

GOAL

To account for the agreement pattern of Ds and As in DPs with a coordination of Ns:

◆ Determiners and prenominal Adjectives:

(1) $EI_{M,SG}$ **actual**_{SG} **desarrollo**_{M,SG} **y expansión**_{F,SG} están injustificados. → Partial agreement with the first noun

◆ Postnominal Adjectives:

(2a) $EI_{M,SG}$ **desarrollo**_{M,SG} **y expansión**_{F,SG} **actuales**_{PL} están injustificados. → Full agreement (plural number)

(2b) $EI_{M,SG}$ **desarrollo**_{M,SG} **y expansión**_{F,SG} **actual**_{SG} están injustificados. → Partial agreement with the second noun

PROPOSAL

1 What constitutes a word? A typology of ϕ -features

	Concord features morphosyntactic properties (instructions to PF)	Index features semantic properties (instructions to LF)
D	declensional properties [N[], G[], C[]]	D operates on N's index [N[], G[], P[]]
A	declensional properties [N[], G[], C[]]	—
N	declensional properties <i>desarrollo</i> [N[sg], G[m], C[]] <i>expansión</i> [N[sg], G[f], C[]]	Ns are associated with indices (cardinality, sex/semantic categorization, participants) <i>desarrollo</i> [N[sg], G[m], P[3]] <i>expansión</i> [N[sg], G[f], P[3]]
Co(P)	—	Co joins the <i>i</i> -feature bundles of its conjuncts (Zoerner 95) CoP: <i>i</i> -bundle - Number: pl.; Gender/Person: resolution [N[pl], G[m], P[3]]

2 Agree and feature sharing

• Agree is a Probe-Goal relation triggered by unvalued features (Chomsky 2001).

• Agree just specifies that two elements share a feature, regardless of whether it is valued or not.

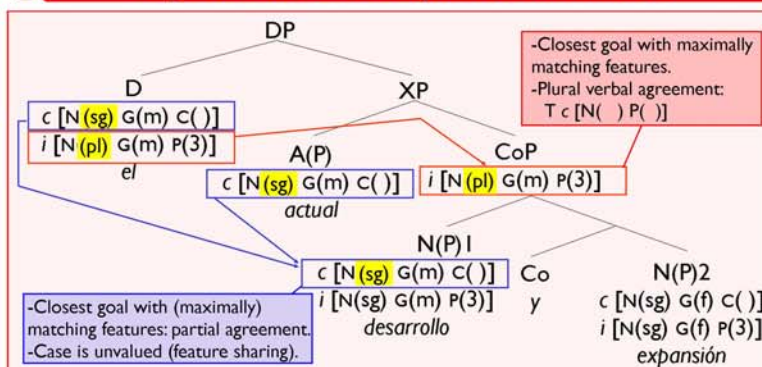
(feature-sharing: Frampton & Gutmann 2000)

• Agree is constrained by the Maximization principle (Chomsky 2001):

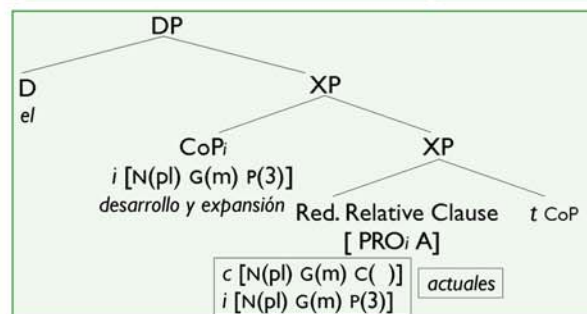
“Maximize matching effects”

• *c*- and *i*-features behave as bundles.

3 Agreement in the prenominal field



4 Full Agreement in the postnominal field



• Postnominal adjectives are generated inside a reduced relative clause (Cinque 2010).

• PRO (nominal category): *c*- and *i*-features.

• **Index bundle:** PRO and CoP are co-indexed (they share *i*-features; W&Z 2003).

• **Concord bundle:** default feature structure for nouns and pronouns: gender and number values are identical in the *c*- and *i*-bundles (W&Z 2003).

- Case: nominative (Cinque 2010) / null (Martin 2001)

• Plural agreement on the adjective.

5 Partial Agreement in the postnominal field

• It is triggered by linear adjacency in a post-syntactic component.

(3) a. la radio y televisión públicas_{SG} {catalanas_{PL} / catalanas_{SG}}.
b. *la radio y televisión públicas_{PL} catalanas_{SG}.

• post-syntactic weakening/deletion of the values of the agreement features (*c*-features) of the adjective + feature-copying of the *c*-features of the immediately preceding noun N2.

• context-sensitive spell-out and PF feature identification (Ackema & Neeleman 2004), although independent of prosodic domains.

CONCLUSIONS

• The typology of ϕ -features must be enriched.

• Agreement is determined syntactically and post-syntactically.

References

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