behind the singular. And yet, there were

²²If the target is *eduh/edin* ‘one, some’, which is inflected for number and gender like an adjective, we come across nine tokens of *one.SG day and night*, vs. none of *?one.PL day and night*, whose grammaticality would actually be doubtful (similarly, *цѝлѝ/?*цѝли ден и ноуц/цѝл/?*celi den i nošt* entire.M.SG/?*PL day and night ‘all day and night’). As has already been pointed out, the preponderance of the singular is due not only to the inanimate nature of the controllers, but also to the semantics of the target. This much emerges if parallels are drawn with *one.SG/one.PL man and woman*, where searches also produce more singular than plural examples, but the plural is attested as well. We believe that, in the case of *one night and day*, the inanimate nature of the controllers and the semantics of the target “conspire” in favour of the singular, whereas with *one man and woman* they work against each other. Comparable effects are reported for conjunction (*and*) vs. disjunction (*or*) (cf. Eggert (2002, ch. 2, section 3.2)).

examples like ‘my/your etc. heart and soul’, or ‘open/giant etc. heart and soul’, whose meaning would not be intrinsically averse to resolution.

So far, we have found that conjoined animates take predominantly plural targets, whereas conjoined inanimates feel happier with single-conjunct agreement. However, all the animate nouns we have been examining denote people. From the relatively scanty corpus data that we have for animals, it seems that they group with humans, rather than inanimates (cf. *Table 3*). In other words, a pairing of non-human animates also tends to co-occur with plural attributive elements, as in (37).

- (37) *u pribere v doma si svo-i-te krav-a i tele*
i pribere v doma si svo-i-te krav-a i tele
 and drive[3SG] in home own own-PL-DEF cow(F)-SG and calf(NT)[SG]
 ‘and to drive his cow and calf back home’ [web]

Table 3. *Conjoined nouns with animal referents attested on the web*²³

	SG	PL		SG	PL
Sg/Pl target + cow _F and calf _{NT}	0	2	Sg/Pl adj. + wolf _M and fox _F ²⁴	1	1
Sg/Pl target + cow _F and bull _M	0	1	Sg/Pl adj. + wolf _M and bear _F	1	1
This _{SG} /these _{PL} dog _{NT} and cat _F	0	1	Sg/Pl adj. + stag _M and doe _F ²⁵	3	0
My _{SG} /my _{PL} dog _{NT} and cat _F	0	4	Sg/Pl target + he-wolf _M and she-wolf _F	0	4

The data from Table 3 indicate that the animate category comprises both humans and animals, at least as far as agreement with conjoined nouns is concerned (more discussion to follow below). Arguably, the results for cows and horses are not as unequivocal as those for men and women, which could be due to some prototype

²³A search for *ovc-a i agne* ‘ewe(F)-SG and lamb(NT)[SG]’ produced only the phrase *vsjak-a ovc-a i agne* ‘each-F.SG ewe(F)-SG and lamb(NT)[SG]’. As already pointed out in several places, words like ‘one’ and ‘each’ behave differently from other targets in that they favour single-conjunct agreement, probably because of their meaning. In fact, distributive determiners like *vsek-i* ‘each-M.SG’ do not just favour, but require, closest-conjunct agreement in gender, imposing the additional restriction that the conjuncts should match in number (cf. Chapter 4, as well as Crockett (1976: 168, 191-2) for Russian).

²⁴The plural adjective may have been chosen because the wolf and the fox from this sentence are personified (the example was excerpted from a fairy tale).

²⁵The reversal of the trend with ‘stag and doe’ may be put down to the repetition of the same string – *svešten elen i košut-a* ‘sacred[M.SG] stag(M)[SG] and doe(F)-SG’ turns up in all three websites with results, so this could be a consequence of copying and pasting.

returned relevant sentences featuring inanimate objects or concepts (cf. Appendix I, Part 2). There were no relevant hits for (38)b. – they all contained plural nouns. In addition, we found intriguing coordinations with a singular and a plural controller, illustrated in (39) and (40). Finally, data excerpted from texts that have accidentally come to the author’s attention are listed in Appendix I, Part 3. There are no animate controllers at all, which might suggest that they are rarer than inanimate ones. Twenty-three sentences show closest-conjunct agreement, as opposed to only two recorded examples of resolution, in compliance with the trends.

- (39) *този интерес и намерени-я*
 tozi interes i namereni-ja
 this.M.SG interest(M)[SG] and intention(NT)-PL
- са добронамерен-и*
 sa dobronameren-i
 be.PRES.3PL benevolent-PL
- ‘this interest and [these] intentions are benevolent’ [web]
- (40) *този интерес и наглас-и*
 tozi interes i naglas-i
 this.M.SG interest(M)[SG] and attitude(F)-PL
- са характерн-и...*
 sa xaraktern-i...
 be.PRES.3PL typical-PL...
- ‘This interest and [these] attitudes are typical...’²⁷ [web]

To summarise, the variation in attributive agreement with conjoined singular nouns seems to be constrained by the following factors:

- the animacy of the conjuncts (animates prefer resolved plural agreement, while inanimates prefer closest-conjunct singular agreement);
- the gender of the conjuncts (same-gender conjuncts tend to take singular targets of the appropriate gender);
- the type and semantics of the target (determiner, adjectival modifier, etc.).

²⁷Note that the predicative adjective is plural in both cases, as predicted by Corbett’s Hierarchies. However, we stay within the limits of the NP domain here.

5. Presentation of Fieldwork Data (Questionnaire)

5.1. Experimental Design

The aim of the fieldwork was to confirm or refute the observations on the role played by animacy and the other factors identified above. The null hypothesis was that they had no discernable effect and the variation was random. After obtaining ethical approval from the University of Oxford, questionnaires with 33 or 34 Bulgarian sentences in which a word is missing were distributed to over 100 students between the age of 17 and 18 who spoke Standard Modern Bulgarian and came from the same region. They were asked to fill in the missing word which had to begin with the provided letter(s). The test sentences contained two conjoined singular nouns and the word that had to be inserted was either a determiner or an attributive adjectival modifier. The idea was to see what agreement choices the informants would make. The following variables were taken into account:

- the animacy of the conjuncts,
- the type of coordination (natural or accidental),
- the gender of the conjuncts (same or different),
- the type of attributive target (determiner, adjective, etc.),
- the grammatical function of the coordinate NP.

The test items were generated according to the grammatical role of the NP (subject, subject of an embedded clause, direct object, prepositional object) and according to the type of target. For each combination of grammatical role and type of target (except for two), there were three sentence templates: one with conjoined human nouns, one with animals and one with inanimates²⁸. The conjuncts within each template were transformed so as to yield three sentence tokens: the first one was with

²⁸Only inanimate nouns with concrete denotation were included, as opposed to abstract ones, in order to avoid further complications and multiplication of the test sentences.

naturally conjoined nouns identical in gender (with two or three exceptions, in which the same-gender controllers were accidental coordinations), the second with naturally conjoined nouns of different genders, and the third with accidentally conjoined nouns of different genders. In addition, the sentences were designed to be maximally similar to each other in length and in the type of verb used (including person and number features) etc.

In (41) below, we reproduce a template in which the conjoined NPs are subjects and the target is a possessive pronoun functioning as determiner (expected *my*). It tests agreement with nouns with human reference. Similar templates were created for animals and inanimates in the same grammatical role and with the same determiner, but they are not displayed here (cf. Appendix II, Part 1).

(41) *Questionnaire template sample:*

Mo_____ братче и сестриче/брат и сестра/братовчед и сестра много се грижат за мен и помагат вкъщи.

Mo_____ bratče i sestriče/brat i sestra/bratovčed i sestra mnogo se grižat za men i pomagat vkašti.

M_____ little brother and little sister (diminutive, both N)/brother and sister (M + F; natural coord.)/cousin and sister (M + F; accidental coord.) look after me a lot and help around the house.

It was hoped that manipulating the conditions in this way would ensure that any potential variation would be due to the variables isolated, and not to some extraneous factor(s) which had gone undetected. Thirty filler sentences were generated. The pool of test items was divided into twenty blocks of randomly selected three to four test sentences, where every block included at least one representative of the human, animal and inanimate categories, usually with different determiners/pre-modifiers and with different grammatical roles. The test items from each block were inserted among the fillers at numbers 6, 14 and 29 (in cases with three test sentences) or at numbers 6, 14, 24 and 30 (in cases of four test sentences). This produced twenty

versions of the questionnaire. Finally, the fillers in the even versions were rearranged (in the same way), so that participants sitting next to each other would not notice that they had nearly identical scripts, diverging in a few places only. The plan was to give every pair of students sitting at the same desk an odd and an even number of the questionnaire. After a pilot run with five participants, it was decided that three more distractors would be put in, approximately after sentences 7, 15, and 25 in a random order.

5.2. Methodological Problems

Some methodological problems were subsequently spotted, but they do not compromise the outcome of the experiment. The informants sometimes copied from each other, so it might have been more expedient to come up with totally dissimilar fillers, because, despite the rearrangement, the students realised that they were identical. In addition, the answers in the control sentences (the fillers) showed that the material had not always been read and digested carefully. Every now and then, there were corrections in the relevant test items. For instance, a singular target was crossed out and replaced by a plural one (or vice versa). This may be due either to too much conscious thinking about what the “correct” choice is, or to priming. We normally recorded the final decision in such cases.

At least some of the participants were clearly not primed, as they alternated between singular and plural targets in what seemed to be an arbitrary manner. This was welcomed as good news, meaning that the questionnaire did work. And yet, others might have been primed. There were scripts where a possessive pronoun was supplied later in the test, instead of the expected demonstrative pronoun that starts with the same letter, doubtlessly prompted by the many preceding possessive pronouns.

5.3. Results

Below we set out the material dissected according to the various criteria, and accompanied by a brief discussion of the significance of each relevant factor on the basis of the data obtained. A summary can be found in Appendix II, Parts 2 and 3.

5.3.1. Animacy

If the results are divided into three groups of nouns: humans, animals and inanimates, and then the totals for each group are computed, we end up with insightful observations correlating with the generalisations made in the previous section.

Table 5. *Results grouped according to animacy*

	SG (N)	SG (%)	PL (N)	PL (%)
Humans	57	42.2%	78	57.8%
Animals	37	37.0%	63	63.0%
Inanimates	74	53.6%	64	46.4%

As shown in *Table 5*, nouns with animate reference have a substantially higher percentage of plural targets and they pattern together. The inanimate group stands out in that the singular targets outnumber the plural ones. Over half of the attributive elements agreeing with animates are plural, whereas over half of those agreeing with inanimates are singular. This seems to be solid evidence that the importance of this variable for agreement with conjoined controllers is borne out by our experiment.

If we collapse people and animals into one joint cohort, we get the figures presented in *Table 6*. Performing a chi-square test (Dunbar (1998, ch. 10)), gives us $\chi^2 = 6.69$ and $p < 0.01$. Therefore, the null hypothesis is discarded and the results are statistically significant. In other words, the distribution in *Table 6* is unlikely to have arisen by chance (the probability of that is less than 1%).

Table 6. *Generalised scores for animate and inanimate nouns*

	SG (N)	PL (N)
Animate	94	141
Inanimate	74	64

5.3.2 Sameness of gender

Table 7. *Results grouped according to sameness of gender*

	SAME GENDER of conjuncts				DIFFERENT GENDER of conjuncts			
	SG target	SG (%)	PL target	PL (%)	SG target	SG (%)	PL target	PL (%)
Humans	28	58.3%	20	41.7%	29	33.3%	58	66.7%
Animals	16	43.2%	21	56.8%	21	33.3%	42	66.7%
Inanimates	26	61.9%	16	38.1%	48	50.0%	48	50.0%
TOTAL:	70		57		98		148	
	SG	55.1%	PL	44.9%	SG	39.8%	PL	60.2%

We now reshuffle the data to bring to the fore the grammatical gender of the conjuncts. The totals in Table 7 demonstrate that same-gender singular controllers favour a matching non-resolved target; by contrast, resolution becomes more likely in the context of heterogeneous nouns. This however, obscures some enlightening observations to be got if the results are further split into humans, animals and inanimates.

There are indications in Table 7 that the effects of animacy can be reversed if the conjuncts share a gender. Then human controllers are assigned more singular than plural targets, and it is almost a draw as far as same-gender animals are concerned. It comes as no surprise that inanimates with identical gender also receive more singular than plural targets. It is a whole other story if the nouns differ in gender (or number, as in one or two cases): then humans and animals boast an overwhelmingly higher number of plural targets, whereas inanimates have equal distributions. This again tells

us more about the repercussions of animacy than the repercussions of the coinciding features of the conjuncts. Taken on its own, however, sameness of gender is a statistically significant constraining factor, as ascertained with the Pearson chi-square test. The chi-square value for the figures from the bottom row in Table 7 is $\chi^2 = 7.9$, so it follows that the contribution of sameness of gender is not an epiphenomenon ($p=0.01$).

5.3.3. Natural and Accidental Coordination

Table 8. *Results grouped according to the type of coordination*

	NATURAL COORDINATION				ACCIDENTAL COORDINATION			
	SG targets	SG (%)	PL targets	PL (%)	SG targets	SG (%)	PL targets	PL (%)
Humans	31	42.5%	42	57.5%	26	41.9%	36	58.1%
Animals	29	40.8%	42	59.2%	8	27.6%	21	72.4%
Inanimates	37	56.1%	29	43.9%	37	51.4%	35	48.6%
TOTAL:	97	46.2%	113	53.8%	71	43.6%	92	56.4%

The next factor to examine is the type of coordination. Restricting ourselves to the bottom row of Table 8, we would not be able to detect any corollaries due to it: both naturally and accidentally coordinated nouns give priority to plural targets. If, however, we divide the material into different categories according to animacy, we see that animacy favours resolution across the board. This, however, is caused by animacy, and not by the strength of the linkage between the conjuncts. We can thus safely conclude that the extent to which two nouns typically co-occur is of no consequence as far as agreement patterns with conjoined nouns in Bulgarian are concerned. The probability that it is noise is $p=0.70$, and therefore it is not statistically significant.

5.3.4. Grammatical Function of the Conjoined NP

Table 9. *Results grouped according to grammatical function*

	SUBJECT				SUBJECT OF EMBEDDED CLAUSE			
	SG targets	SG (%)	PL targets	PL (%)	SG targets	SG (%)	PL targets	PL (%)
Humans	24	47.1%	27	52.9%	7	41.2%	10	58.8%
Animals	15	45.6%	18	54.4%	1	5.3%	18	94.7%
Inanimates	18	39.1%	28	60.9%	6	46.2%	7	53.8%
TOTAL:	57	43.8%	73	56.2%	14	28.6%	35	71.4%
	DIRECT OBJECT				PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT			
	SG targets	SG (%)	PL targets	PL (%)	SG targets	SG (%)	PL targets	PL (%)
Humans	12	26.1%	34	73.9%	14	66.7%	7	33.3%
Animals	15	46.9%	17	53.1%	6	37.5%	10	62.5%
Inanimates:	42	68.9%	19	31.1%	8	44.4%	10	55.6%
TOTAL:	69	49.6%	70	50.4%	28	50.9%	27	49.1%

If we look at the totals in Table 9, i.e. the contribution of grammatical function by itself, we can assume with confidence that the higher the NP is on the grammatical function hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie (1977)), the more likely it is to take a plural determiner or modifier, with subjects favouring resolved agreement and objects having more or less an equal share of each pattern. Matrix subjects get 73 plural targets (56.2%), and 57 singular ones (43.8%), whereas subjects of embedded clauses get 35 plural targets (71.4%), against 14 singular ones (28.6%). The latter category is important because it ensures that this is indeed about the grammatical role of the NP, and not about its position in the clause (since subjects of embedded clauses did not appear at the beginning of the sentence). In the case of direct objects, it is a close call, with the two options pretty much neck and neck (again a breakdown into different animacy groups makes the influence of that factor perceptible). Finally, closest-conjunct agreement takes the upper hand when the conjoined NP functions as prepositional object, but again it is almost 50:50.

It is very interesting to trace how grammatical function interacts with animacy. Sometimes animacy behaves as expected and as it were reverses any trends that could be put down to grammatical function. This seems to be the case with direct objects –

although the total numbers are almost equal, setting up different animacy groups reveals that animates predictably prefer plural targets, whereas inanimates have exactly the opposite inclinations.

However, it is sometimes grammatical function that trumps the effect of animacy. This is what happens to subjects. All subjects, no matter whether they were comprised of people, pets, cattle or material entities, had a higher rate of resolution. To our surprise, inanimate subjects garnered many more plural targets (60.9%) than their human counterparts (52.9%). Humans acting as prepositional objects are diametrically opposed to inanimates acting as subjects. The majority of conjoined humans (a staggering 66.7%) combine with singular determiners and adjectives when they are prepositional objects. And yet, animals in that function do not seem to be affected in the same way, and cling to their preference for plural targets (62.5%).

If we bring together subjects of main and embedded clauses into one subject class and do the same for direct and prepositional objects, we wind up with the figures presented in Table 10. This gives us a chi-square of $\chi^2 = 3.99$ and $p=0.05$, which means that the grammatical function of the conjoined phrase plays a statistically significant role in determining the agreement pattern (anything below $p=0.10$ is considered to matter statistically).

Table 10. *Generalised scores of subjects and objects*

	SG	PL
Subject	71	108
Object	97	97

5.3.5. Type of Target

Table 11. Results grouped according to the type of target

	DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN (<i>this/these</i>)				POSSESSIVE PRONOUN				ADJECTIVE (<i>new</i> and other random adjectives)			
	SG	SG (%)	PL	PL (%)	SG	SG (%)	PL	PL (%)	SG	SG (%)	PL	PL (%)
Humans	13	39.4%	20	60.6%	32	45.1%	39	54.9%	12	38.7%	19	61.3%
Animals	12	48.0%	13	52.0%	23	32.4%	48	67.6%	2	50.0%	2	50.0%
Inanimates	11	45.8%	13	54.2%	28	40.0%	42	60.0%	35	79.5%	9	20.5%
TOTAL:	36	43.9%	46	56.1%	83	39.2%	129	60.8%	49	62.0%	30	38.0%

Readers will remember that all targets are in attributive position and function either as determiners or pre-modifiers. The total numbers in Table 11 give the impression that demonstrative and possessive pronouns agreeing with two conjoined singular nouns are plural most of the time, whereas adjectives tend to be singular. This is true to a certain extent but does not tell the whole story. It is again helpful to split the nouns into groups according to their animacy.

Demonstrative and possessive pronouns favour plurality for every class of controller. Therefore, no animacy effects are to be observed with those two types of target. The reason might be the definiteness which they share, thus making the phrase salient and topical²⁹. Adjectives, on the other hand, do follow the trends set by animacy. Disregarding the negligible number of adjectives used with animals, it makes better sense to compare humans and inanimates. The attribute *нов/нов* ‘new’ matches the features of the closest conjunct in the overwhelming majority of cases when it modifies inanimates, but it shows resolved agreement in the majority of cases when attached to humans. This may be due either to a difference between determiners and pre-modifiers or to a difference in definiteness: while the pronouns induced a definite interpretation, most of the adjectives did not. However, it should be conceded that in some of the examples the adjective was definite, as in (42) (as mentioned above, the

²⁹This could be related to grammatical function; see below for more discussion.

Bulgarian article is a clitic or suffix that attaches to the first nominal element in the NP, including adjectives).

- (42) *Нов-и-те ученик и учителка бяха приети добре в клас-а.*
 Nov-i-te učeník i učitelka bjaxa prieti dobre v klas-a.
 new-PL-DEF schoolboy and teacher were accepted well in class-DEF
 ‘The new pupil and teacher were welcomed to the class’.

If we collapse demonstrative and possessive pronouns into one category, we get the numbers presented in Table 12. We thus arrive at a chi-square of $\chi^2 = 11.65$. The probability stands at $p < 0.001$, which means that, statistically, the type of target is by far the most powerful factor we have seen so far³⁰.

Table 12. *Generalised scores for the different types of target*

	SG	PL
Pronoun (demonstr. or poss.)	119	175
Adjective	49	30

5.3.6. Results Grouped by Informant³¹

Table 13. *Results grouped according to the informants*

	IDENTICAL TARGETS		M I X E D T A R G E T S				
	All targets are PL	All targets are SG	SG targets with inanimates PL targets with animates	PL targets with inanimates SG targets with animates	More PL targets with animates than PL targets with inanimates	Equal number of PL targets with animates and PL targets with inanimates	More PL targets with inanimates than PL targets with animates
Number of informants:	27	23	12	4	28	17	3
Percentage of the total number of informants ³² :	23.7%	20.2%	10.5%	3.5%	24.7%	14.9%	2.6%

³⁰It should be acknowledged that the results might have been skewed by the fact that there are many more pronouns than adjectives in total.

³¹Informants who had only animate nouns in their questionnaires, or those who had only provided relevant material for animate nouns, have been excluded (a total number of 7).

³²The percentages add up to 100.1%, instead of 100.0%, because the actual figures were rounded for convenience.

This is a tentative attempt to make some speculative generalisations about the mental grammars of individual informants and the part animacy plays in determining agreement patterns with conjoined nouns. Each questionnaire script contained three or four test sentences, with at least one example of humans, animals and inanimates, respectively. Here, we lump animals and humans together in one group, which we contrast with inanimates. Table 13 above gives a breakdown of responses by informant. For instance, “all targets are PL” unites informants who exclusively used resolved determiners and pre-modifiers in their relevant answers, whereas the explanation in Column 4 means that a given participant consistently supplied singular targets for inanimates, at the same time reserving the plural for animate controllers, and so on. As can be deduced from Table 13, the judgements of many informants were not affected by such considerations. 27 of them (23.7%) chose the plural for all targets, whereas 23 (20.2%) went for the singular across the board. This can either be due to the absence of animacy effects or to priming, but unfortunately there is no way to tell which of the two is actually to “blame”.

It is instructive to have a look at what happens when we come up against a mixture of singular and plural targets in the responses of the same person. Such mixtures show that animacy often serves as a (sub-conscious) guide to usage. In an ideal world where animacy favours resolved plural agreement, and the lack of it single-conjunct singular agreement, we would predict that all targets controlled by animate nouns would be plural and all targets controlled by inanimate nouns would be singular. The reverse would be very damaging to our hypothesis. As the table demonstrates, we do get some speakers (4 people, or 3.5%) who associate plural targets with inanimates and singular targets with animates, but more importantly, they are greatly outnumbered by speakers who religiously obey the dictates of the factor in the expected way (12, or 10.5%).

There were usually more complicated combinations however; for example, one singular and one plural target with inanimates, versus one plural target with animates³³. Another possibility is one singular and one plural target with animates, and one singular target with inanimates. In such cases, only the plural answers were taken into account, and the first situation was classified as an instance where the two groups of controller have an equal number of plural targets, whereas the second situation would be regarded as an instance where the number of plural animates is greater than the number of plural inanimates.

The figures in Columns 6, 7 and 8 hardly need any comment. 17 informants (14.9%) produced as many plural targets for the first class of conjuncts as for the second. In 28 questionnaires (24.7%), there were more plural targets with animate controllers – it is noteworthy that the highest percentage of informants (24.7%) preferred this, whereas the ones who opted for the reverse were a tiny fraction of the total – merely 2.6%. In other words, only 3 out of 114 informants tolerated more plural targets with inanimates than with animates. This cements the importance of animacy as a factor favouring resolved plural agreement at the level of the individual speaker.

³³This would be a questionnaire containing four test items: two with animate and two with inanimate conjuncts; there might not have been a valid response for one of the animate items.

5.4. Comparison between the Results from the Internet-Based Corpus Study and the Questionnaire

Table 14. *Generalised results from Internet-based searches*³⁴

	SG	SG (%)	PL	PL (%)
Total humans:	20	24.1%	63	75.9%
Total humans of same gender:	6	42.9%	8	57.1%
Total humans with different gender:	14	20.3%	55	79.7%
Total ³⁵ inanimates:	748	90.3%	80	9.7%
Total inanimates of same gender	38	95.0%	2	5.0%
Total inanimates with different gender	710	90.1%	78	9.9%

One thing that stands out when comparing the results from the Internet corpus study and those obtained by means of the questionnaires is that the animacy effects are more pronounced in the former. The chi-square for the data from the web summarised in Table 15 below is $\chi^2 = 250.83$; this gives us $p < 0.001$, pushing the probability that the variation is random to less than 0.1%. According to the corpus data, we can be more than 99.9% certain that the variation is constrained by animacy. By contrast, the fieldwork suggested that animacy was more than 99% likely to have affected the distribution, nearly a percent less. The take-home message is that it would have been nice to do a bigger survey, but the gap is not hopelessly wide – it just affects the degree of certainty about the results. Other factors, such as grammatical role for example, would have been almost imperceptible had we not consulted informants, because they do not seem to have much of an impact on the corpus material that we collected. The more ambiguous outcome of the questionnaire experiment might to a considerable extent be attributed to the very nature of the task, especially the fact that the informants had to make more or less conscious decisions.

³⁴When there were two consecutive searches for the same phrase, only the results of the second one were counted, with the results from the first one discarded due to potential overlap.

³⁵The following inanimates were excluded from the count, because they would have muddied the waters with their high numbers or mixed nature: “box and [-animate]” and “strong wind and rain”.

Table 15. *Corpus Data (Animacy)*

	SG	SG (%)	PL	PL (%)
Total humans:	20	24.1%	63	75.9%
Total inanimates:	748	90.3%	80	9.7%

5.5. Conclusion

It has been confirmed that most of the factors we identified at the outset did have a bearing on the agreement patterns with conjoined nouns. Natural and accidental coordination was devoid of any such powers, but sameness of gender and grammatical function turned out to be significant. Such signs were also shown by the type of agreement target. Crucially, the importance of animacy for constraining the choice of agreement pattern has been reasserted. Taken on its own, animacy did prove to be an undeniable force, its presence favouring resolved plural agreement and its absence favouring closest-conjunct agreement. What is more, animacy was found to cross-cut the effects of the other factors in very intricate and subtle ways. Animacy was demonstrated to play a part at the level of the individual informant too, in that the overall statistics were often reflected in the individual responses.

Those variables interact in very complex ways. Excluding sameness of gender, all the others (the definiteness intrinsic to the type of target, as well as subjecthood and animacy) can be united under the heading of topic-worthiness (cf. Comrie (2003: 328ff) and Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006)). Examining the influence of pragmatic factors on agreement, Comrie (2003: 328) concludes that higher topicality or topic-worthiness of an NP makes it a more likely candidate to be a controller (cf. Corbett (2006: 197ff)). According to Comrie (2003: 329), topic-worthiness is an inherent property of an NP that increases the likelihood that it will serve as a topic. Topic-worthiness refers to the theoretical potential of a linguistic unit to become a topic in actual discourse, whereas topicality can be thought of as the fulfilment of this

potential. Comrie relates topic-worthiness to hierarchies of grammatical person, animacy, definiteness and salience. These are all characteristics usually possessed by the animate nouns from our corpus. This raises the question whether the animacy hierarchy we have been operating with should be reduced to a hierarchy of topic-worthiness. Comrie (1989: 198-9) rejects this possibility because there seems to be no way of defining topic-worthiness independently of animacy³⁶.

It appears that the more topic-worthy two conjoined nouns are, the more probable it is that they will merit resolved plural agreement. In turn, animacy is one of the core (independent) components of topic-worthiness, and hence contributes to resolution, directly or indirectly. The final experiment, which we present in the next section, is an attempt to disentangle topicality and animacy.

³⁶On the links between animacy, definiteness, subjecthood, topic-worthiness and topicality, cf. Dahl and Fraurud (1996: 59), Yamamoto (1999, ch. 2), Comrie (2003: 328ff), Corbett (2006: 197ff), and Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2006: 834).

6. Translation Task

6.1. Experimental Design and Methodological Matters

(43) *Translation passage:*

When I was young, I used to enjoy spending the summer holidays (i)with my grandmother and grandfather, who waited impatiently for the school year to end, so that I could come and stay with them. I also looked forward to leaving the dusty city and heading to the beautiful green countryside. (ii)My grandmother and grandfather used to live on a farm in the country which was just an hour's drive from my parents' city home. All sorts of animals were raised on the farm: cows, horses, ducks and chickens. It was great fun to help look after the animals and play (iii)in the nearby wood and field. (iv)My grandparents also had (v)an old cat and dog. Both of them were so old that they were too weak and lazy to chase each other. In winter they used to huddle on the hearth, and in summer they basked in the sun in the garden. (vi)My grandparents had had (vii)another cat and dog, but they had disappeared several years before. I cried for days after finding out about their disappearance.

(viii)My grandfather's younger brother and sister, neither of whom was married, used to live together in the house next door. I really enjoyed visiting them too, because they knew the most wonderful and magical fairy tales. The house (ix)of my granddad's younger brother and sister was even older than (x)my grandparents' house. In fact, that was the place where all three siblings had grown up: my granddad and (xi)his brother and sister. The house had only three rooms, including a dark and smoky kitchen. (xii)The wooden door and cupboards were creaky, and (xiii)the old brother and sister used to have their meals (xiv)at a decrepit table and chairs. And yet, it was a cosy place, which I associate with some of the happiest moments of my childhood. I was invariably greeted with a warm smile every time I visited (xv)the old brother and sister, whose kindness I will always be thankful for.

Sometimes my own younger sister would accompany me on my country visits, but she didn't do that very often. She tended to stay in the city with my parents because we used to fight all the time and they thought it a good idea to keep us apart for a while, so that we wouldn't be causing too much trouble. My mother used to say that we fought (xvi)like a big cat and mouse. I now regret not being a bit better behaved, but the time spent with my grandparents in the country has left me with some of my fondest childhood memories.

The data collection method we relied on for our final survey involves a translation task. A fresh cohort of informants were asked to complete it once ethical approval had been granted. The passage, presented in (43) above, contains phrases like *my grandfather and grandmother* or *the nearby wood and field*. In the English original, the determiners and pre-modifiers are not inflected for number and gender, but someone translating into Bulgarian will be “forced” to mark these categories on attributive dependents, choosing either a plural resolved target, or a singular one that agrees with the noun closest to it. The text is about the narrator's childhood memories of the summer holidays spent with his grandparents in the countryside. The main topical threads that run through the passage are the grandparents and the grandfather's siblings who used to live next door. Two pairs of cats and dogs also feature

prominently, as does a description of the interior of the house of the great aunt and great uncle.

The passage was given to 73 informants aged between 13 and 18 who attended the same school in Sofia. No significant variation was detected in the ways the various age groups approached the assignment in terms of the agreement patterns chosen, although the younger participants did not get as far as the older ones and had trouble with the meaning of some of the less frequent lexemes. Because of that we received fewer than 73 responses for all our test items. Another reason is that an alternative translation strategy was sometimes employed. For instance, instead of using pre-posed possessive pronouns that agree with the head noun, some of the participants opted for the more natural and idiomatic alternative of having enclitics that do not vary in form (cf. Section 3 above). The grammatical features and functions of the relevant phrases in the source language were generally preserved in the translations, but that was not always the case. For example, the word for *field* sometimes appeared in the plural in the Bulgarian versions, and *my grandfather's younger brother and sister* was on a few occasions rendered as *my grandfather had a (younger) brother and sister*. Every now and then, the semantics of some words (e.g. *decrepit*) was considerably distorted (e.g. to give *old* or even *folded*), but that did not affect our results and is ignored here as irrelevant. There were occasionally corrections of test items. In such cases, only the correction was reflected in the summary of results, because that was the final choice made by the informant, and also because the two nouns must have been salient enough for the informant to notice that an intervention was in order.

6.2. Results

This supplementary experiment was particularly useful for separating the inherent animacy features of the controllers from the dynamic information structure of a coherent piece of writing with a story line. A summary of the results we obtained is provided in the tables below: in Table 16, the items are listed in the order in which they come up in the text, whereas in Table 17, they are grouped according to animacy.

Table 16. Summary of results (in sequential order)

No	EXAMPLE	SG (N)	PL (N)	SG (%)	PL (%)
i	Spending the summer holidays with my grandmother and grandfather (FIRST MENTION, PREP OBJ, NON-TOPIC)	4	20	16.7%	83.3%
ii	My grandmother and grandfather used to live (SECOND MENTION, SUBJ, TOPIC)	6	20	23.1%	76.9%
iii	Play in the nearby wood and field (FIRST MENTION, PREP OBJ, NON-TOPIC)	15	9	62.5%	37.5%
iv, v	My grandparents (SG: 1; PL: 15) also had an old cat and dog (FIRST MENTION, OBJ, NON-TOPIC)	42	11	79.2%	20.8%
vi, vii	My grandparents (SG: 0; PL: 13) had had another cat and dog	18	27	40.0%	60.0%
viii	My grandfather's younger brother and sister (FIRST MENTION, SUBJ/OBJ ³⁷ , TOPIC)	3	31	8.8%	91.2%
ix	The house of my granddad's younger brother and sister	5	6	45.5%	54.5%
x	Older than my grandparents' ³⁸ house	0	6	0%	100%
xi	The place where all three siblings had grown up: my granddad and his brother and sister	3	8	27.3%	72.7%
xii	The wooden door and cupboards were creaky (FIRST MENTION, SUBJ, TOPIC)	5	1	83.3%	16.7%
xiii	The old brother and sister used to have their meals	8	20	28.6%	71.4%
xiv	At a decrepit table and chairs (FIRST MENTION, PREP OBJ, NON-TOPIC)	8	8	50.0%	50.0%
xv	Every time I visited the old brother and sister	4	13	23.5%	76.5%
xvi	We fought like a big cat and mouse (FIRST MENTION, PREP OBJ, NON-TOPIC)	5	1	83.3%	16.7%

³⁷In the translations, this sometimes appeared as a subject, and sometimes as an object.

³⁸Bulgarian does not have a single lexeme for *grandparents*; the word *npapodumeu/praroditeli* approximates the meaning of *ancestors*, but it has different semantics and does not belong to the same register. That is why the most natural strategy for translating English *grandparents* is to use the equivalent of *grandma and granddad*.

Table 17. Summary of results (grouped according to animacy)

EXAMPLE	SG (N)	PL (N)	SG (%)	PL (%)
HUMANS				
Spending the summer holidays with my grandmother and grandfather (FIRST MENTION, PREP OBJ, NON-TOPIC)	4	20	16.7%	83.3%
My grandmother and grandfather used to live (SECOND MENTION, SUBJ, TOPIC)	6	20	23.1%	76.9%
My grandparents (SG: 1; PL: 15) also had an old cat and dog (FIRST MENTION, OBJ, NON-TOPIC)	1	15	6.25%	93.75%
My grandparents (SG: 0; PL: 13) had had another cat and dog	0	13	0%	100%
My grandfather's younger brother and sister (FIRST MENTION, SUBJ/OBJ ³⁹ , TOPIC)	3	31	8.8%	91.2%
The house of my granddad's younger brother and sister	5	6	45.5%	54.5%
Older than my grandparents' house	0	6	0%	100%
The place where all three siblings had grown up: my granddad and his brother and sister	3	8	27.3%	72.7%
The old brother and sister used to have their meals	8	20	28.6%	71.4%
Every time I visited the old brother and sister	4	13	23.5%	76.5%
ANIMALS				
My grandparents (SG: 1; PL: 15) also had an old cat and dog (FIRST MENTION, OBJ, NON-TOPIC)	42	11	79.2%	20.8%
My grandparents (SG: 0; PL: 13) had had another cat and dog	18	27	40.0%	60.0%
We fought like a big cat and mouse (FIRST MENTION, PREP OBJ, NON-TOPIC)	5	1	83.3%	16.7%
INANIMATES				
Play in the nearby wood and field (FIRST MENTION, PREP OBJ, NON-TOPIC)	15	9	62.5%	37.5%
The wooden door and cupboards were creaky (FIRST MENTION, SUBJ, TOPIC)	5	1	83.3%	16.7%
At a decrepit table and chairs (FIRST MENTION, PREP OBJ, NON-TOPIC)	8	8	50.0%	50.0%

There are exceedingly complex correlations between the intrinsic animacy of the controllers and the thematic organisation of the text, with both factors exerting some influence. In the opening sentence, the narrator talks about spending the summer holidays with his grandparents. The grandmother and grandfather are first introduced here: they are prepositional objects and constitute new information. For that reason, they are not the topic of this sentence. The impressive preponderance of resolved plural agreement should therefore be attributed to the inherent animacy of the two nouns, and not to any possible informational salience. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the outcome might be due to the fact that the grandparents are one of the

³⁹In the translations, this sometimes appeared as a subject, and sometimes as an object.

main global topics of the whole passage. It is remarkable that we get the same agreement pattern when the relevant clause is definitely about the phrase “*my grandmother and grandfather*”, as in (ii) “*My grandmother and grandfather used to live on a farm...*” or (iv/v) “*My grandparents also had an old/another cat and dog*”. There, the informants are virtually unanimous and the plural option is chosen more than 90%, sometimes 100%, of the time.

When the narrator reminisces about playing in the nearby wood and field, we end up with many more instances of singular “*nearby*” than plural “*nearby*”, which must be a result of the immutably fixed inanimate nature (in the linguistic sense!) of the wood and field, coupled with the fact that they are thematically backgrounded. Here, the two factors converge and reinforce each other’s effects.

The situation with “*cat and dog*” is of special interest. We find them in sentence (iv/v) “*My grandparents also had an old cat and dog*” – similarly to “*grandmother and grandfather*” in the opening lines, the pets turn up for the first time at this point. Although the story goes on to supply more information about them, they are not yet in the discourse spotlight at this stage (again, just like “*my grandmother and grandfather*” in the first sentence). Unlike “*grandmother and grandfather*”, however, the animacy status of “*cat and dog*” seems to have been too weak to boost the score of resolution, and the singular predominates (cf. Table 17 above). Whereas the participants in the previous experiment treated humans and animals alike for agreement purposes, the participants in the translation task appear to have preferred closest-conjunct agreement with animals (i.e. animals now band together with inanimates, rather than humans). When another cat and dog are mentioned in (vi/vii), we discover many more tokens of resolved plural agreement, which seems to be an effect of information structure.

The pairing “*brother and sister*” in (viii), as well as in (xi), (xiii) and (xv), is not only animate but also highly salient in the passage, which accounts for the overwhelmingly plural attributive targets that we record. When we encounter it for the first time in the opening sentence of the second paragraph, catalogued under number (viii), it is already topical – i.e. it is the information peg on which the sentence hangs and which the rest of the sentence describes; this is what sets the brother and sister apart from the way the grandparents and the cat and dog originally come on stage.

By contrast, in (ix/x) “*The house of my granddad’s younger brother and sister was even older than my grandparents’ house*”, the animacy status of “*brother and sister*” and “*grandparents*” is at odds with their relatively low degree of prominence (i.e. the sentence is about the house, rather than the grandparents or the siblings). Animacy has definitely won out in the case of “*grandparents*” (all six targets here are plural), and has only just taken the upper hand in “*my granddad’s brother and sister*”; the increased incidence of single-conjunct agreement in the latter example should in all probability be put down to the low degree of topicality of that phrase.

In (xii) “*The wooden door and cupboards were creaky*”, “*the wooden door and cupboards*” is just as topical as “*my grandfather’s younger brother and sister*” from the opening sentence (viii) of the paragraph, if not more topical, because it is indirectly introduced prior to its first mention. This stretch of the text gives a description of the house and the dark, smoky kitchen, before going on to say something about the door and the cupboards, so they have been implicitly activated as typical kitchen furniture even before they are explicitly named (unlike the brother and sister in the first sentence of the paragraph)⁴⁰. Consequently, it seems that their inanimate nature has prevailed here. Their intrinsic status as material objects is the most likely driving force behind the preference for single-conjunct agreement. By

⁴⁰Cf. Lambrecht’s (1994) categories of activation, as well as his general theory of information structure.

contrast, phrase (xiv), “*at a decrepit table and chairs*”, is neither informationally highlighted nor animate, so we would expect to see a greater number of singular targets, but in fact we get a tie (50-50). The explanation for the high number of singulars must be sought in the inanimate nature and the inconspicuousness of the phrase in the overall scheme of the plot, while the equally high number of plural targets is probably triggered by the plurality of the second conjunct; the latter is an extraneous factor as far as the present experiment is concerned.

Finally, (xvi) “*like a big cat and mouse*” has prompted more singular than plural targets either because animals have been treated as inanimates, and/or owing to lack of prominence. Another plausible reason is that both conjuncts are feminine. Readers will remember that if both conjuncts belong to the same gender class, the likelihood of having a singular matching target increases dramatically. This constraint was shown to supersede factors like animacy in the previous experiment.

In sum, our findings suggest that, if a phrase is reasonably topical in a text, all its members become relatively prominent, and speakers are more likely to pay attention to them, acknowledging them by means of plural agreement targets. However, nouns occupying the upper regions of the animacy hierarchy seem to be intrinsically prominent and therefore receive a larger number of plural targets even if they are not so topical in a particular sentence. Animacy is therefore a factor in its own right, even if it only contributes to enhanced prominence or topic-worthiness (the potential to be a topic). In the next section, we zoom in on this category and its place in Bulgarian grammar.

7. The Status of Animacy in Bulgarian Grammar

Such deeply rooted cognitive distinctions as that between animate and inanimate are frequently mirrored in human language (cf. Dahl (2008: 148-9) and Yamamoto (1999, ch. 2)). Typological research shows that animacy is an important factor influencing agreement in various unrelated languages⁴¹. Animacy also enjoys a privileged status in the Slavic family, where it often conditions case syncretism and thus qualifies as a sub-gender (cf. (45a.) below)⁴². By contrast, it has not been discussed in much detail with regard to the south-east representative of the Slavic group, Bulgarian, which has lost its case declensions. What is more, some 20th century Bulgarian linguists explicitly note the diminished morphological clout of animacy in the language, in comparison to its modern Slavic relatives or to earlier stages of Bulgarian itself (cf. Andrejčin (1942: 88) and Andrejčin, Kostov, Nikolov (1972: 169), quoted in Kostadinova (1995: 54)). However, such statements are not entirely accurate, as we are about to demonstrate.

Grammatical gender is traditionally defined as a set of syntactic subclasses of nouns primarily controlling agreement (Gleason (1961: 227), quoted in Aronson (1964: 87); cf. Corbett (1988a: 8), Corbett (1991)). Consequently, agreement is essential in establishing the inventory of grammatical genders. If they are to be distinguished on the basis of the patterning of demonstrative pronouns or adjectives (in the singular), then Bulgarian undoubtedly has three: masculine (44a.), feminine (44b.) and neuter (44c.) (cf. Aronson (1964: 87-8) and Section 3 above).

⁴¹See Corbett (1991: 265), Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994: 197), Haspelmath (2004b: 12), Brill (2004: 499-500), Matasović (2004: 47ff), Dahl (2008: 147ff), Pencheva (2004), Comrie (1989: 190), Smith-Stark (1974), Croft (1990: 111-7, 127-130), Eggert (2002: 94ff), de Swart et al. (2008: 131ff), Mak et al. (2002), van Nice and Dietrich (2003); for English, see Rosenbach (2005), Smith-Stark (1974: 664ff), Hundt (2004), Quirk et al. (1985: §5.117), Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 477).

⁴²See Corbett (1980), Mareš (1967), Huntley (1980) and Laskowski (1986); for Old Church Slavonic, see Matasović (2004: 66), Duridanov et al. (1991: 141, 201, 430-1), Huntley (1980: 196-7) and Mareš (1967); for Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian, see Corbett (1988b: 45ff) for Polish; Wechsler and Zlatić (2000: 799); also cf. Crockett (1976, chaps. 3 and 4), Corbett (1981a: 59), Corbett (1991: 267) and Corbett (2006: 179) for Russian and a wide range of typological data and generalisations.

(44) *Grammatical gender in Bulgarian on the basis of agreement with attributive determiners and adjectives:*

- | | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>този</i> | <i>дървен</i> | <i>стол</i> |
| | tozi | dărven | stol |
| | this.M.SG | wooden[M.SG] | chair(M)[SG] |
| | ‘this wooden chair’ [invented by author] | | |
| b. | <i>тази</i> | <i>дървен-а</i> | <i>мас-а</i> |
| | tazi | dărven-a | mas-a |
| | this.F.SG | wooden-F.SG | table(F)-SG |
| | ‘this wooden table’ [invented by author] | | |
| c. | <i>това</i> | <i>дървен-о</i> | <i>легл-о</i> |
| | tova | dărven-o | legl-o |
| | this.NT.SG | wooden-NT.SG | bed(NT)-SG |
| | ‘this wooden bed’ [invented by author] | | |
| d. | <i>тези</i> | <i>дървен-и</i> | <i>стол-ове</i> |
| | tezi | dărven-i | stol-ove |
| | this.PL | wooden-PL | chair(M)-PL |
| | ‘these wooden chairs’ [invented by author] | | |
| e. | <i>тези</i> | <i>дървен-и</i> | <i>мас-и</i> |
| | tezi | dărven-i | mas-i |
| | this.PL | wooden-PL | table(F)-PL |
| | ‘these wooden tables’ [invented by author] | | |
| f. | <i>тези</i> | <i>дървен-и</i> | <i>легл-а</i> |
| | tezi | dărven-i | legl-a |
| | this.PL | wooden-PL | bed(NT)-PL |
| | ‘these wooden beds’ [invented by author] | | |

On the other hand, we will set up the following classes for Russian if we compare noun phrases in the accusative singular: 1. an animate gender (45)a.; 2. a masculine gender (45)b.; 3. a feminine gender (45)c.; 4. a neuter gender (45)d.⁴³ (Aronson (1964: 88)). From this, we can deduce that animacy has its own inalienable niche in the grammar of Russian.

(45) *Grammatical gender in Russian based on adjectival agreement in the accusative singular:*

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------------|
| a. | <i>больши-ого</i> | <i>человек-а</i> |
| | bol’š-ógo | čelovék-a |
| | large-ACC/GEN.M.SG | man(M)-ACC/GEN.SG |
| | ‘large man’ | |
| b. | <i>больши-ой</i> | <i>дом</i> |
| | bol’š-ój | dóm |
| | large-ACC/NOM.M.SG | house(M)[ACC/NOM.SG] |
| | ‘large house’ | |

⁴³In fact, while animacy in Russian is a sub-gender of the masculine in the singular, in the plural it supersedes the threefold gender division into masculine, feminine and neuter (C. M. MacRobert, (p. c.)).

c. <i>больш-ую</i> bol's-úju large-ACC.F.SG 'large task'	<i>задач-у</i> zadáč-u task(F)-ACC.SG
d. <i>больш-ое</i> bol's-óe large-ACC/NOM.NT.SG 'large window'	<i>окн-о</i> okn-ó window(NT)-ACC/NOM.SG

[Aronson (1964: 88)]

Arguments can be advanced in support of analysing Bulgarian animacy as a morpho-syntactic feature as well. It appears to belong to morpho-syntax due to the existence of a separate 'count' plural form of nouns which is inflectionally distinct and in the standard language is only available to masculine inanimate nouns when they follow a numeral (e.g. 'two courses'); the count plural form (46)a. can be contrasted to the regular plural form (46)b. Crucially, (46)c. shows that the count plural is (prescriptively) disallowed if the noun has human reference.

(46) *Plurality in Bulgarian:*

a. *Count PL form:*

дв-а курс-а
dv-a kurs-a
two-M course(M)-COUNT
'two courses'

b. *Regular PL form*

много курс-ове
mnogo kurs-ove
many course(M)-PL
'many courses'

c. *Count PL form*

?дв-а студент-а
dv-a student-a
two-M student(M)-COUNT
'two students'

This evidence is problematic, though. The divergence in the behaviour of animates and inanimates is better interpreted as subordinate to the opposition of quantification, and not as an independent grammatical category of animacy (Stankiewicz (1968: 38)). In other words, there is a category of quantification, which encompasses the values of singular, plural and count, the latter marked with its own morpheme. It should be pointed out that even nouns denoting male persons can, and often do, have a count form, although this is officially proscribed (cf. (46)c.). On this

view, animacy has no independent status, but is just a semantic condition on the choices made within the category of quantification, with lack of it favouring the dedicated count option.

Less controversial evidence to justify treating animacy as a morpho-syntactic feature in Bulgarian comes from the designated masculine personal forms of some numerals like *dv-a-ma* ‘two-M-PERSON’ or relative pronouns like *kogoto* ‘whom’. Those signal animacy as part of their morphological make-up and also syntactically agree in terms of animacy (cf. English *who/whom*, Chapter 5, Section 4). For instance, the phrase ‘two students’ in (47)a. below has a version of the numeral ‘two’ that is only compatible with masculine nouns referring to male humans (or groups with at least one male). This “personal” member of the paradigm is unacceptable with inanimate controllers (47)b., which require the simple form (see (46)a. above). An example involving the relative pronoun *kogoto* ‘whom’, which imposes analogous co-occurrence restrictions, is given in (48).

(47) *Personal form of numerals:*

a. *Personal numeral with humans:*

<i>dv-a-ma</i>	<i>студент-и</i>
dv-a-ma	student-i
two-M-PSN	student(M)-PL
‘two students’	

b. *Personal numeral with non-humans:*

* <i>dv-a-ma</i>	<i>курс-а</i>
dv-a-ma	kurs-a
two-M-PSN	course(M)-COUNT
‘two courses’	

(48)	<i>мъж-а</i>	<i>/*дъжд-а,</i>	<i>ко-го-то</i>
	măž-a	/dăžd-a,	ko-go-to
	man(M)[SG]-DEF	rain(M)[SG]-DEF	who-ACC.M.SG.PSN-RELATIVE

вид-я-х
vidj-a-x
see-PAST-1SG

‘the man/*rain whom I saw’

On the basis of these observations, it can be argued that Bulgarian animacy deserves morpho-syntactic recognition. The assessment of its grammatical

significance suggests that, as far as the structural organisation of Bulgarian is concerned, animacy is equated with the quality of “male person” (cf. Kostadinova (1995: 82)). As pointed out above, agreement is important for establishing the number of grammatical gender classes in a language (cf. Aronson (1964: 87), Corbett (1988a: 8), Corbett (1991)). According to adjectival modifiers (in the singular), Bulgarian has three genders – masculine, feminine and neuter. There are other agreement targets, such as the relative pronouns and numerals discussed above, which possess distinct forms set aside for male humans. We thus arrive at the following fourfold elaboration: masculine personal, masculine non-personal, feminine, neuter (cf. Aronson (1964: 89) and Kostadinova (1995)). So, animacy, or more accurately “male humanness”, constitutes a masculine personal sub-gender. The fact that grammatical animacy does not overlap with its semantic incarnation, clinches the point that it has to do with morpho-syntax (cf. Stankiewicz (1968: 30)). What is more, some personified animals or inanimate objects grammatically behave like masculine personal nouns (see Aronson (1964: 95)).

In sum, while most Slavonic languages have a morpho-syntactic distinction between animate and inanimate nouns which is realised by accusative-genitive syncretisms (cf. the Russian example in (45) above), Bulgarian, which lacks nominal case declension, does not exhibit this distinction but does operate with a possibly older morpho-syntactic category of male human/person which was actually present in Old Church Slavonic/Old Bulgarian and the early Slavonic languages⁴⁴.

In addition, animacy in Bulgarian constrains the agreement options with conjoined singular nouns. Examining our data presented in Sections 4, 5 and 6 above, we discovered that if the controllers denoted animates, the shared target was more likely to be plural, whereas single-conjunct agreement prevailed otherwise. Crucially, the

⁴⁴I would like to thank Mary MacRobert for bringing this up and for her help with the comparative and historical aspect.

animacy which influences agreement with conjoined nouns does not seem to belong to the grammatical system of the language. Unlike its grammaticalised counterpart, which is confined to male humans, the animacy that interferes with the said agreement patterns extends not just to males, but also to females and (higher) animals⁴⁵.

Secondly, animacy is in no way reflected morphologically in the context of coordination. Beard (1995: 59) altogether dismisses the claim that there is such a grammatical category in any Slavic language, instead maintaining that it is a semantic category because no Slavic language, including the ones for which it seems very central, ‘exhibits any special marker (affix, etc.) for animacy, despite the plethora of Gender, Number and Declension Class markers’. Although it is indeed marked on the Bulgarian relative pronoun and numerals discussed above, animacy is not flagged up morphologically in coordinate NPs. Some might contend that, since animate and inanimate conjuncts regularly participate in different agreement patterns, they will build their own separate gender classes, but this is not a tenable position because the preferences for one agreement pattern over the other are just non-robust tendencies. Therefore, the animacy affecting agreement with conjoined nouns is not a morpho-syntactic feature, but a semantic condition on number/gender agreement⁴⁶.

To sum up, a category such as animacy cannot be unambiguously labelled as purely grammatical or semantic. In Bulgarian, it appears to be:

1. a morphosyntactic feature (on the grounds of special “masculine personal” forms of numerals and relative pronouns);

⁴⁵It should be conceded that the status of animals is a little dubious because they were grouped with inanimates in some of the experiments. Furthermore, “lower” animals like bees might have to be excluded, so in that respect the animacy which affects agreement patterns does not completely overlap with purely semantic animacy.

⁴⁶This is similar to the effect animacy has on the use of the count plural form of nouns in the prescriptively standard register. Unlike the use of the count form, however, the effect of animacy on agreement with conjoined nouns is not a result of prescriptive pressures.

2. a semantic feature relevant to syntax (a semantic condition affecting grammatical choices, such as the choice of count plural forms, as well as the agreement choices with coordinate NPs);

3. a purely semantic feature⁴⁷.

What distinguishes 2. from 3. is that the former may not cover lower animals, for example. Those instantiations of animacy in Bulgarian seem to be more akin to points on a blurry continuum than conceptual spaces with clear-cut boundaries. However, it can be confidently concluded that the animacy which acts as a condition on agreement patterns with conjoined nouns falls within the remit of semantics. Therefore, the plea we put in at the beginning of the chapter, namely that syntax needs to have access to meaning, remains valid. While it would be bizarre if targets in a language only agreed with potential controllers which referred to red objects, our case study has verified that Bulgarian is more likely to employ resolved agreement with nouns which denote animate beings. This is yet another argument in favour of models of grammar in which syntax has a way of manipulating semantic information. We try to achieve that in the next section.

⁴⁷Corbett (1981: 75) also argues that the semantic feature of animacy should be strictly kept apart from its syntactic reflection if there are discrepancies between them.

8. Formal Analysis

8.1. Index, Concord and NP-Internal Agreement in Bulgarian

This section is an attempt to formalise our findings within the theoretical framework outlined and developed in previous chapters. As already demonstrated, Bulgarian attributive elements with scope over two (or more) singular nouns can replicate either the plural (resolved) features of all conjuncts or the number and gender of the closest one. This makes an analysis in terms of index agreement within the Bulgarian NP preferable to an analysis which involves resolved agreement in index and closest-conjunct agreement in concord. Firstly, if we assume that the index of two singular nouns is computed to produce plural number, then a plural determiner/pre-modifier must pick out this resolved value. This is the only explanation our model makes available for such targets: they can result neither from distributive agreement with the features of each conjunct nor from single-conjunct agreement with the features of the closest conjunct. In addition, we believe that concord is unable to participate in feature computation (cf. Chapter 2).

On the other hand, we cannot tell for sure which properties single-conjunct agreement actually utilises: index or concord, because there are no Bulgarian nouns with obvious mismatches comparable to those attested in Serbian/Croatian. Therefore, it is preferable to rely on the index features for the single-conjunct pattern as well, purely for the sake of economy and consistency. Since plural determiners and modifiers must make use of them anyway, then it is simpler and more economical to stipulate that when agreement is just with the nearest controller, it is also sensitive to the index features (although they happen to be the same as the concord ones).

One might ask if the concord-index distinction exists in Bulgarian at all, and if one cannot do without it. We believe that the fourfold elaboration into declension, concord, index and semantics from Chapter 1, Section 4.1, needs to be upheld, so that

we can account for cases like *момиче/momiče* ‘girl’, which is grammatically neuter but denotes females, just like German *Mädchen*. Hence, the clause-internal domain will normally be dominated by the neuter, but further away in the discourse a switch can be made to the feminine (e.g. on a pronoun in the next sentence). And yet, the split here is probably not between index and concord but between index and semantics. Attributive elements with *girl*, as well as relative pronouns and predicative participles, have to be neuter. Only a personal pronoun in a different clause is allowed to be semantically justified.

By contrast, the misalignments in words like *баща/bašta* ‘father’ and *дядо/djado* ‘grandfather’, are either between morphology and concord, or alternatively, between concord and index. Formally, *баща/bašta* ‘father’, *съдия/sădija* ‘judge’, and *слуга/sluga* ‘servant’, look like feminine nouns because they end in *-a*. They also take the feminine singular definite article *-ma/-ta*. Similarly, *дядо/djado* ‘grandfather’ and *чучо/čičo* ‘uncle’ have the morphological make-up of neuter nouns and also host the definite article typical for that gender. However, all attributive and predicative targets, as well as relative and personal pronouns that co-occur with such controllers have to be masculine (cf. the word for ‘girl’ above).

The Bulgarian definite article behaves like an enclitic or phrasal affix which appears on the first nominal element of the NP (with which it forms a single word, as they “move” together and no other units may be inserted between them). If *баща/bašta* is the first or only nominal element, it will get the feminine definite article: *баща-ма/bašta-ta* ‘father-the’ (see (51) below). If there is a pre-posed adjective, the adjective will be the landing site and the article will be masculine: *добри-ям баща/dobri-jat bašta* ‘good-the father’ (see (51)). If we preserve index agreement within the NP, such nouns can be said to manifest concord-index

mismatches. The definite article will pick up the concord features of the head when it attaches directly to it, but will otherwise operate with index. This entails postulating concord agreement within the morphological/word boundaries of the head noun, but index agreement elsewhere within the noun phrase (as in (49)).

Some scholars might argue that the choice does not depend on grammatical gender, but on phonological shape⁴⁸. For example, if a noun ends in a consonant, it gets the *-ъм(-ям)/-ът(-ят)* allomorph; if it ends in /a/, it gets the *-ма/-та* allomorph, and so on and so forth. It just so happens that the vast majority of nouns that end in /a/ are feminine, with only a handful of exceptions, like *father*, *judge* and *servant*. Such “exceptions” combine with *-ма/-та*, not because they are morphologically feminine, but because of the word-final /a/ vowel. Although the adoption of phonological principles seems appealing and might successfully sum up the way articles work in the plural⁴⁹, there is evidence against employing a sound-based mechanism, at least in the singular.

While most masculine nouns do end in a consonant and are accordingly assigned the *-ъм(-ям)/-ът(-ят)* variant, as in *млекоар-ям/mlekar-jat* ‘milkman(M)-the’, *прозорец-ъм/prozorec-ът* ‘window(M)-the’, there is a sizeable group of morpho-syntactically feminine nouns which also end in a consonant (instead of the usual

⁴⁸For more on the Bulgarian definite article, see Scatton (1993: 202), Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999: 469-74, 516), Tilkov et al. (1983a: 36-7, 115ff, 167-70, 186, 195) and Pašov (1999). Cf. Ortman and Popescu (2000), who insist that the definite article in Romanian and Bulgarian is a suffix and come up with specifications within the domain of morphology which are in the spirit of our own.

⁴⁹In the plural, selection is based on phonological generalisations. The allomorph is *-ма/-та* if the plural noun ends in /a/, or *-ме/-те* if the plural noun has a final /i/ or /e/ (see Tilkov et al. (1983a: 123) and Scatton (1993: 202)). Neuter plural nouns usually end in /a/ and go with *-ма/-та*, whereas non-neuter plural nouns often end in /i/ or /e/ and are consequently marked as definite with *-ме/-те*, so the article can be argued to agree in gender (neuter vs. non-neuter) in the plural as well (cf. Tilkov et al. (1983a: 103ff, esp. 105) and Scatton (1993: 199-203) on building plurals in Bulgarian). Exceptions like the neuter plural form *рамене/ramene* ‘shoulders’, which has a word-final /e/ and takes *-ме/-те*, or the masculine plural *ътища/pătišta* ‘roads’, which ends in /a/ and takes *-ма/-та*, can be said to change their gender in the plural. However, this explanation might be too excessive and theory-driven. This issue aside, plural adjectives, numerals and pronouns are consistently made definite with *-ме/-те*, following the plural agreement marker *-и/-и-*. *Много/много* ‘much/many’ selects *-мо/-то*, but it ends in /o/, like a neuter singular noun or adjective, and is compatible with plural or singular mass nouns of any gender.

feminine singular suffix *-a*, just as in Serbian/Croatian – cf. Chapter 2, Section 6.1). Such nouns, however, require the feminine *-ma/-ta* article despite their final consonant, as in *добрест-ма/doblest-ta* ‘valour(F)-the’, *младост-ма/mladost-ta* ‘youth(F)-the’. Lexemes with the same final phoneme can belong to different genders and are thus compatible with different articles: *мирис-ъм/miris-ъм* ‘smell(M)-the’ and *орис-ма/oris-ta* ‘fate(F)-the’⁵⁰. What is more, there are consonantal stems which vary in gender, e.g. *прах/prax* ‘dust’ (cf. Burov et al. (1995: 569)). They are sometimes treated as masculine and sometimes as feminine, receiving the appropriate definite affix in line with their grammatical gender, despite the fact that the phonological shape of the stem remains constant.

The most concise analysis therefore involves concord (or possibly morphological) agreement between the noun and the article attached to it, in addition to index agreement for all other NP-internal targets⁵¹. In this way, articles will pick out concord when suffixed directly to the head noun, and index if they appear on another nominal element, as shown in (49). A straightforward example for a masculine and a feminine noun is given in (50). Mismatches are illustrated in (51).

(49) *Co-occurrence constraints on Bulgarian articles in the singular:*

a) MASCULINE <i>-ъм/-ъм (-ям/-ят), -а/-а (-я/-ја)</i>	b) FEMININE <i>-ма/-та</i>	c) NEUTER <i>-мо/-то</i>
(↑CONCORD GEND)=M (↑CONCORD NUM)=SG (within N)	(↑CONCORD GEND)=F (↑CONCORD NUM)=SG (within N)	(↑CONCORD GEND)=N (↑CONCORD NUM)=SG (within N)
OR:	OR:	OR:
(↑INDEX GEND)=M (↑INDEX NUM)=SG (within NP)	(↑INDEX GEND)=F (↑INDEX NUM)=SG (within NP)	(↑INDEX GEND)=N (↑INDEX NUM)=SG (within NP)

⁵⁰The same idea extends to syncretic numerals like *първи/pǎrvi* ‘first’. In isolation, this form is ambiguous between masculine singular and plural. If it is masculine singular, it takes the masculine singular article *-я(м)/-ја(т)*. As expected, it takes the plural article *-ме/-те* when plural.

⁵¹As opposed to appealing to a combination of gender and phonological make-up, which has been the traditional approach (cf. Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999: 469-74, 516)).

(50)a.	<i>стол-ът</i> stol-ăt chair(M)[SG]-DEF.M.SG 'the chair'	<i>дървени-ят</i> dărveni-jat wooden[M.SG]-DEF.M.SG 'the wooden chair'	<i>стол</i> stol chair(M)[SG]
(50)b.	<i>мас-а-та</i> mas-a-ta table(F)-SG-DEF.F.SG 'the table'	<i>дървен-а-та</i> dărven-a-ta wooden-F.SG-DEF.F.SG 'the wooden table'	<i>мас-а</i> mas-a table(F)-SG
(51)a.	<i>бащ-а-та</i> bašt-a-ta father(F/M)-SG-DEF.F.SG 'the father'	<i>добри-ят</i> dobri-jat good[M.SG]-DEF.M.SG 'the good father'	<i>бащ-а</i> bašt-a father(F/M)-SG
(51)b.	<i>дяд-о-то</i> djad-o-to grandad(N/M)-SG-DEF.N.SG 'the grandfather'	<i>добри-ят</i> dobri-jat good[M.SG]-DEF.M.SG 'the good grandfather'	<i>дяд-о</i> djad-o grandad(N/M)-SG

Returning to the attributive targets we have been concerned with in previous sections, a choice exists NP-internally between using the resolved index, which results in plural agreement, or using the index of the closest controller (cf. Chapter 2). The order of some determiners, such as demonstrative pronouns, relative to the head noun is fairly fixed. Other determiners, such as possessive pronouns, as well as pre-modifying adjectives, can come either before or after the head. We therefore formulate all the constraints by making reference to the closest conjunct, as opposed to the leftmost one.

A possessive pronoun like *негов/negov* 'his' will have four inflectional forms – M.SG, F.SG, NT.SG and PL. Similarly to their Serbian/Croatian cognates (cf. Chapter 2)⁵², the singular forms will only be able to participate in obligatory closest-

⁵²A notable point of divergence is that, whereas Serbian and Croatian attributive targets tend to impose concord, and sometimes also index, requirements, their Bulgarian counterparts are best analysed as mostly interested in index. We do not share Osenova's (2008: 60) view that what she terms "semantic" agreement is only available outside the NP. If we take "semantic" as used by Osenova to mean index in the way it is used here, it becomes clear that what Osenova calls "semantic" agreement can be active within the NP. This is demonstrated by the option of placing a plural determiner/pre-modifier in front of two coordinated singular nouns, which is semantically justified, in contrast to the purely grammatical singular form. Osenova's assertion is also invalidated by examples like *мо-[ÿ]-ят/мо-я-та колега то-[j]-ят/мо-я-та колега* 'my-M.SG-DEF/my-F.SG-

conjunct agreement, as shown in (52). It will always be sensible to interpret the plural as the outcome of resolution, hence the equations in (53)⁵³.

(52) *Agreement constraints imposed by a singular attributive target:*

negov	negova
(↑ PRED) = ‘his’	(↑ PRED) = ‘his’
(↑ _C INDEX GEND) = M	(↑ _C INDEX GEND) = F
(↑ _C INDEX NUM) = SG	(↑ _C INDEX NUM) = SG

negovo
 (↑ PRED) = ‘his’
 (↑_C INDEX GEND) = NT
 (↑_C INDEX NUM) = SG

(53) *Agreement constraints imposed by a plural attributive target:*

negovi
 (↑ PRED) = ‘his’
 (↑ INDEX NUM) = PL

Alternatively, we could assume that all four items in (52) and (53) require optional closest-conjunct agreement (expressed with the notation (↑_(C) INDEX)), allowing them to work either with the resolved features of the NP as a whole or with the features of the nearest noun. The resolution rules would then have to prevent the singular members of the paradigm from accessing the necessary values (as number would not normally resolve to singular), whereas the plural form would be redundantly permitted to access the plural features of the conjunct next to it. When two conjuncts list separate roles or characteristics of the same person or object, single-conjunct agreement is obligatory, as becomes evident from (54). A plural target is banned, since it would suggest that reference is made to two individuals (cf. Corbett’s Hierarchies). More discussion will follow below.

(54) *Мария М., известн-а-та актрис-а и политик*
 Marija M., izvestn-a-ta aktris-a i politik
 Maria M. famous-F.SG-DEF.F.SG actress(F)-SG and politician(M)[SG]
 ‘Maria M., the famous actress and politician’ [BTV programme, 19 Nov 2011]

DEF fellow-student’, where agreement is determined by the sex of the referent.
⁵³These constraints will be enriched below.

There are Bulgarian determiners which seem to need distributive (concord?) agreement (at least in number), e.g. *всеки, всички/vseki, vsički* ‘each, every, all’. I do not have a solid explanation of such behaviour, apart from the vague comments about meaning (cf. Section 4). It is hardly a coincidence that their English equivalents have a similar effect and favour singularity, as shown in (55).

- (55) a. *This man and woman are/*is trying to find their way back.*
 b. *Each man and woman is/?are trying to find their way back.*

- (56) a. *всички мъж-е и жен-и*
vsički mǎž-e i žen-i
 all.PL man(M)-PL and woman(F)-PL
 ‘all men and women’
- b. **всички мъж и жен-а*
vsički mǎž i žen-a
 all.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG
 ‘all man and woman’
- c. **всички мъж-е и жен-а*
vsički mǎž-e i žen-a
 all.PL man(M)-PL and woman(F)-SG
 ‘all men and woman’

- (57) a. *всеки мъж и жен-а*
vseki mǎž i žen-a
 every.M.SG man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG
 ‘every man and woman’
- b. **всеки мъж и жен-и*
vseki mǎž i žen-i
 every.M.SG man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-PL
 ‘every man and women’

The plural Bulgarian quantifier *всички/vsički* ‘all’ in (56) seeks controllers which are both grammatically and semantically plural. In (57), the masculine singular form *всеки/vseki* ‘every’ requires distributive number agreement, in addition to matching the gender of the closest conjunct only. The present model makes it possible to capture the idiosyncrasies of such targets in the constraints associated with their lexical entries. More discussion of the words for ‘each/every/all’ can be found in Chapter 5.

The configurations we have seen here are fairly similar to what we saw for Serbian and Croatian in Chapter 2. The additional information that we have gathered

about Bulgarian is that settling on an appropriate target is affected by factors such as the animacy and topicality of the controller. In its current state, our model only tells us what the conceivable patterns are, but does not enable us to incorporate the generalisations governing the selection of a pattern. This is what we try to do in the final section.

