D>N>&>N CONSTRUCTIONS:

ROMANCE CLOSEST CONJUNCT AGREEMENT VS. GERMANIC RESOLVED AGREEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

- Hitherto unnoticed, Germanic and Romance D>N>&>N constructions (*this philosopher and linguist*) differ in their agreement patterns: Germanic (German, Dutch and English) shows (morphologically) ***resolved agreement*** (RA) and disallows ***summative agreement*** (SA), while Romance shows ***left conjunct agreement*** (LCA) and (marginally) allows for ***summative agreement***
- I will present an analysis that derives the difference in terms of Romance LCA vs. Germanic RA. It requires the following ingredients: (i) coordination is morpho-syntactically underspecified (ii) Multiple agree is freely available (iii) The Romance and Germanic DP differ in terms of their feature specification (Germanic number = gender)
- The opposition in terms of Romance SA and ban of SA in Germanic will not be discussed in the presentation, but feel free to ask me in the question period (cf. also the appendix)

ROADMAP

1. The data: LCA in Romance vs. RA in Germanic
2. (Modifying) Heycock and Zamparelli 2005
3. Multiple agree inspired by Hiraiwa
4. Deriving Romance and Germanic agreement patterns
5. Conclusion

THE DATA

ROMANCE LCA (ITALIAN, FRENCH, SPANISH AND PORTUGEUESE) & GERMANIC RA (GERMAN, ENGLISH AND DUTCH)

I THE DATA: ROMANCE LCA - ITALIAN

- Romance exhibts left conjunct agreement in D>N>&>N constructions. This is has been reported in the literature for **Spanish** (Demonte, Pérez-Jiménez 2012) and **Portuguese** (Villavicencio, Sadler et al. 2005). In Lamoure (2021) I added **Italian** and **French** to the picture:

1. […] ***questo / *questa centro culturale e galleria d'arte*** *è stato per decenni la forza trainante dell'impegno artistico di Resistencia.*

   […] **this.SG.M center.SG.M cultural and gallery of art.SG.F** […]

   'this cultural centre and art gallery has been the driving force behind Resistencia's artistic commitment for decades.'

2. *E ancora sauna, bagno turco, doccia scozzese e vasca di reazione per completare il tuo programma benessere in* ***questa / *questo palestra e centro estetico di Torino****.*

   […] **this.SG.F gym.SG.F and center.SG.M esthetic of Turin** […]

   'And more sauna, Turkish bath, Scottish shower and reaction tub to complete your wellness programme in this gym and beauty centre in Turin.'

I THE DATA: ROMANCE LCA - FRENCH

1. *il a inauguré* ***le restaurant et entreprise d' insertion*** *" Le Relais " * au début des années 90*

   […] **the.SG.M restaurant.SG.M and integration-enterprise.SG.F** […]

   he inaugurated the restaurant and integration enterprise "Le Relais" * in the early 90s.

2. ***Cette entreprise artistique et magasin d'idées*** *séduit aussi bien Danone que les Verts.*

   This.SG.F. enterprise.SG.F artisitic and shop.SG.M of ideas […]

   'this artistic enterprise and ideas shop seduces both Danone and the Greens.'

I THE DATA: ROMANCE LCA – NUMBER MISMATCHES

- LCA is not limited to **gender** but can occur with **number** as well. Number mismatches however are mostly unacceptable in Italian and French, but well-formed in Spanish and Portuguese:

1. ***Sus pómulos y nariz*** *aparecían afilados*.

   […] **his.PL cheeks.PL.M and nose.SG.F** […]

   'His cheeks and nose looked sharp'

   (Demonte and Pérez-Jiménez (2012))

2. *Analizo su rostro por primera vez y puedo reconocer unas diminutas pecas en la zona de* ***su nariz y pómulos****.*

   […] **his.SG nose.SG.F and cheeks.PL.M** […]

   'I analyze his face for the first time and I can recognize some tiny freckles in the area of his nose and cheekbones'

Data taken from Demonte, Pérez-Jiménez (2012)

I THE DATA: GERMANIC RCA - GERMAN

- Translating the aforementioned data into German yields unacceptable strings:

1. ***Dieses / *diese Restaurant und Pizzeria** *lädt sie auf eine kulinarische Entdeckungsreise ein*

   This.Nom.SG.N/F restaurant.SG.N and pizerria.SG.F […]

   'This restaurant and pizzeria invites you to a culinary discovery-tour'

