

The prenominal allomorphy syndrome*
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1 Introduction

The prenominal position X and the postnominal position Y within a DP [_{DP}XNY], where N is the head noun, are asymmetric in various respects. Most typically, perhaps, a given category, definite article, demonstrative, numeral, qualifying adjective, etc. can appear in a given language in one position but not in the other. In some cases a category can appear in both positions, but one allomorph appears prenominally and the other allomorph appears postnominally. A simple case affecting a single lexical item is allomorph selection of the adjective for ‘bad’ in Catalan. The adjective *pèssim* ‘awful’ in (1a-b) is a normal adjective that presents the same form in both positions. But the adjective *mal/dolent* ‘bad’ (1c-d) presents its allomorphs in complementary distribution governed by position with respect to the N (M = masculine; F = feminine; Sg = singular; Pl = plural):

(1) <i>Postnominal</i>	<i>Prenominal</i>
a. solució pèssima solution-F awful-F ‘awful solution’	pèssima solució awful-F solution-F ‘awful solution’
b. resultats pèssims result-MPl awful-MPl ‘awful results’	pèssims resultats awful-MPl result-MPl ‘awful results’
c. solució dolenta *solució mala solution-F bad-F ‘bad solution’	*dolenta solució mala solution-F bad-F ‘bad solution’
d. resultats dolents *resultats mals result-MPl bad-MPl ‘bad results’	*dolents resultats mals resultats bad-MPl result-MPl ‘bad results’

More generalized left/right asymmetries of the same type can be found, for instance, in Ladin of Fassa (Romance, Italy), in Komi and Erzya (Finno-Ugric, Russia), and in Maasai (Nilo-Saharan, Kenya).¹ We illustrate these cases briefly. In Ladin (2) prenominal elements do not show agreement with the head, (2a), whereas postnominal elements can agree or not, (2b); Komi (3) shows postnominal agreement, (3b), and no agreement prenominally, (3a); Maasai presents a more complex situation, summarized in (4), with different kinds of prenominal agreement depending on category, but with full agreement postnominally.

(2) *Ladin of Fassa* (Rasom 2006)

a. la	picola	cèses	de	Fascia
the-Sg	little-Sg	houses-Pl	of	Fascia

la cèses petites de Fascia
 the-Sg house-Pl little-Pl of Fascia
 *les petites cèses de Fascia
 the-Pl little-Pl house-Pl of Fascia
 ‘the little houses of Fascia’

- b. duta la bezes beles ciaparà na resa
 all-Sg the-Sg girl-Pl beautiful-Pl will-get a rose
 ‘all beautiful girls will get a rose’

(3) *Komi* (Croft and Deligianni 2001, Vilkuna 1998)

- a. ydbyd da permyd kerkajas
 big and dark house-Pl
 ‘big and dark houses’
- b. kerkajas ydbyd-ös da permyd-ös tydalisny matyn n’in
 house-Pl big-Pl and dark-Pl be-visible-past1.3Pl close already
 ‘houses, big and dark, could already be seen close by’

(4) *Maasai agreement in the DP* (Koopman 2003)

<i>Categories</i>	<u>Article-like</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Triggering N</u>	<u>Quantifiers, numerals, As</u>
<i>(ordered)</i>				
<i>Agreement in</i>	Gender, Number	No agreement		Gender, Number, Case

In this paper we focus on some specific cases of asymmetry which involve allomorphic choice that affects inflectional morphemes in Catalan and Spanish. In these languages, in normal circumstances, all prenominal and postnominal elements in the DP agree in gender and number with the N, as the Catalan phrase in (5) illustrates.

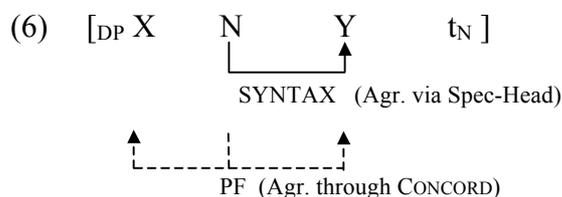
- (5) totes les meves antigues companyes italianes casades
 all-FPl the-FPl my-FPl old-FPl fellow-FPl Italian-FPl married-FPl
 ‘all my old married Italian female colleagues’

In section 2 we present the analysis of DP agreement we assume throughout the paper, which constitutes the origin of prenominal / postnominal asymmetries. We assume that postnominal agreement takes place in the syntax while prenominal agreement is established at PF and is controlled by constraint evaluation. The rest of the paper is organized as follows: section 3 is devoted to Northeastern Central Catalan, in which the plural morph *-s* does not appear in prenominal position under specific phonological conditions. We argue that the lack of agreement arises through the high ranking of a phonological markedness constraint interspersed with morphological constraints. In section 4 we examine a restricted set of lexical items in Spanish which require the bare stem, devoid of inflectional markers, to appear in prenominal position, while the same items in postnominal position appear fully inflected. We devote section 5 to a third case, from a variety of Spanish, in which the exceptional element that triggers asymmetric agreement in the DP is not the prenominal or postnominal element itself, but the N: it triggers regular agreement to the right and default masculine marking to the left. Finally, section 6 contains some concluding remarks.

2 Split concord

It is commonly held (see, e.g., Picallo 1991, Bernstein 1993, Cinque 1996, 2005) that the N is generated in the final, most embedded position within the DP. This assumption implies that when the noun surfaces in non-final position some movement has taken place. Different accounts can be found in the literature on the exact internal structure of the DP and as to whether N alone or the entire NP moves, for example. There is no clear consensus either as to whether concord within the DP and subject / verb agreement (clausal agreement) are the result of the same kind of operation.² Asymmetries in agreement can be found in both domains. More stable agreement appears in postnominal position within the DP and also with the order subject-verb, while prenominal elements within the DP and the verb in the verb-subject order often show weaker agreement. It is fairly common to assume that a Spec-Head relation, a local relation, is involved in the stable agreement of postnominal elements. For instance, Franck, Lassi, Frauenfelder, and Rizzi (2006), following Guasti and Rizzi (2002), argue that agreement between a preverbal subject and the verb is achieved through the operations Agree and Move (which gives rise to a Spec-Head configuration), while with subject inversion only Agree takes place; Shlonsky (2004) relates clausal and DP-internal agreement and argues that full concord with postnominal elements within the DP is achieved by NP-movement to a position that ultimately enters a Spec-Head relation; Nevins (2011) also resorts to the Spec-Head relation to account for postnominal concord.

The idea we pursue in this paper is that the syntax is responsible for postnominal concord, through Spec-Head agreement, and that at PF a family of constraints called CONCORD enforce general agreement in the DP, both prenominally and postnominally. This idea appears schematically in (6).



At PF the markedness constraints CONCORD compete, among others, with MAX constraints, which ensure that the inherent inflectional features on the N and those assigned by the syntax to postnominal elements are preserved; MAX will be irrelevant for prenominal elements. Candidates that violate CONCORD will be optimal when higher-ranked constraints rule out the agreeing candidate, causing the type of prenominal / postnominal asymmetries mentioned in the previous section. The duality of agreement (fixed agreement in the syntax, variable agreement at PF) is reminiscent of the proposal for sentential agreement in Guasti and Rizzi (2002) according to which if a morphosyntactic feature is checked in the overt syntax it must be expressed by the morphology, while if it is left unchecked its expression depends on morphological rules.

As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, an alternative view would be to consider that all concord takes place in a single step, at PF, by two competing constraints, one that triggers local agreement and one that triggers general agreement. In section 5 we briefly describe this type of approach, following the lines of Samek-Lodovici (2002) for clausal agreement, and point out the difficulties it would face.

3 Northeastern Central Catalan *s*~Ø alternation

3.1 *The data*

As illustrated in section 1 (see (5)), number concord in Catalan is expressed by the plural morph *-s*. In general, the sibilant *s* deletes only in specific phonological contexts, namely before a rhotic (e.g., *les roques* [lə rókəs] ‘the rocks’) or before another sibilant (e.g., *les sopes* [lə sópəs] ‘the soups’) (for an OT analysis of these facts, see Bonet and Lloret 2002). In other contexts, *s* is retained and only assimilates in voicing to a following consonant or to a vowel across word boundaries (e.g., *les cases* [ləs kázəs] ‘the houses’, *les nenes* [ləz nénəs] ‘the girls’, *les àvies* [ləz áβjəs] ‘the grandmothers’). In Northeastern Central (NEC) Catalan, however, the plural *-s* disappears in some additional cases, as illustrated in (7).³ (In the examples, the low dash ‘_’ is used for clarity to indicate the position of an inflectional element that should occur under general concord but does not show up.)

(7) <i>NEC Catalan</i>	<i>Other Central Catalan varieties</i>
a. un_ meu_ companys a my fellow-Pl	uns meus companys ‘some fellows of mine’
b. el_ bon_ vins the good wine-Pl	els bons vins ‘the good wines’
c. aquell_ llibres that book-Pl	aquells llibres ‘those books’
d. quin_ nou_ problemes what new problem-Pl	quins nous problemes ‘what new problems’

This apparent *s*-deletion occurs only when the three following conditions are met:

- (8) a. *s* is preceded and followed by a consonant,
 b. *s* occurs in prenominal position within the DP, and
 c. *s* is the plural morph.