8.2. The Inclusion of Animacy in the Formal Model of Agreement

We will focus only on animacy for now, leaving it for future projects to formalise in a similar vein the contribution of the other variables, like sameness of gender, grammatical role, etc. Any theoretical treatment would have to take account of the fact that those are not hard and fast rules, but approximate tendencies. The multiple factors, as well as their statistical nature, can be expressed with Optimality-Theory-style violable constraints which are not ranked very high (cf. Eggert (2002: 180ff)). In addition, attaching different restrictions to different targets in accordance with their syntactic behaviour will allow us to acknowledge the target effects that came up in the preceding discussion.

In order to model the influence of animacy, we could enrich the constraints⁵⁴ associated with the lexical entries of the various targets, such as the determiner ‘his’ from (52) and (53) above. We will have to declare that these constraints are violable, for instance with a proviso that the parts of the rules which refer to the value of ANIM⁵⁵ are optional or somehow weaker.

- (58) *Constraints for a plural target:*
 $\{(\uparrow\text{INDEX NUM}) = \text{PL}, (\uparrow\text{ANIM}) = + \mid (\uparrow_{\text{C}} \text{INDEX NUM}) = \text{PL}, (\uparrow \text{ANIM}) \neq +\}$

⁵⁴I am indebted to my supervisor Prof. Mary Dalrymple for her help with the notation.

⁵⁵When we write $(\uparrow\text{ANIM}) = +$, we mean that animacy is a distributive semantic feature characterising all conjuncts. When we write $(\uparrow\text{ANIM}) \neq +$, we mean that not all conjuncts are animate: at least one of them is not, while the others may or may not be. With this stipulation in place, we explain why coordinated phrases exclusively made up of animates pattern in one way, whereas coordinations consisting only of inanimates or a mix of animates and inanimates pattern differently. Note that this does not solve the problem of combining a human and an animal – we would expect them to work just like a pairing of persons, but they might not. More research needs to be done on this.

The equation in (58) is actually a disjunctive set of two instructions which regulate the behaviour of a plural determiner or attributive adjective in different environments. Gender is superfluous here. The first half (before the vertical line) says that the chosen target agrees either with the index of a plural, non-coordinated animate noun or with the plural resolved index of a coordinate phrase whose conjuncts denote animates. This follows from defining (f INDEX) as ‘the INDEX features of a non-coordinate phrase, or the resolved INDEX features of a coordinate phrase’ (cf. Chapter 2, Section 5).

The second half will let such a target agree either exclusively with the index features of the nearest conjunct, if the coordinate phrase consists of inanimate controllers (e.g. ‘these chairs and table(s)’), or with the plural index of a stand-alone inanimate noun (e.g. *тези легла/tezi legla* ‘these beds’). This follows from the definition of (f_c INDEX) from Chapter 2, Section 5. Most importantly, the absence of brackets around the subscripted “C” indicates that, if we are dealing with a coordinate phrase, agreement with the closest conjunct is obligatory. Resolution is thus outlawed in the context of two or more singular inanimates.

The constraints for a singular target are analogous (see (59)). A singular determiner or attributive adjective operates in the same manner and in the same environments as its plural counterpart, the only difference being that it combines with singular nouns and always enforces single-conjunct agreement.

(59) *Constraints for a singular target:*
 (↑_C INDEX NUM) = SG
 {(↑ANIM) = +, N_{1i} = N_{2i}⁵⁶ | (↑ANIM) ≠ +}

In the simplest scenario, the equations in (59) make the determiner/modifier compatible with a singular, non-conjoined noun (animate or inanimate). Resolution in Bulgarian never results in singular features, unless there is a single denotatum

⁵⁶“N_{1i} = N_{2i}” does not belong to LFG’s notational toolbox – it is an informal shorthand signifying that the two conjuncts are co-referential.

involved. If two conjoined nouns do not refer to the same person, the overall index of the phrase will be plural, which means that a singular determiner will not be grammatical, even if it were allowed to detect the resolved features. If the same individual is being described, the strategy has to be closest-conjunct agreement (as we saw in (54) above) – this is taken care of by the initial half of the second line of (59), which permits, say, the singular possessive pronoun to agree with its nearest animate controller, as long as the other animate controller is co-referential with it (but not otherwise, thus banishing singular targets from contexts of conjoined animates). The final part of the notation, after the vertical line, states that the target in question matches the singular index features of the conjunct next to it, when the coordinate phrase consists of inanimates.

In sum, (59) guarantees our singular target a safe passage to the following “destinations”: a non-conjoined singular noun (animate or inanimate), a pairing of co-referential, singular, animate controllers, or a pairing of inanimate (or mixed) controllers at least the nearest of which is singular. If we wanted to get rid of the clumsy notational device of $N1_i=N2_i$, which ensures referential identity in (59) in a rather brutal manner and is not standard in LFG, we could emend our constraint to what is displayed in (60).

(60) *More LFG-friendly constraints for a singular target:*
 $\{(\uparrow \text{INDEX NUM}) = \text{SG}, (\uparrow \text{ANIM}) = + \mid (\uparrow_c \text{INDEX NUM}) = \text{SG}, (\uparrow \text{ANIM}) \neq +\}$

Then the target would be free to agree either with the singular index of a non-conjoined animate head, or with the singular resolved index of an NP of the type of “my friend and colleague”, provided that one person fills both roles. The resolved index can only be singular when the two (or more) signs are co-referential, so the desired effect of ruling out a singular target with conjoined, non-co-referential animate controllers follows naturally, without any need to state the co-referentiality condition explicitly. The part after the vertical line in (60) is essentially the same as

(59). Even if (60) is implemented, gender would still have to be separately specified as firmly committed to closest-conjunct agreement (i.e. “(\uparrow_C INDEX GEND) = MASC”).

In spite of its technical elegance, the alternative proposal in (60) entails a claim that the same target simultaneously participates in resolved and single-conjunct agreement with its various features. This might be an aberration in terms of typology and common-sense linguistic intuition, but is not unheard of (cf. Chapter 1, Section 5; Chapter 2, Sections 5 and 6.1). In addition, adopting the streamlined notation would also entail a claim that single-conjunct agreement works differently when two items are being described (e.g. ‘this man and woman’), and where there are two descriptions of the same item (e.g. ‘my friend and colleague’), which it might do in view of the special semantic circumstances.

Our formalisation from this section is in a way an adaptation of insights that grammars can actually be gradient (cf. Bresnan and Hay (2008)). It might even be argued that such constraints are extra-syntactic and belong to performance, rather than competence (see Aronoff and Fudeman (2007: 214), as well as Rosenbach (2008: 163) and the references cited there).

9. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have reaffirmed that syntax is neither self-contained nor independent of semantic and pragmatic forces. We first reviewed research into the influence of natural and accidental coordination on agreement patterns in Finnish and how this has been represented in the LFG framework. It was then proved that the semantic feature of animacy has a significant effect on agreement in Bulgarian (as in many other languages). Similar solutions were sought for the new findings, again making use of the flexible formalism of LFG.

CHAPTER 4

Ellipsis and Closest-Conjunct Agreement

1. Introduction: Two Views on Closest-Conjunct Agreement

Two agreement possibilities with conjoined nouns (among others) have been discussed so far in the chapters on Serbian/Croatian and Bulgarian – either plural agreement with the resolved features of all individual controllers (1), or agreement exclusively with the features of the closest one (2). It has been taken for granted that the hierarchical organisation of such examples remains essentially the same, irrespective of the pattern chosen. On this view, both (1) and (2) are coordinations of two N-bar constituents which do not form a Noun Phrase – the NP is not complete until we have added the determiner that takes scope over both N-bar units (cf. Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 below). This is to be contrasted to a combination of two full NPs, illustrated in (3) and Fig. 3, where the second conjunct has its own definite article which is incompatible with the demonstrative pronoun (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2)¹. Neither will we posit different phrase structures corresponding to different agreement configurations with other targets, such as attributive adjectives, relative pronouns or verbs (unless there are good reasons for it, as in (3)). We believe that it does not matter whether the target is plural, as in (1), or singular, as in (2) – the c-structure tree does not change (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). In the spirit of LFG, we deal with the various agreement alternatives at f-structure. This short chapter provides argumentation in support of this claim, both within the NP and outside it.

¹The representation in Fig. 3 violates LFG's Lexical Integrity Principle, which states that syntactic rules cannot operate with parts of words (cf. Dalrymple (2001: 83ff)). Strictly speaking, the definite morpheme of the second NP should come under the N node, as it is within the word boundaries of the head noun (cf. Tilkov et al. (1983a: 26-7) and Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999: 469)). We accord it a separate Det node in order to get our point across. For proposals about the phrase-structural organisation of Bulgarian NPs, including tree diagrams, see Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999: 514ff) and Osenova and Simov (2007: 71ff).

- (1) *тези* *гланц* *и* *белот-а*
 tezi glanc i belot-a
 this.PL sheen(M)[SG] and whiteness(F)-SG
 literally: ‘these sheen and whiteness’ (meaning: ‘this sheen and whiteness’)
- (2) *този* *гланц* *и* *белот-а*
 tozi glanc i belot-a
 this.M.SG sheen(M)[SG] and whiteness(F)-SG
 ‘this sheen and whiteness’
- (3) *този* *гланц* *и* *белот-а-та*
 tozi glanc i belot-a-ta
 this.M.SG sheen(M)[SG] and whiteness(F)-SG-DEF.F.SG
 ‘this sheen and the whiteness’

Fig. 1

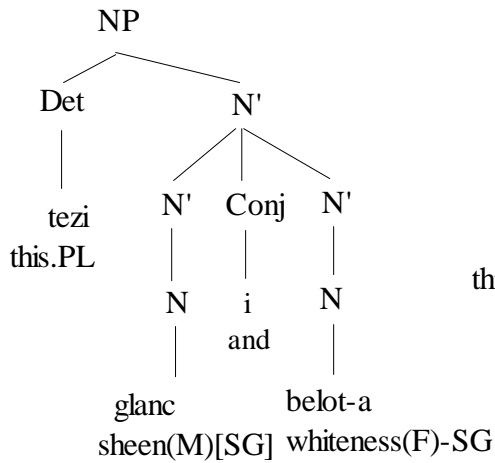


Fig. 2

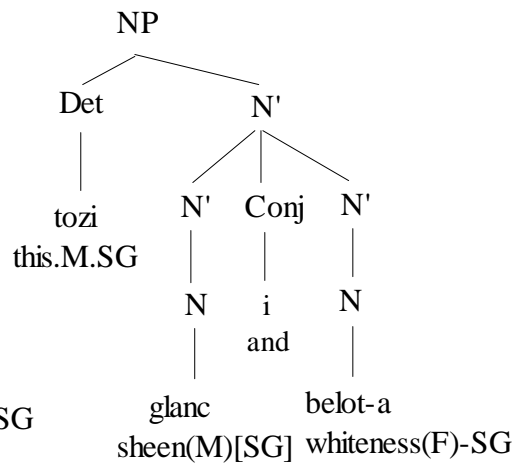
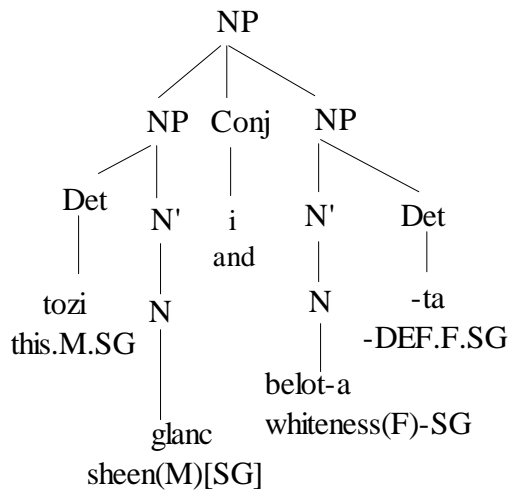


Fig. 3



As is often the case in linguistics, this is not the only position one could adopt. Some scholars would say that (2) is in fact a pairing of two full NPs, and Fig. 2 should therefore look like Fig. 3, rather than Fig. 1, because there might be an invisible, ellipsed or deleted determiner in front of the second conjunct in (2). For instance, Crockett (1976, chaps. 3 and 4) and A. Maykova (p.c.) postulate different (underlying) constituent structures for resolved and closest-conjunct agreement in Russian, resorting to ellipsis or reduction in the context of the latter. Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994) also offer an ellipsis/reduction treatment of subject-verb agreement in Arabic. On the basis of their Arabic data, Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994) argue that a verb agreeing with the second conjunct of a conjoined subject merits an analysis in terms of clausal coordination, since lexemes like *both*, *together* or *each* are not allowed with partial agreement; neither are verbs requiring plural subjects like *meet* (cf. Johannessen (1996) and Lakoff and Ross (1970)). Working on the assumption that single-conjunct agreement is impossible with collective or reciprocal predicates, proponents of this approach

believe that the single-conjunct pattern arises from an underlying coordination of two full phrases or clauses, each of which has its own controller and target, with identical phrasal or clausal material subsequently deleted. The observation that collective or reciprocal predicates cannot just mirror the properties of the closest conjunct is regarded as evidence in favour of this doctrine – such targets are said to co-occur with an authentic coordination of nouns (or NPs/DPs, depending on the domain) and are not derived via reduction or ellipsis. In the sections to follow, it will be maintained that this disjunctive proposal is untenable cross-linguistically, and there is a viable alternative explanation for the phenomena adduced in its defence.

2. Closest-Conjunct Agreement within the NP

Let us start with the NP-internal domain. We first set out to find targets with reciprocal meaning that nevertheless exhibit single-conjunct agreement. This in itself can refute the second hypothesis outlined in the introduction. The search for the Bulgarian string in (4) produced no results on the Internet, whereas the resolved configuration in (5) was attested on many web pages. Our preliminary investigation proved that it is next to impossible to come across reciprocal dependents that pick up the features of a distinguished conjunct.

(4) *прегърнат мъж и жен-а*
 pregārnat mǎž i žen-a
 embraced[M.SG] man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG
 ‘an embracing man and woman’ [no Google hits]

(5) *прегърнат-и мъж и жен-а*
 pregārnat-i mǎž i žen-a
 embraced-PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG
 ‘an embracing man and woman’ [many Google hits]

However, such examples do exist, even though they are hard to come by. The adjectives in (6) definitely apply to both nouns, but if (6) had been generated via deletion or ellipsis and we “recovered” the supposedly missing instances of

‘compatible’ and ‘interacting’ in front of the second controller, the phrase would make no sense². This deals a heavy blow to the ellipsis account sketched out in the introduction. It transpires that the agreement patterns with reciprocals cannot be invoked to uphold it. There is independent motivation for those targets to prefer resolved agreement, which we go into below.

(6)

<i>съвместим</i>	<i>и</i>	<i>взаимодейства-щ</i>	<i>хардуер</i>	<i>и</i>	<i>софтуер</i>
săvmestim	i	vzaimodejstva-št	xarduer	i	softuer
compatible[M.SG]	and	interact-ing[M.SG]	hardware(M)[SG]	and	software(M)[SG]
‘compatible and interacting hardware and software’					
[brochure]					

In the light of this evidence, we continue to assume the same constituent structure for examples (1), (2), (5), and (6)³ above, as well as the analogous one in (7) below.

(7)

<i>тази</i>	<i>книг-а</i>	<i>и</i>	<i>компактдиск</i>	<i>са...</i>
tazi	knig-a	i	kompaktdisk	sa...
this.F.SG	book(F)-SG	and	CD(M)[SG]	be.PRES.3PL...
‘This book and CD are...’				[web]

There are further reasons why the second conjunct in (2) and (7) could not possibly harbour an invisible stowaway determiner. Even though the deictic target in (2) and (7) agrees only with the first noun in each case, it takes scope over both of them, because of the definite meaning of the NP. A noun phrase can lack an overt determiner in Bulgarian, but then its reference is indefinite. If *kompaktdisk* ‘CD’ appears with no article or demonstrative pronoun, it will mean ‘a CD’. However, this interpretation is unavailable in (7), where the CD can only be a unique one that is known from the context of the speech act. When a noun phrase consists of a determiner and a head, it is normally the head noun that can be omitted, as shown in (8)a. Ellipsis of the dependent (including an attributive adjective for that matter) is

²Cf. Osenova (2004) on the semantic incongruities of ellipsis in the Bulgarian translations of phrases like *his neighbour and classmate* (*≠his neighbour and his classmate*).

³Of course, diagrams with adjectives will have to sprout an extra N-bar node above the conjoined N-bar. This is where the shared pre-modifiers will be inserted, in compliance with X-bar Theory.

ruled out in these circumstances – B’s response in (8)b. cannot be taken to hint at an ellipted demonstrative pronoun, i.e. it cannot imply ‘[this] jacket’. In order to enforce this reading, we would have to repeat the demonstrative pronoun. The only plausible way to construe the actual response given in (8)b. is that it has a zero determiner and is therefore an indefinite NP meaning ‘a jacket’ (which is what makes it pragmatically inappropriate as a reaction to the question in (8)). Crucially, a zero determiner is not an ellipted definite determiner – it is a member of the class of Bulgarian determiners equivalent to the English indefinite article (cf. Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999: 469-474, 514ff)).

(8) a.

<p>A: <i>Това</i> <i>палт-о</i> <i>ли</i> <i>иска-ш?</i> Tova palt-o li iska-š? this.NT.SG coat(NT)-SG Q want-2SG ‘Is it this coat that you want?’</p>	<p>B: <i>Не, това.</i> Ne, tova. NEG this.NT.SG ‘No, this [one]’ [invented]</p>
--	---

(8) b.

<p>A: <i>Това</i> <i>палт-о</i> <i>ли</i> <i>иска-ш?</i> Tova palt-o li iska-š? this.NT.SG coat(NT)-SG Q want-2SG ‘Is it this coat that you want?’</p>	<p>B: <i>#Не, яке.</i> #Ne, jake. NEG jacket(NT)[SG] #‘No, a jacket.’ [invented]</p>
--	--

3. Single-Conjunct Agreement outside the NP

In (6) above, we saw that ellipsis cannot always be trusted as an explanation for closest-conjunct agreement on attributive targets. There are similar issues with reciprocal and collective targets in the clausal domain. The first couple of examples we showcase below are more or less fossilised and idiomatic, and therefore controversial, but still worth citing. The verb ‘gather’ in (9) is third person singular, so it only matches the person and number of the first conjunct. The third person singular verb is ungrammatical with either conjunct on its own, as demonstrated in (10) and (11).

(9)
Събр-а *се* *мал-о* *и* *голям-о*, *от* *близо* *и* *далеч*.
Săbr-a *se* *mal-o* *i* *goljam-o*, *ot* *blizo* *i* *daleč*.
gather-PAST[3SG] REFL little-NT.SG and big-NT.SG, from near and far
‘There gathered young and old, from near and far’
[Source: short story <http://otkrovenia.com/main.php?action=show&id=118400>
(accessed on 10 Oct 2010)]

(10) *?*Събр-а* *се* *мал-о*
 *?*Săbr-a* *se* *mal-o*
 Gather-PAST[3SG] REFL little-NT.SG
 ‘There gathered young’

(11) *?*Събр-а* *се* *голям-о*
 *?*Săbr-a* *se* *goljam-o*
 Gather-PAST[3SG] REFL big-NT.SG
 ‘There gathered old’

This suggests that a two-step process, initially proceeding from full clausal coordination with subsequent reduction, cannot have been how (9) was generated. A collective interpretation for the adjectives *мало и голямо/malo i goljamo* ‘little and big’ (meaning ‘young and old’) is usually available when they are conjoined. If they appear in isolation, however, it is difficult to get a collective reading. Nevertheless, should one force such a reading, then the non-conjoined sentences in (10) and (11) might conceivably be semi-grammatical, but they still remain somewhat degraded, probably because the individual adjectives can no longer be perceived as nominalisations denoting a group⁴. Even if we accepted (10) and (11) as fully well-formed, there would be insurmountable semantic obstacles. *There gathered young and old* does not mean the same thing as *There gathered young and there gathered old* – in the first instance, there is one gathering, whereas in the second instance, there are

⁴It is useful to compare the nominalised adjectives *мало и голямо/malo i goljamo* ‘little and big’, which disfavour a collective interpretation unless they appear together, to the expression *всичко живо/vsičko živo* ‘(lit.) everything alive’, which is also neuter singular but always has a collective sense:

(i) *Събр-а* *се* *всичк-о* *жив-о*
 Săbr-a *se* *vsičk-o* *živ-o*
 Gather-PAST[3SG] REFL everything-NT.SG alive-NT.SG
 ‘Everyone gathered.’

two, so the allegedly elliptical construction cannot have been derived through ellipsis anyway. We return to semantic and pragmatic considerations in Section 5 below.

The sentence in (9) may arguably be dismissed as a frozen idiomatic expression, but even so, before fossilising it must have been a productive pattern, as indicated in the following quotation from a traditional Bulgarian folk song from ca. 17th or 18th c. presented in (12)a.

(12) a.

<i>Събр-а</i>	<i>се</i>	<i>мал-о</i>	<i>и</i>	<i>голям-о,</i>	<i>турци-и,</i>	<i>Доне,</i>
Săbr-a	se	mal-o	i	goljam-o,	turc-i,	Done,
gather-PAST[3SG]	REFL.ACC	little-NT.SG	and	big-NT.SG	Turk-PL	Done.VOC

<i>и българ-и,</i>	<i>да</i>	<i>си</i>	<i>Стоян-а</i>	<i>изпита-т...</i>
i bălgar-i,	da	si	Stojan-a	izpita-t...
and Bulgarian-PL	COMP	REFL.DAT	Stojan-ACC	test-3PL

‘There gathered young and old, Turks, Done, and Bulgarians, in order to test Stojan’

[Source: Bulgarian folk song,

<http://liternet.bg/folklor/sbornici/bnt/4/165.htm><<http://liternet.bg/folklor/sbornici/bnt/4/165.htm> (accessed on 12 Dec 2010)]

(12) b. **Събр-а* *се* *турци-и*
 *Săbr-a se turc-i
 gather-PAST[3SG] REFL Turk-PL
 ‘There gathered Turks’

(12) c. *Събр-а-ха* *се* *турци-и*
 Săbr-a-xa se turc-i
 gather-PAST-3PL REFL Turk-PL
 ‘There gathered Turks’

Example (12)a. is of particular interest due to its additional conjuncts. The verb ‘gathered’ definitely only agrees with the leftmost controller, while at the same time taking scope over all of them. Certainly it would be unthinkable to have *събра/сăбра* ‘gathered.3SG’ combining with a plural noun like *турци/turci* ‘Turks’: (12)b. is out because the plural subject needs a plural verb, which it gets in (12)c.; (13) is an

analogue from English⁵. The first potential input of the original coordination, prior to the deletion operation, i.e. *#There was gathered myself*, would be pragmatically and semantically anomalous, whereas the second one, **There was gathered several major officers*, would break the rules of subject-verb agreement (on predicates like *gather*, cf. Allan (1986: 130ff)).

(13) ...to the luncheon room where *there was gathered myself and several major officers* of the Knights of Peter Claver and Ladies Auxiliary...

[Source:

<http://home.catholicweb.com/kofpc/index.cfm/NewsItem?ID=247034&from=home>

(accessed on 25 May 2010)]

4. An Alternative Explanation

Ellipsis has been discredited as an explanation due to the material presented here, but we still need to explain why single-conjunct agreement with reciprocal targets is vanishingly rare (despite the attestations we have discussed). It may well be the case that the semantics of the target also plays a role in the choice of pattern, as conjectured in Chapter 3. So does the semantics of different controllers or conjunctions (cf. Chapters 3 and 5). Although it has to be acknowledged that reciprocal lexemes are extremely reluctant to participate in single-conjunct agreement, this reluctance need not be put down to ellipsis, even in Russian or Arabic. Ellipsis implies that the reason should be sought in the syntactic structure, whereas in fact it lies elsewhere. Meanings like those of embracing or coming together, for instance, are highly unlikely to trigger anything other than resolved agreement since they foreground all participants in the event, and not just one of them. In other words, they presuppose a controller with a plural index, no matter whether they get it through coordination, as in (14)a., or through plural number morphology, as in (14)b.

⁵See Johannesssen (1996) for more examples of reciprocal, collective and distributive predicates that co-vary with the closest conjunct in Czech and German. Camacho (2003: 111) provides such data involving the verb 'combined' in Brazilian Portuguese.

- (14) a. *прегърна-т-и* *мъж* *и* *жен-а*
 pregărna-t-i mǎž i žen-a
 embrace-PASS.PPRT-PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG
 ‘an embracing man and woman’
- b. *прегърна-т-и* *хора*
 pregărna-t-i хора
 embrace-PASS.PPRT-PL people.PL
 ‘embracing people’

Wechsler and Zlatić’s (2003) model, which we have been working with throughout this dissertation, can naturally predict the behaviour of these idiosyncratic targets in conjoined and non-conjoined contexts alike, whereas the ellipsis analysis cannot be extended beyond coordination. The usage of some reciprocal or collective Bulgarian predicates is illustrated in (15), (16), (17) and (18) below.

- (15) *Прегърна се/Събра се цялото село/мало и голямо/група студенти/*мъж и жена/*мъж/*мъже*
 Pregărna se/Săbra se cjaloto selo/malo i goljamo/grupa studenti/*mǎž i žen-a/*mǎž/*mǎže

Embraced[3SG]/Gathered[3SG] the whole village/young and old/a group of students/*a man and a woman/*a man/*men

‘There embraced/gathered the whole village/young and old/a group of students/*a man and a woman/*a man/*men) [invented]

- (16)
Сума свят се насъбра-л да послуша млад-и
 Suma svjat se nasăbra-l da posluša mlad-i
 a.sum world(M)[SG] REFL gather-PPRT[M.SG] COMP listen.to[3SG] young-PL

гост-и
 gost-i
 guest(M)-PL

‘A large multitude gathered in order to listen to the young guests’.
 [early 20th c. Bulgarian poem; Javorov (2002: 25)]

- (17)
и бѣ вес-ь град-ь събъра-л-ь сѧ
 i bĕ ves-ь grad-ь събъра-л-ь сѧ
 and AUX.3SG all-M.NOM.SG town(M)-NOM.SG gather-PPRT-M.SG REFL

къ двър-емъ
 къ dvъr-emъ
 to gate(F)-DAT.PL

‘And the whole town had gathered at the gates’ [Duridanov et al. (1991: 363)]⁶

⁶Transliteration follows Cubberley (1993: 24) and Huntley (1993).

(18) *Прегърна-ха се/Събра-ха се мъж и жена/мъже и жени/мъже/група студенти/?цялото село*

Pregărna-xa se/Săbra-xa se mǎž i žena/mǎže i ženi/mǎže/grupa studenti/?cjaloto selo

Embraced-3PL/Gathered-3PL a man and a woman/men and women/men/a group of students/?the whole village

‘There embraced/gathered a man and a woman/men and women/men/a group of students/?the whole village’ [invented]

It quickly becomes clear that the third-person singular forms can combine only with controllers that are grammatically singular but semantically plural. To translate this into the parlance of our framework, these targets take controllers with singular index but plural semantics⁷ (see (19) below), as confirmed by the invented combinations in (15), as well as the attested ones in (16) for Modern Bulgarian and (17) for Old Bulgarian/Old Church Slavonic. We show in (15) that a pairing of nouns like ‘man and woman’, each with a singular index, does not meet the criteria from (19) below, because the first conjunct needs to have plural semantics (in addition to a singular index); hence the singular forms of ‘gather’ and ‘embrace’ are unacceptable with ‘a man and woman’ (see (15)). Co-occurrence with the word for ‘men’ is out of the question too – ‘men’ does denote a plurality but its index is not singular (cf. (15) and (19)). According to (18), the plural incarnations of these collective/reciprocal verbs only require a plural index, as stated in (20).

(19) *Agreement constraints of the singular Bulgarian verbs for “gather”/“embrace”:*

gather.3SG/embrace.3SG: (↑_C SUBJ SEM) = PL

(↑_C SUBJ INDEX) = SG

(20) *Agreement constraints of the plural Bulgarian verbs for “gather”/“embrace”:*

gather.3PL/embrace.3PL (↑ SUBJ INDEX) = PL

The examples above suggest that we can successfully model the agreement patterns with a verb like ‘gather’ by enforcing the constraints in (19) and (20), without

⁷This is a split between index and semantics, as opposed to index and concord, because verbs normally agree with the index features of their subjects. The verbs under consideration here appear to impose additional semantic restrictions on their controllers. Some extra specifications of volitionality might also have to be put in place, but this is entirely in the realm of semantics and pragmatics.

relying on ellipsis at all⁸. According to the equations in (19), the Bulgarian third person singular verb ‘gather’ is only happy with a subject that has singular index and plural semantics (irrespective of whether the noun appears on its own or happens to be the nearest item in a string). For coordination, these specifications achieve essentially the same results as the ellipsis proposal, whereby closest-conjunct agreement is a product of clausal ellipsis, while resolved agreement is a case of an underlyingly coordinated subject.

If Crockett (1976) and Anna Maykova (p.c.) are right that Russian, an Eastern Slavonic relative of Bulgarian, admits nothing other than plural resolved agreement when the predicate is of the type of ‘gather’, then the entry for the plural Russian verb will be the same as that for Bulgarian given in (20). Provided that it is unattested in Russian examples similar to our (12), the singular form of Russian ‘gather’ will be deprived of the closest-conjunct agreement option indicated by the sub-C notation that is available to its Bulgarian counterpart. So the Russian rules will look as follows: $(\uparrow\text{SUBJ SEM}) = \text{PL}$, $(\uparrow\text{SUBJ INDEX}) = \text{SG}$. Readers will recall that the sub-C notation mandates a target to access either the features of a non-conjoined controller or the features of the closest conjunct in a coordinate phrase. Removing the subscript means that the Russian singular ‘gather’ will be incompatible with any conjoined nominals, because they will not have a singular resolved index and a plural meaning at the same time. It follows from our hypothesis that a singular reciprocal or collective verb will be ungrammatical with non-collective singular nouns; this would remain unattainable if we only appealed to ellipsis.

A similar mechanism can be devised for words such as ‘together’ and ‘each other’, which also preclude single-conjunct agreement in Russian (Anna Maykova, p.c.), and Arabic (Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994)). As collectives or

⁸Analogous attributive targets, such as ‘compatible’, ‘interacting’, and ‘embracing’, will be equipped with identical constraints. The participles are obviously related to the respective verbal predicates.

reciprocals, and as part of the predicate, they will only be licensed in the company of a plural controller. It is likely that they introduce additional requirements for plural semantics and index, similarly to the verb ‘gather’. Furthermore, there may well be some extra restriction that there should be consistency within the predicate. Since ‘each other’ wants plural semantics and index, so must the verb in the sentence – in other words, the plural form of a verb like ‘love’ or ‘hate’ will be obligatory if the verb phrase contains ‘each other’. The exact formalisation of this is left for future work (however, cf. Chapter 5).

5. Additional Semantic and Structural Problems for the Ellipsis Account

In this final section, we list a few more semantico-pragmatic and purely structural reasons to reject ellipsis as a viable source for closest-conjunct agreement. The sentences from English and Bulgarian in (21) to (24) cannot have undergone ellipsis – simply on the grounds of conflicting interpretations. If we repeated *the most important issue* in front of each conjunct, we would end up with a pragmatically anomalous proposition.

(21) “*In this strategy, the most important issue is Taliban reconciliation and peace talks as President Obama mentioned in his speech*” [Source: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/mar/28/pakistan-zardari-obama-alqaida-afghanistan> (accessed on 19 May 2010)]

(22) *Local people have said that crime and anti-social behaviour is the most important issue for them.* [Source: <http://oneplace.direct.gov.uk/infobyarea/region/area/areaassessment/pages/default.aspx?region=53&area=322> (accessed on 19 May 2010)]

(23) *UNISON members believe health and safety is the most important issue at work.* [Source: <http://www.unison.org.uk/active/safetyreps.asp> (accessed on 19 May 2010)]

(24)
За БАН най-важно е финансирането и адекватното преструктуриране.
Za BAN naj-važno e finansiraneto i adekvatnoto prestrukturirane.
 For BAS most-important is funding and adequate re-structuring

‘The most important [issue] for the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is funding and adequate restructuring’

[Source: Bulgarian National Television news programme, 21 Nov 2010; БНТ „По света и у нас”, централна емисия, 21 ноември 2010 г.]

Example (25) below shows that the same holds for Russian – a process of deriving closest-conjunct agreement from two (underlying) clauses, the second of which has been pared down, simply does not make sense for (25). While our material in (21)-(24) above could be assailed because there is no overt morphological marking to tell us which potential candidate acts as subject, this problem does not arise in Russian, which boasts robust case inflections.

(25)⁹
Главной заботой была кухня и обед
 Glavnoj zabotoj byla kuxnja i obed
 main.INST.SG concern.INST.SG was.F.SG kitchen.NOM.F.SG and dinner.NOM.M.SG

‘The main concerns were the kitchen and dinner.’ (lit: ‘The main concern was the kitchen and dinner.’) [Crockett (1976: 232)]

There is also purely structural evidence against assuming ellipsis. In the first place, I am not at all convinced by an analysis which has a story about the variation between resolved and closest-conjunct agreement, but fails to offer anything but silence for furthest-conjunct agreement (cf. Chapter 2, Section 4). Neither can ellipsis be applied to cases like ‘John and Mary resemble each other’/‘*John resembles each other...’, so N’/NP coordination has to be postulated anyway. It is therefore preferable to stick to a unified phrase-structure representation across the board, rather than proliferating unmotivated constructions.

Quite apart from reciprocals, reflexives and other semantic, pragmatic or syntactic factors, there is yet another empirical hurdle that ellipsis cannot overcome. The relative pronoun in bold in (26) is plural, so proponents of ellipsis would lead us to believe that the antecedents have been conjoined at an abstract level (because of the resolved agreement). However, the verb in the final clause is singular, so it would now have to be illogically maintained that the same two controllers are no longer a genuine coordination of two nouns but of two clauses (the second one reduced). This

⁹In the transliteration from Russian: *ы* (Cyrillic) = *y* (Latin). For the other letters, see the transliteration chart at the beginning of this dissertation.

approach involves restructuring that is implausible, undesirable and inelegant, to say the least. Therefore, it is better to concede that the relative pronoun picks out the resolved plural index of the coordinate phrase, whereas the verb picks out either the index of the rightmost conjunct or a resolved singular value that coexists with the plural one, similarly to collective nouns like English *family*, *clergy*, *faculty* etc. illustrated in (27) (see Chapter 5 for more). The final examples, from Bulgarian and from English, provide justification for the model we developed in Chapter 2¹⁰.

(26)

<i>Не</i>	<i>съзнава-ше</i>		<i>ли, че това</i>		<i>себеотрицани-е,</i>
Ne	sāznava-še		li, če tova		sebeotricani-e,
NEG	realise-IMPERFECT.3SG	Q,	that this.NT.SG		selflessness(NT)-SG

<i>това</i>	<i>усърди-е</i>	<i>и</i>	<i>готовност</i>	<i>да</i>	<i>се</i>	<i>самопожертва,</i>
tova	usārdi-e	i	gotovnost	da	se	samopožertva,
this.NT.SG	zeal(NT)-SG	and	willingness(F)[SG]	COMP	REFL	self-sacrifice[3SG]

<u>ко-и-то</u>	<i>Фани проявява-ше</i>	<i>всред опасност-та</i>
<u>ko-i-to</u>	Fani projavjava-še	vsred opasnost-ta
<u>which-PL-RELATIVE</u>	F. exhibit-IMPERFECT.3SG	amidst danger(F)[SG]-DEF

<i>от зараз-а-та,</i>	<i>не се</i>	<u>дълже-ше</u>
ot zaraz-a-ta,	ne se	<u>dālže-še</u>
of infection(F)-SG-DEF,	NEG REFL	<u>be.due-IMPERFECT.3SG</u>

<i>на християнск-о</i>	<i>смирени-е</i>	<i>и</i>	<i>любов</i>	<i>към</i>	<i>близния?</i>
na xristijansk-o	smireni-e	i	ljubov	kām	bližnija?
to Christian-NT.SG	humility(NT)-SG	and	love(F)[SG]	to	one's.kind

'Didn't he realise that this selflessness, this zeal and willingness to sacrifice herself, which **were** exhibited by Fannie amidst the danger of infection, **wasn't** due to Christian humility and love of one's kind?'

[Source: *Osādeni duši*, Bulgarian novel from the 1940s, Dimov (2009: 175)]

(27) *The new middle class, **who** felt that **they'd** earned **their** wealth rather than inherited it, **was** keen for something new that would reflect **their** sense of **themselves** as discerning and cultured.* [2011 BBC documentary, I am grateful to Steven Kaye, who brought this example to my attention]

¹⁰We cannot rule out a scenario in which the relative pronoun only agrees with 'zeal and willingness', whereas the singular verb agrees with 'selflessness'. However, there are less controversial examples from Serbian/Croatian in Chapter 2.

6. Conclusion

This short chapter has been devoted to evaluating the assertion that closest-conjunct agreement should be attributed to ellipsis. Although ellipsis is a perfectly valid linguistic phenomenon in its own right (cf. Chapter 1, Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, as well as Simov and Osenova (2008)), we have established that any proposal which invariably seeks the roots of closest-conjunct agreement in ellipsis faces serious semantic and syntactic difficulties. Moreover, it accounts for closest-conjunct agreement and resolved agreement by having recourse to two different explanations, at the same time coming up with no satisfactory treatment of furthest-conjunct agreement. In addition, a more adequate and comprehensive analysis was put forward for the phenomena initially invoked in support of the discarded proposal. It is therefore believed that the model adopted and developed in the present work rests on an empirically sounder foundation, subsuming all three types of agreement under the same mechanism.

CHAPTER 5

Concord and Index beyond Coordination with *and*

1. Introduction

This chapter sketches out how the features of index and concord can be harnessed to predict the behaviour of controllers which are not simply conjoined with *and*, but nevertheless exhibit interesting variation in agreement. We will look at collective nouns like *family*, quantified expressions like *ten miles*, conjoined phrases with the conjunction *or* and determiners like *each*, as well as partitives and pseudo-partitives like *a group of students*. It will be concluded that a rigid theory based solely on constituent-structure cannot be reconciled with the finer-grained complexities of the data. By contrast, a model using LFG functional-structure and the distinction between concord and index can capture the subtleties more easily, as it has a way of bringing syntax and semantics closer together. Although a lot of agreement ultimately depends on semantic information, at the end we provide reasons why grammatical agreement cannot be entirely relegated to the realm of semantics.

2. Concord and Index Agreement with Collective Nouns like *family* and Quantified Plural NPs like *ten miles*

As demonstrated by Wechsler and Zlatić (2003), King and Dalrymple (2004), Kim and Sells (2008: 112-7), English verbs require index agreement. This works nicely for patterns like those in (1), and even better for (2) or (3).

- (1) *This boy and girl are...*
- (2) *My friend and colleague is/are.*
- (3) *Eggs is my favourite breakfast* [Pollard and Sag (1988: 245)]

(1) is a straightforward case of two singulars resolving to plural. The subject-verb agreement in (2) is also directly hooked up to the index of the coordinate phrase – if the NP refers to the same person, the index is singular and we therefore get a singular verb; if the friend and colleague are two different people, then the index of the phrase is plural and so is the verb¹ (cf. King and Dalrymple (2004) and Kim (2004: 1111-2), as well as Hudson (1999)). In addition, we follow Pollard and Sag (1988: 245, 1994: 70ff) and Kim (2004: 1112) in assuming that *eggs* in (3) has a singular index².

But how should we approach non-conjoined instances of collective nouns like *family* or *company*? How are we to handle the ease with which they co-occur either with singular or plural verbs (at least in British English), as illustrated in (4) and (5)?

- (4) *My family is/are visiting next week.*
- (5) *This company are superbly managed and their products will continue to be in great demand.* [The Observer, quoted in Juul (1974: 5)]

¹The theory has to be further elaborated to accommodate examples like the following:

(i) *The robber and the saint were/*was the same person.* [Hoeksema (1983: 78)]

For some reason, the index here is not singular, in spite of the reference of the conjoined NP. This might be so because the information about the identity is supplied by the predicate and was not available beforehand, as it would be with, say, *my friend and colleague*. There is a similar ban on assigning singular index to two proper nouns, which is sometimes relaxed, e.g. with company names (cf. Hoeksema (1988: 36, 39)):

(ii) **Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde has passed away.* [Hoeksema (1988: 36)]

²It should be noted that a high degree of animacy may prevent a plural NP from being fitted with a singular index, as in **Raccoons is getting to be [a] big problem in this neighbourhood* [Pollard and Sag (1988: 245)]. This vindicates associating index with certain lexical items. More discussion of animacy can be found below.

The most obvious rationalisation would be to say that the lexeme *family* projects a singular concord and a plural index – in other words, it is singular grammatically but plural in meaning. The verb can then pick up either property. However, we quickly run into problems with this hypothesis. Claiming that singular and plural predicates are sensitive to the concord and index of *family*, respectively, means that a target like *be* in English will have to impose disjunctive restrictions – sometimes requiring index agreement and sometimes concord agreement, which is not the most elegant of analyses. More damagingly, why does the predicate never match the concord features of *this boy and girl* in (1), which would produce the unacceptable string **This boy and girl is...* (cf. King and Dalrymple (2004))? We therefore reject the proposal that verbs can access either the index or the concord of controllers like *family* (cf. Kathol (1999: 246)).

And yet, is it not sometimes inevitable that one and the same class of targets will be inconsistent in that they do not always care about one set of features exclusively? For example, English determiners like *this* in *This boy and girl* from (1) above are shown to participate in concord agreement (cf. King and Dalrymple (2004)). Resolved index agreement (i.e. *those*) is impossible in the attributive domain in (1). However, there are other constructions, like (6)-(9) below, where the unambiguously singular dependents *another* and *this* seem to have preferred the singular semantic interpretation of the phrase as a unit, be it a sum of money or a period of time; what is certain is that the determiners are not aligned with the plural morphology of the head of the NP.

- (6) [...] you should pay twenty pounds for the second and **another** twenty pounds for the third [BNC]
 (7) But he lived **another** seven years [BNC]
 (8) I have not thought of the Lady Anne for **this** twelve years [BNC]
 (9) All **this** six years after the hospital was opened ... [BNC]

Since determiners appear to indiscriminately get hold of the index or the concord of their controllers, would it not be feasible to surmise that predicative elements do not frown on such indecisiveness, either? Our answer to this question is no. We will stick to the view that English verbs orient themselves to the beacon of index at all times³; below, we will claim that the alternations with collective nouns like *family* are due to their index being simultaneously singular and plural.

In fact, we will also maintain that attributive targets never operate with index in English – they obey concord, as envisaged by Kim (2004). We saw that a plural demonstrative pronoun is not tolerated in (1). If we asserted, on the basis of (6)-(9), that determiners in English could match either the concord or the index number of their controller, our model would grossly over-generate, predicting that **those boy and girl* should be perfectly fine, when it obviously is not (cf. Bulgarian, which is demonstrated to rely on index NP-internally in Chapter 3). On closer inspection, putative counterexamples to the hypothesis that attributive agreement in English is always with the concord features, like those in (6)-(9), turn out not to be counterexamples at all⁴. It should be noted that they normally involve a numeral.

³This is the position defended by Kim (2004). One difference between Kim and the present author is that Kim (2004: 1121-2) lets verbs agree in concord (which for him is labelled AGR) with their pronominal subjects. We reject such a move as unnecessarily disjunctive.

⁴There is evidence that index can exceptionally be active NP-internally, as in (i). It is unclear, however, if *french fries* is not better treated as a zero-derived noun with singular concord (and index) (cf. other words where *-s* is not an exponent of the plural like *linguistics*, *physics*, (a) *means* (*of transport*), a *lazybones* etc., as well as Molhova (1992: 20, 98-9)); (i) b. and c. can likewise be regarded as zero-derived plurals, because such agreement is not allowed with any noun (see Allan (1986: 131ff)).

(i) a. *That/*those french fries is/*are getting impatient.* [Eggert (2002: 216)]
 b. *At Tsavo we filmed several rhino as they came down to the river.* [Allan (1986: 131)]
 c. *These cucumber are doing well; it's a good year for them.* [Allan (1986: 132)]

Another potential exception might be the (pre-)determiner *all*, which according to Pollard and Sag (1994: 83, 87-8) co-varies in index with the head noun, on the basis of the following judgements:

(ii) *all men/all faculty/*all man* [Pollard and Sag (1994: 83)]
 (iii) *Every faculty is/*are homogenous.* [Pollard and Sag (1994: 84)]
 (iv) *Every faculty meets/*meet on a monthly basis.* [Pollard and Sag (1994: 84)]
 (v) *All faculty *meets/meet on a monthly basis.* [Pollard and Sag (1994: 84)]

Controllers such as *staff*, *clergy*, *laity*, *peasantry*, *nobility*, *aristocracy* would pattern with *faculty* in (ii)-(v) above, but the following collective nouns do not behave in the same way: *government*, *committee*, *family* (Pollard and Sag (1994: 83); cf. Kim (2004: 1120)). Kim (2004: 1120) speculates that the items compatible with *all* might have acquired both singular and plural concord (= his AGR), but the plural concord has to be made unavailable for other targets (cf. **Those faculty*

English numerals are characterised by no overt plural morphology (except for irrelevant cases like *millions of people*, where *millions* is actually a noun), and therefore must possess singular concord. In the present author's opinion, it is exactly this singular concord that *another* detects in (6)-(9) or in analogous contexts. This situation reminds one of the post-determiners *few/little* in *a few people/a little milk* – the indefinite article *a* is incompatible with plural or non-count nouns, so it must go with the post-determiner, not with the head noun (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 262-3))⁵. In sum, there are good reasons to insist that attributive agreement in English is invariably geared to the concord properties, while subject-verb agreement is with index.

It turns out that both the singular concord of *twenty* and the plural concord of *pounds* are available for other attributive elements to agree with – cf. *this/those twenty pounds*. It remains for future research to probe how this interacts with animacy (cf. *those/*that twenty students*) and the nature of the target (cf. *another twenty students*). In the environment of inanimate controllers, both the contribution of the numeral and that of the head noun are visible to targets, whereas animate nouns like *students* probably suppress the values of the numeral, making their own concord and index the only features a target can gain access to. This, however, does not affect determiners like *another*.

In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, it is preferable to claim that (in British English) a controller like *family* can host coexisting singular and plural indices (as has already been claimed by Kim (2004: 1112) and Kim and Sells (2008: 116))⁶. The former will correspond to a single-unit reading, whereas the latter will

are...).

⁵The same applies to a construction like *an initial 11,000 applicants* [Reid (1991: 214)], where the determiner picks up the singular concord contributed by the numeral.

⁶Kim and Sells (2008) also equip nouns like *government* either with plural or with singular index values, but index for them appears to be synonymous with semantics. We do not think that the two should be completely equated (following Wechsler and Zlatić (2003)). Keeping them apart allows for more adequate generalisations across dialects. It is well known that speakers of different varieties of English express different preferences about number agreement with collective nouns

correspond to a reading that calls up a set with more than one member (cf. Barker (1992) for a discussion of the semantic properties of such lexemes, as well as a comparison to *of*-phrases like *a group of students*, plural nouns and conjoined structures). We can consequently anticipate singular or plural verbs. The advantage of our proposal is that the finite predicate in English remains committed to the index feature. There are, however, a few details that need ironing out. In the same clause, as in (10), or in a different one, as in (11) and (12), a target may agree with the singular index, while another chooses the plural option instead (cf. Kim (2004: 1109-1110) and Chapter 4, Section 5).

(10) *We don't believe that the **government is** correct in **their** view of what the city needs.* [BNC]

(11) *The Senate just voted **itself** another raise. Most of **them** were already overpaid to begin with.* [Pollard and Sag (1994: 72), quoted in Kim (2004: 1109)]

(12)

Kogato dojde edn-o semejstv-o pri men i kaže,
 Kogato dojde edn-o semejstv-o pri men i kaže,
 when **come[3SG]** one-NT.SG **family(NT)-SG** to me.ACC and **say[3SG]**

če sa reši-l-i da ne sključ-at brak
 če sa reši-l-i da ne sključ-at brak
 that **AUX.3PL decide-PPRT-PL** COMP NEG **enter.into-3PL** matrimony(M)[SG]

‘When a family comes to me and says that they have decided not to get married...’

[Source:

http://www.capital.bg/light/lica/2010/12/03/1003990_brakut_kato_institucija_e_v_kri_za_no_semeistvoto_ne_e/ (accessed on 07 Dec 2010)]

(cf. Johansson (1979: 203-5), Quirk et al. (1985: 316, 759), Bauer (1988), and Corbett (2000: 189) for discussion of various regional Englishes and/or empirical data). In British English, such controllers have singular concord (responsible for NP-internal agreement), singular or plural index (responsible for subject-verb agreement), and singular or plural semantics (maybe responsible for pronominal agreement). By contrast, the settings in (traditional) North American English will be: singular concord and index, vs. singular or plural semantics. It might seem inconsistent to make pronouns sensitive to semantics, as no semantic feature is listed in the *f*-structure, but that is actually not an issue because pronouns can presumably see semantic structure too (in addition to index) (M. Dalrymple, p.c.). The Bulgarian and German nouns for ‘girl’, for example, are both neuter in gender, but anaphors pointing back to them can be either neuter or feminine (cf. Chapter 3).

The trouble is that, once an index has been selected, it will be expected to remain unchanged for all subsequent targets⁷. A possible way out of this corner is to concede that number can be either consistently singular or consistently plural for regular singular or plural nouns respectively. The index of collective nouns, on the other hand, can be left unspecified, which for all intents and purposes will mean that it can take either value. But again, after it has been activated by a particular target, one of the values will be permanently fixed for agreement later on. A more sophisticated solution is to use the operators + and –, assuming that the index of various types of controllers can be as follows⁸:

1. Singular (count and non-count) nouns like *table/furniture* will have an index labelled as non-plural: [INDEX [PL –]];

2. Plural nouns like *tables* will have an index negatively specified as non-

singular and positively specified as plural:
$$\left[\text{INDEX} \begin{bmatrix} \text{SG-} \\ \text{PL+} \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

3. Collective nouns like *family* will positively specify their index as plural, allowing it to be singular and plural at the same time: [INDEX [PL +]]

⁷The formalism proposed here has a lot in common with those of Pollard and Sag (1988: 25, 1994) and Kim (2004: 1112), but the other authors ensure that *family* will have either an unambiguously singular or an unambiguously plural index on any given occasion. We prefer to make both properties available side by side because this provides a better explanation for mixing targets with different number. The constructions below might therefore be problematic for our position:

(i) *The faculty is voting itself/*themselves a raise.*

(ii) *The faculty are voting *itself/themselves a raise.* [Kim (2004: 1112)] (cf. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 495-6), as well as Pollard and Sag (1988) and Pollard and Sag (1994: 72) for the original examples and discussion)

(iii) a. *That dog is so ferocious, and it even tried to bite itself.*

b. *That dog is so ferocious, and he even tried to bite himself.*

c. **That dog is so ferocious, and it even tried to bite himself.*

d. **That dog is so ferocious, and he even tried to bite itself.* [Pollard and Sag (1994: 72), quoted in Kim (2004: 1110)]

The obstacle can be overcome if reflexive pronouns are forced to match the number marked on the verb, in addition to matching the other agreement features of their subject (cf. Kim (2004: 1110, 1113) and Sag and Wasow (1999: 152)). However, this will not be necessary for *everyone*, which can act as the antecedent of *themselves* even though the finite predicate must be singular.

⁸Special thanks are due to M. Dalrymple for her ingenuity in coming up with the notation. Cf. Sag et al. (1985: 123, 154-5) for an early GPSG account of number feature specifications and resolution that designates the singular as [+SG] and the plural as [].

4. Non-nominal subjects will lack index features altogether, including clausal subjects, adverb subjects, as in: *Slowly does it* [Quirk et al. (1985: 755)], or PP subjects, as in: *In the evenings is best for me* [Quirk et al. (1985: 755)]: []⁹.

Table 1 summarises the entries which we posit for a sample of representative nouns and phrases from these four groups:

Table 1. *Analysis of the concord and index feature specifications of different types of nouns in English*

1. A singular non-collective noun	2. A plural noun (incl. pluralia tantum)
<i>forest/furniture</i> (↑ CONCORD NUM) = -PL (↑ INDEX NUM) = -PL	<i>forests</i> (↑ CONCORD NUM) = -SG, +PL (↑ INDEX NUM) = -SG, +PL
3. A collective singular noun	4. A plural noun phrase with a possible singular interpretation
<i>family</i> (↑ CONCORD NUM) = -PL (↑ INDEX NUM) = +PL	<i>Ten miles</i> (↑ CONCORD NUM) = +PL (↑ INDEX NUM) = +PL

The constraints associated with predicative targets will be as follows:

- Singular verbs: (↑SUBJ INDEX NUM SG) ≠ -
- Plural verbs¹⁰: (↑SUBJ INDEX NUM PL) =_C +

A singular finite element basically says that the INDEX of its subject must not be negatively marked as -SG. By contrast, a plural finite element explicitly wants the index of its subject to be positively specified as plural (+PL). Let us now examine how the requirements imposed by verbs interact with the feature specifications of their controllers.

Singular nouns are described as non-plural (i.e. -PL). Any third person singular verb is compatible with them because all it needs is an index that is not classified as -SG. A plural verb is ruled out because it requires a positive +PL index on its subject.

⁹Cf. Hudson (1999: 183-4, 198-9), who has somewhat similar intuitions about non-nominal subjects; we depart from Hudson (1999: 199-200) in that we do not assign index features to such controllers. See Bresnan (1994) and Hudson (1999: 200ff) for existential sentences with expletive *there* (e.g. *There is a chair and two tables in the room*).

¹⁰The sub-C notation here does not stand for closest-conjunct agreement – it indicates that this is a constraining equation.

A **plural noun** is positively specified as +PL, which means that it is fine with a plural verb; a plural noun is also unambiguously non-singular (–SG); this prevents it from co-occurring with a singular predicate, which would not let its subject have such a negative value.

A **collective singular noun** like *family* has the same concord as an ordinary singular noun, i.e. –PL. This will license singular attributive targets, at the same time outlawing plural ones. The index of *family* is +PL, similarly to the index of a regular plural noun like *forests*; thus both types of controller meet the criteria of verbs that look for an assertively present +PL feature. Unlike *forests*, however, the index of *family* is not restricted as non-singular (–SG), which authorises a singular verb.

Something akin to resolution has taken place in the **quantified plural NP with a possible singular interpretation** *ten miles* in order to produce its properties listed in Table 1 above. *Ten* has singular morphology and consequently singular concord, whereas the concord of *miles* is plural, in compliance with its -s suffix. The two of them have pooled their features together to give a concord that is singular and plural at the same time¹¹. The contribution of the head on its own would have been expressed as –SG, +PL. The addition of *ten* has had the effect of removing the negative sign for the singular (i.e. –SG), thus leaving us with the value +PL, which admits a target of either number. The index can be computed in the same way. Alternatively, the index of the whole phrase can be declared +PL, just as for *family*, because *ten miles* can either denote a single distance or a multitude of miles.

A **non-nominal subject** (as in *What I want to know is why they weren't there*) will lack the relevant characteristics, because clauses, adverbs or PPs have no number, case or gender. A plural verb will not be happy with non-nominal subjects because it needs a positively specified plural index. A singular verb is the only default outcome

¹¹This might entail a claim that concord resolves, which is controversial (cf. Chapter 2). However, what we are dealing with here does not really amount to prototypical resolution. It can be thought of as the simultaneous availability of the features of each conjunct.

because all it checks for is that its subject should not display a negative index value for the singular, thus ensuring compatibility with constituents with no index at all. The logic behind modelling the variables in the way that we have seeks to reflect the status of the plural as the marked, non-basic, member of the privative opposition. In addition, we have thus attained a unified treatment of nominal and non-nominal subjects without resorting to disjunctive statements. If we had positively designated singular INDEX features, they would prevent singular verbs from appearing with clausal subjects¹².

A complication arises with conjoined clauses, where plural predicates are sometimes attested, as in (13) (cf. Pollard and Sag (1994: 86-7)). It should be noted that there are two conflicting points of view mentioned there, so the conjoined phrase has been assigned a plural index, possibly as a result of the reference to two distinct events which are not amenable to a unit interpretation. When no such conditions obtain, we only get the predicted default, as in (14) (cf. Cremers (1993: 71-4) for Dutch examples).

(13) *That the march should go ahead and that it should be cancelled have been argued by the same people at different times.* [Lasersohn (1995: 59)]

(14) *That the march should be cancelled and we should all go home has been argued by several people.* [Lasersohn (1995: 59)]

To illustrate our model more clearly, we provide a functional structure for the noun *family* (Fig. 1), as well as a constituent structure and a functional structure (including lexical entries) for the expression *ten miles* in Fig. 2 and Fig. 3.

¹²For more on inflectional verbal paradigms and subject-verb agreement in English, cf. Blevins (2006: 519-523) and the references cited there. Blevins (2006: 521) proposes that third person singular forms signal “non-agreement” and cannot co-occur with any subject that ‘bears the marked person features [1] or [2] or the marked number feature [pl]’. Our analysis is very much in the spirit of this proposal. Blevins (2006: 522) also treats singulars as non-plurals.

Fig. 1: *F-structure representation for “family”*

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} PRED \quad 'family' \\ CONCORD \quad \left[NUM \quad \left[PL \quad -. \right] \right] \\ INDEX \quad \left[NUM \quad \left[PL \quad +. \right] \right] \end{array} \right]$$

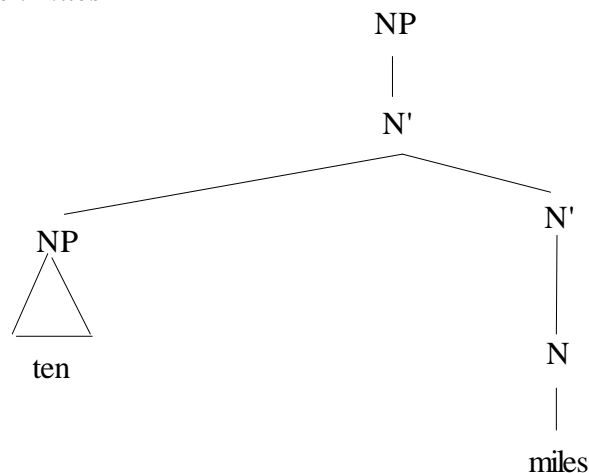
Fig. 2: *F-structure representation for “ten miles”*¹³

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} PRED \quad 'mile' \\ MOD \quad \left\{ \left[PRED \quad 'ten' \right] \right\} \\ CONCORD \quad \left[NUM \quad \left[PL \quad +. \right] \right] \\ INDEX \quad \left[NUM \quad \left[PL \quad +. \right] \right] \end{array} \right]$$

¹³The affiliations of the numeral are actually uncertain. Hoeksema (1983: 65), for one, believes that numerals are adjuncts. *Three* does indeed resemble an adjectival modifier when preceded by the definite article, as in (i)b. However, the same word can be analysed as a determiner in (i)a. (and b.), because English has no adjective-head agreement (Kim (2004: 1126)). In addition, the presence of a numeral makes the presence of another determiner superfluous, as illustrated in (ii) (Kim (2004: 1126), Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 349, 539)). There is, of course, a diachronic connection between *one* and the Modern English indefinite article.

- (i) a. *Three rings were stolen.* [Kim (2004: 1126)]
 b. *The three students just arrived.* [Kim (2004: 1126)]
- (ii) a. *I bought one/neither book.* [Kim (2004: 1126)]
 b. **I bought good book.* [Kim (2004: 1126)]

Fig. 3: *C-structure representation for “ten miles”*



In our framework, collective nouns like *family* and quantified plural expressions like *ten miles* will in effect flag up more than one attribute as a candidate for agreement – not unlike conjoined phrases. As the f-structure for *family* shows, it possesses a non-plural (i.e. singular) concord feature which its NP-internal dependents must conform to. Its index is labelled +PL, making it simultaneously singular and plural, which licenses the respective verb forms (or pronouns, unless we rely on semantics for anaphora and cataphora). All the variation here originates in a single lexical item.

Things are a little more complicated with *ten miles* – the phrase consists of two units, each of which contributes agreement features accessible to various targets. The values that we see in Fig. 2 and Fig. 3 are the result of “bilateral negotiations”. The numeral brings to the table a singular concord active in the attributive domain, as well as perhaps a singular and a plural index. In accordance with its morphology and meaning, *miles* is uncompromisingly plural in every respect, which allows it to team up with *ten* (cf. **ten mile*). *Ten* has a singular concord, but it will only settle for an

inflectionally plural head (cf. Kim (2004: 1113-1116)). The whole phrase has plural index (possibly coming from *miles*), but it can also be construed as referring to a single distance, which is arguably achieved by the addition of the numeral *ten*, thus forging a concomitant singular index (cf. **(Ten) miles is a lot to run every day.* vs. *Ten is a lot to run every day.*; see Allan (1986: 128-9))¹⁴.

3. Precursors of the Present Model and the Role of Semantics

The issues under examination here have received a lot of attention in the literature, some of which has already come up in the preceding discussion, notably the work of Kim (2004) and Pollard and Sag (1988, 1994) cast in the framework of HPSG. The present model follows in the footsteps of the HPSG approach, but of course many authors have published on the topic – prior to, as well as since, the emergence of this particular theory on the syntactic horizon. Morgan (1972: 279-280), quoted in Sadock (2005: 90), long ago pointed out that plural measure phrases can take singular verbs, as in (15)a., but this cannot happen when the measure phrase is a definite description, as in (15)b. This indicates that there is something about the semantically-driven indexical interpretation that affects the agreement options. Like Sadock (2005), we believe that such examples underscore the necessity of keeping syntax, morphology and semantics as separate modules which are interfaced with each other. The index and concord features are a good way to bridge the purely morpho-syntactic and semantic levels.

- (15) a. *40 acres is/*are a lot to plow*
b. *40 acres *is/are ready for John to plow* [Morgan (1972: 279-280)]

¹⁴While the view presented here owes a lot to Kim (2004: 1116-7), there are some crucial differences which allow us to account for phrases like *this/these ten miles*.

Collectives like *army*, *team*, *government*, *family* are also taken up in Quirk et al. (1985: 316-7) and Wales (1996: 6.7), among many others. Quirk et al. attribute the choice of *it* or *they* to whether the point of view of the speaker towards the referent denoted by the collective noun is of the group as an entity or of the group as composed of several individuals. Wales (1996: 6.7) puts it down to the way we conceptualise nouns too. Bock and Eberhard (1993: 86-8) adduce experimental evidence in support of these intuitions, demonstrating that collective singulars are reported to represent a plurality much more often than regular singulars. This is what we model by specifying our index feature as simultaneously singular and plural.

Gleitman (1965: 291) assumes that the alternation in (16) and (17) comes about as a result of the presence of a nominalised verbal derivative in subject position which has been deleted but is still the controller of agreement, as shown in (18) and (19) (cf. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 322)). The insertion of such nominalisations is optional, hence the acceptability of plural targets. While this account works for the material in (16) and (17) below, it is unclear how it can be applied to nouns like *family*. ‘The members of’ might come to the rescue in (20), but it is not really a deverbal product.

(16) *Too many cooks spoil(s) the broth.* [Gleitman (1965: 291)]

(17) *All work and no play make(s) Jack a dull boy.* [Gleitman (1965: 291)]

(18) *(There being) too many cooks spoil(s) the broth.* [Gleitman (1965: 291)]

(19) *(Doing) all work and no play make(s) Jack a dull boy.* [Gleitman (1965: 291)]

(20) *(The members of) my family are a nice lot by and large.* [BNC]

Yet another early mechanism was devised by McCawley (1968). Perlmutter (1972: 243) offers a critical evaluation of McCawley’s (1968) proposal for tackling the way a semantic property of noun phrases – the property of denoting a set as opposed to an individual – is reflected in the syntactic process of subject-verb agreement. McCawley implements the following ordered rules (see Perlmutter (1972: 243)):

- a. Mark a noun phrase node [+Plural] if it has a set index¹⁵ and [-Plural] otherwise.
- b. Mark a noun phrase node [+Plural] if it directly dominates a noun marked as belonging to the class ‘pluralia tantum’.
- c. Mark a verb [+Plural] or [-Plural] depending on whether its subject is marked [+Plural] or [-Plural]’

These “instructions” are similar to the formalisation presented here, but they do not take care of instances where a noun can act as a singular and plural controller at the same time, as might become evident from different targets within the clause boundaries and beyond. Perlmutter (1972) also remarks that McCawley does not explain cases in which a collective noun like *crowd* agrees with a singular verb. Neither can he cope with the grammaticality facts in the attributive domain: *this/*these crowd* (Perlmutter (1972: 246); cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 310), who regard **these team* as unacceptable). Perlmutter (1972: 244) would deny outright that collectives can foster both singular and plural index values, because ‘such a proposal would be incompatible with McCawley’s claim that selectional restrictions are stated in terms of these indices [...]. The adjective *heterogeneous*, for example, requires what McCawley would term a subject with a set index.’

According to Perlmutter (1972: 244), predicates like *heterogeneous* prove that semantically motivated index features have no place in agreement. A model appealing to index, including ours, would predict that a coordination of two singulars is absolutely identical to a plural noun that appears on its own (since both project a plural index). However, as Perlmutter (1972: 244) contends, this is false because *heterogeneous* can be used with non-conjoined plurals (21), but not with conjoined singulars (22).

¹⁵“Index” here most likely stands for “denotation” or semantic index.

- (21) *The students are heterogeneous* [Perlmutter (1972: 244)]
(22) **Tom and Bill are heterogeneous.* [Perlmutter (1972: 244)]
(23) *Tom, Bill, Susan, Harry, Zelda and Grazia are a heterogeneous group* [Perlmutter (1972: 244)]

We will maintain, contra Perlmutter, that the grammaticality or otherwise of (21), (22) and (23) is irrelevant to our model. It all has to do with lexical restrictions on *heterogeneous*, because a synonymous item like *different* does not behave in a comparable fashion. For some reason, *heterogeneous* is barred from combining with coordinated nouns and, in addition, it can only describe non-conjoined nouns that denote groups with multiple members (in any case, more than two). The oddity of #*The two students are heterogeneous* confirms that the key to the puzzle lies in the semantics of this particular word, and (21), (22) and (23) do not invalidate the hypothesis that agreement works in the same way for conjoined and non-conjoined phrases, in spite of what Perlmutter (1972) asserts. It boils down to the fact that referring to a group is different from enumerating its members (M. Dalrymple, p.c.).

Another potential pitfall for our model might come from the well-formedness contrasts in (24) and (25).

- (24) *The hedgehog is/*are increasing in numbers.* [Perlmutter (1972: 245)]
(25) **The hedgehog that I saw in the woods yesterday is increasing in numbers* [Perlmutter (1972: 245)].

The obvious solution that immediately springs to mind would be that *hedgehog* does not supply a plural index, so the plural verb is ruled out in (24). Nevertheless, as Perlmutter notes, predicates such as *increase in numbers* and *become extinct* take sets, not individuals, as illustrated in (25). The correct explanation therefore seems to be that what we observe in (24) is a mismatch of index and semantics. When *the hedgehog* is shorthand for the species, as in (24), it keeps its singular concord and index, although its semantics is now plural. As verbs in English operate with index, only a singular finite element will pass muster in (24). The meaning of the rest of the predicate, *increasing in numbers*, additionally forces a

plural interpretation (but not index!) on the subject, which it indeed has in its species sense. Such a plural reading cannot be reconciled with the referent of (25), which is why this example crashes. It crashes for semantic and pragmatic reasons, though, and not because of any morpho-syntactic considerations. What is more, plurality alone does not suffice – the semantic restriction very precisely targets a species, since we cannot talk of a government or a family increasing in numbers. (#?*The government/family is increasing in numbers.*).

4. Animacy Effects and the Status of Animacy in English Grammar

As pointed out repeatedly in the preceding text, we keep encountering an interwoven mesh of morphology, syntax and semantics, where semantics is one of the components, but not the only one. It has been argued that animacy is a major factor favouring plural agreement with collective nouns (cf. Dahl and Fraurud (1996: 56) and the references cited there), so we are once again witnessing animacy effects – similar to the effect on agreement with conjoined nouns in Bulgarian (cf. Chapter 3). Such an influence is felt in examples like (26) below.

- (26) a. *The Fleet is in harbour.* (i.e. a number of ships)
b. *The fleet are in town.* (i.e. a number of sailors) [Nixon (1972: 121)].

However, those are not just clear-cut cases of picking up whatever the semantics of the controller is. Certainly, it is not merely a matter of semantic versus grammatical; instead, the empirical facts call for a model that relies on dedicated properties, like concord and index, which have to be attached to particular lexical items. In spite of being closer to meaning, index does not fully coincide with semantics because it ultimately belongs to syntax (cf. Nixon (1972)). As Corbett (2000: 188) notes, ‘if we adopted a notional definition, just requiring the (singular) noun to denote a collection of individuals, then nouns like *forest* or *wood* (group of trees) would be included.

