

Coordinating adjectives in Italian

A multidominant, summative agreement approach*

Luke Adamson (Harvard University)

Agreement in Multivaluation Constructions Workshop
2021

1 Introduction

In coordinated nominal expressions like (1), it is possible for singular-inflected adjectives in a coordinated environment to occur with a plural-inflected noun.¹

- (1) le man-i destr-a e sinistr-a
the.F.PL hand.F.PL right-F.SG and left-F.SG
'the left hand and the right hand'

→ **Puzzle:** If adjectives agree with a head noun in number, how can the noun inflect for different number features from the adjectives?

Threefold Proposal:

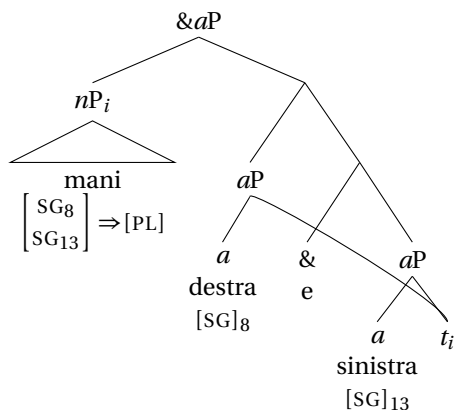
1. Italian coordinated expressions with 'split-coordinated adjectives' are derived through **multidominant structure**: two coordinated phrases with distinct *a*Ps share an *n*P.
2. The [PL] number marking on the noun in examples like (1) is the result of *resolution* of [SG] features on *n*P (comparable to coordination resolution), with adjectival agreement for the *n*P's resolving singular features²

*Thanks to many people for insight and feedback related to this project, including Artemis Alexiadou, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Jonathan Bobaljik, Ryan Budnick, Christos Christopoulos, Kaja Djärv, David Embick, Vera Gribanova, Alexandros Kalomoiros, Ruth Kramer, Rolf Noyer, Roberto Petrosino, Zheng Shen, and audiences at AnaMorphoSys, the Georgetown Workshop on Morphosyntax, the ThEGen workshop, and Penn's morphology reading group FMART. I would also like to thank my Italian consultants, especially Enrico Flor, Roberto Petrosino, and Stanislao Zoppi, who reviewed all of the judgments, and also Pietro Cerrone, Veronica Miatto, Claudia Turolla, and Sandra Villata, each of whom reviewed many of them. I would additionally like to thank a Bulgarian consultant, Maria Vassileva; two German consultants, Johanna Benz and Richard Zimmerman; and a Hindi consultant, Ava Irani. All internet examples are taken from the tagged corpus PAISÀ, which can be found at www.corpusitaliano.it (accessed 2020). This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation SBE Postdoctoral Research Fellowship under Grant No. 1911708. A related incarnation of this work has been submitted for publication.

¹See also Belyaev et al. 2015 on Italian; related patterns are also described for Spanish by Bosque (2006) and for Bulgarian by Arregi and Nevins (2013); Harizanov and Gribanova (2015); Gribanova (2017); Shen (2018).

²This is in some sense an extension of the analysis from Grosz (2015) of summative agreement in a multidominant analysis of verbal RNR.

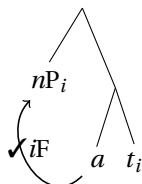
(2)



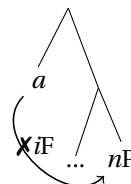
3. This resolution requires a type of ‘semantic’ agreement restricted to certain configurations (Smith 2015, 2017)

- In the current system, agreement for interpretable features is confined to spec-head relations.³

(3) a.



b.



(4) Quando la vecchia e nuova generazione/*generazioni di X-Men
 When the.F.SG old.[E.SG] and new.[E.SG] generation.[E.SG]/generation.F.PL of X-Men
 combatterono...
 fought.3.PL...
 ‘When the old generation and the new generation of X-Men fought...’⁴

Implications:

- This work sharpens our understanding of nominal and coordinate structure.
- It contributes to our understanding of agreement asymmetries, e.g. for ‘semantic’ agreement.
- Given the affinity with agreement asymmetries observed in the verbal domain, it provides a challenge to the idea that nominal concord constitutes a distinct type of agreement (pace Norris 2014).

Roadmap

Section 2: Test predictions of the multidominant account and dismiss plausible alternatives.

Section 3: Develop the analysis of agreement in these coordinated expressions and show how the analysis makes correct predictions for split-coordinated adjectives.

Section 4: Offer concluding remarks.

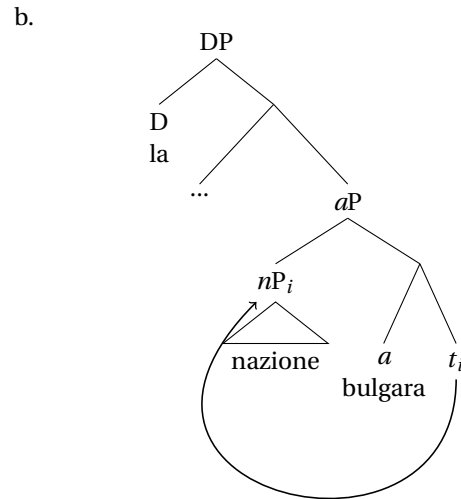
³This follows a line of work that identifies spec-head agreement as the relevant variable for agreement asymmetries in the verbal domain (e.g. Guasti and Rizzi 2002; Samek-Lodovici 2002; Franck et al. 2006) as well as prenominal/postnominal asymmetries in the nominal domain (e.g. Shlonsky 2004; Koopman 2006; Nevins 2011; Bonet 2013; Bonet et al. 2015). Note that Smith (2015; 2017) identifies the direction of c-command as the relevant variable.

⁴The prenominal/postnominal asymmetry in number marking is also observed by Belyaev et al. (2015).

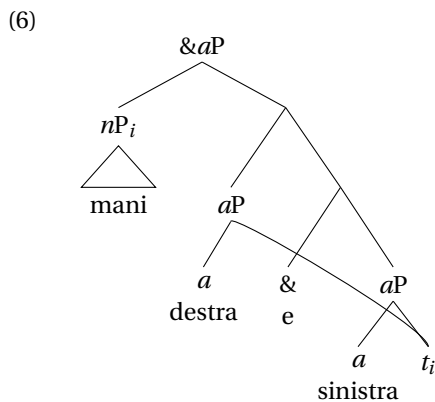
2 The Multidominant Analysis

- I assume a roll-up derivation of word order in the nominal domain.⁵
- Adjectival heads are merged along the nominal spine.⁶

(5) a. la nazione bulgara
the.F.SG nation.SG Bulgarian.F.SG
'the Bulgarian nation'



- Multidominant structures⁷ have been proposed for other phenomena found in Italian, including verbal and nominal RNR, as well as adjectival 'hydras' (Bobaljik 2017).⁸ I propose that 'split-coordinated expressions' in Italian are multidominant.



