What agreement theory can learn from closest conjunct agreement

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In this talk, I present and analyze patterns of agreement with the closest conjunct as opposed to agreement with the entire Boolean phrase (&P) in Hindi. Hindi allows bidirectional closest conjunct agreement in number and gender, with the verb preceding or following the &P. Earlier accounts of bidirectional closest conjunct agreement have treated it as a uniform phenomenon (cf. Bhatt & Walkow 2010, 2014; Benmamoun et al. 2009). Using syntactic evidence and evidence from prosody, I argue that this is incorrect and that two separate analyses are needed for verb-first and verb-last closest conjunct agreement respectively. The pattern of verb-first closest conjunct agreement offers evidence for the two-step model of agreement where MATCH takes place in narrow syntax, but φ-feature transfer takes place post-syntactically (cf. Franck et al. 2006; Benmamoun et al. 2009). I conclude by discussing the predictions of the two separate analyses concerning cross-linguistic distribution of closest conjunct agreement.