Here, however, there is no possibility of agreement options'. Sets of human beings (e.g. *committee*) can take plural agreement even when they lack the inflectional exponence, whereas plural "notional" agreement is disallowed with inanimates (**the forest are...*)¹⁶; finally, the plural is permissible, though unusual in English, with non-human animates (*?the herd are restive*). (see Pollard and Sag (1994: 70-1) and Allan (1986: 124-36) for discussion of "corporate" nouns, as well as Juul (1975: 85-114) for more examples; formal semantic approaches are presented in Barker (1992) and the titles cited there).

Levin (2001: 11-4) also observes that collective controllers in English for which plural agreement is conceivable are always animate (with very few exceptions), concluding that 'if a higher proportion of plural targets is found with animate nouns than with inanimate ones, then this would indeed be an indication that speakers and writers more readily conceptualise human collectives than inanimate collectives as consisting of separate individuals. Furthermore, it would indicate that the non-human animate group is an in-between category as regards animacy' (Levin (2001: 14)).

Comparing the animacy constraints on agreement variation in English to the ones discovered for Bulgarian in Chapter 3, we can establish that the English feature is syntactic, unlike its Bulgarian counterpart (cf. Chapter 3, Section 7). While gender is more grammaticalised in Bulgarian because it is replicated on pronouns, agreeing participles, adjectives and attributive elements (e.g. modifiers and determiners, in addition to numerals), the English gender system does not have as firm a hold on morpho-syntax. Only personal and relative pronouns are overtly marked for gender, but on the basis of this marking, a claim can be sustained that English recognises

¹⁶It should be acknowledged that *forest* is not semantically plural for any agreement purposes, despite its reference:

(i) *The forest caught fire. *They started burning.* [Mary Dalrymple, p.c.]

There may also be exceptions to the animacy restrictions, as in (ii) (cf. Allan (1986: 127)).

(ii) *The snow-fed vegetation are subjected to the most intense heat of the summer.* [Hoeksema (1983: 73)]

grammaticalised animacy too (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 314-8), who distinguish nine “covert” noun gender classes in English corresponding to different pronominal combinations). Thus, the English grammatical category of animates comprises human beings (with some exceptions such as babies, which goes to show that this is not strictly semantic), as well as higher animals; all of these can be antecedents of *he*, *she* and *who(m)*. The syntactic status of the feature is assured because it cuts across the animal kingdom by embracing higher (and often domestic) animals like bulls or cows, at the same time excluding lower animals like butterflies (cf. Molhova (1992: 71)). In addition, its divergence from the extra-linguistic world comes to the fore when speakers use *it* to refer to human babies and *she* to refer to ships or cars. In short, the animacy that affects agreement with collective nouns in English to a large extent overlaps with its grammatical instantiation in the language.

5. Evidence from the Behaviour of Verbal Predicates and Relative Pronouns

As suggested above, the singular and plural options on verbal targets that go together with collective nouns should not be perceived as grammatical and semantic agreement respectively; it seems preferable to treat both of them as semantically-driven grammaticalised agreement (i.e. index agreement), based on different interpretations of the noun (either as a unit or as a plurality of individuals) (cf. Levin (2001: 27-8)). There are studies reporting that the singular is given almost exclusive priority with verbs like *consist*, *contain*, or *be composed of*: if the relevant noun denotes a single organisation (e.g. *committee*), building (e.g. *university*) or another similar entity, i.e. if it has a singular index, which is the interpretation presupposed by such targets, then the singular form of the predicate takes over and the plural becomes unacceptable (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 758), Allan (1986: 127ff), Pollard and Sag (1994: 71) and Levin (2001: 29)). This is confirmed by the following material:

- (27) a. *A commission of eminent people from other countries, such as Canada and Norway, is likely to be set up to oversee that process.* [Levin (2001: 96)]
 b. **A new committee have been constituted.* [Pollard and Sag (1994: 71)]

Verbs like *set up* or *constitute* are just compatible with collectives that are viewed holistically and therefore a plural predicate would be inappropriate in this context, as in (27)b. In (28), the singular verb can only refer to the number of the people who make up the audience, while the plural verb can only hint at the size of the attendees themselves (Quirk et al. (1985: 758), Levin (2001: 149)). In (29) and analogous cases, a singular verb is deemed unacceptable by some speakers for semantic reasons too (cf. Levin (2001: 164) and Allan (1986: 127ff)), although Google gives a lot of hits for the singular.

(28) *The audience was/were enormous* [Levin (2001: 149)]

(29) *The McKnight family were at each other's throats* [Levin (2001: 164)]

(30) *The family has been notified but they haven't responded.* [Levin (2001: 33)]

Judging by examples like (30), which exhibit shifts in agreement, it might not be advisable to claim that the variation depends on different semantic conceptualisations (cf. Levin (2001: 33)). And yet, this is not necessarily so, because one could first regard a group as a body or unit, and then as a multitude of various individuals, when one is better acquainted with it¹⁷. Crucially, those are ordinary instances of switching the point of view (cf. Levin (2001: 33)). In addition, the rival analysis, whereby these are not seen as shifts in semantic conceptualisation, but as alternations between grammatical and semantic agreement, does not fare any better in explaining the phenomena.

¹⁷The author does not endorse the opinion that we should always get the singular first and then plural, never the other way around (cf. Chapter 4, Section 5), 'but one would not normally switch from a plural verb to a singular pronoun in close proximity' (Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 495)):

(i) *The committee_i haven't yet made up its_i mind.* [Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 495)]

A mechanism enforcing identity between the verb and the rest of the predicate might come in handy here, but not with *The committee hasn't yet made up their mind(s)* (cf. the discussion of reflexives above). This will naturally fall out from Corbett's Hierarchies if it is assumed that the plural target has greater semantic justification than the singular one, which is not far-fetched in view of the meaning of 'making up one's mind'.

Another reason to postulate simultaneously coexisting singular and plural indices for nouns like *committee*, coupled with subject-verb agreement invariably with the index feature, is that ‘*which* is generally found where singular agreement would normally occur and *who* where plural agreement would be expected’ (Levin (2001: 55); cf. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 379), Quirk et al. (1985: 759), Corbett (2000: 190); as well as Johansson (1979: 204-5) and Bauer (1988) for experimental evidence). The choice of relativiser parallels the way in which the antecedent is thought of – either as an entity/organisation (corresponding to *which*), or as a plurality of individuals (corresponding to *who*). This argument is substantiated with ample statistical evidence gleaned from corpora of British, American and Australian English (cf. Levin (2001: 55-60)). More support can be sought in the usage of personal pronouns.

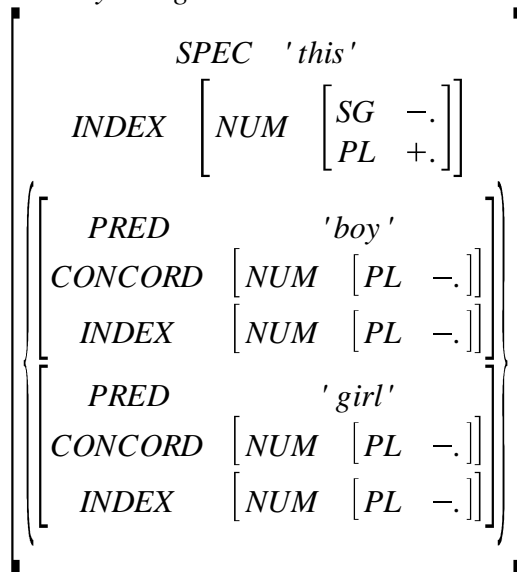
6. Verb Agreement with Conjoined Phrases Containing *each*, *neither*, *or*, etc.

In the preceding sections we saw that certain nouns in English and Bulgarian can have index number features that permit both singular and plural targets. Agreement fluctuates in the following examples as well – a situation which is reminiscent of the patterns characteristic of *family*, *government* or *committee*:

- (31) *Each boy and girl is/are required to...*
(32) *Neither the boy nor the girl was/were required to...*

To rehash the reasoning from Section 2 above, it would be less than desirable to assume that, in clauses like *This boy and the girl are...*, the verb confidently selects the index properties, but in clauses like *Each boy and girl is/are*, the verb hesitates whether to pick the singular concord or the plural index. The latter configuration will therefore be treated just like the collective nouns above. We first provide an f-structure for the subject of *This boy and girl are...* which will serve as a point of departure:

Fig. 4: *F-structure representation for “this boy and girl”*

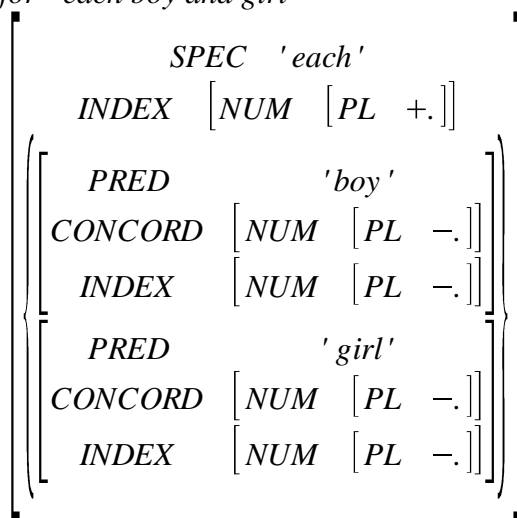


The f-structure for *this boy and girl* presented in Fig. 4 is a modified version of the f-structures in King and Dalrymple (2004). It contains two singular nouns which have resolved to give the conjoined phrase as a whole a plural index that only sanctions agreement with a plural verb. Translating this into our notation, we have expressed the resolved plural index as –SG, +PL. This means that a plural verb will be appropriate because it will find the +PL feature it wants. A singular verb is out because there would be a clash between the –SG value of the NP and the requirement a singular verb imposes that its subject should not host a negatively specified singular number.

We would like to venture a similar explanation for *Each boy and girl is/are* which is not disjunctive in empowering verbs to agree either in concord or in index. We realise that the availability of a singular predicate is due to the presence of elements like *each*, *neither*, or *or* (cf. Morgan (1984)). It seems that they somehow interfere with the functional make-up of the coordinate phrase by adding a singular value to the already existing plural resolved index computed on the basis of the

attributes of the individual conjuncts – not unlike *ten miles* above¹⁸. In this way, the phrase inherits agreement properties from all constituents, not just the nominal heads; the final output is simultaneously plural (as per the resolution rules), and singular (the trace of the singular meaning of *each/neither/or*). It is a matter of perception whether one considers disjoined nouns semantically plural (there is more than one), or semantically singular (the alternatives are mutually exclusive). For instance, only one person will win the race in *John or Bill is/??are going to win the race* (Eggert (2002: 199), citing Morgan (1984: 72))¹⁹. In our model, an index which can take on either number value is designated as +PL. This allows plural targets, which need a positively plural index, as well as singular targets, which refuse to accept –SG. Fig. 5 is the (partial) f-structure that we propose for the subject of (31):

Fig. 5: *F-structure representation for “each boy and girl”*



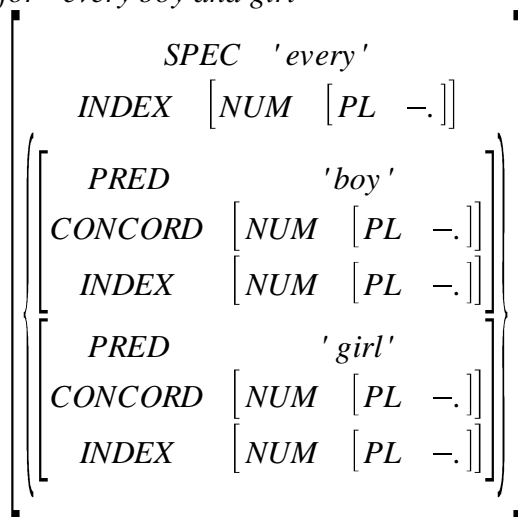
¹⁸See Van Eynde (2006: 180), who also maintains that the index of a determiner might not be the same as the index of the head noun; for instance, *my* in *my friends* is first person, whereas the head is not. The features of the dependent are not normally visible to outside targets, however, so *each* and *every* are exceptional in this respect. Quirk et al. (1985: 382) term words like *each* and *every* distributive, ‘because they pick out the members of a set singly, rather than considering them in the mass. They are therefore singular in number.’ (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 297).

¹⁹In fact, *or* is rather susceptible to semantic pressures, as becomes evident from the following examples (cf. Morgan (1984: 72-3)). This is also an environment where closest-conjunct agreement thrives, but we will steer clear of it for the time being (cf. Morgan (1972: 281)).

- (i) *John or Bill is/??are going to win the race.* [Morgan (1984: 72)]
- (ii) *Do you think John or Bill is/are going to come?* [Morgan (1984: 72)]
- (iii) *I don’t think John or Bill are/*is going to win the race.* [Morgan (1984: 72)]
- (iv) *Either John or Bill is/*are going to win the race.* [Morgan (1984: 72)]

The key difference between *this boy and girl* and *each boy and girl* is that, in the former, the SPEC *this* has not affected the agreement properties at all, and the sole attribute of the conjoined NP as a whole that is out there for targets to consult is the resolved plural index. In *each boy and girl*, *each* has fed its isolating meaning to the superordinate constituent, rendering it simultaneously singular and plural²⁰. We reflect this by removing the –SG specification and thus making the controller compatible with verb forms whose subjects must not bear a non-singular (–SG) number. The advantage of this approach is that we do not have to postulate subject-verb agreement with concord. In addition to its technical convenience, this is in keeping with the intuitive observation that words like *each* or *or* can change the phrase of which they are part so that it denotes either one entity or more²¹. In the case of *Every boy and girl is/*are*, the index feature of the determiner has suppressed the plural resolved index of the conjoined nouns. This leaves the coordination singular and prevents it from taking a plural verb. As a result, the f-structure for *every boy and girl* will look as follows:

Fig. 6: *F-structure representation for “every boy and girl”*



²⁰For a proposal in the same spirit, compare Sag et al. (1985: 155); by introducing an extra rule, they associate conjunctions and determiners like *or*, *either*, *but*, *neither* with singular features which optionally make the relevant mother node singular. See also Hoeksema (1983, 1988) and Cremers (1993: 70).

²¹It has been speculated that there are two types of *or* – one producing NPs that agree with singular verbs, the other producing NPs that agree with plural verbs (cf. Yatabe (2004: 349, 351), as well as Hoeksema (1988) and Lakoff and Ross (1970) for *and*). This solution seems rather unattractive and counter-intuitive.

Fig. 6 shows that the INDEX NUMBER of the conjoined phrase is set to –PL and this complex linguistic sign is therefore only congruent with a singular verb. Unlike *each boy and girl* in Fig. 5, the resolved plural value computed on the basis of the properties of each conjunct does not appear in the f-structure in Fig. 6. Accordingly, *every boy and girl* can comply with the agreement constraints of the predicate *is required*, (\uparrow SUBJ INDEX NUM SG) $\neq -$, which stipulates that its subject must not project an index feature labelled as –SG. However, *every boy and girl* cannot meet the criteria of *are required*, (\uparrow SUBJ INDEX NUM PL) $=_C +$, because it lacks a positively specified plural number. It remains to be worked out why some determiners, such as *each*, just slightly alter the functional make-up of the subject, whereas others, such as *every*, altogether prevent the resolved index from participating in agreement (cf. Levin (2001: 121-2))²².

Other determiners exert similar pressures. For example, an amount of money can easily prompt a singular verb because it has the requisite index (as outlined above): see (33). However, inserting the demonstrative pronoun *those* precludes the possibility of a singular target in (34). Kim (2004: 1126) also believes that ‘this is due to the fact that the determiner [*those*] fixes the index value of the subject to be plural’. The issues at hand are related to Corbett’s Agreement Hierarchies, but it is doubtful that we are dealing with a monotonic increase in semantic agreement, because the singular has greater justification in terms of meaning, as it fits the interpretation of a single sum of money. The Hierarchies might offer a more plausible explanation for

²²See Lasersohn (1995: 112) and the titles cited there (incl. Hoeksema (1988)) for a discussion of the semantics of quantifiers like *every* and the way it interacts with coordination. More examples of conjoined phrases containing *every* are given below. Note that in the last sentence, the reference is to the empty set, i.e. zero, which might trigger singular verb agreement.

(i) *Every day and every night was spent in bed.* [Hoeksema (1988: 20), quoted in Lasersohn (1995: 110)]

(ii) *Every man but no woman was upset.* [Hoeksema (1988: 20), quoted in Lasersohn (1995: 110)]

(iii) *No peasant and no pauper was ever president.* [Hoeksema (1988: 20), quoted in Lasersohn (1995: 110)]

(35), which is about many faculty members. Since the attributive dependent is semantically justified, no choice exists for the NP-external domains any more.

(33) [A] *hundred dollars is a lot of money for a TV dinner* [Hoeksema (1983: 72)]

(34) *Those hundred dollars are (*is) a lot, though* [Hoeksema (1983: 72)]

(35) *All faculty *meets/meet on a monthly basis.* [Pollard and Sag (1994: 84)]

7. Non-Conjoined Phrases with More than One Constituent

Analogous phenomena to the ones we have reported for English above are also found in Bulgarian, as the following examples testify (cf. Stamenov (1988: 268), who writes that plural “notional” agreement is less common in Bulgarian).

(36) „Левски” *победу/победу-ха.*
 “Levski” *pobedi/pobedi-ха.*
 “Levski” *won[3SG]/won-3PL*
 “Levski” has won. [Osenova (2003: 6)]

(37) *Футболни-ят отбор „Левски” победу/*победу-ха.*
*Futbolni-jat otbor “Levski” pobedi/*pobedi-ха.*
*Football-DEF team “Levski” won[3SG]/*won-3PL*
 The football team "Levski" has won. [Osenova (2003: 6)]

It is significant that, if only the name of the team (*Levski*) is used, then it can be interpreted either as a single club, or as a band of players (cf. (36)). Consequently, either number is licit on the predicate, which we account for by assuming that singular and plural indices live side by side in the f-structure of the controller, as indicated in the lexical entry in (38).

(38) *Levski*
 (↑CONCORD NUM PL) = +
 (↑INDEX NUM PL) = +

(39) *futbolnijat otbor Levski ‘the football team Levski’*
 (↑CONCORD NUM PL) = –
 (↑INDEX NUM PL) = –

By contrast, when the word *otbor* ‘team’ is explicitly mentioned, it obliterates the plural index of the phrase, and therefore only a singular verb is now felicitous (cf.

(37) and (39))²³. This effect of throwing in an extra constituent that brings on a mutation in the overall properties was sketched out above during the discussion of words like *every*. In this sense, (36) and (37) are non-conjoined phrases which, not unlike conjoined ones, allow a range of patterns.

There are further types of non-conjoined chunks of language with more than one element that accept variable agreement – one is showcased in (40) below. It turns out that there are benefits to be had from treating collectives like *committee* and quantified expressions like *ten miles* in the same way as partitive constructions like *a group of people*, since the latter are no strangers to the alterations with which we have become familiar by now (cf. the obvious link between *ten miles was...* and *a distance of ten miles was...*)²⁴. The availability of both a group interpretation and an interpretation involving a plurality of members is inherent in the semantics of nouns like *committee*. As much is achieved syntactically in *a group of people*, illustrated in (40), or in conjoined structures, illustrated in (41). The empirical facts seem to be more or less identical in English and in Bulgarian.

(40) Чаcт от студент-и-те влезе/влязо-ха
 Čast ot student-i-te vlezе/vljazo-xa
 part(F)[SG] of student(M)-PL-DEF came.in[3SG]/came.in-3PL
 ‘Some of the students came in’. [Osenova and Simov (2007: 105)]

(41) Радост и тъг-а лъха-ше от
 Radost i tǎg-a lǎxa-še ot
 happiness(F)[SG] and sadness(F)-SG emanate-IMPERFECT.3SG from

душ-а-та му.
 duš-a-ta mu.
 soul(F)-SG-DEF his
 ‘Happiness and sadness emanated from his soul’. [Osenova and Simov (2007: 106)]

²³Or it could be that the singular word for ‘team’ is the head, and *Levski* just a (modifying) apposition.

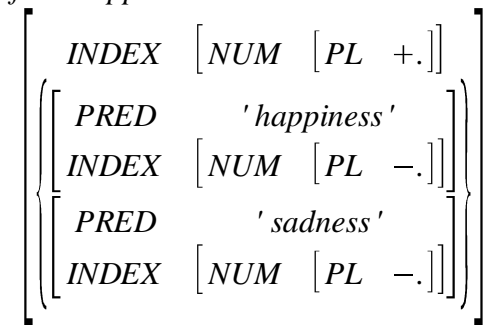
²⁴Variability obviously characterises other languages as well. See for example Tristram (2010) for variable agreement with partitive constructions in French and its sociolinguistic conditioning. Sociolinguistics is something which we will ignore, as it is beyond the scope of the present work. See Barker (1992) for a formal semantic analysis of “group/collective/corporate” nouns like *committee* or *family* and partitive phrases like *a group of people*. The latter are also subject to animacy restrictions (cf. Barker (1992: 89)):

(i) *The group of people are sitting on the lawn.* [Barker (1992: 89)]

(ii) # *The group of statues are sitting on the lawn.* [Barker (1992: 89)]

The subject *happiness and sadness* in (41) gives rise to two readings – it can be taken to refer to one merged, complex emotion, or to two distinct emotions. These readings reside in the index feature that is simultaneously singular and plural, stamping its approval on finite forms of either number (see Fig. 7). The plural index is the outcome of ordinary resolution rules. This time the singular index does not come from a tangible element like *each*, but from the conceivable singular interpretation of the phrase. By contrast, a pairing of nouns that cannot plausibly lose their discreteness as separate beings, like *this boy and girl are/*is...*, will be described as –SG, +PL. The specification –SG rules out a singular verb, while the specification +PL invites agreement with a plural verb. *Happiness and sadness* is different in that it only evinces the +PL value, which licenses plural predicates, but lacks the operator that fends off singular ones. The moral is that resolution must take fine-grained semantics on board.

Fig. 7: *F-structure representation for “happiness and sadness”*



We will apply essentially the same functional account to conjoined controllers like (41), and non-conjoined ones like (40), as well as the material from previous sections. This has not always been done in earlier work. Two different types of explanation have been put forward by various researchers. The first one could be dubbed a structural explanation. According to it, the verb in (40) may single out for agreement either of the nominal constituents in strings like *a group of people* (cf.

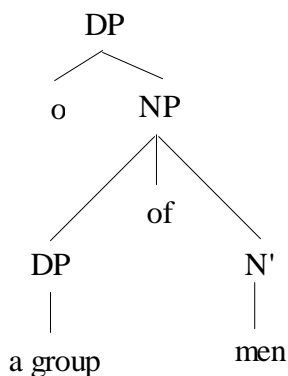
Osenova and Simov (2007: 105-6)). In other words, the head can be *group*, which takes a PP complement (corresponding to the singular interpretation); alternatively, the head can be *people*, which takes *a group of* as a complex quantifier/determiner. The other explanation, often advanced in relation to conjoined nouns like *happiness and sadness* or *bacon and eggs (is/are)*, appeals to meaning and observations about switching reference and points of view (cf. Osenova (2003) and Osenova and Simov (2007)). The present author regards such fragmentation as a drawback in this context, where all the data can be covered by a single generalisation – much preferable for what appears to be a unified phenomenon. Apart from being inelegant and needlessly disjointed, a purely structural proposal would be riddled with other inconsistencies. Below, we will first consider some existing structural proposals and compare them with our more functionally-oriented approach, postponing the discussion of purely semantic mechanisms until the next section.

7.1. Structural and Semantic Explanations for Variable Agreement

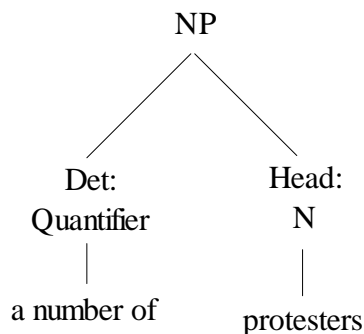
Many scholars have sought the root of agreement fluctuations in constituent structure, especially when it comes to so called partitive (*a number of the men*) and pseudo-partitive (*a number of men*) constructions. There have been numerous conjectures about the correct tree representation of such strings (cf. Akmajian and Lehrer (1976)). Jackendoff (1977), for example, suggests that group nouns occupy the lower specifier position in the noun phrase (Spec of NP, on a DP hypothesis), as indicated in Fig. 8a. (cf. Abney (1987: 187)). A simplified diagram in the same spirit is provided in Fig. 8b (cf. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 351-2) for arguments against it).

Fig. 8: *Structural trees for pseudo-partitives*

a) *Jackendoff's analysis*
(from Abney (1987: 187))



b) *A simplified version* (from Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 351))



On this view, pseudo-partitives place the classifying nominal in the Spec of NP (on a DP hypothesis), whereas partitives build a simple noun phrase with a PP complement. The most compelling evidence for such a treatment is the divergent syntactic behaviour illustrated in (42) and (43) – the prepositional phrase is not extractable in the former case, hence it cannot be a self-contained unit²⁵ (cf. Selkirk (1977), Akmajian and Lehrer (1976), Abney (1987: 187-8)²⁶, and Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 349-352)).

- (42) a. [*a number of men*] *like anchovies*
 b. *[*of men*], [*a number t*] *like anchovies* (PSEUDO-PARTITIVE)
 [Abney (1987: 187)]
- (43) a. [*a number of the men*] *like anchovies*
 b. [*of the men*], [*a number like anchovies*] (PARTITIVE)
 [Abney (1987: 187)]

²⁵The arguments based on this evidence are undermined by the ill-formedness of the following sentences (Akmajian and Lehrer (1976: 402)). Should we then analyse *a member/side of* as complex determiners too?

(i) **A member left of the committee.* [Akmajian and Lehrer (1976: 402)]

(ii) **A side was broken of the box.* [Akmajian and Lehrer (1976: 402)]

²⁶Abney (1987: 187), on the other hand, is reluctant to adopt Jackendoff's tripartite branching from Fig. 8, because it entails the assumption of a dangling *of* which takes no complement. However, Abney himself remarks that the *of*-phrase cannot be extracted in pseudo-partitives because it is not a constituent, and brackets both partitives and pseudo-partitives in the same way: [_{DP} D [_{NP} N [_{PP} of DP]]]. As pointed out by M. Dalrymple (p.c.), claiming that the *of*-phrase is not a constituent contradicts Abney's bracketing.

As noted by Keizer (2007: 111), Jackendoff's (1977: 120) proposal rests on the premise that pseudo-partitives are a combination of two nominal elements, with *of* acting as a grammatical formative ([NP[NP a bunch] [of] [N' men]]); the construction is headed by the second noun. This is somewhat similar to our insight that such phrases resemble a coordination of two nouns in many respects, but we do not attribute the variable agreement to shifts in hierarchy. Instead, we choose f-structure as a suitable module for processing agreement information.

In the first place, fierce controversy rages on in the literature as to which potential candidate is the head of *a group of people* (see Keizer (2007)) – there have been various opinions: either is the head, both are heads, or neither is head. We can get around these problems with the help of the index and concord features implemented here. To a certain extent, we sympathise with the view espoused by Dowty and Jacobson (1988) and Reid (1984, 1991), whose main thrust is that subject-verb agreement is determined by semantic considerations only²⁷. Jackendoff (1977) and Abney (1987) represent one extreme – the structural one. Dowty and Jacobson (1988) and Reid (1984, 1991) take another radical stance, this time semantic. The present model is situated in the middle. Our approach stands out because, apart from rejecting purely structural explanations and acknowledging semantics, it also upholds the syntactic nature of agreement.

Akmajian and Lehrer (1976) are among those who conclude that either noun in (44) and (45) can be the head. On our analysis, however, the controllers below receive a singular or a plural index (or both), depending on the perspective conveyed, irrespective of phrasal organisation.

(44) *The herd of large African elephants was larger than I thought.* [Akmajian and Lehrer (1976: 405), quoted in Keizer (2007: 12)]

²⁷Unalloyed semantic accounts will not be fully endorsed, either. They will be revisited in the next section.

(45) *The herd of large African elephants was/were stampeding towards us.* [Akmajian and Lehrer (1976: 405), quoted in Keizer (2007: 12)]

Other examples demonstrate that variability is not always welcome (it all hinges on what the semantic interpretation is, as in *my friend and colleague*). Researchers of a structural persuasion would be happy with saying that *review(s)* is the sole head in (46) and (47), dropping the matter at that; for us, the first phrase, (46), will be plural in index because it is about three reviews, whereas the second, (47), tells us about one review only, and is therefore singular in terms of index (there is naturally no doubt that the constituent structure here is unambiguous).

(46) *Three reviews of the book were/*was received.* [Keizer (2007: 12)]

(47) *A review of three books was/*were received.* [Keizer (2007: 12)]

Neither is agreement with the semantic head permissible in (48) and (49) below (i.e. agreement with *wine* or *sardines*, respectively). This goes to show that denotation cannot be the whole story – what we need is the interaction of meaning and grammar, or, more specifically, grammaticalised semantics, which is embodied by the index feature of our model. Purely semantic compatibility of the target with the uncountable mass of wine or the plurality of sardines would be ridiculous, but this is easily predicted in our framework – the phrases are linguistically so constructed as to talk about two entities of wine and one entity of sardines; hence, a plural index is fashioned in the former case and a singular index in the latter.

(48) *Two bottles of wine are/*is fermenting.* [Keizer (2007: 124)]

(49) *This tin of sardines has/*have gone bad.* [Keizer (2007: 124)]

7.2. Combining Structural and Semantic Explanations for Variable Agreement

Some researchers take a predominantly structural line but incorporate meaning as well. Baker (1995: 176-8), for instance, assigns different syntactic structures to sequences of a determiner and a noun, on the one hand, and partitive phrases, on the other, but concedes that *both* in *both alligators* is elementary in form (i.e. unlike the partitive *both of the alligators*), albeit partitive in interpretation. This basically amounts to assuming a disparity between the syntactic tree and the semantic grid, very much in the spirit of LFG.

Another analysis of pseudo-partitives (e.g. *a group of runners*) that straddles the divide between structural and semantic theories posits the existence of both a semantic and a syntactic head (Keizer (2007: 124)). Keizer (2007: 151) writes about so called hybrid pseudo-partitive constructions in which one of the nouns is the syntactic head, whereas the other is the semantic head, as summarised in (50) below.

(50) *Hybrid pseudo-partitive constructions (N1 syntactic head; N2 semantic head):*
[N[Quant.-compl[Det a] [ExtN [A-descr steaming]i [N bowl]]] [L(inking)E(lement) of] [N food]i]

Such a proposal, however, suffers from technical inelegance and makes counter-intuitive predictions. It might be attacked as inconsistent for one and the same target (e.g. a verb) to sometimes select the notional, and sometimes the grammatical, controller. More damaging is the counter-intuitive claim that we are not dealing with two alternative readings, but with form versus meaning (see foregoing discussion).

Keizer (2007: 151) herself notes that ‘one and the same construction may be interpreted in more than one way, depending on the way in which the entity in question is conceptualized by the discourse participant. Thus a construction like *a cup of coffee* can be conceptualized either as a concrete object containing some fluid or as a certain amount of coffee (the amount of an average coffee cup)’. This quotation is

significant because it emphasises the importance of denotation reflected in our index feature.

The present author shares the hunch verbalised by Huddleston and Pullum (2005: 89), who point out that, in NPs like *a lot of money/things, the rest of the meat is/the rest of the eggs are* and *a number of faults were found*, it is not the head noun that controls agreement – agreement is instead controlled by the nominal complement of the prepositional phrase. On the other hand, there is variation in the following cases: *None of the objections was/were valid. Neither of them seems/seem valid.* (Huddleston and Pullum (2005: 90)). Osenova (2007) also believes that it is not only the head’s relevant information that is projected up to the phrasal level. Osenova examines Bulgarian quantifier-noun combinations like *двама войници/два стола/много столове, dvama vojnici/dva stola/mnogo stolove* ‘two soldiers/two chairs/many chairs’, and concludes that it cannot be unambiguously settled which of the two potential candidates is the syntactic pivot. She conjectures that it is probably the noun, but the dependent, as it were, passes its “grammatical genes” onto the whole NP.

Crucially, there is an implicit but strict division between the constituent structure of a particular string and the functional loci of agreement. What we would like to explicitly underscore is that, in our view, the hierarchical organisation of partitives or pseudo-partitives need not have a bearing on which of their (sub-) constituents is put in charge of agreement – it can be either the head or another unit. Agreement phenomena are taken care of in the functional module and are generally unaffected by any potential hierarchical reshuffling. We therefore propose the following constituent and functional structures (cf. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 351-2)):

Fig. 9: C-structure representation for “a lot of money”

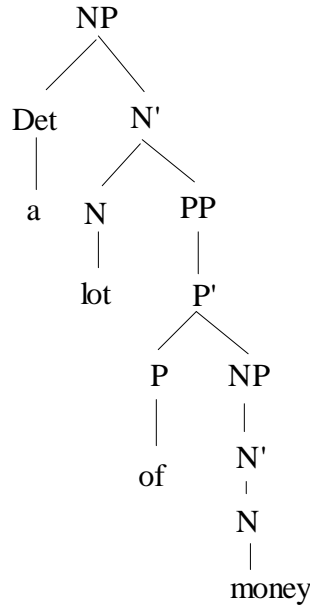


Fig. 10: C-structure representation for “none of them”

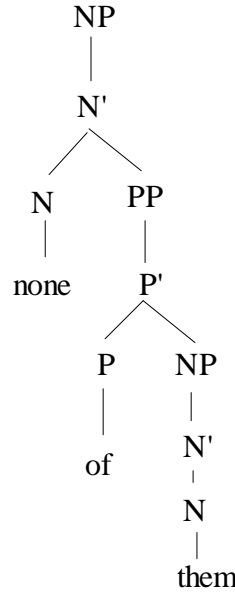


Fig. 11: F-structure representation for “a lot of money”

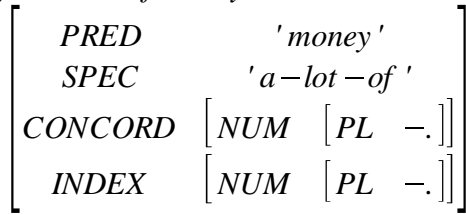
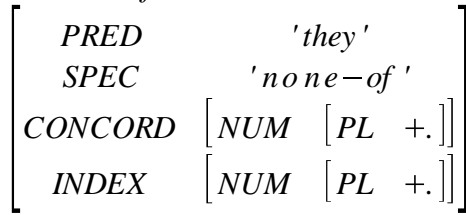


Fig. 12: F-structure representation for “none of them”



As can be deduced from the tree diagrams, the constituent structure of both types of phrase is claimed to be identical. The two constructions are dominated by *lot* and *none* respectively, while *money* and *them* both appear in a prepositional complement of the head. However, these two syntactic objects differ in their functional make-up. Functionally, we analyse the string *a lot of* as a complex specifier which does not have any number properties allocated to it. *Money* is the functional head, although it does not enjoy this status at c-structure, and its singular concord and index are the sole agreement features of the entire controller. Readers will remember that we model singular nouns by designating them as –PL. We thus ban plural targets, which require a positive specification for the plural, and only allow singular predicates, as they do not want their subjects to be described as –SG.

The third person plural pronoun from Fig. 10 is plugged in as the main PRED at f-structure (Fig. 12); it gives the larger phrase its plural concord and index. *None of* is demoted to the role of f-structure SPEC, but, unlike *a lot of*, it contributes a singular concord and a simultaneously singular and plural index²⁸; these react with the concord and index of the head to concoct properties which can satisfy the requirements imposed by targets of either number. This means that *none of them* will work either with a singular or with a plural verb, but *a lot of money* is confined to occurring with singular forms²⁹.

The sequence *a group of students*, for instance, will sprout the same tree as *a lot of money* or *none of them*, but the functional matrix will look like that of *none of them*, with *a group of* acting as a SPEC that sends up to the superordinate level its singular (and redundantly, plural) index features, as well as its singular concord. We consider the two-tier LFG partitioning of syntax into c- and f-structure to be an advantage that enables us to capture the mismatch between this dual organisation of language.

²⁸The simultaneous singularity and plurality of *none* was ascertained in the BNC, where searching for *none is* produced 95 results, one of which is repeated in (i), while searching for *none are* produced 47 results, one of which is repeated in (ii). It could be speculated that *none of* is number-transparent, like *a lot of* (cf. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 349)), but this would not explain where the acceptability of singular agreement with *none of them* comes from.

- (i) *Of all the species visible in Bharatpur, **none is** more romantic or mysterious than the Siberian crane.* [BNC]
- (ii) *Thus ensuring all items of work are taken into account, and **none are** overlooked or forgotten.* [BNC]

²⁹A distinction has traditionally been drawn between [a number of + pl noun] and [the number of + pl noun], with the former said to trigger plural verb agreement, and the latter singular. Presumably *a number of* is grammaticalised as a functional specifier similar to *a lot of*, whereas *number* in *the number of* is regarded as a singular head. While this is probably true, there is variation in these phrases too, because they bring together what are still a singular and a plural constituent, each of which throws its index into the melting pot (cf. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 349-352), as well as Heine (2003: 583) for relevant diachronic principles of grammaticalisation).

- (i) *Most startling was the fact that **the increased number of cancers were** occurring at radiation exposure levels well below the official limit of 5 rads per year.* [Reid (1991: 219)]
- (ii) *According to sociologist Fujiwara, **an increasing number of men under 30** now **approves** of women working in a 'non-traditional' job...* [Reid (1991: 219)]

The agreement controllers in (51) and (52) below are indisputably dependents in terms of constituent structure – a genitive and a prepositional complement³⁰. However, a word of caution is in order at this stage. We must make sure that our mechanism does not over-generate and the interventions concerning the available agreement values only take place under certain well defined circumstances, most likely on a lexeme-by-lexeme basis. It is exceptional for a target to be in tune with a non-head; a predicate matching the person or number of the determiner or the prepositional complement is ruled out in (53) (M. Dalrymple, p.c.).

(51) *At ADT (security systems) 98 years' experience have taught us that no one alarm device will foil a determined burglar.* [Reid (1984: 108)]

(52) *Then there are those new style of barometers* [J. K. Jerome, *Three Men in a Boat*]

(53) **My opinion of the students am/are...*

Material from Bulgarian also confirms that the internal hierarchy of a multi-membered NP can be established independently of agreement, and agreement does not have to be with the syntactic pivot. This vindicates the split into constituent structure and functional structure defended above – the syntactic, c-structure head is to be identified by running constituency tests, whereas agreement is a phenomenon within the remit of the functional domain. Penčev (1999: 518-520) demonstrates that Bulgarian expressions like (54) are headed at c-structure by the second NP. He relies on an ingenious experiment to prove this beyond any doubt. Object fronting, in which the object surfaces before the verb, is frequent in Bulgarian, as we can see in (55) (cf. Penčev (1999: 519)).

(54)	<i>дв-е</i>	<i>голем-и</i>	<i>фили-и</i>	<i>ръжен</i>	<i>хляб</i>
	dv-e	golem-i	fili-i	răžen	xljab
	two-F/NT.PL	big-PL	slice(F)-PL	rye[M.SG]	bread(M)[SG]
	'two big slices of rye bread'				

³⁰Cf. Pollard and Sag (1988: 244) for examples of subject-verb agreement in English in which the predicate co-varies with a dependent in the subject phrase, and not with the head. Cf. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 405) for more sentences like Jerome's in (52), as well as grammaticality judgements and a short discussion. Akmajian and Lehrer (1976: 405-6) assess earlier proposals that the selectional restrictions of a phrase are not always exclusively dictated by the head.

- (55) *Вод-а нос-я, жаден ход-я.*
 Vod-a nosj-a, žaden xodj-a
 water(F)-SG carry-1SG, thirsty[M.SG] go-1SG
 ‘I carry water, but I always walk around thirsty’. [Penčev (1999: 519)]

The question arises if, in examples (56) and (57), where only part of the object has been fronted, it is the head or the dependent that has ended up to the left of the verb. Moving³¹ the word for *parsley* in (56) results in a perfectly acceptable utterance, whereas moving *only one bunch* in (57) gives us a line-up which, albeit not completely out, is significantly degraded in terms of grammaticality in comparison with (56).

- (56) *Магданоз купи-х само една връзка*
 Magdanoz kupi-x samo edna vrāzka
 parsley bought-1SG only one bunch
 ‘Parsley, I bought only one bunch of.’ [Penčev (1999: 520)]
- (57) *?Само една връзка купи-х магданоз.*
 ?Samo edna vrāzka kupi-x magdanoz
 only one bunch bought-1SG parsley.
 ‘Only one bunch did I buy of parsley’. [Penčev (1999: 520)]

The situation in (56) and (57) is parallel to a noun modified by an adjunct PP, as in the following context:

- (58) *Гледа-м [книга-та на маса-та]*
 Gleda-m [kniga-ta na masa-ta]
 look.at-1SG [book-the on table-the]
 ‘I’m looking at the book on the table.’ [Penčev (1999: 520)]
- (59) *Книга-та гледа-м на маса-та*
 Kniga-ta gleda-m na masa-ta
 book-the look.at-1SG on table-the
 ‘I’m looking at the book on the table.’ [Penčev (1999: 520)]
- (60) **На маса-та гледа-м [книга-та t]*
 *Na masa-ta gleda-m [kniga-ta t]
 on table-the look.at-1SG [book-the t]
 ‘I’m looking at the book on the table.’ [Penčev (1999: 520)]

The judgements in (58), (59) and (60) verify that the head of the object phrase can be placed to the left of the verb, with the dependent remaining in situ, as in (59) (Penčev (1999: 520)). As evident from (60), we cannot dislocate the dependent and

³¹“Movement” is meant informally, without any connotations of a syntactic operation.

leave the head in situ. Therefore, the word for *parsley* must be the head in (56) and (57). If this is the case, it will be hard to find any phrase-structure motivation for possible verbal agreement with the feminine noun *vrážka* ‘bunch’ (as opposed to the masculine *magdanoz* ‘parsley’), because *vrážka* ‘bunch’ has no syntactic credentials to be the head. So much was ascertained with our tests which are independent of agreement. It would be really circular, even perverse, to assert that what fails the agreement-independent test is nevertheless a head because of the agreement facts (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 264), who make such a claim regarding *a lot of*).

7.3. Additional Problems for Purely Structural Explanations

Any adamantly tree-based analysis will run into further difficulties when it comes to agreement phenomena. In the first place, when agreement shifts within a clause or sentence, we would have to admit that speakers can somehow “re-bracket” the string and assign it different structures once it has been (at least partially) uttered or committed to the page. This is rather far-fetched and unrealistic. Secondly, it might be worrying to treat *people* as the head, and *group* as some sort of determiner, in the face of modification like *a very large group of people* (cf. Fig. 8 and Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 350-1)). This simple logic applies to analogous examples like *you’ve got an awful lot of fittings in [BNC]*, where *lot* is definitely a determiner/SPEC functionally, but not structurally, because it takes adjectival modifiers, like any other nominal head³², and also because it has an *of*-PP complement which looks indistinguishable from any other PP projected by *of*. In our model, the constituency layout remains unchanged, and the multiple book-keeping devices (e.g. gender, person and number) passed up by the various elements co-exist at f-structure (see the

³²It should be acknowledged that determiners can also be modified, as in *almost three, not every*, etc. (M. Dalrymple, p.c.). And yet, such modification is not normally adjectival.

figures above). In this way, the prediction of variability falls out naturally, with no need for implausible re-bracketing.

Probably a more serious problem confronting purely structural accounts is that they champion disparate explanations for what seems to be a non-divisible phenomenon – agreement with partitives is attributed to fluctuating tree “scaffolding”, but this explanation cannot be extended to words like *family*. As mentioned above, a unified treatment would be much more desirable. It is better to cover all manifestations of equivalent agreement mismatches with an overarching generalisation, and this is made possible by appealing to index and concord. We believe that collectives like *family* or *committee*, as well as conjoined nouns like *bacon and eggs*, can accommodate both singular and plural indices, just as a noun phrase like *a group of people* can inherit the features of its constituent parts. These intuitions are equally valid for determiners like *each* and *every*, or conjunctions like *or*.

Multi-membered non-conjoined constructions and coordinate phrases have one more thing in common – namely, what could be thought of as agreement with an isolated member of a set. Mistakes due to so called attraction evoke undeniable parallels between multi-membered constructions like *a group of students* and conjoined phrases, reminding one of closest- or furthest-conjunct agreement³³. In some cases, they seem to have become institutionalised (as in *a group of students has/have*). A target that singles out either the Bulgarian word for ‘group’ or the word for ‘profilers’ is acceptable in (61), whereas (62) will probably still be condemned as an “error”.

³³On so called attraction errors, see Bock and Eberhard (1993). We shall not formalise “single-member” agreement for the time being.

(61)	<i>В</i>	<i>книг-а-та</i>	<i>централн-о</i>	<i>мяст-о</i>	<i>заема</i>
	V	knig-a-ta	centraln-o	mjast-o	zaema
	in	book(F)-SG-DEF	central-NT.SG	place(NT)-SG	take[3SG]

груп-а *начинае-щ-и* *профайлър-и*, *обучава-щ-а* *се* *да* *изготвя-т*
 grup-a načinae-št-i profajlăr-i, obučava-št-a se da izgotvja-t
 group(F)-SG begin-ing-PL profiler(M)-PL learn-ing-F.SG³⁴ REFL COMP prepare-3PL

психопрофил-и *на* *особено* *опасн-и* *престъпниц-и*.
 psixoprofil-i na osobeno opasn-i prestăpnic-i.
 psycho-profile(M)-PL of particularly dangerous-PL criminal(M)-PL

‘Central to the book is a group of beginner profilers who are learning how to compile psychological profiles of particularly dangerous criminals.’

[Source:

http://www.capital.bg/vestnikut/kapitel/2003/03/29/220607_poznavash_metodite_mi_uotsun (accessed on 25 June 2010)]

(62)	<u><i>едн-а</i></u>	<i>от тем-и-те,</i>	<u><i>ко-я-то</i></u>	<i>обсъди-хме</i>
	<u><i>edn-a</i></u>	ot tem-i-te,	<u><i>ko-ja-to</i></u>	obsădi-xme
	<u><i>one-F.SG</i></u>	of topic(F)-PL-DEF,	<u><i>which-F.SG-RELATIVE</i></u>	discuss-PAST.1PL

‘one of the topics which we discussed’

[Source: Bulgarian National Television, News Programme, 24 July 2010]

Similar examples exist in other languages, such as the Russian configuration of the type NP(nominative) + preposition + NP(instrumental) illustrated in (63). As a controller, it can participate in resolved or closest-conjunct agreement – a subset of the range of patterns found with conjoined nouns (cf. Corbett (1986: 999-1000)). The singular is to be expected in (63), since verbs in Slavic agree with their nominative subjects, but the plural option ‘indicates that the oblique conjunct is in some sense “taken into account”’ (Corbett (1988b: 27))³⁵. The same variation is observed in Russian quantified expressions, as shown in (64).

³⁴This present active participle can also be plural – *обучаващи/obučavašti*.

³⁵There is actually more than that. When the nominative NP is a pronoun, then this alone is responsible for agreement (Corbett (1988b: 27); cf. the discussion of individuation in Chapter 3, Section 4). In addition, there have been suggestions in the literature that such *with*-phrases are in fact instances of underlying coordination (cf. Lakoff and Peters (1969) for English, and Crockett (1976, Section 4.1.21) for Russian); the evidence cited often rests on semantics and agreement phenomena, which makes the polemic circular.

(63)
Фон Манштейна *чуть было не отправил/отправили на тот свет*
 Fon Manštejna čut' bylo ne otpravil/otpravili na tot svet
 Von Mannstein.ACC little was not sent.M.SG/PL to that world

Авдеев *со своим ведомым*
 Avdeev so svoim vedomym
 Avdeev.NOM.MASC.SG with his own.INST co-pilot.INST

‘Avdeev and his co-pilot almost sent Von Mannstein to the other world’
 [Corbett (1988b: 27)]

(64) *Вошло/вошли* *пять* *девушек*
 Vošlo/vošli pjat' devušek
 entered.NT.SG/PL five.NOM girl.GEN.PL
 ‘Five girls came in.’ [Corbett (1988b: 28)]

The predicate in (64) is said either to default to neuter singular, when the numeral quantifier is taken to be the sole controller (because numerals lack the required features), or to possibly agree with the genitive complement of the quantifier ‘five’. This is supported by the Serbian/Croatian data in (65), because Serbian/Croatian has clung to its gender distinctions in the plural (cf. Corbett (1986: 1000, 1988b: 28))³⁶.

(65) *Pet devojaka su došle*
 Five girl.GEN.PL AUX.3PL come.FEM.PL
 ‘Five girls have come’ [Corbett (1988b: 28)]

³⁶There have been attempts to reduce (64) and (65) to agreement with the numeral head, which is accordingly invested with singular and plural features, similarly to *family* (see Kibort (2011)). More work will reveal if it is wise to go down this path.

8. Why we Cannot Only Rely on Semantics

In the previous section, we clarified why an unmitigated phrase-structural explanation of agreement proves inefficient, so we have to fall back on features such as concord and index in order to arrive at a satisfactory account of the empirical facts (cf. Kim (2004: 1107-9)). One might ask if it would be expedient to get rid of the syntactic component altogether, leaving agreement phenomena entirely to semantics. Instead of grammatical matching, it may all be down to semantic compatibility.

In fact, Reid (1991: ix) claims that subject-verb agreement is virtually absent from English – i.e. ‘neither the grammatical number of the verb nor that of its subject determines the other’ (cf. Juul (1974) for similar ideas). Barlow (1999) also argues that agreement relations are actually links between discourse information structures and are therefore outside the domain of morpho-syntax³⁷. Hoeksema (1983) too advocates a meaning-based approach (in addition to purely syntactic rules), but admits that his model cannot cope with sentences like (66). Semantics is crucial for Dowty and Jacobson’s (1988) proposal as well (cf. the criticism levelled against it in Pollard and Sag (1994: 105) and Kathol (1999: 224-7)).

(66) *Three defeats in a row was too much for our hero* [Hoeksema (1983: 71)]

What Reid (1991: ix) has to say about the connection between the verb and its subject is that ‘each is chosen for its semantic value, and each independently contributes to the communication of the speaker’s intended message’³⁸. Rather than resorting to mechanical “lockstep”, Reid (1991: 197) urges that the tenet of rule-governed formal co-variance should be abandoned completely and replaced with semantic coherence (or compatibility). To a certain extent, we take heed of Reid’s plea, in that LFG represents agreement as compatibility of information supplied by

³⁷However, Barlow (1999) visualises agreement as merging the properties of a controller and a target, which is not at all dissimilar to the view taken in the present work.

³⁸Bock and Eberhard (1993: 89), on the other hand, reject the hypothesis that verbal number is meaningful on its own, bolstering their assertions with experimental psycholinguistic evidence.

two elements (i.e. a target and a controller). However, emphasis is laid on syntactic compatibility in LFG, whereas Reid insists that the choices are informed by semantics and pragmatics (and nothing else).

While Reid (1991) dismisses (67) as a sentence where agreement breaks down, we would not go so far. The alignment there is with the singular INDEX of the subject phrase; the singular INDEX comes from the reading whereby all those foodstuffs constitute a single unit – namely breakfast (similarly to our example with *happiness and sadness* above)³⁹. These features are indeed projected by the subject, because such “failure of agreement”, as Reid calls it, cannot happen with just any noun phrase, in a haphazard fashion.

(67) *Eggs with ham or bacon was the staple for breakfast.* [Reid (1991: 38)]

Although we concede that the number of both the noun and the verb carries independent meaning which has to fit in certain ways, we cannot accept that the choice has nothing to do with grammatical rules, instead being solely guided by functional needs and creativity on the part of language users. Why then would no one come up with *The furniture are...* when they want to talk about many pieces of furniture, or *The furnitures are*, for that matter? So much has already been pointed out by Bloomfield (1933: 266) (cf. Reid (1991: 109ff)). The plurality of *scissors/trousers/binoculars* may be justified because they are made up of two symmetrical parts (as observed by Reid (1991: 74-5), Pollard and Sag (1994: 87) and Wierzbicka (1991), quoted in Hudson (1999: 177)), but so are shirts and jackets, which, however, are regular count nouns (cf. Bock and Eberhard (1993: 61), as well as Hudson (1999: 177), who stresses that the imagined ties between the plurality of a lexeme and the way its denotata are made do not shed much light on how language works). Hudson (1999: 177) also raises awareness of the danger of circularity ‘if the

³⁹As Kim (2004: 1110) notes, ‘in the interpretation of a nominal, the index must be anchored to an individual in the context of utterance to make sure of its proper usage in the real world.’

verb's supposed meaning can only be identified by looking at its form, especially given the apparently arbitrary variation among languages'; for instance, German classifies scissors and glasses as singular, but hair as plural, whereas the Bulgarian word for furniture is mostly confined to the plural (accidentally, so is the German one)⁴⁰. In addition, syntactic categories such as subject, a prototypical controller, cannot be reliably defined in semantic terms, which is another blow to an exclusively semantic approach (Hudson (1999: 177)).

Agreement with the notional third person subject (the car) in (68) is impossible (Pollard and Sag (1988: 243), (1994: 85-6) and Kim (2004: 1109)). If we took undiluted semantic reasoning to its logical conclusion, a *ship* would have to be an object as well as a female being at the same time, judging by the pronouns that can refer back to it (Pollard and Sag (1988, and 1994: 79)). Neither can a purely semantic model account for the patterns in (69)-(71), which do not make much pragmatic sense (Morgan (1984: 74-7) and Quirk et al. (1985: 297, 758)).

(68) *I am parked on the hill.* [Kim (2004: 1109); originally from H. Clark, cited in Barlow (1992: 227)]

(69) *More than one student has/*have passed the exam.* [Morgan (1984: 74)]

(70) *Fewer than two students have failed the exam.* [Morgan (1984: 74)]

(71) *0.3 voters* [Morgan (1984: 77)]

It is therefore preferable to resurrect the traditional concept of “notional concord”, which we elaborate and formalise as index – nurtured by semantics but nevertheless a grammatical feature (cf. Reid (1991: 197ff) for a critical assessment of previous work appealing to notional concord). Reid (1991: 197) attacks such reliance on notional concord for being inconsistent, because it seems to wield much greater explanatory power than conventional grammatical agreement. If *family* can be notionally plural and therefore agree with a plural verb, the same argument, Reid surmises, could be sustained for the notional plurality of the noun *birds*. How can we

⁴⁰Of course, these number settings are tendencies which have their exceptions, reinforcing the point.

tell that, on this approach, it is not the notional plurality of *birds* that the verb detects, as opposed to its grammatical plurality?

Our framework is immune to such criticism, as this is exactly what we suggest – verbs are interested in index (but index is not merely another name for semantics). Besides, accusations of redundancy are often misplaced, because language seems to take a particular liking to it, especially in the context of agreement. Strictly speaking, subject properties are extravagantly and unnecessarily expressed both on subjects and on verbs; likewise, time can be redundantly indicated in the clause by verbal tense and lexical items like *yesterday*.

Reid (1991: 202-3) himself hails Pollard and Sag's (1988) stance on verb number as 'more congenial' with his own. As acknowledged by Reid (1991: 202-3), 'Pollard and Sag (1988: 242ff) propose an information-based (rather than derivation-based) approach to grammatical agreement. They too reject verb number as purely syntactic in nature and see the referential parameter associated with the subject phrase as the critical determining factor. In their view "two elements which participate in an agreement relation specify partial information about a single linguistic object" (Pollard and Sag (1988: 237)). Collective nouns, for example, "are lexically marked to introduce parameters unspecified for number" (p. 250). The verb then assigns an agreement value to the subject'. It becomes evident from this quotation that Pollard and Sag are among the precursors of the approach outlined here. As shown above (see Sections 2 and 3), we also owe a lot to Kim (2004), as well as Morgan (1984), who is resolute that we need semantic, pragmatic and syntactic principles to be able to account for something as multifaceted as agreement (cf. Corbett (2003c: 160-2)).

9. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to widen the field of application of the index and concord features, taking it beyond coordination with *and*. An attempt has been made to give substance to the claim that the framework developed here, by bringing grammar and semantics together, offers an adequate, unified treatment of collective nouns, quantified expressions, the property-changing powers of words like *each*, *every* or *or*, as well as the behaviour of phrases like *a group of students*. Our solution also avoids the pitfalls of purely structural or purely semantic theories.

CHAPTER 6

Beyond Agreement: Pronominal Case Assignment in English

1. Introduction

So far we have been concerned with agreement – contexts in which a target and a controller both supply compatible information of the same kind. We now turn to government – a situation where one element dictates what the features of a dependent should be, without itself possessing these features. Verbs and prepositions, for example, govern the case of their arguments. This will be our topic here. Following a long tradition of research, we first outline the phenomenon of canonical and non-canonical case assignment to English pronouns functioning as heads or dependents, and then go on to discuss some previous treatments in order to illustrate the data, as well as to demonstrate that an account capable of capturing all the generalisations has up until now remained elusive. A purely phrase-structural explanation will be sketched out and rejected, to be superseded by a model relying on the formalism of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG), which we argue successfully incorporates all the relevant syntactic patterns. The chapter ends with a comparison between the present proposal and some earlier ideas in the literature. Finally, we briefly defend the tacit assumption that English pronouns still exhibit case distinctions.

Payne and Huddleston (2002: 455) define case as ‘a system of inflectional forms of a noun that serve to mark the function of an NP relative to the construction containing it’. We will stick to the traditional definition of the category whereby it entails inflectional marking, as opposed to denoting any means of expressing grammatical relations (including word order, prepositions, etc.), the latter being common practice in the Chomskian school (cf. Jacobson (1984: 542), Falk (1991), as well as Blake (2001: 1) and later sections of this chapter). We keep the concept of

case separate from syntactic notions such as subject or object. Whereas affixes and/or morpho-phonology are often the exponents of grammatical relations, there is not always a one-to-one correspondence, and postulating universal “abstract” case for all languages, irrespective of the existence of overt declension, confuses two interconnected but independent levels of analysis (cf. Blake (2001: 3, 58) and Comrie (1981: 64-6)).

In Modern English, morphological case is usually said to survive in personal pronouns, and, to a lesser extent, in some interrogative/relative pronouns. We still recognise nominative *I* and *who*, versus accusative *me* and somewhat obsolescent *whom*. In general, the nominative is intended to flag up subjects, and the accusative is for objects, as shown in examples (1) and (2)¹.

- (1) *I* called **him**. [invented]
- (2) **He** called *me*. [invented]

Nominative and accusative may no longer seem appropriate pigeonholes for the present-day inventory of English pronouns, because there are no dedicated dative forms for what would conventionally be called indirect objects. It might therefore be more accurate to talk about subjective and objective “flavours”, the former standing for the nominative, and the latter comprising the accusative and dative. This, however, could be misleading. The subjective/nominative can now signal the subject of a finite verb and (marginally) a subject complement, whereas the objective/accusative is frequently found not only on objects but also on subject complements, as in (3). Paradoxically, there are attestations of morphologically objective/accusative subjects, shown in (4).

- (3) *I'm sure they're as good as we are but, **they're them** and **we're us**. And that's that.* [BNC]
- (4) **Me** and my brother are gonna be off at the same time. [BNC]

¹For case in Old English, see Mitchell (1985), Allen (1995, chap. 2), Quirk and Wrenn (1955: 60-1) and Mitchell and Robinson (2007: 105); for an overview of the history of English case, see Denison (1993), Allen (1995, chap. 5), Howe (1996, chap. 6) and Czepluch (1996: 42-3, 186).

Judging by such examples, “subjective” and “objective” are no more precise labels than “nominative” and “accusative”. Admittedly, “nominative” and “accusative” are not perfect either², but we adopt this terminology, following Payne and Huddleston (2002: 456), because it is the most widely accepted one in the field. It can be more easily reserved for the inflectional marking, without any commitment concerning the syntactic behaviour of the morphological items.

In the next section, we identify three varieties of Modern English with regard to canonical and non-canonical case assignment. We then clarify that non-canonical case is tolerated as long as the relevant pronoun is not a head – this assertion is substantiated in Section 3. Section 4 offers assessment of the contributions of some previous authors, while Section 5 formulates and elaborates a new proposal that is more comprehensive and succinct. The final sections situate our model in the context of its forerunners and justify the stance that Present-Day English retains case on its pronouns.

²For instance, *him* and “objective” *her* are descended from Old English datives and, etymologically speaking, they should not be designated as accusative.

2. Canonical and Non-Canonical Case Assignment in Three Varieties of Standard English

In the canonical scenario, the nominative is set aside for subjects and the accusative for objects (including prepositional objects), as in the a) sentences from (5) to (11). We will be referring to this sub-system as prescriptively “correct” Standard English. Another variety allows accusative forms to be non-canonically assigned to subjects, as displayed in (5)b. and (6)b. This will be named Colloquial Standard English. The third variety also fosters deviation from institutionalised teaching – this time nominative forms can appear in object functions, as in (9)b. – an alignment typical of the Hypercorrect Variety of Standard English³.

- (5) a. **He and I** tried to make conversation. [COCA]
b. **Him and me** tried. **We** used a fingernail file once. [COCA]
- (6) a. **We two** speak together. [COCA]
b. **If us two** don't play, then it's strictly political. [COCA]
- (7) a. **We all** left at the same time. [BNC]
b. ***Us all** left at the same time.
- (8) a. It was **I** who opened the door. [COCA]
b. It was **me** that had to tell her. [COCA]
- (9) a. The affinity **between him and me** [BNC]
b. all the protection **to both he and I**. [BNC]
- (10) a. **I** probably won't go. [BNC]
b. ***Me** probably won't want to go. [Grano (2006: 6)]
- (11) a. **She** poisoned **him** against **me**. [COCA]
b. ***Her** poisoned **him** against **me**.
c. ***She** poisoned **him** against **I**.
d. ***She** poisoned **he** against **me**.

The ill-formedness of (7)b., (10)b. and (11)b, c, d. implies that non-canoncity is far from random. Below, it will be argued that it can only affect pronouns which do not head the relevant receiver of case. This is what many scholars believe about conjoined phrases – they are regularly described as headless or exocentric (cf. Chapter

³For a brief note on recent developments in case assignment, see Swan (2006: 332); for non-canonical case in Middle and Early Modern English, see Denison (1993: 32), Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1994), Howe (1996: 166), Johannessen (1998: 15), Angermeyer and Singler (2003), Wales (1996: 88) and Barr (2009).

1). In the next section, it will be established that the same distinction lies behind the grammaticality judgements in (6) and (7).

There is a certain amount of circularity because we appeal to pronoun usage to delimit the three sub-systems, which in turn will be relied on to account for pronoun usage. One way of determining register that is independent of how pronouns are deployed might be to look at the source of our corpus examples. As expected, case tended to be used colloquially in very informal passages, replete with other colloquial vocabulary and contractions, even slang words and swearing. By contrast, hyper-correct citations were often associated with formal, solemn occasions, such as a hearing at the High Court of Justice – those surroundings definitely presuppose being on one’s best linguistic (and non-linguistic, for that matter) behaviour, to the extent of possibly overdoing it. Unfortunately, however, things were not always as simple as that, and we sometimes encountered hyper-correction in informal texts, and colloquialisms in relatively formal ones. This calls our partitioning into doubt, but the following acceptability ratings from Kershaw (1992) (quoted in Johannessen (1998: 137)) uphold the boundaries between the three sub-systems: the first one colloquial (12), the second normatively “correct” (13), and the third hyper-correct (14). Crucially, (15) confirms that they are incompatible in the same clause. For more discussion of the registers of English with their different grammars, see Householder (1987) and Klima (1964).

(12) %*Me and him went out.* [Kershaw (1992), quoted in Johannessen (1998: 137)]

(13) *He and I went out.* [Kershaw (1992), quoted in Johannessen (1998: 137)]

(14) %*They know he and I.* [Kershaw (1992), quoted in Johannessen (1998: 137)]

(15) **Me and him know she and I.* [Kershaw (1992), quoted in Johannessen (1998: 137)]

Having introduced the concepts of canonical and non-canonical case in the three varieties, we are now ready to return to the claim that non-canonical case assignment can only occur if the pronoun in question is not the head of the

construction. This issue will be addressed in Section 3, after which we examine how some earlier theories cope with the complex data and finally flesh out our own.

3. Pronouns as Heads or Dependents

Mention was made above of a crucial distinction between *We/*Us all left* and *We/Us two left* – namely, that the pronoun is the head in the former example and a dependent in the latter (cf. (6) and (7)). We believe that the divergence between these patterns holds the key to a better understanding of case assignment in English. In this section, the mismatched options in the two phrases will be attributed to their different syntactic structures. Governed constituents have to bear canonical case when they serve as the f-structure head but are free to bear non-canonical/default case otherwise, and it is vital for any theory to be able to accommodate these facts.

3.1. Empirical Evidence

A substitution test lends credibility to such an analysis. In the environment of *We/Us two left*, if we replace *we/us* with central determiners like *those/the*, we get impeccable results: *Those/The/Which two left* (cf. Wales (1996: 12) and Baker (1995: 153)). Such substitution is unthinkable in *We all left* – cf. **The/*Which all left*. The sentence *Those all left* is licit because the demonstrative can stand on its own. Similarly, if we replace a pronoun functioning as head with a full NP, the output is unobjectionable (*The men all left*), but trying to replace a pronoun functioning as determiner with a full NP leads to nonsense (**The men two left*) (Mary Dalrymple, p.c.). We can also say *Those/Us three all left*, where either a central or a pronominal determiner co-occurs with *all*, so *all* is compatible with determiners, including pronominal ones, as long as there is a pivot to lean on (the numeral *three*, in our case). Determiner pronouns and articles, on the other hand, are mutually exclusive, unless separated by an intonation break, which makes such strings appositive (see next

section): **we the linguists*, **you the students* (Hudson (1987: 122), cf. Postal (1969)). These peculiar syntactic qualities point to an interpretation whereby the pronoun is a determiner in *us two* and the head in *we all*. Kim and Sells (2008: 156) remark that *all* in *The boys will all be there* is a floating quantifier which can follow the auxiliary verb, so the quantifier may not be part of the phrase at all.

In terms of semantics, *we all* is equivalent to *all of us*, whereas *us two* is not equivalent to *two of us*. In *us two*, *us* must refer to two people, while in *two of us*, *us* must encompass at least three⁴. Another fact to note is that *us girls*, *you girls* and *we girls* are all perfectly well-formed, whereas **they girls* is clearly not. *Them girls* is characteristic of non-standard dialects in which *them* has the same determiner function as *those*. **I girl* and **she/*her girl* are obviously out too. These combinations reveal that only some members of the paradigm can do double duty as pronouns and determiners – third-person forms might be precluded from determiner roles due to blocking by the definite article (cf. Quinn (2005: 288) and Abney (1987)).

Payne and Huddleston (2002: 374) also consider first- and second-person pronouns in examples like (16) and (17) to be determiners, because they mark a noun as definite and their distribution is exactly parallel to that of other definite determiners, cf. (18). They permit the universal quantifier *all* as pre-determiner; this property distinguishes determiner pronouns from the personal series, which permit *all* in that slot only when post-modified, as shown in (19) and (20) (Payne and Huddleston (2002: 374), cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 353, 382)).

(16) *all we supporters of a federal Europe* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 374)]

(17) *all you students* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 374)]

(18) *all those supporters of a federal Europe* and *all the students* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 374)]

(19) *All we/you who support a federal Europe will win the argument.* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 374)]

(20) **All we/you will win the argument.* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 374)]

⁴This does not hold for *the two of us*, of course.

Since the boldface pronouns in (21) and (22) are no sole heads, in line with the inferences from the preceding paragraphs, they are free to surface with a non-canonical case.

(21) *Everything comes to **he** who waits.* [Corby trouser-press advertisement, London Underground, 7 November 1994, from Wales (1996: 96), quoted in Quinn (2005: 304)]

(22) **Them** she lived with would have killed her for a hat-pin.⁵ [George Bernard Shaw, *Pygmalion*, from Visser (1963: 248), quoted in Quinn (2005: 307)]

The paraphrasability with “those [people] who [can] wait/that [one] who waits/those [people] [who(m)] she lived with” can hardly be denied. The skeleton is thus made up of a determiner (demonstrative or pronominal), plus a head (overtly present or omitted), followed by a relative clause modifying the head. As no nominal can be reinstated in (21) and no third-person pronouns normally act as determiners, *he* might be seen as a fused Det-Head, combining in it “the/that person/individual/one [+who waits]”, or *he who* might be a “periphrastic free relative” spelling out “whoever”⁶. One thing is for sure – *he* is not autonomous in the matrix clause (cf. **Everything comes to he*), and non-compliance with conventional marking is brought on by the post-posed relative adjunct.

