Adjectives and Concord
Richard Larson (Stony Brook University)

Traditional grammar views the case-marking in examples like (1a) as non-uniform; whereas NOM is governed/assigned on N (kennigar), NOM is concordial on Q/Dem/Num/AP (1b). Case is "real" or primary on the nominal head, but derivative or secondary on its 'modifiers', etc.

(1) a. all.FEM.PL.NOM ár.pessar.these.arpjár.three.nyju.new.FEM.PL.NOM
kennigar
theories.FEM.PL.NOM (Icelandic, Kester 1996)
'all these three new theories'

b. Tns → [NP Q → Dem → Num → A → N ]
↑ GOVERNOR CONCORD CONCORD CONCORD CONCORD GOVERNED
ASSIGNER ASSIGNED

In this talk I:

• Sketch a simple view of case within the feature theory of Pesetsky & Torrego (2007), looking at various schematic possibilities it suggests.

• Explore two conceptual situations in DP:
  ◦ one wherein Ns of a language behave concordially - i.e., behave like As wrt case.
  ◦ one wherein As in a language behave non-concordially - i.e., behave like Ns wrt case.

• Argue that the two situations are instantiated empirically in Iranian languages.

• Consider extensions of the basic notions to vP/VP, examining "linker" and "subnominal" phenomena in Kinande and de particles (的地) in Mandarin.

1.0 Concord in Feature Theory

Assuming case is a feature, how might the 3-fold distinction assigner-concordial-assigned be implemented technically in feature theory?

Modern theories import the LF/PF distinction into features, assuming a 2-fold distinction between interpretable/unvalued [iF] vs. uninterpretable/valued [Fv] instances. The first probes the second under c-command and the two agree (2):

(2) [iF] probes [Fv]
|_________↑ AGREE!

Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) propose an extension that admits the full space of possibilities for [±interpretable] and [±valued] F (3):
(3) offers a natural mapping to the notions needed for case-features F (4a); (1b) gets reinterpreted as (4b). On a normal right-descending syntax, the agreement chain is built bottom-up link-by-link, (①→⑤). In each case an unvalued F probes downward.


b. Tns
    [DP  Q  Dem  Num  A  N ]
    [INOM]  [NOM]  [NOM]  [NOM]  [NOMv]  

   ① –② –③ –④ –⑤

1.1 An Analogy

To explore the conceptual possibilities here in a non-technical way, I will analogize (4a) as in (5a). (4b) thus becomes (5b).

(5)  a. [iF] = light source; must illuminate an opaque target
    [Fv] = opaque target; must be illuminated
    [F] = translucent target; must be illuminated

   Objects are illuminated by source α iff c-commanded by α
   Objects are in the shadow of α iff c-commanded by α

b. TNS
    [DP  Q  Dem  Num  A  N ]

   [INOM]  [NOM]  [NOM]  [NOM]  [NOM]  [NOMv]

   CASE THEORY: "Establish appropriate lighting for the scene".

1.2 "Lighting Problems" - Core Cases in DP

Under this picture A, but not N should be possible in prenominal position (6a,b), and neither A nor N should be possible in postnominal position (7a,b).

(6)  a. SRC [NP  D  A  N ]  An important man

b. SRC [NP  D  N  N ]  *An importance man

(7)  a. SRC [NP  D  N  A ]  *A man important

b. SRC [NP  D  N  N ]  *A man importance
Postnominal A should be salvageable through movement (8a), but not postnominal N (8b) (cf. 6). OTOH, postnominal N should be salvageable through addition of a "lighting source" (9a), but not postnominal A (9b):

(8) a. \[ \text{SRC} \left[ \text{NP} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{A} \right] \quad \text{An important man} \quad \text{important} \]
   
   b. \[ \text{SRC} \left[ \text{NP} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{N} \right] \quad \ast \text{An importance man} \quad \text{importance} \]

(9) a. \[ \text{SRC} \left[ \text{NP} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{P} \quad \text{N} \right] \quad \text{A man of importance} \]
   
   b. \[ \text{SRC} \left[ \text{NP} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{P} \quad \text{A} \right] \quad \ast \text{A man of important} \]

(6)-(9) assume a basic alignment of category & case: N opaque – A translucent. Is this truly invariant?

- Could N's behave like A's wrt case, without becoming A's?
- Could A's behave like N's wrt case, without being N's?

