

## Beyond $\phi$ -features: Are we there yet? Agree reconsidered<sup>1</sup>

### A starting assumption:

- under the Y-model morphological realizations and semantic interpretations are based on syntactic features but the mapping does not have to be isomorphic
- the consequence is that an adequate analysis of  $\phi$ -features requires a theory of Agree that allows us to separate which morphological reflexes of Agree are based on narrow syntax features and their values, and which reflect interface realizations (morphology or semantics)

### When is $\phi$ -agreement post-syntactic?

- a number of recent proposals argue for  $\phi$ -agreement being entirely or partially post-syntactic
  - some arguments come from the ordering of operations, as in Bobaljik (2008)
  - some compare the profile of morphological realizations in distinct syntactic configurations, as in Arregi and Nevins (2012); Bhatt and Walkow (2013)
  - some directly compare syntactic agree, the profile of morphological realizations, and their semantic interpretation, as in Kučerová (2018a)
- in contrast, another family of proposals retain that  $\phi$ -agreement is in narrow syntax, while proposing weakening the notion of Agree (e.g., downward versus upward agree, positing semantic features in narrow syntax, agree valuation by implication hierarchies; Zeijlstra 2012; Deal 2015, 2022; Smith 2017; Coon and Keine 2021, a.o.)

### Our position: A mixed approach

- some instances of  $\phi$ -agreement are based on Agree in narrow syntax, while other instances are post-syntactic
- the distinction follows from a variation in the order of syntactic operations, namely, the order of Merge and Agree
- crucially, syntax is primary:
  - post-syntactic realizations are possible only when  $\phi$ -features were not valued in syntax
  - even post-syntactic realizations are parasitic on features made accessible by syntactic Agree
- the empirical support for the proposal comes from agreement asymmetries

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<sup>1</sup>This work has been in progress since Alan's and Ivona's respective undergraduate theses. The current version owes thanks to questions from the audience at last year's MayFest at the University of Maryland, especially to questions from Norbert Hornstein and Howard Lasnik, to the audience at New York University, especially to Chris Collins, Stephanie Harves and Richard Kayne, and the audience at MoMOT at UQAM. This research would not be possible without funding from SSRHC IG 435-2016-1034.

### Agreement asymmetries:

- structures in which the same nominal triggers distinct agreement patterns:
    - ① agreement reflecting a single set of morphosyntactic  $\phi$ -features of the nominal
    - ② agreement based on a resolution of more than one set of  $\phi$ -features or an interpretive counterpart of the morphosyntactic  $\phi$ -features
- (1) *Coordinations: First conjunct agreement (FCA) versus resolved agreement:*
- a. There is/ \*are a squirrel and a rabbit in the garden. ①
  - b. A squirrel and a rabbit are/\*is in the garden. ②
- (2) *Collective nouns in British English: Morpho-syntactic versus semantic agreement*
- a. There is/\*are a band playing at 6:00. ①
  - b. A band is/are playing at 6:00. ②

### Two relevant empirical observations:

- the *sets* of features accessible to agreement, and possibly also their *kind*, are different in different syntactic configurations
- the pattern is not specific to coordinations but extends to other nominals

### This talk:

- agreement asymmetries can be reduced to a variation in the order of syntactic operations, namely, Merge and Agree
- (3) AGREE ONLY ONCE
- a. A probe can enter into only a single Agree relation with a particular goal.
  - b. If another relation is established between the probe and its goal, it must be post-syntactic but mediated by features made accessible by the primary Agree relation.

## 1 Internal Merge matters: Spec/Head versus Downward Agree

- Czech, as an A-scrambling language, allows us to investigate more syntactic configurations in which agreement can occur
- Czech, like many other languages, requires resolved plural agreement with a coordination in a preverbal position<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>See Kučerová (2017) for an empirical argument that resolved agreement in Czech cannot be derived in narrow syntax.

