On the nature of nominal features: agreement mismatches and CCA in Spanish[1]
Violeta Demonte, Héctor Fernández-Alcalde, Isabel Pérez-Jiménez
(Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, CCHS, Madrid, Spain)

1. Introduction.

- **Goal:** to account for the agreement mismatch illustrated in (1): a morphologically singular DP subject triggers plural agreement on the verb.[2]

(1) a. $[_{DP} [_D$ El] $[[_{N1}$hornero] y $[_{N2}$ hornera]]] <u>cobraban</u> en panes.
the$_{M.SG}$ baker$_{M.SG}$ and baker$_{F.SG}$ were-paid$_{PL}$ in bread loaves

b. $[_{DP} [_D$ cuya] $[[_{N1}$detención] e $[_{N2}$ interrogatorio]]] <u>fueron</u> llevados a cabo por inspectores.
whose$_{F.SG}$ arrest$_{F.SG}$ and interrogation$_{M.SG}$ were-carried-out$_{PL}$ by inspectors
[Examples from CREA]

- The subject is formed by two singular conjoined Ns preceded by a single D, which shows 'Closest Conjunct Agreement'. The DP as a whole has a plural interpretation, which correlates with plural agreement on the verb.

- **Theoretical claims:**

(2) (i) The notion of phi-features generally assumed in the P&P/Minimalist framework is insufficient to explain complex agreement facts. There are two kinds of phi-features involved in agreement operations (purely formal phi-features and semantic phi-features).
(ii) Features are organized in bundles. Agreement operates on bundles (Maximization Principle, Chomsky 2001).
(iii) Agree must be understood as feature sharing (Frampton and Gutmann 2000). Agree applies both DP internally (Concord) and externally (in subject-verb agreement, generally associated with case assignment). The distinction Concord-Agree should be eliminated (in the line of Carstens 2000).

- **Outline:**
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  2.3. Plural semantics.
  3. Our proposal.
  3.1. Preliminary assumptions. Asymmetric CoP.
  3.2. An enriched theory of phi features.
  3.3. Agree as feature sharing.
  3.4. Against a DP ellipsis approach.
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[2] This work is part of a wider investigation on agreement inside DPs, in which we analyze number agreement between D, A and N in structures where a conjunction of singular Ns receives a plural interpretation. (see Demonte & Pérez-Jiménez 2010).
(i) a. $[_D$ A $[_{N1} y N_2]]$ b. $[_D [_{N1} y N_2]$ A]

2. The data.

2.1. Basic examples.

- The structure introduced in (1) is widely attested and productive in Spanish.
- All kind of nouns and determiners participate in this construction.
  - Nouns: (1): concrete animate nouns, eventive nouns (nominalizations). (3), (4): concrete inanimate nouns, mass nouns, collectives, abstract nouns.
  - Determiners: (1): definite articles, possessives. (5): indefinite articles, demonstratives, quantifiers.
  [All the examples in these series are corpus data extracted from CREA]

(3) CONCRETE COUNT NOUNS (ANIMATE, INANIMATE)
a. **Su marido e hijo** <u>vivían</u> en Río.
her$_{SG}$ husband$_{M.SG}$ and son$_{M.SG}$ lived$_{PL}$ in Rio
'Her husband and son lived in Rio.'

b. **La madre e hija** <u>cruzaron</u> toda una serie de miradas.
the$_{F.SG}$ mother$_{F.SG}$ and daughter$_{F.SG}$ crossed$_{PL}$ all a series of glances
'The mother and daughter exchanged a series of glances.'

c. En las noches **su bar y discoteca** <u>abrirán</u> sus puertas.
in the nights his$_{SG}$ bar$_{M.SG}$ and disco$_{F.SG}$ will.open$_{PL}$ their doors
'His bar and disco will be open at night.'

d. **Su cabeza y tronco** <u>iban</u> inclinándose centímetro a centímetro.
his$_{SG}$ head$_{F.SG}$ and trunk$_{M.SG}$ were$_{PL}$ leaning centimeter to centimeter
'His head and trunk leaned 1cm at a time.'