Thus, following (8a), *s* is retained if it can be syllabified as an onset, as in *els avis* [əl.zá.βis] ‘the grandparents’, or if it is the only consonant in a coda, as in *les nenes* [ləz.né.nəs] ‘the girls’. Other examples in which the *-s* is retained because it is not preceded and followed by a consonant appear in (9). (We provide transcriptions only for cases of relevant discrepancies from orthography.)⁴

(9) a. aquest-s estrany-s ulls this-Pl strange-Pl eye-Pl ‘these strange eyes’	[əkèdz əstrànj úls]
b. el-s antic-s amics the-Pl old-Pl friend-Pl	

- ‘the old friends’
- c. **quine-s male-s carreteres**
 what-FPl bad-FPl road-FPl
 ‘what bad roads’
- d. **tote-s dos-cente-s nove-s matriculades**
 all-FPl two-hundred-FPl new-FPl registered-one-FPl
 ‘all 200 new registered ones’
- e. **quant-s ùltim-s instants** [kwànz ùltimz instáns]
 how-many-Pl last-Pl instant-Pl
 ‘how many last instants’
- f. **no gaire-s bon-s aficionats**
 not many-Pl good-Pl amateur-Pl
 ‘not many good amateurs’

The plural *-s*, however, does not show up in the context C_C, i.e., if it would have to syllabify as the second element of a non-final coda, as, for instance, in (7a) *uns meus companys* [um_.mèw_.kum.páɲf], *[unz.mèws.kum.páɲf] ‘some fellows of mine’. Further examples appear below:

- (10) a. **aquell_ teu_ cabells**
 that your hair-Pl
 ‘those hairs of yours’
- b. **el_ diferent_ grups**
 the different group-Pl
 ‘the different groups’
- c. **quin_ mal_ camins**
 what bad path-Pl
 ‘what bad paths’
- d. **tot_ dos-cent_ nou_ matriculats**
 all two-hundred new registred-one-Pl
 ‘all 200 newly registered ones’
- e. **quant_ quart_ dies**
 how-many fourth day-Pl
 ‘how many fourth days’
- f. **molt_ poc_ bon_ professionals**
 very few good professional-Pl
 ‘very few good professionals’

Following (8b), postnominal elements in the DP and the head of the NP itself do not lose the *-s* even in a C_C context, as shown in (11). Notice, in the illustrative examples in (10) and (11), that the same lexical items can show up prenominally without the *-s* and postnominally with the *-s* retained. This is the case for adjectives like *bons* ‘good-Pl’ and *nous* ‘new-Pl’, demonstratives like *aquells* ‘that-Pl’, and possessives like *teus* ‘your-Pl’.

- (11) a. **aquest_ cabells llargs tenyits**
 this hair-Pl long-Pl dyed-Pl
 ‘these long dyed hairs’
- b. **el_ vins blancs aquellstan cars**

- the wine-Pl white-Pl that-Pl so expensive-Pl
 ‘those so expensive white wines’
- c. quin_ camins bons desaprofitats
 what path-Pl good-Pl wasted-Pl
 ‘what wasted good paths’
- d. dos-cent_ matriculats nous comprovats
 two-hundred registered-one-Pl new-Pl checked-Pl
 ‘200 checked newly registered ones’
- e. quant_ parents teus francesos
 how-many relative-Pl your-Pl French-Pl
 ‘how many French relatives of yours’
- f. molt_ poc_ professionals bons presents
 much few professional-Pl good-Pl present-Pl
 ‘very few good professionals present’

The plural element without *-s* must be strictly pronominal, since a gap causes the plural morph to reappear, as shown in the following pairs:

- (12) a. el_ llums que tinc comprats
 the lamp-Pl that I-have bought-Pl
 ‘the lamps that I have bought’
 els que tinc comprats
 the(-one)-Pl that I-have bought-Pl
 ‘the ones I have bought’
- b. el_ llibres més venguts
 the book-Pl most sold-Pl
 ‘the most sold books’
 Els més venguts
 the(-one)-Pl most sold-Pl
 ‘the most sold ones’
- c. un_ cotxes grocs
 a car-Pl yellow-Pl
 ‘some yellow cars’
 uns de grocs
 a-Pl of yellow-Pl
 ‘some yellow ones’

Finally, following (8c), a final *s* other than the plural morph does not delete even if it meets condition (8a), interconsonantal position, and condition (8b), pronominal position, as the following singular DPs illustrate (orthographic ζ is [s]). The last example shows that the other suffix *-s*, i.e. the second-person singular morph, does not delete either, even though the phonological conditioning is met.⁵ (2.Sg stands for second person singular.)

- (13) a. un fals conseller
 ‘a false counselor’
- b. un dolç cant
 ‘a sweet singing’
- c. no ten-s pa?
 not have-2.Sg bread

‘don’t you have bread?’

3.2 *Untenable analyses*

A simple morphological solution in terms of allomorphy would posit two allomorphs, *-s* and \emptyset , and their associated contexts (e.g., \emptyset in prenominal C_C contexts, *-s* elsewhere). Such an analysis is untenable because it would amount to reducing the natural prenominal / postnominal distinction and the equally natural C_C context to lexical listing.⁶

A purely phonological solution in terms of deletion is out of the question too, since the phenomenon is restricted to a single morph, i.e. plural *-s*. It is worth noting, though, that, historically, this phenomenon is probably the result of the morphologization of an earlier active, general process, which still operates in the neighboring Rossellonese dialect, where any word-final *s* deletes when it is preceded and followed by a consonant, as in *caps* vs. *cap_grossos* (‘heads’ vs. ‘big heads’), *dins* vs. *din_tres dies* (‘in’ vs. ‘in three days’) (Fouché 1924:254).

It is also impossible to resort to the prosodic hierarchy to explain why plural-*s* deletion (or, alternatively, \emptyset allomorph selection) applies within the ‘prenominal+head’ domain but never in the ‘head+postnominal’ domain. The size of a phonological phrase depends on the length of the constituents involved, but in this case we would need all prenominal elements plus the head to be grouped together into a single phonological phrase, regardless of prosodic weight, and all postnominal elements to each form a single phonological phrase of their own, again regardless of prosodic weight. The phonological phrasing in (14) would be plausible and would give the right results, with respect to the *s*~ \emptyset alternation.

- (14) (aquell_plans) ϕ (desproporcionats) ϕ
 that plan-Pl disproportionate-Pl
 ‘those disproportionate plans’

However, a sequence of a monosyllabic noun followed by a monosyllabic adjective would give rise either to a forced phonological phrasing, as in (15a) (\star = prosodically ill-formed), or to a natural phrasing with illicit *s*-deletion, as in (15b).

- (15) a. \star (xais) ϕ (blancs) ϕ
 sheep-Pl white-Pl
 b. *(xai_ blancs) ϕ
 sheep white-Pl
 ‘white sheep-Pl’

As just mentioned, all prenominal elements plus the N should form a single prosodic constituent, while each postnominal element should constitute a single prosodic constituent. This parsing is plausible for a sequence like (16a), but it would be extremely inadequate for a sequence like (16b). In (16b) several polysyllabic words must form a single prosodic constituent, while the postnominal word, which is monosyllabic, is forced to constitute an independent phonological phrase, giving rise to an extremely unnatural phrasing.

- (16) a. (aquell_ pantalons) (vermells) (foradats) (llarguíssims)
 that trouser-Pl red-Pl with-holes-Pl very-long-Pl
 ‘those very long red trousers with holes’
 b. ★(tots aquell_ complicadíssim_ càlculs) (nous)
 all that very-complicated calculation-Pl new-Pl
 ‘all those new very complicated calculations’

The fact is that the lack of *s* is at the same time (i) morphologically limited to the plural morph *-s*, (ii) syntactically conditioned (prenominal position), and (iii) phonologically conditioned (interconsonantal position), a sum of circumstances which in our view follows from concord for prenominal elements being established at PF.

3.3 Analysis under split concord

As said in section 2, our analysis is based on the assumption that there are two mechanisms for concord: Spec-Head agreement triggered by syntactic movement and PF-concord. For both cases, we assume that inflectional endings appear under the morphological constituent category FLEC(TION). Postnominal elements within the DP acquire concord through syntactic movement; they reach PF with the inflection assigned, and hence enter constraint evaluation with a specific ending in the input. In contrast, at the beginning of PF, prenominal DP elements do not show concord with the N and enter constraint evaluation without any specific inflection assigned. In this case, the input contains the stem of the word and all its possible inflectional endings. For example, in a DP such as *uns avis vells* ‘some old grandparents’ the N, *avis*, and its postnominal modifier, *vells*, reach PF with inflection assigned: the N has specified gender and number (masculine plural in our example) in the input to syntax; the postnominal modifier gets inflectional features in the syntax as a result of N movement and enters constraint evaluation (17a). We represent this structural relation between the stem and the specific inflectional morphs assigned before PF with a hyphen (‘-’).

The prenominal modifier, however, enters PF without inflection assigned. We assume that the input representation of inflectional categories is as follows: the input consists of two separate elements, the stem and the morphological constituent FLEC, which in this case hosts all possible gender and number morphs, i.e. \emptyset for masculine, *-a* for feminine, \emptyset for singular, and *-s* for plural (17b).⁷ Here we represent the relation between the stem and the not yet incorporated morphological constituent FLEC with a comma (‘,’).

- (17) a. Input to constraint evaluation for the N *avis* and the postnominal modifier *vells*
 [STEM avi]-[FLEC \emptyset_M SPL] [STEM vell]-[FLEC \emptyset_M SPL]
 b. Input to constraint evaluation for the prenominal modifier *un-una-uns-unes*
 [STEM un],[FLEC \emptyset_M , a_F ; \emptyset_{SG} , SPL]

The inflectional information in (17) comes from different sources. One is idiosyncratic and, hence, is lexical. This is the case of the masculine gender for the N *avi* in (17a). The other one is regular and includes the fact that most nominal elements

are inflected for gender and number; we leave aside the question as to what specific mechanisms derive (17b) from lexical entries.