3.2. Apposition

The evidence adduced in the previous section is unequivocally in favour of treating pronouns in phrases like *we two* or *we linguists* as determiners. An alternative analysis of those collocations, but with different intonation, is as instances of apposition (although, see Postal (1969), who argues against it). Apposition is similar

⁵The non-canonical accusative here may be due to the speaker’s (or, more accurately, the character’s) non-standard dialect. Our account is restricted to Standard Modern English.

⁶A rival explanation offered in Quinn (2005) is that those pronouns can have their case governed by the relative clause verb. If Quinn’s analysis is implemented across the board, however, it will rule out *who* when the relativisation target in the relative clause is not a subject (M. Dalrymple, p.c.), which is an undesirable consequence (cf. (i)). Another alternative, to which we return below, is that prepositions have lost their ability to assign case in some varieties of English.

(i) ... *if he saw me or anybody **who** he knew...* [BNC]

to coordination in that there are multiple units, none of which is hierarchically above the others, so we will essentially make the same predictions (for a discussion of similarities between apposition and coordination, cf. Sadler and Nordlinger (2006)). We must resort to the appositive escape hatch for examples like (23) anyway. The first-person plural form in (23) cannot be plausibly construed as a determiner because there is one already (cf. Quinn’s (2005: 301) rather different story). Although there are archaic analogues with a demonstrative and a possessive from Early Modern English like (24), such adjacency would not be deemed grammatical in the present day.

(23) *Finally, I must speak of the frustrations of we, the journalists* [The Observer, 12 August 1984, quoted in Kjellmer (1986: 448)]

(24) *No, this my hand will rather/ The multitudinous seas incarnadine...* [W. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act II, Scene II]

3.3. Fossilised Nominalisations

In Section 3.1 we saw that pronouns can be either heads or dependents in the phrase that contains them. If they are heads, they must be assigned canonical case. If not, they would readily embrace the non-canonical default. Yet another guise they can assume, illustrated in (25), is of derived nouns which lack morphological case inflections⁷.

(25) *a whole new me*⁸

An additional complication arises from constructions like *poor him*. In this sub-section we seek possible reasons why they end up with “unorthodox” case, with at least three identified – in the first place, they often appear as independent

⁷The only potential candidate for “case affixhood” would be the genitive marker *'s*. As it attaches to the right edge of the NP, and not directly to the head noun, it is better analysed as an enclitic, though.

⁸The following are probably also tokens transformed into nouns and therefore stripped of case or reflexivity:

(i) *Well, I don't see me anywhere [in the picture]. Where is me, 'cause that's not me?* [Source: <http://www.npr.org/2011/02/22/133847765/silver-star-recipient-areluctant-hero>, (accessed on 10 July 2011), thanks go to M. Dalrymple for bringing this example to my attention]

Kjellmer (1986: 448) and Tieken-Boom van Ostade (1994: 219) cite similar material from Early Modern English, in the face of which a nominalisation account would flounder. It will be ignored here because it belongs neither to Standard nor to Present-Day English. Non-standard varieties from the 20th and 21st centuries are likewise ignored (cf. Wales (1996: 85)).

constituents in separate clauses; secondly, the pronoun could be part of a frozen pre-fabrication that does not inflect for case; furthermore, there are indications that such pronouns act as determiners. Indeed, default accusatives preceded by adjectives may not be due to the internal hierarchical organisation of the syntagm itself, but to the fact that they frequently float around as self-contained stretches of speech or writing without a case-assigning verb (cf. Quinn (2005: 288)). And yet, there are attestations where they are incorporated in finite clauses, as in (26).

(26) *Poor him never got a word in edgeways.* [Quinn (2005: 75)]

As pointed out by C. M. MacRobert (p.c.), *poor him* or *lucky me* might be idiomatic set expressions which are not built on the basis of syntactic rules at all, because they cannot combine freely with any adjective (e.g. **ridiculous us/*hungry me*). Schütze (2001: 213-4), Zwicky (2004) and Grano (2006: 4) consider only the accusative to be grammatical in sentences like (27) and (28) below. There exists a certain affinity between *poor me* and *lucky me* from (27) and (28), on the one hand, and *the real me* in (29), on the other. Case variation is disabled in all of them, with the accusative being the sole option (provided that we trust Schütze and Grano's intuitions).

(27) *Lucky me/*I gets to clean the toilets.* [Schütze (2001: 213-4)]

(28) *Poor *I/me will have to start all over again.* [Grano (2006: 4)]

(29) *The real me/*I is finally emerging.* [Schütze (2001: 214)]

(30) *Lucky me/the real me is/*am...* [Schütze (2001: 214)]

In the light of these insights, we propose to classify the pronouns in *poor me/lucky him* as fossilisations. That much is suggested by the correspondences between them and the unambiguously nominalised head in *the real me*. This is in fact supported by the agreement in (27) above, where no first-person predicate would be acceptable, as corroborated by the grammaticality judgements in (30) – the third-person verb means that the subject is a noun, not a first-person pronoun. However, it remains a mystery why the pronoun is barred from co-occurring with a determiner in

(27) and (28) (**the lucky me*). More damagingly, nominative forms are also recorded in such contexts, as shown in (31).

(31) *This is hard for poor we*. [Householder (1987:164)]

Alternation is a sign of active case at work, as opposed to a petrified indeclinable relic. It would not be too far-fetched to say that both the nominative and the accusative have given rise to two synonymous nominalised lexemes (maybe in different idiolects), which do not tolerate overt articles or demonstratives. Another possibility is to bring to the fore the incompatibility of such pronouns with determiners, which might hint at membership in the same category⁹. Those pronouns would have to be the only post-adjectival determiners, however. Yet another viable hypothesis might be apposition, which came up in the previous section (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 423-4, as well as Sections 17.65 and 17.88) for similar ideas regarding phrases like *we British*), but adjectives cannot normally stand on their own when they are part of NPs – cf. *We, the British are...*, but not **We, ___British are...*. At this stage, we have no choice but to leave this for future research.

3.4. The Formal Treatment of Pronouns as Heads or Dependents

The syntactic disparities between a pronoun which is a head and one which is a dependent will prove pivotal as our agenda gradually unfolds. The formalisation of pronouns in general, and pronouns filling the slots of determiners in particular, remains controversial, with scholars disagreeing over the very fundamentals of what they believe to be the correct phrase-structure representation (Postal (1969), Jackendoff (1977: 106), Quirk et al. (1985: 6.1), Abney (1987: 169ff), Hudson (1987:

⁹The incompatibility with determiners cannot be put down to the unique reference of pronouns – cf. **that poor him* vs. attested *that poor Rob* [COCA]. In addition, (i) shows that fused adjectival heads admit determiners other than the definite article:

(i) *But it's real jobs they want, **these young**: to be needed, useful, a cog in the machine* [Source: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/libby_purves/article7107887.ece (accessed on 25 April 2010)]

122ff), Cardinaletti (1994: 202-5), Longobardi (1994), Wales (1996: 11), Panagiotidis (2002), Payne and Huddleston (2002: 374), Quinn (2005)).

The whole phrase-structure problem can be circumvented by using LFG functional structure, especially since what is the head in the tree diagram does not necessarily have to be accorded the same status in the functional matrix (cf. Bresnan (2001: 102) and Dalrymple (2001); as well as Chapter 1, Section 4.3, Chapter 5, Section 7.2 above, and the brief LFG update in Section 5 below). We propose the LFG f-structure presented in Fig. 1. If pronouns behave like determiners, they will be plugged in as the value of the specifier (SPEC), which will let them get default case, because they are not the main PRED. If pronouns step in as f-structure heads, they will contribute the PRED value and will only be able to get canonical case (cf. Section 5).

Fig. 1: *F-structure analysis of pronouns as heads or dependents*

a. *Us two left*

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} PRED \quad 'leave <SUBJ>' \\ SUBJ \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} SPEC \quad [us] \\ PRED \quad 'two' \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

b. *We all left*

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} PRED \quad 'leave <SUBJ>' \\ SUBJ \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} PRED \quad 'we' \\ ADJUNCT \quad \{[all]\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The aim of this section has been to underscore that an adequate description of case in Present-Day English will have to be able to take on board the implications of the various roles pronouns can fulfil – canonical case is mandatory for (non-fossilised) heads, whereas the non-canonical default might suffice in other circumstances. This is valid for the material we have been examining here, as well as for coordination, which will be discussed in more detail below. After this excursus, we move on to an unavoidably superficial review of a small sample of the vast literature on pronominal case in English. It will emerge that, while coordinated constructions have featured prominently in numerous papers, books and monographs, often no effort has been made to extend the analysis to what we have labelled determiner pronouns.

4. Some Previous Accounts of English Pronominal Case

This section sketches out several earlier attempts at tackling case in English, with special emphasis on the peculiarities of conjoined phrases. We first familiarise readers with the treatments offered in the two standard reference grammars of Modern English, Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and Quirk et al. (1985), followed by a summary of the work of two more theoretically minded authors – Johannessen (1996, 1998) and Quinn (2005). As we go along, we also expose some of the challenges previous proposals face. Finally, we argue against the purely tree-based explanations that have dominated the specialist literature. In the next section, we will outline our alternative proposal and then set it against a backdrop of similar ideas.

4.1. Payne and Huddleston (2002)

Payne and Huddleston (2002: 462) list three strategies for implementing case in coordinate constructions. The first involves enforcing the same rules for both conjoined and non-conjoined environments (equivalent to what we have dubbed the “prescriptively correct” variety). The second strategy entails reinterpretation of the coordinating conjunction as a preposition and is exemplified by sentences where only the second conjunct is accusative, like (32). The third strategy is to spread accusative case across the board. Payne and Huddleston’s second and third strategies are subsumed under what we have called the Colloquial Variety of Standard English.

(32) *She and us are going to be good friends.* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 462)]

In relation to the hyper-correct insertion of nominative forms into object slots, Payne and Huddleston (2002: 463) distinguish two patterns. The first one places the “deviant” conjunct in second position, as in (33). The other pattern has the “deviant” element in first position, as in (34), or both elements are “deviant”, as in (35). The authors declare that the first configuration is much more common than the second.

(33) *The present was supposed to represent Helen and I...* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 463)]

(34) *They've awarded **he** and his brother certificates of merit* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 463)]

(35) *There's a tendency for **he and I** to clash* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 463)]

There is a difficulty which stems from attributing the availability of non-canonical case in colloquial speech to the reanalysis of the conjunction as a preposition. Such a scenario cannot be invoked when both conjuncts are accusative, or, more importantly, when it is the first conjunct that hosts the default property, but not the second. We have attested examples from the Internet:

(36) ***Me and he** are having a heated discussion about this* [Source: <http://www.digitalspy.co.uk/forums/showthread.php?t=287273&page=162b> (Accessed on 13 April 2010)]

(37) *she can't take the fact that **me and he** are happy together, she's jealous, actually she wants him back.* [Source: <http://www.country-couples.co.uk/datingtips/does-your-man-flirt-with-other-women/> (Accessed on 13 April 2010)]

Neither can this explanation be extended to the context of determiner pronouns, investigated in the previous section. Although Payne and Huddleston (2002: 374) correctly identify pronouns used in this way as determiners, they do not come up with a comprehensive solution that applies to both instantiations of what seems to be the same phenomenon.

4.2. Quirk et al. (1985)

In order to arrive at a better understanding of the mechanism of case assignment, Quirk et al. see fit to divide the finite clause into “subject territory” (the pre-verbal subject position) and “object territory” (which includes all noun-phrase positions apart from that immediately preceding the verb)¹⁰. In informal English, the accusative is the unmarked default form which can crop up ‘in the absence of positive reasons for using the nominative’ (Quirk et al. (1985: 338)). This is how Quirk et al.

¹⁰Cf. Klima (1964: 15-6) for similar ideas.

tame accusative subject complements (cf. (38)). This also underpins the preference for *me* in ‘absolute’ functions, as in (39) (cf. Erdmann (1979: 68)).

(38) *That’ll be **them*** [Quirk et al. (1985: 338); bold face mine]

(39) “*Who’s there?*” “**Me**” [Quirk et al. (1985: 338); bold face mine]

According to Quirk et al. (1985: 338), the same notion of “catchment areas” is responsible for the tendency to find conjoined accusative pronouns acting as the subject of the finite clause. The pronoun is no longer said to be in subject territory here, because coordination means that it is ‘separated to some extent from the following verb, either by position or by failure of concord, as in the non-standard *Him and Mary/Mary and him are going abroad for a holiday*’. It is bizarre, however, that *him* should be accusative in the second example, despite immediately preceding the verb. Having recourse to “failure of concord”, on the other hand, is circular.

Nominative objects are blamed on the prescriptive bias in favour of the nominative series. Nevertheless, conjoined nominative pronouns which have encroached on the “object domain” undermine Quirk et al.’s logic, as it predicts that everything there will be in the accusative (cf. *between you and I, as for John and I, etc.*). In order to salvage these otherwise neat insights, we might surmise that the markedness settings have been flipped around in the hyper-correct register (this is what we will do in our analysis below). Although the hurdle of hyper-correction can be eliminated by positing another default, Quirk et al.’s (1985) model would have a hard time clarifying why non-canonical case is welcome in *Us two left*, but not in *We all left*. Since neither of the two pronouns is right in front of the verb, they are outside the subject’s territory, so default case should be available to both of them. Even though the headedness of such constructions is convincingly established elsewhere in the volume (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 339, 353, 423-4, and sections 7.25, 17.65, 17.88)), the case options in them cannot be covered by the concepts of subject and object territory. What is more, nominative subject complements remain a puzzle.

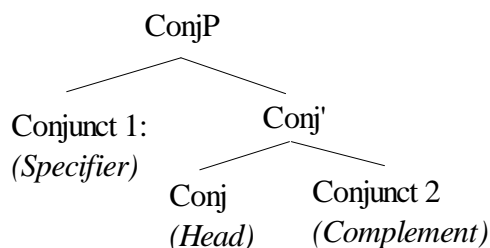
With regard to interrogative/relative *who(m)*, Quirk et al. (1985: 367) note that the accusative form is the marked one, unlike the unmarked accusative series of the personal pronouns¹¹. The advantage of their cartographic approach is that it anticipates this apparent paradox. Since subject territory in colloquial English is defined as the stretch preceding the verb, and since *wh*-words in questions and relative clauses are virtually confined to that stretch, irrespective of whether they are construed as subjects or not, there is a trend in informal English to avoid *whom* and to replace it by *who* (Quirk et al. (1985: 367); see Section 5.8 below, where we legitimise our stance). We now turn to a study cast in the Minimalist framework and its hierarchy-inspired tale about the same facts, or at least a subset of them.

4.3. Johannessen (1996, 1998)

Restricting herself to the environment of coordination, Johannessen (1998) also recognises the fact that the deviant conjunct bears default case. For her, this has to do with the structure of the ConjP (cf. Chapter 1, Section 2.2). On the basis of the observation that mixing canonical and non-canonical tokens normally proceeds in that order (see (40) and (41) below, and Section 4.1 above), as well as on the basis of other assumptions which are not rehearsed here, Johannessen concludes that conjoined nominals are incorporated into a Conjunction Phrase (ConjP) headed by the conjunction and assembled according to the generalised X-bar schema reproduced in Fig. 2.

¹¹At first sight, this may seem rather strange. In fact, it is not so surprising, since case on personal pronouns is expressed by suppletion; as a result, all members of the paradigm are of more or less equal length. Formally speaking, none is more marked than the others, but functionally speaking, the accusative set is indisputably more basic and wide-ranging. By contrast, the case on the accusative *wh*-pronoun is realised by the suffix *-m*. The nominative is shorter and has a zero ending, which renders it morphologically primary. In addition, the nominative is clearly unmarked from a functional point of view too. Treating *who/whom* differently from *he/him*, however, is assailable on grounds of double standards (and in fact scholars like Quinn (2005, chap. 6.2) treat both pairs alike). At the same time, it has to be conceded that *who* and *whom* share a vowel (long /u:/), whereas *he* and *him* do not; this implies that *who* and *whom* have the same stem, while *he* and *him* are suppletive forms from different stems.

Fig. 2: Johannessen's (1998, 1996: 669) *ConjP* (repeated from Chapter 1)



The conjunction, which is the head, receives the attributes originating from the verb¹². Since conjunctions discern no case, it is entrusted to one of the conjuncts. The crucial thing is that agreement in this framework is always an interaction between a head and its specifier¹³. So, the canonical value is passed on to the unit which sits in the specifier node, whereas the other pronoun can get the default option, because the model does not foresee that any agreement relations will obtain between a head and its complement. It follows that, if only one of the conjuncts boasts the “right” inflection, it must be the initial one. Johannessen (1998: 3, 54-5) believes that the relative order of heads and complements is universally fixed. With particular reference to English, she claims that the sequence of verb (head) and object (complement) corresponds to having a conjunction (head) and a non-conformist element which comes after it (complement). This is indeed true in sentences like (40) and (41).

¹²More precisely, the claim is that the *ConjP* inherits the features of the conjunct in specifier position through spec-head agreement (cf. Johannessen (1998: 110)).

¹³This is open to criticism because it conflates the concepts of agreement and government.

(40) *Can someone help my wife and I find housing in Texas?* [Johannessen (1998: 15)]

(41) *She and him will drive to the movies.* [Johannessen (1998: 16)]

The bottom line is that the first pronoun will not countenance non-canonical marking if the second one is in its canonical attire. And yet, this is exactly what we discover in examples (36) and (37) above, as well as in (42) and (43) below.

(42) *No, quite the opposite. **Him and I** have remained close* [COCA]

(43) *Well, it does, in a way, because **him and I** took different paths fighting our case.* [COCA]

For Johannessen (1998), a combination like *she and him* in subject position is more natural than *she and he*; the latter should be rarer because it is harder to derive – it is generated at the cost of bringing in extra machinery whose aim is to achieve the sharing of features between the specifier and the complement. This expectation is not borne out by the facts from the BNC (cf. Appendix III): *she and he* appears in subject function eight times, and there are no instances whatsoever of *she and him*. This situation is repeated with *she and they* vs. *she and them*, as well as with *they and I* vs. *they and me*. Likewise, there are seven hits for *they and we*, vs. none for *they and us*.

The fundamental motivation behind Johannessen's approach is predominantly theory-internal, and her arguments can be turned upside down, again for theory-internal reasons¹⁴. Zoerner (1995), for instance, props up the ConjP scaffolding, too, but with the opposite predictions – he maintains that the conjunct in complement position will have to display the properties imposed by the outside governor, because for him the conjunction (head) acts like a conduit of case; essentially, heads give features to their complements, but not to their specifiers. This idea was entertained and rejected during the assessment of Payne and Huddleston's (2002) proposed solution involving a case-assigning preposition in Section 4.1.

¹⁴Besides, there are numerous problems confronting the philosophy of endocentric conjoined phrases, as already demonstrated in Chapter 1. If we wanted to uphold the ConjP anyway, a cumbersome apparatus would have to be set in motion to accommodate uniformly nominative or accusative clusters (cf. Johannessen (1998)).

4.4. Quinn (2005)

Building on Johannessen's work, Quinn (2005) appeals to violable weighted constraints in order to model pronominal case in conjoined and non-conjoined phrases alike. One such constraint is Relative Positional Coding 1, which states that, in a conjoined phrase, the first conjunct must be "gracile" and the second "robust". The set of gracile forms comprises: *me, he, she, we, they*; the set of robust forms comprises: *I, him, her, us, them*. As this does not account for pairings like *me and they*, Quinn (2005) introduces an additional stipulation that sometimes the second conjunct has to be "more robust" than the first, with *they* proclaimed more robust than the other gracile items. Yet another principle admits "invariant strong forms" like *him and me*. The invariant strong forms are enumerated as: *me, him, her, us, them*. However, none of the fruits of Quinn's meticulous efforts seems to be in a position to capture attested and reported combinations like *me and he* in (36) and (37), or *her and we* in subject functions. (42) and (43) above also slip through the mesh of multiple guidelines. Further potentially troublesome data can be found in Appendix III, Part 2, examples (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7) and (8), but maybe Quinn (2005) would generate those as vanilla nominative subjects, without relying on her last-resort safety net.

This brief survey of some relevant literature reaffirms the need for an analysis that does a better job of elucidating the phenomenon. We will try to provide such an analysis in the next section, but we first justify our decision not to make exclusive use of constituent structure.

4.5. Against an Approach Exclusively Based on Constituent Structure

Since English is a configurational language, it might seem that we can harness constituent-structure trees to formulate the generalisations. Such arboreal generalisations are summarised in the two bullet points below (cf. Fig. 3), but they soon turn out to be rather knotty:

- If the maximal projection of a pronoun is immediately dominated by IP, then the pronoun gets nominative case (as in *We all left* or simply *We left*). If the (main/lexical) verb (incl. a copula), or a preposition, immediately c-commands¹⁵ the maximal projection of a pronoun, the pronoun then gets accusative case. This easily tackles straightforward instances like *She gave it to him* and *It's me*.
- If, however, the pronoun is not the head of the maximal projection immediately dominated by IP, then it need not pander to the nominative and is free to yield to the temptation of default accusative case (in the colloquial variety). This accounts for *Us two left* and *Me and him left* (assuming that coordination is exocentric). In the hyper-correct variety, if the verb or a preposition does not immediately c-command the maximal projection of a pronoun, the pronoun can get default nominative case. In order for a pronoun to obligatorily accept the accusative, its maximal projection has to be immediately c-commanded by the verb/preposition. This takes care of patterns like *He drove my brother and I*.

¹⁵We stick to the wording “immediate c-command”, instead of the more widely used term “government”, so that we can avoid mixing up this kind of c-structure government with LFG’s f-structure government which is employed below. For the meaning of c-command and c-structure government, see Carnie (2007, chap. 4).

These insights figure in early work by Klima (1964), Emonds (1976), and Hudson (1995: 378), among others, but they ought to be refined. In a theory like LFG, subject and object relations, as well as case information, are usually handled at functional-structure, which is what we undertake to do below. The motivation for rejecting a purely phrasal explanation is not theory-internal, however. It is an insurmountable obstacle that, unless we invent empirically unjustified transformations, we cannot tailor our pronouncements, made in terms of rigid tree-diagrams, to languages with thriving morphological declensions and free word order, like Czech and Old Norse, which also have non-canonical case (cf. Siegel (1987: 69-70) for other, more technical, faults that plague configurational approaches to case assignment). Neither would such a model be able to effortlessly predict the behaviour of subject complements in English, since they occupy the same space as objects. We will therefore primarily abide by the laws of LFG f-structure government and roles like subject, object and subject complement, but at the same time we will not abandon trees completely. We end up claiming that case in English flows to pronouns which are governed by a finite verbal PRED at f-structure, bear certain grammatical functions, and appear in particular constituent-structure positions. In addition, the approach we will defend below is more flexible in establishing what contexts individual pronominal forms are allowed in, due to constraints that we attach to lexical entries.

5. A New Proposal

We now proceed to reformulate the generalisations in the setting of LFG. After outlining our f-structure solution, we will go on to examine how it can be implemented in various situations where non-canonical case may be permitted, including conjoined and determiner pronouns, subject complements, and instances of topicalisation and left-dislocation. Special attention is paid to the inability of non-finite verbs, and perhaps prepositions in some varieties of English, to assign case. Zooming in on conjoined phrases, we address issues like the distributivity of case and clusters with more than two conjuncts. In the later sections, we compare our model to existing ones that share similar intuitions, and bring this part of the chapter to a close by listing the limitations of our account, as well as potential extra-syntactic factors that remain to be worked out in future research. Finally, assertions that English has no case at all will be scrutinised and discarded in Section 6.

5.1. LFG Preliminaries

Unlike tree-based transformational syntax, LFG makes available two kinds of syntactic representation (see Chapter 1, esp. Section 4.3; as well as Bresnan (2001), Dalrymple (2001) and Falk (2001)). In Chapter 1 we noted that c-structure resembles the surface trees of transformational theories and encodes linear order and hierarchical groupings. Functional structure (f-structure) is separate from it and keeps a record of tense, agreement, or grammatical relations such as subject and object, in the form of attribute-value matrices. An attribute like CASE, for example, might have the values “Nom(inative)” or “Acc(usative)”. F-structure is licensed by functional annotations on the nodes of the c-structure diagram which specify the attributes and values of the matrix. These annotations, whose aim is to indicate the connections between the two syntactic planes, can tell us that a given c-structure node, labelled “↓”, is the subject

of the node above it, labelled “↑”, as stated in the equation “(↑SUBJ)=↓” (cf. Fig. 3 below). The interface between the two modules will prove indispensable for the present analysis, because we will enlist the help of c-structure annotations in order to assign case, which will then be processed at f-structure.

We will be appealing to f-structure government, which is clarified in greater depth in the next section. Functional concepts such as SUBJ and OBJ will also play a part, because the assignment of case will be linked to them. A difference between LFG and transformational syntax is that grammatical roles are considered to be primitives in LFG, instead of being positionally defined. Similarly to other formalisms (e.g. Government and Binding and Minimalism), LFG draws a distinction between structural (or functional) and lexical (or idiosyncratic) case (cf. (Allen 1995: 125)). The structural type is sensitive to grammatical relations such as SUBJ and OBJ. Lexical case, on the other hand, comes from the entries of individual verbs and it, so to speak, trumps its structural counterpart. Below we concur with the prevailing opinion that Modern English has only got structural case left (in the sense of Butt (2006: 145-6)). The nominative will therefore be automatically allotted to subjects and the accusative to objects. Last but not least, in a constraint-based theory like LFG, a lot of emphasis is placed on the lexicon. We reflect this by regulating usage via distributional constraints associated with the lexical entries of pronominal forms. Having thus shed a little more light on some of the handy tools of LFG, we are ready to present our proposal.

5.2. F-Structure Account: the Basic Principles

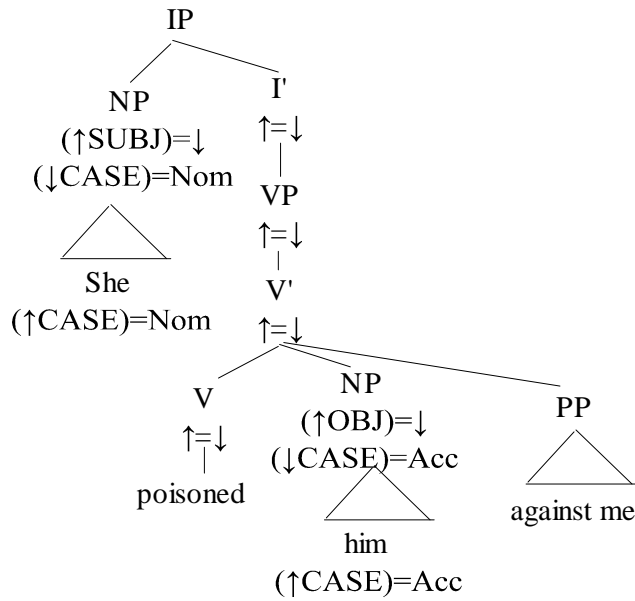
The data can be explained with the following overarching axioms that operate in the setting of LFG f-structure (to be supplemented below in order to take into account positional restrictions on case assignment):

- SUBJ pronouns must receive nominative case if they are governed by the finite verb of the relevant clause.
- Similarly, an OBJ pronoun that is governed by a finite verb or a preposition is assigned canonical accusative case.
- Ungoverned pronouns can get default accusative case in the colloquial variety or default nominative case in the hyper-correct variety.

A governed pronoun will appear as a sub-categorised grammatical function of the governing PRED, not as a member of such a function or as a non-governed function. From the point of view of the case assigner, this means that the governing PRED can only “have power” over the head of the phrase to which it sends case, but its requirements cannot reach any further embedded potential receivers of case¹⁶.

¹⁶This raises the issue whether case in English distributes to all the conjuncts in a conjoined phrase or whether the conjoined phrase acts as a barrier to percolation – more polemics will follow below.

Fig. 3: Partial *c-* and *f-*structure for “*She* poisoned *him* against *me*” [COCA]



$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \\ \text{SUBJ} \\ \text{OBJ} \\ \text{OBL} \end{array} \right. \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{' poison < SUBJ , OBJ , OBL >'} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED ' she '}' \\ \text{CASE Nom} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED ' him '}' \\ \text{CASE Acc} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED ' against < OBJ > '}' \\ \text{OBJ} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED ' me '}' \\ \text{CASE Acc} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

In the matrix in Fig. 3, all the pronouns are governed by a case-assigning predicate (either the finite verb or the preposition). The PRED *poison* sub-categorises the functions of SUBJ, OBJ and OBL. The respective values of those attributes are the *f-*structures for *she* and *him*, as well as the *f-*structure of the PP *against me*. In the PP, the preposition selects its OBJ, whose value is supplied by the *f-*structure of the pronoun *me*. Since they are all governed, those pronouns must comply with the

canonical parameters expected for their grammatical roles. This might be achieved by the traditional constraints given in (44)¹⁷.

(44) *Constraints imposed by a case-assigning predicate:*
PRED 'poison<SUBJ, OBJ, OBL>
(↑SUBJ CASE) = Nom, (↑OBJ CASE) = Acc

The first line in (44) tells us that *poison* takes a subject, an object and an oblique argument (a prepositional object). From the second line, we learn that the subject has to be nominative and the object has to be accusative. This is the conventional LFG wisdom regarding arguments and the information enforced on them by the predicate (cf. Butt (2006: 145ff)). We will only depart from these standardly held assumptions in one respect. Instead of having case originating from the predicate, as shown in the second line of (44), we will associate it with certain positions in the c-structure tree, with the nominative flowing to SUBJ constituents in the specifier of IP, and the accusative to OBJ sisters of V or P, as illustrated in Fig. 3 above. The second line of (44) thus becomes redundant. Case will not be completely oblivious of verbs, however, because we continue to fall back on function government by PREDs at f-structure; i.e. we still preserve the first line in (44), whereby the PRED is in control of a SUBJ, an OBJ and an OBL, although it may not assign case to them. Moreover, case remains ultimately tied to the properties of predicates because we assume that non-finite verbs block it (see Section 5.4).

For a pronoun to receive the nominative in any variety of Standard English, it will have to be a SUBJ governed by a finite verb at f-structure, in addition to occupying a specific c-structure position. For a pronoun to receive the accusative in any variety of Standard English, it will have to be an OBJ governed by a finite verb or preposition at f-structure, in addition to occupying a certain c-structure position. The empirical motivation for positional case assignment is expounded in Section 5.7

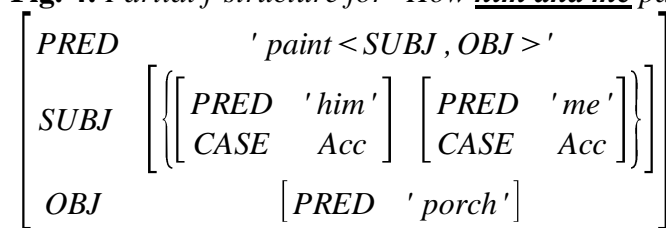
¹⁷For the time being, we will be ignoring prepositions and their case-assigning credentials; there will be more discussion in subsequent sections.

below, but before we flesh out our proposal in full, we shall look at some of the environments where default case may get a foothold because the relevant pronoun is not governed by a finite PRED or a preposition at f-structure.

5.3. Conjoined Pronouns and Determiner Pronouns

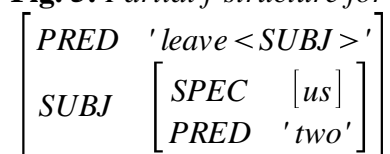
In Fig. 4 below, the subject pronouns are further embedded within a coordinate structure. LFG flags this up by enclosing them in curly brackets which signify that they form a set. These brackets replicate the phrasal hierarchy in English – neither pronoun is the head of the mother node, and therefore neither is governed by the finite verbal PRED. Here, the verbal PRED sub-categorises the coordinate structure as a whole, but not the individual conjuncts¹⁸. Consequently, they are allowed to deviate from canonicity.

Fig. 4: *Partial f-structure for “How him and me painted the porch” [COCA]*



Another context where non-canonical case may sneak in is showcased in Fig. 5. This time the first-person plural token functions as a determiner within the subject (cf. Section 3). Since it is nested as a sub-constituent (here, SPEC) of the SUBJ f-structure, it can get away with accusative case in the colloquial variety.

Fig. 5: *Partial f-structure for “Us two left”*



Analogous processes can be observed in the hyper-correct register if the finite verb or preposition does not directly control a pronoun that resides in an OBJ f-

¹⁸The conjuncts are nevertheless licensed by virtue of being members of a governed role.

structure. In other words, if the pronoun appears in an f-structure which is contained in that of the OBJ, it can be marked as nominative in hyper-correct English, as in (45).

(45) *But to **we** nostalgic post-Imperial powers it was what the Scandinavian sexologists call an anticlimax* [*The Guardian*, 27 March 1980; from Kjellmer (1986: 448), also quoted in Quinn (2005: 125); bold face mine]

5.4. Default Case Assignment in the Absence of a Finite Predicate

Default case thrives when pronouns stand on their own, as in (46). The non-canonical accusative there results from the absence of a (finite) verb. This is also what happens in elliptical constructions, like (47), which lack a finite predicate in the main clause (cf. Quinn (2005: 178-180) for an alternative view). Judging by (48) and (49), either the nominative or the accusative is acceptable in elliptical constructions. This suggests that what we have detected here is indeed a default parameter, which changes according to the variety. The hyper-correct form in (50) is likewise not at all surprising in the parenthetical verbless *if*-clause.

(46) *Who's there? **Me**.*

(47) ***Me** that's led such a quiet life!* [Wain, *Hurry on Down*, quoted in Erdmann (1979: 69); bold face mine]

(48) *He was morose, **she/her** full of life./What, **he/him** a republican?* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 460); bold face mine]

(49) ***She** a beauty! I should as soon call her mother a wit* [Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, quoted in Quinn (2005: 32); bold face mine]

(50) *Who, if not **he**, could he have hired?* [Emonds (1986: 115), quoted in Johannessen (1998: 125); bold face mine]

The same explanation can be extended to non-finite clauses, which we illustrate in (51), (52) and (53). Although the predicate is there, it cannot ensure case for its arguments. In essence, case after all seems to depend on the predicate. Non-finite verbs prevent the positional annotations from coming into effect, whereas finite ones validate them (cf. Section 5.2 and Section 5.7, Fig. 9, for the formal encoding).

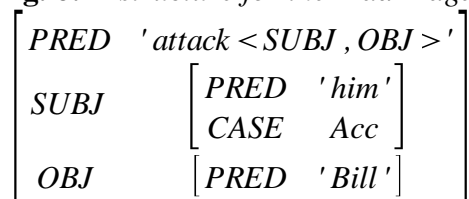
(51) *We were in Greville's office, **I** sitting in his swivel chair behind the vast expanse of desk, Annette sorting...* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 460); bold face mine]

(52) *He could think of a few himself, I expect, **him** being so much in the business already* [Payne and Huddleston (2002: 460); bold face mine]

(53) *That's what you wanted, **me** going out to work every morning and bringing money in on Friday night* [Sillitoe, *A tree on fire*, quoted in Erdmann (1979: 71); bold face mine]

It should be acknowledged that the accusative in (53) co-varies with the genitive (*my*), and not with the nominative, so the whole string can be written off as a nominalised unit¹⁹. Accusative pronouns in such examples might indeed be regarded as modifiers of the gerundive, rather than as free-standing subjects of the clause. However, this cannot cover (51) and (52), where the genitive is out of the question. We therefore prefer to tie the admissibility of default case in all comparable contexts to the inability of infinitives and participles to trigger case. So called “Mad Magazine Sentences” are a subtype of non-finite clause (Fig. 6) (cf. Akmajian (1984: 3-4), Siegel (1987: 62) and Haegeman (1994: 159)). Since *him* in Fig. 6 is not accompanied by a finite verb, it is happy enough with the accusative.

Fig. 6: *F-structure for the Mad Magazine Sentence “Him attack Bill?”*



Independent evidence from raising and control confirms that non-finite predicates store no case to give away (cf. (54) and Schwartz (1985: 161-2)). In (55), case is entirely up to the verbs *seemed* and *believed*²⁰.

(54) **Bill tried Tina/she to go*. [Schwartz (1985: 161-2)].

(55) *He seemed to go/I believed him to go*

¹⁹Cf. Quinn (2005, chap. 8), who develops a different formalism but shares the same underlying intuition.

²⁰As pointed out by Zwicky (2004), subjects of present subjunctive clauses are required to be in the nominative, as in *I demand that she/*her be chair*. Although such clauses have the base form of the verb, they are still finite (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 149-51)). Consequently, the condition on case assignment has to do with finiteness, not with mood or morphology.

5.5. Prepositions and Complementisers as Case Assigners

In Section 5.4 above, we established that English non-finite verbs are incapable of administering nominative case. We now put to the test the case-licensing properties of prepositions. Examples (56) and (57) are apparent exceptions to our generalisation from Section 5.2 that objects which are not displaced and are sub-categorised by a preposition should be accusative.

(56) *John told no one other than **I**.* [Emonds (1986: 115), quoted in Johannessen (1998: 125); bold face mine]

(57) *For **they** to be understood correctly.* [Emonds (1986: 115), quoted in Johannessen (1998: 125); bold face mine]

Because it can serve as a complementiser (e.g. *He is taller than I am*), *than* in (56) must have been (mis)interpreted as one. In spite of immediately governing the pronoun, complementiser *than* is not a case-licensing head; and since there is no finite predicate in the (elliptical) clause introduced by it, hyper-correction can ensue. Similarly, *for* in (57) can be either analysed as a preposition or as a complementiser. If it is the latter, then the morphological shape of the pronoun is left to the verb to take care of. Since the verb is non-finite, it will let its subject surface in whatever the default form is. The same logic will hold for (58), which can be thought of as a more compact version of *a girl like I am*. *But* can also be a conjunction or a preposition. Although it would be a bit of a leap to suppose that it is anything other than a preposition in (59), the point is that it can be a conjunction in other circumstances.

(58) *a girl like **I*** [Householder (1987: 167)]

(59) *She will not sing for anybody else but **he*** [Householder (1987: 174)]

There might be arguments against treating *than* as a complementiser in (56), because it can be stranded, as in *I am the one he is taller than*; this is characteristic of prepositions, but not of complementisers (Schütze (2001: 212)). If so, (some?) prepositions in some varieties of English must have lost their ability to govern case – i.e. they veto the positional annotations, not unlike infinitives and participles. In fact,

we have come across a substantial number of instances along the lines of *Come with I* in the BNC, where there are solid grounds that *with* is a preposition and nothing else (although it can be followed by nominalised clauses). It remains for future work to determine if such sentences belong to Standard English in the first place, and if they should be included in the model, as native speakers find them pretty bad (S. Kaye, M. Dalrymple, p.c.). In the meantime, we will assume that the non-canonicity of (56) – (59) above can only be due to reanalysis.

5.6. Subject Complements

The status of subject complements, which are neither subjects nor objects but in a way are affiliated to both²¹, is very interesting. Describing their behaviour in terms of function, as opposed to constituent structure, affords us explanatory power which would be unattainable if we were to rely on constituent structure alone. Strings like *It is I* are problematic for the tree-diagram account from Section 4.5, because they defy the assertion that, if a verb immediately c-commands a pronoun, the pronoun must be accusative. A proposal that revolves around syntactic roles naturally makes the desired predictions.

As mentioned in 5.2 above, the nominative is obligatory for non-displaced subjects which are governed by a finite verb. Similarly, non-displaced heads of OBJ f-structures governed by a finite predicate or a preposition have to bear the accusative. A (sole) pronoun recruited for a subject complement will be governed, but its f-structure will be coupled neither with SUBJ nor with OBJ, but with PREDLINK (cf. Fig. 7 and Butt et al. (1999)). An element from the f-structure of a PREDLINK, albeit

²¹To subjects, because of the co-referential relationship between them, and to objects, because of position.

within the reach of a finite PRED, is compatible with either case value because no case requirements have been specified for it²².

Fig. 7: *F-structure for “It’s me”*

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \\ \text{SUBJ} \\ \text{PREDLINK} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} 'be < \text{SUBJ}, \text{PREDLINK} >' \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \\ \text{CASE} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} 'it' \\ \text{Nom} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \\ \text{CASE} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} 'me' \\ \text{Acc} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

In (60) below, the feminine pronoun is housed in the PREDLINK f-structure of the matrix clause; it therefore gets the default nominative in the hyper-correct variety, even though it is semantically also construed as a patient within the embedded clause (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 6.5) and Wales (1996: 96)). Crucially, our analysis assumes that there is no syntactic equality between the PREDLINK of the main clause and the missing argument in the subordinate one, as indicated in the notation in Fig. 8.

(60) *It was **she** that John discussed in detail.* [Emonds (1986: 115), quoted in Johannessen (1998: 125); bold face mine]

Fig 8: *Partial f-structure for “It was she that John discussed in detail”*

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \\ \text{SUBJ} \\ \text{PREDLINK} \\ \text{COMP} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} be < \text{PREDLINK}, \text{COMP} >, \text{SUBJ} \\ \left[\text{FORM} \quad it \right] \\ \left[\text{PRED} \quad 'she' \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{TOPIC} \\ \text{PRED} \\ \text{SUBJ} \\ \text{OBJ} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} \left[\text{PRED} \quad proI \right] \\ 'discuss' \\ 'John' \\ proI \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

*proI=she*²³

²²Additional lexical constraints might need to be put in place in order to acknowledge that the subject complement of copulative *be* can alternate, whereas *become* is only content with the accusative, as in (i) (Erdmann (1979: 74-5)); (ii) demonstrates that *become* takes no passivisable objects.

(i) *I wanted to become **her*** [Lessing, *The Golden Notebook*, quoted in Erdmann (1979: 74)]
(ii) *I became her.* vs. **She was become by me.*

More work is necessary to ascertain if other copulas invariably demand accusative subject complements. This split could have been conditioned by the historical development of the *It’s me* construction. It is derived from OE *ic hit eom* (lit. ‘I it am’) ‘I am it’, which in Middle English often had the word order *it am I* (Wales (1996: 207)). The verb agreement in both OE and ME shows that what is the subject complement today used to be the subject in Old and Middle English, so the present state of affairs might reflect historical accretions.

²³Inside the COMP, *proI* is repeated as the value of the OBJ. This substitutes for the more common

5.7. Displacement and Positional Case Assignment

Postposed subjects can be potentially challenging for our model. Grano (2006: 5) notes that when pronominal subjects are inverted, they must be accusative, as in (61) and (62). This, however, is not always true, because some speakers accept the nominative series in such contexts too (C. M. MacRobert, p.c.). It seems that we are dealing with another environment that fosters default case.

(61) *People are used to these stories of Alaska that are romantic and beautiful, and flowing wilderness, and here comes **me** with, y'know, an assault rifle and a jug of R&R.* [Zwicky (2004)]

(62) *Before her, in the arms of death, lay **him** on whom her hopes of happiness seemed to have formed so firm a basis* [Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Prose works*, from Visser (1963: 248), quoted in Quinn (2005: 306)]

As Zwicky (2004) speculates, either *me* is not a subject in (61), or the inverted construction is an exception to the rule that English subjects have to be nominative²⁴. The former scenario is more plausible. Bresnan (1994) also argues that the locative phrase is the real subject in examples like (61) and (62). The third-person agreement on the verb in (61) is a tell-tale sign (more evidence is given by Bresnan (1994)). Likewise, something has “gone wrong” with the marking of the fronted object in (63), as well as the topicalised subject in (64) (cf. Jacobson (1984: 549ff)).

(63) ***She**, who had been the bane of his life, he treated with the respect a good son might offer a kind mother* [Charlotte Brontë, *Villette*, from Jespersen and Haislund (1949: 225), quoted in Quinn (2005: 305)]

(64) ***Me**, on the other hand, am not so patient.* [Source: http://groups.google.com/group/alt.consumers.free-stuff/browse_frm/thread/22e5e49f6036de49/4930da530c426f97, quoted in Grano (2006: 6); bold face mine]

(65) ****Me** probably won't want to go.* [Grano (2006: 6)]

The reason for the non-canonicity of both (63) and (64) is that a constituent does not turn up in the phrase-structure position where it is expected to turn up. The parenthetical PP *on the other hand* proves that the subject in (64) is not in its usual

notation, in which the OBJ's value is empty, with a line connecting it to the value of the TOPIC.
²⁴Of course, this construction should be distinguished from subject-auxiliary inversion in questions, after certain adverbs, or in sentences like *Kim would object, as would I/*me* [Zwicky (2004)], where case assignment is not affected (Zwicky (2004)). Here, it is the auxiliary that “moves”.

allotted space. Other material can be lodged between the subject and the verb, but if it is not parenthetical, as in (65), the subject remains in situ and deviant morphology is ruled out. This seems to be so because *probably* is much more integrated in the clause, and does not isolate the preceding pronoun as a displaced topic in the same way that an interpolation like *on the other hand* does. In addition, Schütze (2001: 210) treats the initial first-person form in the left-dislocated configuration from (66) below as a non-argument which ends up with the default attribute because there is no obvious source of case for it.

(66) Me, I like beans [Schütze (2001: 210)]

Unlike the gapped sentential cores of (63) and (64), both the appropriate grammatical function and the informationally prominent peg are filled in (66)²⁵. *I* is the subject and *me* is a floating topic; they overlap in denotation but do not share the same case²⁶. We will come up with one proposal for both topicalisation (64) and left-dislocation (66), ignoring some crucial differences between them which are irrelevant for present purposes (see Greenberg (1984: 283) and the titles cited there, as well as Ross (1967), Rodman (1974), Jacobson (1984: 549-50), Prince (1997: 133), Gregory and Michaelis (2001)).

The evidence accumulated in this section backs up the claim that case in English is assigned positionally, with nominative assigned to subjects in the specifier

²⁵Another option in left-dislocation is an emphatic reflexive:

(i) *Myself, uh, uh, I just recently, or about to, get a divorce* [Gregory and Michaelis (2001: 1686)]

²⁶Similar data are given in (i); more discussion can be found in Wales (1996: 106-7).

(i) *Let us go then, you and I...* [T. S. Eliot, *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock*, quoted in Wales (1996: 107)]

Such usage is best explained either as an apposition that approximates coordination or in terms of the right-dislocated status of the conjoined pronouns (at least in (i)). In (ii) below, either an apposition mimics coordination and exhibits “closest-conjunct agreement” or a displaced subject takes a verb that has defaulted to the third-person singular as a result of the empty subject slot; (iii) favours the latter explanation.

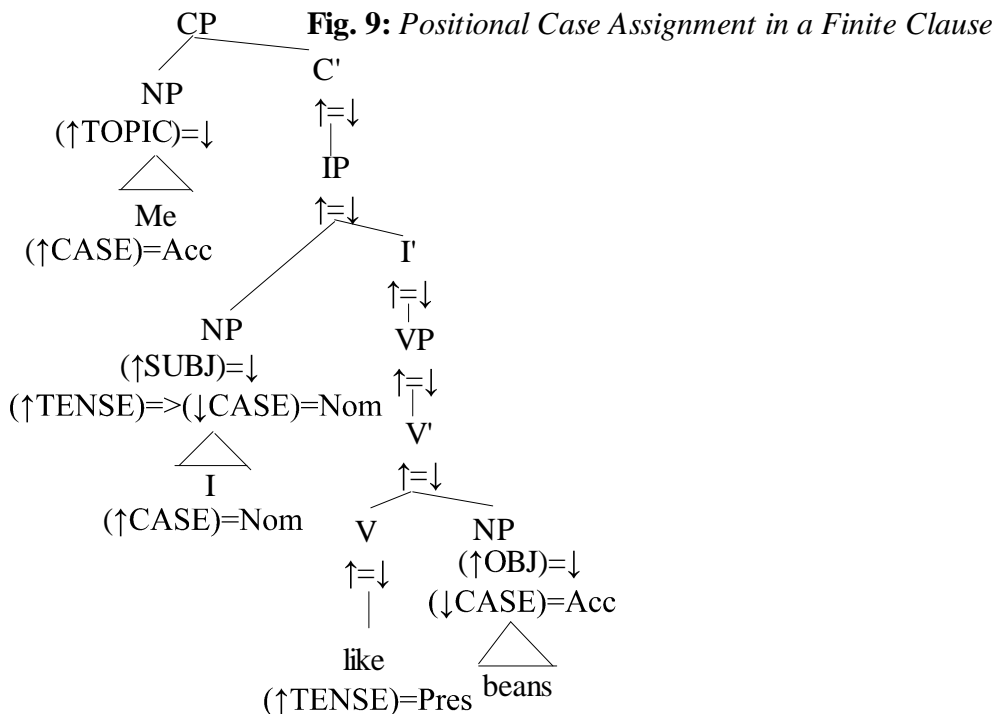
(ii) *I, your head, is not being represented...* [“The IT Crowd”, TV show, thanks to M. Dalrymple, who recorded this example]

(iii) *If I, with all the protection and all the defences and all the security that a chancellor of the exchequer or a prime minister has, is so vulnerable to unscrupulous tactics, unlawful tactics ... what about the ordinary citizen?* [Source: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-14119225> (accessed on 12 July 2011), thanks to M. Dalrymple, who drew my attention to this example]

of IP, and accusative to objects generated as sisters of V or P (cf. Section 5.2, as well as Quinn's (2005) idea about Positional Case). Anything that does not surface in its conventional phrase-structure position will thus be free to choose the default value. This can be achieved through the interaction of LFG c- and f-structure, as envisaged in Section 5.1. Operating with trees does not amount to returning to a purely arboreal theory, because we continue to rely on functional categories, with some extra help from the interface between LFG's two syntactic modules. This seems to be inevitable for English.

Above we wrote that f-structure is licensed by annotations on c-structure nodes which are themselves the product of the valency of the predicate. The specifier of IP will be annotated with the equation $(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})=\downarrow$, which states that it acts as the subject of IP. Likewise, the NP complement of V or P will be tagged as $(\uparrow\text{OBJ})=\downarrow$, indicating that what is below this node serves as the object of the nodes higher up. Those will also be the places where case specifications are inserted, so there will be an association in English between "hanging from a certain branch" and being forced to bear a certain case (see Fig. 9, cf. Jacobson (1984: 543-4)). If a constituent is shifted elsewhere, it will resolve its grammatical function in an indeterminate way. Fronted elements can be subjects or objects, or have a number of other grammatical functions. Crucially, such displaced items will not be required to have a particular case²⁷. Besides, the formula " $(\uparrow\text{TENSE})\Rightarrow(\downarrow\text{CASE})=\text{Nom}$ " establishes a link between the positional implementation of case and the presence of a finite predicate, in line with the findings from Section 5.4.

²⁷I am grateful to M. Dalrymple, who alerted me to this possibility.



5.8. Displacement and *wh*-Pronouns

The reasoning from the previous section can be straightforwardly applied to *wh* relativisers and interrogatives (cf. Jacobson (1984)). Since they are usually displaced, we expect that they will in principle be able to host default case, except in pied piping. In this way, the sound contour is always *who* in the colloquial variety, whereas *whom* is licit in all syntactic roles in the hyper-correct variety, as in (67). When a *wh* object of a preposition is moved to the front of the clause without its governor, it can be either nominative or accusative, as in (68) (cf. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 379), Jacobson (1984: 542))²⁸. However, if the preposition accompanies the pronoun on its leftward journey, the only option is normally the canonical accusative, as shown in (69) (cf. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 379)).

(67) *certain members of the press **whom** I suppose are friends and friendly to him.* [COCA] (cf. *I suppose **them** to be friends* vs. *I suppose **they are** friends*).

(68) *the person **who/whom** they were interested in*

(69) *the person in ***who/whom** they were interested*

The present account has an advantage over that of Quirk et al. (1985) outlined in Section 4.2 above, because the latter fails to clarify why deviation is prohibited with pied piping (69), or why we might find *whom* instead of *who* in the hyper-correct

²⁸This is why objects of prepositions will have to receive their case positionally, too. Otherwise, it would be hard to imagine why they should ever tolerate non-canonical marking when they are displaced.

register, when one would not expect the erstwhile dative to crop up in subject territory. And yet, we did encounter some instances of *who* preceded by a preposition in the BNC (cf. (70)). This means that *whom* has been irrevocably banished from the grammars of at least some speakers, and our generalisations only concern people whose grammars block *who* in combination with prepositions that are not stranded (cf. Section 5.5 and Jacobson (1984: 541-2)).

(70) *she was a founder member of the Bradford Gilbert and Sullivan Society, with who she had a long association* [BNC]

It is essential to ensure that our mechanism does not over-generate. Unacceptable sentences like (71) below must be outlawed. Positional case assignment accomplishes that at no extra cost, because subject *wh*-words appear in situ, unless separated from the rest of the clause by other material, such as a parenthetical clause or expression. The fact that there is no subject-auxiliary inversion with them suggests that they are indeed not displaced; this sets them apart from members of the paradigm that replace objects or from fronted adverbs like *never*, both of which trigger subject-auxiliary inversion (cf. Huddleston and Pullum (2005: 162-5)). Yet again, there are unexpected counter-examples like (72) and (73). The speakers that produced them must have conflated the construction with a displaced *wh*-word and the one where the *wh*-word remains in situ.

(71) ***Whom** saw Mary? [Lasnik and Sobin (2000: 358)]

(72) *no matter who spoke, or **whom** was addressed* [Lasnik and Sobin (2000: 363)]

(73) *Ben Johnson, **whom** should have known, thought Shakespeare's writing too fluent, too facile,...* [Lasnik and Sobin (2000: 363)]

5.9. Distributivity of Case; Lexical Constraints on Individual Pronominal Forms

Since the three varieties of English described above have different settings, priority might be given either to the (informal) accusative or to the (hyper-correct) nominative. Conjoined phrases are one context in which pronouns can harbour non-conformist marking because they do not head the SUBJ or OBJ f-structure. In conjoined constructions, case may at first glance appear to be an optionally distributive feature²⁹. The mother node gets the expected canonical value, which is sometimes passed down to both conjuncts and sometimes to neither; it is also possible for only one conjunct to receive the appropriate attribute, with the other one, as it were, left to its own devices. Initially, the distributivity of case seems to offer a principled way of drawing boundaries between the styles of English. It is always distributive in the standard, prescriptively correct, variety, and therefore must invariably spread to all members of the set. It may be a non-distributive feature that never penetrates the NP's shell in the non-standard colloquial sub-system which has *Me and him left*, or in the hyper-correct variety with *between he and I*; in addition, case may be involved in "single-conjunct government" when nominative and accusative forms are mixed (cf. Payne and Huddleston (2002)).

The trouble with this picture is that there is no way of guessing when percolation will occur and when it will not. A far more worthwhile endeavour is to model assignment in English by saying that case is always non-distributive (following Schwartz (1985), Parker et al. (1988), Schütze (2001), Sadock (2005)). This means that the requirements will only reach the c-structure mother node or the main f-structure PRED of the targeted phrase, but will never be transmitted to any further

²⁹Harking back to Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, distributivity has to do with how a feature is transferred to the members of a set (including a set of conjuncts). If a feature is non-distributive, it will characterise the set as a whole but will not reach the individual members. If it is obligatorily distributive, it will have to hold of each member of the set. If the feature is optionally distributive, it may or may not descend to one or more members. For further information, cf. King and Dalrymple (2004) and Dalrymple and Hristov (2010).

embedded constituents such as conjuncts or determiners. We will rely on this assumption and will then put additional constraints on the lexical entries of pronouns. A nominative (74) and an accusative (75) representative will have the following lexical entries in the colloquial register (cf. Butt (2006)).

(74) *Partial lexical entry for a nominative pronoun in the colloquial register:*

he: (↑ CASE) = Nom

(SUBJ ε* (SPEC) ↑)

(75) *Partial lexical entry for an accusative pronoun in the colloquial register:*

him: (↑ CASE) = Acc

(74) is a constraint appended to the lexical entry of the word form *he*. It states that *he* is nominative and is only authorised to function as subject, a part thereof (ε) (which is what we encounter in conjoined phrases, for example), or as the specifier of the subject. (75) designates *him* as the default which can emerge where the accusative is enforced, as well as anywhere else where there are no explicit directions coming from above, since it is not confined to a particular role. Similarly to the term “unmarked” in its morphological sense, default here means absence of additional specification (for more on default case in English, see Schütze (2001), Schwartz (1985: 165), Johannessen (1998: 121-2), and Wales (1996: 101)). Schütze (2001: 221ff) talks about two ways of implementing the elsewhere condition. One way is to have word forms which are the ‘least featurally specified items of their respective paradigms’, and the other is a concrete ‘feature-filling mechanism that applies before vocabulary insertion’. This mechanism would issue instructions of the type: ‘if you find a DP/NP with no case, assign it such and such case’. Our model obviously falls into the first category: certain linguistic units are given *carte blanche*, and default case is ‘a descriptive way of referring to that set of forms but has no independent status in the grammar’ (Schütze (2001: 221)). The empirical justification for English is that it is sometimes nominative (e.g. *who*), and sometimes accusative (e.g. *him*), pronouns that prevail in the informal style (cf. Schütze (2001), esp. p. 222).

In a coordinate environment, the subject in Spec of IP and its attendant f-structure will be required to be nominative, but this requirement will not travel on to the individual conjuncts. As a result, some of them might end up being morphologically accusative in colloquial English, while nonetheless counting as members of the SUBJ (the mother NP node will still be annotated with the equation $(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})=\downarrow$). On this analysis, the externally imposed injunctions will be valid for the conjoined phrase but will not affect its parts. Independently, due to lexical-entry constraints on the pronouns, nominative forms cannot operate outside of subjects.

However, if the pronoun is not embedded in a conjoined construction (or another comparable phrase), the case requirements will track it down. A sole, non-dislocated accusative specimen will therefore not be able to step in as the subject of a finite verb, because there will then be a clash between the properties assigned for the relevant function and position, on the one hand, and the case information supplied by the pronoun on the other (cf. Fig. 9 above).

In the colloquial variety, a nominative token cannot gain entry to an OBJ f-structure, because it is bound to SUBJ. If we remove this safety catch, the nominative will be permitted anywhere where no other instructions intervene. This is the situation in the hyper-correct register³⁰. Its constraints will thus be a mirror image of the colloquial ones above, with the nominative unrestricted and the accusative confined to OBJ roles (cf. (76) and (77))³¹.

³⁰As pointed out by J. Lipps (p.c.), some speakers might only admit the first-person singular nominative in their idiolectal hyper-correct English due to over-extending prescriptive formulae. Our model enables us to leave only the lexical entry of *I* unrestricted, as each cell in the paradigm can be specified separately. However, there are hyper-correct attestations that do not involve the first person (e.g. (34) and (35) above). Sadly, we have no way of banning combinations like **between I and you* and **He gave it to I and Mary*, which Rini (2003: 154) considers ungrammatical. This ordering preference is beyond the scope of our framework – such limitations will be acknowledged below.

³¹As regards interrogatives and relativisers, some colloquial Englishes will just have *who* (even in cases of pied-piping), with *whom* being totally obsolete. Others will impose no limits on *who*, whereas *whom* will be committed to canonical, non-displaced OBJ configurations and thus only available in pied-piping (e.g. *to whom did you write* but *who did you write to*). Those that allow *whom* in place of “prescriptively correct” *who* seem to care for no restrictions associated with either pronoun.

(76) *Partial lexical entry for a nominative pronoun in the hyper-correct register:*

he: (↑ CASE) = Nom

(77) *Partial lexical entry for a nominative pronoun in the hyper-correct register:*

him: (↑ CASE) = Acc

(OBJ ε* (SPEC) ↑)

What we will need to do for the prescriptively correct style is tie the nominative to SUBJ and PREDLINK, and the accusative to OBJ. We do not stipulate that a given speaker should consistently deploy only one sub-system on different occasions, or even in different utterances, but consistency is expected within the same clause³² (cf. Wales (1996: 108) for code-switching between the registers). Unlike Klima (1964), who derives the rules of one variety from the rules of the others, we envisage parallel (sub-)systems, each of which obeys its own norms.

As conceded in Section 2, our cherished register divisions may turn out to be an idealisation, because it is often rather problematic to define register independently of the shape of pronouns. However, it would not be a good idea to conflate all three sub-systems by placing no lexical-entry restrictions on either the nominative or the accusative series. This would have the undesirable consequence of allowing accusative subjects side by side with nominative objects³³. As we saw in example (15) above, repeated as (78) below, such amalgamation leads to ungrammaticality, thus lending support to our register divisions. A summary of how the case forms of pronouns behave in the three varieties we have identified is provided in Table 1.

(78) **Me and him know she and I*

³²An example of mixing across (elliptical) clauses is reproduced in (i). It is not clear, however, if this is substantially different from the mixing of case forms we have witnessed in conjoined NPs.

(i) *Last time <name> went silent she explained how both she and her husband had ended up in the hospital (she for lots of tests -- him for throat surgery) [M. Dalrymple, p.c.]*

³³This is what might actually happen in some dialects of English. Wales (1996: 107) writes that ‘the traditional “sites” of the [nominative] and [accusative] cases, the preverbal and the postverbal, are, as far as co-ordinated NPs are concerned, both open to the option of either case (as in south-west England dialect)’. We see it as a virtue of our account that it is flexible enough to be able to accommodate a wide range of patterns. However, for the time being we concentrate on the phenomena of Standard English.

Table 1. Summary of the functions of pronominal case forms in the different registers of Standard Present-Day English

Variety	Functions required of Nom forms	Functions required of Acc forms
Prescr. Correct	{SUBJ PREDLINK}	OBJ
Colloquial	SUBJ	Any
Hyper-correct	Any	OBJ

We anticipate that any of the conjuncts in a cluster with more than two will be free to choose either canonical or default case. There have been speculations in the literature that all non-final conjuncts must bear identical case, even when the final one does not display the value shared by the rest (Zoerner (1995: 352-3)). If this were really so, our model would suffer a heavy blow. However, we can produce empirical evidence to vindicate our predictions:

(79) *The next day **he, her and I** were in my flat and she asks ‘you coming with us too...?’*

[Source: <http://www.thestudentroom.co.uk/showthread.php?t=1630595> (accessed on 2 June 2011)]

(80) *Joe insists that he and Gail need to go away - just **he, her and the boat**.*

[Source: http://coronationstreetupdates.blogspot.com/2010_01_01_archive.html (accessed on 2 June 2011)]

5.10. Syntactic and Extra-Syntactic Constraints

Our proposal does not address ordering tendencies. In fact, a search in the BNC reveals that conjoined subjects can be both nominative (81), both accusative ((82), (83)), nominative and accusative (84), and accusative and nominative (85) (cf. Appendix III). All permutations are possible, albeit with different frequencies. In addition, individual forms might have their own preferences as to the company they keep.

(81) ***I and she**’d never said a word. [BNC]*

(82) ***me and him** don’t talk very much [BNC]*

(83) ***Him and me** have never kept things from each other; [BNC]*

(84) *puff and to blow his house down and take Maggie away from him and **she and me** and Francie could go back to Ireland and live quietly together and play music and; [BNC]*

(85) *but **him and I** have this fight, right?[BNC]*

Attempts have been made to constrain the distribution of conjoined pronouns in terms of person and case (e.g. Parker et al. (1988), Quinn (2005), Grano (2006)).

According to Grano (2006), if all conjuncts are in the nominative, second person should come before third, which in turn should come before first, but (81) flouts these rules. If we bring accusative tokens together, then second person tends to precede first, which in turn would tend to precede third, but problems arise with (82) and (83). Moreover, these principles are suspended in contexts of mismatch, when one conjunct is nominative and the other accusative. The data from the BNC laid out in Appendix III do offer some support for previous observations that, if the cases are mixed and one of the pronouns is first person, the accusative normally comes before the nominative, whereas the slots are reversed for non-first-person forms (cf. Grano (2006) and Quinn (2005)). More importantly, however, our research also turned up counter-examples to these generalisations. They are therefore merely statistical tendencies, rather than hard and fast laws. Even Grano (2006: 41) himself reports exceptions to his “X and I” template, such as (86). The ranking of person also crumbles under pressure, as both *you and me* and *me and you* are fairly common (cf. Grano (2006: 55)). It would be biased to overlook disobedient “aberrations” like (87) and (88).

(86) *I and others* have been having this problem. [Grano (2006: 41)].

(87) *she and me* and Francie could go back to Ireland and live quietly together [BNC]

(88) ears and mouth and nose, head and shoulders, knees and toes, *me and he*. [BNC]

We will therefore refrain from trying to predict how various pronouns are lined up or what combinations are more likely than others. What we have endeavoured to do here is elaborate the syntactic architecture that handles case assignment by regulating when non-canonicity can take place, leaving ordering outside the realm of the analysis of case patterns (cf. Parker et al. (1988: 221)). Apart from tendencies of “closest- and furthest-conjunct government”, there are phonological, sociolinguistic and pragmatic effects, as well as prescriptive factors and

idiosyncrasies in the behaviour of individual pronominal forms, some of which have already come up. They transcend the scope of the present work. For a discussion of such arguably “extra-syntactic” matters or meaning nuances, see Chapter 3, as well as Wales (1996: 104), Quattlebaum (1994), Boyland (2001), Zwicky (2005a) and Quinn (2005).

5.11. The Present Approach and Similar Ideas in the Literature

Descriptions of case patterns in English abound in the specialist literature. We have already touched upon many of them and contrasted them with ours. Here we mention a few more like-minded authors, stressing what the present model shares with theirs, as well as the respects in which it differs.

Quinn (2005: 79) notes that some formal approaches to coordination assume that conjoined phrases are transparent to outside case influences (cf. Pollard and Sag (1994); Zoerner (1995); Johannessen (1996, 1998)), while others treat conjoined phrases as fundamentally opaque and preach that the argument structure status and/or syntactic position of the cluster as a whole will have no bearing on the morphology of its members (cf. Emonds (1986); Schütze (1997: 59); and Peterson (2004: 675ff), who also talks about the non-distributivity of case). On this count, our framework falls squarely in the second camp, but pronouns will still have to know the function of the constituent in which they appear.

The views we adhere to are sympathetic to the ones espoused by Sadock (2005), Schwartz (1985) and Parker et al. (1988), for whom the optionality of case in conjoined environments is caused by the dominating NP which serves as a barrier to assignment. However, all of the cited scholars make exclusive use of phrase structure to express the generalisations, whereas our solution is primarily informed by grammatical functions and lexical constraints (cf. Section 4.5). It is ingenious of Schwartz (1985) to attribute variation to the percolation of case to individual

conjuncts, but his account suffers from the imperfections that beset Johannessen's (1998).

Schütze (2001: 217) proposes a very similar analysis to the one developed here, and also invokes the concept of a default operator. This is perhaps the work to which the present chapter bears the greatest resemblance. What we call case distributivity, Schütze calls case spreading (or concord), which in addition includes case agreement within the NP in languages like Latin. It is an advantage of Schütze's approach over most of the others reviewed above that it covers non-canonicity in both conjoined and non-conjoined NPs. He postulates something akin to the distinction between distributive and non-distributive features, and also maintains that canonical case is only inherited by pronouns occupying head positions (he acknowledges the incongruence between *we/us two* and *we all*). According to Schütze (2001: 226), the following choices exist:

- (i) do not spread the case of the head (English, Spanish, dialectal Norwegian);
- (ii) spread it to all constituents within DP (Latin, German);
- (iii) spread it only to the specifier of DP (Norwegian dialects).

Schütze envisages a situation in which either all or none of the conjuncts get the canonical properties, or a situation in which only the specifier gets them. However, no measures are taken to license either canonical or non-canonical marking on any conjunct. The dogma that the appropriate values can just be passed down to the specifier is discredited by the same inadequacies exposed in relation to Johannessen's (1998) theory, which will not be rehearsed here. Schütze refuses to deal with pairings of nominative and accusative forms in English, dismissing them as unnatural (following Emonds (1986) and Sobin (1997)). This is another point on which our analysis departs from Schütze's (2001), Emonds' (1986) and Sobin's (1997) – they do not 'take the possibility of an unambiguously NOM pronoun as a

member of a conjunction to be a bona fide option for any grammar of English' (Schütze (2001: 214)). According to these researchers, all conjoined phrases are exclusively comprised of accusative items, irrespective of their grammatical role; any nominative form is deemed an artificial addition which does not need explaining. Neither does Schütze think that *who* and *whom* should be treated as instantiations of case (cf. Schütze (2001: 218)).

6. Do English Pronouns Have Case after All?

Before we bring this survey to a close, we ought to dispel fears that we have been on a wild goose chase all along. There have been suggestions that English altogether lacks morphological case, because other languages with noun inflections align all types of subject as nominative. Advocates of this view maintain that the remnants of case on English pronouns do not make up the sort of category that depends on syntactic relations, and should therefore be generated with special idiosyncratic rules, not by implementing the mechanisms of case assignment. Hudson (1995) goes as far as to assert that English is completely caseless, like Chinese. This raises the question of the status of our formulations from the preceding sections: do they regulate case assignment or do they pertain to the distribution of arbitrary forms?