I THE DATA: GERMANIC RCA - GERMAN

- However, that does not mean that phi-feature missmatches are *generally* banned in these languages. Such strings **are completely grammatical** iff **a syncretic form** is available that can "bridge the gap" between feature bundles. Thus we are dealing with a three-part dependency: D-N1-N2

I THE DATA: GERMANIC RCA - GERMAN

1. *Ebenso will er seine Zusammenarbeit mit **dem Orchester und Chor** MusicAeterna fortsetzen*

   […] **the.Dat.SG.M/N orchestra.SG.N and choir.SG.M** […]

   'Also he wants to continue his collaboration with the orchestra and choir Music Aeterna'

2. *Mit **dem Chor und Orchester** der Schloßkirche besteht eine enge Zusammenarbeit[…]*

   […] **the.Dat.SG.M/N choir.SG.M and orchestra.SG.N** […]

   'There exists a close collaboration with the choir and orchestra of the castle church'

I THE DATA: GERMANIC RCA - DUTCH

1. **De filosoof en raadslid* *stemde tegen de wet.*

   The.SG.C/PL philosopher.SG.C and council member.SG.N […]

   'The philosopher and council member voted against the bill.'

2. **De raadslid en filosoof* *stemde tegen de wet*

   The.SG.C/PL council.member.SG.N and philosopher.SG.C […]

   'The council member and philosopher voted against the bill.'

3. *Mijn specifieke taak in het team was het toepassen van visualisatie- en analysetechnieken om* ***de resultaten en methodologie*** *van de berekeningen te verduidelijken en te controleren*

   […] **the.SG.C/PL result.PL.N and methodology.SG.C** […]

   'My specific task in the team was applying techniques for visualisation and analysis to clarify and check the results and methodology of the calculations.

I THE DATA: GERMANIC RCA - ENGLISH

1. *A colored man steps out, touches his hat to **the mother and children** and gives them the surprise of their lives.*
2. **A colored man steps out, touches his hat to **this mother and children** and gives them the surprise of their lives*
3. **A colored man steps out, touches his hat to **this children and mother** and gives them the surprise of their lives*

INTERIM CONCLUSION

- **Romance** (French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese) **exhibits LCA**, RA is impossible.
- **Germanic** (English, German and Dutch) does not allow for LCA but **requires RA**

(MODIFYING) HEYCOCK AND ZAMPARELLI (2005)

THE STARTING POINT OF MY ANALYSIS

HEYCOCK AND ZAMPARELLI (2005)

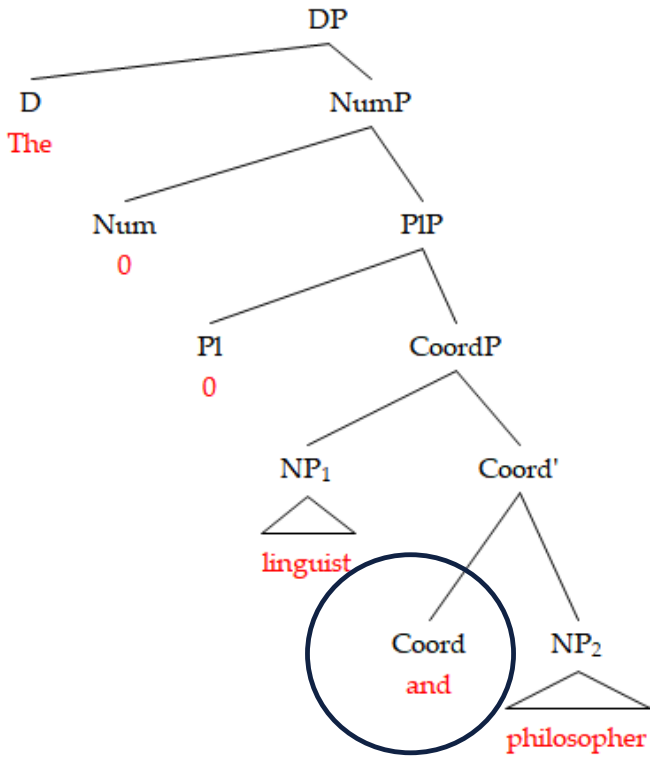
- Heycock and Zamparelli (2003, 2005) focus on the semantic side of D>N>&>N constructions. They observe that languages differ wrt. the possible interpretations in singular D>N>&>N constructions:

1. English type languages allow for ***a joint reading*** (reference to one individual e.g. *This philosopher and linguist* {Chomsky}) and for ***a split reading*** (reference to two individuals e.g. *This man and woman* {Susi, Tim})
2. Italian type languages only allow for a joint reading, not for a split reading