Prenominal concord is ultimately governed by morphological constraints that require agreement within the DP. Two constraints require agreement of different strength: CONCORD demands agreement with the N (the nucleus of the NP, i.e. the agreement head) for all elements in the DP, prenominal or postnominal; MATCH bans only contradictory feature values, (18b). These two constraints interact with the morphological constraint *FEATURES, (18c), which militates against the presence of any agreement morphology.⁸

- (18) a. CONCORD: If a N has an inflectional feature F, all other modifiers within the DP must have the inflectional feature F.
 b. MATCH: No contradictory values of an inflectional feature F within a DP.
 c. *FEAT(URES): “No agreement features.” (Samek-Lodovici 2002:59)⁹

The MAX constraint family prohibits deletion of input information. We distinguish between the well-established MAX(SEGMENT) constraint, which penalizes loss of input phonological segments, (19a), from MAX(MPH), penalizing loss of morphemes present in the input (19b).¹⁰

- (19) a. MAX(SEGMENT): “Every segment of the input has a correspondent in the output. (No phonological deletion.)” (McCarthy and Prince 1995:264)
 b. MAX(MPH): Every morpheme of the input has a correspondent in the output. (No morphological deletion.)

As usual, MAX(SEGMENT) applies to input pre-established segments, including the inflectional endings of N and all postnominal elements because they are co-indexed for correspondence relations. As illustrated in (20a) for postnominal elements, an output with a deleted plural morph, like *vell*-_[FLEC Ø_M_PI], and a phonetically identical output where all inflection has been erased, as in bare *vell*, both violate MAX(SEGMENT), because in both cases an input /s/ does not have a correspondent in the output. However, in prenominal position, (20b), inflectional endings are unspecified in the input; the only information FLEC contains is the actual realization if they turn out to be M, F, Sg, or Pl (in Distributed Morphology terms, Halle and Marantz 1993, FLEC contains all the potential Vocabulary items related to nominal inflection). In this position, then, MAX(SEGMENT) is violated only by candidates like *un*-_[FLEC Ø_M_PI], because the plural morpheme has been chosen, but its exponent /s/ does not have a correspondent. Crucially, a candidate consisting of a bare stem like *un* does not violate MAX(SEGMENT), because no correspondence relation has been established between the candidate and input inflectional features. The constraint MAX(MPH), which is relativized here to gender and number morphemes, is violated by any candidate that consists of a bare stem, like *vell* or *un*, both in prenominal and postnominal position, because determiners and adjectives, among other elements, should be inflected. And since any nominal element should be inflected both for gender and for number (in Catalan), a bare stem violates MAX(MPH) twice. The N, having its inflectional endings determined already in the input to syntax, behaves like postnominal adjectives, (20a), with respect to MAX violations. The outputs *vell*-_[FLEC Ø_M_PL] and *vell* in (20a), and the outputs *un*-_[FLEC Ø_M_PL] and *un* in (20b) are phonetically identical. At the end of this section we provide empirical evidence for

this distinction based on items in which the phonetic form of the bare stem and the phonetic form of the inflected form are different.

(20)			MAX(SEG)	MAX(MPH)
a.	Postnominal input:	vell-[_{FLEC} Ø _M SPL]		
	Outputs:	vell-[_{FLEC} Ø _M SPL]	√	√
		vell-[_{FLEC} Ø _M _PL]	*	√
		vell	*	**
b.	Prenominal input:	un, _{[FLEC} Ø _M , a _F ; Ø _{SG} , SPL]		
	Outputs:	un-[_{FLEC} Ø _M SPL]	√	√
		un-[_{FLEC} Ø _M _PL]	*	√
		un	√	**

The interaction among the constraints discussed so far and the constraints responsible for banning CsC sequences (*CsC) is sufficient to account for the facts of NEC Catalan.¹¹ The ranking at work is the following:¹²

(21) MAX(SEG), MATCH >> *CsC >> CONCORD, MAX(MPH) >> *FEAT

We illustrate first the effect of (21) with an example that contains a head and postnominal material only. When inflection is already assigned in the input, MAX(SEG) >> *CsC forces input specifications to be retained, even when *CsC is violated. As shown in (22), in the sequence *taps vells* ‘cork-MPI old-MPI’ (‘old corks’), the inflectional specifications of the head N *taps* are already present in the input to syntax. Syntactic movement provides the inflectional specifications of the postnominal element *vells*. Hence, at PF each of them consists of the stem and a FLEC constituent, which contains the number morph (-s, in the case of plural), as well as the gender morph (the masculine Ø in all the examples seen so far). For simplicity, in the examples below we omit the Ø gender morph from the representations: *tap*-[_{FLEC} SPL] *vell*-[_{FLEC} SPL]. The fully faithful candidate (22a) violates *CsC, but candidates satisfying *CsC must have lost the -s, either by segment deletion (22b), or by deletion of the FLEC constituent. In both cases there is a violation of MAX(SEGMENT). Other constraints are so far irrelevant.¹³ From now on and for reasons of space, we also omit the label FLEC and the brackets delimiting affixes in the tableaux.

(22) *taps vells* ‘old corks’

tap-S _{PL} vell-S _{PL}	MAX (SEG)	MATCH	*CsC	CONC	MAX (MPH)	*FEAT
a. \mathcal{E} tap-S _{PL} vell-S _{PL}			*			**
b. tap- _{PL} vell-S _{PL}	*!					**
c. tap vell-S _{PL}	*!				*	*

We now turn to the evaluation of prenominal elements, (23)-(25). A prenominal element, like *un* in *uns taps* ‘some corks’, for example, has an input without assigned inflectional features, i.e. [un],_{[FLEC} [Ø]_{SG}, [s]_{PL}] (simplified to *un*,_{[FLEC} Ø_{SG}, SPL] in (23), and similarly in other tableaux). GEN generates, among others, the singular candidate *un*-[_{FLEC} Ø_{SG}], the plural candidate *un*-[_{FLEC} SPL], and the bare stem *un* as well. Fully faithful candidates (23a-b) either violate *CsC because of the presence of the plural -s, or MATCH because of the contradiction between the singular

\emptyset and the plural head *taps*. The offending *-s* can also be avoided through deletion, as in (23d), but high-ranked MAX(SEGMENT) is violated in this case. Candidate (23c), the optimal candidate, is a bare stem and therefore violates MAX(MPH), since it has not retained the number morpheme from the input; it also violates CONCORD, because it does not have the plural feature of the head. But (23c) satisfies higher-ranked MATCH, because the bare stem and the plural *taps* contain no contradictory features, and it satisfies *CsC as well. Notice that candidates (23b-d) are phonetically identical.

(23) *uns taps* ‘some corks’

un, \emptyset _{SG, SPL} tap-S _{PL}	MAX (SEG)	MATCH	*CsC	CONC	MAX (MPH)	*FEAT
a. un-S _{PL} tap-S _{PL}			*!			**
b. un- \emptyset _{SG} tap-S _{PL}		*!		*		**
c. \emptyset un tap-S _{PL}				*	*	*
d. un- _{PL} tap-S _{PL}	*!					**

When no conflict arises with *CsC, both prenominal elements and postnominal elements show explicit plural concord. In the sequence *uns avis* ‘some grandparents’, for example, concord applies within the whole DP and is fully expressed. In (24), deletion of the *-s* corresponding to the plural morpheme results in a MAX(SEGMENT) violation, (24d). The prenominal elements of candidates (24a-c) do not violate MAX(SEGMENT), because prenominal elements are not specified for any specific FLEC morph in the input. Candidate (24b) is discarded by the constraint MATCH, because it contains contradictory values of the number feature; and the candidate containing the prenominal uninflected element, (24c), is ruled out by either CONCORD or MAX(MPH), which are ranked above *FEAT.

(24) *uns avis* ‘some grandparents’

un, \emptyset _{SG, SPL} avi-[S _{PL}]	MAX (SEG)	MATCH	*CsC	CONC	MAX (MPH)	*FEAT
a. \emptyset un-S _{PL} avi-S _{PL}						**
b. un- \emptyset _S avi-S _{PL}		*!		*		**
c. un avi-S _{PL}				*!	*	*
d. un- _{PL} avi-S _{PL}	*!					**

The prenominal / postnominal asymmetry is illustrated in tableau (25) with the sequence *uns taps vells cars* ‘some expensive old corks’; this example contains the N head and both prenominal and postnominal non-heads. Potential plural *-s* morphs in the interconsonantal context appear both in prenominal position (*uns taps*) and in postnominal position (*taps vells* and *vells cars*).

(25) *uns taps vells cars* ‘some expensive old corks’

un, \emptyset _{SG, SPL} tap-S _{PL} vell-S _{PL} car-S _{PL}	MAX (SEG)	MATCH	*CsC	CONC	MAX (MPH)	*FEAT
a. un-S _{PL} tap-S _{PL} vell-S _P car-S _{PL}			***!			****
b. un- \emptyset _{SG} tap-S _{PL} vell-S _{PL} car-S _{PL}		*!	**	*		****
c. \emptyset un tap-S _{PL} vell-S _{PL} car-S _{PL}			**	*	*	***
d. un tap vell car-S _{PL}	*!*				***	*

As stated in (8c), the “deleting” *s* must be the plural morph. Our next example in (26), *fals company* ‘false colleague’, illustrates the case of prenominal elements ending in an *s* that is not the plural morph, in which case the sibilant is maintained even if it appears in a C__C context. In this situation MAX(SEGMENT) penalizes the loss of the sibilant, because, as part of the stem, it is present in the input (26c-d). Candidate (26e), with a regular *-os* plural form that avoids sibilant contact between the *s* of the stem and the *s* of plural concord, is discarded by MATCH, because the DP contains contradictory number features.¹⁴ The two remaining candidates, (26a-b), fare evenly with respect to the following constraint, *CsC. Candidate (26a), being singular, wins because, unlike (26b), it satisfies CONC as well as MAX(MPH). Notice that in this case choosing the bare stem *fals* does not avoid the *CsC violation, because the *s* belongs to the stem.