Hockett (1947: 342-3), for instance, contends that *me* and *I* are found in complementary contexts, at least in some dialects of English, '*I* initially, except in isolation, *me* directly after a verb or a preposition and in isolation', concluding that so called "subjective and objective" forms actually belong to the same morpheme (cf. Emonds (1986), Hudson (1995), Howe (1996: 99-100), as well as Blevins (2006: 508, 514-6)). Harris (1981: 18-9) likewise forecasts that English is headed for a situation in which the distinction between *I* and *me* will become a distinction between a 'clitic' bound to the finite verb and a free-standing 'non-clitic' appropriate elsewhere, as in

French³⁴ (see Quinn (2005: 383, as well as chap. 3), who splits pronouns into strong and weak). If English reaches this stage, it will be justified to declare that the earlier survivors of an eroded declensional paradigm are no longer the exponents of different cases, but just clitic or non-clitic variants of a lexeme (or even two separate words). Although they might be moving in that direction, English pronouns have not yet started functioning like their French “counterparts”. If *I* were a clitic, we would not see it in conjoined phrases at all.

While there is a certain amount of logic behind the scepticism about the vitality of English morphology, *he* and *him* should be regarded as realisations of case. As Schütze (2001: 216-7) pleads, ‘failing to do so would leave it as a total coincidence (at least synchronically) that the “nominative” environments in English are a subset of the nominative environments in bona fide case languages, rather than just any arbitrary set of surface positions that could be written into an idiosyncratic rule’. If it were all random, we would be surprised to establish a comparable division of labour between nominative and accusative in other languages with impoverished nominal declension which have also been argued to retain no “proper case”, such as Bulgarian or Irish, but in fact we do (Schütze (2001: 217-8); cf. McCloskey (1986) for more on case and conjunction in Modern Irish). Finally, languages with numerous robust endings like Latin, Old Norse and Czech are no strangers to non-canonicity, which occurs in circumstances analogous to the ones relevant for English, Norwegian or other systems with moribund inflections³⁵ (cf. Johannessen (1996: 674, 1998: 18)

³⁴Blake (2001: 179) lists the following French first-person singular forms: *je* ‘subj. clitic’ *me* ‘obj. and ind. obj. clitic’, *moi* ‘oblique (free form)’. The stressable pronoun ‘can be used in isolation (*moi*), with prepositions (*avec moi* ‘with me’), predicatively (*L’état c’est moi* ‘The state, it is me’) or when stress is required (*Moi, je le vois* ‘I see it’)’ (Blake (2001: 179)).

³⁵Bulgarian, which similarly to English preserves very little case, again mostly on pronouns, admits non-canonicity with reduplicated pronouns, which we illustrate in the colloquial example in (i) – contrasted to the prescriptively expected norm in (ii). The dative is equivalent to a “prepositional accusative”, but not to the nominative.

(i) <i>Aз</i>	<i>му</i>	<i>се</i>	<i>сърпява...</i>
Az	mi	se	struva...
I.NOM	me.DAT	REFL	seems

for Norwegian, Gil (1982) for Classical Hebrew and the Nilotic language Nandi, Camacho (2003: 34) and Rini (2003) for Spanish; Lasersohn (1995: 33-4) for Latin). It is doubtful that anyone would use deviance as an excuse for saying that Czech or Latin have no case. All of these considerations are in favour of upholding our rules as applying to case forms.

7. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that, despite the significant progress made in the study of English pronominal case, a fully satisfactory, comprehensive account has not been articulated so far. Our LFG-based proposal aims to fill the gap, building on the following underlying hypotheses:

- Canonical nominative case **MUST** be assigned if the relevant pronoun is the head (MAIN PRED) of the SUBJ f-structure governed by a finite verb and occupies the Spec of IP at c-structure.
- Canonical accusative case **MUST** be assigned if the relevant pronoun is the main PRED of an OBJ f-structure governed by a finite verb or a preposition. In addition, the pronoun will have to be sister of V or P and daughter of V' or P' at c-structure, where the features are actually dispensed.
- Non-canonical/default case is allowed in all other situations. Different default forms operate in different sub-systems of Standard English.

The only case that English has got left is structural and it originates from specific positions in the syntactic tree. Although the reliance on positional assignment is very much in the spirit of previous work, we enrich our model with the functional

'It seems to me'				
(ii) <i>Ha mene</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>struva...</i>	
Na mene	mi	se	struva...	
to me.ACC	me.DAT	REFL	seems	
'It seems to me'				

dimension and the lexical constraints intended to rein in individual pronominal items. This gives us greater explanatory power and empirical adequacy. More broadly, this chapter has confirmed that ideas about the distributivity of agreement features carry over to government.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

We have now come full circle and it is time to take stock of the findings from the preceding chapters. Our point of departure was the traditional dichotomy of grammatical and notional agreement, or agreement in form versus agreement in meaning, elaborated here as concord and index, respectively. Both those features are strictly syntactic, however, and our task has been to explore how they can be instrumental in explaining congruence with conjoined controllers (and beyond), when plugged into the general architecture of Lexical-Functional Grammar.

Previous research has shown that concord can be picked up by a target which wants to check that every single conjunct possesses a particular value in what is known as distributive agreement. Index, on the other hand, may be computed on the basis of the index of the members of the set, producing a resolved, non-distributive, value unique to the umbrella cluster. In this way a coordination of singulars can trigger plural number on external dependents. In Chapter 2 we homed in on agreement with a distinguished conjunct, establishing that it can be sensitive either to index or to concord. This was ascertained with a fair degree of confidence due to recruiting nouns with mismatched features. In addition, it was corroborated that either type of property can be active within the NP or outside it, so there is not a sharp enough division between the two domains to warrant breaking the integrity of agreement into separate phenomena. Although both index and concord can participate in single-conjunct agreement, it seems that only the former can resolve, but more work is necessary in this respect. In the light of these results, Chapter 2 was also an attempt to enhance the capacity of LFG so that it can accommodate a wider range of patterns. Access is

needed to the concord and index attributes of each nominal without exception, or just the ones on the periphery of the phrase, as well as to the index of the phrase as a whole.

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5, we looked at what might constrain the selection of a configuration. We barely scratched the surface, but our data suggest that the nature of the controllers definitely has a say, as does the type of target, as well as some purely grammatical factors and the overall information flow. The interactions of the variables are extremely complex and there is a lot that we still do not know. However, some headway has been made. Pairings of singular animate nouns, for instance, prefer plural adjectives or demonstrative pronouns, unlike their inanimate counterparts. Reciprocal targets, on the other hand, will tend to be resolved, whereas determiners like Bulgarian *един/edin* ‘one’ will evince exactly the opposite inclinations. Apart from imposing limitations on the way they behave themselves, targets also require that their controllers should be of a particular morphological shape and/or semantic category. They might even interfere with the available features of the larger constituent that contains them (cf. *each* and *every*) – adding their own imprint to the mix or entirely obliterating the properties of the other elements. Hence, *every boy and girl* can only go with a singular verb, unlike *this boy and girl*, which only accepts the plural. Note that the determiner in both phrases compels each conjunct to be singular, but only the former suppresses the resolved plural index of the two nouns. Different linkers (e.g. *or*) are capable of inducing property mutations too, as is the construal of the word or phrase (e.g. *family, bacon and eggs, friend and colleague*).

For these reasons, we believe it is a strong point of our framework that it takes a lexicalist approach, keeping tabs on the behaviour of separate forms, so that all the idiosyncrasies can be captured. Furthermore, it is highly flexible in modelling the

features on the f-structure plane, thus reflecting the contribution of the various factors, including semantic ones. Such fine-tuned inter-weaving of the manifold aspects has sufficient power to demystify the most recalcitrant agreement conundrums with both conjoined and non-conjoined phrases and to anticipate the specificities of certain targets, like *gather* for instance, without resorting to structural ellipsis; ellipsis was dismissed in Chapter 4 as an inadequate explanation for single-conjunct agreement (albeit a legitimate linguistic phenomenon in its own right).

While it is crucial that semantics should be successfully incorporated into the model, which we achieve with our index feature, there was a cautionary note in Chapter 5 that we cannot entirely get rid of syntactic co-variance and relegate everything to compatibility of meaning. We propose a balanced compromise between the two extremes, either of which would struggle on its own. In the same LFG f-structure setting, Chapter 5 delves deeper into how our features can be applied to single words that hesitate as to the targets they take (e.g. *family*), in addition to quantified expressions like *three hours*, conjoined phrases containing *each*, *every* or *or*, and partitives and pseudo-partitives like *a group of students*; we brought out the parallels between all of these constructions and coordination with *and*, claiming that an all-purpose mechanism can perform well enough in those circumstances.

In a similar vein, Chapter 6 took us beyond agreement, in order to demonstrate that analogous intuitions and machinery are in a position to handle the government of case. It transpired that, like the features of index and concord, case can choose whether to trickle down to the various members of a set or not. In English in particular, it chooses not to. This time, the entire toolkit of LFG was employed – we assigned case in the constituent-structure tree and, via the functional annotations attached to the nodes, passed it from there to the f-structure matrices, where it was

only permitted to reach the outer shell of the relevant mother unit, without being able to penetrate any further than that. Then lexical-entry constraints made sure that individual forms would appear in the correct roles.

We hope to have managed to argue convincingly that a syntactic theory which draws a boundary between constituency and linear order on the one hand, and functional processes like agreement and case assignment, on the other, is a promising endeavour. It pays off to have bundles of syntactic information which can co-exist and “form bonds” with compatible bundles of the respective targets, some of them more morphologically and declensionally oriented, others based rather on denotation. These bundles interact in more than one way and can also be fed into larger “melting pots” with their own properties. Of course, such operations and the valence of the “bundle molecules” have to be constrained with appropriate rules, as well as typological and system-internal generalisations, oftentimes bringing semantics, hierarchy, function, sequencing and morphology together, effectively interfaced in order to offer the right fit for the intricacies of human language.

Word count: approx. 81,247

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APPENDIX I BULGARIAN CORPUS DATA

PART 1

Data Obtained with Google Searches for Specific Phrases

SECTION 1

Human controllers

This boy and girl

това момче и момиче
tova momče i momiče
this.NT.SG boy(NT)[SG] and girl(NT)[SG]

(1)

Само на това момче и момиче мог-а да сподел-я
Samo na tova momče i momiče mog-a da spodelj-a
only in this.NT.SG boy(NT)[SG] and girl(NT)[SG] can-1SG COMP confide-1SG

всичко, само с тях мог-а да говор-я по всички тем-и.
vsičko, samo s tjax mog-a da govorj-a po vsički tem-i.
everything only with them.ACC can-1SG COMP speak-1SG on all topic-PL

‘Only in this boy and girl can I confide about anything, only with them can I speak on all topics.’

Source:

www.kidsbg.com/home/modules.php?name=Forums&file=viewtopic&t=5994&start=0 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(2)

сякаш това момче и момиче на екран-а бя-ха
sjakaš tova momče i momiče na ekran-a bja-xa
as.if this.NT.SG boy(NT)[SG] and girl(NT)[SG] on screen-DEF be.PAST-3PL

не Франко и Мирела от „Утре ще бъде късно“, а ние с М
ne Franko i Mirela ot “Utre šte bāde kāsno”, a nie s M
NEG Franko and Mirela from “Tomorrow FUT be too.late”, but we with M

‘It was as if this boy and girl on the screen weren’t Franko and Mirela from [the show] “Tomorrow will be too late”, but M and I.’

Source: www.nedialko.net/proze/zdravey_az.pdf (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(3)

това момче и момиче да върв-ят хванат-и за ръка
tova momče i momiče da vārvj-at xvanat-i za rāka
this.NT.SG boy(NT)[SG] and girl(NT)[SG] COMP walk-3PL held-PL for hand

‘[...] this boy and girl to walk hand in hand.’

Source: <http://photo-cult.com/showpic.php?aut=Godiva&id=88049> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

These boy and girl

тези момче и момиче
tezi momče i momiče
this.PL boy(NT)[SG] and girl(NT)[SG]

(1)

Тези момче и момиче бя-хме ние с моя приятел,
Tezi momče i momiče bja-xme nie s moja prijatel,
this.PL boy(NT)[SG] and girl(NT)[SG] be.PAST-1PL we.NOM with my friend

пробва-хме се да стигне-м до Солун
probva-xme se da stigne-m do Solun
try-IMPERFECT.1PL REFL COMP reach-1PL to Thessaloniki

‘This boy and girl were my friend and I, we were trying to reach Thessaloniki.’

Source:

www.stopbg.com/forum/viewtopic.php?p=2369&sid=8f4cc941f1a5afeefc13bfa76e2003 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

This man and woman

този мъж и жен-а
tozi mǎž i žen-a
this.M.SG man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG

No results

These man and woman

тези мъж и жен-а
tezi mǎž i žen-a
this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG

(1)

Тези мъж и жен-а бяга-т от къщи
Tezi mǎž i žen-a bjaga-t ot kǎšti
this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG run.away-3PL from home

‘This man and woman are running away from home’

Source: www.beinsadouno.com/lectures.php?id=227 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(2)

Тези мъж и жен-а семейств-о ли са?
Tezi mǎž i žen-a semejstv-o li sa?
this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG family(N)-SG Q be.PRES.3PL

‘Are this man and woman a family?’

Source:

<http://cosmopolitan.bg/phpBB2/viewtopic.php?p=94866&sid=0514ba9797f7f72913ce7d8f9d884347> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(3) (*another occurrence of (2)*)

(4)

Друг	е	въпрос-ът	до	къде	ще	го	остав-ят	да
Drug	e	văpros-ăt	do	kăde	šte	go	ostavj-at	da
another	be.PRES.3SG	question-DEF	to	where	FUT	it.ACC	let-3PL	COMP

еволуира	същ-и-те	тези	мъж	и	жен-а
evoljuira	săšt-i-te	tezi	măž	i	žen-a.
develop[3SG]	same-PL-DEF	this.PL	man(M)[SG]	and	woman(F)-SG

‘It is a different matter to what extent the same man and woman will let it develop.’

Source: <http://aldarion.yix.org/index.php?showtopic=285> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(5)

какво	прав-ят	тези	мъж	и	жен-а	в	момент-а
kakvo	pravj-at	tezi	măž	i	žen-a	v	moment-a
what	do-3PL	this.PL	man(M)[SG]	and	woman(F)-SG	at	moment-DEF

‘What are this man and woman doing?’

Source:

<http://forum.doom.bg/viewtopic.php?p=79626&sid=3c7ae566dedc747413a8783ed14835e2> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(6)

Обясн-е-те	ми	защо	сте	избра-л-и
Objasn-e-te	mi	zašto	ste	izbra-l-i
explain-IMPERATIVE-2PL	me.DAT	why	AUX.2PL	choose-PPRT-PL

точно	тези	мъж	и	жен-а	за	първ-о	мяст-о!
točno	tezi	măž	i	žen-a	za	părv-o	mjast-o!
exactly	this.PL	man(M)[SG]	and	woman(F)-SG	for	first-NT.SG	place(NT)-SG

‘Can you explain to me why you have chosen exactly this man and woman to be the winners!’

Source: <http://forum.animes-bg.com/viewtopic.php?t=3072> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(7)

Божие присъствие в живот-а на тези мъж и жен-а,
Božie prisästvie v život-a na tezi muž i žen-a,
God's presence in life-DEF of this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG,

ко-и-то иска-т
ko-i-to iska-t
who-PL-RELATIVE want-3PL

‘God’s presence in the life of this man and woman, who want...’

Source: <http://skete.blog.bg/viewpost.php?id=135143> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

This man and woman (follow-up search)

този мъж и жен-а
tozi muž i žen-a
this.M.SG man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG

(1)

Но поради множеств-о-то хора, ко-и-то
No poradi množestv-o-to hora, ko-i-to
but because.of multitude(NT)-SG-DEF people.PL who-PL-RELATIVE

произлязо-ха от този мъж и жен-а...
proizljazo-xa ot tozi muž i žen-a...
stem.PAST-3PL from this.M.SG man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG

‘But because of the multitude of people who stemmed from this man and woman...’

Source: <http://newmagnaura.org/b01070205oblastiobrazovMostall.htm> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2)

Сега този мъж и жен-а пита-т:
Sega tozi muž i žen-a pita-t:
now this.M.SG man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG ask-3PL

‘Now this man and woman are asking:’

Source: www.islamofbulgaria.net/forum/index.php?topic=269.0 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(3)

...не може-те да намери-те дрех-и и аксесоар-и
...ne može-te da nameri-te drex-i i aksesoar-i
NEG can-2PL COMP find-2PL garment(F)-PL and accessory(M)-PL

за този мъж и жен-а.
za tozi muž i žen-a.
for this.M.SG man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG

‘You can’t find clothes and accessories for this man and woman.’

Source: <http://www.knowl.it/bg/liste-grossisti-su-ebay/> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

These man and woman (follow-up search)

тези мъж и жен-а
tezi mǎž i žen-a
this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG

(1)

Тези мъж и жен-а, ко-и-то са го
Tezi mǎž i žen-a, ko-i-to sa go
this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG who-PL-RELATIVE AUX.3PL him.ACC

създа-л-и, не са мог-л-и да го гледа-т...
sǎzda-l-i, ne sa mog-l-i da go gleda-t...
create-PPRT-PL NEG AUX.3PL can-PPRT-PL COMP him.ACC look.after-3PL

‘The man and woman who gave him life couldn’t look after him.’

Source: <http://forum.bg-mamma.com/index.php?topic=211940.15> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2)

Друг е въпрос-ът до къде ще го остав-ят да
Drug e vǎpros-ăt do kǎde ŝte go ostavj-at da
another be.PRES.3SG question-DEF to where FUT it.ACC let-3PL COMP

еволуира същ-и-те тези мъж и жен-а
evoljuira ŝăšt-i-te tezi mǎž i žen-a
develop[3SG] same-PL-DEF this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG

‘It is a different matter to what extent the same man and woman will let it develop.’

Source: www.aldarion.yix.org/index.php?act=Print&client=wordr&f=89&t=285
(accessed on 06 May 2009)

(3)

Ако има ня-ко-й в тази зал-а,
Ako ima nja-ko-j v тази zal-a,
if exist[3SG] INDEFINITE-who-M.SG in this.F.SG hall(F)-SG,

ко-й-то противоречи тези мъж и жен-а
ko-j-to protivoreči tezi máž i žen-a
who-M.SG-RELATIVE contradict[3SG] this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG

да се свържа-т в свещен брак,
da se svărža-t v svešten brak,
COMP REFL join-3PL in holy[M.SG] matrimony(M)[SG]

нека изрази мнени-е-то си сега
neka izrazi mneni-e-to si sega
let express[3SG] opinion(NT)-SG-DEF own now

‘If there is anyone in this hall who knows of a reason that this man and woman should not be joined in holy matrimony, let him speak now.’

Source: www.svatbata.org/forum/index.php?topic=8410.0 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(4)

Тези мъж и жен-а семейств-о ли са?
Tezi máž i žen-a semejstv-o li sa?
this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG family(N)-SG Q be.PRES.3PL

‘Are this man and woman a family?’

Source:

www.cosmopolitan.bg/forum/viewtopic.php?p=94986&sid=8ba1f8753aab8000db9e1e2d08846bc0 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(5)

а тези мъж и жен-а от смян-а-та на влак-а,
a tezi máž i žen-a ot smjan-a-ta na vlak-a,
& this.PL man(M)[SG] & woman(F)-SG from shift(F)-SG-DEF of train(M)[SG]-DEF

толкова ли не са мог-л-и да звънн-ат на машинист-и-те
tolkova li ne sa mog-l-i da zvänn-at na mašinist-i-te
so.much Q NEG AUX.3PL can-PPRT-PL COMP call-3PL to driver(M)-PL-DEF

‘And couldn’t this man and woman from the train shift simply call the drivers’

Source: www.90minuti.info/bgrail/forum/viewtopic.php?f=13&t=2716 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(6)

Тези мъж и жен-а бяга-т от къщи
Tezi mǎž i žen-a bjaga-t ot kǎšti
this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG run.away-3PL from home

‘This man and woman are running away from home’

Source: www.beinsadouno.com/lectures.php?id=227 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(7)

И тези мъж и жен-а показва-ха ми
I tezi mǎž i žen-a pokazva-xa mi
and this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG show-IMPERFECT.3PL me.DAT

свет-ове
svet-ove
world(M)-PL

‘And this man and woman showed me different worlds...’

Source: www.magicgatebg.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=46&t=4440 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(8)

не така както тези мъж и жен-а го прав-ят!
ne taka kakto tezi mǎž i žen-a go prav-jat!
NEG thus as this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG it.ACC do-3PL

‘not the way this man and woman are doing it!’

Source:

www.hulite.net/modules.php?name=News&file=article&thold=1&mode=flat&order=0&sid=97675 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(9)

живот-а на тези мъж и жен-а, ко-и-то...
život-a na tezi mǎž i žen-a, ko-i-to...
life(M)[SG]-DEF of this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG who-PL-RELATIVE

‘the life of this man and woman, who...’

Source: <http://skete.blog.bg/viewpost.php?id=135143> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(10)

точно тези мъж и жен-а за първо място
točno tezi mǎž i žen-a za pǎrvo mjesto
exactly this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG for first place

‘exactly this man and woman to be the winners’

Source: <http://forum.animes-bg.com/viewtopic.php?f=46&t=40174&view=next>
(accessed on 06 May 2009)

(11)

а тези мъж и жен-а от смян-а-та на влак-а,
a tezi mǎž i žen-a ot smjan-a-ta na vlak-a,
& this.PL man(M)[SG] & woman(F)-SG from shift(F)-SG-DEF of train(M)[SG]-DEF

‘this man and woman from the train shift’

Source: www.real-land.net/bgtrain/forum/viewtopic.php?f=13&t=2716&start=0&st=0&sk=t&sd=a
(accessed on 06 May 2009)

(12)

тези мъж и жен-а да не са кръвн-и
tezi mǎž i žen-a da ne sa krǎvn-i
this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG COMP NEG be.PRES.3PL blood-PL

роднин-и
rodnin-i
relative(M/F)-PL

‘Aren’t this man and woman blood relatives by any chance?’

<http://forums.pravoslavie.bg/viewtopic.php?p=7056&sid=fa7c6410c3ab8422b44ea920198d7e36> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(13)

Друг е въпрос-ът до къде ще го остав-ят да
Drug e vǎpros-ăt do kǎde ŝte go ostavj-at da
another be.PRES.3SG question-DEF to where FUT it.ACC let-3PL COMP

еволюира същ-и-те тези мъж и жен-а
evoljuira ŝăšt-i-te tezi mǎž i žen-a
develop[3SG] same-PL-DEF this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG

‘It is a different matter to what extent the same man and woman will let it develop.’

Source: <http://aldarion.yix.org/lofiversion/topic285/> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(14)/(15)

Тези мъж и жен-а ... аз за всек-и случа-й
Tezi mǎž i žen-a... Az za vsek-i sluča-j
this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG I.NOM for every-M.SG case(M)-SG

да пита-м...
da pita-m...
COMP ask-1SG

Добре аз има-м въпрос-че: Тези мъж и жен-а...
 Dobre az ima-m vāpros-če: Tezi māj i žen-a...
 well I.NOM have-1SG question-DIM(NT) this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG

‘This man and woman... I’d like to ask, just in case... Well then, I have a small question: This man and woman...’

Source:

www.cosmopolitan.bg/forum/viewtopic.php?p=94996&sid=35f30006b1732eda72ee390b7cc96f5b (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(16)

какво прав-ят тези мъж и жен-а в момент-а
 kakvo pravj-at tezi māj i žen-a v moment-a
 what do-3PL this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG at moment-DEF

‘What are this man and woman doing?’

Source:

<http://forum.doom.bg/viewtopic.php?t=5512&start=75&sid=42e938bce8475d274532399d30e1f611> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(17)

А това са тези мъж и жен-а,
 A tova sa tezi māj i žen-a,
 and this.NT.SG be.PRES.3PL this.PL man(M)[SG] and woman(F)-SG

ко-и-то са променлив-и величин-и
 ko-i-to sa promenliv-i veličin-i
 who-PL-RELATIVE be.PRES.3PL variable-PL quantity(F)-PL

‘And these are this man and woman who are variable quantities’

Source: <http://forum.all.bg/showthreaded.php/Cat/0/Number/2173506/page/5/vc/1> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

This brother and sister

този брат и сестр-а
 tozi brat i sestr-a
 this.M.SG brother(M)[SG] and sister(F)-SG

No results as of 03 Dec 2007

These brother and sister

тези брат и сестр-а
 tezi brat i sestr-a
 this.PL brother(M)[SG] and sister(F)-SG

(1)

тези брат и сестр-а са прави-л-и
tezi brat i sestr-a sa pravi-l-i
this.PL brother(M)[SG] and sister(F)-SG AUX.3PL make-PPRT-PL

‘This brother and sister have had...’

Source: <http://forum.kefcche.com/index.php?showtopic=20909&view=new> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(2)

тези брат и сестр-а
tezi brat i sestr-a
this.PL brother(M)[SG] and sister(F)-SG

‘this brother and sister’

Source: www.cswap.com/1999/Rang-e_khoda/cap/bg/2_Parts/b/00_05 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(3)

тези брат и сестр-а трябва да има-т
tezi brat i sestr-a trjabva da ima-t
this.PL brother(M)[SG] and sister(F)-SG must COMP have-3PL

съгласи-е-то на наемодател-я
sāglasi-e-to na naemodatelj-a
approval(NT)-SG-DEF of landlord(M)[SG]-DEF

‘This brother and sister must obtain the landlord’s approval.’

Source: <http://zaedno.de/posts4515-start0.html> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(4) (*another instance of (3)*)

Source: http://zaedno.de/forums.html&file=search&search_author=silistra (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(5)

Защото съзнава, че като би-л-а млад-а, не прояви-л-а
Zaštoto sāznaва, če kato bi-l-a mlad-a, ne projavi-l-a
because realise[3SG] that when be-PPRT-F.SG young-F.SG NEG show-PPRT-F.SG

любов към близни-я, както тези брат и сестр-а.
ljubov kām bližni-ja, kakto tezi brat i sestr-a.
love to one’s.kind-DEF, as this.PL brother(M)[SG] and sister(F)-SG

‘Because she is aware that, when she was young, she didn’t show love of her kind, as this brother and sister did.’

Source: <http://triangle.bg/books/1923-04-22-10.1998/1923-07-08-10.html> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

My grandfather and grandmother

my.SG grandfather and grandmother

мо-[й]-ят дяд-о и баб-а
mo-[j]-jat djad-o i bab-a
my-M.SG-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG
'my grandfather and grandmother'

(1)

Мо-[й]-ят дяд-о и баб-а са
Mo-[j]-jat djad-o i bab-a sa
my-M.SG-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG AUX.3PL

би-л-и българск-и граждан-и и никой не ги е
bi-l-i bălgarsk-i graždan-i i nikoj ne gi e
be-PPRT-PL Bulgarian-PL citizen(M)-PL and nobody NEG them.ACC AUX.3SG

пита-л какв-и са, когато са им го
pita-l kakv-i sa, kogato sa im go
ask-PPRT[M.SG] what-PL be.PRES.3PL, when AUX.3PL them.DAT it.ACC

отне-л-и през 1944 г.
otne-l-i prez 1944 g.
take-PPRT-PL in 1944 year

'My grandparents were Bulgarian citizens, and nobody asked them what they were when they took their Bulgarian citizenship from them in 1944.'

Source:

www.vestnikataka.com/?module=displaystory&story_id=7899&edition_id=110&format=html (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(2)

Напомня-т ми мо-[й]-я дяд-о и баб-а
Napomnja-t mi mo-[j]-ja djad-o i bab-a.
remind-3PL me.DAT my-M.SG-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG

'They remind me of my grandparents.'

Source: <http://bglog.net/BGLog/5747> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(3)

В	мо-[й]-я	родопск-и	край
V	мо-[j]-ja	rodopsk-i	kraj
in	my-M.SG-DEF	Rhodore-M.SG	region(M)[SG]

мо-и-те	родител-и,	мо-[й]-ят	дяд-о	и	баб-а,
мо-i-te	roditel-i,	мо-[j]-jat	djad-o	i	bab-a,
my-PL-DEF	parent(M)-PL	my-M.SG-DEF	grandfather(M)-SG	&	grandmother(F)-SG

ни	уче-ха	така:
ni	uče-xa	taka:
us.ACC	teach-IMPERFECT.3PL	thus:

‘In my region in the Rhodope Mountains, my parents and my grandparents used to teach us thus: [...]’

Source: <http://bulgaria21.net/issue/t22908.htm> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

my.PL grandfather and grandmother

мо-и-те	дяд-о	и	баб-а
мо-i-te	djad-o	i	bab-a
my-PL-DEF	grandfather(M)-SG	and	grandmother(F)-SG

(1)

Най-вече	мо-и-те	дяд-о	и	баб-а.
Naj-veče	мо-i-te	djad-o	i	bab-a.
especially	my-PL-DEF	grandfather(M)-SG	and	grandmother(F)-SG

Толкова	са	ми	красив-и,	когато	се	погледн-ат
Tolkova	sa	mi	krasiv-i,	kogato	se	pogledn-at
so	be.PRES.3PL	me.DAT	beautiful-PL	when	REFL	look-3PL

‘Especially my grandparents. They are so sweet when they look at each other.’

Source: <http://radalia.blog.bg/viewpost.php?id=44345> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(2)

Мо-и-те	дяд-о	и	баб-а	се	премества-т
Мо-i-te	djad-o	i	bab-a	se	premestva-t
my-PL-DEF	grandfather(M)-SG	and	grandmother(F)-SG	REFL	move-3PL

в	Хонг Конг	в	момент-а,	когато	започва	действие-то	в	роман-а
v	Xong Kong	v	moment-a,	kogato	započva	dejstvie-to	v	roman-a
in	Hong Kong	at	moment-DEF	when	start[3SG]	action-DEF	in	novel-DEF

‘At the beginning of the novel, my grandparents move to Hong Kong’

Source: www.slovo.bg/litvestnik/index.php?ar=249 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(3)

Трет-а-та	ми	книг-а	сигурно	ще	бъде
Tret-a-ta	mi	knig-a	sigurno	šte	bāde
third-F.SG-DEF	my	book(F)-SG	probably	FUT	be.PRES[3SG]

свърза-н-а		с	род-ове-те	на
svārza-n-a		s	rod-ove-te	na
connect-PASS.PPRT-F.SG	with	family(M)-PL-DEF	of	

мо-и-те	дяд-о	и	баб-а	по	майчина	линия
mo-i-te	djad-o	i	bab-a	po	majčina	linija
my-PL-DEF	grandfather(M)-SG	and	grandmother(F)-SG	on	mother's	side

‘My third book will most likely be related to the families of my maternal grandparents.’

Source: <http://dryanovo.net/new/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=1976> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(4)

Мо-и-те	дяд-о	и	баб-а	ми	разказа-ха
Mo-i-te	djad-o	i	bab-a	mi	razkaza-xa
my-PL-DEF	grandfather(M)-SG	and	grandmother(F)-SG	me.DAT	tell.PAST-3PL

всичк-и	истори-и
vsičk-i	istori-i
all-PL	story(F)-PL

‘My grandfather and grandmother told me all the stories.’

Source: <http://ide.li/article2010.html> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(5)

Това	медн-о	пан-о	[...] е	направ-ен-о
Tova	medn-o	pan-o	[...] e	naprav-en-o
this.NT.SG	brass-NT.SG	relief(NT)-SG	[...] AUX.3SG	make-PASS.PPRT-NT.SG

по	лиц-а-та	на	мо-и-те	дяд-о	и	баб-а.
po	lic-a-ta	na	mo-i-te	djad-o	i	bab-a.
according.to	face(NT)-PL-DEF	of	my-PL-DEF	granddad(M)-SG	&	grandma(F)-SG

‘This brass relief is based on the faces of my grandfather and grandmother.’

Source: www.geocities.com/sbeleva/Rooms_bg.html (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(6)

България е много важна за моето семейство, защото
Bǎlgarija e mnogo važna za moeto semejstvo, zaštoto
Bulgaria be.PRES.3SG very important for my family, because

мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а са...
mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a sa...
my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG be.PRES.3PL

‘Bulgaria is very important for my family because my grandfather and grandmother are...’

Source: <http://actinplay.cult.bg/modules.php?name=News&file=print&sid=74>
(accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(7)

Мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а ми
Mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a mi
my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG me.DAT

има-ха доверие...
ima-xa doverie...
have-IMPERFECT.3PL trust...

‘My grandparents had trust in me...’

Source: www.gotin-bg.com/index.php?id=44,154,0,0,1,0 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(8)

Мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а си смесва-ха
Mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a si smesva-xa
my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG & grandmother(F)-SG REFL mix-IMPERFECT.3PL

вино и хляб за закуска.
vino i xljab za zakuska.
wine and bread for breakfast.

‘My grandparents used to mix bread and wine for breakfast.’

Source: www.plovdivguide.com/newsfiles/news.php?id=1872&lang_id=2 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(9)

Такива разказ-и си спомня-м от мо-и-те дяд-о и
Takiva razkaz-i si spomnja-m ot mo-i-te djad-o i
such.PL story(M)-PL REFL remember-1SG from my-PL-DEF grandad(M)-SG and

баб-а, те са умре-л-и с отвор-ен-и
bab-a, te sa umre-l-i s otvor-en-i
grandma(F)-SG they.NOM AUX.3PL die-PPRT-PL with open-PASS.PPRT-PL

оч-и за майка България.
oč-i za majka Bǎlgarija.
eye(NT)-PL for mother Bulgaria

‘I remember such stories from my grandparents; they both died with their eyes open for their home country, Bulgaria.’

Source: www.yurukov.net/forum/viewtopic.php?t=31 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(10)

Мо-я-та майк-а и мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а
Mo-ja-ta majk-a i mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a
my-F.SG-DEF mother(F)-SG and my-PL-DEF grandad(M)-SG and grandma(F)-SG

са много добр-и във висш-а-та математик-а.
sa mnogo dobr-i vǎv visš-a-ta matematik-a.
be.PRES.3PL very good-PL at high-F.SG-DEF mathematics(F)-SG

‘My mother and my grandparents are very good at calculus.’

Source: <http://forum.bg-mamma.com/index.php?topic=148724.msg3429516>
(accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(11)

не-движи-м имот, ко-й-то
ne-dviži-m imot, ko-j-to
im-move-able[M.SG] estate(M)[SG] which-M.SG-RELATIVE

е бил собственост
e bi-l sobstvenost
AUX.3SG be-PPRT[M.SG] property(F)[SG]

на мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а
na mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a
of my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG

‘immovable property which used to belong to my grandparents’

Source: www.lawyer-bg.com/site/mod.php?mod=faq&menu=40 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(12)

Начало-то на 80-те има-х шанс-а с мо-и-те дяд-о
Načalo-to na 80-te ima-x šans-a s mo-i-te djad-o
start-DEF of 80's have-PAST.1SG chance-DEF with my-PL-DEF grandad(M)-SG

и баб-а да „пътешествам” из Европа.
i bab-a da “pātešestva-m” iz Evropa.
and grandmother(F)-SG COMP travel-1SG across Europe.

‘At the beginning of the 80’s I had the opportunity to “travel” across Europe with my grandparents.’

Source: <http://forum.imoti.net/read.php?15,478> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(13)

Поздрав-и на мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а!!!
Pozdrav-i na mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a!!!
greeting-PL to my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG

‘Greet my grandparents!!!’

Source: <http://otkrovenia.com/main.php?action=show&id=55054> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(14)

в памет на мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а
v pamet na mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a
in memory of my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG

‘in memory of my grandparents’

Source: www.24chasa.bg/Default.asp?statid=8144 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(15)

Мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а би-л-и учител-и преди 1944
Mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a bi-l-i učitel-i predi 1944
my-PL-DEF grandad(M)-SG & grandma(F)-SG be-PPRT-PL teacher-PL before 1944

‘My grandparents were teachers prior to 1944.’

Source: http://forum.segabg.com/topic.asp?whichpage=7&topic_id=82768 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(16)

Мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а прав-ят коледн-и украс-и.
Mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a pravj-at koledn-i ukras-i.
my-PL-DEF grandad(M)-SG and grandma(F)-SG make-3PL Xmas-PL decoration-PL

‘My grandparents are making Christmas decorations.’

Source: <http://minus273.org/trans/DWelle/0001-1000/281-320/DWelle312-woodsofturingia.html> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(17)

положение-то на мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а сега,
položenie-to na mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a sega,
situation-DEF of my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG now

когато приближава-т кра-я на живот-а си.
kogato nablžava-t kraj-a na život-a si.
when approach-3PL end-DEF of life-DEF own

‘... my grandparents’ situation now that they are approaching the end of their lives.’

Source: <http://83.228.115.77/sdabg/index.php?path=cq%20-%20mladejki%20uroci%2F2006-3%2F&download=3-05.pdf> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(18)

Мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а бя-ха това, което
Mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a bja-xa tova, koeto
my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG be.PAST-3PL that which

Иван Хаджийски описва в сво-я-та „Оптимистичн-а теори-я
Ivan Hadžijski opisva v svo-ja-ta “Optimističn-a teori-ja
Ivan Hadžijski describe[3SG] in own-F.SG-DEF optimistic-F.SG theory(F)-SG

за българск-и-я народ”
za bălgarsk-i-ja narod”
about Bulgarian-M.SG-DEF nation(M)[SG]

My grandparents were what Ivan Hadžijski describes in his “Optimistic Theory about the Bulgarian Nation”.

Source: <http://zemia.blog.bg/viewpost.php?id=132300> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(19)

Спомни-х си мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а
Spomni-x si mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a
remember-PAST.1PL REFL my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG

и как смален-и и прегърбен-и остава-ха зад кола-та,
i kak smalen-i i pregärben-i ostava-xa zad kola-ta,
and how small-PL and bent-PL remain-IMPERFECT.3PL behind car-DEF

а ние, най-важна-та и последна-та част от живот-а им,
a nie, naj-važna-ta i posledna-ta čast ot život-a im,
while we most-important-DEF and last-DEF part of life-DEF their

си отива-хме в град-а.
si otiva-xme v grad-a.
REFL go-IMPERFECT.1PL in town-DEF

‘I remembered my grandparents and how they used to stand behind the car, small and bent, as we, the most significant and the last part of their lives, were going back to town.’

Source: www.hulite.net/modules.php?name=News&file=article&thold=-1&mode=flat&order=0&sid=59232 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(20)

започвайки от мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а
započvajki ot mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a
beginning from my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG

‘beginning from my grandparents’

Source: <http://beobscenelhroh.hit.bg/15.htm> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(21)

Хора-та, ко-и-то населява-ха детств-о-то
Хора-ta, ko-i-to naseljava-xa detstv-o-to
ppl.PL-DEF who-PL-RELATIVE populate-IMPERFECT.3PL childhood(N)-SG-DEF

ми, бя-ха мо-и-те дяд-о и баб-а
mi, bja-xa mo-i-te djad-o i bab-a
my be.PAST-3PL my-PL-DEF grandfather(M)-SG and grandmother(F)-SG

‘My grandparents were the people who populated my childhood’

Source:
http://nobilitybg.blog.com/_comment/?postid=1371562&replytocommentid=1589110
(accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(22)

голям-а-та	ми	дъщер-я	помни
goljam-a-ta	mi	dăšterj-a	pomni
elder-F.SG-DEF	my	daughter(F)-SG	remember[3SG]

мо-и-те	дяд-о	и	баб-а	–	почина-ха
mo-i-te	djad-o	i	bab-a	–	počina-xa
my-PL-DEF	grandfather(M)-SG	and	grandmother(F)-SG	–	pass.away.PAST-3PL

преди	малко	повече	от	година
predi	malko	poveče	ot	godina
before	a.little	more	than	year

‘My elder daughter remembers my grandparents – they passed away a little over a year ago.’

Source: <http://forum.bg-mamma.com/index.php?topic=165719.msg3236040>
(accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(23)

както	мо-и-те	дяд-о	и	баб-а
kakto	mo-i-te	djad-o	i	bab-a
like	my-PL-DEF	grandfather(M)-SG	and	grandmother(F)-SG

‘like my grandparents’

Source: <http://zlika.blog.bg/viewpost.php?id=53096> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

Target.SG + man and child

(1)

Не,	не	–	каза	Силвия	–
Ne,	ne	–	kaza	Silvija	–
NEG,	NEG	–	say.PAST[3SG]	Silvia	–

никакъв	мъж	и	дете	не	я	чака-т.
nikakāv	māž	i	dete	ne	ja	čaka-t.
no[M.SG]	man(M)[SG]	and	child(NT).SG	NEG	her.ACC	wait.for-3PL

‘No, no, Silvia said – no man and child are waiting for her.’

Source: www.litclub.com/library/nbpr/todorar/kogato.htm (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2)

Дияна не е лесбийк-а – има прекрасен
Dijana ne e lesbijk-a – ima prekrasen
Diana NEG be.PRES.3SG lesbian(F)-SG have[3SG] wonderful[M.SG]

мъж и дете!
măž i dete!
man(M)[SG] and child(NT).SG

‘Diana isn’t a lesbian – she has a wonderful husband and child!’

Source: www.dnevnik.bg/razvlechenie/2008/09/29/556708_tri_visoki_jeni/ (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(3)

Има-х и видени-я на един мъж и дете,
Ima-x i videni-ja na edin măž i dete,
have-PAST.1SG and vision(NT)-PL of one[M.SG] man(M)[SG] and child(NT).SG

обаче всичко това избледня с лят-о-то
obače vsičko tova izlbednja s ljat-o-to
however all that fade.PAST[3SG] with summer(NT)-SG-DEF

и не се върна.
i ne se vărna.
and NEG REFL come.back.PAST[3SG]

‘I also had visions of a man and a child, but it all faded with summer and never came back.’

Source: <http://mariapavlova.net/veshtica2.html> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(4) *(not included in count: it is irrelevant because of the extra conjunct and the special determiner)*

прав-о-то на всяк-а жен-а, мъж и дете
prav-o-to na vsjak-a žen-a, măž i dete
right(NT)-SG-DEF of every-F.SG woman(F)-SG man(M)[SG] and child(NT).SG

да се радва на здравословен живот
da se radva na zdravosloven život
COMP REFL enjoy[3SG] of healthy[M.SG] lifestyle(M)[SG]

‘The right of every man, woman and child to enjoy a healthy lifestyle.’

Source: www.undp.bg/uploads/images/1593.pdf (accessed on 06 May 2009)

Target.PL + man and child

(1)

Впрочем се сеща-м и за още един случа-й
Vpročem se sešta-m i za ošte edin sluča-j
by.the.way REFL remember-1SG and about more one[M.SG] case(M)-SG

на погребана-и мъж и дете
na pogreba-n-i muž i dete
of bury-PASS.PPRT-PL man(M)[SG] and child(NT).SG

‘By the way, another case of a buried man and child comes to mind too.’

Source:

<http://forum.all.bg/showflat.php?Cat=0&Board=religion&Number=1105092&page=3&fpart=all> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

Target.PL + young man and young girl

(1)

Служител-и-те на Второ РУ са установи-л-и
Služitel-i-te na Vtoro RU sa ustanovi-l-i
officer(M)-PL-DEF of Second Police.Force AUX.3PL find-PPRT-PL

18-годишн-и младеж и девойк-а, открадна-л-и велосипед.
18-godišn-i mladež i devojk-a, otkradna-l-i velosiped.
18-yr.old-PL young.man(M)[SG] and young.girl(F)-SG steal-PPRT-PL bike(M)[SG]

‘The officers from the Second Police Force have found a young man and girl, both 18, who have stolen a bicycle.’

Source: <http://news.ruse24.bg/62731.html> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2)

Установ-ен-и са непълнолетн-и младеж и
Ustanov-en-i sa nepālnoletn-i mladež i
find-PASS.PPRT-PL AUX.3PL underage-PL young.man(M)[SG] and

девойк-а, кра-л-и от гараж-и
devojk-a, kra-l-i ot garaž-i
young.girl(F)-SG steal-PPRT-PL from garage(M)-PL

‘They have found an underage youth and girl who have been breaking into garages.’

Source: www.ruseinfo.net/news_52835.html (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(3)

Установ-ен-и	са	непълнолетн-и	младеж	и
Ustanov-en-i	sa	nepǎlnoletn-i	mladež	i
find-PASS.PPRT-PL	AUX.3PL	underage-PL	young.man(M)[SG]	and

девойк-а,	извършва-л-и	кражб-и	от	гараж-и.
devojk-a,	izvāršva-l-i	kražb-i	ot	garaž-i.
young.girl(F)-SG	carry.out-PPRT-PL	theft(F)-PL	from	garage(M)-PL

‘They have found an underage youth and girl who have been committing theft from garages.’

Source: <http://news.ruse24.bg/68294.html> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(4)

влюбен-а	двойк-а	силно	пиян-и/надрусан-и	младеж
vljuben-a	dvojk-a	silno	pijan-i/nadrusa-n-i	mladež
in.love-F.SG	couple(F)-SG	very	drunk-PL/drug-PASS.PPRT-PL	youth(M)[SG]

и	девойк-а,	ко-и-то...
i	devojk-a,	ko-i-to...
and	young.girl(F)-SG	who-PL-RELATIVE

‘a couple of lovers, a very drunk/drugged youth and girl, who...’

Source: www.big.bg/modules/news02/article.php?storyid=32122 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(5)

маскира-н-и	младеж	и	девойка
maskira-n-i	mladež	i	devojk-a
mask-PASS.PPRT-PL	young.man(M)[SG]	and	young.girl(F)-SG

‘a young man and girl wearing masks’

Source: www.dnes.bg/article.php?id=22902 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(6)

Пред	всички	оживя-ха	вълнува-щ-и-те	образ-и
Pred	vsički	oživja-xa	vǎlnuva-št-i-te	obraz-i
in.front.of	everyone	come.to.life.PAST-3PL	excite-ing-PL-DEF	image(M)-PL

на	влюбен-и-те	младеж	и	девойк-а.
na	vljuben-i-te	mladež	i	devojk-a.
of	in.love-PL-DEF	young.man(M)[SG]	and	young.girl(F)-SG

‘The exciting images of a young man and girl who are in love came to life in front of everyone.’

Source: www.bukvite.bg/poem.php?docid=42542 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(7)

Двадесет и една годишн-и-те младеж и девойк-а се
Dvadeset i edna godišn-i-te mladež i devojk-a se
twenty & one year.old-PL-DEF young.man(M)[SG] & young.girl(F)-SG REFL

‘The 21-year-old youth and girl...’

Source: www.duma.bg/2008/0108/150108/sviat/sv-6.html (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(8)

в старичък Голф лъсва-т
v staričāk Golf lāsva-t
in oldish[M.SG] Golf(M)[SG] suddenly.appear-3PL

стресна-т-и младеж и девойк-а...
stresna-t-i mladež i devojk-a...
startle-PASS.PPRT-PL young.man(M)[SG] and young.girl(F)-SG

‘A startled young man and girl suddenly appear in an oldish Golf...’

Source:

www.pokazatel.net/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2513&Itemid=40 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

Target.SG + young man and young girl

(1)

А това е мечт-а за
A tova e mečt-a za
and this.NT.SG be.PRES.3SG dream(F)-SG for

всек-и македонск-и младеж и девойк-а,
vsek-i makedonsk-i mladež i devojk-a,
every-M.SG Macedonian-M.SG young.man(M)[SG] and young.girl(F)-SG

чи-я-то реализаци-я в М. сега е невъзможн-а
či-ja-to realizaci-ja v M. sega e nevāzmožn-a
whose-F.SG-RELATIVE fulfilment(F)-SG in M. now be.PRES.3SG impossible-F.SG

‘And this is a dream for every Macedonian young man and girl who can currently find no fulfilment in Macedonia.’

Source:

www.bnt.bg/bg/news/view/3836/makedonskite_studentsi_ucheshhti_v_bylgarija_ostavata_tuk (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2)

изграждане на комунистическ-и мироглед у всек-и
izgraždane na komunističesk-i mirogled u vsek-i
building of communist-M.SG worldview(M)[SG] in every-M.SG

младеж и девойк-а
mladež i devojk-a
young.man(M)[SG] and young.girl(F)-SG

‘instilling a communist worldview in every youth and girl’

Source: www.oda.bg/.../politbuyro_26_03_1963.htm (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(3)

по ваши-я пример не един младеж
po vaši-ja primer ne edin mladež
according.to your.PL[M.SG]-DEF e.g.(M)[SG] NEG one.M.SG young.man(M)[SG]

и девойк-а ще запаз-ят целомъдри-е-то си
i devojk-a šte zapaz-jat celomădri-e-to si
and young.girl(F)-SG FUT keep-3PL chastity(NT)-SG-DEF own

‘Following your example, many a young man and girl will keep their chastity’

Source: www.pravoslavieto.com/life/01.08_sv_Julian_i_Vasilisa.htm (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(4)

участва-щ-и по един младеж и девойк-а
učastva-št-i po edin mladež i devojk-a
participate-ing-PL at.the.rate.of one.M.SG young.man(M)[SG] and young.girl(F)-SG

‘participating pairs of a young man and girl’

Source: www.dnes.bg/article.php?cat=74&id=17078 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(5)

Когато един младеж и девойк-а
Kogato edin mladež i devojk-a
when one.M.SG young.man(M)[SG] and young.girl(F)-SG

бъд-ат забеляза-н-и заедно
băd-at zabeljaza-n-i zaedno
AUX-3PL notice-PASS.PPRT-PL together

‘When a young man and girl are seen together...’

Source:

www.24chasa.bg/Default.asp?statid=85593&rubr=0&izd=1&fsize=&swidth=800&tr=1&im=12&id=02&iy (accessed on 06 May 2009)

This son and daughter

този син и дъщер-я
tozi sin i dăšterj-a
this.M.SG son(M)[SG] and daughter(F)-SG

No results

These son and daughter

тези син и дъщер-я
tezi sin i dăšterj-a
this.PL son(M)[SG] and daughter(F)-SG

(1)

Същ-и-те тези син и дъщер-я може
Săšt-i-te tezi sin i dăšterj-a može
same-PL-DEF this.PL son(M)[SG] and daughter(F)-SG might[3SG]

никога да не са изневерява-л-и на съпруз-и-те си...
nikoga da ne sa izneverjava-l-i na săpruz-i-te si...
never COMP NEG AUX.3PL cheat-PPRT-PL on spouse(M)-PL-DEF own

‘This same son and daughter might have never cheated on their spouses...’

Source: http://story.rozali.com/komentari/c3147_160.html (accessed on 06 May 2009)

This mother and daughter

тази майк-а и дъщер-я
tazi majk-a i dăšterj-a
this.F.SG mother(F)-SG and daughter(F)-SG

No results as of 06 May 2009

These mother and daughter

тези майк-а и дъщер-я
tezi majk-a i dăšterj-a
this.PL mother(F)-SG and daughter(F)-SG

(1)

Ко-и бя-ха тези майк-а и дъщер-я?
Ко-и бја-ха tezi majk-a i dăšterj-a?
who-PL be.PAST-3PL this.PL mother(F)-SG and daughter(F)-SG

‘Who were that mother and daughter?’

Source: www.ero-market.com/jurnal/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=79&Itemid=65
(accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2)

ако тези майк-а и дъщер-я...
ako tezi majk-a i dăšterj-a...
if this.PL mother(F)-SG and daughter(F)-SG

‘if this mother and daughter...’

Source: www.btv.bg/news/news_comments.pcgi?cont_id=127017 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

This mother and daughter (follow-up search)

(1)

от тази майк-а и дъщер-я
ot тази majk-a i dăšterj-a
from this.F.SG mother(F)-SG and daughter(F)-SG

‘from this mother and daughter’

Source: www.cswap.com/2004/Bunshinsaba/cap/bg/2_Parts/b/00_32 (accessed on 11 June 2009)

These mother and daughter (follow-up search)

(1)

ако тези майк-а и дъщер-я...
ako tezi majk-a i dăšterj-a...
if this.PL mother(F)-SG and daughter(F)-SG

‘if this mother and daughter...’

Source: www.btv.bg/news/news_comments.pcgi?cont_id=127017 (accessed on 11 June 2009)

(2)

Няма-те си представ-а какв-а връзк-а
Njama-te si predstav-a kakv-a vřazk-a
NEG.have-2PL REFL idea(F)-SG what-F.SG relationship(F)-SG

има-ха точно тези майк-а и дъщер-я.
ima-xa točno tezi majk-a i dăšterj-a.
have-IMPERFECT.3PL exactly this.PL mother(F)-SG and daughter(F)-SG

‘You have no idea what relationship this very mother and daughter had.’

Source: <http://dreamchaser.blog.bg/viewpost.php?id=86525> (accessed on 11 June 2009)

(3)

Ко-и бя-ха тези майк-а и дъщер-я?
Ко-i bja-xa tezi majk-a i dăšterj-a?
who-PL be.PAST-3PL this.PL mother(F)-SG and daughter(F)-SG

‘Who were that mother and daughter?’

Source: <http://bg-sexologia.info/novsmf/index.php?topic=833.0> (accessed on 11 June 2009)

(4)

тези майк-а и дъщер-я...
tezi majk-a i dăšterj-a...
this.PL mother(F)-SG and daughter(F)-SG

‘this mother and daughter...’

Source: <http://download.subsworld.net/index.php?id=12258> (accessed on 11 June 2009)

These father and son

тези бащ-а и син
tezi bašt-a i sin
this.PL father(M)-SG and son(M)[SG]

(1)

Щасти-е-то, намер-ен-о в бъдещ-е-то
Štasti-e-to, namer-en-o v bădešt-e-to
happiness(NT)-SG-DEF find-PASS.PPRT-NT.SG in future(NT)-SG-DEF

от тези бащ-а и син, ко-и-то
ot tezi bašt-a i sin, ko-i-to
by this.PL father(M)-SG and son(M)[SG] who-PL-RELATIVE

отдава-т последн-а почит на дяд-о-то осиновител...
otdava-t posledn-a počit na djad-o-to osinovitel...
pay-3PL last-F.SG respect(F)[SG] to grandad(M)-SG-DEF adopter(M)[SG]

‘The happiness found in the future by this father and son, who are paying their last respects to the adoptive grandfather...’

Source: www.slav.uni-sofia.bg/Masters/Cunningham.doc (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2) (*same as (1)*)

Щастие-то, намер-ен-о в бъдещ-е-то
Štasti-e-to, namer-en-o v bādešt-e-to
happiness(NT)-SG-DEF find-PASS.PPRT-NT.SG in future(NT)-SG-DEF

от тези бащ-а и син, ко-и-то
ot tezi bašt-a i sin, ko-i-to
by this.PL father(M)-SG and son(M)[SG] who-PL-RELATIVE

отдава-т последн-а почит на дяд-о-то осиновител...
otdava-t posledn-a počit na djad-o-to osinovitel...
pay-3PL last-F.SG respect(F)[SG] to grandad(M)-SG-DEF adopter(M)[SG]

‘The happiness found in the future by this father and son, who are paying their last respects to the adoptive grandfather...’

Source: http://liternet.bg/publish21/p_kataldi/majkyl.htm (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(3)

Моля да-й-те ми координат-и-те на тези бащ-а
Molja da-j-te mi koordinat-i-te na tezi bašt-a
please give-IMPERATIVE-2PL me.DAT detail(M)-PL-DEF of this.PL father(M)-SG

и син в Пловдив и Бургас
i sin v Plovdiv i Burgas
and son(M)[SG] in Plovdiv and Burgas

‘Please give me the contact details of this father and son in the cities of Plovdiv and Burgas’

Source: http://story.rozali.com/komentari/c4103_0.html (accessed on 06 May 2009)

This father and son

този бащ-а и син
tozi bašt-a i sin
this.M.SG father(M)-SG and son(M)[SG]

(1)

да последва-ме пример-а на този Бащ-а и Син
da posledva-me primer-a na tozi Bašt-a i Sin
COMP follow-1PL e.g.(M)[SG]-DEF of this.M.SG Father(M)-SG & Son(M)[SG]

‘let’s follow the example of this Father and Son’

Source: www.lds.org/conference/talk/display/0,5232,23-10-92-5,00.html (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2)

А този бащ-а и син...
A tozi bašt-a i sin...
and this.M.SG father(M)-SG and son(M)[SG]

‘And this father and son...’

Source:

www.nalov.com/forum/index.php?showtopic=13376&pid=145253&mode=threaded&start (accessed on 06 May 2009)

SECTION 2

Inanimate Controllers

This fork and spoon

тази вилиц-а и лъжиц-а
tazi vilic-a i lăžic-a
this.F.SG fork(F)-SG and spoon(F)-SG

(1)

Винаги взема-й-те тази вилиц-а и лъжиц-а,
Vinagi vzema-j-te tazi vilic-a i lăžic-a,
always take-IMPERATIVE-2PL this.F.SG fork(F)-SG and spoon(FEM)-SG,

ко-и-то са най-встрани от чиния-та. След всяко ястие
ko-i-to sa naj-vstrani ot činija-ta. Sled vsjako jastie
which-PL-RELATIVE be.PRES.3PL furthest from plate-DEF After each course

келнер-ът ще ги отсервира, така че е невъзможно
kelner-ăt ŝte gi otservira, taka če e nevăzmožno
waiter-DEF FUT them.ACC take.away so that be.PRES.3SG impossible

да сбърка-те.

da sbărka-te.

COMP make.a.mistake-2PL

‘Always use the fork and spoon furthest away from the plate. After each course the waiter will take them away, so it is impossible to make a mistake.’

Source: www.segabg.com/online/article.asp?issueid=1936§ionid=14&id=00002 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

These fork and spoon

тези вилиц-а и лъжиц-а
tezi vilic-a i lăžic-a
this.PL fork(F)-SG and spoon(F)-SG

No results as of 02 Dec 2007

Desk and chair

бюр-о и стол
bjur-o i stol
desk(NT)-SG and chair(M)[SG]
'desk and chair'

Single-Conjunct Agreement

(1)

Те са замени-л-и стандартн-о-то канцеларск-о
Te sa zameni-l-i standartn-o-to kancelarsk-o
they.NOM AUX.3PL replace-PPRT-PL standard-NT.SG-DEF office-NT.SG

бюр-о и стол с кресло и плот с приспособление
bjur-o i stol s kreslo i plot s prisposoblenie
desk(NT)-SG and chair(M)[SG] with armchair and surface with device

за закрепване на хартия
za zakrepvane na hartija
for fixing of paper

'They have replaced the standard office desk and chair with an armchair and a surface with a device for keeping paper fixed.'

Source: www.meridian27.com/Mer27/Vol2/f10.htm (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

Resolved Agreement

No results as of 02 Dec 2007

Adjective.SG + rifle and pistol

пушк-а и пистолет
pušk-a i pistol
rifle(F)-SG and pistol(M)[SG]

(1)

Демонстрира-ха [...] прецизн-а стрелб-а с мало-калибрен-а
Demonstrira-ха [...] precizn-a strelb-a s malo-kalibren-a
demonstrate-PAST.3PL [...] precise-F.SG shooting(F)-SG with small-calibre-F.SG

пушк-а и пистолет
pušk-a i pistol
rifle(F)-SG and pistol(M)[SG]

'They demonstrated precise shooting with a small-calibre rifle and pistol.'

Source: <http://bgarmy.eamci.bg/Scripts/isapiVWB.dll/doc?THEMEID=69565>
(accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(2)

стрелб-а	с	въздушн-а	пушк-а	и	пистолет
strelb-a	s	vāzdušn-a	pušk-a	i	pistolet
shooting(F)-SG	with	air-F.SG	rifle(F)-SG	and	pistol(M)[SG]

‘shooting with an air rifle and pistol’

Source: www.bansko.bg/goto/lavina/ (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(3)

За период-а	са	иззе-т-и	общо	дв-е	единиц-и
Za period-a	sa	izze-t-i	obšto	dv-e	edinic-i
for period-DEF	AUX.3PL	confiscate-PASS.PPRT-PL	in.total	two-F/NT	unit(F)-PL

незаконно притежава-н-о	оръжи-е	– ловн-а	пушк-а	и
nezakonno pritežava-n-o	orāži-e	– lovn-a	pušk-a	i
illegally own-PASS.PPRT-NT.SG	weapon(NT)-SG	– hunting-F.SG	rifle(F)-SG	&

пистолет.
pistolet.
pistol(M)[SG]

‘Two illegal weapons have been confiscated over this period – a hunting rifle and pistol.’

Source: www.rdv.vidin.net/archive_s.php?DPN_row_num=105 (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(4)

Той	със	самоделн-а	пушк-а	и	пистолет	отишь-л	там
Toj	sās	samodeln-a	pušk-a	i	pistolet	otišā-l	tam
he.NOM	with	amateur-F.SG	rifle(F)-SG	and	pistol(M)[SG]	go-PPRT[M.SG]	there

и	застреля-л	изнасилвач-а.
i	zastrelja-l	iznasilvač-a.
and	shoot-PPRT[M.SG]	rapist-DEF

‘He went there and shot the rapist with an amateur rifle and pistol.’

Source:

www.kriminalist.info/forum/viewtopic.php?p=217&sid=20f806e4d55365d122848d87cdda9a5f (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(5)

Продава-м	въздушн-а	пушк-а	и	пистолет
Prodava-m	vāzdušn-a	pušk-a	i	pistolet
sell-1SG	air-F.SG	rifle(F)-SG	and	pistol(M)[SG]

‘air rifle and pistol for sale’

Source:

http://forum.oragie.com/search.php?search_author=iord70&sid=b1d5fc1e134417e1c1199bc5527f7699 (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(6)

От кога е забран-ен-о човек да стреля
Ot koga e zabran-en-o čovek da strelja
since when AUX.3SG disallow-PASS.PPRT-NT.SG one COMP shoot[3SG]

с въздушн-а-та пушк-а и пистолет?
s vāzdušn-a-ta pušk-a i pistolet?
with air-F.SG-DEF rifle(F)-SG and pistol(M)[SG]

‘Since when is one not allowed to shoot with an air rifle and pistol?’

Source: www.airgroup2000.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=225103 (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(7)

начин-и-те на стрелб-а с пневматичн-а пушк-а и пистолет
način-i-te na strelb-a s pnevmatičn-a pušk-a i pistolet
way-PL-DEF of shooting(F)-SG with pneumatic-F.SG rifle(F)-SG & pistol(M)[SG]

‘the ways of shooting with a pneumatic rifle and pistol’

Source: <http://demetrasai.com/levski/program.doc> (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(8)

Стреля-м относително добре с късо-цевн-а пушк-а и пистолет
Strelja-m odnositelno dobre s kāsō-cevn-a pušk-a i pistolet
shoot-1SG relatively well with short-barrelled-F.SG rifle(F)-SG & pistol(M)[SG]

‘I can shoot relatively well with a short-barrelled rifle and pistol.’

Source: www.bard.bg/fragment.php3?BookID=766 (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(9)

вѳоръжен-и с ловн-а пушк-а и пистолет
vāorāžen-i s lovn-a pušk-a i pistolet
armed-PL with hunting-F.SG rifle(F)-SG and pistol(M)[SG]

‘armed with a hunting rifle and pistol’

Source: www.mvr.bg/show1/index.asp?dat=ib200103&nom=11 (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

Adjective.PL + rifle and pistol

пушк-а и пистолет
 pušk-a i pistol
 rifle(F)-SG and pistol(M)[SG]

No results

Adjective.SG + notebook and pen

тетрадк-а и химикалк-а
 tetradk-a i ximikalk-a
 notebook(F)-SG and pen(F)-SG

(1)

с едн-а тетрадк-а и химикалк-а, стоя-щ-и неподвижн-и
 s edn-a tetradk-a i ximikalk-a, stoja-št-i nepodvižn-i
 with one-F.SG notebook(F)-SG and pen(F)-SG stand-ing-PL motionless-PL

в ръц-е-те му, сякаш ненужн-и
 v rǎc-e-te mu, sjakaš nenužn-i
 in hand(F)-PL-DEF his as.if unneeded-PL

‘with a notebook and pen held motionless in his hands, as if useless’

Source: <http://bulgarski.blogspot.com/2006/09/green-eyes.html> (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(2)

с едн-а тетрадк-а и химикалк-а
 s edn-a tetradk-a i ximikalk-a
 with one-F.SG notebook(F)-SG and pen(F)-SG

‘with a notebook and pen’

Source: <http://forum.muzikant.org/index.php?showtopic=4169&st=30> (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(3)

има-м си едн-а тетрадк-а и химикалк-а
 ima-m si edn-a tetradk-a i ximikalk-a
 have-1SG REFL one-F.SG notebook(F)-SG and pen(F)-SG

‘I have a notebook and a pen.’

Source: www.metal-obsession.info/index.php?showtopic=2205&st=20 (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(4) *(another occurrence of (3))*

(5)

едн-а тетрадка-а и химикалк-а за записк-и-те
edn-a tetratk-a i ximikalk-a za zapisk-i-te
one-F.SG notebook(F)-SG and pen(F)-SG for note(F)-PL-DEF

‘a notebook and pen for taking notes’

Source: www.eclipse-07.com/documents/bg/school/Shkola-X-model.doc (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(6)

да намери-ш едн-а обикновен-а тетрадка-а и химикалк-а
da nameri-š edn-a obiknoven-a tetratk-a i ximikalk-a
COMP find-2SG one-F.SG simple-F.SG notebook(F)-SG and pen(F)-SG

‘find a simple notebook and pen’

Source: <http://delight.blog.bg/viewpost.php?id=102589> (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

Adjective.PL + notebook and pen

тетрадка-а и химикалк-а
tetratk-a i ximikalk-a
notebook(F)-SG and pen(F)-SG

(1)

сетне [...] извади целомъдрен-и-те тетрадка-а и химикалк-а
setne [...] izvadi celomădren-i-te tetratk-a i ximikalk-a
then [...] took.out[3SG] chaste-PL-DEF notebook(F)-SG and pen(F)-SG

и зачака
i začaka
and started.waiting[3SG]

‘Then he took out the chaste notebook and pen and started waiting.’

Source: www.slovo.bg/showwork.php3?AuID=34&WorkID=1610&Level=2
(accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

Your name and surname

ваш-е-то име и фамили-я
vaš-e-to ime i famili-ja
your.PL-NT.SG-DEF name(NT)[SG] and surname(F)-SG
(603 hits on 02 Dec 2007)

ваш-и-те име и фамили-я
vaš-i-te ime i famili-ja
your.PL-PL-DEF name(NT)[SG] and surname(F)-SG
(60 hits on 02 Dec 2007)

Blouse and skirt

блуз-а и пол-а
bluz-a i pol-a
blouse(F)-SG and skirt(F)-SG

Single-Conjunct Agreement

(1)

А той учител-ят със стар-а-та си блуз-а и пол-а,
A toj učitel-jat sās star-a-ta si bluz-a i pol-a,
& he teacher(M)[SG]-DEF with old-F.SG-DEF own blouse(F)-SG & skirt(F)-SG

с със стар-о-то си палт-о ден след ден тихо и отговорно
sās star-o-to si palt-o den sled den tixo i otgovorno
with old-NT.SG-DEF own coat(NT)-SG day after day quietly and responsibly

си върши работ-а-та.
si vārši rabot-a-ta.
own do[3SG] job(F)-SG-DEF

‘In the meantime, the teacher, with an old blouse and skirt, wearing an old coat, does his or her job quietly and conscientiously day after day.’

Source: http://forum.segabg.com/topic.asp?whichpage=2&topic_id=116601 (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(2)

Би-л-а на възраст около 45-50 годин-и,
Bi-l-a na vāzrast okolo 45-50 godin-i,
be-PPRT-F.SG on age(F)[SG] around 45-50 year(F)-PL

облеч-ен-а с черн-а блуз-а и пол-а
obleč-en-a s čern-a bluz-a i pol-a
dress-PASS.PPRT-F.SG with black-F.SG blouse(F)-SG and skirt(F)-SG

‘She was about 45 to 50 years old, wearing a black blouse and skirt.’

Source: www.ndt1.com/article.php/20050901201848431 (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(3)

Прибра пеньоар-а, после анцуг-а,
Pribra pen'oar-a, posle ancug-a,
put.away.PAST[3SG] dressing.gown(M)[SG]-DEF then tracksuit(M)[SG]-DEF

едн-а блуз-а и пол-а.
edn-a bluz-a i pol-a.
one-F.SG blouse(F)-SG and skirt(F)-SG

‘She put away the dressing-gown, then the tracksuit, and then a blouse and a skirt.’

Source: http://attika.dir.bg/html/preview/sibirskata_mafia.htm (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(4) (*same as (1)*)

Source: www.segabg.com/fixed/vrpl.asp?id=2008702 (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(5)

Обляк-о-х черн-а-та блуз-а и пол-а, ко-и-то
Obljak-o-x čern-a-ta bluz-a i pol-a, ko-i-to
put-PAST-1SG black-F.SG-DEF blouse(F)-SG & skirt(F)-SG which-PL-RELATIVE

показва-ха колко празн-а и потъна-л-а в мрак бе
pokazva-xa kolko prazn-a i potāna-l-a v mrak be
show-IMPERFECT.3PL how empty-F.SG and steep-PPRT-F.SG in darkness was

душ-а-та ми.
duš-a-ta mi.
soul(F)-SG-DEF my

‘I put on the black blouse and skirt, which showed how empty and steeped in darkness my soul was.’