(4) *Coordination in a preverbal position: Resolved agreement*

- a. Jenom jedno děvče a jeho bratr **četli/** \***četl/** \***četla/**  
only one girl.N.SG and its brother.M.SG read.M.PL / read.M.SG/ read.F.SG/  
\***četlo** aspoň něco od Prousta.  
read.N.SG at\_least something from Proust  
'Only one girl and her brother read at least something from Proust.'
- b. Jenom jeden bratr a jeho děvče **četli/** \***četl/** \***četla/**  
only one brother.M.SG and his girl.N.SG read.M.PL / read.M.SG/ read.F.SG/  
\***četlo** aspoň něco od Prousta.  
read.N.SG at\_least something from Proust  
'Only one brother and his girl read at least something from Proust.'

- unlike in English, a coordination in a postverbal position can trigger either first conjunct agreement (FCA), or plural (resolved) agreement (RA)

(5) *Coordination in a postverbal position: either FCA, or RA*

- a. Od Prousta **četli/** \***četl/** \***četla/** **četlo** jenom jedno děvče a  
from Proust read.M.PL / read.M.SG/ read.F.SG/ read.N.SG only one girl.N.SG and  
jeho bratr aspoň něco.  
its brother.M.SG at\_least something.  
'Only one girl and her brother read at least something from Proust.'
- b. Od Prousta **četli/** **četl/** \***četla/** \***četlo** jenom jeden bratr  
from Proust read.M.PL / read.M.SG / read.F.SG/ read.N.SG only one brother.M.SG  
a jeho děvče aspoň něco.  
and his girl.N.SG at\_least something.  
'Only one brother and his girl read at least something from Proust.'

**FCA is based on syntactic features:**

- FCA cannot refer to 'semantic' features
- when there is a mismatch between the morpho-syntactic features of a noun phrase (here, *děvče*.N.SG 'a girl') and its semantic interpretation (a female), agreement must be based on the morphosyntactic features, (5a)
- note that the examples in (4) and (5) contain a bound pronoun to ensure that we consider a DP coordination, instead of conjunction reduction; the examples manipulate the order of conjuncts in order to control for the effect of gender

**A new empirical fact: An in-situ subject cannot exhibit resolved agreement**

- although FCA versus resolved agreement with a postverbal conjunction is optional, a closer look demonstrates that resolved agreement is not available with an in situ subject
- plural agreement is only available with coordinations that have undergone scrambling (either for givenness or focus; for syntax of givenness in Czech, see, e.g., Kučerová 2007, 2012)
- when we force the subject to remain in situ, FCA becomes obligatory

(6) *Coordination in scrambled postverbal position*

- a. Od Prousta **četlo** jedno děvče a jeho bratr aspoň něco.  
from Proust read.N.SG one girl.N.SG and its brother.M.SG at\_least something
- b. Od Prousta **četli** jedno děvče a jeho bratr aspoň něco.  
from Proust read.M.PL one girl.N.SG and its brother.M.SG at\_least something  
'One girl and her brother read at least something by Proust.'

(7) *Coordination in situ postverbal position*

- a. Od Prousta **četlo** aspoň něco jedno děvče a jeho bratr.  
from Proust read.N.SG at\_least something one girl.N.SG and its brother.M.SG
- b. ??Od Prousta **četli** aspoň něco jedno děvče a jeho bratr.  
from Proust read.M.PL at\_least something one girl.N.SG and its brother.M.SG  
'One girl and her brother read at least something by Proust.'

**Interim conclusion: Internal Merge matters**

- a coordination in situ can only trigger first conjunct agreement; resolved agreement is not available
- resolved agreement with a coordination requires movement, irrespective of whether the coordination is in a preverbal or in a postverbal position
- although FCA requires downward Agree, the difference between FCA and resolved agreement cannot be construed solely as a distinction between Spec/Head agreement versus downward Agree

**2 The height of  $\phi$ -features within the goal matters:  
Agreement beyond coordinations**

- the basic pattern we have seen with coordinations can be replicated with other nominals that display agreement asymmetries, including comitatives and partitives
- since these nominals are structurally complex they allow us to investigate the feature source of the differing patterns
- the data will also reiterate the point that agreement asymmetries are not solely about coordinations