1.3 Making N "Transparent"

Suppose some N's were concordial (N⁰) or could be made so by grammatical operation. Prenominal position would then become open, either as a base position (10a) or through movement (10b). If the only change is in case properties, N should stay referential.

(10) a. \[ \text{SRC} \left[ \text{NP} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{N}^\text{C} \quad \text{N} \right] \quad \text{Prenominal Concordial N}^\text{C} \]
   
   b. \[ \text{SRC} \left[ \text{NP} \quad \text{D} \quad \text{N}^\text{C} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{N}^\text{C} \right] \quad \text{Postnominal Concordial N}^\text{C} \]

Upper Sorbian (Lusatia, eastern Germany) is described as creating “possessive A's” from N(P)'s by attaching -ow to MASC N's and -in/-yn to FEM N's. Compare (11a), with a postnominal genitive, and (11b), with a possessive A. Corbett (1987) notes that Janowa retains its referential/N-like status (12) - very unadjectival behavior:

(11) a. ‘kniha  Jan-a  book  Jan-GENSG  ‘a/the book of Jan’s’
   

Upper Sorbian (Corbett 1987)
(12) Słysetaj ... Wićazowy hłós, kotryż e zastupił.
'Vey they hear Wićaz's voice, who.MASC is gone in'

(10) does not require us to see Upper Sorbian -in/-yn/-ow as category changing - viz., as "adjectivalization" (N→A).

Proposal: Prenominal "genitive" or "adjectivalizing" markers can instantiate concordializers (10), which make N case transparent.

1.4 Making A "Opaque"
Suppose A's were opaque/valueed. What would that look like? Wrt attributive positions, both (13a,b) would be bad.

(13) a. \[ \text{SRC} \ [\text{NP} \ D \ A \ N ] \] \hspace{1cm} \text{Prenominal position}

b. \[ \text{SRC} \ [\text{NP} \ D \ N \ A ] \] \hspace{1cm} \text{Postnominal position}

Two possibilities would remain: insertion of case source (14) or concordialization (15):

(14) \[ \text{SRC} \ [\text{NP} \ D \ N \ SRC \ A ] \] \hspace{1cm} \text{Insert case-source}

(15) a. \[ \text{SRC} \ [\text{NP} \ D \ A^C \ N ] \] \hspace{1cm} \text{Concordialize A}

b. \[ \text{SRC} \ [\text{NP} \ D \ A^C \ N \ A^C ] \] \hspace{1cm} \text{Move A}

At the same time, since A's continue to be non-referential, we would not expect them in argument positions (16-18).


b. *True/beautiful endures.

(17) a. We accept truth/beauty.

b. *We accept true/beautiful.

(18) a. A road of great length/*very long

b. An article with great importance/*very important

c. A book of substantial thickness/*substantially thick
2.0 Iranian Ezafe and Reverse Ezafe

2.1 Ezafe in iPersian

“Ezafe” morphemes are found in Mod Persian (iPersian, aPersian, tPersian), Kurdish (Sorani, Kurmanji), "Kurdish-like" lgs. (Zazaki, Hawrami) and Balochi. N, A, Q and P heads precede their complements & modifiers. In certain cases, Ezafe (-EZ) appears between them, realized on the preceding element. (19a-d) are the basic patterns:

(19) a. N - EZ NP/AP/(some)PP
b. A - EZ NP
c. Q - EZ NP (for some Qs)
d. P - EZ NP (for some Ps)

iPersian exhibits Ezafe in its simplest form; the only variation is phonological (e/ye).

(20) Modifiers & complements of Ns

a. del-e sang
   heart-EZ stone ‘stone heart’
   (N-EZ NP)
b. manzel-e John
   house-EZ John ‘John’s house’
   (N-EZ NP)
c. shahr-e Tehran
city-EZ Tehran ‘Tehran city’
   (N-EZ NP)
d. Ali-ye Ghozati
   Ali-EZ Ghozati ‘Ali Ghozati’
   (N-EZ NP)
e. tæxrib-e shæhr
destruction-EZ city ‘destruction of the city’
   (N-EZ NP)
f. xordan-e âb
   drinking-EZ water ‘drinking of water’
   (N-EZ NP)
g. forunshandé-ye ketâb
   seller-EZ books ‘seller of books’
   (N-EZ NP)
h. otâq-e besyar kucik
   room-EZ very small ‘very small room’
   (N-EZ AP)
i. ketâb-e sabz-e jâleb
   book-EZ green-EZ interesting ‘interesting green book’
   (N-EZ AP-EZ AP)
j. divar-e jelo Ali
   wall-EZ in-front-of Ali ‘wall in front of Ali’
   (N-EZ PP)