Source: <http://otkrovenia.com/main.php?action=show&id=60058> (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(6)

Еlegantн-а блуз-а и пол-а вместо обичайн-а-та рокл-я
Elegantn-a bluz-a i pol-a vmesto običajn-a-ta roklj-a
smart-F.SG blouse(F)-SG and skirt(F)-SG instead usual-F.SG-DEF dress(F)-SG

за момиче-то и красив-а риз-а върху панталон-а
za momiče-to i krasiv-a riz-a vārhu pantalon-a
for girl(NT)[SG]-DEF & beautiful-F.SG shirt(F)-SG on trouser(M)[SG]-DEF

вместо костюм за момче-то може да отговаря-т на
vmesto kostjum za momče-to može da otgovarja-t na
instead suit for boy(NT)[SG]-DEF can COMP meet-3PL on

тези услови-я.
tezi uslovi-ja.
this.PL condition(NT)-PL

‘It might be appropriate to have a smart blouse and skirt instead of the usual dress for girls, as well as a beautiful shirt to go with the trousers instead of a suit for guys.’

Source: www.vselena.com/horoskop_abiturienti.html (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

(7)

Облече си дрех-и-те, с ко-и-то беше
Obleče si dreh-i-te, s ko-i-to beše
put.PAST[3SG] own clothe(F)-PL-DEF with which-PL-RELATIVE AUX.PAST.3SG

дош-л-а – черн-а блуз-а и пол-а.
doš-l-a – čern-a bluz-a i pol-a.
come-PPRT-F.SG – black-F.SG blouse(F)-SG and skirt(F)-SG

‘She put on the clothes she had come in – a black blouse and skirt.’

Source:

<http://leaivanova.dir.bg/.../item.php?did=6540&df=8&dflid=3&GDirId=60a5f28c476332b4363f960c68608506> (accessed on 03 Dec 2007)

Resolved Agreement

No results

New.SG house and car

нов-а къщ-а и кол-а
nov-a kăšt-a i kol-a
new-F.SG house(F)-SG and car(F)-SG

(1)

Сигурно ще си купи-ш нов-а къщ-а и кол-а?
Sigurno šte si kupi-š nov-a kăšt-a i kol-a?
probably FUT REFL buy-2SG new-F.SG house(F)-SG and car(F)-SG

‘You’ll probably buy a new house and car?’

Source: www.yes.bg/fun/?page=3&&cat=28 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(2)

Ако живее-ш на улиц-а-та естествено е да си
Ako živee-š na ulic-a-ta estestveno e da si
if live-2SG on street(F)-SG-DEF natural be.PRES.3SG COMP REFL

мечтае-ш за [...] нов-а къщ-а и кол-а...
mečtae-š za [...] nov-a kăšt-a i kol-a...
dream-2SG of [...] new-F.SG house(F)-SG and car(F)-SG

‘If you live on the street, it is natural to dream of a new house and car...’

Source: <http://koksuel.blogspot.com/2007/02/imagination.html> (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(3) (*same as (1)*)

Source: www.bghelp.net/forums/showthread.php?t=1871&page=75 (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(4) (same as (1) and (3))

Source: www.cash.bg/br38-01/380405.htm (accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

(5)

а на този под мен пожелава-м [...] нов-а къщ-а
a na tozi pod men poželava-m [...] nov-a kăšt-a
and to this.M.SG below me.ACC wish-1SG [...] new-F.SG house(F)-SG

и кол-а
i kol-a
and car(F)-SG

‘And I wish whoever is below me a new house and car.’

Source: <http://bgbaby.net/forum/index.php?act=Print&client=printer&f=14&t=147>
(accessed on 02 Dec 2007)

New.PL house and car

нов-и къщ-а и кол-а
nov-i kăšt-a i kol-a
new-PL house(F)-SG and car(F)-SG

No results as of 02 Dec 2007

Nice.SG bag and coat

хубав-а чант-а и палт-о
hubav-a čant-a i palt-o
nice-F.SG bag(F)-SG and coat(NT)-SG

(1)

С чифт елегантн-и обувк-и, хубав-а чант-а и палт-о
S čift elegantn-i obuvk-i, hubav-a čant-a i palt-o
with pair(M)[SG] smart-PL shoe(F)-PL nice-F.SG bag(F)-SG and coat(NT)-SG

с класическ-а кройк-а винаги ще изглежда-те добре.
s klasičesk-a krojk-a vinagi šte izgležda-te dobre.
with classic-F.SG cut(F)-SG always FUT look-2PL well

‘You will always look good in a pair of smart shoes, in addition to a nice bag and coat with a classic cut.’

Source: <http://magi.triada.bg/fashion.aspx?d=467> (accessed on 14 May 2009)

Nice.PL bag and coat

хубав-и чант-а и палт-о
 xubav-i čant-a i palt-o
 nice-PL bag(F)-SG and coat(NT)-SG

No results as of 14 May 2009

Adjective.PL + church and school

No results

Adjective.SG + church and school

(1)

Немск-а-та църкв-а и училищ-е
 Nemsk-a-ta cǎrkv-a i učilišt-e
 German-F.SG-DEF church(F)-SG and school(NT)-SG

‘the German church and school’

Source: <http://www.stara-sofia.com/drugi.html> (accessed on 20 Sept 2008)

This box and [-animate]

тази кути-я и
 тази kuti-ja i
 this.F.SG box(F)-SG and

(1)

а именно с тази кути-я и диф[еренциал] трябва да
 а imenno s тази kuti-ja i dif[erencial] trjabva da
 and namely with this.F.SG box(F)-SG & diff.gear(M)[SG] should COMP

е перфектн-о
 е perfektn-o
 be.PRES.3SG perfect-NT.SG

‘It should be perfect just with this box and differential gear’

Source: <http://forum.rally-club.bg/viewtopic.php?p=78812> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2)

тази кути-я и захранван-е ще ми ги
 тази kuti-ja i zahranvan-e šte mi gi
 this.F.SG box(F)-SG and power(NT)-SG FUT me.DAT them.ACC

поддържа нали...
 poddărža nali...
 support[3SG] Q

‘It will support this box and power supply, won’t it?’

Source: <https://hardwarebg.com/forum/showthread.php?p=1856237> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

These box and [-animate]

тези кути-я и
tezi kuti-ja i
this.PL box(F)-SG and

No results

This day and night

този ден и нощ
tozi den i nošt
this.M.SG day(M)[SG] and night(F)[SG]

(1)

Спомня-м си този ден и нощ
Spomnja-m si tozi den i nošt
remember-1SG REFL this.M.SG day(M)[SG] and night(F)[SG]

изкара-х дв-е няколко-часов-и смен-и
izkara-x dv-e njakolko-časov-i smen-i
spend.PAST-1SG two-F/NT several-hour-PL shift(F)-PL

‘I remember that day and night I did two shifts, several hours each’

Source: www.helictit.info/?act=articles&id=12505485402054 (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

(2)

Този ден и нощ при мен остан-и
Tozi den i nošt pri men ostan-i
this.M.SG day(M)[SG] and night(F)[SG] with me.ACC stay-IMPERATIVE[2SG]

‘Stay with me today and tonight’

Source: <http://liternet.bg/publish12/wwitman/pesen.htm> (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

(3)

Европейск-а-та комиси-я и експерт-и от проект-а Е.
Evropejsk-a-ta komisi-ja i ekspert-i ot proekt-a E.
EU-F.SG-DEF commission(F)-SG and expert(M)-PL from project(M)[SG]-DEF E.

работ-ят на този ден и нощ, за да...
rabotj-at na tozi den i nošt, za da...
work-3PL on this.M.SG day(M)[SG] and night(F)[SG] so COMP

‘The European Commission and experts from the Europeana Project are working that day and night in order to...’

Source: <http://artknowledgenews.com/bg/Europeana.html> (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

(4)

ТОЗИ	ДЕН	И	НОЩ	СТАВА-ХА	НЕ-ЗАБРАВ-ИМ-И
tozi	den	i	nošt	stava-xa	ne-zabrav-im-i
this.M.SG	day(M)[SG]	&	night(F)[SG]	become-IMPERFECT.3PL	un-forget-able-PL

‘that day and night were becoming unforgettable’

Source: www.albanian.dir.bg/prewod/Islamaj.htm (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

These day and night

ТЕЗИ	ДЕН	И	НОЩ
tezi	den	i	nošt
this.PL	day(M)[SG]	and	night(F)[SG]

(1)

И	ЧОВЕК-ЪТ	ОТ	ТОГАВА,	ДО	ДЕН	ДНЕСЕН
I	čovek-ăt	ot	togava,	do	den	dnešen
and	man(M)[SG]-DEF	from	then	until	day(M)[SG]	today’s[M.SG]

ЖИВЕЕ	СПОРЕД	ТЕЗИ	ДЕН	И	НОЩ!
živee	spored	tezi	den	i	nošt!
live[3SG]	according.to	this.PL	day(M)[SG]	and	night(F)[SG]

‘And since then, man has been living according to this day and night, and so it is today!’

Source: <http://forum.abv.bg/lofiversion/index.php/t67309.html> (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

That day and night

ОНЗИ	ДЕН	И	НОЩ
onzi	den	i	nošt
that.M.SG	day(M)[SG]	and	night(F)[SG]

(1)

...КАКВ-О	ТОЧНО	СМЕ	ТЪРСИ-Л-И	В	ОНЗИ	ДЕН	И
...kakov-o	točno	sme	tărsi-l-i	v	onzi	den	i
what-NT.SG	exactly	AUX.1PL	look.for-PPRT-PL	in	that.M.SG	day(M)[SG]	and

НОЩ
nošt
night(F)[SG]

‘...what exactly we were looking for that day and night’

Source: <http://forum.abv.bg/lofiversion/index.php/t89837.html> (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

Those day and night

онези ден и нощ
onezi den i nošt
that.PL day(M)[SG] and night(F)[SG]

No results

One.SG day and night

един ден и нощ
edin den i nošt
one[M.SG] day(M)[SG] and night(F)[SG]

(1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6) *Six tokens of the following:*

един ден и нощ на Шипка 6
edin den i nošt na Šipka 6
one[M.SG] day(M)[SG] and night(F)[SG] at Šipka 6

‘one day and night at No. 6 Šipka St.’

Source: www.cult.bg/ind_varts_exhib_full.php?id=4444 (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

(7)

през всек-и един ден и нощ на
prez vsek-i edin den i nošt na
during every-M.SG one[M.SG] day(M)[SG] and night(F)[SG] of

живот-а си
život-a si
life(M)[SG]-DEF own

‘every day and night of his life’

Source: <http://bg.articlesnatch.com/topic/Episodes> (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

(8)

Отново един ден и нощ за подготовк-а на
Otnovo edin den i nošt za podgotovk-a na
once.again one[M.SG] day(M)[SG] and night(F)[SG] for preparation(F)-SG of

мастер
master
master(M)[SG]

‘once again, preparing a master in a day and a night’

Source: <http://forum.uvt.bg/viewtopic.php?p=249&sid> (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

(9)

Жен-ен	за	един	ден	и	нощ
Žen-en	za	edin	den	i	nošt
marry-PASS.PPRT[M.SG]	for	one[M.SG]	day(M)[SG]	and	night(F)[SG]

‘married for a night and a day’

Source: www.geyikmerkezi.com/cevir.php?bolum=fikra&id (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

One.PL day and night

едн-и	ден	и	нощ
edn-i	den	i	nošt
one-PL	day(M)[SG]	and	night(F)[SG]

No results

Friday.SG day and night

петъчен/петъчни-ят	ден	и	нощ
petăĉen/petăĉni-jat	den	i	nošt
Friday[M.SG]/-DEF	day(M)[SG]	and	night(F)[SG]

(1)

Петъчни-ят	ден	и	нощ	са	извънредно
Petăĉni-jat	den	i	nošt	sa	izvănredno
Friday[M.SG]-DEF	day(M)[SG]	and	night(F)[SG]	be.PRES.3PL	extremely

ценн-и
cenn-i
precious-PL

‘The day and night of Friday are extremely precious’

Source: <http://islambgr.googlepages.com/мюсюлманскипразници> (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

Friday.PL day and night

петъчн-и/петъчн-и-те	ден	и	нощ
petăĉn-i/petăĉn-i-te	den	i	nošt
Friday-PL/-DEF	day(M)[SG]	and	night(F)[SG]

No results as of 09 Oct 2009

Love and marriage

любов и брак
ljubov i brak
love(F)[SG] and marriage(M)[SG]

(only singular determiners/pre-modifiers appear in the first fifteen pages of Google results)

Single-Conjunct Agreement

(1)

[...] може да доведе до разрух-а на тяхн-а-та
[...] može da dovede do razruх-a na tjaxn-a-ta
might[3SG] COMP lead[3SG] to break.down(F)-SG of their-F.SG-DEF

любов и брак
ljubov i brak
love(F)[SG] and marriage(M)[SG]

‘[...] might cause their love and marriage to break down’

Source: <http://kaballa.wordpress.com/2009/04/30/357/> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(2)

Истори-я за не-сполучи-л-а романтичн-а любов и
Istori-ja za ne-spoluči-l-a romantičn-a ljubov i
story(F)-SG about NEG-succeed-PPRT-F.SG romantic-F.SG love(F)[SG] and

брак между дв-е деца разказва-т германск-и
brak meždu dv-e deca razkazva-t germansk-i
marriage(M)[SG] between two-F/NT child(NT).PL tell-3PL German-PL

полица-и
polica-i
police.officer(M)-PL

‘German police officers tell the story of the failed romantic love and marriage of two children.’

Source: http://svejo.net/home/link_summary (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(3)

талисман-и за [...] щастлив-а любов и брак
talisman-i za [...] štastliv-a ljubov i brak
talisman(M)-PL for happy-F.SG love(F)[SG] and marriage(M)[SG]

‘talismans for happiness in love and marriage’

Source: <http://berkanto.com/popitai/> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(4)

В Русия на тяхн-а-та любов и брак се гледа
V Rusija na tjaxn-a-ta ljubov i brak se gleda
in Russia at their-F.SG-DEF love(F)[SG] and marriage(M)[SG] REFL look[3SG]

благосклонно
blagosklonno
favourably

‘In Russia, people think favourably of their love and marriage’

Source: <http://paper.standartnews.com/bg/article.php?d=2006-08-20> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(5)

клетв-а за вечн-а любов и брак
kletv-a za veĉn-a ljubov i brak
pledge(F)-SG for eternal-F.SG love(F)[SG] and marriage(M)[SG]

‘a pledge of eternal love and marriage’

Source: www.temanews.com/index.php?p=tema&iid=192&aid... (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(6)

талисман-и за [...] щастлив-а любов и брак
talisman-i za [...] štastliv-a ljubov i brak
talisman(M)-PL for happy-F.SG love(F)[SG] and marriage(M)[SG]

‘talismans for happiness in love and marriage’

Source: www.narodnamedicinabg.com/order2.html (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(7) *(It is not certain that the adjective takes scope over the second conjunct)*

малко телефонн-а любов и брак между Емо и Бояна
malko telefonn-a ljubov i brak meždu Emo i Bojana
little phone-F.SG love(F)[SG] and marriage(M)[SG] between Emo and Bojana

‘a little love and marriage for Emo and Bojana over the phone’

Source: <http://kliuki.net/view-article.php?t=14674> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(8)

За обича-щ-и-те творчеств-о-то на К. С. Луис надали е
Za obiĉa-ŝt-i-te tvorĉestv-o-to na K. S. Luis nadali e
for love-ing-PL-DEF work(NT)-SG-DEF of C. S. Lewis hardly be.PRES.3SG

не-известен филм-ът по негов-а-та любов и
ne-izvesten film-ăt po negov-a-ta ljubov i
un-known[M.SG] film(M)[SG]-DEF on his-F.SG-DEF love(F)[SG] and

брак с Джой Дейвидман Грешъм.
brak s Džoj Dejvidman Greŝam.
marriage(M)[SG] with Joy Davidman Gresham

‘Fans of C. S. Lewis’s work surely know about the film based on his love and marriage to Joy Davidman Gresham.’

Source: <http://tvtv.bg/movies/view/id/3364> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(9)

Срещу муск-а-та се получава-т здраве, просперитет,
Sreŝtu musk-a-ta se poluĉava-t zdrave, prosperitet,
for mascot(F)-SG-DEF REFL receive-3PL health(NT)[SG] prosperity(M)[SG]

късмет, щастлив-а любов и брак
kăsmet, ŝtastliv-a ljubov i brak
luck(M)[SG] happy-F.SG love(F)[SG] and marriage(M)[SG]

‘The mascot gives you good health, prosperity, luck and happiness in love and marriage’

Source: www.alpharadio.m-sat.bg/news.php?mn=3&smn=13... (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(10)

Не иска-м и вечн-а любов и брак за утѣха.
Ne iska-m i veĉn-a ljubov i brak za utexa.
NEG want-1SG & eternal-F.SG love(F)[SG] & marriage(M)[SG] for consolation

‘I neither want eternal love and marriage for consolation.’

Source: www.bukvite.bg/best/poem.php?docid=6844 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

Resolved Agreement

No results as of 09 Oct 2009

Sun and moon

(Google search conducted on 09 Oct 2009; first 40 pages of results)

Single-Conjunct Agreement

(1)

а	НЕГОВ-О-ТО	СЛЪНЦ-Е	И	ЛУН-А	СА...
a	negov-o-to	slănc-e	i	lun-a	sa...
and	his-NT.SG-DEF	sun(NT)-SG	and	moon(F)-SG	be.PRES.3PL

‘... and his sun and moon are...’

Source: www.temura.net/твое-то-слънце-в-моя-хорошок (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(2) (The index is probably singular here, as the conjuncts might refer to the same object.)

Това	огледал-о,	В	КО-Е-ТО	СЕ	ВИЖДА
Tova	ogledal-o,	v	ko-e-to	se	vižda
this.NT.SG	mirror(NT)-SG	in	which-NT.SG-RELATIVE	REFL	see[3SG]

Меркурий,	наш-е-то	Слънц-е	И	Лун-а
Merkurij,	naš-e-to	Slănc-e	i	Lun-a
Mercury	our-NT.SG-DEF	Sun(NT)-SG	and	Moon(F)-SG

‘This mirror, in which you can see Mercury, our Sun and Moon...’

Source: www.zidari.org/gradeji_1/ros_7_2006.doc (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(3)

над	нас	СЪС	СВО-Е-ТО	СЛЪНЦ-Е	И	ЛУН-А
nad	nas	săș	svo-e-to	slănc-e	i	lun-a
above	us.ACC	with	own-NT.SG-DEF	sun(NT)-SG	and	moon(M)-SG

‘above us with his sun and moon’

Source: <http://booksbg.netfirms.com/zemja/Antologia.htm> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(4)

Докосва-м	с	трепет	жив-о	слънц-е	и	лун-а
Dokosva-m	s	trepet	živ-o	slănc-e	i	lun-a
touch-1SG	with	excitement(M)[SG]	alive-NT.SG	sun(NT)-SG	and	moon(F)-SG

‘I am excited to touch a living sun and moon’

Source: www.bgvipart.com/poezia%20-%20vasil_georgiev.html (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(5)

Мъничк-о слънц-е и лун-а обикаля-т около тях
Măničk-o slănc-e i lun-a obikalja-t okolo tjax
tiny-NT.SG sun(NT)-SG and moon(F)-SG go.round-3PL around them.ACC

‘A tiny sun and moon go around them’

Source: www.chitanka.info/lib/text/1804 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(6)

над нас със сво-е-то слънц-е и лун-а
nad nas sās svo-e-to slănc-e i lun-a
above us.ACC with own-NT.SG-DEF sun(NT)-SG and moon(M)-SG

‘above us with his sun and moon’

Source: <http://booksbg.netfirms.com/web-books/100pesni2008.htm> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

Resolved Agreement

(1) (*The controllers might be personified*)

когато прогресивн-и-те Слънц-е и Лун-а склучи-ха
kogato progresivn-i-te Slănc-e i Lun-a sključi-xa
when progressive-PL-DEF Sun(NT)-SG and Moon(F)-SG conclude.PAST-3PL

тези аспект-и.
tezi aspekt-i.
this.PL aspect(M)-PL

‘... when the progressive Sun and Moon concluded those aspects.’

Source: <http://clubastrology.net/forum/viewtopic.php?f=1&t=6090> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(2)

има известн-о сходств-о между тво-е-то
ima izvestn-o sxodstv-o meždu tvo-e-to
exist[3SG] certain-NT.SG similarity(NT)-SG between your.SG-NT.SG-DEF

Слънц-е и негов-и-те Слънц-е и Лун-а
Slănc-e i negov-i-te Slănc-e i Lun-a
Sun(NT)-SG and his-PL-DEF Sun(NT)-SG and Moon(F)-SG

‘there is a certain similarity between your Sun and his Sun and Moon’

Source: www.astro5.net/forum/viewtopic.php?t=965&sid (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(3)

В кой [...] знак са разполож-ен-и ваш-и-те
V ko-j [...] znak sa razpolož-en-i vaš-i-te
in which-M.SG sign(M)[SG] AUX.3PL situate-PASS.PPRT-PL your.PL-PL-DEF

Слънц-е и Лун-а?
Slănc-e i Lun-a?
Sun(NT)-SG and Moon(F)-SG

‘Which sign are your Sun and Moon situated in?’

Source: www.beinsadouno.com/board/index.php?showtopic (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(4)

Зем-я-та се появи заедно със
Zem-ja-ta se pojavi zaedno sās
Earth(F)-SG-DEF REFL appear.PAST[3SG] together with

сил-и-те на настоящ-и-те Слънц-е и Лун-а.
sil-i-te na nastojašt-i-te Slănc-e i Lun-a.
power(F)-PL-DEF of present-PL-DEF Sun(NT)-SG and Moon(F)-SG

‘The Earth appeared together with the powers of the present Sun and Moon.’

Source: www.aobg.org/lecture.php?ln=1&id=117 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(5)

Тези символ-и-митологем-и са: дв-е-те Дърв-ета
Tezi simvol-i-mitologem-i sa: dv-e-te Dărv-eta
this.PL symbol(M)-PL-mytholog.(F)-PL be.PRES.3PL two-F/NT-DEF tree(NT)-PL

и свърза-н-и-те с тях Слънц-е и Лун-а
i svărza-n-i-te s tjax Slănc-e i Lun-a
and connect-PASS.PPRT-PL-DEF with them.ACC Sun(NT)-SG and Moon(F)-SG

‘Those symbols and mythologems are: the two Trees and the Sun and Moon connected with them’

Source: www.zemlemoria.org/aqualonia_files/.../mit_simvoli.htm (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(6)

Същ-и-те слънц-е и лун-а са в герб-ове-те на...
Săšt-i-te slănc-e i lun-a sa v gerb-ove-te na
same-PL-DEF sun(NT)-SG and moon(F)-SG be.PRES.3PL in crest(M)-PL-DEF of

‘The same sun and moon figure in the coats of arms of...’

Source: www.forum.bg-nacionalisti.org/index.php?topic=5407.0 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(7)

Бутон-ът	с	жълти-я	компас
Buton-ăt	s	žălti-ja	kompas
button(M)[SG]-DEF	with	yellow[M.SG]-DEF	compass(M)[SG]

ви	връща	в	основн-о-то	меню,	а	този
vi	vrăřta	v	osnovn-o-to	menju,	a	tozi
you.PL.ACC	take.back[3SG]	in	main-NT.SG-DEF	menu(NT)[SG]	and	this.M.SG

с	изобраз-ен-и	слънц-е	и	лун-а	затваря
s	izobraz-en-i	slănc-e	i	lun-a	zatvarja
with	paint-PASS.PPRT-PL	sun(NT)-SG	and	moon(F)-SG	close[3SG]

инвентар-а.

inventar-a.

inventory(M)[SG]-DEF

‘The button with the yellow compass takes you back to the main menu, whereas the one with a sun and moon painted on it closes the inventory.’

Source: <http://adventurersbg.info/walkthroughs/view.php?id=158> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(8)

Призова-н-и-те	Слънц-е	и	Лун-а	в	едн-а	отделн-а
Prizova-n-i-te	Slănc-e	i	Lun-a	v	edn-a	otdeln-a
summon-PASS.PPRT-PL-DEF	Sun(NT)-SG	&	Moon(F)-SG	in	one-F.SG	separ.-F.SG

фигур-а	добре	представя-т	хармони-я-та	на	Меркурий.
figur-a	dobre	predstavja-t	harmon-i-ja-ta	na	Merkurij.
figure(F)-SG	well	represent-3PL	harmony(F)-SG-DEF	of	Mercury

‘In a separate figure, the summoned Sun and Moon represent Mercury’s harmony very well.’

Source: <http://witchcraft.hit.bg/heksag.htm> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(9)

Оранжев-и крил-е, небе – не-достиж-им-и Слънц-е и
Oranžev-i kril-e, nebe – ne-dostiž-im-i Slānc-e i
orange-PL wing(NT)-PL sky(NT)[SG] NEG-reach-able-PL Sun(NT)-SG and

Лун-а!!!

Lun-a!!!

Moon(F)-SG

‘Orange wings, a sky – a Sun and Moon which are out of reach!!!’

Source: <http://palisandar.blog.bg/tq-i-toi/2009/09/26/pyteka.404801> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

Strong.SG wind and [heavy] rain

силен дъжд и вятър
silen dāžd i vjatār
strong[M.SG] rain(M)[SG] and wind(M)[SG]

11,200 Google results on 09 Oct 2009

Strong.PL wind and [heavy] rain

силн-и дъжд и вятър
siln-i dāžd i vjatār
strong-PL rain(M)[SG] and wind(M)[SG]

No Google results as of 09 Oct 2009

Wind and rain

(Google search conducted on 09 Oct 2009; only the first fifteen pages of results have been examined)

Single-Conjunct Agreement

(1)

Силен дъжд и вятър съпътства-ха
Silen dāžd i vjatār sǎpātstva-ха
strong[M.SG] rain(M)[SG] and wind(M)[SG] accompany-IMPERFECT.3PL

двуразов-и-те тренировк-и на родни-я шампион Левски
dvurazov-i-te trenirovk-i na rodni-ja šampion Levski
twice-PL-DEF training(F)-PL of native[M.SG]-DEF champion(M)[SG] Levski

‘The two daily training sessions of Bulgarian champion Levski were accompanied by strong wind and heavy rain’

Source: www.sport1.bg/sport1/node/42891 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(2)

мембран-а [...]	поддържа	тял-о-то	продължително	сух-о
membran-a [...]	poddărža	tjal-o-to	prodālžitelno	sux-o
membrane(F)-SG	keep[3SG]	body(NT)-SG-DEF	for.a.long.time	dry-NT.SG

дори	и	при	не-прекъсва-щ	дъжд	и	вятър
dori	i	pri	ne-prekāsva-št	dāžd	i	vjatār
even	and	at	NEG-stop(p)-ing[M.SG]	rain(M)[SG]	and	wind(M)[SG]

‘a membrane [...] keeps the body dry for a long time, even when there is persistent wind and rain’

Source: www.hunterbg.com/page.php?g_id=89 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(3)

А	ако	есенни-ят	дъжд	и	вятър
A	ako	esenni-jat	dāžd	i	vjatār
and	if	autumnal[M.SG]-DEF	rain(M)[SG]	and	wind(M)[SG]

те	хван-ат	не-подготв-ен	и	без	чадър
te	xvan-at	ne-podgotv-en	i	bez	čadār
you.SG.ACC	catch-3PL	NEG-prepare-PASS.PPRT[M.SG]	&	without	umbrella

‘And if the autumn wind and rain catch you unprepared and without an umbrella’

Source: www.kazanlak-bg.info/index.php?option=com...id (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(4)

Спасител-и	от	Разград	са	отстрани-л-и
Spasitel-i	ot	Razgrad	sa	otstrani-l-i
rescuer(M)-PL	from	Razgrad	AUX.3PL	remove-PPRT-PL

падна-л-и	от	силни-я	дъжд	и	вятър	дърв-ета
padna-l-i	ot	silni-ja	dāžd	i	vjatār	dārv-eta
fall-PPRT-PL	from	strong[M.SG]-DEF	rain(M)[SG]	and	wind(M)[SG]	tree(NT)-PL

‘Rescuers from the town of Razgrad have removed trees that have fallen as a result of the strong wind and heavy rain’

Source: www.cp.mes.bg/arhiv/bulletin.2009-06-03.6389462509/ (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(5)

Устойчив	на	силен	дъжд	и	вятър
Ustojčiv	na	silen	dāžd	i	vjatār
resistant[M.SG]	to	strong[M.SG]	rain(M)[SG]	and	wind(M)[SG]

‘resistant to strong wind and heavy rain’

Source: www.ilina.bg/index.php?l=22 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(6) (*same as (2)*)

мембран-а [...]	поддържа	тял-о-то	продължително	сух-о
membran-a [...]	poddrža	tjal-o-to	prodължитelno	sux-o
membrane(F)-SG	keep[3SG]	body(NT)-SG-DEF	for.a.long.time	dry-NT.SG

дори и при	не-прекъсва-щ	дъжд	и	вятър
dori i pri	ne-prekăsva-št	dăžd	i	vjatăr
even and at	NEG-stop(p)-ing[M.SG]	rain(M)[SG]	and	wind(M)[SG]

‘a membrane [...] keeps the body dry for a long time, even when there is persistent wind and rain’

Source: <http://planini.hit.bg/saveti/goretex.html> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(7)

В Перник от	силни-я	дъжд	и	вятър
V Pernik ot	silni-ja	dăžd	i	vjatăr
in Pernik from	strong[M.SG]-DEF	rain(M)[SG]	and	wind(M)[SG]

са	падна-л-и	дв-е	голем-и	дърв-ета
sa	padna-l-i	dv-e	golem-i	dărv-eta
AUX.3PL	fall-PPRT-PL	two-F/NT	large-PL	tree(NT)-PL

‘Two large trees have fallen in the town of Pernik as a result of the strong wind and heavy rain’

Source: http://analysis.actualno.com/news_107695.html (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(8)

слънчев-о-то	време	отстъпи	на	силен
slănčev-o-to	vreme	otstăpi	na	silen
sunny-NT.SG-DEF	weather(NT)[SG]	give.way.PAST[3SG]	to	strong[M.SG]

дъжд	и	вятър
dăžd	i	vjatăr
rain(M)[SG]	and	wind(M)[SG]

‘the sunny weather gave way to strong wind and heavy rain’

Source: www.panda.org/bg/get_involvedd/climate/climate_tour/ (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(9)

силен	дъжд	и	вятър
silen	dăžd	i	vjatăr
strong[M.SG]	rain(M)[SG]	and	wind(M)[SG]

‘strong wind and heavy rain’

Source: www.agencyscience.com/bg/subtopic.php?q=7 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(10)

Идва-ме си към София и страшен дъжд и вятър...
Idva-me si kăm Sofija i strašen dăžd i vjatăr...
come-1PL REFL towards Sofia and terrible[M.SG] rain(M)[SG] and wind(M)[SG]

‘We were coming back to Sofia and there was terrible wind and rain’

Source: <http://forum.vidin.info/viewtopic.php?f=7&t=252> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(11)

А ако есенни-ят дъжд и вятър
A ako esenni-jat dăžd i vjatăr
and if autumnal[M.SG]-DEF rain(M)[SG] and wind(M)[SG]

те хван-ат не-подготв-ен и без чадър
te xvan-at ne-podgotv-en i bez čadăr
you.SG.ACC catch-3PL NEG-prepare-PASS.PPRT[M.SG] and without umbrella

‘And if the autumn wind and rain catch you unprepared and without an umbrella’

Source: <http://kazanlakinfo.com/> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(12)

мембран-а [...] поддържа тял-о-то продължително сух-о
membran-a [...] poddărža tjal-o-to prodălžitelno sux-o
membrane(F)-SG keep[3SG] body(NT)-SG-DEF for.a.long.time dry-NT.SG

дори и при не-прекъсва-щ дъжд и вятър
dori i pri ne-prekăsva-št dăžd i vjatăr
even and at NEG-stop(p)-ing[M.SG] rain(M)[SG] and wind(M)[SG]

‘a membrane [...] keeps the body dry for a long time, even when there is persistent wind and rain’

Source: <http://duvi.airsoftbulgaria.com/?p=330> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(13)

преди при силен дъжд и вятър
predi pri silen dăžd i vjatăr
before at strong[M.SG] rain(M)[SG] and wind(M)[SG]

често ми спира-ше нет-а (sic)
često mi spira-še net-a
often me.DAT/GEN stop-IMPERFECT.3SG Internet(M)[SG]-DEF

‘Before, my Internet was often down when there was strong wind and heavy rain’

Source: <http://forum.uni-sofia.bg/forum/viewtopic.php?f=15&t...15> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(14)

като	ги	защитава-т	при	ниск-и	температур-и,
kato	gi	zaštitava-t	pri	nisk-i	temperatur-i,
as	them.ACC	protect-3PL	at	low-PL	temperature(F)-PL

силен	дъжд	и	вятър
silen	dăžd	i	vjatăr
strong[M.SG]	rain(M)[SG]	and	wind(M)[SG]

‘by protecting them in cold weather, strong wind and heavy rain’

Source: www.dogramata.info/.../dizain-i-profil-na-prozorcite-na-mikra-mk.html (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(15)

но силни-ят	дъжд	и	вятър	промения-ха
no silni-jat	dăžd	i	vjatăr	promeni-ha
but strong[M.SG]-DEF	rain(M)[SG]	and	wind(M)[SG]	change.PAST-3PL

план-ове-те
plan-ove-te
plan(M)-PL-DEF

‘But the strong wind and heavy rain changed the plans’

Source: <http://mariacappone.eu/index.php/new/view/1054/> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(16)

Въпреки есенни-я	дъжд	и	вятър,	много	публик-а
Văpreki esenni-ja	dăžd	i	vjatăr,	mного	publik-a
despite autumnal[M.SG]-DEF	rain(M)[SG]	&	wind(M)[SG]	much	audience(F)-SG

се	изсипа
se	izsipa
REFL	gather.PAST[3SG]

‘A large crowd gathered despite the autumn wind and rain’

Source: www.alphagallery.org/ (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(17)

излязо-ха гол-и до кръст-а (на оня дъжд и
izljazo-ха gol-i do krăst-a (na onja dăžd i
come.out.PAST-3PL naked-PL to waist(M)[SG]-DEF at that.M.SG rain(M)[SG] &

вятър)
vjatăr)
wind(M)[SG]

‘they came on stage bare-chested (in that wind and rain)’

Source: www.shadowdance.info/800Broeve/Br56/music/metal.html (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(18)

Продължителен дъжд и вятър благоприятства-т
Prodălžitelen dăžd i vjatăr blagoprijatstva-t
persistent[M.SG] rain(M)[SG] and wind(M)[SG] favour-3PL

развити-е-то на болест-та
razviti-e-to na bolest-ta
development(NT)-SG-DEF of disease(F)[SG]-DEF

‘Persistent windy and rainy conditions favour the development of the disease’

Source: www.agrobiostim.com/bulgaria/.../illness_griboc4_bg.htm (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(19)

не се препоръчва поради силни-я дъжд и
ne se preporăčva poradi silni-ja dăžd i
NEG REFL recommend[3SG] because.of strong[M.SG]-DEF rain(M)[SG] and

вятър
vjatăr
wind(M)[SG]

‘it is not recommended because of the strong wind and heavy rain’

Source: <http://bg.tixik.com/sri-pada-2359725.htm> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

Resolved Agreement

(1)

Така	зрител-и-те	ще	са	предпаз-ен-и
Taka	zritel-i-te	šte	sa	predpaz-en-i
thus	spectator(M)-PL-DEF	FUT	AUX.3PL	protect-PASS.PPRT-PL

от	евентуалн-и-те	дъжд	и	вятър.
ot	eventualn-i-te	dăžd	i	vjatăr.
from	potential-PL-DEF	rain(M)[SG]	and	wind(M)[SG]

‘In this way, the audience will be sheltered from possible wind and rain.’

Source: www.capital.bg/show.php?storyid=398007 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

Appearance and condition

(Only the first five pages of results have been examined)

Single-Conjunct Agreement

(1)

Продава-м	GSM	Nokia 6600	в	перфектен	външен ¹
Prodava-m	GSM	Nokia 6600	v	perfekten	vănšen
sell-1SG	GSM	Nokia 6600	in	perfect[M.SG]	outward[M.SG]

вид		и	състояни-е!!!
vid		i	săstojani-e!!!
appearance(M)[SG]		and	condition(NT)-SG

‘GSM Nokia 6600 for sale in mint condition!!!’

Source: www.obiavi.info/obiava/255099.php (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(2)

Продава-м	GSM	Panasonic VS3	в	перфектен	външен
Prodava-m	GSM	Panasonic VS3	v	perfekten	vănšen
sell-1SG	GSM	Panasonic VS3	in	perfect[M.SG]	outward[M.SG]

вид		и	състояни-е!!!
vid		i	săstojani-e!!!
appearance(M)[SG]		and	condition(NT)-SG

‘GSM Panasonic VS3 for sale in mint condition!!!’

Source: www.all-gsm.bg/ads/view/68 (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

¹Here and elsewhere, the adjective ‘outward’ only goes with ‘appearance’.

(3)

Общи-я (sic) техническ-и вид и състояни-е
Obšti-ja tehničesk-i vid i sǎstojani-e
general[M.SG]-DEF technical-M.SG appearance(M)[SG] and condition(NT)-SG

са лош-и
sa loš-i
be.PRES.3PL bad-PL

‘The general technical appearance and condition are bad’

Source: www.adv.minfin.bg/sales.php?id=00000011018&type (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(4)

за поддържан-е-то на по-младежки-я и свеж
za poddǎrŕzan-e-to na po-mladeŕki-ja i sveŕŕ
for maintaining(NT)-SG-DEF of more-youthful[M.SG]-DEF and fresh[M.SG]

вид и състояни-е на кож-а-та се изисква...
vid i sǎstojani-e na koŕŕ-a-ta se iziskva...
appearance(M)[SG] and condition(NT)-SG of skin(F)-SG-DEF REFL require[3SG]

‘in order to keep your skin more youthful and fresh in appearance and condition, it is necessary...’

Source: www.puls.bg/health/beauty/news_2747.html (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(5) (*same as (3)*)

Общи-я (sic) техническ-и вид и състояни-е
Obšti-ja tehničesk-i vid i sǎstojani-e
general[M.SG]-DEF technical-M.SG appearance(M)[SG] and condition(NT)-SG

са лош-и
sa loš-i
be.PRES.3PL bad-PL

‘The general technical appearance and condition are bad’

Source: www.adv.minfin.bg/sales.php?id=00000011664 (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(6)

предвид перфектни-я му вид и състояни-е
predvid perfektni-ja mu vid i sǎstojani-e
considering perfect[M.SG]-DEF its appearance(M)[SG] and condition(NT)-SG

‘considering its immaculate condition and outward appearance’

Source: <http://ggbit.info/forum/index.php?showtopic=43323> (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(7)

ваши-ят	силует	намира	отново	сво-[й]-ят (sic)
vaši-jat	siluet	namira	otново	svo-[j]-jat
your.PL[M.SG]-DEF	silhouette(M)[SG]	find[3SG]	again	own-[M.SG]-DEF

гладък	и	красив	вид	и	състояни-е
gladък	i	krasiv	vid	i	sъstojani-e
smooth[M.SG]	and	beautiful[M.SG]	appearance(M)[SG]	and	condition(NT)-SG

‘your silhouette once again finds its smooth and beautiful looks and state’

Source: http://spiritspastudio.com/products.php?cat_id=6 (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(8) (*same as (1)*)

Продава-м	GSM	Nokia 6600	в	перфектен	външен
Prodava-m	GSM	Nokia 6600	v	perfekten	vъnшен
sell-1SG	GSM	Nokia 6600	in	perfect[M.SG]	outward[M.SG]

вид	и	състояни-е!
vid	i	sъstojani-e!
appearance(M)[SG]	and	condition(NT)-SG

‘GSM Nokia 6600 for sale in mint condition!’

Source: http://buloffers.com/index.php?option=com_mtree&task...link (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(9) (*same as (1) and (8)*)

Продава-м	GSM	Nokia 6600	в	перфектен	външен
Prodava-m	GSM	Nokia 6600	v	perfekten	vъnшен
sell-1SG	GSM	Nokia 6600	in	perfect[M.SG]	outward[M.SG]

вид	и	състояни-е!
vid	i	sъstojani-e!
appearance(M)[SG]	and	condition(NT)-SG

‘GSM Nokia 6600 for sale in mint condition!’

Source: <http://obqvi.pleven-i.com/index.php?home=list&cat=006> (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(10)

Книг-а-та	е	в	идеален	вид	и
Knig-a-ta	e	v	idealen	vid	i
book(F)-SG-DEF	be.PRES.3SG	in	ideal[M.SG]	appearance(M)[SG]	and

състояни-е
sъstojani-e
condition(NT)-SG

‘The book looks great and is in ideal condition’

Source: http://bgbook.dir.bg/antbook_old.php?ID=2472 (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(11)

при предаван-е-то на палет-и-те в не-наруш-ен
pri predavan-e-to na palet-i-te v ne-naruš-en
at handover(NT)-SG-DEF of pallet(F)-PL-DEF in un-harm-PASS.PPRT[M.SG]

вид и състояни-е
vid i sãstojani-e
appearance(M)[SG] and condition(NT)-SG

‘upon handing over the pallets in an unharmed condition’

Source: www.wienerberger.bg/servlet/Satellite?pagename...sl (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(12)

но само в актуални-я му вид и състояни-е
no samo v aktualni-ja mu vid i sãstojani-e
but only in up.to.date[M.SG]-DEF its appearance(M)[SG] and condition(NT)-SG

‘but only in its up-to-date appearance and condition’

Source: www.mediatimesreview.com/july05/ForbiddenQuestions.php (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(13)

определян-е на декоративни-я вид и
opredeljan-e na dekorativni-ja vid i
determining(NT)-SG of decorative[M.SG]-DEF appearance(M)[SG] and

състояни-е
sãstojani-e
condition(NT)-SG

‘determining the decorative appearance and condition’

Source: www.namrb.org/?act=cms&id=271 (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(14)

Данни за декоративни-я вид и състояни-е
Danni za dekorativni-ja vid i sãstojani-e
data about decorative[M.SG]-DEF appearance(M)[SG] and condition(NT)-SG

‘Data on the decorative appearance and condition’

Source: <http://beloslav.org/files/naredbi/Naredba-15.pdf> (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(15)

така че повърхност-и-те да запаз-ят
taka če povърxnost-i-te da zapazj-at
so that surface(F)-PL-DEF COMP preserve-3PL

естествени-я си добър вид и състояни-е
estestveni-ja si dobър vid i sъstojani-e
natural[M.SG]-DEF own good[M.SG] appearance(M)[SG] and condition(NT)-SG

‘so that the surfaces can preserve their natural good looks and condition’

Source: www.forest2000.com/bg/thermo_iframe.htm (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(16)

Ако вече разполага-те с интернет сайт, чи-й-то²
Ako veče razpolaga-te s internet sajt, či-j-to
if already have.available-2PL with Internet site(M)[SG] whose-M.SG-RELATIVE

вид и състояни-е не Ви харесва-т...
vid i sъstojani-e ne Vi xaresva-t...
appearance(M)[SG] and condition(NT)-SG NEG you.PL.DAT be.pleasing-3PL

‘If you already have a website whose appearance and condition you don’t like...’

Source: www.onlinecategory.com/Уеб-дизайн-3d-и-графичен-дизайн/ (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

Resolved Agreement

(1)

перфектн-и вид и състояни-е
perfektn-i vid i sъstojani-e
perfect-PL appearance(M)[SG] and condition(NT)-SG

‘perfect condition and appearance’

Source: <http://sliven.dalavera.net/cat/view/catid/4067/page/1/search/> (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

(2) (*same as (1)*)

Source: <http://velingrad.dalavera.net/cat/view/catid/4067/page/8/search/> (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

²The possessive relative pronoun agrees with the head of the NP within the relative clause to which it is a determiner, not with its antecedent from the matrix clause. Cf:

(i) сайт, чи-й-то вид и чи-я-то поддръжк-а
sajt, či-j-to vid i či-ja-to poddržk-a
site(M)[SG] whose-M.SG-RELATIVE appearance(M)[SG] & whose-F.SG-RELATIVE support(F)-SG
‘a website whose appearance and whose support...’

(3)
 за да може да се запаз-ят характерн-и-те им
 za da može da se zapazj-at charaktern-i-te im
 for COMP can COMP REFL maintain-3PL characteristic-PL-DEF their

външен вид и състояни-е
 vānšen vid i sǎstojani-e
 outward[M.SG] appearance(M)[SG] and condition(NT)-SG

‘so that their characteristic outward appearance and condition can be maintained’

Source: www.bonapeti.tv/forum/viewtopic.php?f=18&t=1414 (accessed on 15 Nov 2009)

Body and soul

(Google search conducted on 09 Oct 2009; only the first 25 pages of results have been examined)

Single-Conjunct Agreement

(1)
 познани-е на всек-и човек за собствен-а-та си
 roznani-e na vsek-i čovek za sobstven-a-ta si
 knowledge(NT)-SG of every-M.SG psn(M)[SG] of own-F.SG-DEF own

душ-а и тял-о
 duš-a i tjal-o
 soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘every person’s knowledge of their own body and soul’

Source: www.koronal.com/library.php?cat_id=15&download_id=569 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(2)
 върху наш-а-та душ-а и тял-о, ко-е-то
 vārхu naš-a-ta duš-a i tjal-o, ko-e-to
 on our-F.SG-DEF soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG which-NT.SG-RELATIVE

‘...on our body and soul which...’

Source: www.bnt.bg/bg/productions/about/44/vjara_i_obshtestvo (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(3)

макар да има-л-и жив-а душ-а и тял-о, те
makar da ima-l-i živ-a duš-a i tjal-o, te
though COMP have-PPRT-PL alive-F.SG soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG they.NOM

започна-л-и...
zaročna-l-i...
start-PPRT-PL

‘Although they had a living body and soul, they started...’

Source: <http://litenet.bg/publish4/niakov/voin/zhivota.htm> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(4)

Чрез грех-а смърт-та влива отров-а
Črez grex-a smärt-ta vлива otrov-a
through sin(M)[SG]-DEF death(F)[SG]-DEF pour[3SG] poison(F)-SG

в човешк-а-та душ-а и тял-о
v čovešk-a-ta duš-a i tjal-o
in human-F.SG-DEF soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘Through sin, death pours poison into the human body and soul’

Source: www.pravoslavie.domainbg.com/06/.../osud_bezsmertie.html (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(5)

човек [...] се превръща в само-лечител
čovek [...] se prevrāšta v samo-lečitel
man(M)[SG] REFL become[3SG] in self-healer(M)[SG]

на собствен-а-та си душ-а и тял-о
na sobstven-a-ta si duš-a i tjal-o
of own-F.SG-DEF own soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘one becomes a healer of one’s own body and soul’

Source: www.narodnodelo.bg/news.php?news=10258 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(6)

мък-а на Негов-а-та душ-а и тял-о
māk-a na Negov-a-ta duš-a i tjal-o
anguish(F)-SG of His-F.SG-DEF soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘anguish of His body and soul’

Source: www.omophor.com/omophor/files/pokrov/.../index.htm (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(7)

за всек-и, ко-й-то поиска да излекува сам
za vsek-i, ko-j-to poiska da izlekuva sam
for every-M.SG who-M.SG-RELATIVE want[3SG] COMP heal[3SG] alone[M.SG]

сво-я-та душ-а и тял-о
svo-ja-ta duš-a i tjal-o
own-F.SG-DEF soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘for everyone who would like to heal their body and soul on their own’

Source: http://knigibg.com/book_inside.php?book_id=2519 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(8)

мък-а на Негов-а-та душ-а и тял-о
māk-a na Negov-a-ta duš-a i tjal-o
anguish(F)-SG of His-F.SG-DEF soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘anguish of His body and soul’

Source: www.svnikolay.diocese-ruse.org/evharistiq.htm (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(9)

Като прие човешк-а душ-а и тял-о, чрез
Kato prie čovešk-a duš-a i tjal-o, črez
as take.on.PAST[3SG] human-F.SG soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG through

Св. Дева, Син-ът Божи-й продължи...
Sv. Deva, Sin-ăt Boži-j prodālži...
Holy Virgin Son(M)[SG]-DEF God's-M.SG continue.PAST[3SG]

‘By taking on a human body and soul through the Holy Virgin, the Son of God continued...’

Source: <http://hram-selotrud.org/home/index.php?option=com> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(10)

Тонизира-й-те сво-я-та душ-а и тял-о!
Tonizira-j-te svo-ja-ta duš-a i tjal-o!
refresh-IMPERATIVE-2PL own-F.SG-DEF soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘Refresh your body and soul!’

Source: www.elinor-bansko.com/facilities.htm (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(11)

Аз начертава-м този кръг, за да посвет-я
Az načertava-m tozi krąg, za da posvetj-a
I.NOM draw-1SG this.M.SG circle(M)[SG] for COMP dedicate-1SG

сво-я-та душ-а и тял-о на...
svo-ja-ta duš-a i tjal-o na...
own-F.SG-DEF soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG to

‘I hereby draw this circle in order to dedicate my body and soul to...’

Source: <http://magic-bg.com/?cat=16> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(12)

вие сте съгреши-л (sic) против сво-я-та душ-а и
vie ste sǎgreši-l protiv svo-ja-ta duš-a i
you.PL.NOM AUX.2PL sin-PPRT[M.SG] against own-F.SG-DEF soul(F)-SG and

тял-о
tjal-o
body(NT)-SG

‘you have sinned against your body and soul’

Source: www.lozata.info/svideteli.php?action=2 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(13)

Всеки-и човек е творческ-и дух,
Vsek-i čovek e tvorčesk-i duх,
every-M.SG human(M)[SG] be.PRES.3SG creative-M.SG spirit(M)[SG]

живо-творя-щ-а душ-а и тял-о
živo-tvorja-št-a duš-a i tjal-o
life-creat(e)-ing-F.SG soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘Everyone is a creative spirit, a life-giving body and soul’

Source: <http://spiral.ludost.net/blog/index.php?m=200403> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

Resolved Agreement

(1)

възстанови-те целостност-та на сво-и-те душ-а и тял-о
vǎzstanovi-te celostnost-ta na svo-i-te duš-a i tjal-o
recover-2PL integrity(F)[SG]-DEF of own-PL-DEF soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘[to] recover the integrity of your body and soul’

Source: www.albigoya.org/tm/txt_bg/2007.01.06.txt (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(2)

биде-йки по този начин метафор-а на човешк-и-те
bide-jki po tozi način metafor-a na čovešk-i-te
be-ing in this.M.SG way(M)[SG] metaphor(F)-SG of human-PL-DEF

душ-а и тял-о
duš-a i tjal-o
soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘in this way being a metaphor for the human body and soul’

Source: <http://dnesplus.bg/Curious.aspx?f=108&d=297878> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(3)

той става роб на управлява-щ-и-те до момент-а
toj stava rob na upravljava-št-i-te do moment-a
he.NOM become[3SG] slave(M)[SG] of rul(e)-ing-PL-DEF to moment(M)[SG]-DEF

душ-а и тял-о
duš-a i tjal-o
soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘he is enslaved by the body and soul that have been ruling until that moment’

Source: www.lifeinglory.org/bpd/bpd_iy.html (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(4)

как те се вплита-т в мо-и-те душ-а и тял-о
kak te se vplita-t v mo-i-te duš-a i tjal-o
how they.NOM REFL intertwine-3PL in my-PL-DEF soul(F)-SG and body(NT)-SG

‘how they get intertwined in my body and soul’

Source: <http://grosni-pelikani.cult.bg/zmihailova/seferis/sherard.htm> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

[...], body and soul

(only the first 25 pages of Google results have been examined)

Single-Conjunct Agreement

(1)

възстановяван-е-то на човешки-я дух, душ-а и
vāzstanovjavan-e-to na čoveški-ja dux, duš-a i
recovery(NT)-SG-DEF of human[M.SG]-DEF spirit(M)[SG] soul(F)-SG and

тял-о
tjal-o
body(NT)-SG

‘the recovery of the human spirit, body and soul’

Source: www.messiah-church.com/main.php?ln=bg&m=creed (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(2)

наши-я (sic)	дух,	душ-а	и	тял-о	ще	бъд-ат
naši-ja	dux,	duš-a	i	tjal-o	šte	băd-at
our[M.SG]-DEF	spirit(M)[SG]	soul(F)-SG	&	body(NT)-SG	FUT	AUX-3PL

направ-ен-и...

naprav-en-i...

make-PASS.PPRT-PL

‘Our spirit, body and soul will be made...’

Source: <http://osveten.com/index.php/archives/65> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(3)

Би-х	каза-л-а,	че	е	нещо	като
Bi-x	kaza-l-a,	če	e	nešto	kato
AUX-1SG	say-PPRT-F.SG	that	be.PRES.3SG	something	like

наши-я	дух,	душ-а	и	тял-о.
naši-ja	dux,	duš-a	i	tjal-o.
our[M.SG]-DEF	spirit(M)[SG]	soul(F)-SG	and	body(NT)-SG

‘I’d say that it’s in a way similar to our spirit, body and soul.’

Source: <http://biblefriends.net/viewtopic.php?f=5&t=1504> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(4)

как	да	живее-ш	правилно,	за	да	бъде-ш
ka-k	da	živee-š	pravilno,	za	da	băde-š
how	COMP	live-2SG	right	for	COMP	be-2SG

благослов-ен	дух,	душ-а	и	тял-о
blagoslov-en	dux,	duš-a	i	tjal-o
bless-PASS.PPRT[M.SG]	spirit(M)[SG]	soul(F)-SG	and	body(NT)-SG

‘how to live right in order to be a blessed spirit, body and soul’

Source: www.epc-burgas.org/bg/message12.html (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

Resolved Agreement

(1)

Вие	ще	изпита-те	позитивни-я	ефект
Vie	šte	izpita-te	pozitivni-ja	efekt
You.PL.NOM	FUT	feel-2PL	positive[M.SG]-DEF	effect(M)[SG]

от	обединени-е-то	на	Ваш-и-те	ум,	душ-а
ot	obedineni-e-to	na	Vaš-i-te	um,	duš-a
from	uniting(NT)-SG-DEF	of	Your.PL-PL-DEF	mind(M)[SG]	soul(F)-SG

и	тял-о	в	едн-о	неразривн-о	цяло
i	tjal-o	v	edn-o	nerazrivn-o	cjalo
and	body(NT)-SG	in	one-NT.SG	integral-NT.SG	whole(NT).SG

‘You will feel the positive effect of uniting your mind, body and soul into an integral whole’

Source: <http://rosivasport.com/tae-bo.html> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

Heart and soul

(Google search conducted on 09 October 2009; only the first ten pages of results have been examined)

Single-Conjunct Agreement

(1)

Забрав-ен-и	Притч-и	за	Тво-е-то	Сърц-е
Zabrav-en-i	Pritč-i	za	Tvo-e-to	Sărc-e
forget-PASS.PPRT-PL	parable(F)-PL	for	your.SG-NT.SG-DEF	heart(NT)-SG

и	Душ-а.
i	Duš-a.
and	soul(F)-SG

‘Forgotten Parables for Your Heart and Soul.’

Source: <http://bobabab.blogspot.com> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(2)

Благодар-я	от	цял-о-то	си	сърц-е	и	душ-а	на...
Blagodarj-a	ot	cjal-o-to	si	sărc-e	i	duš-a	na...
thank-1SG	from	whole-NT.SG-DEF	own	heart(NT)-SG	and	soul(F)-SG	to

‘I’d like to thank ... from the bottom of my heart’

Source: <http://d.host.bg/phpBB3/viewtopic.php?f=3&t=2462> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(3)

музик-а за тво-е-то сърц-е и душ-а
muzik-a za tvo-e-to sǎrc-e i duš-a
music(F)-SG for your.SG-NT.SG-DEF heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘music for your heart and soul’

Source: www.bgvip.tv/play.php?vid=393176 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(4)

музик-а за тво-е-то сърц-е и душ-а
muzik-a za tvo-e-to sǎrc-e i duš-a
music(F)-SG for your.SG-NT.SG-DEF heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘music for your heart and soul’

Source: <http://vbox7.com/play:7577584> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(5)

Все-к-и мъж иска с цял-о-то си сърц-е
Vsek-i mǎž iska s cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e
every-M.SG man(M)[SG] want[3SG] with whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG

и душ-а...
i duš-a...
and soul(F)-SG

‘Every guy wants, from the bottom of his heart...’

Source: <http://svejo.net/.../23126-Vseki-muj-iska-s-cqloto-si-surce-i-dusha> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(6), (7)

толкова много го иска-м,
tolkova mnogo go iska-m,
so much it.ACC want-1SG

с цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
s cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
with whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

[...] иска-м от цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
[...] iska-m ot cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
 want-1SG from whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

да стан-а нормалн-а
da stan-a normaln-a
COMP become-1SG normal-F.SG

‘I want it so badly, from the bottom of my heart [...] from the bottom of my heart I want to become normal’

Source: www.bis.bg/likes.php?vidh=22703 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(8)

жела-я	ти	всичко	най-хубав-о [...]
žela-ja	ti	vsičko	naj-xubav-o [...]
wish-1SG	you.SG.DAT	all	SUPERLATIVE-nice-NT.SG

от	цял-о-то	си	сърц-е	и	душ-а
ot	cjal-o-to	si	sărc-e	i	duš-a
from	whole-NT.SG-DEF	own	heart(NT)-SG	and	soul(F)-SG

‘I wish you all the best [...] from the bottom of my heart’

Source: www.myspace.com/90429478 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(9)

възлюб-и	Творец-а	с	цял-о-то	си
văzljub-i	Tvorec-a	s	cjal-o-to	si
love-IMPERATIVE[2SG]	Creator(M)[SG]-DEF	with	whole-NT.SG-DEF	own

сърц-е	и	душ-а
sărc-e	i	duš-a
heart(NT)-SG	and	soul(F)-SG

‘love thy Creator from the bottom of thy heart’

Source: www.kabbalah.info/.../lubov_kam_tvoreca_i_tvoreniata.htm (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(10)

Тази [...]	флор-а	е	в	синхрон	с
Tazi [...]	flor-a	e	v	sinxron	s
this.F.SG	flora(F)-SG	be.PRES.3SG	in	harmony(M)[SG]	with

ваш-е-то	сърц-е	и	душ-а
vaš-e-to	sărc-e	i	duš-a
your.PL-NT.SG-DEF	heart(NT)-SG	and	soul(F)-SG

‘This flora is in harmony with your heart and soul’

Source: <http://market.dir.bg/search.php?searchstring=flora> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(11)

Когато изпълнява-ме музик-а с цял-о сърц-е и душ-а
Kogato izpǎlnjava-me muzik-a s cjal-o sǎrc-e i duš-a
when perform-1PL music(F)-SG with whole-NT.SG heart(NT)-SG & soul(F)-SG

‘When we perform music from the heart...’

Source: www.meditacija.org/bg/meditacia/.../muzika_meditacia.html (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(12)

човек с голям-о сърц-е и душ-а
čovек s goľjam-o sǎrc-e i duš-a
person(M)[SG] with big-NT.SG heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘a person with a big heart and soul’

Source: <http://stihotvorenja.hit.bg/> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(13)

Вътре в нас всяк-о едн-о сърц-е и душ-а е...
Vǎtre v nas vsjak-o edn-o sǎrc-e i duš-a e...
inside in us each-NT.SG one-NT.SG heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG be.PRES.3SG

‘Inside us, each heart and soul is...’

Source: www.vasilpetrov.org/pdf/Partners4.pdf (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(14)

избра-х го с цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
izbra-x go s cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
chose-1SG him.ACC with whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG & soul(F)-SG

‘I chose him with my heart and soul’

Source: <http://amber-bg.com/forums/index.php?topic=1303.0> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(15)

Криво-вери-е-то иска да изкриви тво-е-то
Křivo-veri-e-to iska da izkrivi tvo-e-to
distorted-belief(NT)-SG-DEF want[3SG] COMP distort[3SG] your.SG-NT.SG-DEF

сърц-е и душ-а
sǎrc-e i duš-a
heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘False belief seeks to distort your heart and soul’

Source: www.pravoslavie.domainbg.com/06/vladika.../nv_pazi.html (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(16)

Тези дум-и са мо-е-то сърц-е и душ-а.
Tezi dum-i sa mo-e-to sǎrc-e i duš-a.
this.PL word(F)-PL be.PRES.3PL my-NT.SG-DEF heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘These words are my heart and soul.’

Source: <http://otkrovenia.com/main.php?action=show&id=70508> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(17)

да медитира-те с цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
da meditira-te s cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
COMP meditate-2PL with whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘[If you feel that you can] meditate from the heart’

Source: www.srichinmoy.org/bulgarian/.../hour_of_meditation (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(18)

от цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
ot cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
from whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘[She loved him] from the bottom of her heart’

Source: <http://vinigoria.com/index.php?option=com...id> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(19)

ще игра-я с цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
šte igra-ja s cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
FUT play-1SG with whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘I’ll do my best to play well’

Source: www.feedsdraft.com/7/52437/ (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(20)

музик-а за тво-е-то сърц-е и душ-а
muzik-a za tvo-e-to sǎrc-e i duš-a
music(F)-SG for your.SG-NT.SG-DEF heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘music for your heart and soul’

Source: www.bgvip.tv/search.php?page=3&keyword=Сърце&type (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(21), (22)

с цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
s cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
with whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

[...] Има-м огромн-о сърц-е и душ-а...
[...] Ima-m ogromn-o sǎrc-e i duš-a...
have-1SG giant-NT.SG heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘...from the bottom of my heart... I have a giant heart and soul...’

Source: <http://truden.com/ftopicp-6681.html> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(23)

Ти си едн-а от тези с истинск-о сърц-е
Ti si edn-a ot tezi s istinsk-o sǎrc-e
you.SG.NOM be.PRES.2SG one-F.SG of this.PL with real-NT.SG heart(NT)-SG

и душ-а
i duš-a
and soul(F)-SG

‘You are one of those people with a real heart and soul’

Source: www.limpa.bg/blog/15415 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(24)

в тази компилаци-я съм вложи-л
v тази kompilaci-ja sǎm vloži-l
in this.F.SG compilation(F)-SG AUX.1SG invest-PPRT[M.SG]

цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘I have put all my heart into this compilation’

Source: www.elit-bg.com/index.php?page=torrent-download&id (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(25)

Българ-и-те гледа-т с цял-о-то си сърц-е и
Bǎlgar-i-te gleda-t s cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i
Bulgarian-PL-DEF look-3PL with whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and

душ-а напред
duš-a napred
soul(F)-SG ahead

‘Bulgarians wholeheartedly look ahead’

Source: www.balkani.eu/index.php?b=aboutus&bb (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(26)

с цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а да падне-м на
s cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a da padne-m na
with whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG COMP fall-1PL on

колен-е
kolen-e
knee(NT)-PL

‘Let us sincerely kneel’

Source: <http://hram-selotrud.org/home/index.php?option=com> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(27)

Сърбия игра [...] с цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
Sǎrbija igra [...] s cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
Serbia play.PAST[3SG] with whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘The Serbian side put their hearts into the game’

Source: <http://sportal.bg/news.php?id=185927&vote> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(28) (*same as (24)*)

Source: <http://biberona.com/details.php?id> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(29)

Трябва с цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а да
Trǎbva s cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a da
must with whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG COMP

свидетелства-ме...
svidetelstva-me...
testify-1PL

‘We must testify from the heart...’

Source: www.kae-bg.org/page634.htm (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(30) (*same as (17)*)

Source: www.meditacija.org/bg/.../vasata_ezednevna_meditacija.html (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(31) (*same as (10)*)

Source: <http://damski-parfumi.izgodnbg.com/?m=escada&order=6> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(32)

Благодар-я ви от цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
Blagodarj-a vi ot cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
thank-1SG you.PL.DAT from whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG & soul(F)-SG

‘Thank you ever so much’

Source: <http://teacher.bg/cs/blogs/julia1313/archive/2009/06.aspx> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(33)

Обича-м те от всичк-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
Običa-m te ot vsičk-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
love-1SG you.SG.ACC from all-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘I love you with all my heart’

Source: www.zapiski.info/printer.php?id=228 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(34)

от всичк-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
ot vsičk-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
from all-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘with all my heart’

Source: <http://books.google.co.uk/books?isbn=9544307664> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(35)

по-добре да го прави-ш от цял-о-то си сърц-е
po-dobre da go pravi-š ot cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e
better COMP it.ACC do-2SG from whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG

и душ-а
i duš-a
and soul(F)-SG

‘it’s better to do it from the heart’

Source: www.dnevnik.bg/.../2009/09/.../789083_dvama_bratia_na_scenata/ (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(36)

От цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а се мол-я...
Ot cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a se molj-a...
from whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG REFL pray-1SG

‘I am praying from the bottom of my heart...’

Source: <http://forum.bg-mamma.com/index.php?topic=227252> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(37)

с откри-т-о сърц-е и душ-а
s otkri-t-o sǎrc-e i duš-a
with open-PASS.PPRT-NT.SG heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘with an open heart and soul’

Source: www.dveri.bg/content/view/9849/74/ (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(38)

Трябва да даде-ш цял-о-то си сърц-е и душ-а
Trjabva da dade-š cjal-o-to si sǎrc-e i duš-a
should COMP give-2SG whole-NT.SG-DEF own heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘You should do your very best’

Source: www.chitalishte.bg/successview.php?successid=64 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(39)

Реч-та на кум-ове-те трябва
Reč-ta na kum-ove-te trjabva
speech(F)[SG]-DEF of best.man&bridesmaid(M)-PL-DEF should

да е дош-л-а от сам-и-те кум-ове,
da e doš-l-a ot sam-i-te kum-ove,
COMP AUX.3SG come-PPRT-F.SG from self-PL-DEF best.man&b.maid(M)-PL

от тяхн-о-то сърц-е и душ-а
ot tjaxn-o-to sǎrc-e i duš-a
from their-NT.SG-DEF heart(NT)-SG and soul(F)-SG

‘The speech of the best man and the bridesmaid should be their own, from the bottom of their hearts’

Source: www.svatbata.org/forum/index.php?topic=149.45 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(40)

Всеки-и Брат в сво-е-то масонск-о сърц-е
Vsek-i Brat v svo-e-to masonsk-o sǎrc-e
every-M.SG Brother(M)[SG] in own-NT.SG-DEF F.Mason-NT.SG heart(NT)-SG

и душ-а носи...
i duš-a nosi...
and soul(F)-SG carry[3SG]

‘In his Freemason’s heart and soul, every Brother carries...’

Source: http://scottishrite-bg.org/index.php?option=com_content (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

(41)

в светл-и-те пространств-а на човешк-о-то сърц-е и душ-а
v svetl-i-te prostranstv-a na čovešk-o-to sǎrc-e i duš-a
in light-PL-DEF space(NT)-PL of human-NT.SG-DEF heart(NT)-SG & soul(F)-SG

‘[to penetrate the dark and] the light spaces of the human heart and soul’

Source: www.bela.bg/?page=inner_page&page_id=6 (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)

Resolved Agreement

No results

SECTION 3 Animal Controllers

Target.PL + cow and calf

(1)

и прибере в дом-а си сво-и-те крав-а и
i pribere v dom-a si svo-i-te krav-a i
and drive.back[3SG] in home(M)[SG]-DEF own own-PL-DEF cow(F)-SG and

теле
tele
calf(NT)[SG]

‘and to drive his cow and calf back home’

Source: http://kardjali.court-bg.org/img/File/2008.12.12_Reshenie-103_VNCHHD_237-2008.pdf (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2)

от дад-ен-и-те му крав-а и теле
ot dad-en-i-te mu krav-a i tele
from give-PASS.PPRT-PL-DEF him.DAT cow(F)-SG and calf(NT)[SG]

след няколко годин-и
sled nekolko godin-i
after several year(F)-PL

има-л повече от дв-е стад-а вол-ове и крав-и
ima-l poveče ot dv-e stad-a vol-ove i krav-i
have-PPRT[M.SG] more than two-F/NT herd(NT)-PL ox(M)-PL and cow(F)-PL

‘from the cow and calf he had been given, in a few years’ time, he had more than two herds of cows and oxen’

Source: www.pravoslavieto.com/life/12.01_sv_Filaret_Milostivi.htm (accessed on 06 May 2009)

Target.SG + cow and calf

Nor results as of 06 May 2009

Target.PL + cow and bull

(1)

прозрачн-и-те	фигур-и	на	съвокуплява-щ-и	се	крав-а	и
prozračn-i-te	figur-i	na	săvokupljava-št-i	se	krav-a	i
transparent-PL-DEF	figure(F)-PL	of	copulate-ing-PL	REFL	cow(F)-SG	and

бик

bik

bull(M)[SG]

‘the transparent figures of a copulating cow and bull’

Source: http://cult.bg/ind_varts_exhib_full.php?id=1296&PHPSESSID=b709562
(accessed on 06 May 2009)

Target.SG + cow and bull

No results as of 06 May 2009

Target.PL + he-wolf and she-wolf

(1)

клетк-и	със	затвор-ен-и	„ВЪЛК	и	ВЪЛЧ-ИЦ-А”
kletk-i	săs	zatvor-en-i	„vălk	i	vălč-ic-a”
cage(F)-PL	with	lock.up-PASS.PPRT-PL	wolf(M)[SG]	and	wolf-(F)-SG

(маскира-н-и

младеж

и девойк-а),

ко-и-то

(maskira-n-i

mladež

i devojk-a),

ко-и-то

mask-PASS.PPRT-PL young.man(M)[SG] & young.girl(F)-SG who-PL-RELATIVE

ръмжа-ха

rămža-xa

growl-IMPERFECT.3PL

‘cages with a locked up male and female wolf (a young man and girl wearing masks)
who were growling’

Source: www.dnes.bg/article.php?id=22902 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2)

Ядр-о-то	на	семејн-а-та	глутниц-а	са
Jadr-o-to	na	semejн-a-ta	glutnic-a	sa
core(NT)-SG-DEF	of	family-F.SG-DEF	pack(F)-SG	be.PRES.3PL

възрастн-и	вълк	и	вълч-иц-а.
văzrastn-i	vălk	i	vălč-ic-a.
adult-PL	wolf(M)[SG]	and	wolf-(F)-SG

‘An adult he- and she-wolf form the core of the family pack.’