2.1 Three correct predictions of the multidominant account

1. It should be possible for more complex phrases to be shared between conjuncts.⁹

⁵See Cinque 2005, 2010, 2014; Nevins 2011.

⁶Abney 1987; Nevins 2011; Murphy 2018, among many others.

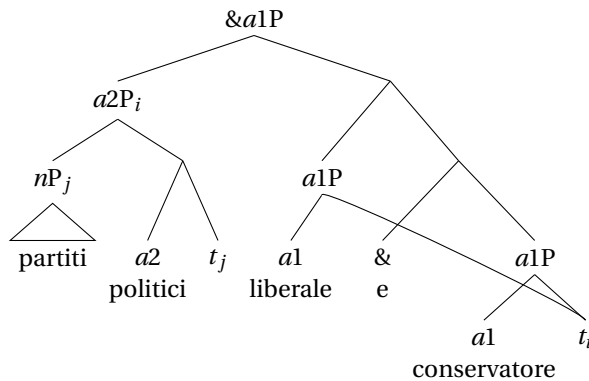
⁷See McCawley 1982; Wilder 1999; Citko 2005; Bachrach and Katzir 2009, 2017; Gračanin-Yuksek 2007, 2013; Grosz 2015; Shen 2018; among many others.

⁸On verbal RNR, see Grosz 2015; on both verbal and nominal RNR, see Shen 2018, 2019; on adjectival hydras in Italian and other Romance languages, see Bobaljik 2017.

⁹These three types of evidence are used by Harizanov and Gribanova 2015 to support their ATB account of similar expressions in Bulgarian, on which, see below.

- (7) a. i [partit-i politic-i] liberal-e e conservator-e
 the.M.PL party-PL political-M.PL liberal-SG and conservative-SG
 ‘the liberal and conservative political parties’ (two parties total, one of each)

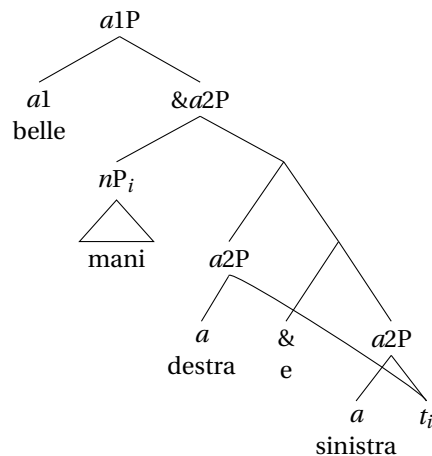
b.



2. It should be possible for an adjective to merge above the conjunction, modifying the collective group denoted by the coordinated phrase.

- (8) a. le mie belle mani [destra e sinistra]
 the.F.PL my.F.PL beautiful.F.PL hands.F.PL right.F.SG and left.F.SG
 ‘my beautiful left and right hands’

b.



3. Adjectival stacking in each conjunct should be allowed, with more than one adjective appearing in each conjunct. While marked, these are indeed possible. (Refer to the appendix for the derivation.)

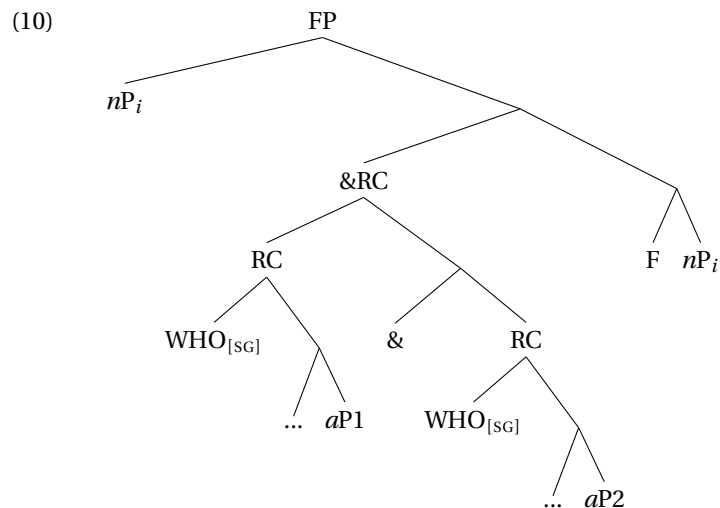
- (9) *Le lesioni cerebrali erano limitate ai lobi [frontale destro] e [occipitale sinistro].*
 the lesions brain.ADJ were limited to.the.M.PL lobe.M.PL frontal.SG right.M.SG and
 occipital.SG left.M.SG
 ‘The brain lesions were limited to the right frontal lobe and the left occipital lobe.’

– The evidence from stacking disconfirms an account where *aP* adjunct constituents are coordinated (e.g. Arregi and Nevins 2013 for Bulgarian).

2.2 Against three alternatives

≠Relative Clause Source

It is tempting to attribute SG features of the *a*Ps to agreement with relative pronouns inside separate (reduced) relative clauses.



This is not viable, for two reasons:

1. The adjectives can have substantive interpretations not available in predicative position.¹⁰

(11) *i presidenti italiano e iraniano*
 the.M.PL president._[M.PL] Italian._[M.SG] and Iranian._[M.SG]
 'the Italian president and the Iranian president' (= 'the president of Italy and the president of Iran')

(12) *Il presidente è italiano.*
 the.M.SG president is Italian.M.SG
 Can mean: 'The president is Italian.' (the president is from Italy)
 Cannot mean: 'The president is the president of Italy.'

2. Relativization with full clauses is not possible for split reference.

(13) **i gemelli [[che è simpatico] e [che è antipatico]]*
 the.PL twin._[PL] that is nice._[M.SG] and that is mean._[M.SG]
 'the twins, one of whom is nice and the other who is mean'

≠Ellipsis

- The elliptical analysis can be rejected on the basis that it does not derive the correct combination of morphological and interpretive properties; see H&G's (2015) rejection of this analysis for Bulgarian.