(4) a. MASS NOUNS
El propano y butano <u>juegan</u> un papel complementario del gas natural.
the$_{M.SG}$ propane$_{M.SG}$ and butane$_{M.SG}$ play$_{PL}$ a role complementary to.the gas natural
'Propane and butane play a complementary role to that of the natural gas.'

b. COLLECTIVE NOUNS
La gendarmería y policía <u>mantenían</u> cuerpo a tierra a los detenidos.
the$_{F.SG}$ gendarmerie$_{F.SG}$ and police$_{F.SG}$ kept$_{PL}$ body to ground to the people.under.arrest
'Gendarmes and policemen kept the people under arrest face down.'

c. ABSTRACT NOUNS (deadjectival)
La oscuridad y claridad <u>están</u> asociadas directamente a la luz existente.
the$_{F.SG}$ darkness$_{F.SG}$ and brightness$_{F.SG}$ are$_{PL}$ associated directly to the light existing
'Darkness and brightness are directly associated to the existing light.'

d. NOMINALIZATIONS
Su producción y envasado <u>tienen</u> un control de higiene y calidad muy estricto.
its$_{SG}$ production$_{F.SG}$ and packing$_{M.SG}$ have$_{PL}$ a control of hygiene and quality very strict
'Its production and packing are under very strict quality and hygiene controls.'

(5) a. **UN banquete y baile** <u>habían</u> sido anunciados para después.
'A$_{M.SG}$ banquet$_{M.SG}$ and ball$_{M.SG}$ had$_{PL}$ been announced for later.'

b. **ESTA implicación y apoyo** <u>han</u> quedado reflejados en las declaraciones y mensajes de solidaridad.
'This$_{F.SG}$ implication$_{F.SG}$ and support$_{M.SG}$ are$_{PL}$ reflected in the statements and messages of solidarity.'

c. No es descabellado pensar que **ESA desconfianza e inseguridad** <u>eran</u> el origen de los estados de melancolía.
  'It is not crazy to think that this$_{F.SG}$ distrust$_{F.SG}$ and insecurity$_{F.SG}$ gave-rise$_{PL}$ to those states of melancholy.'

d. **TODA persona y pueblo** <u>tienen</u> derecho a saber qué pasó con sus seres queridos.
  'Every$_{F.SG}$ person$_{F.SG}$ and people$_{M.SG}$ have$_{PL}$ their right to know what happened to their loved ones.'

2.2. Obligatory CCA.

- Closest Conjunct Agreement is compulsory in these structures.

(6) {El/*la/*los/*las}$_D$ hornero$_{N1}$ y hornera$_{N2}$ cobraban en panes.
  the$_{M.SG/F.SG/M.PL/F.PL}$ baker$_{M.SG}$ and baker$_{F.SG}$ were-paid$_{PL}$ in bread-loaves

2.3. Plural semantics.

- These DPs are semantically plural: they denote a set of individuals, more strictly, a 'plural individual', Lasersohn (1995).
- They can be coindexed with plural pronouns:

(7) Se les atribuirán **un nuevo padrino y madrina**, <u>quienes</u> deben darle la instrucción necesaria en el arte de la brujería
  'They will be assigned a$_{M.SG}$ new$_{M.SG}$ godfather$_{M.SG}$ and godmother$_{F.SG}$, who$_{PL}$ must instruct them in witchcraft.'

- They give rise to distributive as well as to collective readings (Lasersohn 1995).

(8) Distributive reading:
  Su marido e hijo {<u>hablan francés</u> / <u>son altos</u>}.
  'Her$_{SG}$ husband$_{M.SG}$ and son$_{M.SG}$ speak French / are tall.'

(9) Collective reading:
  Su marido e hijo {se <u>reunieron</u> / se <u>encontraron</u>} ayer.
  'Her$_{SG}$ husband$_{M.SG}$ and son$_{M.SG}$ {gathered$_{PL}$ / met$_{PL}$} yesterday.'

  o Other syntactic contexts forcing the distributive, (10), and collective readings, (11).