- Lamoure (2021) accumulates findings from the literature with his own findings:
  - German, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese are English-type languages
  - French is an Italian type language
- The availability of number mismatches in D>N>&>N constructions correlates with the availability of split readings in singular D>N>&>N constructions
- While the morphosyntactic side correlates with language family, the semantic one does ***not***

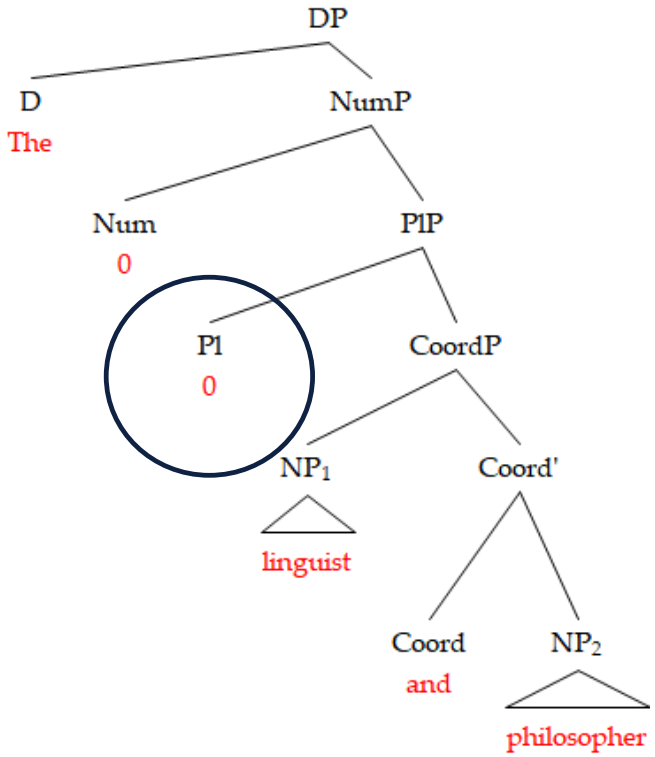
HEYCOCK AND ZAMPARELLI (2005)

- Coordination is envisioned as an operation called *Set Product* (SP)
- SP goes through the denotation of each noun and unifies each set from one noun with each set of the other noun. E.g.:
- Philosopher {{Chomsky}, {Hegel}}
- Linguist {{Den Dikken}, {Chomsky}}
- SP (Philosopher, Linguist) = {{Chomsky, Den Dikken}, {Chomsky} , {Hegel, Den Dikken}, {Hegel, Chomsky}}
- With singular count nouns, SP gives us couples and singletons (iff there is an intersection between the denotations of the two nouns).



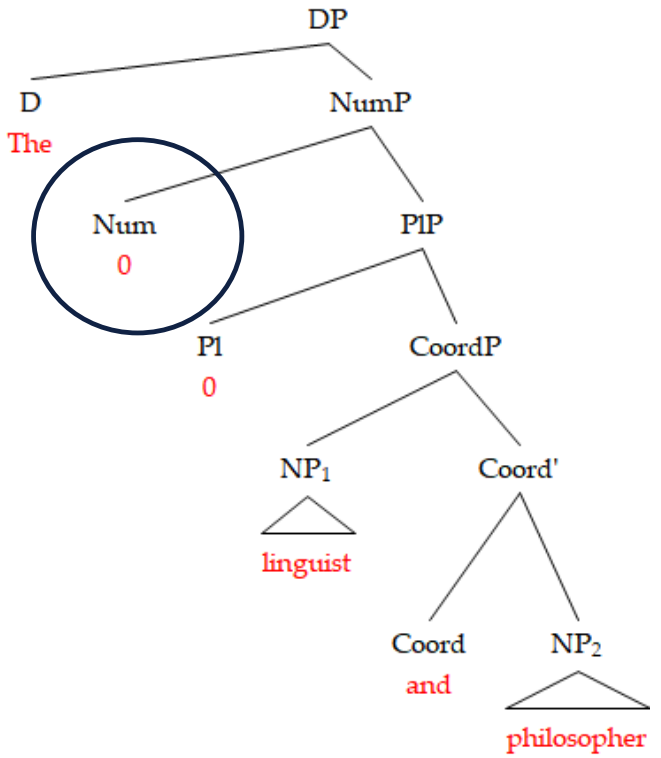
HEYCOCK AND ZAMPARELLI (2005)