(14) *Le nazioni bulgar-a e russ-a*
 the.F.PL nation-_[F.PL] Bulgarian-_[F.SG] and Russian-_[F.SG]
 'the Bulgarian nation and Russian nation'

(15) Expected patterns with ellipsis
 a. *La nazione bulgar-a e nazione russ-a*
 the.F.SG nation-_[F.SG] Bulgarian-_[F.SG] and nation-F.SG Russian-_[F.SG]
 'Bulgarian nation and Russian nation'

¹⁰See McNally and Boleda 2004 on relevant issues.

- b. Le nazione-i bulgar-e e nazione-i russ-e
 the.F.PL nation-[F.PL] Bulgarian-[F.PL] and nation-F.PL Russian-[F.PL]
 ‘Bulgarian nations and Russian nations’
- c. La nazione-e bulgar-a e nazione-i russ-e
 the.F.SG nation-[F.SG] Bulgarian-[F.SG] and nation-F.PL Russian-[F.PL]
 ‘Bulgarian nation and Russian nations’
- d. Le nazione-i bulgar-e e nazione-e russ-a
 the.F.PL nation-[F.PL] Bulgarian-[F.PL] and nation-F.SG Russian-[F.SG]
 ‘Bulgarian nations and Russian nation’

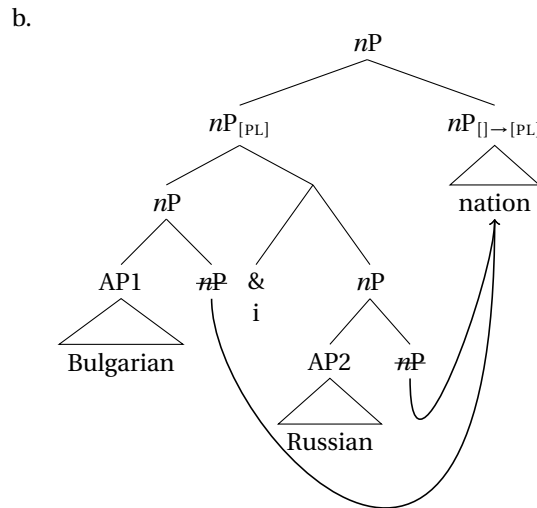
≠ATB Movement

- Harizanov and Gribanova (2015) observe that in Bulgarian, split-coordinated adjectives cannot be mismatched for number.

(16) *ostri-te i prav āgl-i na triāgālnika
 acute-[PL] and right.[M.SG] angle-[PL] of triangle
 ‘acute and right angles of a triangle’

- This is captured under their account in which a (lower segment) *nP* ATB moves out of the maximal *nP*. Crucially, ATB movement enforces **strict identity**.

(17) a. bālgarisk-i-ja i rusk-i narod-i
 Bulgarian-[M.SG]-DEF and Russian.[M.SG] nation.[M.PL]
 ‘the Bulgarian and Russian nations’ (two nations: one Bulgarian and one Russian)
 (Harizanov and Gribanova 2015)



- Extending the ATB account to the Italian coordinated expressions wrongly predicts that feature mismatch between the conjuncts should always be ungrammatical, both for number and gender.

(18) ?/?gli angoli acuti e retto del triangolo
 the.PL angle.[PL] acute.[PL] and right.[SG] of.the triangle

‘the acute and right angles of the triangle’

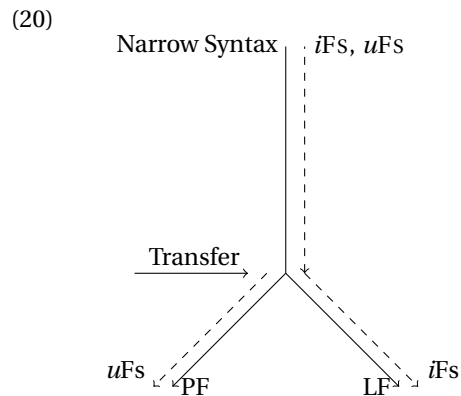
- (19) $??I$ president-i italian-o e singaporean-a (si sono
 the.M.PL president-M.PL Italian-M.SG and Singaporean-E.SG (each.other be.3.PL
 incontrati ieri.)
 meet.PTCP-M.PL yesterday
 ‘The Italian and Singaporean presidents (met yesterday.)’ (one Italian president and one Singa-
 porean president)

- Feature mismatch under the current account is explained in the next section.

3 Number Marking and Summative Agreement

Having established that these split-coordinated expressions are derived through multidominance, there are three ingredients for the analysis of the agreement pattern, all of which have been proposed independently for other phenomena.

1. A dual-feature system with both *interpretable* and *uninterpretable* features¹¹
*i*Fs are sent to the LF interface and *u*Fs are sent to the PF interface.

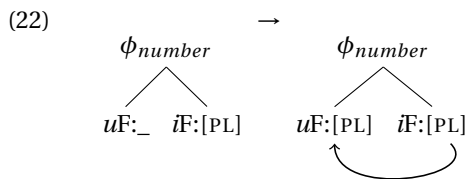


- This type of feature dichotomy has been developed e.g. hybrid agreement phenomena.

- (21) a. This_{SG} committee are_{PL} deciding on a solution.
 b. ϕ_{number}
 $\swarrow \searrow$
*u*F:SG *i*F:PL

(Smith 2017:836)

- In the absence of valuation of a *u*F, a redundancy rule applies such that the value of an *i*F is copied to the *u*F ‘slot’ in the syntax at transfer.¹²



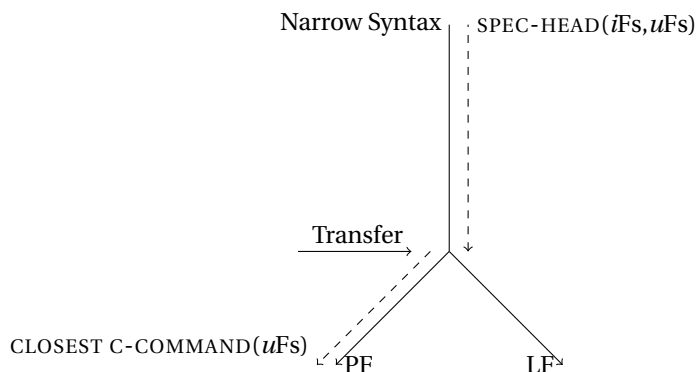
¹¹Wurmbrand 2012, 2016; Smith 2015, 2017; Anagnostopoulou 2017; Puškar 2017; Adamson and Anagnostopoulou in preparation. This dichotomy is related to the CONCORD vs. INDEX distinction from Wechsler and Zlatić 2003; Wechsler and Hahn 2011; Landau 2016.