(26) *fals company* ‘false colleague’

fals, _[Ø_{SG}, s_{PL}] company- _[Ø_{SG}]	MAX (SEG)	MATCH	*CsC	CONC	MAX (MPH)	*FEAT
a. fals - _[Ø_{SG}] company- _[Ø_{SG}]			*			**
b. fals company- _[Ø_{SG}]			*	*!	*!	*
c. fal - _[Ø_{SG}] company- _[Ø_{SG}]	*!					**
d. fal company- _[Ø_{SG}]	*!			*	*	*
e. fals- _[Ø_{SPL}] company- _[Ø_{SG}]		*!		*		**

There is one piece of evidence that confirms that prenominal elements without the plural morph *-s* are elements showing lack of number concord, e.g., *un* in (25c), and not inflected singular forms, e.g., *un*-_[FLEC Ø_{SG}] in (25b)). In Catalan in general, and in the NEC variety as well, there is a process of *n*-deletion: a large number of oxytone words that end in a vowel in the singular, show *n* elsewhere, as shown in (27a). Nevertheless, this process has a considerable number of exceptions, as shown in (27b). (For clarity, in the examples in (27) we separate the relevant stem from the rest of the word with a hyphen ‘-’; ‘DIM’ stands for ‘diminutive’.)

- (27) a. *so* *son-s* *son-all*
 ‘sound-MSg’ ‘sounds-MPl’ ‘rattle-MSg’
 funció *funcion-s* *funcion-al*
 ‘function-FSg’ ‘functions-FPl’ ‘functional-Sg’
 ple *plen-s* *plen-itud*
 ‘full-MSg’ ‘full-MPl’ ‘fullness-FSg’
 comú *comun-s* *comun-itat*
 ‘common-MSg’ ‘common-MPl’ ‘community-FSg’
- b. *son* *son-s* *son-eta*
 ‘sleep-FSg’ ‘sleeps-FPl’ ‘sleep-DIM-FSg’
 Aran *aran-ès*
 (place name) ‘from Aran-MSg’
 segon *segon-s* *segon-a*
 ‘second-MSg’ ‘second-MPl’ ‘second-FSg’

The presence of a large number of exceptions has been a serious problem for a purely phonological analysis of *n*-deletion. (For a review of standard generative analyses, see Bonet and Lloret 1998:§ 4.1; for attempts within OT, see Kikuchi 2002, 2005, and Bonet, Lloret, and Mascaró 2004, 2005). An alternative account based on allomorphic

	(SEG)			(MPH)	
a. plen-S _{PL} poder-S _{PL}			*!		**
b. ple-Ø _{SG} poder-S _{PL}		*!		*	**
c. \wp plen poder-S _{PL}				*	*

The selection of the final-vowel alternant in (masculine) singular concord is illustrated in tableau (31).

(31) *ple acord* ‘full agreement (MSg)’

ple(n), Ø _{SG} , S _{PL} acord-Ø _{SG}	MAX (SEG)	MATCH	*CsC	CONC	MAX (MPH)	*FEAT
a. \wp ple-Ø _{SG} acord-Ø _{SG}						**
b. plen acord-Ø _{SG}				*!	*!	*

In sum, by splitting concord we have been able to account for the facts of NEC Catalan concerning a very specific case of *s*-loss without resorting to (parochial) morph-specific constraints or unmotivated allomorphy (i.e. Ø for plural). Some of the empirical outcomes predicted by factorial typology are worth commenting on. NEC Catalan illustrates a pattern in which the phonological markedness constraint *CsC is interspersed between morphological constraints and different types of faithfulness constraints. Most varieties of Catalan are not sensitive to the markedness constraint *CsC. This constraint is ranked low in these varieties and that causes the plural morpheme to surface systematically. Rossellonese Catalan illustrates the opposite pattern: the very high ranking of *CsC prevents any interconsonantal *s* from surfacing. Finally, an unattested pattern is predicted by ordering MAX(MPH) above MATCH. Under such a situation, having a non-matching singular element will be preferred to having a bare root (with a missing morpheme). Thus, for an example like the one illustrated in (30), *plens poders*, the winning candidate would be the unattested form in (30b), ‘ple-[Ø_{SG}] poder-[S_{PL}]’.

The data we have presented in this section provide evidence that agreement, at least partially, has to take place at PF, with interleaving of phonological and morphosyntactic constraints.

In the next sections we shall see other asymmetries between prenominal and postnominal elements involving true allomorphy that can also be better explained under the assumption of split concord.¹⁶

4 Spanish V~Ø alternation

4.1 The data

In Spanish, certain lexical elements show apparent vowel deletion when they occur prenominal, but not postnominal, within the DP.¹⁷ The examples below include practically all the prenominal elements subject to the V~Ø alternation. We abstract away from the fact that prenominal and postnominal position of a specific element often entails some semantic difference. In (32a) and (33a) the relevant element appears in prenominal position and it surfaces without a final vowel. The

final vowel is present when the relevant element is postnominal, (32b) and (33b).¹⁸ In (32) the alternation is found only in the context of masculine nouns, while in (33) the alternation can be found with both masculine and feminine nouns, the modifier being invariable with respect to gender. Gender is indicated in cases where a contrast can be found between masculine and feminine forms.

- | | | | | | |
|---------|---------------|------------|----|-----------|-----------------|
| (32) a. | algún | compañero | b. | compañero | alguno |
| | some | fellow-M | | fellow-M | some-M |
| | primer | día | | Alfonso | primero |
| | first | day-M | | Alfonso-M | first-M |
| | tercer | cumpleaños | | Carlos | tercero |
| | third | birthday-M | | Carlos-M | third-M |
| | mi | niño | | niño | mío |
| | my | child-M | | child-M | mine-M |
| | tu | niño | | niño | tuyo |
| | your | child-M | | child-M | yours-M |
| | su | niño | | niño | suyo |
| | his/her/their | child-M | | child-M | his/her/their-M |
| | buen | caso | | caso | bueno |
| | good | case-M | | case-M | good-M |
| | mal | día | | día | malo |
| | bad | day-M | | day-M | bad-M |
-
- | | | | | | |
|---------|-----------|------------|----|------------|------------|
| (33) a. | cualquier | libro | b. | libro | cualquiera |
| | any | book-M | | book-M | any |
| | cualquier | libreta | | libreta | cualquiera |
| | any | notebook-F | | notebook-F | any |
| | gran | momento | | momento | grande |
| | great | moment-M | | moment-M | great |
| | gran | persona | | persona | grande |
| | great | person-F | | person-F | big |

Comparing (34a) and (34b), it is clear that the \emptyset alternant is not possible when the noun is feminine singular or plural (either masculine or feminine).

- | | | | |
|---------|----------|------------|-------------------|
| (34) a. | algún | compañero | |
| | some | fellow-MSg | |
| b. | alguna | compañera | *algún compañera |
| | some-FSg | fellow-FSg | |
| | algunos | compañeros | *algún compañeros |
| | some-MPl | fellow-MPl | |
| | algunas | compañeras | *algún compañeras |
| | some-FPl | fellow-FPl | |

In the case of gender invariable elements, like *gran* ~ *grande* and *cualquier* ~ *cualquiera*, the alternation is found when the noun is masculine or feminine singular (as in the examples in (35a), repeated from (33)), but not when the noun is plural, as illustrated in (35b).

- | | | |
|---------|------|---------|
| (35) a. | gran | momento |
|---------|------|---------|

	great	moment-M	
	gran	persona	
	great	person-F	
b.	grandes	momentos	*gran momentos
	great-Pl	moment-MPl	
	grandes	personas	*gran personas
	great-Pl	people-FPl	

A second fact that will be crucial to our analysis concerns the elements that are affected by the V~Ø alternation. Even though all the elements affected by it either belong to functional categories or are adjectives like ‘good’ or ‘bad’, it is not the case that any masculine singular or invariable singular element with those properties will be subject to “deletion” when it appears in prenominal position. For instance, even though numerals like *primer(o)* ‘first’ and *tercer(o)* ‘third’ are subject to the alternation, other numerals, like *noveno* ‘ninth’, are not (see (36a)); notice that a form like **novén* would not present any syllabification problem for Spanish (cf. *bien* ‘well’). A similar contrast can be found between the quantifiers *alguno* ‘some’ and *todo* ‘all’ (see (36b)): *todo* does not exist without the final vowel, **tod* (cf. *Madrid*).

(36) a.	tercer	cumpleaños	*tercero cumpleaños
	third	birthday-MSg	
	*novén	cumpleaños	noveno cumpleaños
	ninth	birthday-MSg	
b.	algún	compañero	*alguno compañero
	some	fellow-MSg	
	*tod	compañero	todo compañero
	all	fellow(s)-MSg	

Similarly, even though adjectives like *buen(o)* ‘good’ and *mal(o)* ‘bad’ appear with the Ø alternant in prenominal position, *buen* and *mal*, (37a), other adjectives cannot be subject to “deletion”: *viejo* ‘old’ (**viej*, cf. *reloj* ‘watch’), *pleno* ‘full’ (**plen*), *raro* ‘rare’ (**rar*), *escaso* ‘little’ (**escás*), (37b).¹⁹

(37) a.	buen	caso	*bueno caso
	good	case-MS	
	mal	día	*malo día
	bad	day-MS	
b.	*viej	reloj	viejo reloj
	old	watch	
	*plen	invierno	pleno invierno
	full	winter	
	*rar	ejemplar	raro ejemplar
	rare	specimen	
	*escás	margen	escaso margen
	little	margin	

The facts illustrated in (36) and (37) bring us to the conclusion that the possibility of V~Ø alternation has to be specified somehow in the lexical entry of each item; it cannot be predicted from general properties of the grammar.

4.2 Previous approaches

Older approaches to the quite similar V~Ø alternation in Italian (Rizzi 1979, Vanelli 1979, Burzio 1989) claim or assume that the underlying form of items like *nessun* ‘some’ have a final vowel, *nessuno*, and that a rule deletes it when the relevant item appears before a noun. Leaving aside the rule formulation, excluded in OT, deletion would have to be lexically restricted; it could not be triggered by some general mechanism. In addition, it would be hard to account for deletion when the relevant item is not adjacent to the noun, as in the sequence *nessun vecchio libro* ‘no old book’.

