First Conjunct Agreement: Against a Clausal Analysis

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Aoun, Benmamoun, and Sportiche (1994) propose that first conjunct agreement in Arabic is derived from clausal conjunction. This article shows that the clausal account of first conjunct agreement is empirically inadequate because it fails to distinguish clearly between syntactic and semantic agreement. It argues that an analysis of coordination as adjunction proposed in Munn 1992, 1993 accounts both for the Arabic facts and for the fact that first conjunct agreement is dependent on head government. It also shows that there are asymmetries between governed agreement and specifier-head agreement that are independent of coordination, lending support to a unified analysis of first conjunct agreement in terms of government or its equivalent.

Keywords: coordination, agreement, Arabic, Portuguese, English, syntax

1 Introduction

Aoun, Benmamoun, and Sportiche (1994) (henceforth ABS) propose an analysis of agreement in various dialects of Arabic that attempts to account for two types of agreement asymmetries: VS (verb-subject) agreement and first conjunct agreement. The basic facts they wish to account for are the following: (a) whereas SV agreement is ''full'' agreement, VS agreement is often impoverished in some way; (b) first conjunct agreement is possible only with VS order; it is impossible with SV order. Previous analyses of Arabic (Mohammad 1988, Bahloul and Harbert 1993, Benmamoun 1992) have analyzed both properties as deriving from the process of agreement under (head) government, distinguishing it from specifier-head agreement.[1]

ABS claim that first conjunct agreement in Moroccan and Lebanese Arabic, rather than being related to agreement under government, is actually derived from a clausal coordinate structure wherein the ''first'' conjunct is the subject of the first clause and the ''second'' conjunct is the subject of the second clause. Under their analysis, the second clause has undergone rather radical deletion, since all that remains of it is its subject. The main argument for this kind of conjunction reduction is the fact that various elements that are sensitive to plurality of the subject are impossible

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[1] In making the distinction between governed agreement and specifier-head agreement, I will take government to be defined informally as in (i).

(i) α governs β iff $\alpha = X^0$, α c-commands β, and no barrier intervenes.

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with first conjunct agreement. This is predicted under a conjunction reduction analysis, since each surface conjunct is actually the singular subject of a separate clause.

Johannessen (1996) uses data from Czech and German to show that the clausal analysis of first conjunct agreement is crosslinguistically untenable.[2] In these languages first conjunct agreement is possible in cases where a clausal analysis is impossible. For Johannessen, first conjunct agreement is a consequence of generalized specifier-head agreement by way of a conjunction phrase, and is apparently unrelated to the structural position of the conjunction phrase as a whole relative to the agreeing head. Johannessen adopts a version of ABS's analysis for Arabic, however, and claims that both options must be allowed.

In these remarks I will show that ABS's arguments based on the Moroccan and Lebanese Arabic facts are fundamentally weak because they fail to make a clear distinction between syntactic and semantic plurality. Because of this, ABS's data do not conclusively show that a clausal analysis is necessary even for these dialects. I will introduce some new data from these dialects showing that first conjunct agreement is possible even though a clausal analysis is ruled out. I will argue that the possibility of first conjunct agreement is related to the structural configuration of government or whatever underlies it. If agreement under government is allowed, first conjunct agreement will follow from the phrase structure of coordinate structures without further stipulation. I will also show that there are certain differences between governed agreement and specifier-head agreement that militate against assimilating the two completely.

Since the clausal analysis is untenable in the general case, and the Arabic facts can also be accounted for with an analysis that assumes agreement under government, it would be surprising if Arabic required a radically different analysis for facts that are present in a wide range of languages. Since any theory that posits conjunction reduction still requires conjoined NPs for other structures, the phrasal analysis is to be preferred, even for Arabic, on grounds of simplicity. By linking the possibility of first conjunct agreement to government, rather than simply generalized specifier-head agreement, we also achieve a more restrictive theory of when and where such agreement mismatches will arise, at least in a substantial number of cases.

2 Against a Clausal Analysis of First Conjunct Agreement in Arabic

2.1 Semantic versus Syntactic Plurality

ABS's analysis rests on the claim that first conjunct agreement subjects do not behave like semantic plurals; that is, although on the surface they look like plurals (because they consist of two NPs separated by a conjunction), each conjunct is a singular subject of its own clause. Before we proceed, it will be useful to review the distinction between semantic plurality and syntactic plurality, and their interaction.