(10) COMBINATION WITH *DIFERENTE*
  {Su marido e hijo / La policía y gendarmería / El propano y butano / La oscuridad y claridad} <u>llegaron en diferentes momentos</u>.
  '{Her$_{SG}$ husband$_{M.SG}$ and son$_{M.SG}$ / The$_{F.SG}$ police$_{F.SG}$ and gendarmerie$_{F.SG}$ / The$_{M.SG}$ propane$_{M.SG}$ and butane$_{M.SG}$ / The$_{F.SG}$ darkness$_{F.SG}$ and brightness$_{F.SG}$} arrived at different moments.'

(11) CONTEXTS GIVING RISE TO THE COLLECTIVE READING:
  a. COMBINATION WITH SIMILARITY PREDICATES
    Su marido e hijo son <u>parecidos</u>.
    'Her$_{SG}$ husband$_{M.SG}$ and son$_{M.SG}$ are$_{PL}$ similar$_{M.SG}$.'

b. COMBINATION WITH *JUNTOS* 'TOGETHER'
  {La madre e hija / La policía y gendarmería / La claridad y oscuridad} vinieron <u>juntas</u>.
  '{The$_{F.SG}$ mother$_{F.SG}$ and daughter$_{F.SG}$ / The$_{F.SG}$ police$_{F.SG}$ and gendarmerie$_{F.SG}$ / The$_{F.SG}$ brightness$_{F.SG}$ and darkness$_{F.SG}$} came$_{PL}$ together$_{F.PL}$.'

c. COMBINATION WITH *MISMO* 'SAME' (LICENSED BY SEMANTIC PLURALS)
  {Su marido e hijo / La policía y gendarmería / La claridad y oscuridad} llegaron en el <u>mismo</u> momento.
  {The$_{F.SG}$ mother$_{F.SG}$ and daughter$_{F.SG}$ / The$_{F.SG}$ police$_{F.SG}$ and gendarmerie$_{F.SG}$ / The$_{F.SG}$ brightness$_{F.SG}$ and darkness$_{F.SG}$} came$_{PL}$ at the same moment.'

d. BINDING OF RECIPROCALS
  Su marido e hijo <u>se</u> quieren <u>(el uno al otro)</u>.
  her$_{SG}$ husband$_{M.SG}$ and son$_{M.SG}$ SE$_{reciprocal}$ love$_{PL}$ the$_{M.SG}$ one$_{M.SG}$ to the$_{M.SG}$ other$_{M.SG}$
  'Her husband and son love each other.'

e. *RESPECTIVELY* COORDINATION
  Su marido e hijo se comieron la tarta y los bollos, <u>respectivamente</u>.
  her$_{SG}$ husband$_{M.SG}$ and son$_{M.SG}$ SE ate$_{PL}$ the cake and the cookies respectively
  'Her husband and son ate the cake and the cookies, respectively.'

- A coordination of Ns can also have a singular denotation, correlated with singular agreement on the verb when the DP is a subject. (King & Dalrymple 2004: 75-6: the distinction is tied to the semantics of the conjunction *and*).

(12) **El académico y novelista** <u>pronunció</u> su conferencia en castellano.
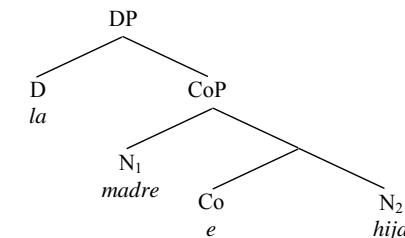 'The$_{M.SG}$ academician$_{M.SG}$ and novelist$_{M.SG}$ delivered$_{SG}$ his conference in Spanish.'