(21) Complements of As

a. asheq-e Hasan
   in love-EZ Hasan ‘enamored with Hasan’
   (A-EZ NP)
b. negæran-e bæche
   worried-EZ child-PL ‘worried about the children’
   (A-EZ NP)
c. montæzer-e Godot
   waiting-EZ Godot ‘waiting for Godot’
   (A-EZ NP)
(22) **Partitives**

a. tamâm-e sherkathâ  
all-EZ companies  ‘all/the-totality-of companies’

b. tamâm-e-in sherkathâ  
all-EZ-these companies  ‘all/the-totality-of these companies’

With certain PPs, Ezafe occurs between the P head and its object. When PP occurs as a noun modifier, Ezafe sometimes occurs between PP and N:

(23) **Complements of (Certain) Ps**

a. beyn-e mæn-o to  
between-EZ you and me  ‘between you and me’

b. væsæt-e otaq  
in-the-middle-EZ room  ‘in the middle of the room’

c. dor-e estæxr  
around-EZ pool  ‘around the pool’

d. xune-ye [PP kenar-e dærya]  
house-EZ next-EZ sea  ‘house on the beach’

**2.2 Ezafe as Case-marker**

(24)-(27) below involve NPs, APs, PPs and QPs, resp. The (a) examples have Ez; the others have the P az or Ez/-az alternating, with virtually identical sense.

(24) a. yek majma -e roshanfekraan  
a gathering -EZ intellectual.PL  ‘a gathering of intellectuals’

b. ye goruh -e/az danešjuyan  
a group -EZ/of student.PL  ‘a group of the students’

c. gozaresh -e/az vezarat-e farhang  
report -EZ/of ministry-EZ education  ‘report of/from the Ministry of Edu’

(25) a. negærän -e bæche  
worried -EZ child.PL  ‘worried about the children’

b. deltang az zendegi  
depressed of life  ‘depressed about life’

c. xashmgin az natije -ye entexabat  
enraged of result -EZ election  ‘enraged by/at the election result’

(26) a. dar-tul -e mah -e Febriye  
during -EZ month -EZ February  ‘during the month of February’

b. qabl -e/az nahar  
before -EZ/of lunch  ‘before lunch’

c. bad -e/az molaqat -e Hasan ]  
after -EZ /of visit -EZ Hasan  ‘after the meeting with Hasan’

(27) a. bishtar -e ketab ha  
most -EZ book.PL  ‘most of/among the books’
b. bazi az ketab.ha
   some of book.PL ‘some of/among the books’
c. cand-ta -ye/az anha
   few-unit -EZ/of them ‘few of them’
d. hic kodum -ye/az anha
   not any -EZ/of them ‘none of them’

English shows a similar parallelism insofar as it can often gloss Ez naturally with of, its az-equivalent in these contexts.

(28) a. del-e sang (N-EZ NP)
   heart-EZ stone ‘heart of stone’/‘stone heart’
   b. manzel-e John (N-EZ NP)
      house-EZ John ‘house of John’s’/‘John’s house’
   c. shahr-e Tehran (N-EZ NP)
      city-EZ Tehran ‘city of Tehran’/‘Tehran city’
   d. Ali-e Ghozati (N-EZ NP)
   e. tæxrib-e shæhr (N-EZ NP)
      destruction-EZ city ‘destruction of the city’
   f. xordan-e âb (N-EZ NP)
      drinking-EZ city ‘drinking of water’
   g. forunshandé-ye ketâb (Q-EZ NP)
      seller-EZ books ‘seller of books’
   h. bishtar-e ketab.ha (Q-EZ NP)
      most-EZ book.PL ‘most of the books’
   i. arezumand-e shohrat (A-EZ NP)
      desirous-EZ fame ‘desirous of fame’
   j. birun-e panjare (P-EZ NP)
      out-EZ window ‘out of the window’
   k. ba-vojud-e Hasan (P-EZ NP)
      with-existence-EZ Hasan ‘inspite of Hasan’
   l. be-dalil-e in mozu (P-EZ NP)
      for-reason-EZ this issue ‘because of this issue’

Chomsky (1981): of is present in the (28) glosses because [+N] items need case but [+N] items do not assign case. Of (and az) discharge this function (29).