Bernstein (1993a,b) proposes a syntactic approach to the V~Ø alternation in Italian and Spanish. Her analysis is mostly limited to pairs like *un libro* ‘a/one book’ vs. bare *uno* ‘one’ (as in *tengo uno* ‘I have one’) and does not deal with the prenominal / postnominal asymmetry found with other elements. She assumes the existence of a Word Marker Phrase (WM), generated between the category Number (Num) and the (lower) NP, which hosts the *-o* suffix. In sequences like *un libro* ‘a/one book’ the N (*libr-*) moves to Num as does the suffix *-o*. When the N is absent, as in *uno* ‘one’, the suffix *-o* moves to an empty Num and moves further to D so it can attach to some phonologically realized element, in this case *un-*. One of the problems with her approach is the very dubious nature of the WM syntactic category, which moreover is proposed only to account for the *-o* in nouns and in bare *uno* but not for other instances of *-o* (such as the one in adjectives like *rojo*; cf. *un libro rojo* ‘a red book’). Another even more serious problem is that this type of approach does not enlighten us at all as to the causes of the asymmetries illustrated in (32) and (33). In her analysis she implicitly assumes that in *un libro* the determiner surfaces without a final *-o* because that is the form a determiner is supposed to have. But this type of approach does not say anything as to why an adjective like *buen(o)* ‘good’ surfaces without an *-o* in prenominal position (exactly like *un* does) and with *-o* in postnominal position (like many other elements do). For other arguments against the WM category see Alexiadou and Müller (2008).

Harris (1996) rejects Bernstein’s Word Marker Phrase (WM) but follows her proposals about syntactic structure in other respects, and considers class (word) markers (CM) to be inserted by a morphological operation that applies to stems. In his analysis cases like *un libro* are derived from two mechanisms: a morphological “rebracketing” operation that adjoins the items in a closed list to a following noun or adjective, and the failure of CM insertion in rebracketed elements; by stipulation, CM can only be inserted to the elements in the larger domains. Thus, sequences like *una tía* ‘an aunt’ end up with the structure [_N[_D[*un*]] [_N[*libr*]]-CM, while *un libro* is assigned the structure [_N[_D[*un*]] [_N[*libr*]]-CM. The proposal is not explicit enough and raises many questions. For instance, it is not clear why postnominal elements do not have the same fate or why feminine (singular) items like *una* or *buena* show up with a CM in prenominal position. More generally, it is difficult to see how the proposals in Bernstein (1993a,b) and Harris (1996) could apply to related asymmetries / phenomena, like the non-realization of plural in NEC Catalan.

4.3 Analysis under split concord

Since the V~Ø alternation is not predictable (see section 4.1), it has to be specified somehow in the lexical entry of exceptional items (like *primer(o)* ‘first’), while regular items (like *noveno* ‘ninth’) have the minimal lexical specifications. We assume that, since inflection is a regular property of nominal elements in languages like Catalan and Spanish, the fact that they are inflected is not part of their lexical entry. Being a regular property, this information is not supplied in the lexicon, but is expressed in the grammar. The fact that a particular category (D, A, N) is subject to inflection can be expressed in different places depending on the model of grammar assumed. (In Distributed Morphology, for instance, this information could be contained in the list of presyntactic morphosyntactic features.) Only in the case of idiosyncratic, exceptional elements that lack inflection will a lexical mark become necessary. This is the case of the so-called invariable adjectives which are not marked for gender (Spanish *amigo fiel* ‘friend-MSg faithful-Sg’, *amiga fiel* ‘friend-FSg faithful-Sg’, *amigos fieles* ‘friend-MPl faithful-Pl’, *amigas fieles* ‘friend-FPl faithful-Pl’) or in cases of total lack of inflection. Thus for *noveno*, a regular adjective, the relevant morphosyntactic operations will add inflectional features from the lexicon and will yield a structure with a FLEC constituent which includes both gender and number. However, adjectives like *primer(o)* are exceptional in that their lexical entries include two stem allomorphs, one that is regular, like the adjective *noveno*, and one that is idiosyncratic, like the adjective *fiel*. Thus the lexical entry of the adjective *primer(o)* will contain the regular stem allomorph *primer* and the irregular bare stem allomorph *primer*–, where the symbol ‘–’ indicates that the stem is marked for not undergoing inflection.

As claimed in section 2, syntactic movement by the Noun triggers agreement on the postnominal elements within the DP. In postnominal position, then, there is no difference between numerals like *primer(o)* and *noveno*. They will surface with the expected, unmarked, inflectional morphs for Spanish (-o for the masculine, -a for the feminine; Ø for the singular, -s for the plural): *primero* (MSg), *primera* (FSg), *primeros* (MPl), *primeras* (FPl); *noveno* (MSg), *novena* (FSg), *novenos* (MPl), *novenas* (FPl). (38) illustrates the presence of postnominal inflection with respect to gender.

- (38) a. piso **primero**
 floor-M first-M
 planta **primera**
 floor-F first-F
- b. piso **noveno**
 floor-M ninth-M
 planta **novena**
 floor-F ninth-F

As shown in section 4.1, since the V~Ø alternation is not predictable, it has to be specified somehow in the lexical entry of each item. On the one hand, regular items like *noveno* have the minimal lexical specifications (among others, the stem *noven*); since it is a regular adjective, the relevant morphosyntactic operations will pick up inflectional features from the lexicon and yield a structure with a FLEC constituent which includes both gender and number. On the other hand, the lexical entry of exceptional items like *primer(o)* will include, along with the regular stem

primer (as for *noven*), the idiosyncratic, bare stem allomorph *primer*→, where the symbol ‘→’ indicates that the stem is marked for not undergoing inflection.

At PF there is an asymmetry between prenominal elements and postnominal ones because the former, contrary to the latter, have not been assigned any inflection. In a parallel way to what we saw for NEC Catalan, nouns and postnominal elements, as in *piso noveno* or *piso primero*, enter constraint evaluation with an ending in the input: *pis*-[_{OM} Ø_{SG}] *noven*-[_{OM} Ø_{SG}], *pis*-[_{OM} Ø_{SG}] *primer*-[_{OM} Ø_{SG}]. Prenominal elements, however, yield a contrasting result. In the regular cases, like *noveno piso*, the input to PF contains the stem *noven* and all the possible inflectional endings, as shown in (39). Remember that we represent the relation between the stem and the not yet incorporated morphological constituent FLEC with a comma (‘,’).

(39) Regular cases (*noveno-novena-novenos-novenas*)

- a. Lexical entry: *noven*
- b. Input to PF (prenominal): *noven*,[_{FLEC} _{OM}, _{aF}; Ø_{SG}, _{SPL}],
Shorthand: *noven*,FLEC

In the exceptional cases, like *primer piso*, the input to PF contains the two allomorphs, which differ solely in the possibility of lacking inflection, as shown in (40).

(40) Exceptional cases (*primer-primero-primera-primeros-primeras*)

- a. Lexical entry: *primer*, *primer*→
- b. Input to PF (prenominal): $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{primer} \rightarrow \\ \text{primer}, [_{\text{FLEC}} \text{OM}, \text{aF}, \text{Ø}_{\text{SG}}, \text{SPL}] \end{array} \right\}$
Shorthand: *primer*→
primer,FLEC

The constraints that are relevant in accounting for the V~Ø alternation include some of the ones that were already introduced for NEC Catalan, namely MAX(SEGMENT), MAX(MPH), CONCORD, and *FEAT. In a parallel way to what we saw for NEC Catalan, for inputs like *noveno*, MAX(MPH) is violated by candidates lacking inflectional morphemes present in the input. Crucially, however, for inputs like *primer(o)*, MAX(MPH) is not violated by candidates without inflection, because this item can exist as a bare stem (a word without inflection, *primer*→). In the case of CONCORD, this general constraint has to be split into more specific constraints for marked choices in nominal inflection, feminine being more marked than masculine, and plural being more marked than singular. The more specific constraints do not have to be ranked with respect to each other and will appear as CONC(F,PL) in the tableaux. The ranking of the relevant constraints is given in (41). Justification for the splitting of CONC and some aspects of the constraint ranking can be found below. The constraint MATCH is not mentioned in the rest of this section because it is not crucial for any of the cases to be discussed here.

(41) Ranking: MAX(MPH), CONC(F,PL) >> *FEAT >> CONC, MAX(SEGMENT)

The tableau below illustrates, with the sequence *algún piso primero* ‘some first floor’, the prenominal / postnominal asymmetry with two masculine elements that are subject to the V~Ø alternation, *algun(o)* and *primer(o)*, and thus prenominally have

input forms like those presented in (40b). The inflectional feature complex of the input elements *piso* and (postnominal) *primero*, [_{OM} Ø_{SG}], is shortened to [_{OMSG}]. Similar abbreviations will be used in the rest of this section. For clarity, in (42) in the prenominal forms we indicate correspondence by indexation.

(42) *algún piso primero* ‘some first floor’

algún ₁ - pis- _{OMSG} primer- _{OMSG} algún ₂ ,FLEC	MAX (MPH)	CONC (F,PL)	*FEAT	CONC	MAX (SEG)
a. algún ₂ - _{OMSG} pis- _{OMSG} primer- _{OMSG}			6*!		
b. algún ₁ pis- _{OMSG} primer	*!*		**	****	*
c. ☞ algún ₁ pis- _{OMSG} primer- _{OMSG}			****	**	

In (42) the constraint CONC(F,PL) is irrelevant because the N is masculine singular. The constraint *FEAT favors candidates with no inflection, but the ranking of MAX(MPH) above it rules out the candidate with fewer inflectional endings, (42b). In this candidate, MAX(MPH) is violated only by postnominal *primer* because the input contains specific inflectional morphemes that are not present in the output; prenominal *algún* satisfies MAX(MPH) because it is faithful to the bare stem *algún-*, present in the input. *FEAT, ranked above CONC, still forces the candidate with *algún* to win over a candidate with *alguno*. In the tableaux that appear in the rest of this section, for clarity we do not show candidates with an N or postnominal elements without the desired inflection.