**2.1 Agreement with comitatives**

- another class of complex nominals in Czech that triggers agreement asymmetries is so-called comitatives
- comitatives have the structure of 'DP<sub>1</sub> with DP<sub>2</sub>' where DP<sub>1</sub> is construed as a focal pivot and DP<sub>2</sub> associates with DP<sub>1</sub>
- the interpretation is similar to coordinations but there are structural differences between comitatives and coordinations (Kučerová, 2018b)
- for the purposes of this talk we solely focus on their agreement pattern which can either be based on the  $\phi$ -features of DP<sub>1</sub>, or can refer to features of both DP<sub>1</sub> and DP<sub>2</sub>

### Comitatives in [Spec,TP]:

- agreement with a comitative in [Spec,TP] can be solely based on the full set of syntactic  $\phi$ -features of the focal head, (8a), or
- resolved agreement can refer to features of both DPs, (8b)

#### (8) *Comitative in [Spec,TP]*

- a. Marie s Petrem **četla** aspoň něco od Prousta.  
Marie.NOM with Petr.INSTR read.F.SG at\_least something from Proust
- b. Marie s Petrem **četli** aspoň něco od Prousta.  
Marie.NOM with Petr.INSTR read.M.PL at\_least something from Proust  
'Marie and Petr read at least something by Proust.'

### Comitatives in postverbal position

- when the comitative is below TP, we see a similar pattern as with coordinations
  - when the comitative stays in situ, only agreement with syntactic  $\phi$ -features of the focal DP is possible, (9)
  - when the comitative scrambles, agreement is either with syntactic  $\phi$ -features of the focal DP, or it is resolved agreement, (10)

#### (9) *Comitative in situ*

- a. Od Prousta **četla** aspoň něco Marie s Petrem.  
from Proust read.F.SG at\_least something Marie with Petr
- b. ??Od Prousta **četli** aspoň něco Marie s Petrem.  
from Proust read.M.PL at\_least something Marie with Petr  
'Marie and Petr read at least something by Proust.'

#### (10) *Comitative in a scrambled postverbal position*

- a. Od Prousta **četla** Marie s Petrem aspoň něco.  
from Proust read.F.SG Marie.NOM with Petr.INSTR at\_least something.
- b. Od Prousta **četli** Marie s Petrem aspoň něco.  
from Proust read.M.PL Marie.NOM with Petr.INSTR at\_least something  
'Marie and Petr read at least something by Proust.'

### Interim summary:

- the pattern with comitatives forms a minimal pair with coordinations:
  - the pattern replicates the core correlation between movement and access to resolved or semantically relevant features
  - but the comitatives differ from coordinations in that agreement with syntactic  $\phi$ -features is possible even in [Spec,TP]
- the comitative pattern extends to other nominals with a projecting nominal head, such as partitives (Data in the appendix.)

## 2.2 Summary of the patterns

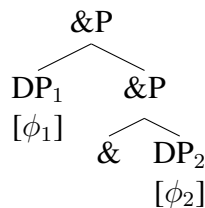
### **Generalization I: Movement (Internal Merge) matters for agreement asymmetries.**

- the Czech scrambling data demonstrates that agreement asymmetries cannot be about a distinction between Downward Agree and Spec/Head agreement
- instead, resolved agreement arises only when the agreement controller undergoes Internal Merge

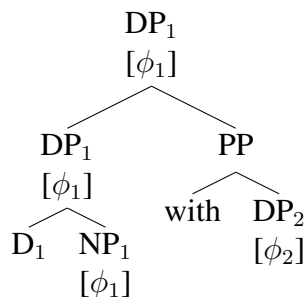
### **Q: Why is resolved agreement in [Spec,TP] obligatory for coordinations but optional for other nominals?**

- we assume that resolved agreement with coordinations is not syntactic but it's a combination of morpho-syntax and semantics
- we thus side with work that argues for resolved agreement having a semantic underpinning, instead of being derived in syntax (Munn, 1993, 1999; Farkas and Zec, 1995; King and Dalrymple, 2004; Heycock and Zamparelli, 2005, among others)
- consequently, there are no  $\phi$ -features syntactically projected in the label of a coordination
- in contrast, the nominal head of comitatives and partitives projects its syntactic features into the label of the complex nominals

(11) a. Syntactically projected  $\phi$ -features in coordinations:<sup>3</sup>



b. Syntactically projected  $\phi$ -features in comitatives:




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<sup>3</sup>Let us acknowledge that Alan has questions about this structure for coordinations, proposed in Munn (1987) but rejected in Munn (1992) and subsequent work. We're still negotiating – for data reasons not discussed in this talk – but ultimately we need a structure that cannot project syntactic features of the first conjunct into the label of the overall coordinations.