(29) NON-CASE-ASSIGNING    CASE-ASSIGNING    CASE-REQUIRING
    a. X[+N] \(\not\Rightarrow\) Y[+N] * English of
    b. X[+N] \(\not\Rightarrow\) [PP of \(\Rightarrow\) Y[+N] ] iPersian az
    c. X[+N] \(\not\Rightarrow\) [PP az \(\Rightarrow\) Y[+N] ]

\[(30) \begin{array}{lll}
\text{NON-CASE-ASSIGNING} & \text{CASE-ASSIGNING} & \text{CASE-REQUIRING} \\
a. & X[+[N] - EZ \Rightarrow Y[+[N]] & \text{iPersian Ezafe} \\
b. & X[+[N] - EZ \Rightarrow Y[+[N]] [\text{EzP -EZ} \Rightarrow Y[+[N]]] & \text{iPersian Ezafe} \\
\end{array}\]

2.3 iPersian A's are not N's

iPersian A's are not N's (contra Karimi & Brame 1986/2012). N's but not As are permitted in argument positions (31-33) (cf. 16-18); Ns are not freely substitutable for As in attributive constructions (34).

\[(31) \begin{array}{l}
a. \text{hæghighæt/zibayi} \text{ paaydaar ast} & \text{Subj position} \\
\text{truth/beauty} \text{ enduring is} \\
\text{‘truth/beauty endures’} \\
b. *\text{hæghighi/ziba} \text{ paaydaar ast} & \text{true/beautiful} \text{ enduring is} \\
\text{‘true/ beautiful endures’} \\
\end{array}\]

\[(32) \begin{array}{l}
a. \text{Ma hæghighæt/zibayi-ro} \text{ ghабul mikomim.} & \text{DO position} \\
\text{we truth/beauty-ACC acceptance do} \\
\text{‘We accept truth/beauty.’} \\
b. *\text{Ma hæghighi/ziba-ro} \text{ ghабul mikomim.} & \text{true/beautiful-ACC acceptance do} \\
\text{‘We accept true/beautiful.’} \\
\end{array}\]

\[(33) \begin{array}{l}
a. \text{Ye jade ba [} \text{tul-e ziad]/*[besyar tulani]} & \text{PO position} \\
\text{INDEF road with length-EZ great/*very long} \\
\text{‘a road of great length’} \\
b. \text{Ye maqale(-ye) ba [ahamiat-e ziyad]/*[besyar mohem]} & \text{INDEF article(-EZ) with importance-EZ great /*very important} \\
\text{‘an article of great importance’} \\
\end{array}\]

\[(34) \begin{array}{l}
a. \text{Ye jade -ye besyar tulani/[} \text{tul-e ziad]} & \text{Attributive position} \\
\text{INDEF road -EZ very long /length-EZ great} \\
\text{‘a very long road’} \\
b. \text{Ye maqale-ye [besyar mohem] /*[ahamiat-e ziyad]} & \text{INDEF article-EZ very important /importance-EZ great} \\
\text{‘a very important article’} \\
c. \text{Ye ketab-e [besyar zakhim]/*[zekhamat-e ziad]} & \text{INDEF book-EZ very thick /thickness-EZ great} \\
\text{‘a very thick book’} \\
\end{array}\]

Proposal: iPersian Ezafe instantiates (14), where X are opaque items. Ez governs/assigns case with A's, just as it does with N's.
Nonetheless, the A-N distinction is preserved in iPersian, despite the convergence in case properties.

2.4 Caspian "Reverse Ezafe"

Mazanderani, Gilaki and Talyshi nominals show a near inverse pattern to iPersian. Attributive N's & A's, possessives, and N complements occur prenominally and show a reverse Ezafe particle (REZ), which cliticizes to the preceding element (35):