3. Our proposal.

3.1. Preliminary assumptions. Asymmetric CoP.

- D selects for a Coordination Phrase [CoP] with the first conjunct, N$_1$, c-commanding the second one, N$_2$ (Kayne 1994; Johannessen 1996, 1998; Camacho 2003 for Spanish).
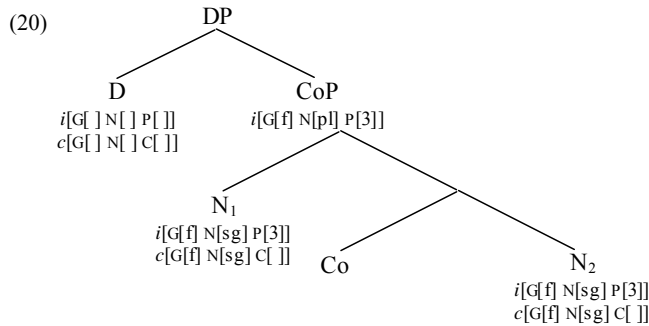
(13) *La madre e hija* (cruzaron una serie de miradas).
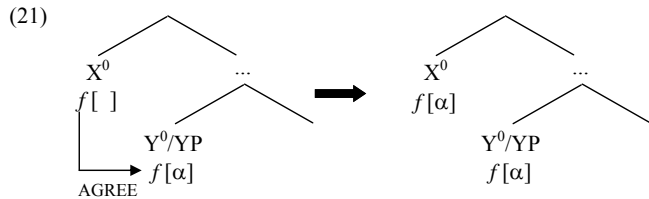 'The mother and daughter exchanged a series of glances.'

o We remain neutral with respect to the level of projection of Ns: N^0 or NP.
o There are no functional projections hosting morphosyntactic number and gender features in the DP structure. These are considered features of N. (For a discussion on the position/projection of the number feature, see Dobrovie-Sorin (2009) and the references therein).

3.2. An enriched theory of phi features

- P&P/Minimalist tradition: syntactic agreement operates with phi features (a short history of phi features can be found in Adger & Harbour 2008).
- Our claim: the notion of phi-feature set as generally understood is not enough to explain the facts we are describing. The theory of phi features must be enriched.

(14) Two sets of phi-features, both visible to the syntactic component:
a) Concord Phi-features are formal features related to the morphosyntactic properties of lexical items and codify instructions to the PF interface.
b) Index Phi-features are formal features related to semantic properties of lexical items and codify instructions to the LF interface.

o Antecedents: OT (Badecker 2007 –on CCA–), LFG (Sauerland 2003, 2008), HPSG (Pollard & Sag 1994: chapter 2; Kathol 1999, Wechsler and Zlatic 2000, 2003; King and Dalrymple 2004, Villavicencio et al. 2005 –on CCA–; a.o). (Also Heycock and Zamparelli 2005, from a semantic point of view, use features to codify the difference between semantic plurality and syntactic plurality).

(15) Mixed agreement: This band are absolutely amazing (from W&Z 2003:76).

o Antecedents: P&P/Minimalist tradition: D'Alessandro (2004a, 2004b) (sigma features); Costa and Pereira (2005) (referential features).

- Featural content of N, D and CoP:

- Nouns.
o Concord features: reflect declensional properties of N: *gender*, *number* and *case* -all nouns have an abstract case feature-.
o Index features: reflect semantic properties of N. W&Z 2003: nouns are associated with indices, conceived as feature structures: *gender* (associated with sex or other semantic categorization), *number* (cardinality), *person* (identification of participants).
o Both concord and index phi-features are valued in N, except for the Case feature.

(16) a. Noun

concord-features	index-features
gender	GENDER
number	NUMBER
Case	PERSON

b. *madre*   *hija*
i[G[f] N[sg] P[3]] i[G[f] N[sg] P[3]]
c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]] c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]

- Determiners.
o Concord features: declensional properties of D: unvalued *gender*, *number*, *case.*
o Index features: unvalued *gender, number, person.* Motivation: determiners semantically operate onto the noun's index.
o Both concord and index phi-features are unvalued in D.

(17) a. Determiner

concord-features	index-features
gender	GENDER
number	NUMBER
Case	PERSON

b. D
i[G[ ] N[ ] P[ ]]
c[G[ ] N[ ] C[ ]]

- Coordinate phrase:

o Lacks concord features (see also Dalrymple & Kaplan 2000, W&Z 2003, King and Dalrymple 2004, Badecker 2007, a.o).

o Index features: Co in our structures joins the index feature bundles of its conjuncts (see Zoerner 1995 and the references cited therein). Consequence: CoP has plural index features. The person and gender index features of the coordination are determined via *resolution* (on this process, see Corbett 1991, 2003, Dalrymple & Kaplan 2000, W&Z 2000, 2003, King and Dalrymple 2004, Villavicencio et al. 2005, Badecker 2007).

o

(18)

CoP
i[G[f] N[pl] P[3]]

N$_1$
i[G[f] N[sg] P[3]]
c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]   Co

N$_2$
i[G[f] N[sg] P[3]]
c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]

- Recapitulation: Featural content of N, D and CoP.