¹²See Wechsler and Zlatić 2003:50 on a similar representational relation between CONCORD and INDEX.

2. A constraint on *iF* agreement

- I adopt the idea from the literature that agreement operations are distributed between the syntax and the postsyntax.¹³
- In the current system:
 - *spec-head* agreement is mediated in the syntax.¹⁴
 - Agreement in which the target is c-commanded by the controller is mediated in the postsyntax.¹⁵

(23)



- This distribution captures agreement asymmetries¹⁶ – for our purposes, semantic agreement (Smith 2015, 2017)¹⁷

- (24) a. This committee is/are deciding on a solution.
 b. There is/*are a committee deciding the budget for next year.

(Smith 2017:824-5)

3. Summative resolution in multidominance

- In his approach to verbal RNR, Grosz (2015) analyzes verbal RNR¹⁸ as having multidominant structure where finite T can bear multiple resolved features, referred to here as ‘summative resolution’

- (25) [Sue’s proud that Bill_[SG]] and [Mary’s glad that John_[SG]] have_[PL] travelled to Cameroon.

(Grosz 2015:6)

¹³Arregi and Nevins 2012; Bhatt and Walkow 2013; Bonet et al. 2015; Smith 2015, 2017, among others.

¹⁴This is not to say that all interpretable features are visible for agreement in the syntax; see Smith 2015, 2017 on ‘feature activity’. For current purposes, interpretable features are visible on some node that represents multiple values for the same feature type.

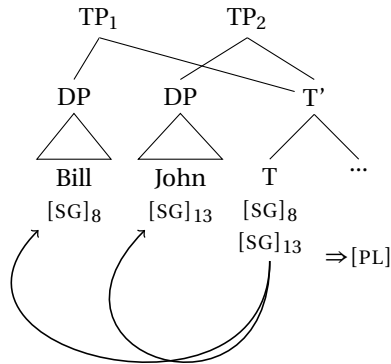
¹⁵See Bonet et al. 2015 on agreement asymmetries and modularity, and Choi and Harley 2019 for a recent implementation of postsyntactic agreement under c-command.

¹⁶This follows a line of work that identifies spec-head agreement as the relevant variable for agreement asymmetries in the verbal domain (e.g. Guasti and Rizzi 2002; Samek-Lodovici 2002; Franck et al. 2006) as well as prenominal/postnominal asymmetries in the nominal domain (e.g. Shlonsky 2004; Koopman 2006; Nevins 2011; Bonet 2013; Bonet et al. 2015)

¹⁷Note that Smith’s analysis is couched in terms of c-command rather than spec-head relations. I opt here for the more restrictive locality of spec-head relations for agreement for interpretable features.

¹⁸See also Yatabe 2003 and references therein.

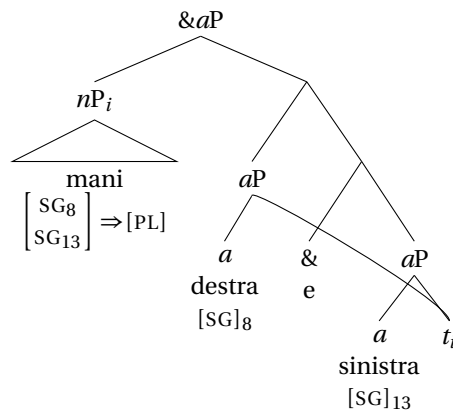
(26)



(adapted from Grosz 2015:18)

- We extend this to our multidominant structure:

(27)



- I assume that the feature calculus in summative resolution operates the same way as in coordination resolution.¹⁹

Summative Resolution: Multiple *interpretable feature* values of the same type on the same node are converted into a single value in response to spec-head agreement (in which the node participates).

4 Correct Predictions

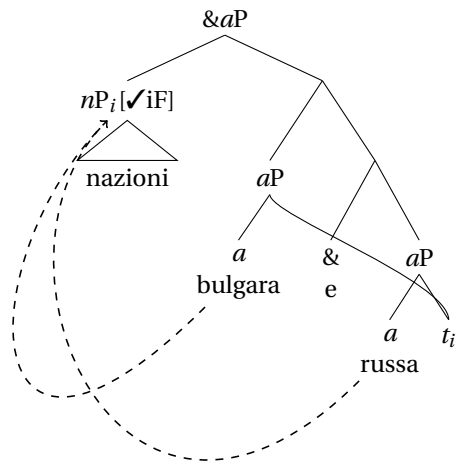
1. Nouns with SG postnominal adjectives can be marked PL, while SG prenominal adjectives should require SG nouns.

(28) a. le nazion-i bulgar-a e russ-a
 the.F.PL nation-F.PL Bulgarian-F.SG and Russian-F.SG
 ‘The Bulgarian and Russian nations’

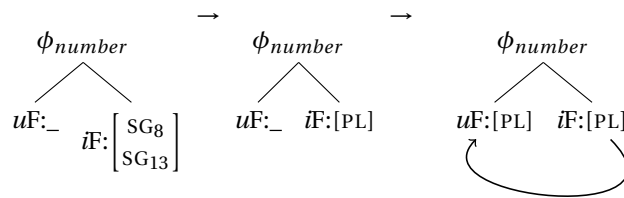
Postnominal PL

¹⁹For current purposes, it is not so crucial which theory of resolution is adopted (see e.g. Dalrymple and Kaplan 2000; Wechsler and Zlatić 2003; Börjars and Vincent 2006; among many others).

b.