(35) a. NP/AP/PP -REZ N  
    b. NP  -REZ A  
    c. NP  -REZ P

(36) Modifiers & complements of Ns (Gilaki)
    a. bay-ə gul-an  
       garden-REZ flower-PL  
       NP-REZ N  
       'garden flowers'
    b. John-ə xowne  
       John-REZ house  
       NP-REZ N  
       'John's house'
    c. ab-ə xurdan  
       water-REZ eat  
       'drinking of water'
    d. surx-ə gul  
       red-REZ flower  
       AP-REZ N  
       'red flower'
    e. xayli kushtay(-ə) utaq  
       very small(-REZ) room  
       AP-REZ AP-REZ N  
       'very small room'
    f. xujir(-ə) sabz-e kitaab  
       good-REZ green-REZ book  
       AP-REZ AP-REZ N  
       'good green book'
    g. daryaa(-ə) kinaar-e xowne  
       sea(-REZ) next-REZ house  
       [NP-REZ P]-REZ N  
       'house beside the sea'

(37) Complements of As (Gilaki)
    a. Hæsæn-ə aashiq  
       Hasan-REZ in love  
       NP-REZ A  
       'in love with Hasan'
    b. zak-ə negarown  
       child-REZ worried  
       NP-REZ A  
       'worried about the child'
    c. Gudut-ə muntazir  
       Godot-REZ waiting  
       NP-REZ A  
       'waiting for Godot'

(38) Complements of Ps (Gilaki)
    a. divaar-ə sar  
       wall-REZ top  
       NP-REZ P  
       'up the wall'
    b. otaq-ə væsæt-ə  
       room-REZ center  
       NP-REZ P  
       'in the middle of the room'
c. istaxr-e dowri pool-REZ around ‘around the pool’

a. daryaa(-e) kinaar-ə xowne sea(-REZ) next-REZ house ‘house beside the sea’

2.5 Ez/Rez and Relative Clauses

Ez/Rez symmetry breaks down with RCs. iPersian RCs are uniformly postnominal. Reduced/nonfinite RCs (RRCs) show no C and are introduced by Ez (39a), Finite RCs (FRCs) show no Ez and are introduced by the C ke (39b).

(39) iPersian RRCs and FRCs

a. aks -e [čáp šode dar ruznâme] photo -ez publication become in newspaper ‘the photo published in the newspaper’

b. [dust -e Hasan] (*-e) [ke Nanaz-o mishnas-e] friend -ez Hasan -ez that Nanaz knows ‘the friend of Hasan who knows Nanaz’

Caspian RCs split. RRCs are prenominal & show Rez as expected under symmetry (40a). But FRCs are postnominal as in iPersian (40b). If Caspian RCs are generated uniformly, this suggests (15b) as the correct picture (41).

(40) Mazanderani RRCs and FRCs

a. [tæʃ-ə saer bæpət ]-ə pola fire-REZ on cooked PPRT -REZ rice ‘the rice cooked over a fire’

b. unta pola [ke man tæʃ-ə saer bæpət-əmə] DEM.DIST rice REL 1SG fire-REZ on cooked-1SG ‘the rice that I cooked over a fire’

(41) a. SRC [NP D N FRC ]

b. SRC [NP D N RRCRez ] Concordialize RRC

c. SRC [NP D RRCRez N RRCRez ] Move RRCRez

Proposal: Reverse Ezafe lgs. instantiate (15b) - concordialization with movement, where X are opaque items. Rez concordializes A’s, just as it does N’s.
3.0 Concord in VP?

So far we've been looking at DP. But our reflections apply equally to VP.

(42) a. \[ V_{[\text{VP} \ V \ NP \ NP]} \] *sent the book the man

b. \[ V_{[\text{VP} \ V \ NP \ P \ NP]} \] sent the book to the man

c. \[ V_{[\text{VP} \ V \ NP \ \text{Appl} \ NP]} \] sent the man the book

d. \[ V_{[\text{VP} \ V \ NP \ \text{Appl} \ NP \ NP]} \] sent the man the book

Question: Can we see anything like "concordialization" at work in VP - e.g., N's behaving like A's wrt case?

(43) a. \[ V_{[\text{VP} \ V \ \text{NP}^C \ NP]} \] Concordialize Inner NP

b. \[ V_{[\text{VP} \ V \ \text{NP}^C \ NP \ \text{NP}^C]} \] Concordialize/Move Outer NP

3.1 Kinande "Linkers" (Baker and Collins 2006)

(44) a. Mo-n-a-hir-ire [oko-gulu] k'- [omo-kihuna ].
AFF-1SS-T-put-EXT leg.15 LK.15 LOC.18-hole.7 'I put the leg in the hole.'

b. Mo-n-a-hir-ire [omo-kihuna] m'- [oko-gulu].
AFF-1SS-T-put-EXT LOC.18-hole.7 LK.18 leg.15 'I put the leg in the hole.'