(19) **La   madre   e   hija**   <u>cruzaron</u> toda una serie   de miradas.
the$_{F.SG}$ mother$_{F.SG}$ and daughter$_{F.SG}$ crossed$_{PL}$ all a   series of glances
'The mother and daughter exchanged a series of glances.'

(20)

```
                  DP
          ┌───────┴───────┐
          D              CoP
  i[G[ ] N[ ] P[ ]]   i[G[f] N[pl] P[3]]
  c[G[ ] N[ ] C[ ]]       ┌────┴────┐
                        N₁
                i[G[f] N[sg] P[3]]
                c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]   Co        N₂
                                        i[G[f] N[sg] P[3]]
                                        c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]
```

3.3. Agree as feature sharing

- Point of departure: Agree – Feature sharing
  - Chomsky (2001): Agree: Probe-Goal relation. A Probe with unvalued features seeks for a Goal with their valued counterparts in its c-command domain.

(21)

```
      X⁰        ...            X⁰        ...
     f[ ]    ┌──┴──┐          f[α]    ┌──┴──┐
           Y⁰/YP    ⟹              Y⁰/YP
        →  f[α]                      f[α]
      AGREE
```

- Agree is constrained by the "Maximization principle" (Chomsky 2001): if the Probe and the Goal match, their uninterpretable features must be eliminated at once.
- Agree is best seen as a feature sharing operation independent of valuation processes.

- Agreement within the DP

  - (22): D, with unvalued phi-features, probes for a goal with their valued counterparts.
  - Index and concord phi-features are treated by syntax as bundles (Maximization Principle).
  - The index features of D agree with their closest goal containing matching features: CoP. D is 'indexically' plural.
  - The concord features of D find their closest goal in the concord features of N₁. The feature bundle on CoP is overlooked since this bundle does not "maximally" match the one on the probe: Closest Conjunct Agreement. D is morphologically singular.

  - Structural Case is unvalued in N. This is not a problem if Agree is understood as Feature Sharing: Agree is realized as the sharing of a single feature between two syntactic nodes, regardless of whether the feature is valued or not.

- D ends up with its index features valued and one of the features of the concord set still unvalued.

(22)

```
                     DP
            ┌────────┴────────┐
            D               CoP
  i[G[f] N[pl] P[3]] ──────→ i[G[f] N[pl] P[3]]
  c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]            ┌────┴────┐
    │                        N₁
    │                i[G[f] N[sg] P[3]]
    └──────────────→ c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]  Co        N₂
                                            i[G[f] N[sg] P[3]]
                                            c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]
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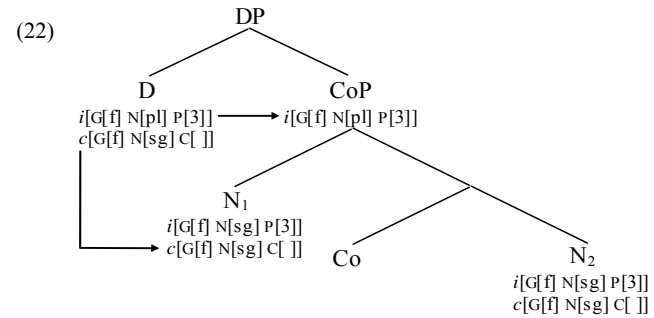
  - Implications: (a) Agreement is established with independence of Case assignment. (b) Goals need not to be 'active' in Chomsky's sense (cf. CoP).
    - Agree theory in the line of Frampton & Gutmann's proposals.
    - Unified treatment of Agree and Concord (in line with Carstens 2001, a.o.).

- Subject – Verb Agreement
  - T(ense) merges with the verbal phrase containing the subject DP.
    - T bears a concord bundle which contains at least person and number features (for the sake of simplicity we assume that it also has a gender feature, although it is not visible in Spanish). Verbal agreement systems evolve historically from pronoun incorporation (on this typological claim, see Wechsler & Zlatić 2003: 90, Nikolaeva 2003: §1, and the references cited therein). Person and number are concord features on T: they correspond to the inflectional properties of the verb and are visible at PF.

(23)