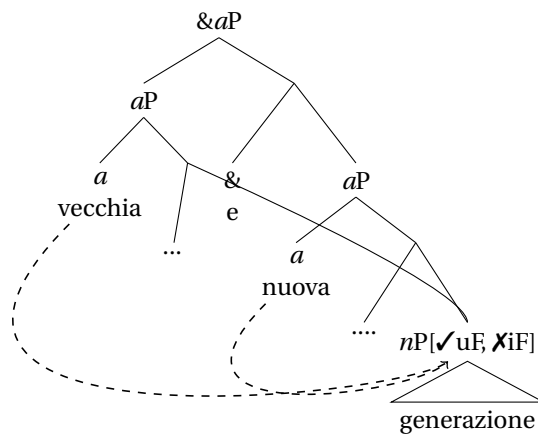
c. Narrow syntax \rightarrow Summative Resolution \rightarrow Redundancy Rule



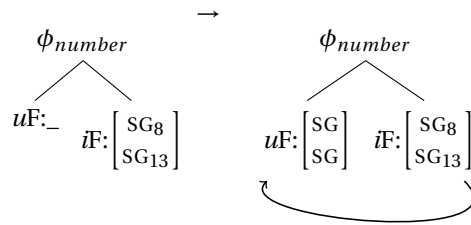
(29) a. la vecchia e nuova generazione/*generazioni
 the.F.SG old.F.SG and new.F.SG generation.F.SG /generation.F.PL
 'the old generation and the new generation'

Prenominal SG (\times PL)

b.



- c. Narrow syntax → Redundancy (Summative Resolution not triggered)

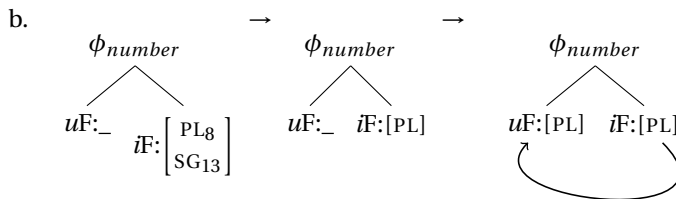


2. Conjunct mismatches are predicted to be possible for postnominal adjectives but not prenominal adjectives.²⁰

- Agreement can copy independent iFs from the nP, and feature mismatches can be resolved on the nP.

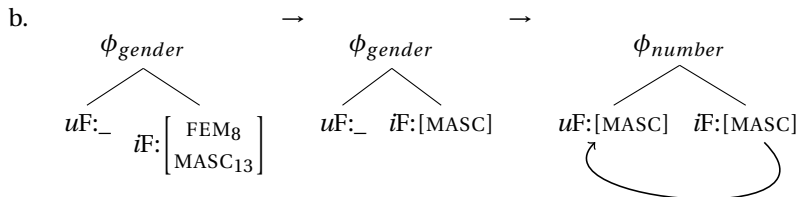
- (30) a. *gli angoli acuti e retto del triangolo*
 the.PL angle.PL acute.PL and right.SG of.the triangle
 ‘the acute and right angles of the triangle’ (two acute angles and one right angle)

✓Postnominal, number mismatch



- (31) a. *i presidenti italiano e singaporiana*
 the.M.PL president.PL Italian.M.SG and Singaporean.F.SG
 ‘the Italian president and the Singaporean president’

✓Postnominal, gender mismatch



- (32) a. **la vecchia e nuove biblioteca/biblioteche*
 the.F.SG old.F.SG and new.F.PL library.F.SG/library.F.PL
 ‘the old library and the new libraries’

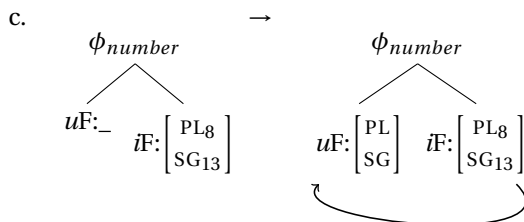
✗Prenominal, number mismatch

- b. **le vecchie e nuova biblioteca/biblioteche*
 the.F.PL old.F.PL and new.F.SG library.F.SG/library.F.PL
 ‘the old libraries and the new library’

(based on Belyaev et al. 2015)

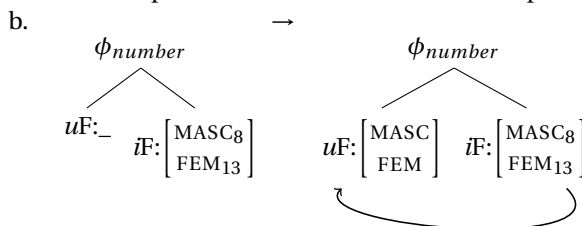
²⁰A related prediction concerns postnominal adjectives that occur with SG-marked nouns, which are grammatical. Given that resolution does not produce PL marking on the noun, these expressions are predicted to pattern with prenominal adjectives in disallowing conjunct mismatch; this is borne out.

- (i) **il presidente italiano e singaporiana*
 the.M.SG president.SG Italian.M.SG and Singaporean.F.SG
 ‘the Italian president and the Singaporean president’



→ PF does not tolerate a feature clash.

- (33) a. *il primo e seconda presidente
 the first.M.SG and second.F.SG president.SG
 ‘the first president (a man) and the second president (a woman)’ ✗Prenominal, gender mismatch



3. Agreement with higher elements in the nominal domain is for *uFs*.

- Higher elements in the nominal domain do not enter spec-head agreement with the nominal.

→ They agree in *uFs* postsyntactically with *nP*.

- (34) le mie belle mani destra e sinistra
 the.F.PL my.F.PL beautiful.F.PL hands. [F.PL] right. [F.SG] and left. [F.SG]
 ‘my beautiful left and right hands’
- (35) la vecchia e nuova generazione
 the.F.SG old. [F.SG] and new. [F.SG] generation. [F.SG]
 ‘the old generation and the new generation’

4. Contrasts in acceptability with numerals above one.

- I take there to be an agreement relation between numerals and their corresponding head nouns.²¹
- Numerals higher than one must be valued as [PL].

Coordinated expressions with SG-marked nouns cannot occur with *due* ‘two’, while PL-marked nouns can.

- (36) l’occhio destro e sinistro
 the.eye. [SG] right. [SG] and left. [SG]
 ‘the right and left eyes’ Postnominal, SG-marked noun²²
- (37) a. i due occhi destro e sinistro
 the.M.PL **two** eye. [M.PL] right.M.SG and left.M.SG
 ‘the left and right eyes, which number two’ ✓Postnominal PL-marked noun with numeral
- b. *il(i) due occhio destro e sinistro
 the.M.SG/(the.M.PL) **two** eye. [M.SG] right.M.SG and left.M.SG
 ‘the left and right eyes, which number two’ ✗Postnominal, SG-marked noun with numeral

²¹ See e.g. Norris 2018; Ionin and Matushansky 2018.

