

Two kinds of Morphosyntactic Merge

Ludmila Veselovská,
Palacký University in Olomouc

The presentation deals with the Czech variety of the notorious Slavic case and agreement patterns of quantified nominals (QN), as discussed in Babby (1987), Pesetsky (1982), Franks (1995), for Czech Veselovská (2001). In (1) we see the low numerals (3-4) and quantifiers like *všichni* ‘all’, i.e. the homogenous ‘adjectival’ pattern in both structural and oblique case contexts. The underlined QN shows uniform ϕ features: (a) PF.NOM, (b) PM.INST on all its members, and in (1a) also on the predicate *přijel-y* ‘arrived_{PF}’.

- (1) a. *Všechny (čtyři)* *ty* *dívky* *přijely* *nedávno*
 all PF.NOM (four) NOM the PF.NOM **girls** PF.NOM arrived_{PF} not long ago
- b. *Hovořil* *s-* *těmi* *všemi / třemi* *krásnými* *chlapci*
 spoke_{SM} with the INST all INST / three INST handsome PM.INST **boys** PM.INST

(2) demonstrates the *heterogeneous* pattern typical for the numerals above 5 (= ‘5 & up’) and some Qs e.g. *několik / mnoho* ‘several/much/ many’, which shows a distinction between structural (NOM/ACC) and oblique contexts. In (2a) the preposition requires ACC but all parts of the QN (with the exception of the Q) are in GEN. In (2b) the 5&up Qs follow *s(e)* ‘with’ (oblique INST) with no GEN; contrary to (2a), the QP are marked by a uniform INST as in (1b).

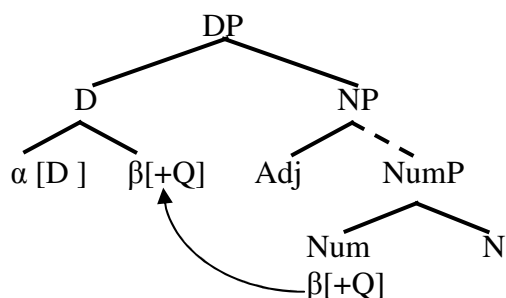
- (2) a. *Těším se* *na* *těch* *příštích* *několik/ pět* *krásných* *měsíců*
 I look forward to those_{GEN} next_{GEN} several/ five nice_{GEN} months PM.GEN
- b. *Hovořil* *s* *těmi* *mnoha / pěti* *svý-mi* *dobrý-mi* *kamarády*
 spoke_{SM} with the INS many / five self’s_{INS} good_{INS} friends_{INS}

I will apply the Case theory of Pesetsky (2013) assuming (i) the categorial nature of case (N-genitive, D-nominative, V-accusative and P-oblique), (ii) a case- stacking procedure and (iii) the existence of a language-specific One Suffix Rule. Within this framework I show that Czech Number is merged with N pre-syntactically, and that the GEN in (2) is a ‘primeval’ GEN surviving inside QN as a result of the freezing effect of a Q-to-D feature movement - see the arrow in (3a). Moreover, I will argue that the distinction between the case and agreement patterns of the two kinds of quantifiers in (1) and (2) reflects a distinction between *two distinct types of the internal Merge* process: Undermerge and Overmerge. Pesetsky (2013) claims that the head β [+Q] moves to the probing head α (=D) and *right*-adjoins to it (**Undermerge**), becoming a ‘new’ (selected) complement of α and as such receiving the D-case (=NOM). The presence of the right adjoined β in (3a) prevents the D-case on the NP following the D+Q, which thus remains unchanged, i.e. showing a primeval GEN, inherent to the N category.

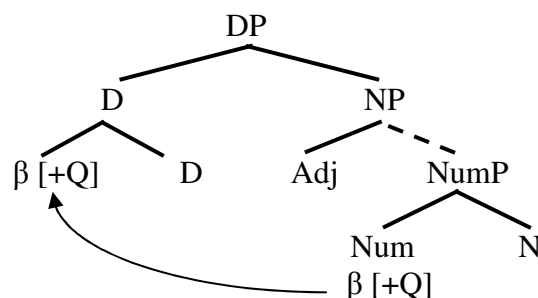
I also propose that the ‘agreeing’ quantifiers in (1) represent an **Overmerge** structure, in which the moved [+Q] head β *left*-adjoins to D as in (3b) - (a standard Baker-type incorporation). In the absence of freezing, the head α assigns its D-case to the NP following the D+Q head. My presentation will further show that this analysis is able to explain the special properties of the two patterns (1) and (2) appearing with the differing Qs, including the predicate agreements and the format of some Czech Qs found in corpora.

(3) Q-to-D Movement (Undermerge vs. Overmerge/ incorporation)

(a) Undermerge of β



(b) Overmerge of β



References

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