- Pl° is the head responsible for pluralization. Pl° comes with valued, uninterpretable [+/-Latt], which represents semantic number. If [Latt] is specified for "+", it will perform pluralization (-> mass or plural nouns). If [Latt] is specified for "-" nothing will happen
- Further, Pl° has unvalued [*i*Plur:___] which (largely) represents morphosyntactic number. Its valued, uninterpretable counter-part is on N. [Plur] basically differentiates between mass and plural nouns – mass nouns are [Plur:-] while plural nouns are [Plur:+]



HEYCOCK AND ZAMPARELLI (2005)

- The important bit can now be found in NumP – Num° is conceived of as a filter.
  1. If Num [*i*Latt:__] on Num is valued for "-", it will **eliminate all sets in the denotation that are not of cardinality 1**
  2. If Num [*i*Latt:__] on Num is valued for "+", it will **eliminate all sets in the denotation that are of cardinality 1.**
- In English type languages 1. is inactive.
- $NumP_{English}$ (SP (Philosopher, Linguist)) = {{Chomsky, Den Dikken}, {Chomsky} , {Hegel, Den Dikken}, {Hegel, Chomsky}}
- $NumP_{Italian}$ (SP (Philosopher, Linguist)) = {~~{Chomsky, Den Dikken}~~, {Chomsky} , ~~{Hegel, Den Dikken}~~, ~~{Hegel, Chomsky}~~}



MODIFYING HEYCOCK AND ZAMPARELLI (2005)

- Lamoure (2021) slightly modifies the proposed semantics as to improve the predicitons, however this is not substantial to the derivation of agreement discussed here.
- H&Z's system however does not further specify the agreement relations in a way that conforms to the requirements of the MP and agree in particular. Thus, I suggest the following:
- N° bears [*u*Plur:val] [*i*Gender:val] [*u*Latt:___]
- Pl° bears [*i*Plur:___] [*u*Latt:val]
- Num° [*i*Latt:___]
- D° [*u*Plur:___], [*u*Gender:___]

MULTIPLE AGREE INSPIRED BY HIRAIWA (2001)