The lexical entry of a numeral like *noveno* ‘ninth’, unlike *algun(o)* or *primer(o)*, does not have an uninflected form, **novén*. The tableau in (43) shows how this ungrammatical form is ruled out in the sequence *noveno piso* ‘ninth floor’. A crucial difference between items like *tercer(o)* and *noveno* is that *noveno* does not have an inflectionless bare allomorph *noven-*; therefore, a candidate without inflection, like *novén* pis-_{OMSG} in, (43b) violates MAX(MPH).

(43) *noveno piso* ‘ninth floor’

noven,FLEC pis- _{OMSG}	MAX (MPH)	CONC (F,PL)	*FEAT	CONC	MAX (SEG)
a. ☞ noven- _{OMSG} pis- _{OMSG}			****		
b. novén pis- _{OMSG}	*!*		**	**	

As mentioned above, feminine and plural are marked morphemes, compared to masculine and singular. As for the masculine, we know that when there are gender conflicts in coordinate elements, the masculine is chosen in concord, as illustrated below.

- (44) a. El sol y la luna son bonitos
 the-M sun-M and the-F moon-F are pretty-MPI
 b. *El sol y la luna son bonitas
 the-M sun-M and the-F moon-F are pretty-FPI

With respect to number, it is also well established that singular is less marked than plural. For instance, in Spanish, when agreement is not possible, as in impersonal

sentences with weather verbs or *se* constructions, the verb appears in the singular (45a,c), while there is regular agreement when there is an explicit subject (45b,d).

- (45) a. Llovió
rained.3Sg
'It rained'
- b. Llovieron preguntas
rained.3Pl questions
'Questions poured'
- c. Se sospecha lo peor
se fear.3Sg the worst
'The worst is feared'
- d. Todos sospechan lo peor
all.3Pl fear.3Pl the worst
'All of them fear the worst'

In the V~Ø alternation the marked character of feminine and plural over masculine and singular also shows up: as we saw (see (34b)), the alternation never affects feminines or plurals; it only affects a form which is masculine singular (or invariable). The examples *alguna planta* 'some floor' and *algunos pisos* 'some floors' illustrate how candidates with *algún* or other not fully inflected forms are ruled out.

(46) *alguna planta* 'some floor'

algún- plant-a _{FSG} algún,FLEC	MAX (MPH)	CONC (F,PL)	*FEAT	CONC	MAX (SEG)
a. ☞ algún-a _{FSG} plant-a _{FSG}			****		
b. algún plant-a _{FSG}		*!	**	**	

In (46), candidate (46b) violates CONC(F,PL) (and is ruled out by it) because the N is feminine and *algún* is not. These types of examples justify the ranking CONC(F,PL) >> *FEAT.

(47) *algunos pisos* 'some floors'

algún- pis-OM-SPL algún (FLEC)	MAX (MPH)	CONC (F,PL)	*FEAT	CONC	MAX (SEG)
a. ☞ algún-OM-SPL pis-OM-SPL			****		
b. algún-OM pis-OM-SPL	*!	*!	***	*	
c. algún-SPL pis-OM-SPL	*!		***	*	
d. algún pis-OM-SPL		*!	**	**	

The non-plural modifiers in (47b,d) are ruled out by CONC(F,PL). Candidates (47b,c) have an inflected modifier, not a bare stem, but violate MAX(MPH) once each because they lack a number morpheme and a gender morpheme, respectively. Tableau (47) justifies the ranking MAX(MPH) >> *FEAT.

We saw in (33) that the invariable items *cualquier(a)* 'any' and *gran(de)* 'big, great' are also subject to the V~Ø alternation, and, in this case, the vowelless form (*gran* and *cualquier*) can cooccur in prenominal position with a feminine singular N,

contrary to the cases with regular morphology we have seen so far (cf. *gran persona* ‘great person-F_{Sg}’ in (35a)). In what follows we concentrate only on the *gran-grande* alternation, which constitutes a clearer case than *cualquier(a)*, which can nevertheless be analyzed along the same lines.²⁰ A first peculiar feature that *gran(de)* has is that it is invariable: it surfaces with the same form, with final *-e*, in postnominal position regardless of the gender of the N (cf. *pueblo grande* ‘big town-M’, *ciudad grande* ‘big city-F’). Moreover, this final *-e* does not correspond to any of the expected vowel endings in nominals, *-o* for masculine and *-a* for feminine (a final *-e* can also be found in both masculine and feminine nouns, like *pase* ‘pass-M’ and *mole* ‘bulk-F’). These two unpredictable characteristics, invariability and exceptional final vowel, must appear in the lexical entry of the adjective. Similarly to items like *algun(o)*, this lexical entry includes a bare, inflectionless form *grand-∅*, which surfaces without the final /d/, *gran*, due to cluster simplification (common in current Spanish). For the *grande* allomorph, we assume that the input to constraint evaluation does not have full inflection like that which was illustrated in (39) for *noven(o)*, but rather has a nonspecified GEN(DER) feature with the (also lexically specified) ending *-e*. With respect to number, *grande*, having (unspecified) gender, is like any other adjective and thus can be either singular or plural.

(48) Input to constraint evaluation for prenominal *gran-grande-grandes*

- a. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{grand-}\varnothing \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{grand,}_{[\text{FLEC} \text{ GEN}=\text{e}; \varnothing_{\text{SG}}, \text{SPL}]} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$
- b. Shorthand: $\text{grand-}\varnothing$
 $\text{grand,}_{\text{FLEC}(\text{GEN}=\text{e})}$

The syntax imposes inflection on the adjective when it appears in postnominal position and it will thus surface as *grande(s)* (this is as much of an inflection as it can get). In prenominal position inflection will not have been imposed and (48) will enter constraint evaluation. We illustrate the unusual appearance of the vowelless form with a feminine noun with the sequence *gran persona* ‘great person-F’, and the full form with the plural *grandes personas* ‘great-Pl persons-FPl’.

(49) *gran persona* ‘great person’

grand-∅	person-a _{FSG}	MAX (MPH)	CONC (F,PL)	*FEAT	CONC	MAX (SEG)
grand (GEN=e)						
a. grand-e _{GSG}	person-a _{FSG}		*	***!*	*	
b. gran	person-a _{FSG}		*	**	**	*

Both (49a) and (49b) violate CONC(F,Pl) (and consequently also CONC) because the N requires all the other elements to be feminine, which is not the case here. The constraint *FEAT breaks the tie in favor of *gran persona*, with less inflection than its competitor **grande persona*.

Similarly to what we saw in (47), in (50), which contains a plural N, a fully inflected candidate (50a), is the optimal candidate. Even though this candidate fares worse than its immediate competitors with respect to *FEAT, it succeeds in expressing concord with a marked feature, Plural (partial satisfaction of CONC (F,PL)), and in having both a gender and a number morpheme (satisfaction of MAX(MPH)). In (49)

and (50) we have ignored a candidate with the feminine morph *-a* (**granda persona* ‘big-Fsg person-Fsg’, **grandas personas* ‘big-Fpl person-Fpl’). Following Bonet, Lloret and Mascaró (2007), we assume that unmarked endings of this type are ruled out by the constraint RESPECT, which demands lexical specifications (here, GEN=e) to be preserved in the output.

(50) *grandes personas* ‘great persons’

grand- person-a _F -S _{PL} grand,FLEC(GEN=e)	MAX (MPH)	CONC (F,PL)	*FEAT	CONC	MAX (SEG)
a. \curvearrowright grand-e _G -S _{PL} person-a _F -S _{PL}		*	****	*	
b. gran-S _{PL} person-a _F -S _{PL}	*!	*!	***	*	*
c. gran person-a _F -S _{PL}		**!	**	**	*

5 Spanish el~la alternation

5.1 The data

A well-known exception to the generalization that, in Spanish, nominals in the DP agree with the NP head in gender and number is, in Standard Spanish, the appearance of the masculine singular definite article *el* disagreeing with singular feminine nouns beginning with stressed /á/ (Harris 1987, 1989, 1991; Álvarez de Miranda 1993). (51a) illustrates cases of article disagreement, and includes a postnominal agreeing adjective which shows the feminine character of the noun. (51b-e) show that disagreement does not take place when one or more of the necessary conditions is not met: the initial /a/ must be stressed, must be adjacent to the definite article, must belong to the category noun, and must be singular. (51f) shows some exceptions. Nonorthographic stress is supplied.

(51) a. *Article disagreement*

el arma nueva	el hambre aquella
the-M weapon-F new-F	the-M hunger-F that-F
el águila pequeña	el área fija
the-M eagle-F small-F	the-M area-F fixed-F

b. *Only stressed initial á*

la almendra	la actriz
the-F almond-F	the-F actress-F
la astucia	la hablante
the-F astuteness-F	the-F speaker-F

c. *Only if adjacent*

la nueva arma
the-F new-F weapon-F
la única águila
the-F only-F eagle-F

d. *Only nouns*

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|-------------|------------------|----------------------|
| la | hábil | maniobra | la _{Pr} | árma _v |
| the-F | skillful-F | move-F | her-F | arms 's/he arms her' |
| la | antes _{Adv} | mencionada | | |
| the-F | before | mentioned-F | | |
- e. *Only in the singular*
- | | |
|---------|------------|
| las | ármas |
| the-FPl | weapon-FPl |
| las | águilas |
| the-FPl | eagle-FPl |
- f. *Exceptions*
- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|-------|--------------------|
| la | Ágata | la | árabe _N |
| the-F | 'proper name-F' | the-F | arab-F (woman) |
| la | háche | la | ástro |
| the-F | letter h-F | the-F | (movie-)star-F |

In colloquial usage that follows prescriptive norms (Real Academia Española 1931), disagreement affects the definite article and also *un* 'a', *algún* 'some', *ningún* 'no': *un*-M *arma*-F 'a weapon', *algún*-M *águila*-F 'some eagle', *ningún*-M *área*-F 'no area'. We will refer to this system in which some determiners ending in *-a* in the feminine singular take the masculine form when immediately preceding a noun beginning with /á/, as System I. But in colloquial speech, disagreement can extend to other lexical elements and to other contexts. In a common extension that we will call System II, all pronominal elements, no matter whether adjacent or not, appear in the masculine singular, instead of the expected feminine singular, before a feminine singular noun beginning with /á/. System II is illustrated in (52a). The example in (52b) shows that the same lexical element, *nuevo/a*, that disagrees in pronominal position (first example in (52a)) agrees regularly in postnominal position. (52c), which corresponds to the first example in (52a), presents agreement because the DP is plural. Other examples can be found in Eddington and Hualde (2008).