²² For postnominal adjectives that occur with singular nouns, I take this to be an instance of spec-head agreement using *uFs*, which does not trigger summative resolution. This correctly predicts that conjunct mismatch is also ungrammatical with singular-marked nouns occurring with split-coordinated adjectives; the data are not shown here (though feel free to ask me in the question period about them).

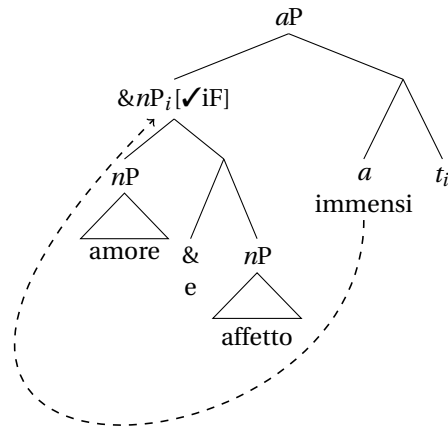
Three Extensions

1. Split-coordinated nouns are expected to exhibit the same asymmetry.

- (38) a. (Ci trattò) con rispetto e affetto immensi.
 (Us treated) with respect._[SG] and affection._[SG] immense._[PL]
 ‘They (SG) treated us with immense respect and affection.’

Postnominal, PL
 (based on Cinque 2010:89)

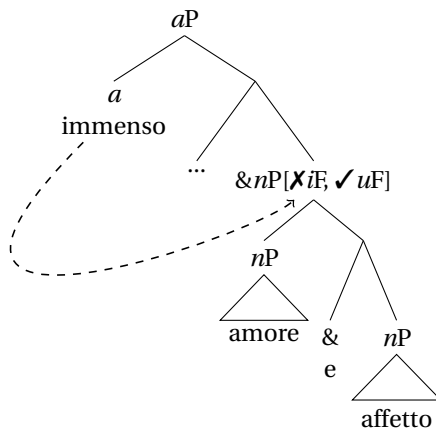
b.



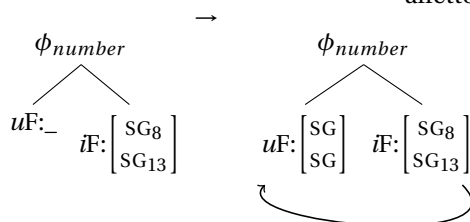
- (39) a. (Ci trattò) con immenso/*immensi rispetto e affetto.
 (Us treated) with immense.<sub>[SG]/PL love._[SG] and affection._[SG]
 ‘They (SG) treated us with immense respect and affection.’</sub>

Prenominal SG (✗PL)

b.



c.



2. Adjectival hydras expectedly allow conjunct mismatch.

- A multidominant analysis has also been considered for adjectival hydras.²³

²³See Bobaljik 2017.

- (40) la teoria e l'assioma mutualmente esclusivi
 the.theory.SG and the.axiom.SG mutually exclusive.PL
 'the theory and the axiom that are mutually exclusive'

(cf. Bobaljik 2017:17)

- We predict conjunct mismatch to be allowed.

- (41) il dorso e la testa ner-i
 the.M.SG back and the.F.SG head black-M.PL
 'the black back and the black head' (referring to a bird)

3. Gender agreement with 'switch' nouns.

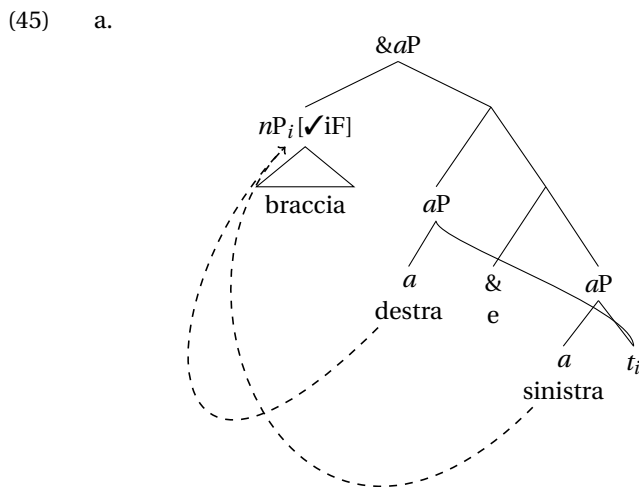
- Some nouns in Italian have the unusual property that they take masculine agreement in the singular but feminine in the plural. Acquaviva (2008) shows that this is due to different gender feature representation in the SG and PL for these nouns.

- (42) il {braccio/ginocchio/corno} / le {braccia/ginocchia/corna}
 the.M.SG arm.SG/knee.SG/horn.SG / the.F.PL arm.PL/knee.PL/horn.PL
 'the arm(s)/knee(s)/horn(s)'

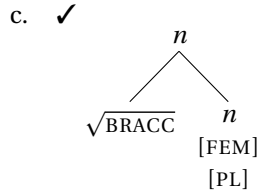
- (43) *la braccia/ginocchia/corna destra
 the.F.SG arm.F.SG/knee.F.SG/horn.F.SG right.F.SG

- For the current account, the expectation is that adjectives should bear feminine inflection to agree with a feminine plural noun.

- (44) a. le mie {braccia/ginocchia/corna} [destra e sinistra]
 the.F.PL my.F.PL arm.F.PL/knee.F.PL/horn.F.PL right-F.SG and left-F.SG
 'My right and left arms/knees/horns'
- b. *le mie {braccia/ginocchia/corna} [destro e sinistro]
 the.F.PL my.F.PL arm.F.PL/knee.F.PL/horn.F.PL right.M.SG and left.M.SG



- b. $\begin{bmatrix} \text{FEM} \\ \text{SG}_8 \end{bmatrix} \& \begin{bmatrix} \text{FEM} \\ \text{SG}_{13} \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} \text{FEM} \\ \text{PL} \end{bmatrix}$



4 Conclusion and Extensions

- The analysis presented here synthesizes a multidominant structure with a restricted agreement system to derive various facts about split-coordinated expressions in Italian.
- If on the right track, the analysis supports a relationship between multidominant structure and summative agreement.
- Assuming a Cinquean hierarchy of the nominal domain for other languages, we make predictions about the relation between word order and number marking in other languages

– Adj N order = SG marking on the noun, number mismatch disallowed.