AND OTHER SYNTACTIC INGREDIENTS I NEED

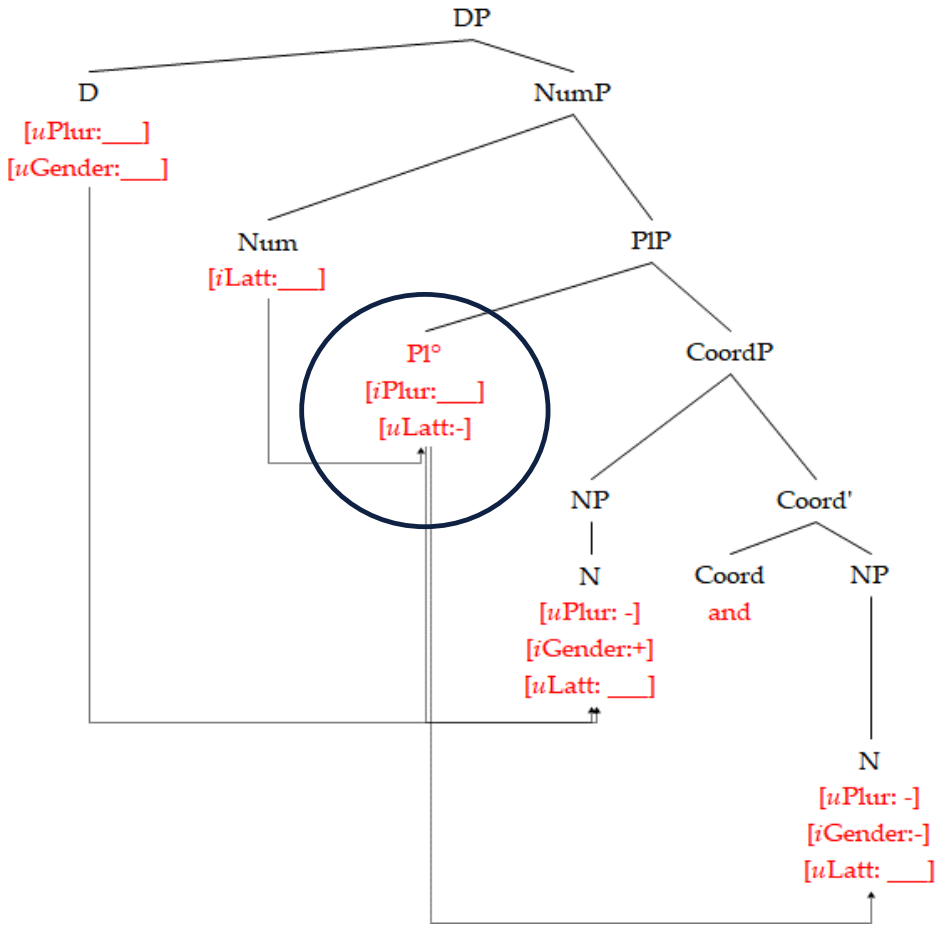
NECESSARY INGREDIENTS FOR ANALYSIS: (NOT JUST) MULTIPLE AGREE

- Agree in its canonical form cannot handle dependencies beyond two feature bundles. I exclude a movement-based analysis on the grounds of the CSC
- In order to remedy this situation I will allow for a probe P to agree with multiple goals (G1 – Gn). Multiple agree is conceptualized as *one* agree operation is subject to the "usual" limitations of agree i.e.
  - agree has to be with the closest c-commanded / embedded goal i.e. you can't skip the highest goal.
  - Agree is also subject to matching i.e. agree between P and G is only possible if G has all the features that P needs (*relativized phi-completeness* Danon 2011).
- No trigger: Since agree *can* but *doesn't have* to be multiple, every agree operation can be either "monogamous" or "multiple". Whichever of the two converges depends on (i) whether every unvalued \uninterpretable feature has been valued \ checked and (ii) whether the outcome of multiple agree can be spelt out.
- As pertains to interpretability, I assume feature sharing (à la Pesetsky and Torrego 2007): Upon transfer to the interfaces an uninterpretable isntance of a given feature is required to be in a feature sharing dependency with an interpretable instance of that feature, otherwise a crash will obtain
- As pertains to spell-out: Multiple agree always yields syncretic forms

