

Title: Number Agreement Across Borders in Nominal RNR

Intro: This paper provides an account for the cross-linguistic number agreement patterns in Nominal Right Node Raising constructions (NRNR), a phenomenon that has received less attention amongst the RNR phenomena (but see Arregi & Nevins 2013 and Harizanov & Gribanova t.a.). NRNR involves co-ordinated nominal phrases, in which one single NP, the target, is shared by two prenominal elements, the sources, (DEMONstrative, NUMeral, DEFinite and INDefinite articles, POSSessor DPs, etc.). In NRNR with two conjoined singular DPs (the singularity is ensured by the use of *are a couple*), two patterns arise: i) the Singular Pattern—only a singular target is allowed as in the bare demonstrative condition in (1), and ii) the Plural Pattern—only a plural target is allowed as in the bare Possessor DP condition in (2).

- (1) Singular Pattern: [this kid] and [that kid] (2) Plural Pattern: [John's kid] and [Mary's kid]
 a. This and that kid are a couple. a. *John's and Mary's kid are a couple.
 b. *This and that kids are a couple. b. John's and Mary's kids are a couple.

The generalization is shown in (3) based on the cross-linguistic distribution in Table 1.

(3) **Generalization:** A singular target is available only when the source elements either i) show morphological agreement with the target as in (1) or ii) contain an adjective as in (4).

- (4) a. John's tall and Mary's short kid are a couple. b. The tall and the short kid are a couple.

Table 1	English	German	Dutch	Icelandic	Polish	Slovenian	SC
Dem	SG	SG	SG	SG	SG	SG	SG
Dem+Adj	SG	SG	SG	N/A	SG	SG	SG
Num+Adj	SG	SG	SG	SG	SG	SG	SG
Ind+Adj	SG		SG		N/A	SG	N/A
Def + Adj	SG	SG	SG	SG	N/A	N/A	N/A
Poss DP+Adj	SG	SG	SG	SG	SG	SG	SG
Bare Poss DP	PL	PL	PL	PL	PL SG	SG	SG

Analysis: Following the assumption that the NUM heads carry valued interpretable number features and value the number features on other elements (Ritter 1992), I provide an MD account (Citko 2005) for the singular target and propose two requirements on MD in (5-6).

(5) **uAgree requirement:** ZP is shareable by X and Y if there is a uAgree relation between X and Z and Y and Z. An uAgree relation involves an uninterpretable feature on at least one element in the agreement relation: $u[_] \leftrightarrow u[X]$, $u[_] \leftrightarrow i[X]$, $i[_] \leftrightarrow u[X]$, $u[_] \leftrightarrow u[_]$.

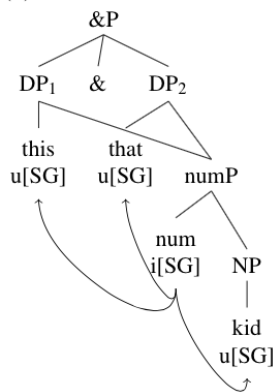
(6) **MaxShare requirement:** XP can be shared only if there is no YP such that YP dominates XP and YP can be shared. (See Citko 2006 for arguments for this requirement from ATB left branch extraction. See also MaxElide restriction in Merchant 2008, Takahashi & Fox 2005.)

Singular Target In (7), the numP merges simultaneously with two demonstratives. The interpretable number feature $i[SG]$ on the num head values the uninterpretable number features $u[_]$ on the demonstratives and the noun, rendering a singular target.