[2] In this article I will use the term *first conjunct agreement*, which is descriptively accurate for the languages I will discuss. Johannessen (1996) uses the term *partial agreement*, which is technically more accurate, since in head-final languages ''first conjunct agreement'' will actually be second conjunct agreement. However, Standard Arabic also has less agreement in VS order than in SV order, with the result that, when dealing with Arabic data, the term *partial agreement* can lead to confusion.

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The independence of syntactic and semantic plurality is easily demonstrated by the existence of nouns like *group* that are semantically plural but syntactically singular, and the existence of *pluralia tantum* expressions such as *scissors* that are semantically singular but syntactically plural. Now consider a predicate like *meet* in English, which, when used intransitively, requires only that its subject be semantically plural. Because of this, it can take either syntactically singular or syntactically plural subjects, as in (1a–b). The syntactically plural but semantically singular *scissors* cannot appear as the subject of *meet*, as in (1c). The unacceptability of (1c) is not merely pragmatic, since (1d), although pragmatically odd, is clearly syntactically well formed.

(1) a. The men are meeting tomorrow.
b. The group is meeting tomorrow.
c. *The scissors are meeting tomorrow.
d. A group of scissors is meeting tomorrow.

Elements such as *together* and *same*/*different* also fall into this category, as the data in (2) and (3) show.[3]

(2) a. The group wore different hats.
b. The men wore different hats.
c. *The man wore a different hat.
d. *The scissors were different colors.

(3) a. The group left at the same time.
b. The men left at the same time.
c. *The man left at the same time.
d. *The scissors fell at the same time.

Also, it is important to note that even in closely related dialects, semantic plurality may or may not trigger syntactic plurality, as the data in (4) from British English (BE) show.

(4) a. The group are meeting tomorrow. (BE)
b. The government are going to pass a new law.

Not all predicates that require semantic plurals are like *meet*, however. Some may require both syntactic plurality and semantic plurality. For example, neither singular semantic plurals nor plural semantic singulars are permitted as the subject of *be similar*, as the data in (5) show.[4]

[3] Note that *same*/*different* have a discourse-linked reading that is not relevant here, as in *That tree has an interesting pattern on its bark. This tree has the same pattern.*

Note also that *same* and *different* do not *require* a semantically plural subject. As Carlson (1987) shows, *same* and *different* are licensed semantically by a group of events. One way to form such groups is by using a semantically plural subject.

[4] Note that *similar* also has a discourse-linked reading (see footnote 3) that is not relevant here. Also, we need to ignore the predicate *similar to.*

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(5) a. The men are similar.
b. *The group is similar.
c. *The scissors are similar.

There also exist syntactic elements that require syntactic plurality to be licensed, but do not require semantic plurality. Reflexive pronouns fall into this category, as the examples in (6) show. In (6c) the semantically singular *scissors* can bind a plural reflexive; in (6a) the semantically plural *group* cannot.

(6) a. *The group is keeping themselves in shape.
b. The group is keeping itself in shape.
c. The scissors are by themselves on the table.
d. *The scissors are by itself on the table.

With these differences in mind, we can now examine the Arabic data that ABS give to support their view that first conjunct agreement is clausal in Arabic.

2.2 Reexamining ABS's Arguments for a Clausal Analysis

There are two issues at stake in evaluating ABS's argument for conjunction reduction: first, whether ABS have provided conclusive evidence for the clausal analysis, and second, what accounts for the differences between the dialects of Arabic they discuss.

The core of ABS's argument for a clausal analysis of first conjunct agreement cases lies in showing that the conjoined subject in first conjunct agreement does not behave like a plural subject semantically; that is, they argue (correctly) that if first conjunct agreement were simply a surface syntactic fact, there should be no difference semantically between first-conjunct-agreeing subjects and regular plural subjects, since the conjoined NPs should denote a (semantic) plural. They discuss a number of cases where the conjoined subject with first conjunct agreement is incompatible with various kinds of other elements in the sentence that require plurality. In each of these cases I will show that, although ABS are correct in showing that a plural is required to license the extra element, they fail to show that a *semantic* plurality is sufficient to license the extra element. If a syntactically singular semantic plural does not license the extra element, then we can assume that there is some *formal* licensing requirement that requires a *syntactic* plural. This requirement will not be satisfied in first conjunct agreement cases, which show nonplural agreement. Conversely, if syntactic plurality is sufficient to license an element, then a plural first conjunct should license it even when the second conjunct is singular. I will show that such cases exist.

The other side of the argument is as follows: if first conjunct agreement is clausal (as ABS claim), then any elements that require a semantic plural to be licensed should not be permitted. This should be the case even if the relevant elements impose no requirement for *syntactic* plurality. I will show that this expectation is not met: elements that require semantic but not syntactic plurality are allowed with first conjunct agreement, which thus cannot be clausal.

