

## On doctors, nominal feature distribution and the nature of concord

This talk will consist of two parts. The first part is dedicated to the phenomenon of asymmetric concord/agreement mismatches in Russian with nouns like *vrač* 'doctor', discussed by Pesetsky (2013, 39-50), among many others (see e.g. Peshkovsky 1922, Zaliznyak 1967, 1980, 2004, Corbett 1979, Babby 1987, Asarina 2008, Lyutikova 2016). The pattern can be illustrated by the examples in (1-2). In nominative case environments (as in 1), nouns like *vrač* 'doctor' allow for both masculine and feminine concord/agreement, including an agreement mismatch (1c), but crucially, only one type of mismatch, as (1d) is ungrammatical. In non-nominative case environments (as in 2), only one gender concord/agreement is possible (masculine in the case of *vrač* 'doctor').

(1) a. vash *vrač* prišol  
your.**M** doctor came.**M**  
b. vash-a *vrač* prišl-a  
your-**F** doctor came-**F**  
c. vash *vrač* prišl-a  
your.**M** doctor came-**F**  
d. \*vash-a *vrač* prišol  
your-**F** doctor came.**M**  
'Your doctor came.'

(2) a. s vash-im *vrač*-om  
with your-**M**.INSTR doctor-INSTR  
b. \*s vash-ej *vrač*-om  
with your-**F**.INSTR doctor-INSTR  
'with your doctor'

In the first part of the talk, I will propose a solution for the puzzle in (1-2), which easily extends to the so-called paucal number agreement mismatches, discussed at length by Peshkovsky (1922), Zaliznyak (1967), Franks (1994), Bailyn (2004), Pereltsvaig (2010), Pesetsky (2013), Lyutikova (2016) among many others. The proposed analysis consists of independently motivated assumptions about the feature distribution across the noun phrase, building on Bayırlı (2017) and some typological generalizations. This, hopefully, leads to a universal theory of nominal feature hierarchy and nominal spine.

The second part of the talk reports on a development of this project in collaboration with Neil Banerjee, which addresses number concord mismatches in Estonian, discussed extensively by Norris (2014) and others. An extension of the analysis proposed for Russian to the Estonian data leads to a theory of concord as contextual allomorphy (assuming a replacive lexical insertion mechanism, see Halle and Marantz 1993 and Bobaljik 2000), which makes some interesting cross-linguistics predictions.