

Merge (Late and Parallel) and Agree (Closest and Multiple): A View from Relative Clauses with Coordinated Heads

Barbara Citko (University of Washington)

Chomsky (2013: 46) proposes a new approach to the syntax of coordination, on which the conjuncts (XP and YP) merge first, and the conjunction is merged later (1a). Subsequently, one of the two conjuncts moves, which is what establishes the (more familiar) asymmetric coordination structure (1b).

- (1) a. $[\alpha \text{ Conj } [\beta \text{ XP YP}]]$
 b. $[\gamma \text{ XP } [\alpha \text{ Conj } [\beta \text{ ~~XP~~ YP]]]]$

In this talk, I argue that the conjunction can be merged *even* later, and show how this solves a number of puzzles involving derivation of relative clauses with coordinated heads (so-called hydras of Link 1984). I focus on postverbal relative clauses in Polish and, building on rich literature on agreement and multi-valuation in coordinate structures (Marušič *et al* 2015, Shen 2019, Grosz 2015, among others), I address the following questions: (i) what do relative clauses tell us about the nature of agreement (First Conjunct vs. Last Conjunct vs. Resolved Agreement)?, and (ii) what do the available (and unavailable) agreement patterns tell us about the nature and derivation of relative clauses?

Based on data from Polish, I establish the patterns of agreement schematized in (2) and exemplified in (3): the relative pronoun has to be plural, the determiner has to be singular and the matrix verb can be either singular or plural.

- (2) $\text{VERB}_{\text{SG/PL}} [\text{DP } [\text{DP } \text{D}_{\text{SG/*PL}} \text{ NP}_{\text{SG}} \text{ and NP}_{\text{SG}}] [\text{CP } \text{REL}_{\text{PL/*SG}} [\text{TP } \dots]]]]$
 (3) Na stole leżała/leżały ta/*te książka i gazeta, które/*którą Maria przeczytała.
 on table lay.F.SG/F.PL this.F.SG/*F.PL book.F.SG and paper.F.SG which.F.PL/*F.SG Maria read
 'On the table lay this book and paper which Maria read.'

I also establish that such relative clauses exhibit reconstruction effects (see Szczegielniak 2004 and Hladnik 2015 for relevant discussion albeit different conclusions), which calls for a Head Promotion derivation. Furthermore, such relatives, and more generally $[\text{DP } \text{D}_{\text{SG}} \text{ NP}_{\text{SG}} \text{ and NP}_{\text{SG}}]$ structures can refer to two individuals in Polish. This is the split reading of Heycock and Zamparelli 2005 (see also Shen 2019, Zbróg 2003, among others), and it suggests coordination of two DPs (rather than NPs).

The derivation I propose involves promotion of the NP head(s), Parallel Merge of the two NPs with a single D, which yields two DPs with singular agreement on D (following Shen 2019) and merging the conjunction *after* the two DPs have been constructed, yielding the following structure:

