

Different patterns of agreement with complex NPs

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Nominal constructions involving approximate numerals/quantifiers may show within and across languages different configurations of agreement: verbal agreement can target either the numeral item/quantifier (*un centinaio* in (1)) or the embedded NP (*senatori* in (1)) that bears the θ role interpretation (Brucart 1997, Demonte and Pérez-Jiménez 2015).

- (1) un centinaio_i di senatori_k si sono dimessi_k/ è dimesso_i
a hundred of senators cl.refl are resigned.pl/ is resigned.sg
'A hundred senators have resigned.' Italian (Lorusso & Franco, 2017)

We find parametric variation on the pattern of agreement with these constructions. One type of languages (as Italian in (1) or Spanish) allows optional agreement with both NPs. Another type of languages allow agreement just with the approximate numeral/quantifiers: see the example of Barese in (2). The same pattern is found in French, German (see Lorusso & Franco 2017 for a review).

- (2) Na croskə_i d puercə_k s' ha_i mangiatə/* han_k mangiatə i bastenacə
A gang of pigs cl.refl has eaten/ have eaten the carrots
'A gang of pigs ate the carrots'

Another type of languages is the one in which agreement targets only the embedded NP namely Occitan (3), and the (Campidanese) Sardinian (4).

- (3) Una ardada_i de lops_k *ataquèt_i/ataquèron_k la bòria
a pack of wolves attacked-3sg/attacked-3pl the farm
'A pack of wolves has attacked/*have attacked the farm' Occitan
- (4) unus centu senatoris sindi *est sculau/ funt sculus
about hundred senators refl. be-3sg defeated.sg be-3pl defeated.pl
'A hundred senators have resigned.' Sardinian

The previous examples involve just number mismatches, but also gender, if present on the verbal morphology, works alike. Person features can play also a role in these environments. In Turkish, for example, while there is a preferential number agreement with the head (5), when complex NPs involve an embedded item marked for person (here 2pl) the preferred agreement is with the tail (6) (Ince, 2007).

- (5) Biz-Ø Türk-ler-Ø ok al iş-ir-iz.
sg-nom Turk-pl-nom very work-aor-1sg
'We Turks work hard.'
- (6) Sinema-ya birka in iz/ikiniz-Ø gidecek-siniz.
cinema-dat a.few/two.of.you-nom will.go-2pl
'A few/two of you will go to the theater.' Turkish

In Romance, we register micro-variation on the agreement patterns triggered by person features: while Italian does not allow person agreement (7), Spanish (cf. Rivero, 2004) allows it (8).

- (7) Una dozzina di noi *siamo andati /sono andati/ è andata al mare
a dozen of us * have gone 1pl /3pl/ has gone to the sea
'A dozen of us has gone to the sea' Italian
- (8) Una docena de nosotros hemos ido a la playa
a dozen of us have gone-1pl to the sea
'A dozen of us went to the beach' Spanish

In a nutshell, we will account for the parametric variation referring to (1) to the strategies of quantification involved by the indefinite article and the numeral quantifier NP and their derivation (*phasal* derivation as in Chomsky 2001) and (2) the ϕ -features involved in the agreement with the verb (along the line of the Feature Hierarchy of Greenberg 1963).

References

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