Source: www.visitcentralbalkan.net/index.php?l=0&s=1&c=7&o=47 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(3)

Едн-а	вечер	току-що	прибира-ше	овц-е-те
Edn-a	večer	toku-što	pribira-še	ovc-e-te
one-F.SG	evening(F)[SG]	just	drive.back-IMPERFECT.3SG	sheep(F)-PL-DEF

от	паша,	когато	настърв-ен-и	от	плячк-а-та	вълк
ot	paša,	kogato	nastărv-en-i	ot	pljačk-a-ta	vălk
from	pasture	when	enrage-PASS.PPRT-PL	by	prey(F)-SG-DEF	wolf(M)[SG]

и	вълч-иц-а	налетя-ха	в	стад-о-то	му.
i	vălč-ic-a	naletja-xa	v	stad-o-to	mu.
and	wolf-(F)-SG	attack.PAST-3PL	into	flock(NT)-SG-DEF	his

‘One evening, just as he was driving his sheep back from the pasture, a couple of wolves, enraged by the prey, attacked his flock.’

Source: www.karakachan.org/forum/index.php?action=printpage;topic=116.0 (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(4)

Южно-корейск-и	учен-и	ще	съвокуплява-т
Južno-korejsk-i	učen-i	šte	săvokupljava-t
South-Korean-PL	scientist(M)-PL	FUT	mate-3PL

клонира-н-и	вълк	и	вълч-иц-а.
klonira-n-i	vălk	i	vălč-ic-a.
clone-PASS.PPRT-PL	wolf(M)[SG]	and	wolf-(F)-SG

‘South Korean scientists will be trying to mate a cloned male and female wolf.’

Source: www.bta.bg/site/bg/index.shtml/lik/new/html/adv/world/html/images-anim/images.../pressclub-122x50shtml.swf (accessed on 06 May 2009)

Target.SG + he-wolf and she-wolf

No results as of 06 May 2009

Target.PL + ewe and lamb

No results as of 06 May 2009

Target.SG + ewe and lamb

(1)

те	са	докосва-л-и	всяк-а	овц-а	и	агне	със
te	sa	dokosva-l-i	vsjak-a	ovc-a	i	agne	sās
they.NOM	AUX.3PL	touch-PPRT-PL	each-F.SG	ewe(F)-SG	and	lamb(NT)[SG]	with

стрък	от	силин-а,	„за	да	са	силин-и”.
strāk	ot	silin-a,	„za	da	sa	siln-i”.
stalk(M)[SG]	of	plant(F)-SG	so	COMP	be.PRES.3PL	strong-PL

‘They used to touch every ewe and lamb with a stalk of that strength-giving plant “so that they would be strong”’

Source: www.cceol.com/asp/getdocument.aspx?logid=5&id=2C264212-9C4A-4B0A-8B35-3AFC760D152A (accessed on 06 May 2009)

This cat and dog

това	куче	и	котк-а
tova	kuče	i	kotk-a
this.NT.SG	dog(NT)[SG]	and	cat(F)-SG

No results as of 14 May 2009

These cat and dog

тези	куче	и	котк-а
tezi	kuče	i	kotk-a
this.PL	dog(NT)[SG]	and	cat(F)-SG

(1)

Тези	куче	и	котк-а	да	не	са	актьор-и?
Tezi	kuče	i	kotk-a	da	ne	sa	akt’or-i’?
this.PL	dog(NT)[SG]	and	cat(F)-SG	COMP	NEG	be.PRES.3PL	actor(M)-PL

‘Are these cat and dog actors by any chance?’

Source: www.kefche.bg/photos/bgguywzr/ (accessed on 14 May 2009)

My.SG cat and dog

мо-е-то куче и котк-а
mo-e-to kuče i kotk-a
my-NT.SG-DEF dog(NT)[SG] and cat(F)-SG

No results as of 06 Oct 2009

My.PL cat and dog

мо-и-те куче и котк-а
mo-i-te kuče i kotk-a
my-PL-DEF dog(NT)[SG] and cat(F)-SG

(1)

Понеже обиколи-х всички клиник-и в Стара Загора
Poneže obikoli-x vsički klinik-i v Stara Zagora
since go.around.PAST-1SG all.PL clinic(F)-PL in Stara Zagora

за мо-и-те куче и котк-а най-накрая намери-х добър
za mo-i-te kuče i kotk-a naj-nakraja nameri-x dobăr
for my-PL-DEF dog(NT)[SG] & cat(F)-SG at-last find.PAST-1SG good[M.SG]

кабинет и лекар, при ко-го-то и остана-х
kabinet i lekar, pri ko-go-to i ostana-x
surgery(M)[SG] & doctor(M)[SG] at who-M.SG.ACC-RELATIVE & stayed-1SG

‘Since I went around all clinics in Stara Zagora for my cat and dog, I finally found a good vet with whom I stayed’

Source: <http://forum.zoomania.org/viewtopic.php?f=55&t=7480&view=previous>
(accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

(2)

Драгнев само мо-и-те куче и котк-а ли е
Dragnev samo mo-i-te kuče i kotk-a li e
Dragnev only my-PL-DEF dog(NT)[SG] and cat(F)-SG Q AUX.3SG

спасява-л от смърт???
spasjava-l ot smărt???
save-PPRT[M.SG] from death(F)[SG]

‘Has Dragnev only saved my cat and dog from death???’

Source: www.forumshumen.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=11&t=1934 (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

(3)

Не говори-м за мо-и-те куче и котк-а, нито за
Ne govori-m za mo-i-te kuče i kotk-a, nito za
NEG talk-1PL about my-PL-DEF dog(NT)[SG] and cat(F)-SG nor about

тво-и-те.
tvo-i-te.
your.SG-PL-DEF

‘We’re not talking about my cat and dog, nor about yours.’

Source: <http://forum.dog.bg/-t25697.html&pid=638036&st=60> (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

(4) (*same as (3)*)

Не говори-м за мо-и-те куче и котк-а, нито за
Ne govori-m za mo-i-te kuče i kotk-a, nito za
NEG talk-1PL about my-PL-DEF dog(NT)[SG] and cat(F)-SG nor about

тво-и-те.
tvo-i-te.
your.SG-PL-DEF

‘We’re not talking about my cat and dog, nor about yours.’

Source: <http://forum.dog.bg/lofiversion/index.php/t25697-50.html> (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)

Adjective.SG + stag and doe

(1)

При втор-и-я вид песн-и младоженец-ът
Pri vtor-i-ja vid pesn-i mladoženec-ăt
in second-M.SG-DEF type(M)[SG] song(F)-PL groom(M)[SG]-DEF

и невест-а-та
i nevest-a-ta
and bride(F)-SG-DEF

се олицетворява-т от свещен елен и кошут-а.
se olicetvorjava-t ot svešten elen i košut-a.
REFL represent-3PL by sacred[M.SG] stag(M)[SG] and doe(F)-SG

‘In the second type of song, the bride and the groom are represented by a sacred stag and doe.’

Source: www.bulgarian-folklore.com/readarticle.php?article_id=40 (accessed on 14 May 2009)

(2) (*same as (1)*)

При втор-и-я вид песн-и младоженец-ът
Pri vtor-i-ja vid pesn-i mladoženec-ăt
in second-M.SG-DEF type(M)[SG] song(F)-PL groom(M)[SG]-DEF

и невест-а-та
i nevest-a-ta
and bride(F)-SG-DEF

се олицетворява-т от свещен елен и кошут-а.
se olicetvorjava-t ot svešten elen i košut-a.
REFL represent-3PL by sacred[M.SG] stag(M)[SG] and doe(F)-SG

‘In the second type of song, the bride and the groom are represented by a sacred stag and doe.’

Source: <http://folklor.bulboard.com/vt127.html> (accessed on 14 May 2009)

(3)³

5 000 лв. е обезщетени-е-то за нанесе-н-а щет-а
5 000 lv. e obezšteteni-e-to za nanese-n-a štet-a
5 000 be.PRES.3SG fine(NT)-SG-DEF for cause-PASS.PPRT-F.SG damage(F)-SG

при благороден елен и кошут-а
pri blagoroden elen i košut-a
in.case.of noble[M.SG] stag(M)[SG] and doe(F)-SG

‘The fine for causing damage is BGN 5,000 in the case of a stag or a doe’

Source: www.mzgar.government.bg/pressinfo/Messages/nn.asp?u_id=767 (accessed on 14 May 2009)

(4)

Сравняван-е-то на младоженец-а и невест-а-та със
Sravnjavan-e-to na mladoženec-a i nevest-a-ta sās
comparing(NT)-SG-DEF of groom(M)[SG]-DEF and bride(F)-SG-DEF with

свещени-я елен и кошут-а показва, че...
sveštēni-ja elen i košut-a pokazva, če...
sacred[M.SG]-DEF stag(M)[SG] and doe(F)-SG show[3SG] that

‘Comparing the bride and the groom with the sacred stag and doe shows that...’

Source: http://georgi-nz.blogspot.com/2007/12/blog-post_2879.html (accessed on 14 May 2009)

³This example is not included in the sum total of the scores because *благороден елен/blagoroden elen* (lit.) ‘noble stag’ is a fixed collocation that refers to a species of deer. It is doubtful that the adjective is compatible with ‘doe’ at all.

Adjective.PL + stag and doe

No results as of 14 May 2009

Target.SG + wolf and fox

(1)

тибетск-и-ят	вълк	и	лисиц-а,	панд-а,	заек...
tibetsk-i-jat	vălk	i	lisic-a,	pand-a,	zaek...
Tibetan-M.SG-DEF	wolf(M)[SG]	and	fox(F)-SG	panda(F)-SG	hare(M)[SG]

‘the Tibetan wolf and fox, panda, hare...’

Source: <http://непал.net/> (accessed on 14 May 2009)

Target.PL + wolf and fox

(1)

Те	виде-л-и	спя-щ-и-те	вълк	и	лисиц-а
Te	vide-l-i	spja-št-i-te	vălk	i	lisic-a
they.NOM	see-PPRT-PL	sleep-ing-PL-DEF	wolf(M)[SG]	and	fox(F)-SG

и	много	се	изплаши-л-и.
i	mного	se	izplaši-l-i.
and	much	REFL	get.scared-PPRT-PL

‘They saw the sleeping wolf and fox and got very scared.’

Source: <http://liternet.bg/folklor/sbornici/kladenec/kita-burloga.htm> (accessed on 14 May 2009)

Target.SG + wolf and bear

(1)

контакт	с	опитом-ен	вълк	и	мечк-а
kontakt	s	opitom-en	vălk	i	mečk-a
contact(M)[SG]	with	tame-PASS.PPRT[M.SG]	wolf(M)[SG]	and	bear(F)-SG

‘contact with a tame wolf and bear’

Source: www.adventurenetbg.com/category.php?cat=12&data=programs&num=41 (accessed on 14 May 2009)

Target.PL + wolf and bear

(1)

най-вълнува-щ-а за тях бе-ше срещ-а-та им
naj-vǎlnuva-št-a za tjax be-še srešt-a-ta im
most-excite-ing-F.SG for them.ACC be.PAST-3SG encounter(F)-SG-DEF their

с жив-и вълк и мечк-а
s živ-i vǎlk i mečk-a
with alive-PL wolf(M)[SG] and bear(F)-SG

‘... the most exciting thing for them was the encounter with a real wolf and bear’

Source: <http://balkani.org/news.php?makevarz=ok&language=bg&id=68> (accessed on 14 May 2009)

SECTION 4

Combinations of Human and Animal, or Human and Inanimate, Controllers

wife and car⁴

Single-Conjunct Agreement

(1)

Ужас-ът идва от това, че рано или късно всяк-а
Užas-ăt idva ot tova, če rano ili kǎšno vsjak-a
horror(M)[SG]-DEF come[3SG] from this that early or late every-F.SG

жен-а и кол-а поляга в двор-а...
žen-a i kol-a poljaga v dvor-a...
wife(F)-SG and car(F)-SG come.to.rest[3SG] in garden(M)[SG]-DEF

‘The horror comes from the fact that sooner or later every wife and car comes to rest in the garden...’

Source: www.rodny-bg.com/books/karbovski/e33%20II.html (accessed on 06 May 2009)

(2)

много ти здраве, щастие ... вярн-а жен-а и кол-а ...
mnogo ti zdrave, štastie... vjarn-a žen-a i kol-a...
much you.SG.DAT health happiness faithful-F.SG wife(F)-SG & car(F)-SG

‘I wish you good health, happiness... a faithful wife and a reliable car...’

Source: <http://forum.nbu.bg/lofiversion/index.php?t2321.html> (accessed on 06 May 2009)

⁴The author would like to distance himself from these unpleasantly sexist examples.

Resolved Agreement

No results as of 06 May 2009

This horse and rider

ТОЗИ кон и ездач
tozi kon i ezdač
this.M.SG horse(M)[SG] and rider(M)[SG]

(1)

Пред-назнач-ен-а-та съдб-а на този кон и
Pred-naznač-en-a-ta sǎdb-a na tozi kon i
pre-destine-PASS.PPRT-F.SG-DEF fate(F)-SG of this.M.SG horse(M)[SG] and

ездач е да победи ефикасно и трайно.
ezdač e da pobedi efikasno i trajno.
rider(M)[SG] be.PRES.3SG COMP win[3SG] effectively and lastingly

‘This horse and rider’s pre-destined fate is to achieve an effective and lasting victory.’

Source: http://thegreatnews.net/Crsis%202/Chapter_9.htm (accessed on 14 May 2009)

These horse and rider

тези кон и ездач
tezi kon i ezdač
this.PL horse(M)[SG] and rider(M)[SG]

No results as of 14 May 2009

Adjective.SG + horse and rider

No results as of 14 May 2009

Adjective.PL + horse and rider

(1)

Страхотн-и кон и ездач!!!
Straxotn-i kon i ezdač!!!
amazing-PL horse(M)[SG] and rider(M)[SG]

‘An amazing horse and rider!!!’

Source: <http://4coolpics.com/photo/mishona/294389.html> (accessed on 14 May 2009)

PART 2

Bulgarian Corpus Data Obtained by Searching with Generalised Parameters

Search parameters:

‘този * и * са’

‘tozi * i * sa’

this.M.SG * and * are’

Date: 18 Dec 2007

first fifteen pages of 457,000 results (only relevant constructions have been collected, including coordinations of two full NPs)

Animate Controllers

none

Inanimate Controllers

(1)

Този	сайт,	програм-а	и	текст-ове	са
Tozi	sajt,	program-a	i	tekst-ove	sa
this.M.SG	site(M)[SG]	program(F)-SG	and	text(M)-PL	be.PRES.3PL

авторск-о	прав-о.
avtorsk-o	prav-o.
authorship-NT.SG	right(NT)-SG

‘This website, program and texts are subject to copyright.’

Source: <http://2cyr.com/> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(2)

По-важно-то	е,	че	този	гланц	и	белот-а
Po-važno-to	e,	če	tozi	glanc	i	belot-a
more-imp.-DEF	be.PRES.3SG	that	this.M.SG	sheen(M)[SG]	&	whiteness(F)-SG

са	вследствие	на	постигната-та	гъста	молекулярна	решетка.
sa	vsledstvie	na	postignata-ta	gǎsta	molekuljarna	rešetka.
be.PRES.3PL	result	of	achieved-DEF	dense	molecular	grid

‘The more important thing is that this sheen and whiteness are due to the dense molecular grid we’ve achieved.’

Source: www.muellerbg.dabg.net/2d-3d_salamander.html (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(3)

Защо	са	този	хаос	и	разно-стили-е?
Zašto	sa	tozi	chaos	i	razno-stili-e?
why	be.PRES.3PL	this.M.SG	chaos(M)[SG]	and	difference-in.style(NT)-SG

‘What’s with the chaos and the incompatibility of styles?’

Source: http://kab.bg/press/January_2007/17_01_07.doc (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(4)

този	аватар	и	подпис	са	страхотн-и
tozi	avatar	i	podpis	sa	straxotn-i
this.M.SG	picture(M)[SG]	and	signature(M)[SG]	be.PRES.3PL	incredible-PL

‘This picture and signature are incredible.’

Source:

<http://forum.zaigravka.com/viewtopic.php?t=349&view=previous&sid=27066ba78a8d3c187fbceb799db14b21> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(5)

Този	прах	и	тлен	са	клас-ове
Tozi	prax	i	tlen	sa	klas-ove
this.M.SG	dust(M)[SG]	and	remains(M)[SG]	be.PRES.3PL	class(M)-PL

‘This dust and [these] remains are classes’

Source:

<http://astrosite.org/bb/index.php?s=963c04a264c6f4ee4c7ce5854a138afb&showtopic=1927> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(6)

този	интерес	и	намерени-я	са	добронамерен-и...
tozi	interes	i	namereni-ja	sa	dobronameren-i...
this.M.SG	interest(M)[SG]	&	intention(NT)-PL	be.PRES.3PL	benevolent-PL

‘this interest and intentions are benevolent’

Source: www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/citizen_ed-01-bul-blg-t07.pdf (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(7)

Този	интерес	и	наглас-и	са	характерн-и...
Tozi	interes	i	naglas-i	sa	xaraktern-i...
this.M.SG	interest(M)[SG]	and	attitude(F)-PL	be.PRES.3PL	characteristic-PL

‘This interest and attitudes are typical...’

Source: <http://bourgas-kirklareli.org/documents/manual.pdf> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(8)

този	люкс	и	привилеги-я	са	факт
tozi	luks	i	privilegi-ja	sa	fakt
this.M.SG	luxury(M)[SG]	and	privilege(F)-SG	be.PRES.3PL	fact(M)[SG]

‘this luxury and privilege are a fact’

Source: <http://pozvanete.bg/news.php?id=8804> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(9)

този	смях	и	присмех	са	отговорн-и
tozi	smjax	i	prismex	sa	otgovorn-i
this.M.SG	laughter(M)[SG]	and	ridicule(M)[SG]	be.PRES.3PL	responsible-PL

за	изчезване-то	на	свещено-то.
za	izčezvane-to	na	svešteno-to.
for	disappearance-DEF	of	sacred-DEF

‘This laughter and ridicule are to blame for the disappearance of the sacred.’

Source: <http://bg.mondediplo.com/spip.php?article152> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(10)

Този	прагматизъм	и	меркантилн-о	мислене
Tozi	pragmatizъм	i	merkantiln-o	mislene
this.M.SG	pragmatism(M)[SG]	and	mercantile-NT.SG	thinking(NT)[SG]

са	основ-а-та	на	втор-а-та	част
sa	osnov-a-ta	na	vtor-a-ta	čast
be.PRES.3PL	basis(F)-SG-DEF	of	second-F.SG-DEF	part(F)[SG]

на	книг-а-та.
na	knig-a-ta.
of	book(F)-SG-DEF

‘This pragmatism and mercantile mindset form the basis of the second part of the book.’

Source: www.teenproblem.net/school/s/1627.html (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

Coordinations of two full NPs

(the determiner takes scope over the first conjunct only)

(1)

Този	шок	и	последва-л-и-те	публицистичн-и	реакци-и
Tozi	šok	i	posledva-l-i-te	publicističn-i	reakci-i
this.M.SG	shock(M)[SG]	&	follow-PPRT-PL-DEF	press-PL	reaction(F)-PL

са	лесно	обясни-м-и.
sa	lesno	objasni-m-i.
be.PRES.3PL	easily	explain-able-PL

‘This shock and the subsequent reactions in the press are easy to explain.’

Source: www.dnevnik.bg/show/?storyid=402267 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(2)

Този приоритет и съответн-а-та цел са
Tozi prioritet i sǎotvetn-a-ta cel sa
this.M.SG priority(M)[SG] and respective-F.SG-DEF goal(F)[SG] AUX.3PL

изрично записа-н-и в управленск-а-та програм-а.
izrično zapisa-n-i v upravlensk-a-ta program-a.
explicitly write-PASS.PPRT-PL in leadership-F.SG-DEF programme(F)-SG

‘This priority and the respective goal have been explicitly mentioned in the leadership programme.’

Source: www.parliament.bg/?page=plSt&SType=show&lng=bg&id=359 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(3)

Този показател и почасов-а-та заплата са
Tozi pokazatel i počasov-a-ta zaplat-a sa
this.M.SG indicator(M)[SG] and hourly-F.SG-DEF wage(F)-SG be.PRES.3PL

известн-и
izvestn-i
known-PL

‘This indicator and the hourly wage are known.’

Source: www.cceol.com/aspx/getdocument.aspx?logid=5&id=FA1FA0E9-1DA9-4C39-8DFE-2AAF5C8D045B (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(4)

Този бюлетин и подписк-а-та са две
Tozi bjuletin i podpis-k-a-ta sa dv-e
this.M.SG ballot.paper(M)[SG] and petition(F)-SG-DEF be.PRES.3PL two-F/NT

различн-и нещ-а.
različn-i nešt-a.
separate-PL thing(NT)-PL

‘This ballot paper and the petition are two separate things.’

Source: http://komitata.blogspot.com/2007/11/blog-post_6243.html (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(5)

Този	сайт	и	съдържани-е-то	му	са
Tozi	sajt	i	sădăržani-e-to	mu	sa
this.M.SG	site(M)[SG]	and	contents(NT)-SG-DEF	its	AUX.3PL

излож-ен-и...

izlož-en-i...

display-PASS.PPRT-PL

‘This website and its contents are displayed...’

Source: www.abonamenti.com/terms.php (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

Search parameters:

‘тези * и * са’

‘tezi * i * sa’

this.PL * and * are

Date: 18 Dec 2007

only plural coordinated nouns found in the first fifteen pages of 6,620,000 results

Search Parameters:

‘тази * и * са’

‘tazi * i * sa’

this.F.SG * and * are’

Date: 18 Dec 2007

first fifteen pages of 466,000 results (only relevant constructions have been collected, including coordinations of two full NPs)

Animate Controllers

none with plural index

(1)

Тази	Мари-я,	Март-а	и	Тамар	са
Tazi	Mari-ja,	Mart-a	i	Tamar	sa
this.F.SG	Maria(F)-SG	Marta(F)-SG	and	Tamar(F)[SG]	be.PRES.3PL

едн-о и същ-о лиц-е.

edn-o i săšt-o lic-e.

one-NT.SG and same-NT.SG person(NT)-SG

‘This Maria, Marta and Tamar are one and the same person.’

Source: www.pravoslaviето.com/life/12.26_sv_Josif_Obruchnik.htm (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

Inanimate Controllers

(1)

тази книг-а и компактдиск са...
tazi knig-a i kompaktdisk sa...
this.F.SG book(F)-SG and CD(M)[SG] be.PRES.3PL

‘this book and CD are...’

Source: <http://navigator.idg.bg/index.php?type=2&p=2237> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(2)

Въпрос-ът ми е дали тази видеокарт-а и компактдиск
Văpros-ăt mi e dali тази videokart-a i kompaktdisk
question-DEF my be.PRES.3SG if this.F.SG videocard(F)-SG & CD(M)[SG]

са добр-и.
sa dobr-i.
be.PRES.3PL good-PL

‘My question is if this video card and CD are good?’

Source: www.hardwarebg.com/forum/showthread.php?p=1354193 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(3)

Тази толерантност и солидарност са беляза-л-и
Tazi tolerantnost i solidarnost sa beljaza-l-i
this.F.SG tolerance(F)[SG] and solidarity(F)[SG] AUX.3PL mark-PPRT-PL

политик-а-та на България в минало-то.
politik-a-ta na Bălgarija v minalo-to.
politics(F)-SG-DEF of Bulgaria in past-DEF

‘This tolerance and solidarity have marked Bulgaria’s politics in the past.’

Source: http://mfa.government.bg/index.php?tid=13&item_id=10612 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(4)

По-късно тази зависимост и изолаци-я са
Po-kăšno tazi zavisimost i izolaci-ja sa
later this.F.SG dependence(F)[SG] and isolation(F)-SG AUX.3PL

налож-ен-и на всички.
nalož-en-i na vsički.
impose-PASS.PPRT-PL on everyone

‘Later on, this dependence and isolation were imposed on everyone.’

Source: www.ceeol.com/aspx/getdocument.aspx?logid=5&id=3d607e3b-44f4-416f-9c55-bd51de3e54a0 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(5)

Тази подкреп-а и ангажираност са от изключителн-а
Tazi podkrep-a i angažiranost sa ot izključitel'n-a
this.F.SG support(F)-SG and involvement(F)[SG] be.PRES.3PL of utmost-F.SG

важност...

važnost...

importance(F)[SG]

‘This support and involvement are of utmost importance...’

Source: http://flgr.logincee.org/lib_upload/%7B50C3F093-783A-4EDA-8BC8-C2ED860939E7%7DManualVratsa_Bulgarian.doc (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(6)

Всичк-а-та тази жестокоост и насили-е са
Vsičk-a-ta tazi žestokost i nasili-e sa
all-F.SG-DEF this.F.SG cruelty(F)[SG] and violence(NT)-SG AUX.3PL

би-л-и нормалн-и не само в Нови-я свят.
bi-l-i normaln-i ne samo v Novi-ja svjat.
be-PPRT-PL normal-PL NEG only in New[M.SG]-DEF world(M)[SG]

‘All this cruelty and violence weren’t only common in the New World.’

Source: <http://forum.boinaslava.net/showthread.php?t=7158> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(7)

Днес тази традици-я и опит са се
Dnes tazi tradici-ja i opit sa se
today this.F.SG tradition(F)-SG and experience(M)[SG] AUX.3PL REFL

реализира-л-и...

realizira-l-i...

realise-PPRT-PL

‘Today this tradition and experience have found their expression...’

Source: www.kosser.net/Products/Ruville.php (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(8)

Именно тази промян-а и приспособяване са от
Imenno тази promjan-a i prisposobjavane sa ot
namely this.F.SG change(F)-SG and adaptation(NT)[SG] be.PRES.3PL of

особен интерес за изследовател-я...
osoben interes za izsledovatelj-a...
special[M.SG] interest(M)[SG] to researcher(M)[SG]-DEF

‘It is this change and adaptation that are of special interest to the researcher...’

Source: <http://liternet.bg/publish10/gapostolova/razshiriavaneto.htm> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(9)

Тази краткост и не-многословност са не просто
Tazi kratkost i ne-mnogoslovnost sa ne prosto
this.F.SG succinctness(F)[SG] and NEG-verbosity(F)[SG] be.PRES.3PL NEG just

стил. Те има-т...
stil. Te ima-t...
style(M)[SG] they.NOM have-3PL

‘This succinctness and lack of verbosity are more than just a mannerism. They have...’

Source: http://knigibg.com/book_inside.php?book_id=7516 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(10)

Тази нейн-а бързин-а и ловкост са породил-и
Tazi nejn-a bǎrzin-a i lovkost sa porodi-l-i
this.F.SG her-F.SG speed(F)-SG and agility(F)[SG] AUX.3PL create-PPRT-PL

легенд-а-та, че стрелушк-а-та може да лети.
legend-a-ta, ĉe strelušk-a-ta može da leti.
legend(F)-SG-DEF that snake(F)-SG-DEF can[3SG] COMP fly[3SG]

‘Its speed and agility have given rise to the myth that this species of snake can fly.’

Source: www.zoomania.org/content/view/2215/137/ (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(11)

Тази не-сигурност и страх са
Tazi ne-sigurnost i strax sa
this.F.SG NEG-security(F)[SG] and fear(M)[SG] AUX.3PL

програмира-н-и във вас...
programira-n-i vǎv vas...
programme-PASS.PPRT-PL in you.ACC.2PL

‘This insecurity and fear have been pre-programmed in you...’

Source: www.yosif.net/articles.php?lng=bg&pg=889 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(12)

Тази обърканост и хаотичност са лесни за
Tazi obărkanost i хаotičnost sa lesn-i za
this.F.SG confusion(F)[SG] and chaotic.behaviour(F)[SG] be.PRES.3PL easy-PL for

обяснение.
obiasnenie.
explanation

‘This confusion and chaotic behaviour are easy to explain.’

Source: www.shadowdance.info/800Broeve/Br49/reviews/reviews49.html (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

Coordinations of two full NPs

(the determiner takes scope over the first conjunct only)

(1)

Тази пист-а и влек-ът са може би прецедент...
Tazi pist-a i vlek-ăt sa može bi precedent...
this.F.SG track(F)-SG & lift(M)[SG]-DEF be.PRES.3PL maybe precedent(M)[SG]

‘This track and the ski lift might be a precedent...’

Source: www.planinite.info/Patepisy/Do_hija_Strajata_nad_Etropole.htm (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(2)

Тази зал-а и публик-а-та са номер едно.
Tazi zal-a i publik-a-ta sa nomer edno.
this.F.SG hall(F)-SG and audience(F)-SG-DEF be.PRES.3PL number one

‘This hall and the audience are amazing.’

Source:

<http://bgsupporters.net/forum/viewtopic.php?t=5829&sid=750db7e4f00f1ebdcef8f8a62a15141d> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(3)

Може би тази папк-а и мисленик-ът са
Može bi тази папк-а i mislenik-ăt sa
maybe this.F.SG folder(F)-SG & place.for.views(M)[SG]-DEF be.PRES.3PL

дв-е-те най-посещава-н-и папк-и в цели-я
dv-e-te naj-poseštava-n-i папк-и v celi-ja
two-F/NT-DEF most-visit-PASS.PPRT-PL folder(F)-PL in whole[M.SG]-DEF

форум.
forum.
forum(M)[SG]

‘Maybe this folder and the place where you can share your views are the two most visited folders in the entire forum.’

Source:

www.planeta.tv/forums/index.php?s=6199edb6a28a5058a8725922ff1c9f64&showtopic=32760&st=20&start=20 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(4)

Именно тази конструкци-я и няко-и друг-и подробности
Imenno тази konstrukci-ja i njako-i drug-i podrobnost-i
namely this.F.SG construction(F)-SG and some-PL other-PL detail(F)-PL

са повод-ът за не-доволств-о-то.
sa povod-ăt za ne-dovolstv-o-to.
be.PRES.3PL reason(M)[SG]-DEF for NEG-satisfaction(NT)-SG-DEF

‘It is this construction, as well as some other details, that have caused the dissatisfaction.’

Source: www.kaldata.com/forums/index.php?showtopic=34286 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(5)

Тази ценност и този интерес са
Tazi cennost i този interes sa
this.F.SG value(F)[SG] and this.M.SG interest(M)[SG] be.PRES.3PL

договори-м-и.
dogovori-m-i.
negoti-able-PL

‘This value and this interest are negotiable.’

Source: www.online.bg/kultura/my_html/2356/djihad.htm (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(6)
 Тази култур-а и между-културни-ят диалог са
 Tazi kultur-a i meždu-kulturni-jat dialog sa
 this.F.SG culture(F)-SG & inter-cultural[M.SG]-DEF dialogue(M)[SG] be.PRES.3PL

в основ-а-та...
 v osnov-a-ta...
 at basis(F)-SG-DEF

‘This culture and intercultural dialogue form the basis...’

Source: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32006D1983:BG:NOT>
 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(7)
 Тази лавинообразност и социалн-и-те искан-ия са
 Tazi lavinoobraznost i socialn-i-te iskan-ija sa
 this.F.SG snowball.effect(F)[SG] & social-PL-DEF demand(NT)-PL be.PRES.3PL

в изключителн-о сходств-о с българск-а-та реалност.
 v izključitelno sxdostv-o s bālgarsk-a-ta realnost.
 in striking-NT.SG similarity(NT)-SG with Bulgarian-F.SG-DEF reality(F)[SG]

‘This snowball effect and the social demands are strikingly similar to Bulgarian reality.’

Source: http://money.ibox.bg/news/id_1129103653 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(8)
 Тази лудниц-а и тези не-спира-щ-и турист-и са
 Tazi ludnic-a i tezi ne-spira-št-i turist-i sa
 this.F.SG bustle(F)-SG and this.PL NEG-stop(p)-ing-PL tourist(M)-PL be.PRES.3PL

далече от мен.
 daleče ot men.
 far.away from me.ACC

‘That bustle and those endless tourists are far away from me.’

Source: <http://forum.bg-mamma.com/index.php?topic=16010.0> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

Search parameters:

‘това * и * са’
 ‘tova * i * sa’
 this.NT.SG * and * are

Date: 18 Dec 2007

first fifteen pages of 611,000 results (only relevant constructions have been collected, including coordinations of two full NPs)

Animate controllers

none

Inanimate controllers

(1)

Именно	това	съзнани-е	и	само-съзнани-е
Imenno	tova	săznani-e	i	samo-săznani-e
namely	this.NT.SG	awareness(NT)-SG	and	self-awareness(NT)-SG

са	иманентни-ят	управлява-щ	център	на
sa	immanentni-jat	upravljava-št	centăr	na
be.PRES.3PL	immanent[M.SG]-DEF	govern-ing[M.SG]	centre(M)[SG]	of

човек-а
 čovek-a
 human(M)[SG]-DEF

‘It is this awareness and self-awareness that are the inherent driving forces of human beings.’

Source: www.ceeol.com/aspx/getdocument.aspx?logid=5&id=51558001-CD0E-41C9-9DFC-3F4CC7CBCC6D (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

Coordinations of two full NPs

(the determiner takes scope over the first conjunct only)

(1)

Това	селищ-е	и	крепост-та	са
Tova	selišt-e	i	krepost-ta	sa
this.NT.SG	settlement(NT)-SG	and	fortress(F)[SG]-DEF	AUX.3PL

постро-ен-и	от	трак-и-те.
postro-en-i	ot	trak-i-te.
build-PASS.PPRT-PL	by	Thracian-PL-DEF

‘This settlement and the fortress were built by the Thracians.’

Source: http://bg.wikipedia.org/wiki/Малкото_кале (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(2)

Това	ръководств-о	и	митични-ят	Митал
Tova	răkovodstv-o	i	mitični-jat	Mital
this.NT.SG	leadership(NT)-SG	and	mythical[MC.SG]-DEF	Mittal(M)[SG]

са	подходящ-и-те	хора.
sa	podxodjašt-i-te	xora.
be.PRES.3PL	right-PL-DEF	people.PL

‘This leadership and the mythical Mittal are the right people.’

Source: www.donbalon.bg/article.php?artid=2851 (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(3)

Това	презрени-е	и	лош-а-та	усмивк-а	са...
Tova	prezreni-e	i	loš-a-ta	usmivk-a	sa...
this.NT.SG	hatred(NT)-SG	and	bad-F.SG-DEF	smile(F)-SG	be.PRES.3PL

‘This hatred and the evil grin are...’

Source: <http://forums.webleit.com/index.php?showtopic=1749&view=getnewpost> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

(4)

Това	правителств-о	и	коалици-я-та	са
Tova	pravitelstv-o	i	koalici-ja-ta	sa
this.NT.SG	government(NT)-SG	and	coalition(F)-SG-DEF	be.PRES.3PL

отговорн-и
otgovorn-i
responsible-PL

‘This government and the coalition are responsible’

Source: <http://financebg.com/?act=showarticles&more=11643> (accessed on 18 Dec 2007)

PART 3

Conjoined Phrases Found Accidentally in Bulgarian Texts

Inanimate Controllers

Single-Conjunct Agreement

(1)

може-те	да	разчита-те	на	всякакв-а	помощ	и	подкреп-а
može-te	da	razčita-te	na	vsjakakv-a	pomošt	i	podkrep-a
can-2PL	COMP	rely-2PL	on	any-F.SG	assistance(F)[SG]	and	support(F)-SG

‘You can rely on all kinds of assistance and support.’

[Source: Sofia Translation and Interpreting Agency, Instructions for Translators, 01 Feb 2009]

(2)

да	се	извършва	дребно-производствен-а	дейност	и
da	se	izvāršva	drebno-proizvodstven-a	dejnost	i
COMP	REFL	carry.out[3SG]	small.scale-production-F.SG	activity(F)[SG]	and

услуг-и
uslug-i
service(F)-PL

‘to carry out small-scale production and services’

[Source: word file accessed on 26 Feb 2009]

(3)

вече	разполага-ме	с	допълнителен	професионален	опит
veče	razpolaga-me	s	dopālniteln	profesionalen	opit
already	have.available-1PL	with	additional[M.SG]	prof.[M.SG]	experience(M)[SG]

и	познани-я,	с	ко-и-то	ще	намери-м
i	poznani-ja,	s	ko-i-to	šte	nameri-m
and	knowledge(NT)-PL	with	which-PL-RELATIVE	FUT	find-1PL

наистина	качествен-и	кандидат-и
naistina	kačestven-i	kandidat-i
really	quality-PL	candidate(M)-PL

‘We already have more professional experience and know-how which will help us find really good quality candidates.’

[Source:

http://staging.gcms5.co.uk/sites/bulgaria_bg/recruit/expertise/marketing-and-creative/marketing-and-creative.php?s_id=7 (accessed on 20 March 2009)]

(4)

Компани-я-та ни е изград-ен-а върху солидн-и-те
Kompani-ja-ta ni e izgrad-en-a vǎrxu solidn-i-te
company(F)-SG-DEF our AUX.3SG build-PASS.PPRT-F.SG on solid-PL-DEF

основ-и на почти 50-годишен опит и традиции-и
osnov-i na počti 50-godišen opit i tradici-i
foundation(F)-PL of almost 50-year[M.SG] experience(M)[SG] & tradition(F)-PL

‘Our company has been built on the solid foundations of almost 50 years of experience and traditions.’

[Source:

http://staging.gcms5.co.uk/sites/bulgaria_bg/recruit/recruitment/permanent-recruitment.php (accessed on 20 March 2009)]

(5)

Дюроа се оттегли с развълнува-н-о сърц-е и
Djuroa se ottegli s razvǎlnuva-n-o sǎrc-e i
Duroy REFL retire.PAST[3SG] with excite-PASS.PPRT-NT.SG heart(NT)-SG and

ум.

um.

mind(M)[SG]

‘Duroy retired with an excited heart and mind’

[Source: Guy de Maupassant, *Bel Ami*, Bulgarian translation by Iskra Panova:
Мопасан, Г. (1979). *Бел Ами*. София: Народна култура, стр. 129. превод Искра Панова.)]

(6)

Тя сега бавно се отрищва и ги тласка към едн-о
Tja sega bavno se otprištva i gi tlaska kǎm edn-o
she.NOM now slowly REFL free[3SG] & them.ACC push[3SG] to one-NT.SG

не-среща-н-о доскоро желани-е и хъс
ne-srešta-n-o doskoro želani-e i xǎs
NEG-meet-PASS.PPRT-NT.SG recently desire(NT)-SG & ambition(M)[SG]

за успех, за побед-а, за постиган-е на цел.
za uspeh, za pobed-a, za postigan-e na cel.
for success(M)[SG] for victory(F)-SG for achieving(NT)-SG of goal(F)[SG]

‘She is now slowly released and pushes them to a desire and ambition, until recently unfamiliar, to succeed, to be victorious, to achieve the goal.’

[Source: http://www.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/bul/novini/goreschi_novini/skr_bna_vest (accessed on 13 April 2009)]

(7)

рол-я-та на селектира-н-и-те компани-и за
rolj-a-ta na selektira-n-i-te kompani-i za
role(F)-SG-DEF of select-PASS.PPRT-PL-DEF company(F)-PL for

устойчив-о-то развити-е на българск-а-та
ustojčiv-o-to razviti-e na bălgarsk-a-ta
sustainable-NT.SG-DEF development(NT)-SG of Bulgarian-F.SG-DEF

икономик-а и едър бизнес
ikonomik-a i edăr biznes
economy(F)-SG and big[M.SG] business(M)[SG]

‘the contribution of the selected companies to the sustainable development of the Bulgarian economy and big business’

[Source: News programme]

(8)

Приятн-а почивк-а и празниц-и
Prijatn-a počivk-a i praznic-i
pleasant-F.SG break(F)-SG and holiday(M)-PL

‘Have a good break and holidays’

[Source: E-mail message, 4 Sept 2011]

(9)

край на обяв-ен-а-та проверк-а и обучени-е
kraj na objav-en-a-ta proverk-a i obučeni-e
end(M)[SG] of announce-PASS.PPRT-F.SG-DEF testing(F)-SG & training(NT)-SG

‘end of the announced testing and training’

[Source: announcement made during servicing the emergency alarms of Sofia on 01 October 2009]

(10)

По този начин настоящи-ят статус и проблем-и
Po tozi način nastojašti-jat status i problem-i
in this.M.SG way(M)[SG] present[M.SG]-DEF status(M)[SG] & problem(M)-PL

на здравн-а-та реформ-а в България са практическ-и
na zdravn-a-ta reform-a v Bălgarija sa praktičesk-i
of health-F.SG-DEF reform(F)-SG in Bulgaria be.PRES.3PL practical-M.SG

резултат...
rezultat...
result(M)[SG]

‘In this way, the present state and problems of the healthcare reform in Bulgaria are the practical result...’

[Source: article on Bulgarian healthcare reform accessed on 01 October 2009]

(11)

съвместим и взаимодействащ хардуер и софтуер
săvmesti-m i vzaimo-dejstva-št harduer i softuer
compat-ible[M.SG] & inter-act-ing[M.SG] hardware(M)[SG] & software(M)[SG]

‘compatible and interacting hardware and software’

[Source: brochure]

(12)

много от звездите на българско-то кино и
mnogo ot zvezd-i-te na bălgarsk-o-to kin-o i
many of star(F)-PL-DEF of Bulgarian-NT.SG-DEF cinema(NT)-SG and

театър
teatăr
theatre(M)[SG]

‘a lot of the stars of Bulgarian theatre and cinema’

[Source: <http://www.vesti.bg/?tid=40&oid=2485471> (accessed on 06 Oct 2009)]

(13)

като част от респекта към човешката свобода
kato čast ot respekt-a kăm čovešk-a-ta svobod-a
as part(F)[SG] of respect(M)[SG]-DEF to human-F.SG-DEF freedom(F)-SG

и достойнство
i dostojnstv-o
and dignity(NT)-SG

‘as part of the respect for human freedom and dignity’

[Source:

http://dnevnik.bg/analizi/2009/10/07/796428_otnovo_shte_se_pogazva_svobodata_na_viarata/ (accessed on 07 Oct 2009)]

(14)

Това [...] показва негов-а-та низост и селяндурск-и
Tova [...] pokazva negov-a-ta nizost i seljandursk-i
this.NT.SG show[3SG] his-F.SG-DEF baseness(F)[SG] and boorish-M.SG

манталитет
mantalitet
mentality(M)[SG]

‘This [...] shows his baseness and boorish mentality’

[Source: <http://vbox7.com/play:27b45779> (accessed on 09 Oct 2009)]

(15)

Културни-ят туризъм е по сво-е-то
Kulturni-jat turizăm e po svo-e-to
cultural[M.SG]-DEF tourism(M)[SG] be.PRES.3SG according.to own-NT.SG-DEF

съществ-о и дефиници-я обиколен, между-народен
săstestv-o i definici-ja obikolen, meždu-naroden
nature(NT)-SG and definition(F)-SG roundabout[M.SG] inter-national[M.SG]

туризъм
turizăm
tourism(M)[SG]

‘According to its nature and definition, cultural tourism is roundabout, international tourism’

[Source: http://dnevnik.bg/pazari/turizam/2009/10/11/797931_strategiata_za_kulturen_turizmu_shte_se_razglejda_ot/ (accessed on 11 Oct 2009)]

(16)

Такава мизери-я и упадък само в
Takava mizeri-ja i upadăk samo v
such.F.SG misery(F)-SG and decay(M)[SG] only in

затъnten-и-те кътче-та на Албания съм вижда-л.
zatănten-i-te kătče-ta na Albanija sâm vižda-l.
remote-PL-DEF corner(NT)-PL of Albania AUX.1SG see-PPRT[M.SG]

‘I have only seen such misery and decay in the remote corners of Albania.’

[Source: http://dnevnik.bg/dnevnikplus/2009/10/07/796257_v_galata_i_bulgarski_izvor_jivotu_t_teche_daleche_ot/ (accessed on 11 Oct 2009)]

(17)

Г-н	X	зарази	аудитори-я-та	със	сво-я-та
G-n	X	zarazi	auditori-ja-ta	sās	svo-ja-ta
Mr.	X	infect.PAST[3SG]	audience(F)-SG-DEF	with	own-F.SG-DEF

непринуденост, изтънчен хумор и виталност.
nepinudenost, iztānčen xumor i vitalnost.
friendliness(F)[SG] sophisticated[M.SG] humour(M)[SG] and vitality(F)[SG]

‘Mr X infected the audience with his friendly behaviour, sophisticated humour and vitality.’

[Source:

http://www.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/bul/novini/goreschi_novini/eduard_olbi_v_sofijskiya_universitet
(accessed on 13 October 2009)]

(18)

не-ефективн-о	производств-о	и	използван-е	на	енерги-я-та
ne-efektivn-o	proizvodstv-o	i	izpolzvan-e	na	energi-ja-ta
NEG-efficient-NT.SG	production(NT)-SG	&	use(NT)-SG	of	energy(F)-SG-DEF

‘inefficient production and use of energy’

[Source:

http://dnevnik.bg/analizi/2009/10/14/799949_ne_e_vreme_za_uspokoenie/ (accessed on 14 October 2009)]

(19)

Подобн-о	сътрудничеств-о	и	координаци-я	бя-ха
Podobn-o	sātrudničestv-o	i	koordinaci-ja	bja-xa
similar-NT.SG	cooperation(NT)-SG	and	coordination(F)-SG	be.PAST-3PL

не-мисли-м-и при предишн-и криз-и.
ne-misli-m-i pri predišn-i kriz-i.
NEG-think-able-PL during previous-PL crisis(F)-PL

‘Such cooperation and coordinated efforts were unthinkable during previous crises.’

[Source:

http://dnevnik.bg/analizi/2009/10/14/799949_ne_e_vreme_za_uspokoenie/ (accessed on 14 October 2009)]

(20)

да осигурява-ме жизнено важн-а подкреп-а и
da osigurjava-me žizneno važn-a podkrep-a i
COMP provide-1PL vitally important-F.SG support(F)-SG and

финансов-а помощ за Източн-а Европ-а
finansov-a pomošt za Iztočn-a Evrop-a
financial-F.SG assistance(F)[SG] for Eastern-F.SG Europe(F)-SG

‘to provide vital support and financial aid for Eastern Europe’

[Source:

http://dnevnik.bg/analizi/2009/10/14/799949_ne_e_vreme_za_uspokoenie/ (accessed on 14 October 2009)]

(21)

...нейн-а-та сложност и многообрази-е [...] доказва-т...
...nejn-a-ta složnost i mnogoobrazi-e [...] dokazva-t...
her-F.SG-DEF complexity(F)[SG] and diversity(NT)-SG demonstrate-3PL

‘...its [=Canada’s] complexity and diversity [...] demonstrate...’

[Source: [http://www.uni-](http://www.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/bul/novini/goreschi_novini/kulturno_mnogoobrazie_i_socialno_edinstvo_kanadskiyat_opit)

[sofia.bg/index.php/bul/novini/goreschi_novini/kulturno_mnogoobrazie_i_socialno_edinstvo_kanadskiyat_opit](http://www.uni-sofia.bg/index.php/bul/novini/goreschi_novini/kulturno_mnogoobrazie_i_socialno_edinstvo_kanadskiyat_opit) (accessed on 16 October 2009)]

(22)

Така Мартин Димитров отговори косвено на укор-и-те
Taka Martin Dimitrov otgovori kosveno na ukor-i-te
thus Martin Dimitrov reply.PAST[3SG] indirectly to accusation(M)-PL-DEF

към него за негов-а-та младост и не-опитност.
kǎm nego za negov-a-ta mladost i ne-opitnost.
against him.ACC about his-F.SG-DEF youth(F)[SG] and NEG-experience(F)[SG]

‘In this way, Martin Dimitrov indirectly addressed the accusations that he is too young and inexperienced.’

[Source:

http://dnevnik.bg/bulgaria/2009/10/17/801225_martin_dimitrov_objavi_sds_za_jiva_i_perspektivna (accessed on 17 October 2009)]

(23)

...и	обрекъ-л	любим-и-те	си	желез-а	на
...i	obrekǎ-l	ljubim-i-te	si	želez-a	na
and	consign-PPRT[M.SG]	favourite-PL-DEF	own	iron(NT)-PL	to

вечен	плен	и	ръжд-а.
večen	plen	i	rǎžd-a.
eternal[M.SG]	captivity(M)[SG]	and	rust(F)-SG

‘and then he consigned his favourite iron to eternal captivity and rust.’

[Source: ‘Хаджи Ахил’, short story by Ivan Vazov, 1882 (Иван Вазов, „Хаджи Ахил”)]

Resolved Agreement

(1)

огромн-и	сърп	и	чук
ogromn-i	sǎrp	i	čuk
enormous-PL	sickle(M)[SG]	and	hammer(M)[SG]

‘an enormous hammer and sickle’

[Source: news broadcast on Bulgarian national TV from 27 September 2009]

(2)

Тя	е	в	болниц-а	със	счуп-ен-и
Tja	e	v	bolnic-a	sǎs	sčup-en-i
she.NOM	be.PRES.3SG	in	hospital(F)-SG	with	break-PASS.PPRT-PL

рък-а	и	ребр-а.
rǎk-a	i	rebr-a.
arm(F)-SG	and	rib(NT)-PL

‘She is in hospital with a broken arm and ribs’

[Source: BTV news, 13 Oct 2009 (БТВ Новините, 13 октомври 2009)]

APPENDIX II

BULGARIAN QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

PART 1

Questionnaire Design

Section 1

INFORMANT'S DETAILS:

Age:

Sex: M/F

Education:

Native language(s):

Foreign languages:

Home town:

Any other place that you've lived in:

Section 2

INSTRUCTIONS:

*По-долу са дадени извадки от упражнения за чужденци, които изучават български език. Моля попълнете празните места с **ЕДНА** дума, която да започва с дадената буква (букви), така че да се получи смислено изречение.*

*Po-dolu sa dadeni izvadki ot upražnenija za čuždenci, koito izučavat bālgarski ezik. Molja popālnete praznite mesta s **EDNA** дума, kojato da započva s dadenata bukva (bukvi), taka če da se poluči smisleno izrečenie.*

*The sentences below come from exercises designed for foreign learners of Bulgarian. Please fill in the gaps with **ONE** word beginning with the letter(s) given, so that you form a sentence which makes sense.*

Section 3

TEST SENTENCES:

1. Grammatical role: Subject; Type of target: possessive pronoun as determiner:

- *Mo_____ братче и сестриче/брат и сестра/братовчед и сестра* много се грижат за мен и помагат вкъщи.
- *Mo_____ bratče i sestriče/brat i sestra/bratovčed i sestra* mnogo se grižat za men i pomagat v kăšti.
- *M_____ little brother and little sister (diminutive, N + N; natural coord.)/brother and sister (M + F; natural coord.)/cousin and sister (M + F; accidental coord.)* look after me a lot and help around the house.

- *Mo_____ куче и коте/куче и котка/хамстер и мишка* постоянно се бият и затова ги държа в отделни стаи.
- *Mo_____ kuče i kote/kuče i kotka/xamster i miška* postojanno se bijat i zatova gi dărža v otdelni stai.
- *M_____ doggie and kitty (N + N; natural coord.)/dog and cat (N + F; natural coord.)/ hamster and mouse (M + F; accidental coord.)* are always fighting – that’s why I keep them in separate rooms.

- *Mo_____ пушка и сабя/пушка и пистолет/пушка и лък* спечелиха първа награда на ловното изложение.
- *Mo_____ puška i sabja/puška i pistol/puška i lăk* spečelixa părva nagrada na lovnoto izloženie.
- *M_____ rifle and sword (F + F; natural coord.?) /rifle and pistol (F + M; natural coord.)/rifle and bow (F + M)* won the first prize at the hunting exhibition.

2. Grammatical role: Subject of an embedded clause; Type of target: possessive pronoun as determiner; (NB! coordinate phrase followed by PL verb and PL adjective (unlike 1, where there is only a PL verb)):

- Всеки си мисли, че *ne_____ жена и дъщеря/жена и деца/дете и внук* са най-добрите на света.
- Vseki si misli, že *ne_____ žena i dăsterja/žena i deca/dete i vnuk* sa naj-dobrite na sveta.
- Everyone thinks that *h_____ wife and daughter (F + F; accidental (or maybe natural)⁵ coord.)/wife and children (F + PL; natural coord.)/child and grandchild (N + M; accidental coord.)* are the best in the world.

⁵It has not always been straightforward to determine what is natural and what is accidental coordination, as there is often no clear-cut boundary between typical and random collocations. Sometimes, what initially seemed to belong to one type, on closer inspection, turned out to be closer to the other.

- Той си мисли, че *не* _____ куче и коте/куче и котка/кон и крава са по-породисти от тези на съседите.
 - Toj si misli, če *ne* _____ kuče i kote/kuče i kotka/kon i krava sa po-pородisti ot tezi na sāseditē.
 - He thinks that *h* _____ doggie and kitty (N + N; natural coord.)/cat and dog (N + F; natural coord.)/horse and cow (M + F; accidental coord.) are of a better pedigree than the neighbours’.
-
- Той си мисли, че *не* _____ бира и ракия/вино и ракия/маса и табуретки ще са достатъчни за гостите, но може би ще му се наложи да вземе на заем от съседите.
 - Toj si misli, če *ne* _____ bira i rakija/vino i rakija/masa i taburetki šte sa dostatačni za gostite, no može bi šte mu se naloži da vzeme na zaem ot sāseditē.
 - He thinks that *h* _____ beer and brandy (F + F; natural coord.)/wine and brandy (N + F; natural coord.)/table and stools (F + PL; accidental coord.) will be enough for all the guests, but he might have to borrow some from the neighbours.

3. Grammatical role: Direct object; Type of target: possessive pronoun as determiner:

- Аз много обичам *св* _____ баба и леля/баба и дядо/баба и прадыдо и с удоволствие оставам при тях през ваканциите.
 - Az mnogo običam *sv* _____ baba i lelja/baba i djado/baba i pradjado i s udovolstvie ostavam pri tjax prez vakanciite.
 - I really love *m* _____ (*lit. the own*) grandma and aunt (F + F; accidental coord.)/grandma and granddad (F + M; natural coord.)/grandma and great-granddad (F + M; accidental coord.), and enjoy staying with them during the holidays.
-
- Иван много обича *ва* _____ куче и коте/куче и котка/куче и мишка и все ме моли да го водя у вас, за да ги гали.
 - Ivan mnogo običa *va* _____ kuče i kote/kuče i kotka/kuče i miška i vse me moli da go vodja u vas, za da gi gali.
 - Ivan really loves *yo* _____ doggie and kitty (N + N; natural coord.)/cat and dog (N + F; natural coord.)/dog and mouse (N + F; accidental coord.), and he always asks me to take him to your place so that he can pet them.

- Той много обича *св*_____ **вилаца и лъжица/нож и вилица/плато и лъжица**, защото си ги е купил от чужбина и са му скъп спомен.
- Toj mnogo običa *sv*_____ **vilica i lăžica/nož i vilica/plato i lăžica**, zaštoto si gi e kupil ot čužbina i sa mu skăp spomen.
- He really likes *hi*_____ (*lit. the own*) **fork and spoon (F + F; natural coord.)/knife and fork (M + F; natural coord.)/platter and spoon (N + F; accidental coord.)**, because he bought them when he was abroad and they are a dear souvenir.

4. Grammatical role: Prepositional complement (of the same Bulgarian preposition!);
Type of target: possessive pronoun as determiner:

- Бих направил всичко за *тв*_____ **момче и момиче/син и дъщеря/дете и внук**, защото ги чувствам така, че все едно на мене са ми деца.
 - Bix napravil vsičko za *tv*_____ **momče i momiče/sin i dăšterja/dete i vnuk**, zaštoto gi čuvstvam taka, če vse edno na mene sa mi deca.
 - I would do anything for *yo*_____ **boy and girl (N + N; natural coord.)/son and daughter (M + F; natural coord.)/child and grandchild (N + M; accidental coord.)**, because I love them as if they were my own children.
-
- Много обичам да се грижа за *тв*_____ **куче и коте/куче и котка/папагал и канарче**, докато тебе те няма – това наистина ми доставя удоволствие и не ме натоварваш ни най-малко.
 - Mnogo obiçam da se griža za *tv*_____ **kuče i kote/kuče i kotka/papgal i kanarče**, dokato tebe te njama – tova naistina mi dostavja udovolstvie i ne me natovarvaš ni naj-malko.
 - I really enjoy taking care of *yo*_____ **doggie and kitty (N + N; natural coord.)/cat and dog (N + F; natural coord.)/parrot and canary-bird (M + N; accidental coord.)** while you're away – this is a real pleasure and it's not a problem at all.
-
- Трябва да се позамислиш за *тв*_____ **къща и кола/къща и апартамент/къща и микробус** – и двете се нуждаят от ремонт и няма да има с какво да докараш гостите и къде да ги настаниш, ако не вземеш мерки.
 - Trjabva da se pozamisliš za *tv*_____ **kăšta i kola/kăšta i apartament/kăšta i mikrobus** – i dvete se nuždajot ot remont i njama da ima s kakvo da dokaraš gostite i kăde da gi nastaniš, ako ne vzemeš merki.
 - You should think about *yo*_____ **house and car (F + F; natural coord.)/house and flat (F + M; accidental (or natural?) coord.)/house and van (F + M; accidental coord.)** – both need repairing and you won't have anything to drive your guests in or anywhere to put them up, if you don't take any measures. (*adapted according to the conjuncts in the actual questionnaire*)

5. Grammatical role: Subject; Type of target: adjective as pre-modifier:

- *Но* _____ момче и момиче/ученик и ученичка/ученик и учителка бяха приети добре в класа и както учителите, така и учениците, им помогнаха да се адаптират.
- *No* _____ момче и момиче/ученик и ученичка/ученик и учителка бяха приети добре в класа и както учителите, така и учениците, им помогнаха да се адаптират.
- The *ne* _____ boy and girl (N + N; natural coord.)/schoolboy and schoolgirl (M + F; accidental (or maybe natural?) coord.)/schoolboy and teacher (M + F; accidental coord.) were welcomed to the class and both the teachers and the pupils helped them to adapt.

- *Но* _____ къща и кола/апартамент и кола/къща и камион бяха много скъпи и затова му се наложи да продаде и двата си стари апартамента, за да може да си ги позволи.
- *No* _____ kăšta i kola/apartament i kola/kăšta i kamion бяха много скъпи и затова му се наложи да продаде и двата си стари апартамента, за да може да си ги позволи.
- The *ne* _____ house and car (F + F; natural coord.)/flat and car (M + F; accidental (or maybe natural?) coord.)/house and lorry (F + M; accidental coord.) were so expensive that he had to sell both his old flats to be able to afford them.

6. Grammatical role: Direct object; Type of target: adjective as pre-modifier:

- Намериха на детето от сиропиталището *но* _____ майка и леля/майка и татко/дом и родители и то много се зарадва, че най-сетне ще заживее в истинско семейство.
- Namerixa na deteto ot siropitališteto *no* _____ majka i lelja/majka i tatko/dom i roditeli i to mnogo se zaradva, če naj-setne šte zaživee v istinsko semejstvo.
- They found the child from the orphanage a *ne* _____ mother and aunt (F + F; accidental coord.)/mother and father (F + M; natural coord.)/home and parents (M + PL; accidental coord.), and the child was very happy that he would finally have a real family.

- Не че имах много нужда, но си купих *но* _____ блуза и пола/пола и панталон/яке и гердан – ела да видиш дали ще ти харесат.
- Ne če imax mnogo nužda, no si kupix *no* _____ bluzi i pola/pola i pantalon/jake i gerdan – ela da vidiš dali šte ti xaresat.
- Not that I really needed to, but I bought a *ne* _____ blouse and skirt (F + F; natural coord.)/skirt and trousers (F + M; natural coord.)/jacket and necklace (N + M; accidental coord.) – come and tell me what you think.

7. Grammatical role: Subject; Type of target: demonstrative pronoun as determiner:

- *T*_____ момче и момиче/мъж и жена/служител и секретарка на снимката бяха изправени пред съда, защото са се опитали да извършат финансова измама.
- *T*_____ momče i momiče/máž i žena/slужitel i sekretarka na snimkata bjaxa izpraveni pred sáda, zaštoto sa se opitali da izvăršat finansova izmama.
- *Th*_____ boy and girl (N + N; natural coord.)/man and woman (M + F; natural coord.)/official and secretary (M + F; accidental coord.) in the picture are standing trial because they've attempted to commit fraud.

- *T*_____ куче и коте/куче и котка/хамстер и мишка на двора не престават да се бият – омръзнаха ми вече!
- *T*_____ kuče i kote/kuče i kotka/хамster i miška na dvora ne prestavat da se bijat – omrăznaха mi veče!
- *Th*_____ doggie and kitty (N + N; natural coord.)/cat and dog (N + F; natural coord.)/hamster and mouse (M + F; accidental coord.) in the garden won't stop fighting – I'm fed up with them!

- *T*_____ легло и канопе/маса и стол/канопе и диван в хола са ми много неудобни – добре щеше да е, ако ги бяха тапицирали.
- *T*_____ leglo i kanape/masa i stol/kanape i divan v xola sa mi mnogo neudobni – dobre šteše da e, ako gi bjaxa tapicirali.
- *Th*_____ bed and couch (N + N; natural coord. (might actually be accidental))/table and chair (F + M; natural coord.)/ couch and sofa (N + M; accidental coord.) in the living room are very uncomfortable – it would have been great if they had upholstered them.

8. Grammatical role: Direct object; Type of target: demonstrative pronoun as determiner:

- Виждаш ли *t*_____ момче и момиче/мъж и жена/мъж и момиче в ъгъла – за тях ти говорех, че са се оженили наскоро.
- Viždaš li *t*_____ momče i momiče/máž i žena/máž i momiče v ágála – за tjax ti govorex, če sa se oženili naskoro.
- Can you see *th*_____ boy and girl (N + N; natural coord.)/man and woman (M + F; natural coord.)/man and girl (M + N; accidental coord.) – they are the ones I was telling you got married recently.

- Виждаш ли *m*_____ куче и коте/куче и котка/хамстер и папагалче в ъгъла– тях ли искаш да купим или да проверим и в следващия магазин?
- Viždaš li *t*_____ **kuče i kote/kuče i kotka/xamster i papagalče** v āgāla – tjax li iskaš da kupim ili da proverim i v sledvaštija magazin?
- Can you see *th*_____ **doggie and kitty (N + N; natural coord.)/cat and dog (N + F; natural coord.)/hamster and parrot (M + N; accidental coord.)** in the corner – is it them you wanted to buy or shall we have a look in the next shop too?
- Я виж *m*_____ **тетрадка и химикалка/пръстен и огърлица/тефтер и фенерче** на долния рафт – тях ли искаш да купим или първо ще разгледаме и в другите магазини?
- Ja viž *t*_____ **tetradka i ximikalka/prāsten i ogārlica/tefter i fenerče** na dolnija raft – tjax li iskaš da kupim ili pārvo šte razgledame i v drugite magazini?
- Look at *th*_____ **notebook and pen (F + F; natural coord.)/ring and necklace (M + F; accidental (or maybe natural) coord.)/notebook and flashlight (M + N; accidental coord.)** on the lower shelf – is it them you wanted to buy or shall we have a look in the other shops first?

Section 4

FILLER SENTENCES:

Example from the instructions:

- Нашата улица не пострада сериозно при наводнението, но на съседната улица имаше много щети, защото тя е по-близо до реката.
- Našata ulica ne postrada seriozno pri navodnenieto, no na sǎsednata ulica imaše mnogo šteti, zaštoto tja e po-blizo do rekata.
- Our street didn't suffer serious damage in the flood, but the one next to it was seriously affected because it's closer to the river.

Actual fillers:

- Не се знае кога ще бъде в_____ решение за новата атомна електроцентрала.
- Ne se znae koga šte bǎde v_____ rešenje za novata atomna elektrocentrala.
- It remains unclear when exactly the decision about the new nuclear power plant will be ta_____.

- Ако си до_____ дете, обещавам да ти купя близалка. Затова бъди послушен и не прави бели.
 - Ako si do_____ dete, obeštavam da ti kupja blizalka. Zatova bādi poslušen i ne pravi beli.
 - If you're a go_____ boy, I promise I'll buy you sweets, so behave yourself and don't cause any trouble.
-
- Бих и_____ да работя върху втория въпрос, но не знам дали преподавателят ще ми позволи.
 - Bix i_____ da robotja vārhu vtorija vāpros, no ne znam dali prepodavateljat šte mi pozvoli.
 - I would l_____ to work on the second question, but I'm not sure if the teacher will allow me to.
-
- Всичко се случи съвсем ненадейно – от_____ на пазар, когато някой им казал, че къщата им е ограбена.
 - Vsičko se sluči sāvsem nenadejno – ot_____ na pazar, kogato njakoj im казал, че kāštata im e ograbena.
 - It all happened suddenly and unexpectedly – they were go_____ shopping when someone told them that they'd been burgled.
-
- Информацията за инцидента е оск_____ – почти нищо не беше съобщено в медиите.
 - Informacijata za incidenta e osk_____ – počti ništo ne beše sāvššteno v mediite.
 - There was only sc_____ information about the accident – hardly anything was announced in the media.
-
- За да се предпазите от на_____ през есента, трябва да носите топли дрехи и да пиете много чай и витамини.
 - Za da se predpazite ot na_____ prez esenta, trjabva da nosite topli drevi i da piete mnogo čaj i vitamini.
 - To avoid catching a co_____ in autumn, you should wear warm clothes and drink a lot of tea and vitamins.
-
- Той може и да не е добър ученик, но пък за см_____ на това е много будно и добродушно дете.
 - Toj može i da ne e dobār učenik, no pāk za sm_____ na tova e mnogo budno i dobrodušno dete.
 - He may not be a good student, but in sp_____ of that he is a very switched-on and good-natured kid.

- За рождения си ден мисля да поканя само те_____ кръг приятели, защото нямам достатъчно пари за голям купон с много хора.
 - Za roždenija si den mislja da pokanja samo te_____ krąg prijateli, zaštoto njamam dostatačno pari za goljam kupon s mnogo хора.
 - For my birthday, I'm planning to invite only my cl_____ friends, because I don't have enough money to throw a huge party with lots of people.
-
- Страната е изправена пред остра ик_____ криза – много предприятия са пред фалит, а безработицата надминава 20 процента.
 - Stranata e izpravena pred ostra ik_____ kriza – mnogo predprijatija sa pred falit, a bezraboticata nadminava 20 procenta.
 - The country is faced with a deep ec_____ crisis – many businesses are on the verge of bankruptcy and unemployment has exceeded 20 percent.
-
- Гергана е с черна коса и тъмни очи, а сестра ѝ с руса коса и св_____ очи – никога не можеш да кажеш, че са сестри.
 - Gergana e s černa kosa i tãmni oči, a sestra í, s rusa kosa i sv_____ oči – nikoga ne možeš da kažeš, če sa sestri.
 - Gergana has black hair and dark eyes, while her sister has blonde hair and br_____ eyes – you wouldn't be able to tell they are sisters.
-
- Отивам да взема децата от детската градина. Искаш ли да д_____ с мен или ще останеш да приготвиш вечерята?
 - Otivam da vzema decata ot detskata gradina. Iskaš li da d_____ s men ili šte ostaneš da prigotviš večerjata?
 - I'm going to pick up the children from kindergarten. Would you like to c_____ with me, or will you stay home and cook dinner?
-
- Моля вн_____ прочетете инструкциите, преди да започнете да работите по задачите.
 - Molja vn_____ pročetete instrukciite, predi da započnete da rabotite po zadačite.
 - Please read the instructions ca_____ before you start working on the assignments.
-
- Милена притежава с_____ познания по геометрия – затова можеш да се обръщаш към нея, когато имаш проблем в училище.
 - Milena pritežava s_____ poznanija po geometrija – zatova možeš da se obraštaš kãm neja, kogato imaš problem v učilište.
 - Milena has a s_____ knowledge of geometry, so you can ask her for help if you're finding it hard at school.