DERIVING ROMANCE AND GERMANIC AGREEMENT PATTERNS

DERIVING LEFT CONJUNCT AGREEMENT AND RESOLVED AGREEMENT: RESOLVED AGREEMENT IN GERMANIC

Romance

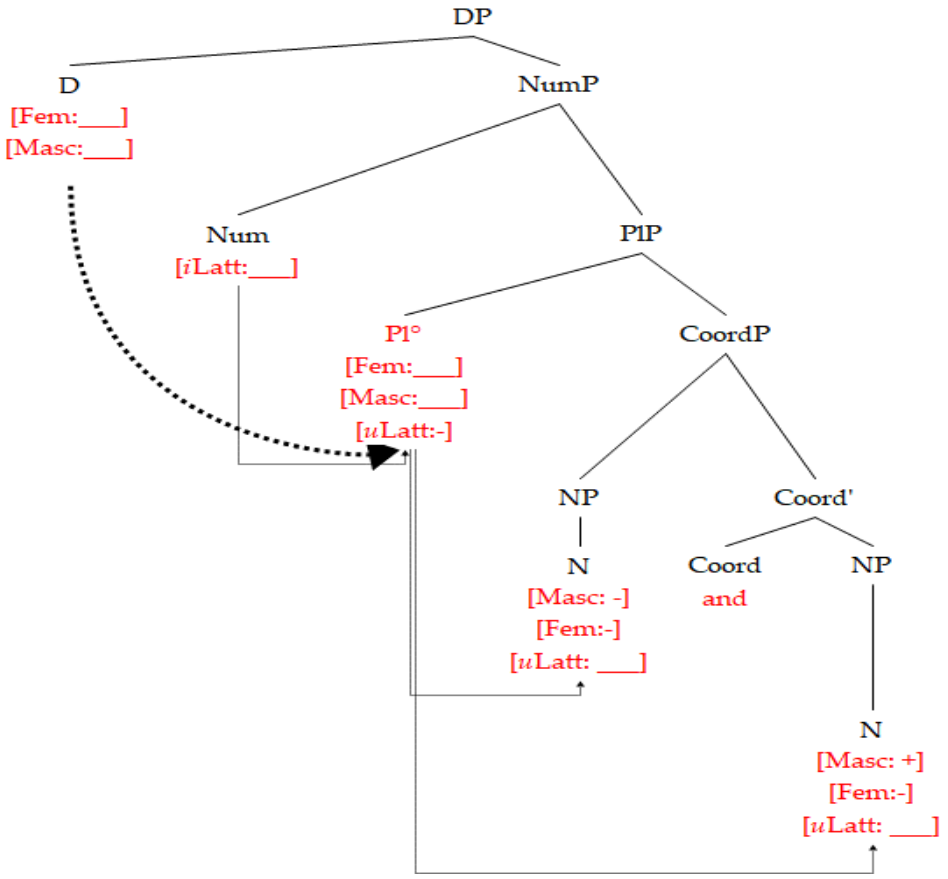


[…] ***questo / *questa centro culturale e galleria d'arte***

- After merging the Coordinate structure with the two NPs Pl° is merged.
- Multiple agree or "monogamous" agree?
  - Only multiple agree will form a feature chain that includes all uninterpretable and one interpretable instance of Plur
- Num° merges and can multiply agree or "monogamously" agree, either operation derives the same outcome
- D° merges and agrees "monogamously" – multiple agree would require a lexicalization via a syncretic form, which Romance does not have (Crash @ PF).

DERIVING LEFT CONJUNCT AGREEMENT AND RESOLVED AGREEMENT: RESOLVED AGREEMENT IN GERMANIC

Germanic



[…] ***dem Orchester [Neuter: [Masc:-] [Fem:-]] und Chor [Masculine: [Masc:+] [Fem:-]]***

- German and Dutch exhibit a systematic, exception-less syncretism: Plural determiner forms do not distinguish between gender. Thus, I assume that number (Plur) is not a feature in the DP in these languages. Instead, number is the forth gender \ number information is encoded by gender (cf. Krifka. 2009, Sternefeld 2006)
- Consequently, Pl° bears unvalued [Fem] and [Masc]. As pertains to the number information they contain, they will be interpretable on Pl°

After merging the Coordinate structure with the two NPs Pl° is merged.

- Multiple agree or "monogamous" agree?
  - Only multiple agree will form a feature chain that includes all uninterpretable and one (number-) interpretable instance of [Fem] and [Masc]
- Num° merges and can multiply agree or "monogamously" agree, either operation derives the same outcome
- D° merges and agrees monogamously with its closest relatively phi complete goal (Pl°). Since Pl° multiply agreed before, it bears two features bundles, which are passed on to D° as well.

SPELL-OUT OF MULTIPLE AGREE FEATURE BUNDLES

- In the previous example D° has two feature bundles: {[[Masc:-] [Fem:-]], [[Masc:+], [Fem:-]]}
- In the literature, Hein and Murphy (2019) suggest to handle these cases via *intersection*. This would work, assuming that syncretic forms are underspecified.
  E.g. *dem* can occur in masculine singular contexts ([Masc:+] [Fem:-]) as well as neuter singular ones ([Masc:-] [Fem:-]), thus *dem* would be specified for [Fem:-]; coupled with a subset principle type of approach, we would get the correct results.
- However, this does not work for this case: German has a determiner form (*der*) that can occur in a huge variety of contexts. Lamoure (2021) shows that there is no convincing argument in favor of treating this as a non-systematic syncretism. Thus, we would potentially predict *der* to be an ***elsewhere form***, and D>N>&>N constructions to be wellformed ATB (**der Mann und Frau*).
- Further, theoretically, intersection leads to the loss of information, which is potentially problematic for inclusiveness (Chomsky 2000).
- Instead I follow Kayne (1994): A head can only be lexicalized by **one** LI, otherwise we get a problem with linearization. Thus, if we force spell-out to match LIs to **feature bundles,** a multiply valued feature bundle as above will pose no problem: Either PF finds the same form twice (-> converges) or it finds two forms which will lead into a crash. Advantage: We can stay agnostic to the exact nature of elements of *der* and do not need to buy into the subset principle.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

- In this talk I have presented you with a new phenomenon: resovled agreement in Germanic (German, Dutch and English) D>N>&>N constructions.
- I have contrasted this pattern with the Romance pattern, which is left conjunct agreement
- The analysis I have presented you with requires the following ingredients: (i) coordination is morpho-syntactically underspecified (ii) Multiple agree is freely available (iii) The Romance and Germanic DP differ in terms of their feature specification (Germanic number = gender)

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR ATTENTION

- Thanks for taking the time to join my talk. I am looking forward to your questions, comments and criticism.

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QUESTIONS BY THE REVIEWERS

Reviewer I commented: *As for the analysis of German the data, I am wondering why there is a Pl head in the NP if plural is said to be gender in German. What would happen if D would directly Agree with the noun and there is no Pl head?*

- Leaving out Pl° in German and having the Noun carry a valued Latt feature would predict left conjunct agreement in German – currently multiple agree is forced by Pl°'s need to agree with both nouns in order to ensure that (i) both nouns receive a value for their Latt features (this could be done by Num° later as well) (ii) connecting both nouns with an instance of gender that is interpretable in terms of number. (ii) cannot be achieved by any other head and thus a derivation which would have Pl° "monogamously agree" would crash upon transfer.