```
                          TP
                 ┌────────┴────────┐
                 T                vP
         c[G[f] N[pl] P[3]]   ┌────┴────┐
           │                DP          ...
           │        i[G[f] N[pl] P[3]]
           └──────→ c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]
                         ┌────┴────┐
                         D         CoP
               i[G[f] N[pl] P[3]] ──→ i[G[f] N[pl] P[3]]
               c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]      ┌────┴────┐
                 │                    N₁
                 │            i[G[f] N[sg] P[3]]
                 └──────────→ c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]  Co       N₂
                                                    i[G[f] N[sg] P[3]]
                                                    c[G[f] N[sg] C[ ]]
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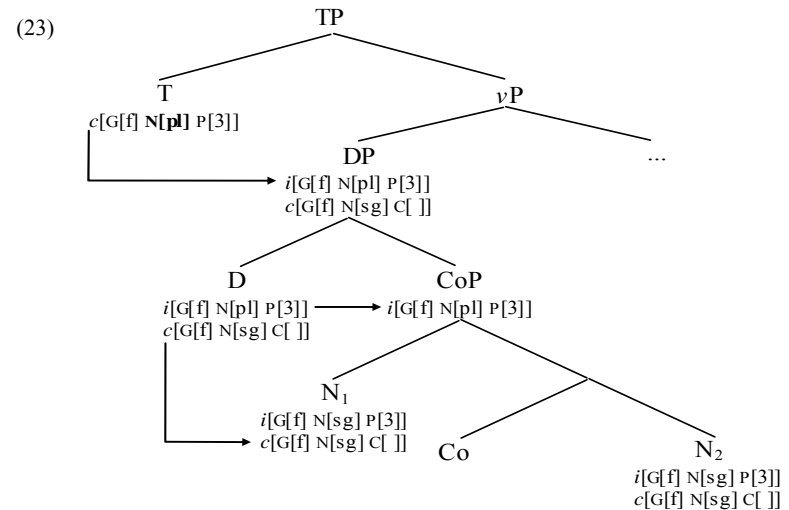
- The unvalued concord features of T probe for a matching set of features and find the index features of DP. This is possible given that concord and index features are different kind of features from the point of view of the interfaces, but not from the point of view of syntax. A concord bundle can agree with an index bundle as long as they contain the same featural content.
- The number feature of T is valued as plural. As a consequence of agreement the Case feature of D (shared with N) is valued as nominative (Chomsky 2001, Frampton and Gutmann 2000 a.o.).

3.4. Against a DP ellipsis approach.

- Camacho (2003) [see also Chaves 2008: 270]: ellipsis based account: two DPs are conjoined and null D and A are licensed in the second DP under identity with D and A in the first DP.

(24) a. La flora y relieve (me sorprendieron mucho).
   'The flora and relief (astonished me).'
   b. $[_{DP}$ D N] y $[_{DP}$ Ø$_D$ N]

(25) a. La fascinante flora y relieve (me sorprendieron mucho).
   'The fascinating flora and relief (astonished me).'
   b. $[_{DP}$ D A N] y $[_{DP}$ Ø$_D$ Ø$_A$ N]

- In this kind of approach it is difficult to explain the following facts.

  - Ellipsis of A in the second DP is dependent of ellipsis of D.

(26) a. * $[_{DP}$ D A N] y $[_{DP}$ D Ø$_A$ N]
   b. La fascinante flora y el relieve ≠ La fascinante flora y el ~~fascinante~~ relieve
   'The fascinating flora and the relief' 'The fascinating flora and the fascinating relief'

  - N in the second DP cannot be deleted. It must be obligatorily a remnant for the structure to have a plural interpretation.