- Ако случайно из_____ в опасност, не се колебайте да се обърнете за помощ към най-близкото поделение на МВР.
 - Ako slučajno iz_____ v opasnost, ne se kolebajte da se obärnete za pomošt kām naj-blizkoto podelenie na MVR.
 - If you happen to be i_____ danger, don't hesitate to seek help from the nearest police station.
-
- Жената, която видях, беше на ср_____ възраст – може би на около 35.
 - Ženata, kojato vidjax, beše na sr_____ vāzrast – može bi na okolo 35.
 - The woman I saw was mi_____ -aged – maybe around 35.
-
- По_____ ми ръка, защото не мога да се изправя сам – прекалено стар съм вече.
 - Po_____ mi rāka, zaštoto ne moga da se izpravja sam – prekaleno star sām veče.
 - G_____ me a hand because I can't get up on my own – I'm too old.
-
- Президентът на републиката направи об_____ към нацията, което беше излъчено по националната телевизия.
 - Prezidentāt na republikata napravī ob_____ kām nacijata, koeto beše izlāčeno po nacionalnata televizija.
 - The President of the Republic delivered an add_____ to the nation which was broadcast on national TV.
-
- Госпожо, не разбрах дали трябва заедно да работим по задачите или по_____ .
 - Gospožo, ne razbrax dali trjabva zaedno da rabotim po zadačite ili po_____.
 - Mrs., I didn't get if we were supposed to work on the problems together or in_____.
-
- Петър не допуска много г_____, когато пише на английски, защото е учил в английско училище.
 - Petār ne dopuska mnogo g_____, kogato piše na anglijski, zaštoto e učil v anglijsko učilište.
 - Peter doesn't make many m_____ when he writes in English, because he went to an English school.
-
- Недейте да вд_____ шум, защото баща ви спи след нощна смяна.
 - Nedejte da vd_____ šum, zaštoto bašta vi spi sled noštna smjana.
 - Don't m_____ so much noise because your father is asleep after his night shift.

- Една добра секретарка трябва да умее да води ко_____ на поне два езика – да пише официални писма, да отговаря на имейли и да говори по телефона с чуждестранни клиенти.
 - Edna dobra sekretarka trjabva da umee da vodi ko_____ na pone dva ezika – da piše oficialni pisma, da otgovarja na imejli i da govori po telefona s čuždestranni klienti.
 - A good administrative assistant must be able to handle cor_____ in at least two languages – i.e. to write formal letters, to reply to email messages and talk on the phone with international clients.
-
- Сл_____ отбори бързо отпаднаха от класирането, защото не се бяха подготвили достатъчно и не разполагаха с добри играчи.
 - Sl_____ otbori bърzo otpadnaxa ot klasiraneto, zaštoto ne se bjaxa podgotvili dostatačno i ne razpolagaxa s dobri igrači.
 - The we_____ teams quickly dropped out, because they hadn't trained enough and didn't have good players.
-
- Ако видиш някъде брат ми, кажи м_____, че мама каза, че трябва да се прибере веднага.
 - Ako vidiš njakāde brat mi, kaži m_____, če mama kaza, če trjabva da se pribere vednaga.
 - If you see my brother anywhere, tell h_____ that Mum said he should immediately come home.
-
- Търсих под дърво и к_____, но не мога никъде да ги открия.
 - Tърsix pod dърvo i k_____, no ne moga nikāde da gi otkrija.
 - I searched high and l_____, but I couldn't find them anywhere.
-
- Го_____ количество ресурси ще бъдат вложени в новия проект за развитие на региона.
 - Go_____ količestvo resursi šte bādat vloženi v novija proekt za razvitie na regiona.
 - A la_____ amount of resources will be invested in the new project for the development of the region.
-
- И п_____ пари не давам какво прави Димитър – хич не ме интересува!
 - I p_____ pari ne davam kakvo pravi Dimitър – xič ne me interesuva!
 - I couldn't care l_____ what Dimitър is up to – I'm just not interested!

- За първи път се пр_____ опит да се въведе безконтролна намеса на държавата в личната сфера на гражданите.
- Za p̄rvi p̄t se pr_____ opit da se v̄vede bezkontrolna namesa na d̄r̄žavata v liĉnata sfera na graždanite.
- For the first time an attempt has been m_____ to introduce uncontrolled state intervention in citizens' private lives.
- Утре трябва вече да сме готови за път. Не знам обаче коя кола е по-удачно да вземем – н_____ или вашата?
- Utre trjajbva veĉe da sme gotovi za p̄t. Ne znam obaĉe koja kola e po-udaĉno da vzemem – n_____ ili vařata?
- We have to be ready to go by tomorrow. I only don't know which car we should take – o____ or yours?

The additional fillers were as follows:

- Не е разрешено да се плува в езерото, защото то е много дъ_____.
- Ne e razreřeno da se pluva v ezeroto, zařtoto to e mnogo d̄_____.
- Swimming in the lake is forbidden because it's very de_____.
- Съдът оправда под_____ и го пусна на свобода.
- S̄d̄t opravda pod_____ i go pusna na svoboda.
- The court acquitted the acc_____ and set him free.
- Стариат човек имаше изключително добра памет – сп_____ си дори неща, случили се преди 50 години.
- Starijat ĉovek imaře izkljuĉitelno dobra pamet – sp_____ si dori neřta, sluĉili se predi 50 godini.
- The old man had an incredibly good memory – he even re_____ events that happened 50 years ago.

Section 5

DISTRIBUTION OF TEST ITEMS IN THE DIFFERENT TEST VERSIONS

Вариант 1/Version 1

- Аз много обичам св____ баба и леля и с удоволствие оставам при тях през ваканциите.
- Az mnogo običam sv____ baba i lelja i s udovolstvie ostavam pri tjax prez vakanciite.
- Т____ маса и стол в хола са ми много неудобни – добре щеше да е, ако ги бяха тапицирали.
- Т____ masa i stol v xola sa mi mnogo neudobni – dobre šteše da e, ako gi bjaxa tapicirali.
- Много обичам да се грижа за тв____ папагал и канарче, докато тебе те няма – това наистина ми доставя удоволствие и не ме натоварваш ни най-малко.
- Molto običam da se griža za tv____ papagal i kanarče, dokato tebe te njama – tova naistina mi dostavja udovolstvie i ne me natovarvaš ni naj-malko.

Вариант 2/Version 2

- Но____ къща и камион бяха много скъпи и затова му се наложи да продаде и двата си стари апартамента, за да може да си ги позволи.
- No____ kážta i kamion bjaxa mnogo skăpi i zatova mu se naloži da prodade i dvata si stari apartamenta, za da može da si gi pozvoli.
- Мо____ брат и сестра много се грижат за мен и помагат вкъщи.
- Mo____ brat i sestra mnogo se grižat za men i pomagat vkăšti.
- Той много обича св____ нож и вилица, защото си ги е купил от чужбина и са му скъп спомен.
- Toj mnogo običa sv____ nož i vilica, zaštoto si gi e kupil ot čužbina i sa mu skăp spomen.
- Виждаш ли т____ хамстер и папагалче в ъгъла – тях ли искаш да купим или да проверим и в следващия магазин?
- Viždaš li t____ xamster i papagalče v âğăla – tjax li iskaš da kupim ili da proverim i v sledvaštija magazin?

Вариант 3/Version 3

- Мо____ братовчед и сестра много се грижат за мен и помагат вкъщи.
- Мо____ bratovčed i sestra mnogo se grižat za men i pomagat vkašti.
- Иван много обича ва____ куче и котка и все ме моли да го вода у вас, за да ги гали.
- Ivan mnogo običa va____ kuče i kotka i vse me moli da go vodja u vas, za da gi gali.
- Виждаш ли т____ момче и момиче в ъгъла – за тях ти говорех, че са се оженили наскоро.
- Viždaš li t____ momče i momiče v aĝala – za tjax ti govorex, če sa se oženili naskoro.
- Но____ къща и кола бяха много скъпи и затова му се наложи да продаде и двата си стари апартамента, за да може да си ги позволи.
- No____ kašta i kola bjaxa mnogo skăpi i zatova mu se naloži da prodade i dvata si stari apartamenta, za da može da si gi pozvoli.

Вариант 4/Version 4

- Мо____ хамстер и мишка постоянно се бият и затова ги държа в отделни стаи.
- Мо____ hamster i miška postojanno se bijat i zatova gi dărža v otdelni stai.
- Но____ ученик и ученичка бяха приети добре в класа и както учителите, така и учениците, им помогнаха да се адаптират.
- No____ učenik i učenička bjaxa prieti dobre v klasa i kakto učitelite, taka i učenicite, im pomognaха da se adaptirat.
- Я виж т____ тетрадка и химикалка на долния рафт – тях ли искаш да купим или първо ще разгледаме и в другите магазини?
- Ja viž t____ tetradka i ximikalka na dolnija raft – tjax li iskaš da kupim ili pârvo šte razgledame i v drugite magazini?

Вариант 5/Version 5

- Мо____ куче и котка постоянно се бият и затова ги държа в отделни стаи.
- Мо____ kuče i kotka postojanno se bijat i zatova gi dър̀zha v otdelni stai.
- Но____ момче и момиче бяха приети добре в класа и както учителите, така и учениците, им помогнаха да се адаптират.
- No____ momче i momiче bяха prieti dobre v klasa i kakto učitelite, taka i učenicite, im pomognaха da se adaptirat.
- Той си мисли, че не____ маса и табуретки ще са достатъчни за гостите, но може би ще му се наложи да вземе на заем от съседите.
- Toj si misli, че ne____ masa i taburetki šte sa dostatačni za gostite, no mođe bi šte mu se naloži da vzeme na zaem ot sãsedite.
- Т____ легло и канапе в хола са ми много неудобни – добре щеше да е, ако ги бяха тапицирали.
- Т____ leglo i kanape v xola sa mi mnogo neudobni – dobre šteše da e, ako gi bяха tapicirali.

Вариант 6/Version 6

- Мо____ куче и коте постоянно се бият и затова ги държа в отделни стаи.
- Мо____ kuče i kote postojanno se bijat i zatova gi dър̀zha v otdelni stai.
- Но____ ученик и учителка бяха приети добре в класа и както учителите, така и учениците, им помогнаха да се адаптират.
- No____ učenik i učitelka bяха prieti dobre v klasa i kakto učitelite, taka i učenicite, im pomognaха da se adaptirat.
- Я виж т____ пръстен и огърлица на долния рафт – тях ли искаш да купим или първо ще разгледаме и в другите магазини?
- Ja viž t____ prãsten i ođarlica na dolnija raft – tjax li iskaš da kupim ili pãrvo šte razgledame i v drugite magazini?

Вариант 7/Version 7

- Мо____ пушка и пистолет спечелиха първа награда на ловното изложение.
- Мо____ puška i pistolet spečelixa p̄rva nagrada na lovnoto izloženie.
- Много обичам да се грижа за тв____ куче и котка, докато тебе те няма – това наистина ми доставя удоволствие и не ме натоварваш ни най-малко.
- Много običam da se griža za tv____ kuče i kotka, dokato tebe te njama – tova naistina mi dostavja udovolstvie i ne me natovarvaš ni naj-malko.
- Намериха на детето от сиропиталището но____ майка и леля и то много се зарадва, че най-сетне ще заживее в истинско семейство.
- Namerixa na deteto ot siropitališteto no____ majka i lelja i to mnogo se zaradva, če naj-setne šte zaživee v istinsko semejstvo.
- Т____ мъж и жена на снимката бяха изправени пред съда, защото са се опитали да извършат финансова измама.
- Т____ mǎž i žena na snimkata bjaxa izpraveni pred sǎda, zaštoto sa se opitali da izvǎršat finansova izmama.

Вариант 8/Version 8

- Мо____ пушка и сабя спечелиха първа награда на ловното изложение.
- Мо____ puška i sabja spečelixa p̄rva nagrada na lovnoto izloženie.
- Иван много обича ва____ куче и коте и все ме моли да го водя у вас, за да ги гали.
- Ivan mnogo običa va____ kuče i kote i vse me moli da go vodja u vas, za da gi gali.
- Но____ апартамент и кола бяха много скъпи и затова му се наложи да продаде и двата си стари апартамента, за да може да си ги позволи.
- No____ apartament i kola bjaxa mnogo skǎpi i zatova mu se naloži da prodade i dvata si stari apartamenta, za da može da si gi pozvoli.
- Виждаш ли т____ мъж и жена в ъгъла – за тях ти говорех, че са се оженили наскоро.
- Viždaš li t____ mǎž i žena v āgǎla – za tjax ti govorex, če sa se oženili naskoro.

Вариант 9/Version 9

- Мо____ пушка и лък спечелиха първа награда на ловното изложение.
- Мо____ puška i lък spečelixa pърva nagrada na lovnoto izloženie.
- Много обичам да се грижа за тв____ куче и коте, докато тебе те няма – това наистина ми доставя удоволствие и не ме натоварваш ни най-малко.
- Много običam da se griža za tv____ kuče i kote, dokato тебе te njama – това naistina mi dostavja udovolstvie i ne me natovarvaš ni naj-malko.
- Виждаш ли т____ мъж и момиче в ъгъла – за тях ти говорех, че са се оженили наскоро.
- Viždaš li t____ máž i momiče v ъgъla – за tjax ti govorex, че sa se oženili naskoro.

Вариант 10/Version 10

- Всеки си мисли, че не____ дете и внук са най-добрите на света.
- Vseki si misli, че ne____ dete i vnuk sa naj-dobrite na sveta.
- Трябва да се позамислиш за тв____ къща и микробус – и двете се нуждаят от ремонт и няма да има с какво да докараш гостите и къде да ги настаниш, ако не вземеш мерки.
- Trjabva da se pozamisliš za tv____ kăšta i mikrobus – i dвете se nuždajot ot remont i njama da ima s kakvo da dokaraš gostite i kăde da gi nastaniš, ako ne vzemeš merki.
- Т____ хамстер и мишка на двора не престават да се бият – омръзнаха ми вече!
- Т____ hamster i miška na dvora ne prestavat da se bijat – omrăznaха mi veče!

Вариант 11/Version 11

- Всеки си мисли, че не____ жена и деца са най-добрите на света.
- Vseki si misli, че ne____ žena i deca sa naj-dobrite na sveta.
- Трябва да се позамислиш за тв____ къща и апартамент – и двете се нуждаят от ремонт и няма да има с какво да докараш гостите и къде да ги настаниш, ако не вземеш мерки.
- Trjabva da se pozamisliš za tv____ kăšta i apartament – i dвете se nuždajot ot remont i njama da ima s kakvo da dokaraš gostite i kăde da gi nastaniš, ako ne vzemeš merki.
- Т____ куче и коте на двора не престават да се бият – омръзнаха ми вече!
- Т____ kuče i kote na dvora ne prestavat da se bijat – omrăznaха mi veče!

Вариант 12/Version 12

- Всеки си мисли, че не____ жена и дъщеря са най-добрите на света.
- Vseki si misli, če ne____ žena i dāšterja sa naj-dobrite na sveta.
- Той много обича св____ вилица и лъжица, защото си ги е купил от чужбина и са му скъп спомен.
- Toj mnogo običa sv____ vilica i lāžica, zaštoto si gi e kupil ot čužbina i sa mu skāp spomen.
- Т____ куче и котка на двора не престават да се бият – омръзнаха ми вече!
- Т____ kuče i kotka na dvora ne prestavat da se bijat – omrāznaха mi veče!

Вариант 13/Version 13

- Той си мисли, че не____ куче и коте са по-породисти от тези на съседите.
- Toj si misli, če ne____ kuče i kote sa po-porodisti ot tezi na sāsedite.
- Бих направил всичко за тв____ син и дъщеря, защото ги чувствам така, че все едно на мене са ми деца.
- Bix napravil vsičko za tv____ sin i dāšterja, zaštoto gi čuvstvam taka, če vse edno na mene sa mi deca.
- Т____ канапе и диван в хола са ми много неудобни – добре щеше да е, ако ги бяха тапицирали.
- Т____ kanape i divan v hola sa mi mnogo neudobni – dobre šteše da e, ako gi bjaха tapicirali.

Вариант 14/Version 14

- Той си мисли, че не____ куче и котка са по-породисти от тези на съседите.
- Toj si misli, če ne____ kuče i kotka sa po-porodisti ot tezi na sāsedite.
- Аз много обичам св____ баба и пралядо и с удоволствие оставам при тях през ваканциите.
- Az mnogo običam sv____ baba i pradjado i s udovolstvie ostavam pri tjaх през vakanciite.
- Т____ момче и момиче на снимката бяха изправени пред съда, защото са се опитали да извършат финансова измама.
- Т____ momče i momiče na snimkata bjaха izpraveni pred sāda, zaštoto sa se opitali da izvāršat finansova izmama.

Вариант 15/Version 15

- Той си мисли, че не____ кон и крава са по-породисти от тези на съседите.
- Toj si misli, če ne____ kon i krava sa po-porodisti ot tezi na sãsedite.
- Трябва да се позамислиш за тв____ къща и кола – и двете се нуждаят от ремонт и няма да има с какво да докараш гостите и къде да ги настаниш, ако не вземеш мерки.
- Trjabva da se pozamisliš za tv____ kãšta i kola – i dvete se nuždajot ot remont i njama da ima s kakvo da dokaraš gostite i kãde da gi nastaniš, ako ne vzemeš merki.
- Т____ служител и секретарка на снимката бяха изправени пред съда, защото са се опитали да извършат финансова измама.
- Т____ služitel i sekretarka na snimkata bjaxa izpraveni pred sãda, zaštoto sa se opitali da izvëršat finansova izmaama.

Вариант 16/Version 16

- Той си мисли, че не____ бира и ракия ще са достатъчни за гостите, но може би ще му се наложи да вземе на заем от съседите.
- Toj si misli, če ne____ bira i rakija šte sa dostatačni za gostite, no može bi šte mu se naloži da vzeme na zaem ot sãsedite.
- Иван много обича ва____ куче и мишка и все ме моли да го водя у вас, за да ги гали.
- Ivan mnogo običa va____ kuče i miška i vse me moli da go vodja u vas, za da gi gali.
- Намериха на детето от сиропиталището но____ майка и татко и то много се зарадва, че най-сетне ще заживее в истинско семейство.
- Namerixa na deteto ot siropitališteto no____ majka i tatko i to mnogo se zaradva, če naj-setne šte zaživee v istinsko semejstvo.
- Я виж т____ тефтер и фенерче на долния рафт – тях ли искаш да купим или първо ще разгледаме и в другите магазини?
- Ja viž t____ tefter i fenerče na dolnija raft – tjax li iskaš da kupim ili pārvo šte razgledame i v drugite magazini?

Вариант 17/Version 17

- Той много обича св____ плато и лъжица, защото си ги е купил от чужбина и са му скъп спомен.
- Toj mnogo obiĉa sv____ plato i lăžica, zaštoto si gi e kupil ot ĉužbina i sa mu skăp spomen.
- Бих направил всичко за тв____ момче и момиче, защото ги чувствам така, че все едно на мене са ми деца.
- Bix napravil vsiĉko za tv____ momĉe i momiĉe, zaštoto gi ĉuvstvam taka, ĉe vse edno na mene sa mi deca.
- Намериха на детето от сиропиталището но____ дом и родители и то много се зарадва, че най-сетне ще заживее в истинско семейство.
- Namerixa na deteto ot siropitališteto no____ dom i roditeli i to mnogo se zaradva, ĉe naj-setne Ńte zaŃivee v istinsko semejstvo.

Вариант 18/Version 18

- Мо____ братче и сестриче много се грижат за мен и помагат вкъщи.
- Мо____ bratĉe i sestriĉe mnogo se griŃat za men i pomagat vkăŃti.
- Той си мисли, че не____ вино и ракия ще са достатъчни за гостите, но може би ще му се наложи да вземе на заем от съседите.
- Toj si misli, ĉe ne____ vino i rakija Ńte sa dostatăĉni za gostite, no moŃe bi Ńte mu se naloŃi da vzeme na zaem ot săsedite.
- Не че имах много нужда, но си купих но____ пола и панталон – ела да видиш дали ще ти харесат.
- Ne ĉe imax mnogo nuŃda, no si kupix no____ pola i pantalon – ela da vidiŃ dali Ńte ti xaresat.

Вариант 19/Version 19

- Бих направил всичко за тв____ дете и внук, защото ги чувствам така, че все едно на мене са ми деца.
- Bix napravil vsiĉko za tv____ dete i vnuk, zaštoto gi ĉuvstvam taka, ĉe vse edno na mene sa mi deca.
- Не че имах много нужда, но си купих но____ блуза и пола – ела да видиш дали ще ти харесат.
- Ne ĉe imax mnogo nuŃda, no si kupix no____ bluza i pola – ela da vidiŃ dali Ńte ti xaresat.
- Виждаш ли т____ куче и коте в ъгъла – тях ли искаш да купим или да проверим и в следващия магазин?
- ViŃdaŃ li t____ kuĉe i kote v Ńġala – tjax li iskaŃ da kupim ili da proverim i v sledvaŃtija magazin?

Вариант 20/Version 20

- Аз много обичам св_____ баба и дядо и с удоволствие оставам при тях през ваканциите.
- Az mnogo običam sv_____ baba i djado i s udovolstvie ostavam pri tjax prez vakanciite.
- Виждаш ли т_____ куче и котка в ъгъла – тях ли искаш да купим или да проверим и в следващия магазин?
- Viždaš li t_____ kuče i kotka v aĝala – tjax li iskaš da kupim ili da proverim i v sledvaštija magazin?
- Не че имах много нужда, но си купих но_____ яке и гердан – ела да видиш дали ще ти харесат.
- Ne če imax mnogo nužda, no si kupix no_____ jake i gerdan – ela da vidiš dali šte ti xaresat.

PART 2

RESULTS GROUPED ACCORDING TO THE CONTROLLERS

Section 1

HUMAN CONTROLLERS⁶

<i>Bulgarian example</i>	<i>English translation</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>Sameness of gender</i>	<i>Animacy status</i>	<i>Nat. v accid. coord.</i>	<i>Gram. function</i>
Tozi/tezi māj i žena na snimkata bjaxa izpraveni pred sāda	This/these man and woman	1	5	no	human	natural	subject
Tozi/tezi služitel i sekretarka na snimkata bjaxa izpraveni pred sāda (one instance of tāžnite)	This/these official and secretary (one instance of “the.sad.PL”)	3	3	no	human	accidental	subject
Tova/tezi momče i momiče na snimkata bjaxa izpraveni pred sāda	This/these boy and girl	6	1	yes	human	natural	subject
Mojat/moite brat i sestra mnogo se grižat	My.SG/PL brother and sister	1	3	no	human	natural	subject
Mojat/moite bratovčed i sestra mnogo se grižat...	My.SG/PL cousin and sister	1	3	no	human	accidental	subject
Moeto/moite bratče i sestriče mnogo se grižat za men	My.SG/PL little brother and little sister	6	2	yes	human	natural	subject
Novijat/novite učenik i učitelka bjaxa prieti	The new.SG/PL schoolboy and teacher	1	5	no	human	accidental	subject
Novoto/novite momče i momiče bjaxa prieti dobre	The new.SG/PL boy and girl	1	4	yes	human	natural	subject
Novijat/novite učenik i učenička bjaxa prieti dobre	The new.SG/PL schoolboy and schoolgirl	4	1	no	human	accidental (or natural?)	subject
Vseki si misli, če negovoto/negovite dete i vnuk sa...	his.SG/PL child and grandchild	2	3	no	human	accidental	subject of embedded clause

⁶To ease the presentation, the gender of the conjuncts and the singular attributive elements is not indicated; if the attributive element is singular, it has the same gender as the conjunct closest to it.

<i>Bulgarian example</i>	<i>English translation</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>Sameness of gender</i>	<i>Animacy status</i>	<i>Nat. v accid. coord.</i>	<i>Gram. function</i>
Vseki si misli, če negovata/negovite žena i deca sa	his.SG/PL wife and children	2	3	no	human	natural	subject of embedded clause
Vseki si misli, če negovata/negovite žena i dāšterja sa (one instance of neomāžena žena i dāšteterja)	his.SG/PL wife and daughter (one instance of “unmarried.SG”)	3	4	yes	human	accidental	subject of embedded clause
Az mnogo običam svojata/svoite baba i lelja	own.SG/PL grandmother and aunt	2	2	yes	human	accidental	direct object
Az mnogo običam svojata/svoite baba i djado	own.SG/PL grandmother and grandfather		7	no	human	natural	direct object
Az mnogo običam svojata/svoite baba i pradjado	own.SG/PL grandmother and great-grandfather	1	5	no	human	accidental	direct object
Namerixa na deteto ot siropitališteto novi/nova majka i lelja (one instance of: “no negovata majka i lelja”)	new.SG/PL mother and aunt (one instance of “but his.SG mother and aunt”)	3	3	yes	human	accidental	direct object
Namerixa na deteto ot siropitališteto nova/novi majka i tatko	new.SG/PL mother and father	2	5	no	human	natural	direct object
Viždaš li tova/tezi momče i momiče	this/these boy and girl	2	2	yes	human	natural	direct object
Viždaš li tozi/tezi māj i momiče (1 instance of “tāmniya māj i momiče”)	this/these man and girl (one instance of “the dark.SG man and girl”)	1	5	no	human	accidental	direct object
Viždaš li tozi/tezi māj i žena	this/these man and woman	1	5	no	human	natural	direct object

<i>Bulgarian example</i>	<i>English translation</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>Sameness of gender</i>	<i>Animacy status</i>	<i>Nat. v accid. coord.</i>	<i>Gram. function</i>
Bix napravil vsičko za tvoeto/tvoite momče i momiče	your.SG/PL boy and girl	5	2	yes	human	natural	prepositional object
Bix napravil vsičko za tvoeto/tvoite dete i vnuk	your.SG/PL child and grandchild	5	2	no	human	accidental	prepositional object
Bix napravil vsičko za tvoja/tvoite sin i dāsterja	your.SG/PL son and daughter	4	3	no	human	natural	prepositional object
	TOTAL (HUMANS):	57 SG	78 PL				

Section 2
ANIMAL CONTROLLERS⁷

<i>Bulgarian example</i>	<i>English translation</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>Sameness of gender</i>	<i>Animacy status</i>	<i>Nat. v accid. coord.</i>	<i>Gram. function</i>
Tozi/tezi xamster i miška na dvora ne predstavat... (2 instances of “tvoite xamster i miška”)	This/these hamster and mouse (two instances of “your.PL”)		4	no	animal	accidental	subject
Tova/tezi kuče i kote na dvora ne predstavat da se bijat (one instance of “tvojte” and of “tvoeto”)	This/these doggie and kitty (one instance of “your.PL” and “your.SG” each)	3	3	yes	animal	natural	subject
Tova/tezi kuče i kotka na dvora ne predstavat da se bijat (two instances of “tjaxnoto”)	This/these dog and cat (two instances of “their.SG”)	5	2	no	animal	natural	subject
Moeto/moite kuče i kote postojanno se bijat	My.SG/PL doggie and kitty	2	4	yes	animal	natural	subject
Moeto/moite kuče i kotka postojanno se bijat	My.SG/PL dog and cat	2	3	no	animal	natural	subject
Mojat/moite xamster i miška postojanno se bijat	My.SG/PL hamster and mouse	3	2	no	animal	accidental	subject
Toj si misli, če negovijat/negovite kon i krava sa porodisti	his.SG/PL horse and cow		6	no	animal	accidental (natural?)	subject of embedded clause
Toj si misli, če negovoto/negovite kuče i kote sa porodisti ot... (one instance of “nečie”)	his.SG/PL doggie and kitty (one instance of “someone’s.SG”)	1	5	yes	animal	natural	subject of embedded clause

⁷To ease the presentation, the gender of the conjuncts and the singular attributive elements is not indicated; if the attributive element is singular, it has the same gender as the conjunct closest to it.

<i>Bulgarian example</i>	<i>English translation</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>Sameness of gender</i>	<i>Animacy status</i>	<i>Nat. v accid. coord.</i>	<i>Gram. function</i>
Toj si misli, če negovoto/negovite kuče i kotka sa po-porodisti ot... (one instance of “ne svoite” and of “nevidimi”)	his.SG/PL dog and cat (one instance of “not own.PL” and “invisible.PL” each)		7	no	animal	natural	subject of embedded clause
Ivan mnogo običa vašeto/vašite kuče i kote	your.SG/PL doggie and kitty	2	4	yes	animal	natural	direct object
Ivan mnogo običa vašeto/vašite kuče i kotka (one instance of “vjarni”)	your.SG/PL dog and cat (one instance of “faithful.PL”)	1	3	no	animal	natural	direct object
Ivan mnogo običa vašeto/vašite kuče i miška	your.SG/PL dog and mouse	3	3	no	animal	accidental	direct object
Viždaš li tozi/tezi xamster i papagalče v aġala	this/these hamster and little parrot	1	3	no	animal	accidental	direct object
Viždaš li tova/tezi kuče i kote v aġala (one instance of “tāmnoto”)	this/these doggie and kitty (one instance of “the dark.SG”)	5	2	yes	animal	natural	direct object
Viždaš li tova/tezi kuče i kotka v aġala (one instance of “tāmnoto”)	this/these dog and cat (one instance of “dark.SG”)	3	2	no	animal	natural	direct object
Mnogo obiĉam da se griža za tvoeto/tvoite kuče i kotka	your.SG/PL dog and cat	2	4	no	animal	natural	prepositional object
Mnogo obiĉam da se griža za tvoja/tvoite papagal i kanarĉe	your.SG/PL parrot and canary	1	3	no	animal	accidental	prepositional object
Mnogo obiĉam da se griža za tvoeto/tvoite kuče i kote	your.SG/PL doggie and kitty	3	3	yes	animal	natural	prepositional object
	TOTAL (ANIMALS):	37 SG	63 PL				

Section 3
INANIMATE CONTROLLERS⁸

<i>Bulgarian example</i>	<i>English translation</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>Sameness of gender</i>	<i>Animacy status</i>	<i>Nat. v accid. coord.</i>	<i>Gram. function</i>
Mojata/moite puška i pistol spečelixa	My.SG/PL rifle and pistol	1	5	no	inanim.	natural	subject
Mojata/moite puška i lāk spečelixa	My.SG/PL rifle and bow	2	4	no	inanim.	accidental	subject
Mojata/moite puška i sabja spečelixa	My.SG/PL rifle and sword	2	4	yes	inanim.	natural	subject
Tazi/tezi masa i stol v xola sa (one instance of “texnite”)...	This/these table and chair (one instance of “their.PL”)	2	2	no	inanim.	natural	subject
Tova/tezi leglo i kanape v xola sa mi mnogo neudobni (one instance of “tvoeto”)	This/these bed and couch (one instance of “your.SG”)	2	2	yes	inanim.	accidental	subject
Tova/tezi kanape i divan v xola sa mi mnogo neudobni (two instances of “tvoite”)	This/these couch and sofa (two instances of “your.PL”)	2	4	no	inanim.	accidental	subject
Novijat/novite apartament i kola bjaxa mnogo skāpi	The new.SG/PL flat and car	3	3	no	inanim.	accidental (or maybe natural)	subject
Novata/novite kāšta i kola bjaxa mnogo skāpi (one instance of “No tezi kāšta i kola”)	The new.SG/PL house and car (one instance of “But this.PL house and car”)	3	1	yes	inanim.	natural	subject
Novata/novite kāšta i kamion bjaxa mnogo skāpi	The new.SG/PL house and lorry	1	3	no	inanim.	accidental	subject

⁸To ease the presentation, the gender of the conjuncts and the singular attributive elements is not indicated; if the attributive element is singular, it has the same gender as the conjunct closest to it.

<i>Bulgarian example</i>	<i>English translation</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>Sameness of gender</i>	<i>Animacy status</i>	<i>Nat. v accid. coord.</i>	<i>Gram. function</i>
Toj si misli, če negovata/negovite masa i taburetki šte sa dostatačni	his.SG/PL table and stools	1	2	no (same gender but not the same number!)	inanim.	accidental	subject of embedded clause
Toj si misli, če negovata/negovite bira i rakija šte sa dostatačni (one instance of “če ne vsičkata”)	his.SG/PL beer and brandy (one instance of “not all.SG”)	2	2	yes	inanim.	natural	subject of embedded clause
Toj si misli, če negovoto/negovite vino i rakija šte sa dostatačni	his.SG/PL wine and brandy	3	3	no	inanim.	natural	subject of embedded clause
Ja viž tozi/tezi prāsten i oġarlica	this/these ring and necklace	3	3	no	inanim.	accidental	direct object
Ja viž tazi/tezi tetradka i ximikalka na dolnija raft	this/these notebook and pen	2	1	yes	inanim.	natural	direct object
Ja viž tozi/tezi tefter i fenerče na dolnija raft (one instance of “tvoja”)	this/these notebook and flashlight (one instance of “your.SG”)	2	3	no	inanim.	accidental	direct object
Toj mnogo običa svoja/svoite nož i vilica	own.SG/PL knife and fork		4	no	inanim.	natural	direct object
Toj mnogo običa svoeto/svoite plato i lažica	own.SG/PL platter and spoon	5	2	no	inanim.	accidental	direct object
Toj mnogo običa svojata/svoite vilica i lažica (one instance of “svitata vilica i lažica”)	own.SG/PL fork and spoon (one instance of “the bent.SG fork and spoon”)	4	3	yes	inanim.	natural	direct object
Ne če imax mnogo nužda, no si kupix nova/novi bluza i pola	new.SG/PL blouse and skirt	6	1	yes	inanim.	natural	direct object

<i>Bulgarian example</i>	<i>English translation</i>	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	<i>Sameness of gender</i>	<i>Animacy status</i>	<i>Nat. v accid. coord.</i>	<i>Gram. function</i>
Ne će imax mnogo nužda, no si kupix nova/novi pola i pantalon	new.SG/PL skirt and trouser(s)	7	1	no	inanim.	natural	direct object
Ne će imax mnogo nužda, no si kupix ново/novi jake i gerdan	new.SG/PL jacket and necklace	6	1	no	inanim.	accidental	direct object
Namerixa na deteto ot siropitališteto nov/novi dom i roditeli (one instance of “novija”)	new.SG/PL home and parents (one instance of “new.SG.DEF”)	7		no (same gender but different number)	inanim.+animate	accidental	direct object
Trjabva da se pozamisliš za tvojata/tvoite kăšta i apartament	your.SG/PL house and flat	2	4	no	inanim.	accidental	prepositional object
Trjabva da se pozamisliš za tvojata/tvoite kăšta i kola	your.SG/PL house and car	5	2	yes	inanim.	natural	prepositional object
Trjabva da se pozamisliš za tvojata/tvoite kăšta i mikrobus	your.SG/PL house and van	1	4	no	inanim.	accidental	prepositional object
	TOTAL (INANIMATES):	74 SG	64 PL				

PART 3

BREAKDOWN OF RESULTS BY INFORMANT

Section 1: First Study

(study conducted in “Velizar Peev” High School, Svoge, on 05 Jan 2010)

Informant 1

Tozi māj i žena	this man and woman
Tvoeto kuče i kotka	your.SG ⁹ dog and cat
Novi majka i lelja	new.PL mother and aunt
Moite puška i pistol	my.PL rifle and pistol

Informant 2

Tezi xamster i miška	these hamster and mouse
Tvoite kášta i mikrob	your.PL house and van
Negovite dete i vnuk	his.PL child and grandson

Informant 3

Tvoite papagal i kanarče	your.PL parrot and canary
Tazi masa i stol	this table and chair
Svojata baba i lelja	own.SG grandmother and aunt

Informant 4

Moite puška i lāk	my.PL rifle and bow
Tezi māj i momiče	these man and girl
Tvoite kuče i kote	your.PL doggie and kitty

Informant 5

Novite apartament i kola	the new.PL flat and car
Moite puška i sabja	my.PL rifle and sword
Vašeto kuče i kote	your.SG doggie and kitty
Tozi māj i žena	this man and woman

Informant 6

Mojata puška i lāk	my.SG rifle and bow
Tāmniija māj i momiče	the dark.SG man and girl
Tvoeto kuče i kote	your.SG doggie and kitty

Informant 7

Novite apartament i kola	the new.PL flat and car
Moite puška i sabja	my.PL rifle and sword
Vašite kuče i kote	your.PL doggie and kitty
Tezi māj i žena	these man and woman

⁹Here “.SG” refers to the agreement marker on the possessive pronoun, not to whether it has singular or plural reference.

Informant 8

Moite kuče i kote
Novite učenik i učitelka
Tezi prāsten i ogārlica

my.PL doggie and kitty
the new.PL schoolboy and teacher
these ring and necklace

Informant 9

Vašite kuče i kotka
Novata kāšta i kola
Moite bratovčed i sestra
Tova momče i momiče

your.PL dog and cat
the new.SG house and car
my.PL cousin and sister
this boy and girl

Informant 10

Vašeto kuče i kotka
No tezi kāšta i kola
Moite bratovčed i sestra
Tezi momče i momiče

your.SG dog and cat
but these house and car
my.PL cousin and sister
these boy and girl

Informant 11

Moite brat i sestra
Tozi xamster i papagalče
Svoite nož i vilica
Novite kāšta i kamion

my.PL brother and sister
this hamster and little parrot
own.PL knife and fork
the new.PL house and lorry

Informant 12

Tezi māj i žena
Tvoite kuče i kotka
Novi majka i lelja
Moite puška i pistolet

these man and woman
your.PL dog and cat
new.PL mother and aunt
my.PL rifle and pistol

Informant 13

Novite momče i momiče
Ne samo masa i taburetka
Moite kuče i kotka
Tezi leglo i kanape

the new.PL boy and girl
not only a table and stool (*irrelevant*)
my.PL dog and cat
these bed and couch

Informant 14

Tazi tetradka i ximikalka
Mojat xamster i miška
Novite učenik i učenička

this notebook and pen
my.SG hamster and mouse
the new.PL schoolboy and schoolgirl

Informant 15

Tezi tetradka i ximikalka
Moite xamster i miška
Novijat učenik i učenička

these notebook and pen
my.PL hamster and mouse
the new.SG schoolboy and schoolgirl

Informant 16

Tezi máž i žena
 Tvoite kuče i kotka
 No negovata majka i lelja
 Moite puška i pistolet

these man and woman
 your.PL dog and cat
 but his.SG mother and aunt
 my.PL rifle and pistol

Informant 17

Novijat apartament i kola
 Mojata puška i sabja
 Vašite kuče i kote
 Tezi máž i žena

the new.SG flat and car
 my.SG rifle and sword
 your.PL doggie and kitty
 these man and woman

Informant 18

Novoto momče i momiče
 Negovata masa i taburetki
 Moeto kuče i kotka
 Tvoeto leglo i kanape

the new.SG boy and girl
 his.SG table and stools
 my.SG dog and cat
 your.SG bed and couch

Informant 19

Tvoja papagal i kanarče
 Tezi masa i stol
 Svoite baba i lelja

your.SG parrot and canary
 these table and chair
 own.PL grandmother and aunt

Informant 20

Moeto kuče i kote
 Novite učenik i učitelka
 Tozi prāsten i ogārlica

my.SG doggie and kitty
 the new.PL schoolboy and teacher
 this ring and necklace

Informant 21

Tvoite xamster i miška
 Tvoite kāšta i mikrobus
 Negovite dete i vnuk

your.PL hamster and mouse
 your.PL house and van
 his.PL child and grandchild

Informant 22

Moite brat i sestra
 Tezi xamster i papagalče
 Svoite nož i vilica
 Novata kāšta i kamion

my.PL brother and sister
 these hamster and little parrot
 own.PL knife and fork
 the new.SG house and lorry

Informant 23

Moite kuče i kote
 Novite učenik i učitelka
 Tezi prāsten u ogārlica

my.PL doggie and kitty
 the new.PL schoolboy and teacher
 these ring and necklace

Informant 24

Novite momče i momiče
 [blank] masa i taburetki
 Moeto/moite kuče i kotka
 Tova leglo i kanape v xola

the new.PL boy and girl
 [blank] table and stools
 my.SG/my.PL dog and cat (*first SG then PL*)
 this bed and couch in the living room

Informant 25

Tazi tetradka i ximikalka
 Moite xamster i miška
 Novijat učenik i učenička

this notebook and pen
 my.PL hamster and mouse
 the new.SG schoolboy and schoolgirl

Informant 26

Mojata puška i lāk
 Tezi māj i momiče
 Tvoeto kuče i kote

my.SG rifle and bow
 these man and girl
 your.SG doggie and kitty

Informant 27

Mojat brat i sestra
 Tozi/tezi xamster i papagalče

my.SG brother and sister
 this/these hamster and little parrot
 (SG corrected to PL)

Svoite nož i vilica
 Novite kášta i kamion

own.PL knife and fork
 the new.PL house and lorry

Informant 28

Tuk ima kuče i kotka
 Svoite baba i djado
 Novo jake i gerdan

there's a cat and dog here (*irrelevant*)
 own.PL grandmother and grandfather
 a new.SG jacket and necklace

Informant 29

Svoeto plato i lāžica
 Tvoeto momče i momiče
 Nov dom i roditeli

own.SG platter and spoon
 your.SG boy and girl
 a new.SG home and parents

Informant 30

Nova bluza i pola
 Tezi kuče i kote
 Tvoite dete i vnuk

a new.SG blouse and skirt
 these doggie and kitty
 your.PL child and grandchild

Informant 31

Ne vsičkata bira i rakija
 Novi majka i tatko
 Vašeto kuče i miška
 Tezi tefter i fenerče

not all.SG beer and brandy
 new.PL mother and father
 your.SG dog and mouse
 these notebook and flashlight

Informant 32

Tvoite kášta i apartament
 Tezi kuče i kote
 Negovite žena i deca

your.PL house and flat
 these doggie and kitty
 his.PL wife and children

Informant 33

Tāmnoto kuče i kotka
 Svoite baba i djado
 Novo jake i gerdan

the dark.SG dog and cat
 own.PL grandmother and grandfather
 a new.SG jacket and necklace

Informant 34

Svitata vilica i lažica
 Neomāžena žena i dāšterja
 Tjaxnoto kuče i kotka

the bent.SG fork and spoon
 unmarried.SG woman and daughter
 their.SG dog and cat

Informant 35

Nova pola i pantalon
 Moeto bratče i sestriče
 Negovoto vino i rakija

new.SG skirt and trousers
 my.SG little brother and little sister
 his.SG wine and brandy

Informant 36

Nova pola i pantalon
 Moeto bratče i sestriče
 Negovoto vino i rakija

new.SG skirt and trousers
 my.SG little brother and little sister
 his.SG wine and brandy

Informant 37

Svoeto plato i lažica
 Tvoite/tvoeto momče i momiče

own.SG platter and spoon
 your.PL/your.SG boy and girl
(began with PL, didn't finish and corrected it to SG)

Nov dom i roditeli

a new.SG home and parents

Informant 38

Nova bluza i pola
 Tova kuče i kote
 Tvoeto dete i vnuk

a new.SG blouse and skirt
 this doggie and kitty
 your.SG child and grandchild

Informant 39

Nova pola i pantalon
 Moeto bratče i sestriče
 Negovoto vino i rakija

a new.SG skirt and trousers
 my.SG little brother and little sister
 his.SG wine and brandy

Informant 40

Tozi/tezi služitel i sekretarka

this/these official and secretary
(SG corrected to PL)

Negovite kon i krava
 Tvojata kášta i kola

his.PL horse and cow
 your.SG house and car

Informant 41

Tvoite kášta i apartament
 Tova kuče i kote
 Negovata žena i deca

your.PL house and flat
 this doggie and kitty
 his.SG wife and children

Informant 42

Ne samo bira i rakija
 Novi majka i tatko
 Vašeto kuče i miška
 Tozi tefter i fenerče

not only beer and brandy (*irrelevant*)
 new.PL mother and father
 your.SG dog and mouse
 this notebook and flashlight

Informant 43

Negovite kuće i kote
Tvoite sin i dāšterja
Tvoite kanape i divan

his.PL doggie and kitty
your.PL son and daughter
your.PL couch and sofa

Informant 44

Tova momče i momiče
Svoite baba i pradjado
Ne svoite kuće i kotka

this boy and girl
own.PL grandmother and great-grandfather
not own.PL dog and cat

Informant 45

Tvoite kăšta i apartament
Tvojte kuće i kote
Nevinagi žena i deca

your.PL house and flat
your.PL doggie and kitty
not always wife and children (*irrelevant*)

Informant 46

Svojte vilica i lăžica
Negovite žena i dāšterja
Tezi kuće i kotka

own.PL fork and spoon
his.PL wife and daughter
these dog and cat

Informant 47

Negovite kuće i kote
Tvoja sin i dāšterja
Tezi kanape i divan

his.PL doggie and kitty
your.SG son and daughter
these couch and sofa

Informant 48

Svoeto plato i lăžica
Tvoeto momče i momiče
Nov dom i roditeli

own.SG platter and spoon
your.SG boy and girl
a new.SG home and parents

Informant 49

Nova bluza i pola
Tămnoto kuće i kote
Tvoeto dete i vnuk

a new.SG blouse and skirt
the dark.SG doggie and kitty
your.SG child and grandchild

Informant 50

Tova momče i momiče
Svojte baba i pradjado
Negovite kuće i kotka

this boy and girl
own.PL grandmother and great-grandfather
his.PL dog and cat

Informant 51

Tozi služitel i sekretarka
Negovite kon i krava
Tvojata kăšta i kola

this official and secretary
his.PL horse and cow
your.SG house and car

Informant 52

Nečie kuće i kote
Tvoja sin i dāšterja
Tova kanape i divan

someone's.SG doggie and kitty
your.SG son and daughter
this couch and sofa

Informant 53

Svojata vilica i lažica
 Negovite žena i dāšterja
 Tova kuče i kotka

own.SG fork and spoon
 his.PL wife and daughter
 this dog and cat

Informant 54

Tezi/tova momče i momiče
 Svinsko baba i djado
 Nevidimi kuče i kotka

these/this boy and girl (*PL corrected to SG!*)
 piggy grandmother and grandfather
 (*discarded as irrelevant*)
 invisible.PL dog and cat

Informant 55

Tāžnite služitel i sekretarka
 Negovite kon i krava
 Tvojte kāšta i kola

the sad.PL official and secretary
 his.PL horse and cow
 your.PL house and car

Informant 56

Ne stigat bira i rakija
 Nova/novi majka i tatko
 Valja kuče i miška
 Tetradka, tefter i fenerče

beer and brandy isn't enough
 (*discarded as irrelevant*)
 new.SG/new.PL mother and father
 (*SG corrected to PL*)
 Valja(???) dog and mouse
 (*discarded as irrelevant*)
 a notebook, notepad and flashlight
 (*discarded as irrelevant*)

Informant 57

Ti kuče i kotka
 Svoite baba i djado
 Novo jake i gerdan

you dog and cat (*discarded as irrelevant*)
 own.PL grandmother and grandfather
 a new.SG jacket and necklace

Informant 58

Tozi služitel i sekretarka
 Ne iska kon i krava
 Tvojta kāšta i kola

this official and secretary
 doesn't want a horse and cow
 (*discarded as irrelevant*)
 your.SG house and car

Informant 59

Tezi māj i žena
 Tvojte kuče i kotka
 Novi majka i lelja
 Moite/mojata puška i pistolet

these man and woman
 your.PL dog and cat
 new.PL mother and aunt
 my.PL/my.SG rifle and pistol
 (*PL corrected to SG*)

Informant 60

Tova kuče i kotka
 Svoite baba i djado
 Novo jake i gerdan

this dog and cat
 own.PL grandmother and grandfather
 a new.SG jacket and necklace

Informant 61

Tova momče i momiče
Svojata baba i pradjado
Negovite kuče i kotka

this boy and girl
own.SG grandmother and great-grandfather
his.PL dog and cat

Informant 62

Tvojata kášta i apartament
Tvoeto kuče i kote
Negovata žena i deca

your.SG house and flat
your.SG doggie and kitty
his.SG wife and children

Informant 63

Svojata vilica i lážica
Negovite žena i dášterja
Tova kuče i kotka

own.SG fork and spoon
his.PL wife and daughter
this dog and cat

Informant 64

Nova pola i pantalon
Moeto bratče i sestriče
Ne samo vino i rakija

a new.SG skirt and trousers
my.SG little brother and little sister
not only wine and brandy
(discarded as irrelevant)

Informant 65

Ne pod(?) bira i rakija

not under(?) beer and brandy
(discarded as irrelevant)

Nova majka i tatko
Vašeto kuče i miška
Tvoja tefter i fenerče

a new.SG mother and father
your.SG dog and mouse
your.SG notebook and flashlight

Informant 66

Svoeto plato i lážica
Tvoeto momče i momiče
Novija dom i roditeli

own.SG platter and spoon
your.SG boy and girl
the new.SG home and parents

Informant 67

Nova bluza i pola
Tova kuče i kote
Tvoeto dete i vnuk

a new.SG blouse and skirt
this doggie and kitty
your.SG child and grandchild

Informant 68

Ne može kuče i kote

not allowed doggie and kitty
(discarded as irrelevant)

Tvoja sin i dášterja
[blank] kanape i divan

your.SG son and daughter
[blank] couch and sofa

Informant 69

Novi bluza i pola
Tova kuče i kote
Tvoeto dete i vnuk

new.PL blouse and skirt
this doggie and kitty
your.SG child and grandchild

Informant 70

Svoite plato i lāžica
Tvojte momče i momiče
Nov dom i roditeli

own.PL platter and spoon
your.PL boy and girl
a new.SG home and parents

Informant 71

Tova momče i momiče
Svoite baba i pradjado
Negovite kuče i kotka

this boy and girl
own.PL grandmother and great-grandfather
his.PL dog and cat

Informant 72

Moite puška i lāk
Tezi māž i momiče
Tvoeto kuče i kote

my.PL rifle and bow
these man and girl
your.SG doggie and kitty

Informant 73

Mojte kuče i kote
Novite učenik i učitelka
Tozi prāsten i ogārlica

my.PL doggie and kitty
the new.PL schoolboy and teacher
this ring and necklace

Informant 74

Novijat apartament i kola
Mojte puška i sabja
Vašite kuče i kote
Tezi māž i žena

the new.SG flat and car
my.PL rifle and sword
your.PL doggie and kitty
these man and woman

Informant 75

Tezi xamster i miška
Tvoite kāšta i mikrobūs
Negovite dete i vnuk

these hamster and mouse
your.PL house and van
his.PL child and grandchild

Informant 76

Vašite kuče i kotka
Novata kāšta i kola
Mojat bratovčed i sestra
Tova momče i momiče

your.PL dog and cat
the new.SG house and car
my.SG cousin and sister
this boy and girl

Informant 77

Tvojata kāšta i apartament
Tova kuče i kote
Negovite žena i deca

your.SG house and flat
this doggie and kitty
his.PL wife and children

Informant 78

Tezi služitel i sekretarka
Negovite kon i krava
Tvojte kāšta i kola

these official and secretary
his.PL horse and cow
your.PL house and car

Informant 79

Novite momče i momiče
Negovite masa i taburetki
Moite kuče i kotka
Tezi leglo i kanape

the new.PL boy and girl
his.PL table and stools
my.PL dog and cat
these bed and couch

Informant 80

Tezi muž i žena
Tvoeto kuče i kotka
Nova majka i lelja
Mojata puška i pistolet

these man and woman
your.SG dog and cat
a new.SG mother and aunt
my.SG rifle and pistol

Informant 81

Nova pola i pantalon
Moite bratče i sestriče
Negovite vino i rakija

a new.SG skirt and trousers
my.PL little brother and little sister
his.PL wine and brandy

Informant 82

Moite brat i sestra
Tezi xamster i papagalče
Svoite nož i vilica
Novite kášta i kamion

my.PL brother and sister
these hamster and little parrot
own.PL knife and fork
the new.PL house and lorry

Informant 83

Svojata vilica i lažica
Negovite žena i dāšterja
Tjaxnoto kuče i kotka

own.SG fork and spoon
his.PL wife and daughter
their.SG dog and cat

Informant 84

Tvoite papagal i kanarče
Texnite masa i stol
Svoite baba i lelja

your.PL parrot and canary
their.PL table and chair
own.PL grandmother and aunt

Informant 85

Tam tetradka i ximikalka
Mojat xamster i miška
Novijat učenik i učenička

there notebook and pen (*discarded as irrelevant*)
my.SG hamster and mouse
the new.SG schoolboy and schoolgirl

Informant 86

Novijat apartament i kola
Moite puška i sabja
Vašeto kuče i kote
Tezi muž i žena

the new.SG flat and car
my.PL rifle and sword
your.SG doggie and kitty
these man and woman

Informant 87

Moite kuče i kote
Novite učenik i učitelka
Tezi prāsten i ogārlica

my.PL doggie and kitty
the new.PL schoolboy and teacher
these ring and necklace

Informant 88

Negovite bira i rakija
 Novi majka i tatko
 Vašite kuće i miška
 Tezi tefter i fenerče

his.PL beer and brandy
 new.PL mother and father
 your.PL dog and mouse
 these notebook and flashlight

Informant 89

Moite puška i lāk
 Tezi māj i momiče
 Tvoite kuće i kote

my.PL rifle and bow
 these man and girl
 your.PL doggie and kitty

Informant 90

Tezi kuće i kotka
 Svoite baba i djado
 Novo/novi jake i gerdan

these dog and cat
 own.PL grandmother and grandfather
 new.SG/new.PL jacket and necklace
 (SG corrected to PL)

Informant 91

Negovite kuće i kote
 Tvoite sin i dāšterja
 Tezi kanape i divan

his.PL doggie and kitty
 your.PL son and daughter
 these couch and sofa

Informant 92

[blank] xamster i miška
 Tvojata kāšta i mikrobus
 Negovoto dete i vnuk

[blank] hamster and mouse
 your.SG house and van
 his.SG child and grandchild

Section 2: Second Study

(Second study, conducted at the “William Shakespeare” First Private English Language School, Sofia, in the spring of 2010)

Informant 2/1

Moeto kuće i kote
 Novijat učenik i učitelka
 Tozi prāsten i ogārlica

my.SG doggie and kitty
 the new.SG schoolboy and teacher
 this ring and necklace

Informant 2/2

Tezi kuće i kotka
 Svoite baba i djado
 Novo jake i gerdan

these dog and cat
 own.PL grandmother and grandfather
 a new.SG jacket and necklace

Informant 2/3

Tova momče i momiče
 Svoite baba i pradjado
 Negovite kuće i kotka

this boy and girl
 own.PL grandmother and great-grandfather
 his.PL dog and cat

Informant 2/4

Svoite/svoeto plato i lažica

own.PL/own.SG platter and spoon
(*PL corrected to SG*)

Tvoeto momče i momiče
Nov dom i roditeli

your.SG boy and girl
a new.SG home and parents

Informant 2/5

Negovite kuče i kote
Tvoja/tvoite sin i dāšterja

his.PL doggie and kitty
your.SG/your.PL son and daughter
(*SG corrected to PL*)

T'va/tvoite kanape i divan

this/your.PL couch and sofa
(*SG corrected to PL*)

Informant 2/6

Novite momče i momiče
Negovite masa i taburetki
Moeto kuče i kotka
[blank] leglo i kanape

the new.PL boy and girl
his.PL table and stools
my.SG dog and cat
[blank] bed and couch

Informant 2/7

Tezi māj i žena
Tvoite kuče i kotka
Nova majka i lelja
Mojte puška i pistolet

these man and woman
your.PL dog and cat
a new.SG mother and aunt
my.PL rifle and pistol

Informant 2/8

Novi pola i pantalon
Moeto bratče i sestriče
[blank] vino i rakija

new.PL skirt and trousers
my.SG little brother and little sister
[blank] wine and brandy

Informant 2/9

Nova bluza i pola
Tova kuče i kote
Tvoeto dete i vnuk

a new.SG blouse and skirt
this doggie and kitty
your.SG child and grandchild

Informant 2/10

Nova bluza i pola
Tezi kuče i kote
Tvoite dete i vnuk

a new.SG blouse and skirt
these doggie and kitty
your.PL child and grandchild

Informant 2/11

Tvojte papagal i kanarče
Tazi masa i stol
Svojata baba i lelja

your.PL parrot and canary
this table and chair
own.SG grandmother and aunt

Informant 2/12

Tärgovsk-i služitel i sekretarka

trade-M.SG/PL official and secretary
(*not included in the data because the target is ambiguous between M.SG and PL*)

Negovite kon i krava

his.PL horse and cow

Tvoite/tvojata kášta i kola

your.PL/your.SG house and car
(*PL corrected to SG*)**Informant 2/13**

Tova kuče i kotka

this dog and cat

Svoite baba i djado

own.PL grandmother and grandfather

Novo jake i gerdan

a new.SG jacket and necklace

Informant 2/14

Vjarni (?) (sic) kuče i kotka

faithful.PL dog and cat

Novata kášta i kola

the new.SG house and car

Moite bratovčed i sestra

my.PL cousin and sister

Tezi momče i momiče

these boy and girl

Informant 2/15

[blank] tetradka i ximikalka

[blank] notebook and pen

Mojat xamster i miška

my.SG hamster and mouse

Novijat učenik i učenička

the new.SG schoolboy and schoolgirl

Informant 2/16

Tezi momče i momiče

these boy and girl

Svoite baba i pradjado

own.PL grandmother and great-grandfather

Negovite kuče i kotka

his.PL dog and cat

Informant 2/17

Novite apartament i kola

the new.PL flat and car

Mojata puška i sabja

my.SG rifle and sword

Vašite kuče i kote

your.PL doggie and kitty

Tezi máž i žena

these man and woman

Informant 2/18

Moite puška i lăk

my.PL rifle and bow

Tezi máž i momiče

these man and girl

Tvojte kuče i kote

your.PL doggie and kitty

Informant 2/19

Tvojte xamster i miška

your.PL hamster and mouse

Tvojte kášta i mikrobús

your.PL house and van

Negovoto dete i vnuk

his.SG child and grandchild

Informant 2/20

Svojte plato i lăžica

own.PL platter and spoon

Tvojte momče i momiče

your.PL boy and girl

Nov dom i roditeli

a new.SG home and parents

Informant 2/21

Nova pola i pantalon
 Moeto bratče i sestriče
 Negovite vino i rakija

a new.SG skirt and trousers
 my.SG little brother and little sister
 his.PL wine and brandy

Informant 2/22

Negovata bira i rakija
 Novi majka i tatko
 Vašeto/vašite kuče i miška
 Tezi tefter i fenerče

his.SG beer and brandy
 new.PL mother and father
 your.SG/your.PL dog and mouse
(SG corrected to PL)
 these notebook and flashlight

Informant 2/23

Tozi služitel i sekretarka
 Negovite kon i krava
 Tvojta kašta i kola

this official and secretary
 his.PL horse and cow
 your.SG house and car

Informant 2/24

Svoite vilica i lažica
 Negovite žena i dašterja
 Tova kuče i kotka

own.PL fork and spoon
 his.PL wife and daughter
 this dog and cat

Informant 2/25

Negovite kuče i kote
 Tvoja sin i dašterja
 Tova kanape i divan

his.PL doggie and kitty
 your.SG son and daughter
 this couch and sofa

Informant 2/26

Tvoite kašta i apartament
 Tova/tezi kuče i kote
 Negovite žena i deca

your.PL house and flat
 this/these doggie and kitty
(SG corrected to PL)
 his.PL wife and children

Informant 2/27

Nova pola i pantalon
 Moite bratče i sestriče
 Negovite vino i rakija

a new.SG skirt and trousers
 my.PL little brother and little sister
 his.PL wine and brandy

Informant 2/28

Negovite bira i rakija
 Nova majka i tatko
 Vašite kuče i miška
 Telefonnija tefter i fenerče

his.PL beer and brandy
 a new.SG mother and father
 your.PL dog and mouse
 the phone.SG (note)book and flashlight
*(excluded from the data because the adjective
 has scope only over the first conjunct)*

Informant 2/29

Svoite vilica i lažica
 Negovata žena i dašterja
 Tezi kuče i kotka

own.PL fork and spoon
 his.SG wife and daughter
 these dog and cat

APPENDIX III

ENGLISH CONJOINED PRONOUNS IN THE BRITISH NATIONAL CORPUS

PART 1

Attestations of Possible Combinations of Pronouns which Mark Case

<i>Combination of pronouns</i>	<i>Subject of finite verb</i>	<i>Subject of -ing clause</i>	<i>Subject of infinitive</i>	<i>Subject Complement</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Object of a Preposition</i>	<i>Independent use</i>
I and he	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I and him	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I and she	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
I and her	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I and we	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
I and us	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I and they	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
I and them	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Me and he	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (?) ¹⁰
Me and him	11	0	0	1	3	8	2 + 2(?)
Me and she	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Me and her	1	0	0	3	1	3	2 + 1 (?)
Me and we	1(?)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Me and us	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
Me and they	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Me and them	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
He and I	131	1 + 1 (?)	1	0	1(?)	1	8
He and me	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

¹⁰The question mark indicates examples which are difficult to classify.

<i>Combination of pronouns</i>	<i>Subject of finite verb</i>	<i>Subject of -ing clause</i>	<i>Subject of infinitive</i>	<i>Subject Complement</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Object of a Preposition</i>	<i>Independent use</i>
He and she	12	0	0	0	0	0	3
He and her	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
He and we	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
He and us	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
He and they	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
He and them	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Him and I	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Him and me	4		0	1	3	5	3
Him and she	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Him and her	1	0	0	2	2	6	0
Him and we	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Him and us	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
Him and they	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Him and them	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
She and I	48	0	0	0	0	1	2
She and me	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
She and he	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
She and him	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
She and we	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
She and us	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
She and they	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
She and them	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Her and I	4	0	0	0	0	0	1

<i>Combination of pronouns</i>	<i>Subject of finite verb</i>	<i>Subject of -ing clause</i>	<i>Subject of infinitive</i>	<i>Subject Complement</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Object of a Preposition</i>	<i>Independent use</i>
Her and me	1	0	0	2	1	6	0
Her and he	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Her and him	0	0	0	1	1	2	0
Her and we	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Her and us	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Her and they	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Her and them	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
We and I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
We and me	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
We and he	0	1(?)	0	0	0	0	0
We and him	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
We and she	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
We and her	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
We and they	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
We and them	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Us and I	0	0	0	0	0	1(?)	0
Us and me	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Us and he	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Us and him	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Us and she	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Us and her	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Us and they	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Us and them	0	0	0	2	0	10	15
They and I	3	0	0	0	0	0	0

<i>Combination of pronouns</i>	<i>Subject of finite verb</i>	<i>Subject of -ing clause</i>	<i>Subject of infinitive</i>	<i>Subject Complement</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Object of a Preposition</i>	<i>Independent use</i>
They and me	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
They and he	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
They and him	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
They and she	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
They and her	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
They and we	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
They and us	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Them and I	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Them and me	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
Them and he	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Them and him	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
Them and she	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Them and her	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Them and we	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Them and us	0	0	0	3	2	5	14

PART 2:
SELECTED EXAMPLES:

NOM + NOM USED INDEPENDENTLY (AS DEFAULT FORMS):

(1) How happy they had been together, **he and she** and the little lad in the drowsy heat of the meadows.

NOM + NOM SUBJECTS:

Finite verbs:

(2) **I and she**'d never said a word

(3) Old woman, by my faith, you must go away while **I and she** are to play

(4) to drive on lest **I and they** were to be injured in an accident

(5) at a time when **he and they** were concerned about the WEA's drift towards the middle class

(6) **We and they** used to go there when the blacklegs came out

(7) in a considerably shorter time than **they and we** would have liked

(8) And and **they and I** went past James and my friend started laughing at James

Non-Finite Verbs:

(9) I need a. Sorry? **He and I** go. You don't have to. I'm not! (*It is not certain that "go" is a non-finite verb here*)

(10) I can remember **he and I** spending many evenings (*the pronouns here are treated as filling both the role of subject in the non-finite -ing clause and that of object of the matrix verb*)

(11) so perhaps things were best as they were --; **he and I** working alone

(12) he wasn't scratching and **we and he** chasing a fly round the kitchen.

NOM + NOM SUBJECT COMPLEMENTS (NONE FOUND!):

ACC + ACC OBJECTS:

(13) She's trying to make **me and him** enemies

(14) I want the bricks of this motel to release **me and her** from this timed Hell.

(15) I hadn't realised that before. God help **her and me**, too. (*"and me too" might be an afterthought*)

ACC + ACC OBJECTS OF PREPOSITIONS:

(16) I think that between **me and him**, we got through the, nearly the whole wine box

(17) But so far she's managed to record five minutes of conversation between **me and her**.

(18) the rapport and affinity between **him and me** transcended all things

(19) And somebody had said to her erm said something about **him and her**, and she says well...

(20) And it's an opportunity for **her and me** to say a couple of words to us

(21) I wonder what sort of conversation would be going on between **us and them**.

NOM + NOM USED INDEPENDENTLY (AS DEFAULT FORMS) IN THE HYPER-CORRECT VARIETY:

(22) Between two beings, **he and I**, he like a Vulcan and I boiling too...

NOM + ACC OBJECTS (NONE FOUND!):

ACC + NOM OBJECTS (NONE FOUND!):

NOM + NOM OBJECTS:

Cf. (10) above

NOM + NOM OBJECTS OF PREPOSITIONS:

(23) he was carrying the shield and afforded all the protection to both **he and I**.

(24) ... [the] same glow of blue in the sky measured the light-years close to the universe of **she and I** (what is holiday, except secrets at the twilight of each day...

NOM + ACC OBJECTS OF PREPOSITIONS (NONE FOUND!):

ACC + NOM OBJECTS OF PREPOSITIONS (NONE FOUND!):

ACC + ACC USED INDEPENDENTLY (AS DEFAULT):

(25) Leila wanted to do that. Just **me and her**.

(26) The news of her temporary reprieve was bitter-sweet. "**Us and them**," she said

under her breath. “No exceptions,”

NOM + ACC USED INDEPENDENTLY (AS DEFAULT):

(27) What did they, on the outside, know? **He and them**, inside and outside

(28) Share language, jargon. Identify an external threat: “**we and them**”. Share materials, papers, experiences. Add social activities to work activities

ACC + NOM USED INDEPENDENTLY (AS DEFAULT):

(29) it’s wet today Yeah, but erm as I say we went to bed **her and I** Mm and he was well Yelling she was shouting at him

(30) and ears and mouth and nose, head and shoulders, knees and toes, **me and he**, I have to do it a little bit faster A little bit faster

ACC + ACC USED AS MODIFIER:

(31) “It’s difficult to shake off the “**us and them**” feeling and realise that there’s only “us”.”¹¹

(32) but it further allows alienistic attitudes to gain a stranglehold, generating an “**us and them**” approach to education.

(33) Here the “**us and them**” view of the village society could be maintained

(34) passive acceptance of the **them and us** syndrome

NOM + ACC SUBJECTS¹²:

(35) and take Maggie away from him and **she and me** and Francie could go back to Ireland and live quietly together and play music and (*It is unclear what the actual grouping of the conjuncts is. It may well be “she, and me and Fannie”*)

ACC + NOM SUBJECTS:

(36) Oh, the night before **me and we** went to bed (*This is probably an error, due to the anomalous reference, and should be ignored.*)

(37) and **him and I** got on very well together and he really initiated me into running

¹¹*Us and them and them and us* in examples like *a them and us mentality/the them and us syndrome* [BNC], are better treated as lexicalised, fossilised material, but it is still significant that it is the accusative forms, and not the nominative ones, that have been lexicalised.

¹²Example (i) below, which also appears in the BNC, is ignored, as it does not seem to belong to Standard English. This is evident not only from the use of “us” as the sole subject of a finite verb, but also from the non-standard number marking on “year”.

(i) *for seventeen year, before us got married.*

times

(38) but **him and I** have this fight, right?

(39) Ah we, we, **her and I** cheered on who, who, who couldn't score

(40) "**her and I** were never separated."

ACC + ACC SUBJECTS:

(41) **Me and him**'d sit and eat from half past six

(42) **me and him** don't talk very much

(43) I remember when **me and her** were kids

(44) but, when he, when **him and me** are arguing when we were younger

(45) **Him and me** have never kept things from each other

NOM + ACC SUBJECT COMPLEMENTS (NONE FOUND!):

ACC + NOM SUBJECT COMPLEMENTS (NONE FOUND!):

ACC + ACC SUBJECT COMPLEMENTS:

(46) When it's just **me and him** he plays his favourite...

(47) It's great when it's just **me and her** in the evening

(48) But by then there was only **him and me** left

(49) and it'd be quiet and it'd be just **her and me**.

(50) Once more, it's **Us and Them**.