**Generalization II: How high  $\phi$ -features syntactically project in the label of the goal matters for agreement asymmetries.**

**Agreement with a nominal in situ**

- agreement with a nominal in situ is with the structurally highest complete set of  $\phi$ -features inside a goal:
  - ⇒  $\phi$ -features in the label of partitives and comitatives
  - ⇒  $\phi$ -features of the first conjunct

**Agreement with a moved nominal**

- agreement with a moved nominal is with the  $\phi$ -features in the label of a goal, or with a (semantically) resolved set of features
  - ⇒ agreement optionality in partitives and comitatives (and Br. English collective nouns)
  - ⇒ only resolved agreement for coordinations because there are no syntactically projected  $\phi$ -features in the label of the coordination

**3 AGREE ONLY ONCE**

**Analytical desiderata:**

- an empirically adequate analysis needs to distinguish three distinct configurations:
  - (i) downward Agree with an externally merged DP [Spec,vP]
  - (ii) Spec/Head agreement with an internally merged DP [Spec,TP], and
  - (iii) downward Agree with a DP in an intermediate internally merged position [Spec,FP]<sup>4</sup>

**Intellectual acknowledgement**

- we build on the insight of Georgi (2017) who argues that variation in agreement reflexes of long-distance *wh*-movement results from the order of unvalued agree features and edge features on a probing functional head<sup>5</sup>
- for concreteness, we keep the notion of Edge Feature but a different feature representation of the movement trigger might do as well, as long as it enters into an Agree relation

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<sup>4</sup>We ignore the exact syntactic identity of the A-scrambling position targeted in Czech, and use FP as a cover term.

<sup>5</sup>Our implementation differs in three respects from Georgi's: (i) we reverse the order of operations that yields morphological reflexes, (ii) we argue that only one relation is based on syntactic feature checking, (iii) for us Agree is only downward. We don't provide a detailed derivation of Georgi's empirical cases here but one can easily check that we get the same results as her: changing Georgi's upward agree into downward agree will necessitate the reversed order of syntactic operations, and treating the second operation as post-syntactic doesn't change the outcome of the morphological profile of the data.

### The core idea:

- (3) AGREE ONLY ONCE
- a. A probe can enter into only a single Agree relation with a particular goal.
  - b. If another relation is established between the probe and its goal, it must be post-syntactic but mediated by features made accessible by the primary Agree relation.

Additional assumption:

- Merge and Agree can be freely ordered, formalized as a variation in the order of unvalued  $\phi$ -features and Edge Feature in a stack of the probe, T (following Georgi 2017)
- post-syntactic realizations are possible only for  $\phi$ -features that weren't valued in narrow syntax

### Structural consequences:

1.  $\phi$ -Agree first:

- the unique Agree link is created by a  $\phi$ -probe
- ⇒ matching and valuation of the unvalued  $\phi$ -features of the probe by valued  $\phi$ -features of the goal
- Edge Feature (EF) can no longer Agree with this goal
- ⇒ no move; agreeing nominal remains in situ

2. Merge first:

- the unique Agree link is created by EF
- ⇒ internal Merge/Move of the probed nominal
- $\phi$ -probe can no longer Agree with this goal
- ⇒ agreement can only be post-syntactic, parasitic on the existing EF-Agree link with the goal (e.g., Bobaljik 2008, Arregi & Nevins 2012, Kučerová 2018)

### Resulting configurations:

- (i) downward Agree with an externally merged DP [Spec,vP] ⇒  $\phi$ -Agree first
- (ii) Spec/Head agreement with an internally merged DP [Spec,TP] ⇒ Merge first
- (iii) downward Agree with a DP in an intermediate internally merged position [Spec,FP] ⇒ both orders of the features on T possible; attested agreement patterns are the union of  $\phi$ -Agree first and Merge first