LK is required between two VP nominals \( \alpha \) and \( \beta \) (taken in either order) (45a,b). LK cannot precede both (45c) nor follow both (45d). What is LK?

(45) a. \( V \ \alpha \ LK \ \beta \) c. *\( V \ LK \ \alpha \ \beta \)

b. \( V \ \beta \ LK \ \alpha \) d. *\( V \ \alpha \ \beta \ LK \)

LK superficially resembles a P or Ezafe element, assigning case rightward (46).
(46) \( V \ [vP \ V \ NP \ LK \ NP ] \) \textit{gave the book to the man}

But BC observe that (46) cannot be right; \( LK \) agrees with the preceding NP (47)!

(47) \( V \ a \ LK \ \beta \)

\[
\text{Agree}
\]

\subsection*{Baker & Collin's Analysis}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \( a. [vP \ V \ [LKP \ LK \ [vP \ V \ldots \alpha \ldots \beta \ldots ]] \) \textit{Case}
  \item \( b. [vP \ V \ [LKP \ \alpha \ \downarrow \ \L K \ [vP \ V \ldots \alpha \ldots \beta \ldots ]] \) \textit{Movement}
  \item \( c. [vP \ V \ [LKP \ \beta \ \downarrow \ \L K \ [vP \ V \ldots \alpha \ldots \beta \ldots ]] \) \textit{Case}
  \item \( \downarrow \ \text{Movement}
\end{itemize}

(49) \( V \ldots [LKP \ LK \ [vP \ V \ldots \alpha \ldots \beta \ldots ]] \)

BC's problem: Minimality!!

\textbf{Proposal (Larson 2008):} \( LK \) is a concordializing element that agrees with what it concordializes. In (50a) \( LK \) concordializes the inner NP; in (50b), \( LK \) concordializes the outer NP, which fronts.

(50) \( a. \ V \ [vP \ V \ \text{NP}^{LK} \ \text{NP}] \) \textit{Concordialize Inner NP}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \( b. \ V \ [vP \ V \ \text{NP}^{LK} \ \text{NP} \ \text{NP}^{L\alpha-K}] \) \textit{Concordialize/move Outer NP}
\end{itemize}

This solves case problems without raising Minimality problems.

\subsection*{3.2 Kinande "Subnominals"}

The Iranian lgs. exhibit A's not manifesting case "translucency" as a core property. Is it possible to find N's not manifesting "opacity" as a core property?

Kinande Ns can be generated w/wo an initial 'augment' vowel. BC describe the w/-version as “normal.” BC characterize the wo/-version as a “polarity form” with narrow-scope indefinite interpretation. They are defective in referential possibilities.

(51) \( a. \ \text{Kambale mo-a-teta-gul-a e-ri-tunda.} \) \textit{(with augment)}

Kambale \textit{AFF-1S-NEG/PST-buy-FV AUG-5-fruit}

'Kambale did not buy the/a certain fruit.'
b. Kambale mo-a-teta-gul-a  
   ri-tunda.  (without augment)
   Kambale AFF-1S-NEG/PST-buy-FV 5-fruit
   'Kambale did not buy any fruit.'

Interestingly, if VP contains an augmentless NP and a loc adjunct, LK is forbidden (52), cf. (53):

(52) a. Kambale mo-a-teta-gul-a  [ri-tunda] (*ry’) [omo-soko].
   Kambale AFF-1S-NEG/PST-buy-FV 5-fruit LK.5 LOC.18-market
   'Kambale didn’t buy any fruit in the market.'

   Kambale AFF-1S-NEG/PST-cut-FV 7-sugarcane LK.7 LOC.18-3-axe.
   'Kambale didn’t cut any sugarcane with the axe.'

   Kambale AFF-1S-NEG/PST-buy-FV AUG 5-fruit LK.5 Loc.18-market
   Kambale didn’t buy the fruit in the market.

b. Kambale mo-a-teta-tw-a  [e-ki-seke] *(ky’) [omo-mu-hamba].
   Kambale AFF-1S-NEG/PST-cut-FV AUG 7-sugarcane LK.7 Loc.18-3-axe.
   Kambale didn’t cut the sugarcane with the axe.

BC claim that augmentless forms are "subnominal" - neither able to agree or bear case. But (54) raises problems. What happened to the ACC born by v?

