

AGREEMENT MISMATCHES IN SPANISH AND THE NATURE OF NOMINAL FEATURES

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GOAL

To account for the agreement mismatch in (1): morphologically singular DP subject — plural verbal agreement.

(1) [_{DP} [_D **EI**] [[_{N1} hornero] y [_{N2} hornera]]] **cobran** en panes. [CREA]
 the_{M.SG} baker_{M.SG} and baker_{F.SG} were_{PL} paid in bread loaves

Closest Conjunct Agreement of D is obligatory

(2) {*La/*los/*las} hornero y hornera cobran en panes.
 the_{F.SG/M.PL/F.PL} baker_{M.SG} and baker_{F.SG} were_{PL} paid in bread loaves

Plural semantics of DP: collective reading possible

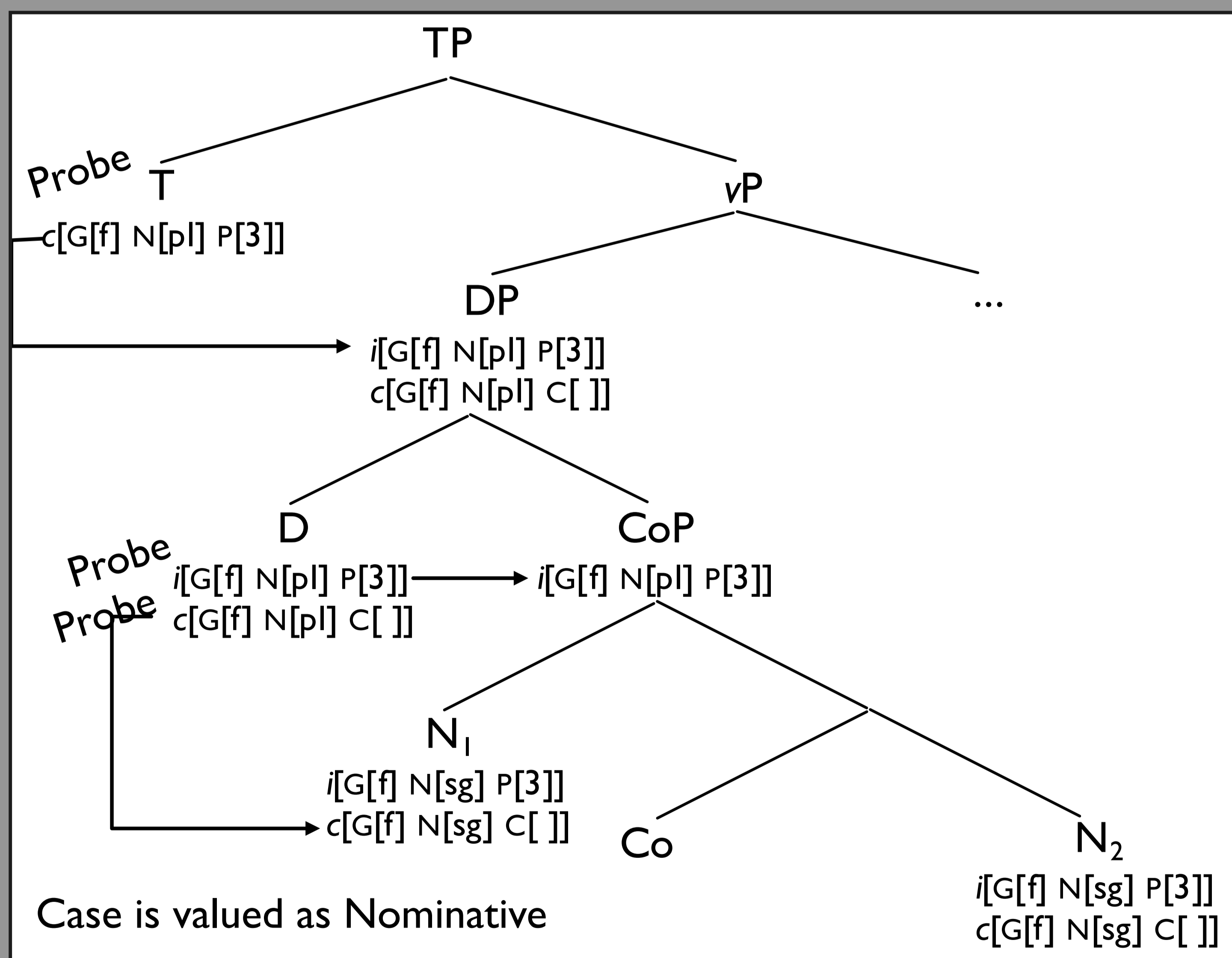
(3) Su marido e hijo se encontraron ayer.
 her_{SG} husband_{M.SG} and son_{M.SG} SE met_{PL} yesterday

PROPOSAL

A typology of ϕ -features

- The notion of ϕ -features is insufficient to explain ‘mixed agreement’ facts. (D’Alessandro 2004, Costa & Pereira 2005; same claim in OT, LFG, HPSG)
- Two different sets of ϕ -features (cf. W & Z 2003)
 - Concord: morphosyntactic properties (instructions to PF)
 - Index: semantic properties (instructions to LF)

	ϕ -concord	ϕ -index
N	declensional properties (valued) [N[], G[], C[]]	Ns are associated with indices (cardinality, sex/semantic categorization, participants) (valued) [N[], G[], P[]]
D	declensional properties (unvalued) [N[], G[], C[]]	D operates on N’s index (unvalued) [N[], G[], P[]]
Co(P)	—	Co operates on index features of its conjuncts (Number: joint; Gender/Person: resolution) [N[], G[], P[]]



Agree and feature sharing

- Agree is a Probe Goal relation triggered by unvalued features on a Probe (Chomsky 2001).
- Feature sharing (Frampton & Gutmann 2000): agreement is realized as the sharing of a single feature between two syntactic nodes. Agree specifies that two elements share a single feature, regardless of whether it is valued or not.
- Agree is constrained by the Maximization principle: “Maximize matching effects” (Chomsky 2001).
- Index and concord ϕ -features behave as bundles.
- T has at least person and number features. They are unvalued concord ϕ -features (inflectional properties).

Why not ellipsis? (Camacho 2003)

(4) La fascinante flora y fauna [_{DP} D A N] y [_{DP} \emptyset_D \emptyset_A N]
 the fascinating flora and fauna

Questions...:

- Why ellipsis of A depends on D ellipsis?
- (5) La fascinante flora y la fauna \nrightarrow la fascinante fauna
- Why must N₂ be a remnant?
- (6) La alta mujer de Raúl y de Juan \nrightarrow la alta mujer de Juan
 the tall wife of R. and of J.

CONCLUSIONS

- The typology of ϕ -features must be enriched: *i-/c*-features.
- Agree: a single computational process operating both DP-internally and in S-V agreement.
- Prospects: (1) other cases of agreement mismatches (2) the parametric question

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