**Note Re: (iii):** Merge first involves an Agree intervention configuration (modelled after Dative intervention for  $\phi$ -Agree; more below)



### 3.1 $\phi$ -Agree first: Downward Agree with an externally merged subject

- the unique Agree link is created by a  $\phi$ -probe, yielding matching and valuation of the unvalued  $\phi$ -features of T (Chomsky, 2001; Béjar and Rezac, 2003)
- since only one Agree with T is allowed, the EF of T can no longer Agree with the same goal and the agreeing nominal cannot move to [Spec,TP]
- it remains in situ (or in [Spec,FP] if it earlier underwent A-scrambling to [Spec,FP]; see below)
- the result is syntactic agreement, strictly based on downward Agree, that yields agreement with the highest set of valued  $\phi$ -features of the goal, i.e., projected  $\phi$ -features in comitatives, and  $\phi$ -features of the first conjunct

#### Nominal structures with $\phi$ -features of their head projected in the label: Comitatives, collective nouns, ... :

- the  $\phi$ -features of T get matched and valued
- the next feature in the T stack, the edge feature (EF), can no longer probe for this DP because T has already established a unique Agree link with it

⇒ the DP stays in situ, and agreement is syntactic

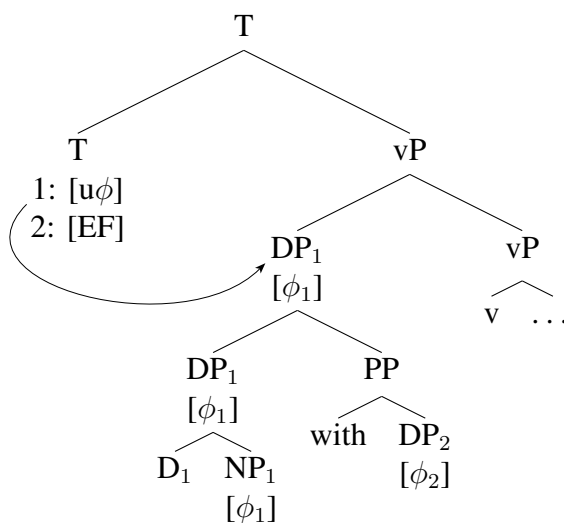
(12) *British English collective nouns*

- There is a band from Poland playing at 6:00.
- \*There are a band from Poland playing at 6:00.

(13) *Comitative in situ*

- Od Prousta **četla** aspoň něco Marie s Petrem.  
 from Proust read.F.SG at\_least something Marie with Petr
- ??Od Prousta **četli** aspoň něco Marie s Petrem.  
 from Proust read.M.PL at\_least something Marie with Petr  
 ‘Marie and Petr read at least something by Proust.’

(14)  $\phi$ -Agree first with the projecting  $\phi$ -features:



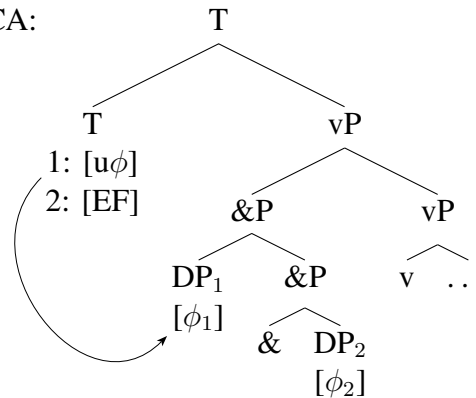
**Coordinations:**

- the structurally closest set is  $\phi$  of the first conjunct (the resolved set of features only arises post-syntactically; Munn 1999 and much following work)

(15) *English coordination agreement*

- There is a squirrel and a rabbit in the garden.
- \*There are a squirrel and a rabbit in the garden.