QUESTIONS BY THE REVIEWERS

Reviewer 1 commented: *Maybe this is something more general: I am not sure why so many functional projections are needed.*

- The need for so many functional projections is inherited from Heycock and Zamparelli (2003, 2005) and relies for the biggest part on the semantics of D>N>&>N constructions.
  Pl° in this system is the head that pluralizes whatever denotation is passed on to it. One may wonder as to why this shouldn't happen "inside" the noun. Semantically the problem that would surface if one pluralized the nouns before coordinating them is that we would end up with a minimum of 2 Persons for a plural D>N>&>N construction (*these men and women*), counter to the fact. In my thesis I discuss these issues at length and I modify their system mainly because I realized that joint interpretations (not split interpretations) of plural D>N>&>N construction *can* minimally refer to two individuals if they both are members of the denotation of N1 and N2, e.g. *the philosophers and linguists* {Chomsky, Frege}.
  Num° needs to be separated from the noun because it is the home of cardinals. In fact cardinals have exactly the same function as the null counter part of Num° - *two* in *these two men* filters the denotation of *men* (which is basically every single man and all possible combination of them). Sidenote: I also try to further this train of thought – I realized that *the four men and women* is ambiguous: it can refer to 4 people or 8.
  Could Num° at least be integrated into D° (this was proposed to me by Prof. Dr. Katharina Hartmann as well)? The answer is no. (i) As mentioned before, Num° is associated with cardinal numbers, which however are not D°s since they can co-occur with D°s. (ii) Further, if filtering were associated with D° we'd expect a clear Romance \ Germanic (probably minus English) cut in the behavior of the filtering – Romance is claimed to have clitic articles (though I can coordinate articles just fine in French, e.g. *le ou la critique d'art…*) while the Germanic ones are not. (iii) One would run into problems with mass nouns, that do felcitiously combine with the definite article yet do not refer to singletons (e.g. *the water accumulated under the sink)*. (iv) A similar problem arises with the number mismatch cases that I could not discuss further unfortunately, but I do so in my disseration. If you say something like ***Su nariz y pómulos*** (his cheeks and nose) you end up with a singular determiner form, *but* of course you refer to (typically) a total of three things. If D° did the filtering you'd wonder how that could come to be (in order for that to work I have to argue that in these cases PlPs are coordianted btw).

QUESTIONS BY THE REVIEWERS

Reviewer 1 commented: *As for the Romance data, I didn't understand how the goal for agreement on D is determined. The authors claim that the form influences the decision whether the first conjunct or the entire coordination is chosen as a goal. How is this possible given that syntax is blind to forms? Or is it the case that the syntax has many options to Agree and PF acts as a filter?*

- Thank you very much for the question, my abstract was probably unclear in this respect, I will try to improve on that. To make it perfectly clear here's my response: IMO Syntax is blind to what forms PF will later insert from the lexicon. The decision about *how* to agree ("monogamously" or multiple) is not really a decision. Whenever there is more than one matching goal there are simply two possible derivations – one that chooses multiple agree and one that chooses "monogamous" agree. Depending on whether all heads will have their features checked and or valued, only a subset of these two possibilities will converge. Then we head on to PF (we'll exclude PF for the time being, but things can go wrong there as well btw): For multiply valued feature bundles, PF will have to find a LI that matches each of the two (or more) feature bundles. If it does not a crash obtains. This is what happens when you have something like "Der Mann und Frau" in German. So yes you're right under this view we have a syntax that is able to do more than surfaces in terms of well-formed sentences. The interfaces in this view work as filters, if you will.
- I want to add: It is not the entire Coordination that is choses as a goal. Independently of whether you want agree to apply only between heads or between heads and phrases, my system says: There are no features on the coordination. So what we agree with is either one of the conjuncts or more than one. The coordination itself i.e. CoordP does nothing except to present a sufficiently local configuration with multiple (*active*, if you believe that to be a thing) goals matching the probe. I take this to be the correct way to think about this, since RA is not limited to coordination: Anke Himmelreich wrote her disseration on a similar yet not entirely parallel phenomenon in German relative clauses.