- (52) a. el nuevo arma secreta
 the-M new-M weapon-F secret-F
 todo el agua perdida
 all-M the-M water-F lost-F
 este ave migratoria
 this-M bird-F migratory-F
 un amplio área abierta al público
 a-M wide-M area-F open-F to-the public
 aquel área geográfica
 that-M area-F geographic-F
 el mismo agua parecerá fría
 the-M same-M water-F will-seem cold-F
 todo su área delantera
 all-M her-M/F area-F front-F
- b. el arma nueva
 the-M weapon-F new-F
- c. las nuevas armas secretas
 the-FPl new-FPl weapon-FPl secret-FPl

5.2 Previous analyses

For System I, a variety of analyses have been proposed. Harris (1987) derives cases like *el agua* from /ella á.../ via *a* deletion before *á* (ell) and depalatalization (el). Harris (1989) does not decide between two alternative options: lexical choice of the allomorphs *el/la* or a late *la* → *el* phonological rule. Halle, Harris, and Vergnaud (1991) conclude that it should be a phonological rule, namely *la* → *l*/N[___N]á..., the vowel *e* being supplied by epenthesis. Cutillas (2003:175--184) proposes an OT analysis that avoids the ad hoc character of previous work. His solution is based on the fact that, in Spanish, sequences of identical vowels tend to be avoided (independently of the *el~la* alternation), and that identical vowels do not fuse when the second one is stressed. He proposes two allomorphs for the feminine singular definite article, {*el*, *la*}. Given allomorphic choice through Evaluation (see Mascaró 2007, and references), the most harmonic allomorph is selected. The candidate *la agua* is disfavored by a constraint *V_iV_i banning identical vowel sequences, and fusion of both *a*'s ([á]gua) is ruled out by UNIFORMITY-σ, which prohibits fusion if the resulting vowel is stressed. The result is that the allomorph *el* is chosen in *el agua*, but fusion is preferred in *la amiga* → *l[a]miga* because *el amiga* violates ONSET. In our view, all these accounts are problematic, but what is important for our present purposes is that they cannot be extended to the variety under examination here, System II, which is the one showing prenominal / postnominal asymmetries. For System II, it is impossible to sustain an analysis based either on a specific *la* → *el* or *la* → *l* rule, or on avoidance of **aá*, given that adjacency of the disagreeing prenominal element and the noun is not necessary. In (53a) the ill-formedness of *la* in **toda la agua* might be interpreted as phonological because of **aá*, but this cannot be extended to *toda*, whose final *a* does not immediately precede *á*. In (53b-c), moreover, *toda* and *el* are separated from the *á*-initial potential trigger by an invariable prenominal element.

- | | | | | | | |
|---------|-------|---------|----------|-------|---------|----------|
| (53) a. | todo | el | agua | *toda | la | agua |
| | all-M | the-M | water-F | all-F | the-F | water-F |
| b. | todo | su | agua | *toda | su | agua |
| | all-M | its-M/F | water-F | all-F | its-M/F | water-F |
| c. | el | gran | arma | *la | gran | arma |
| | the-M | big-M/F | weapon-F | the-F | big-M/F | weapon-F |

Spanish split concord (System II) is thus a case of regular postnominal agreement and prenominal non-agreement (with default masculine gender assignment) that is triggered by a small class of singular nouns. The fact that all these nouns begin with stressed *á* is a residue of an older stage (System I or, perhaps, an even older stage) in which the phenomenon had a true phonological conditioning.

5.3 Analysis under split concord

Since no regular phonological analysis is possible, we must assume that the class of around 25 nouns that trigger split agreement are lexically marked. The lexical mark will trigger deletion of the feminine feature [F] for this class of items in the singular only at the input to PF.²¹ In Distributed Morphology terms, this would be an impoverishment operation that can be expressed as in (54).

(54) [F] → ∅ / __ [Sg] for *agua, arma, ave, ...*

As illustrated in (55), where the FLEC constituent is shown below each stem, a noun like *agua* is lexically feminine, [F], (55a). Movement in syntax will determine any surface postnominal element to acquire the feature [F] as in (55b). At the input to PF the [F] feature will be deleted, (55c), and the unmarked, default gender, [M], will be chosen for prenominal elements, (55d).

(55) *Este agua fría* ‘this cold water’

a. Input to Syntax	b. Syntax	c. Input to PF	d. Output
<i>est- fri- agu-</i>	<i>est- agua fría</i>	<i>est-agua fría</i>	<i>este agua fría</i>
[] [] [F Sg]	[] [f sg] [F Sg]	[] [_ Sg] [F Sg]	[M Sg] [_ Sg] [F Sg]

In the previous section we have seen cases in which a bare inflectionless form surfaces in prenominal position. Here this possibility is still available for items like *algún* (cf. *algún agua fría* ‘some cold water’), but an additional constraint *FEM (feminine is prohibited) forces the unmarked masculine gender to surface for items that require inflection. In the tableaux of this section we omit the constraints MAX(SEGMENT) and CONC, because they are not relevant to the issues being discussed (their inclusion would not alter the results).

In a DP like *toda la sopa fría* ‘all the cold soup’, the non-exceptional feminine noun *sopa* ‘soup’ triggers syntactic postnominal agreement; at the output of syntax the representation of the DP is *tod,FLEC l,FLEC sopa-FSg fría-FSg*.²² Postsyntactic feminine concord is enforced by CONC(F,PL) and affects nonvacuously all prenominal elements. The tableau in (56) also provides evidence for the ranking CONC(F,PL) >> *FEM.

(56) *toda la sopa fría* ‘all the cold soup’

	MAX (MPH)	CONC (F,PL)	*FEM	*FEAT
a. ϕ <i>tod-a_{FSG} l-a_{FSG} sop-a_{FSG} frí-a_{FSG}</i>			****	8*
b. <i>tod-a_{FSG} el_{MSG} sop-a_{FSG} frí-a_{FSG}</i>		*!	***	8*
c. <i>tod-o_{MSG} el_{MSG} sop-a_{FSG} frí-a_{FSG}</i>		*!*	**	8*

The DP *todo el agua fría* ‘all the cold water’, (57), contains the exceptional feminine noun *agua*. In the syntax, it is feminine and triggers feminine postnominal agreement, yielding *tod,FLEC l,FLEC agua-FSg fría-FSg*, but in the input to PF the singular noun *agua* loses its [F] feature (*agu-a_{Sg}*). Postsyntactic feminine concord (CONC(F,PL)) requires any feminine noun to trigger gender agreement with other nominals in the DP. Since *agua* has lost its F feature, CONC(F,PL) is not active. The masculine forms are favored by the constraint *FEM that penalizes the more marked member of the M, F gender pair. A form without inflection (see (57d)) is ruled out by MAX(MPH). A form like **todo el agua frío* with general disagreement (not shown in

the tableaux) would imply a change of the already inflected input *fría* to *frío*, hence a faithfulness violation.

(57) *Todo el agua fría* ‘all the cold water’

tod,FLEC	l,FLEC	agu-a _{SG}	frí-a _{FSG}	MAX (MPH)	CONC (F,PL)	*FEM	*FEAT
a.	tod-a _{FSG}	l-a _{FSG}	agu-a _{SG}	frí-a _{FSG}		**!*	7*
b.	tod-a _{FSG}	el _{MSG}	agu-a _{SG}	frí-a _{FSG}		**!	7*
c.	☞ tod-o _{MSG}	el _{MSG}	agu-a _{SG}	frí-a _{FSG}		*	7*
d.	tod	l	agu-a _{SG}	frí-a _{FSG}	*!***	*	***

Since deletion only affects the singular form, plurals will show regular prenominal agreement, as shown in (58):

(58) *Todas las aguas frías* ‘all the cold waters’

tod,FLEC	l,FLEC	agu-a _{F-SPL}	frí-a _{F-SPL}	MAX (MPH)	CONC (F,PL)	*FEM	*FEAT
a.	☞ tod-a _{F-SPL}	l-a _{F-SPL}	agu-a _{F-SPL}	frí-a _{F-SPL}		****	8*
b.	tod-a _{F-SPL}	l-o _{M-SPL}	agu-a _{F-SPL}	frí-a _{F-SPL}		*!	8*
c.	tod-o _{M-SPL}	l-o _{M-SPL}	agu-a _{F-SPL}	frí-a _{F-SPL}		*!*	8*

So far, our basic assumption that the prenominal-postnominal asymmetry is derived from the interaction of two concord mechanisms has been implemented in a specific way. We have assumed that postnominal concord takes place in the syntax while general concord is constraint-driven at PF. However, this is not the only possible implementation; all concord could take place at PF. Adapting Samek-Lodovici (2002), one constraint AGR_f would cover postnominal concord (a more local type of agreement), while another constraint, $EXTAGR_f$, would trigger more general agreement. The phenomenon just discussed would pose a potential problem for this type of approach, given that the lack of prenominal agreement is restricted to a closed class of nouns and only for the singular form of its inflectional paradigm. The impoverishment solution is not available for this alternative analysis. One must resort instead to one of the OT approaches to exceptionality, cophologies (Orgun 1996, Inkelas and Zoll 2007), or indexed constraints (Itô and Mester 1999, Pater 2000). The fact that the lack of concord is restricted to the singular complicates a solution along these lines. See Bonet (2013) for more detailed discussion.

6 Concluding remarks

In this paper we have examined three cases drawn from Catalan and Spanish in which an asymmetry between prenominal and postnominal elements within the DP arises with respect to inflectional features. We have argued that the prenominal / postnominal asymmetry, present also in many other languages, arises due to postnominal concord taking place in the syntax systematically and prenominal concord being established through constraint evaluation at PF. In one of the cases, from NEC Catalan, the failure to agree prenominally is controlled by a phonological markedness constraint *CsC interspersed with morphological constraints. We have shown that this context is avoided neither through the use of the singular form nor by

simple deletion of the offending sibilant, but rather through the use of a bare stem, without inflection. The constraint that penalizes nominal items that have lost elements in the FLEC constituent, MAX(MPH), is ranked fairly low in NEC Catalan, but it becomes crucial in accounting for the two cases from Spanish examined in this paper. The V~Ø alternation found in items like *algun(o)* ‘some’ and *primer(o)* ‘first’, but not in items like *noveno* ‘ninth’, is regulated both by MAX(MPH) and by a lexical difference: *algun(o)* and *primer(o)* have two allomorphs that differ solely in the possibility of existing as uninflected words, and thus can bypass the effects of MAX(MPH), while *noveno(o)* does not have that possibility. In this case the irrelevance of the *CsC constraint and the presence of MAX(MPH) force the inflected form to surface in prenominal position. We have seen another case in which lexical specifications play a crucial role: in varieties of Spanish (System II) in which certain feminine singular lexical items trigger feminine agreement to their right and masculine agreement to their left, these feminine singular items lose their F feature in the input to PF. The combination of MAX(MPH) with the markedness constraint *FEM forces the masculine to surface prenominally with elements of the *noveno* type.

In this paper we have further shown that it is possible to account for morphophonological alternations in a model of OT in which all constraints are universal; it is not necessary to resort to parochial constraints to deal with the peculiar cases we have examined here. All idiosyncratic properties that affect individual lexical items are part of the lexical entry of those items; they are not encoded in constraints.

Finally, an important result of our analysis is that we must allow for interleaving of at least some phonological and morphosyntactic constraints. This strengthens proposals along similar lines by Samek-Lodovici (2005) and Wolf (2008, this volume).

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¹ Croft and Deligianni (2001) examine other kinds of NP asymmetries in addition to agreement.

² In this paper we use the terms *concord* and *agreement* interchangeably when talking about DP-internal elements; only the term *agreement* is used for the subject / verb relation.

³ The varieties which present s~Ø alternation (referred to as NEC Catalan in this paper) are spoken in the regions of Garrotxa, Pla de l’Estany, Gironès, and Alt Empordà. In some places in the area the phenomenon has slightly different properties.

⁴ *Aquests* ‘these’ is pronounced [əkéts] in isolation (cf. also singular *aquest* ‘this’, [əkét]). Final *-nts*, *-rts*, and *-lts* are pronounced without the ‘t’. In *estrany*s ‘strange-Pl’ there is progressive place assimilation from the nasal.

⁵ In NEC Catalan, pronominal clitics ending in *Cs*, where *s* is the plural morph, followed by a verb beginning in a consonant always induce [ə] epenthesis for independent reasons; e.g., *els compro*: [əl.zə] *compro* ‘I buy them’, *ens compra*: [ən.zə] *compra* ‘s/he buys for us’, and also *compra’ns* -[n.zə] ‘buy for us’ (cf. Bonet and Lloret 1998:199).

⁶ In the morphology of Catalan, there is no clear evidence that a \emptyset plural allomorph can be posited since all plurals, except the NEC cases under discussion, end in *s*. The so-called ‘invariable forms’ always end in *s*; e.g., *tos* ‘cough (singular and plural)’, *temps* ‘time (singular and plural)’, *rentaplats* ‘dishwasher (singular and plural)’. Hence, an alternative explanation based on fusion is plausible. For a review of different accounts for invariable forms regarding number inflection, see Lloret (1996).

⁷ For simplicity, we assume that the gender morphs are just \emptyset for masculine and *-a* for feminine. (Feminine *-a* is spelled *e* in the plural, but both spellings represent the same vowel, [ə].) There are, however, other less common allomorphs that occur in these morphological contexts (e.g., for masculine, *-o* and *-a*, as in *mic-o* ‘monkey (M)’, *map-a* ‘map (M)’; for feminine, \emptyset , as in *sal* ‘salt (F)’). (For an analysis of gender allomorph selection in Catalan, see Bonet, Lloret, and Mascaró 2007.) The situation is quite different with respect to number inflection. All plural forms, except the cases of NEC Catalan under discussion, end in *s* (see note 6).

⁸ The constraints (18a-c) are specific versions of more general constraints involving general agreement (AGREE; see Samek-Lodovici 2002 for sentence agreement) and *STRUC, which penalizes any and all structure (Prince and Smolensky 2004:30, n. 13; 230). As is well known, languages differ in the set of features they express. For present purposes, we assume that the constraints are relativized to all inflectional nominal features, or to specific inflectional features when so indicated, as in section 4.

⁹ Although we adopt the formulation of *FEAT from Samek-Lodovici (2002:59), we understand the constraint in a slightly different fashion: for Samek-Lodovici only concord-dependent elements, but not the noun, can violate the constraint; for us the presence of any relevant phi-feature, either in the noun or in any modifier, constitutes a violation of the constraint.

¹⁰ MAX(MPH) is a pure morphological constraint, since it prevents deletion of a morphological constituent. Other related constraints posited in the literature are morphophonemic, since they prevent deleting segments from certain morphemes (e.g., MAX_{Lex}, informally defined as “do not delete segments in lexical morphemes” in McCarthy 2002:96). Given the data in this section, one could posit a markedness constraint (e.g., HAVEINFLECTION), instead of the faithfulness constraint MAX(MPH). However, for the facts from Spanish discussed in section 4 it is crucial that the relevant constraint be a faithfulness constraint.

¹¹ We use *CsC as a shorthand for the interaction of the general markedness constraint *COMPLEXCODA with different faithfulness constraints of the MAX and IDENT families (cf. Wheeler 2005:§ 7 and the references cited therein).

¹² In section 4 we will see that the higher ranking of MAX(MPH) in Spanish is crucial for determining the possibility of V~ \emptyset alternation for specific lexical items.

¹³ Faithfulness to specific values of features would be enforced by high-ranking the constraint IDENT(F), extended to inflectional features (IDENT(F): “Correspondent segments have identical values for the feature F”; McCarthy and Prince 1999:226). This constraint would prevent changes in the input feature values of specified segments (such as Sg for Pl in *tap*-[FLEC SPL] *vell*-[FLEC SPL]).

¹⁴ Regular masculine nominals ending in *s* in the singular add *-os* in the plural; cf. *falsos companys* ‘false colleagues (Pl)’. (For an OT analysis of this plural formation, see Bonet, Lloret, and Mascaró 2007.)

¹⁵ As expected, in postnominal position, only the fully inflected forms of the adjective can be found (e.g., *poder ple*, *vida plena*, *poders plens*).

¹⁶ In this paper we do not analyze the situation illustrated in (12) in which a syntactic gap prevents “*s*-deletion” (*un_ cotxes grocs* vs. *uns de grocs*, **un_ de grocs*). These cases involve more intricate syntactic matters that force us to leave them for future research.

¹⁷ Italian has a similar phenomenon, though additional facts related to consonant clusters complicate matters slightly.

¹⁸ The final vowel also appears when there is no overt noun in the DP (cf. *Tengo un libro* ‘I have a/one book’ vs. *Tengo uno* ‘I have one’; *Algún libro* ‘some book’ vs. *He leído alguno* ‘I have read some’). We will not discuss these cases here because the presence of a phonologically empty N might involve movement operations that fall beyond the scope of this paper. These cases are related to the Catalan examples mentioned in note 15.

¹⁹ Conversely, C-final adjectives like *seductor-a* ‘captivating’, *previsor-a* ‘provident’, *burlón-a* ‘mocking’, *parlanchín-a* ‘talkative’ that can appear in prenominal position do not add *-o* in the masculine in postnominal position (e.g., *seductor varón*, *varón seductor*, *varón *seductoro* ‘captivating male’, etc.).

²⁰ *Cualquiera* was formed from two independent words, *cual* ‘which’ and the verbal form *quiera* (3rd person singular present subjunctive of the verb ‘to want’). The final vowel *-a* was then a verbal ending. We can assume that the final *-a* was reanalyzed as a gender-related vowel, a word marker in the sense of Harris (1991). Some evidence for this reanalysis is that, even though in the normative plural form of *cualquiera* the plural appears after the first element, *cualesquiera*, it is becoming more and more common to hear a plural *cualquieras*, with the plural morph at the end of the whole item.

²¹ The fact that deletion of the [F] feature has to be restricted to the singular must be a residue from a previous stage at which there was a clear phonological effect: only the singular *la*, and not the plural *las*, met the environment for the **aá* sequence that triggered the process.

²² Our analysis does not hinge on a particular lexical representation of the definite article, which has the paradigm *el*, *la*, *los*, *las*. A reasonable assumption, though, is that there is an allomorph *el* for the masculine singular, and that an allomorph *l* appears elsewhere, with the regular inflectional markers. As a convenient shorthand we use ‘l,FLEC’.

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