(16)  $\phi$ -Agree first with a coordination  $\Rightarrow$  FCA:



**3.2 Merge first: Spec/Head agreement**

- if EF probes first, the subject moves to [Spec,TP]
- satisfaction of EF makes the  $\phi$ -features of the DP inaccessible (only one Agree per goal)
- since there is no other potential goal in the structure,  $\phi$  on T remains syntactically unvalued ( $\phi$ -Agree may fail; Béjar 2003)

$\Rightarrow$   $\phi$  on T may only be realized post-syntactically, being parasitic on the existing Agree link

**Question:**

- how does post-syntactic realization arise?

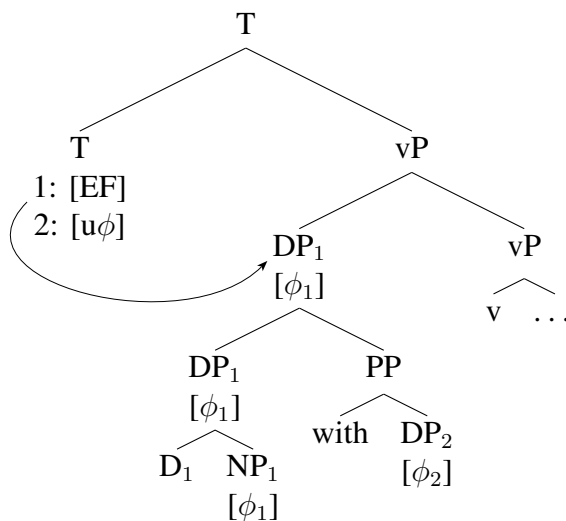
**Post-syntactic realizations**

- we argue that post-syntactic realizations of  $\phi$ -features attested in agreement patterns require an existing Agree link
- probes are selective, i.e., they target only a subset of features for purposes of feature checking, but the other features of the set remain associated with the syntactic object and may be subject to another Agree or post-syntactic realizations
- that is, morphology can realize features present in the Agree chain if they weren't selected by the probe, as long as they are part of the feature set participating in the Agree chain

**$\phi$ -Agree versus post-syntactic realizations**

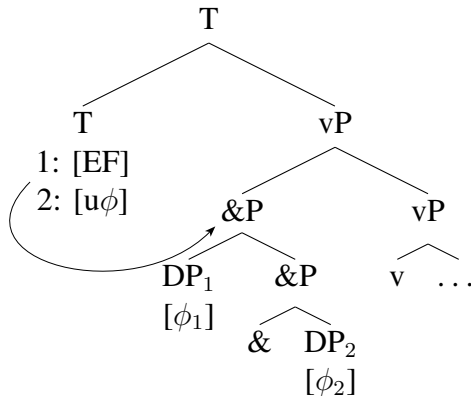
- in most configurations there is no surface difference between syntactic agreement and morphological realization of  $\phi$ -features parasitic on another Agree relation
- the reason is that the primary Agree link, e.g., EF-Agree, targets a label that contains syntactically projected  $\phi$ -features
- even if the Agree link is not with this  $\phi$ -feature set, the Agree link is with a syntactic object that *contains* a valued  $\phi$ -feature set
- this is why for comitatives and collective nouns (and partitives), the Spec/Head configuration can yield the same morphology as downward  $\phi$ -Agree

(17) Merge first with DP whose label contains projecting  $\phi$ -features:



- however, these two configurations do not have to yield an identical result; coordinations are such a case
- there is no set of syntactically valued  $\phi$ -features in the label of a coordination
- when morphology realizes  $\phi$ -features of a syntactically valued  $\phi$ -Agree chain, it realizes  $\phi$ -features of the first conjunct
- however, EF does not target the first conjunct but the whole coordination (let say, for concreteness, that it targets its categorial feature)
- $\phi$  cannot probe the goal because there is already one existing Agree link (based on EF)
- when morphology attempts to realize  $\phi$ -features associated with this Agree link, there are no syntactically valued  $\phi$ -features accessible

(18) Merge first with a coordination  $\Rightarrow$  no syntactic  $\phi$ -features in the Agree chain:



- the only feature bundles accessible to morphological realization are features bundles created at the CI-interface<sup>6</sup>

$\Rightarrow$  resolved ('semantic') agreement is obligatory with coordinations in Spec/Head configuration