QUESTIONS BY THE REVIEWERS

- Reviewer 2 remarked: *Concerning the topic of the abstract I think it is interesting for the workshop, but on the other hand no agreement on verbs is involved. The abstract describes agreement within a conjoined phrase, which is also very interesting, but leaves aside agreement between the conjoined phrase and another element, i.e. a verb.*
- I will take this comment as an implicit question about how the current system handles summative agreement, with a special emphasis on subject verb agreement. In my thesis I have argued extensively against approaches that (i) propose that coordination is ambiguous between a plural and a singular variant and approaches that (ii) suggest feature resolution mechanisms that lead to the appearance of a plural or a singular feature. The reasons that speak against (i) are the morphological facts – there is no language that overtly resolves this ambiguity; further the amount of "and"s would have to increased for languages like Slovenian that exhibit summative agreement in dual as well. As pertains to (ii) I reject it since it contradicts the inclusiveness condition.
  That being said I propose in Lamoure (2021) to handle summative agreement via a system of semantic agreement akin to () and Wechsler (). The idea is that unvalued features may enter the derivation in a valued state. In this case they need to move to an interpretable locus at LF where they will be licensed or not licensed. Morphosyntactic features on the host block this licensing, which explains readily, why coordination gives rise to summative i.e. semantic agreement effects – coordination is featurally void.
  In order to derive the absence of summative agreement between coordinated nouns and the determiner in Germanic, I refer back to the hypothesis about gender in German and Dutch. Pl° in these languages has the same specification as D°. I assume that Pl° blocks movement of D° (e.g. relativized minimality) to Coord° for licensing at LF. This does not affect Romance, because here Pl° only bears a subset of the features of D°.
  This analysis also works for Verb subject agreement, here however it predicts that no blocking occurs in Germanic.
  A drawback of this analysis is that it predicts that summative agreement is not mandatory in cases where we have DP sing >& > DP sing. As far as I can see by preliminary corpus research this is indeed the case, except for when animate DPs are at stake. The current system cannot account for the special status of animate DPs.
  The upshot of this system is that it treats Coordination on par with a couple of other agreement quirks and attempts a solution for all of those – there are no coordination specific rules.

QUESTIONS BY THE REVIEWERS

- Reviewer 3 remarked: *There should be four types of languages given two parameters and the author reported three: English/German, Italian/French, Spanish/Portuguese. It's not clear to me which group is referred to as type (ii) by the author. In the talk, I would be curious to see how the four types would fall out of the proposal.*
- Indeed the prediction is that we find either LCA or RA languages and independently of that, a language can either allow for split readings in singular D>N>&>N or not, which gives us a total of 4 combinations. Amongst the languages in my sample the combination "RA + no split readings" is absent. However, Prof. Dr. Katharina Hartmann revealed during my defense that for her the split readings in German are unacceptable. In as far as micro-variation represents a valid example, I would like to take her judgements as evidence for the validity of the system presented here. Further research is of course required.

QUESTIONS BY THE REVIEWERS

Reviewer 3 remarked: *The questions I have is 1. what does an interpretable feature that does not filter denotation do? 2. how does a probe know which goal it will agree with?*

- Pertaining to 1: I am unsure which feature the first part of the question refers to. Generally not every feature causes filtration. I could imagine that the reviewer is interested in knowing as to what [latt:+] does on Num°, as Heycock and Zamparelli (2005) claim that filtering in English-type languages is altogether absent and no filtering applies in [Latt:+] cases in Italian type languages. I do not share this view – the main reason for this is a difference in the denotation between splut and joint readings: Joint readings in plural cases minimally refer to two people, while split readings minimally refer to 4 people, e.g. these philosphers and linguists {{Chomsky, Frege}, *{Cecilia Poletto, Immanuel Kant}} vs. these men and women {*{Cecilia Poletto, Imanuel Kant}, {Cecilia Poletto, Chomsky, Simone de Beauvoir, Immanuel Kant}}. My filter requires filtering also in plural. However, no filtering applies in singular D>N>&>N constructions in English type languages, although there is an interpretable Latt feature.
- Pertaining to 2: The goal to a probe in this system are determined by the following: (i) feature content of a potential goal (a goal has to bear all the probing features of the probe) (ii) structural configuration: The goal has to be c-commanded by the probe (iii) it must be the closest goal (either c-command, or by Minimal Search; I prefer the latter). Multiple agree is conceptualized as one simultaneous agree operation and as such it is required to fulfill both requirements as well, i.e. multiple agree can include as many other (c-commanded) goals but always must include the closest goal as well.