(27) a. * $[_{DP}$ D A N PP] y $[_{DP}$ Ø$_D$ Ø$_A$ Ø$_N$ PP]. (impossible with plural interpretation)

   b. La hermosa mujer de Pedro y de Juan. ≠ La hermosa mujer de Pedro y ~~la hermosa mujer~~ de Juan
   'The beautiful woman of P. and of J.' 'The beautiful woman of P. and the beautiful woman of J.'

4. Prospects and Conclusions

Prospects

- 'The parametric question' (Heycock and Zamparelli 2005, King and Dalrymple 2004, Bouchard 2002, Dobrovie Sorin 2009).[3]

(28) Italian
   a. *[**Un** uomo e bambino] **mangiano**.   [H&Z 2005: (21a)]
      a$_{M.SG}$ man$_{M.SG}$ and child$_{M.SG}$ eat$_{PL}$
      'A man and child are eating.'
   b. *[**Questo** uomo e ragazzo] **sono** buoni amici.   [H&Z 2005: (21b)]
      this$_{M.SG}$ man$_{M.SG}$ and boy$_{M.SG}$ are$_{PL}$ good friends
      'This man and boy are good friends.'

(29) French
   *[**Ce** soldat et marin] **étaient d'accord**.   [H&Z 2005: (22b)]
      this$_{M.SG}$ soldier$_{M.SG}$ and sailor$_{M.SG}$ were$_{PL}$ in-agreement
      'This soldier and sailor agreed with each other.'

(30) Romanian
   *Acest bărbat şi femeie **sunt** îndrăgostiti.   [Dobrovie-Sorin 2009: (11)]
      this$_{M.SG}$ man$_{M.SG}$ and woman$_{F.SG}$ are$_{PL}$ in.love
      'This man and woman are in love.'

- We have shown that these structures exist in Spanish (Villavicencio et al. offer similar data for Portuguese).

- Question: ¿Is there really a parametric difference?

- Hypothesis (tentative and preliminary): ¿Could Spanish be considered a language where Ns can be arguments without the presence of D in some contexts? (note the contrast between *Madre llegó* and *Madre e hija llegaron*). On the lack of correlation between DP-hood and argumenthood, see Aboh (2010) and the references cited therein.

(31) Es un excelente iniciativa (el) que vengas al menos una vez al año.
      is an excellent initiative the that come$_{2SG}$ at least one time at.the year
      'The fact that you come at least once a year is an excellent initiative.'

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[3] Although clarification is needed in this respect, examples like (i) are attested in Romanian, and some examples of this type in French can also be found on the Internet, (ii). Plank (1991) consider examples like *ton père et mère* 'your$_{M.SG}$ father and mother' as grammatical (as also *tes père et mère* 'your$_{PL}$ father and mother').
(i) Sotul şi copilul sau au plecat   [Elena Soare (p.c.)]
   husband.the and son.the her$_{SG}$ have$_{PL}$ left
   'Her husband and son have left.'
(ii) a. Sa faune et flore exceptionnelles et uniques.   [www.zotik.com/voyage_fr.php]
      its fauna and flora exceptional and unique
      'Its exceptional and unique fauna and flora.'
   b. Son père et mère, maintenant morts, étaient également normaux.   [www.migrations.fr]
      their father and mother now dead were equally normal
      'Their father and mother, now dead, were normal as well.'

Conclusions

a) Mismatches between 'morphological' and 'semantic' number can be captured through the interaction of two different types of phi-features (concord and index phi-features).

b) Concord and index features behave as bundles from the syntactic point of view. Syntax is not sensitive to the concord/index difference, only to the featural content of the bundles.

c) Agree must be understood as feature sharing and is independent of Case checking/valuation and of 'activation' of the Goals. There is no Agree/Concord difference.

d) According to our analysis, but not to the ellipsis analysis, the agreement facts explored form a natural class of phenomena with other cases of agreement mismatches: *collective nouns* (Wechsler & Zlatić 2003: 76-77).

(32) La pareja   de la que hablas   al final   no se han casado.
the couple$_{SG}$ you are talking about   finally   did$_{PL}$ not get married

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