(46) German: ✓SG only; ✓no number mismatch

- Mein linker und rechter Arm(*-e) (sind taub.)
my left.SG and right.SG arm(-PL) are numb
'My left and right arms (are numb).'
- *die erste und letzten Seite(-n)
the.PL first.SG and last.PL page(-PL)
'the first page and the last pages'

(47) Bulgarian ✗SG only; ✓no number mismatch

- bългарisk-i-ja i rusk-i narod-i
Bulgarian-M.SG-DEF and Russian.M.SG nation.M.PL
'the Bulgarian and Russian nations'
(two nations: one Bulgarian and one Russian) (Harizanov and Gribanova 2015)
- *ostri-te i prav ägl-i na triägálnika
acute-PL and right.M.SG angle-PL of triangle
'the acute and right angles of a triangle'

– Some PF-type refinement may be necessary for dealing with cross-linguistic facts. It is possible that for some languages, PF operations are able to manipulate features of the same type.

– I have not touched on single-conjunct agreement in multidominance here; it is apparent that it is not an available option for the split-coordinated expressions of interest.²⁴

- The analysis of the agreement asymmetry observed with prenominal and postnominal adjectives suggests that nominal agreement has affinities with verbal agreement, which exhibits asymmetries for semantic agreement and more broadly.²⁵

– That there exists semantic agreement asymmetries in both domains is a point in favor of a theoretical unification of the two and against the separation between nominal 'concord' and argument-predicate agreement.²⁶

Thanks for listening!

²⁴See e.g. Shen 2018 on closest conjunct agreement in multidominance.

²⁵See Samek-Lodovici 2002; Smith 2015, 2017; Bjorkman and Zeijlstra 2019; among many others).

²⁶See e.g. Carstens 2000 on the Agree-based perspective of DP-internal agreement, and Norris 2014 for a percolation-based view of nominal 'concord'.

References

- Abney, Steven P. 1987. The english noun phrase in its sentential aspect. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Acquaviva, Paolo. 2008. Lexical plurals: A morphosemantic approach. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Adamson, Luke, and Elena Anagnostopoulou. in preparation. Interpretability and gender features in coordination: Evidence from Greek. In Proceedings of WCCFL 39.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2017. Gender and defaults. In A Schrift to Fest Kyle Johnson, ed. N. LaCara, K. Moulton, and A. Tessier, 23–31. Linguistics Open Access Publications.
- Arregi, Karlos, and Andrew Nevins. 2012. Morphotactics: Basque auxiliaries and the structure of spellout, volume 86. Springer Science & Business Media.
- Arregi, Karlos, and Andrew Nevins. 2013. Contextual neutralization and the Elsewhere Principle. In Distributed Morphology today: Morphemes for Morris Halle, ed. Alec Marantz and Ora Matushansky, 199–221. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bachrach, Asaf, and Roni Katzir. 2009. Right-node raising and delayed spellout. In Interphases: Phase-theoretic investigations of linguistic interfaces, ed. Kleanthes Grohmann, 283–316. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bachrach, Asaf, and Roni Katzir. 2017. Linearizing structures. Syntax 20:1–40.
- Belyaev, Oleg, Mary Dalrymple, and John Lowe. 2015. Number mismatches in coordination: an LFG analysis. In Proceedings of the LFG15 Conference, ed. M. Butt and T.H. King, 26–46. CSLI Publications.
- Bhatt, Rajesh, and Martin Walkow. 2013. Locating agreement in grammar: An argument from agreement in conjunctions. Natural Language & Linguistic Theory 31:951–1013.
- Bjorkman, Bronwyn M, and Hedde Zeijlstra. 2019. Checking up on (ϕ -) agree. Linguistic Inquiry 50:527–569.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan David. 2017. Adjectival hydras: Restrictive modifiers above DP? In Wiener Linguistische Gazette (WLG) 82, 13–22.
- Bonet, Eulalia. 2013. Agreement in two steps (at least). In Distributed Morphology today: Morphemes for Morris Halle, ed. Ora Matushansky and Alec Marantz, 167–184. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bonet, Eulàlia, Maria-Rosa Lloret, and Joan Mascaró. 2015. The prenominal allomorphy syndrome. In Understanding allomorphy: Perspectives from Optimality Theory, ed. Eulàlia Bonet, Maria-Rosa Lloret, and Joan Mascaró, 5–44. Sheffield: Equinox Publishing.
- Börjars, Kersti, and Nigel Vincent. 2006. Feature resolution and the content of features. In Architectures, rules and preferences, ed. A. Zaenen, J. Simpson, T.H. King, J. Grimshaw, Joan Maling, and C. Manning, 293–315. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Bosque, Ignacio. 2006. Coordinated adjectives and the interpretation of number features. In Studies in Spanish syntax, ed. Laura Brugè, 47–60. Venice: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina.
- Carstens, Vicki. 2000. Concord in minimalist theory. Linguistic Inquiry 31:319–355.
- Choi, Jaehoon, and Heidi Harley. 2019. Locality domains and morphological rules. Natural Language & Linguistic Theory 4:1319–1365. URL
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik, ed. R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka, 89–156. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In Ken Hale: A Life in Language, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2005. Deriving Greenberg's Universal 20 and its exceptions. Linguistic inquiry 36:315–332.