**Consequences for Spec/Head agreement:**

- Spec/Head agreement is never based on  $\phi$ -Agree [Merge first]
- it is always post-syntactic based on features included in the existing Agree chain
- when the existing Agree chain contains valued  $\phi$ -features, and semantic indices, agreement can refer to either

**Coordinations:**

- only resolved agreement because the EF-link is with a label without  $\phi$ -features

**Comitatives and such:**

- either resolved agreement, or
- a post-syntactic realization of features projected in the label of the DP targeted by EF

**4 Both orders of Agree are possible (intervention configuration):**

**Downward Agree with an intermediate position**

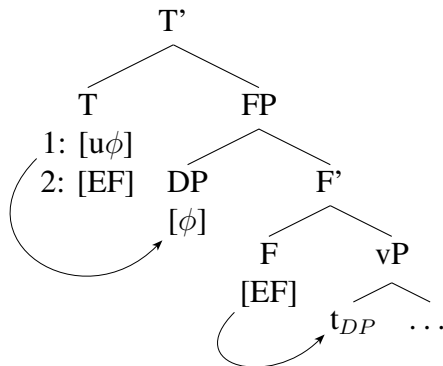
- the scrambled post-verbal position allows us to investigate what happens when both orders of Agree can take place
- in the other cases, the goal entered  $\phi$ -Agree or EF-Agree relation with the same probe (T)
- here, the EF-Agree of the internal merge of the goal originates on another head (F)

<sup>6</sup>See Kučerová (2018a, 2019) for a particular implementation of how such bundles could be construed from syntactic features.

**$\phi$ -Agree first:**

- if  $\phi$  probes first, we obtain syntactic  $\phi$ -Agree
- EF of T can no longer target this goal

(19)  $\phi$ -Agree with a scrambled DP

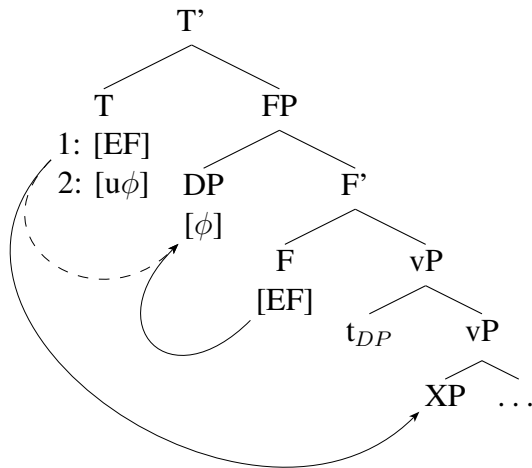


**Merge first:**

- when EF of T probes first, it enters an Agree intervention configuration wrt to EF of F
- the intervention configuration is parallel to Dative intervention for  $\phi$ -agreement; even if the feature cannot contribute to valuation, it syntactically registers (matching but no valuation; hence no feature checking)
- EF creates an Agree link with the internally merged DP but this link cannot yield valuation, on the assumption that a given DP can satisfy at most one edge feature within a phase<sup>7</sup>
- EF keeps probing;  $\phi$ -Agree is still disabled
- although the EF-Agree with the internally merged DP cannot value the EF feature, it enables post-syntactic realization of the  $\phi$ -features of the internally merged DP
- as a consequence, post-syntactic (resolved) agreement arises

<sup>7</sup>This assumption is necessary to allow the edge feature to attract the non-subject XP to [Spec,TP].

(20) *Failed EF-Agree with a scrambled DP*



- the overall agreement pattern we observe in the intermediate position is the union of  $\phi$ -Agree first and Merge first configurations

## 5 Conclusion

- agreement reduced to independently needed minimal syntax building operations
- refined understanding of agreement as corresponding to two structurally distinct operations, building on existing empirical evidence in support of such processes (Bobaljik, 2008; Bhatt and Walkow, 2013; Kučerová, 2018a, 2019, among others), while specifying which syntactic configurations give rise to which type of agreement
- there are three sources of features within an Agree chain
  - syntactically valued  $\phi$ -features resulting from successful  $\phi$ -Agree [ $\phi$ -Agree first]
  - post-syntactically construed morphological realization of valued  $\phi$ -features in an Agree chain based on another feature(s) [Merge first]
  - post-syntactically construed ‘semantic’ features in an Agree chain based on another feature(s) [Merge first]
- moreover, the proposal derives why so-called semantic agreement appears restricted to Spec/Head configurations

### 5.1 Consequences beyond $\phi$ -agreement

- not only does Agree only once predict whether  $\phi$ -agreement is syntactic or postsynthetic, it also makes predictions outside of  $\phi$ -agreement
- some syntactic generalizations that might be derived from AGREE ONLY ONCE:
  - Anti-locality of movement: If a head c-selects a phrase, and if c-selection involves Agree, the same head cannot trigger move of this phrase.

- Burzio's generalization, with consequences for theories of dependent case: If *v* triggers move of an internal argument to its specifier, it can no longer assign case to it; if a DP moves to [Spec,TP], it cannot get case from T.
- Theta-roles: If V c-selects its complement(s), theta-role assignment cannot be syntactic (cf. e.g., (?) for an argument that theta-role assignment must be post-syntactic)
- ...

## Appendix

### Partitive agreement

- Czech has a class of singular quantifiers that take a pronominal complement (akin to English *every one of us*)
- the features of the pronominal complement can be reflected in the agreement but only if the partitive undergoes movement, similarly to agreement patterns attested in English

- (21) a. There was / \*were only one of us at the meeting.  
b. Only one of us was/ were at the meeting.

### Partitive in [Spec,TP]:

- agreement with a partitive in [Spec,TP] can be solely based on the full set of syntactic  $\phi$ -features of the quantifying head, (22a)
- agreement can also refer to features of the complement, with the participle agreement being based either on features of the quantifying head, (22b), or the features of the complement, (22c) (Kučerová, 2000)

(22) *Partitive in [Spec,TP]*

- a. Každá z nás **četla** aspoň něco od Prousta.  
every.F.SG from us read.F.SG at\_least something from Proust
- b. Každá z nás **jsme četla** aspoň něco od Prousta.  
every.F.SG from us AUX.1PL read.F.SG at\_least something from Proust
- c. Každá z nás **jsme četly** aspoň něco od Prousta.  
every.F.SG from us AUX.1PL read.F.PL at\_least something from Proust  
'Everyone of us (females) read at least something by Proust.'

- the participle pattern correlates with distributive versus collective readings of the partitive
- we leave the collective/distributive agreement distinction aside in this talk but the data highlights that, as with coordinations, we see a resolved agreement, referring to semantically relevant features

### Partitives in postverbal position:

- when the QP is below TP, we see a similar split as with coordinations
  - when the QP stays in situ, i.e., in a position in which a coordination only triggers FCA, only agreement with syntactic  $\phi$ -features of the quantifying head is possible, (23)
  - when the QP scrambles, agreement is either with syntactic  $\phi$ -features of the quantifying head, or it is resolved agreement, (24)



(23) *Partitive in situ*

- a. Od Prousta **četla** aspoň něco každá z nás.  
from Proust read.F.SG at\_least something every.F.SG from us
- b. ??Od Prousta **jsme četla** aspoň něco každá z nás.  
from Proust AUX.1PL read.F.SG at\_least something every.F.SG from us
- c. \*Od Prousta **jsme četly** aspoň něco každá z nás.  
from Proust AUX.1PL read.F.PL at\_least something every.F.SG from us
- ‘Everyone of us (females) read at least something by Proust.’

(24) *Partitive in a scrambled postverbal position*

- a. Od Prousta **četla** každá z nás aspoň něco.  
from Proust read.F.SG every.F.SG from us at\_least something every.
- b. Od Prousta **jsme** každá z nás **četla** aspoň něco.  
from Proust AUX.1PL every.F.SG from us read.F.SG at\_least something
- c. Od Prousta **jsme** každá z nás **četly** aspoň něco.  
from Proust AUX.1PL every.F.SG from us read.F.PL at\_least something
- ‘Everyone of us (females) read at least something by Proust.’

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