(54) Si-n-andisyata-hek-er-a  [mu-kali] (*yo) [ka-tebe].
    NEG-1SS-FUT-carry-APPL-FV 1-woman LK.1 12-pail
    I will not carry any pail for any woman.

Proposal: Kinande subnominals are optionally translucent. They don’t take LK because "they don’t need it" (i.e., LK is blocked by minimal derivation). If this proposal is correct we instantiate a possibility additional to (50a,b), viz., (55).

(55) $V$  [vp  $V$  NP$^{SUB}$  NP ]  Translucent Inner NP

3.3 Mandarin de’s (的 / 地)

Larson (2009) analyzes nominal de (的) in Mandarin (56a,b) as a concordializer (57), where X includes As:

(56) a. Hen  dasheng  de ren  zou le.
    very loud  DE  person leave PERF
    ‘A/the loud person left.’
b. Ta mai le piaoliang de yifu.
   3SG buy PERF pretty DE clothes
   ‘He bought some attractive clothes.’

(57) | SRC | [NP X\textsuperscript{DE} N ] | Concordial X\textsuperscript{DE} |

Are Mandarin A's then opaque, comparable to A's in the Caspian languages?

Interestingly, Mandarin has another \textit{de} particle (地) occurring in VP and used to form manner Adv's from A's (58):

(58) Zhangsan qiaoqiao de shuohua.
   Z. quiet-quiet DE speak
   ‘Zhangsan is speaking quietly’

Compare now (59) and (60), both with manner Adv's:

(59) a. Ta zongshi \textbf{hen dasheng (de)} gen bieren jianghua.
   3SG always very loud -DE to others talk
   ‘S/he always talks to others loudly.’
   b. Ta zongshi gen bieren jianghua \textbf{hen dasheng (*de)}.

(60) a. Ta zongshi \textbf{qiaoqiao *(de)} gen bieren jianghua.
   3SG always quietly -DE to others talk
   ‘S/he always talks to others quietly.’
   b. *Ta zongshi gen bieren jianghua \textbf{qiaoqiao (de)}.

\textit{Da sheng} (lit. 'big voice') has a nominal core (\textit{sheng}) and occurs medially & finally. \textit{Qiaoqiao} (from the adjective \textit{qiao} ‘quiet’) occurs only medially and requires \textit{de}. AP-\textit{de} adverbs thus show positional restrictions.

Larson (2018) proposes (i) final position is available only to opaque/nominal Advs (NAdv's) (61a) and (ii) the adverbial \textit{de} particle (地) is a concordializer (61b,c)
Unavailability of qiaoqiao finally, w/ or wo/de, suggests it's not inherently opaque. Obligatory presence of de medially suggests qiaoqiao is not inherently transparent.

**Implication:** true As in Mandarin are neither opaque nor translucent lexically, unlike the situation in Caspian languages. Concordiality seems something that must be "added onto" an adjectival root in Mandarin.

### 4.0 Concordiality and AP - Summing Up

The category "adjective" was not self-evident to the earliest grammarians as a distinct part of speech. A's were typically assimilated to Ns (62).

\[(62)\] **Thrax (200 BC)**

Noun, Verb, Participle, Article, Pronoun, Preposition, Adverb, Conjunction

**Prician (500 AD)**

Noun (substantivum/adjectivum/numerale), Verb, Participle, Interjection, Pronoun, Preposition, Adverb, Conjunction

**Yāska (500-600 BC)**

नाम Noun (including Adj)  याख्यात Verb  उपसर्ग Pre-verb/Prefix  नरिसत Particle

**Tolkāppiyam (2500 BC)**

peyar Noun  vinai Verb  idai Prefixes/Suffixes/Particles  uri Residual

The reflections above, if correct, show one dimension in which they were right. Case properties do not map uniformly to A/N. While Ns are largely stable as opaque, As are not.

A → unvalued/concordial/translucent  Icelandic/German/Pashto
N → valued/opaque

A → valued/opaque  Modern Persian/Caspian Lgs.
N → valued/opaque

N → valued/opaque/
unvalued/translucent  Kinande

A → neither!  Mandarin
N → valued/opaque

Lgs have mechanisms for making N's A-like wrt Case ("concordializers")
Lgs have mechanisms for treating A's that are N-like wrt Case ("Ez/Rez")

**Remaining Question:** How does a "concordializer" work technically within feature theory?? Stay tuned.
REFERENCES