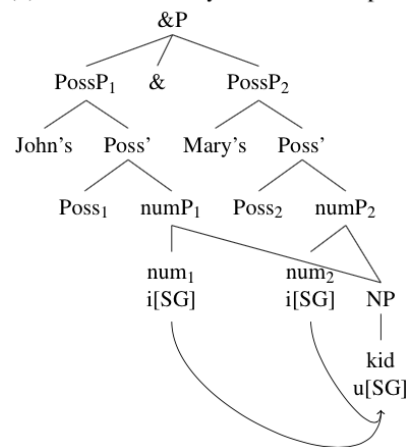
The unavailability of the singular target of the non-agreeing bare possessive DPs in (2) can be derived via the requirements on MD. There are in principle, two XPs that can be shared: NP in (8) and numP (9). Sharing of NP in (8) is excluded by MaxShare—numP dominates the NP. Sharing of numP, on the other hand, violates uAgree. Since Poss does not show morphological agreement, Poss heads do not carry number features. Thus the uAgree

requirement is not met. As a result, the NRNR structure in (9) is not available for (2). I further assume adjectives have uninterpretable number feature $u[_]$.

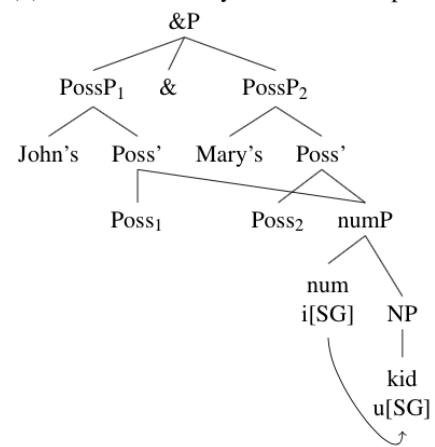
(7) this and that kid



(8) *John's and Mary's kid are a couple.



(9) *John's and Mary's kid are a couple.



Plural Target As shown in (8-9), the MD option for bare possessive DP cases is ruled out by the uAgree and MaxShare requirements. I argue that cases with the plural target such as (2b) involve the conjunction of the possessor DPs and one single num head with $i[PL]$ in (10).

(10). $[[DP [John's] \text{ and } [Mary's]] [Poss [numP \text{ num.PL } [NP \text{ students.PL}]]]]$

The unavailability of plural targets in (11) is due to the fact that non constituents *the tall* and *the short* cannot be conjoined. The unavailability of plural targets in (12) is due to the failure of feature valuation. The morphological markings on *this* and *that* indicate they are valued as $u[SG]$. The num head with $i[PL]$ cannot value $[SG]$ features in this configuration (cf. Arregi & Nevins 2013).

(11) *The tall and the short students are a couple.

(12) *This. $u[SG]$ and that. $u[SG]$ num. $i[PL]$ students are a couple.

Cross-linguistic Variations follows naturally from the analysis proposed here. Bare possessive DPs in English, German, Dutch, and Icelandic do not show agreement with the possessee. The singular target is ruled out in the same way in (8-9). However prenominal possessives in Serbo-Croatian, Polish, and Slovenian do agree. Under the natural assumption that the agreeing Poss heads have $u[_]$ features, both the uAgree and the MaxShare are satisfied in the NRNR with bare possessives in SC, Polish, and Slovenian. Further evidence come from Polish where there are two ways to express possession: i) agreeing adjectival possessives in (13) and ii. non-agreeing genitive in (14). As is predicted, the singular pattern is shown in (13) and the plural pattern in (14).

(13) Polish agreeing adjectival possessive

- a. Janowy i Marysiny chłopak spotkali się.
J's.sg and M's.sg boy met Refl
b. *Janowy i Marysiny chłopcy spotkali się.
J's.sg and M's.sg boys met Refl
'J's boy and M's boy met each other.'

(14) Polish non-agreeing genitive

- a. *Jana i Marii chłopak spotkali się.
J.gen and M.gen boy met.pl Refl
b. Jana i Marii chłopcy spotkali się.
J.gen and M.gen boys met.pl Refl
'J's boy and M's boy met each other.'

References: Arregi & Nevins. 2013. Contextual neutralization and the Elsewhere Principle. Citko. 2005. On the nature of merge: External merge, internal merge, and parallel merge. *Linguistic Inquiry*. Citko. 2006. The interaction between Across-the-Board wh-movement and left-branch extraction. *Syntax*. Harizanov & Gribanova. to appear. How across-the-board movement interacts with nominal concord in Bulgarian. *CLS* 49.