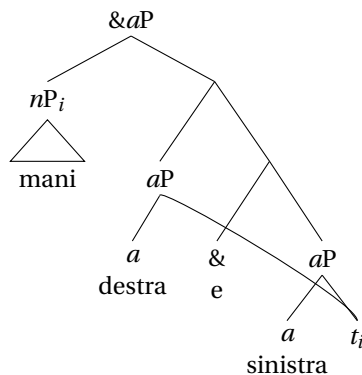
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2010. *The syntax of adjectives: A comparative study*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2014. The semantic classification of adjectives: A view from syntax. *Studies in Chinese Linguistics* 35:1–30.
- Citko, Barbara. 2005. On the nature of merge: External merge, internal merge, and parallel merge. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36:475–496.
- Dalrymple, Mary, and Ronald M Kaplan. 2000. Feature indeterminacy and feature resolution. *Language* 76:759–798.
- Franck, Julie, Glenda Lassi, Ulrich Frauenfelder, and Luigi Rizzi. 2006. Agreement and movement: A syntactic analysis of attraction. *Cognition* 101:173–216.
- Gračanin-Yukse, Martina. 2007. About sharing. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Gračanin-Yukse, Martina. 2013. Linearizing multidominance structures. In *Challenges to linearization*, ed. Theresa Biberauer and Ian Roberts, 269–294. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gribanova, Vera. 2017. Roots in ellipsis and multidominance. In *Asking the right questions: Essays in honor of Sandy Chung*, ed. Jason Ostrove, Ruth Kramer, and Joseph Sabbagh, 1–16. UC eScholarship Repository. URL <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8255v8sc>.
- Grosz, Patrick Georg. 2015. Movement and agreement in right-node-raising constructions. *Syntax* 18:1–38.
- Guasti, Maria Teresa, and Luigi Rizzi. 2002. Agreement and tense as distinct syntactic positions. Evidence from acquisition. In *The structure of the IP and the DP – the cartography of syntactic structures*, ed. Guglielmo Cinque. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harizanov, Boris, and Vera Gribanova. 2015. How across-the-board movement interacts with nominal concord in Bulgarian. In *Proceedings from the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society 49*. University of Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Ionin, Tania, and Ora Matushansky. 2018. *Cardinals: The syntax and semantics of cardinal-containing expressions*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Koopman, Hilda. 2006. Agreement configurations: In defense of “spec head”. In *Agreement systems*, ed. Cedric Boeckx, 159–99. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Landau, Idan. 2016. Agreement at PF: an argument from Partial Control. *Syntax* 19:79–109.
- McCawley, James. 1982. Parentheticals and discontinuous constituent structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 13:91–106.
- McNally, Louise, and Gemma Boleda. 2004. Relational adjectives as properties of kinds. *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 5:179–196.
- Murphy, Andrew. 2018. Pronominal inflection and NP ellipsis in German. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 21:327–379.
- Nevins, Andrew. 2011. Marked targets versus marked triggers and impoverishment of the dual. *Linguistic Inquiry* 42:413–444. URL
- Norris, Mark. 2014. A theory of nominal concord. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Santa Cruz.
- Norris, Mark. 2018. The morphosyntax of number in Estonian numeral-noun constructions. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America* 3:45:1–13.
- Puškar, Zorica. 2017. Hybrid agreement: Modelling variation, hierarchy effects and phi-feature mismatches. Doctoral Dissertation, Universität Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany.
- Samek-Lodovici, Vieri. 2002. Agreement impoverishment under subject inversion. A crosslinguistic analysis. *Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft* 11.

- Shen, Zheng. 2018. Feature arithmetic in the nominal domain. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT.
- Shen, Zheng. 2019. The multi-valuation agreement hierarchy. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 4:46.
- Shlonsky, Ur. 2004. The form of semitic noun phrases. *Lingua* 114:1465–1526.
- Smith, Peter William. 2015. Feature mismatches: Consequences for syntax, morphology, and semantics. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT.
- Smith, Peter William. 2017. The syntax of semantic agreement in english. *Journal of Linguistics* 53:823–863.
- Wechsler, Stephen, and Hyun-Jong Hahm. 2011. Polite plurals and adjective agreement. *Morphology* 21:247–281.
- Wechsler, Stephen, and Larisa Zlatić. 2003. *The many faces of agreement*. Stanford: Stanford University Center for the Study.
- Wilder, Chris. 1999. Right node raising and the LCA. In *Proceedings of WCCFL*, volume 18, 586–598. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2012. Agreement: Looking up or down? Talk given at MIT, March 2012.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2016. Formal and semantic agreement in syntax: A dual feature approach. In *Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium*.
- Yatabe, Shūichi. 2003. A linearization-based theory of summative agreement in peripheral-node raising constructions. In *Proceedings of the 9th international conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, ed. Jong-Bok Kim and Stephen Wechsler, 391–411. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Appendix

- For ease of exposition, movement of a shared constituent was represented as movement to the specifier position of the coordinate phrase:

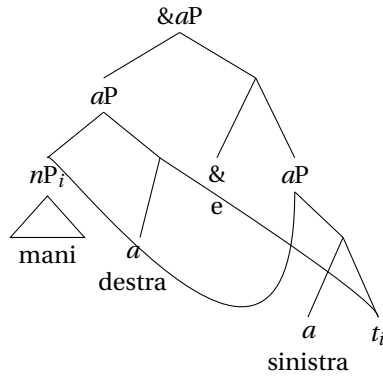
(48)



- This raises the issue of why spec-head agreement obtains, given that the moved *nP* is not actually in spec*aP* of either conjunct.
- The issue vanishes if we adopt more specific assumptions about the representation of multidominance and movement:
 - In particular, the view that multidominance is represented as Parallel Merge (Citko 2005) and phrasal movement is represented as Internal Merge, in the sense of (Chomsky 2000, 2001).
- Revise (48) to (49).

- The *nP* externally Parallel Merges with the adjectival head of each conjunct.
- Subsequently, the *nP* Internally Merges inside each conjunct with a projection of *a*. This instance of Merge is also parallel, resulting in a shared *nP* specifier.
- Because the shared *nP* occurs in each *spec**aP*, *spec*-head agreement is relatively straightforward in this configuration.

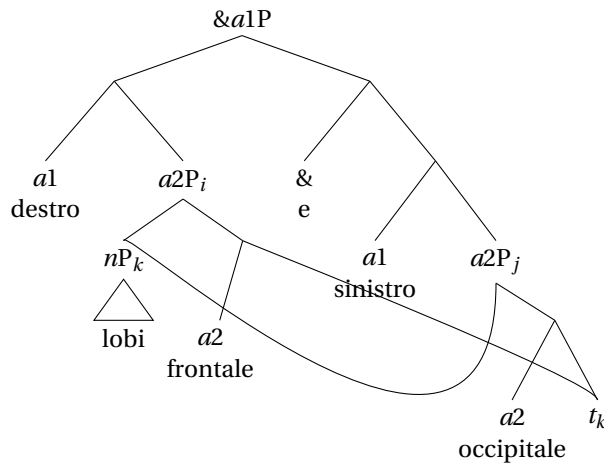
(49)



- What is correctly permitted under this view is adjectival stacking within each conjunct. See the derivation in (51), which is split into a simpler version in which movement of the lower *aP* has not taken place, and (52) in which it has.

(50) *Le lesioni cerebrali erano limitate ai lobi [frontale destro] e [occipitale sinistro].*
 the lesions brain were limited to.the.M.PL lobe.M.PL frontal.SG right.M.SG and occipital.SG left.M.SG
 'The brain lesions were limited to the right frontal lobe and the left occipital lobe.'

(51)



(52)