However, the question of what distinguishes Lebanese and Moroccan Arabic from other languages will remain; I will suggest below that syntactic agreement is the crucial difference.

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2.3 Together

ABS show that the modifier *sawa* 'together' in Lebanese Arabic can modify a conjoined SV subject (7a) but not a conjoined VS subject with first conjunct agreement (7b). Since Lebanese Arabic (LA) allows full agreement in VS order, plural agreement is obligatory with *sawa* (7c).

(7) a. kariim w marwaan raaħo sawa (LA)
Kareem and Marwaan left.PL together
b. *raaħ kariim w marwaan sawa
left.3M.SG Kareem and Marwaan together
c. raaħo kariim w marwaan sawa
left.PL Kareem and Marwaan together

What ABS do not show is a singular subject that is semantically plural. If we examine such cases, as in (8), we find that the modifier *sawa*, unlike the English *together*, requires a syntactically plural antecedent.

(8) a. el-jama^{7}a raaħet (LA)
the-group left.F.SG
b. *el-jama^{7}a raaħet sawa
the-group left together
c. el-rijal raaħu sawa
the-men left.M.PL together

In (8a) *el-jama^{7}a* 'the group' controls singular agreement, yet when it appears with *sawa* 'together', singular agreement becomes impossible, as in (8b). This shows that 'together' in Arabic clearly requires syntactic as well as semantic plurality to be licensed, and so does not constitute an adequate test to show that first conjunct agreement is clausal.[5]

2.4 Reflexives and Reciprocals

A similar case arises with reflexives and reciprocals. A plural reflexive object must have a plural antecedent, and here, plural agreement is obligatory in Lebanese Arabic even with VS order (i.e., first conjunct agreement is impossible).

[5] Harbert and Bahloul (1997) point out that Standard Arabic does not show the same pattern with respect to first conjunct agreement. Thus, the equivalent of (7b) is acceptable in Standard Arabic.

(i) xarajat hiya wa marwaan jamii'an (SA)
left.3F.SG she and Marwaan both
'She and Marwaan left together.'

This pattern is repeated in dialects of spoken Arabic close to the standard, such as Saudi Arabic. The main difference between these dialects and Lebanese and Moroccan Arabic is that singular agreement is obligatory in VS order in Standard and Saudi Arabic, but optional in Lebanese and Moroccan. This supports the idea that syntactic agreement is the source of the unacceptability of the Lebanese and Moroccan Arabic data rather than the radically different structure that would be required for ABS's analysis.

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(9) a. kariim w marwaan biħibbo ħaalun (LA)
Kareem and Marwaan love themselves
b. kariim w marwaan biħibbo ba^{7}ḍun
Kareem and Marwaan love each.other

(10) a. biħibbo kariim w marwaan ħaalun (LA)
love.3PL Kareem and Marwaan themselves
b. biħibbo kariim w marwaan ba^{7}ḍun
love.3PL Kareem and Marwaan each.other

(11) a. *biħibb kariim w marwaan ħaalun (LA)
love.3S Kareem and Marwaan themselves
b. *biħibb kariim w marwaan ba^{7}ḍun
love.3S Kareem and Marwaan each.other

Again, in these cases ABS merely show that plural reflexives must be licensed by syntactically plural antecedents. The examples they give are not sufficient to show that the first conjunct agreement case, which shows singular agreement, is not semantically plural.[6]

We can contrast ABS's cases with similar examples in Irish.[7] McCloskey (1986) shows that reciprocals in Irish (I) can enter into agreement relations with subjects that show first conjunct agreement, as in (12).

(12) Shroicheas féin agus do bhean mhuinteartha a chéile. (I)
reach.PAST.1SG EMPH and your woman kin each other
'Your kinswoman and I reached each other.'

However, there is independent evidence that the reciprocal *a chéile* 'each other' in Irish does not require syntactic plurality to be licensed, as (13) shows. The NP *bunadh* 'people' in (13a) can license the reciprocal, despite being grammatically singular. Similar cases are shown in (13b) and (13c), where the singular NPs *béal* 'mouth' and *clóca* 'cloak' can also license the reciprocal.

(13) a. Labhair bunadh an tí le-n a chéile. (I)
spoke people the.GEN house.GEN with each other
'The people of the house spoke with one another.'
b. D'fhásg sí a béal ar a chéile.
clasped she her mouth on each other
'She closed her lips tightly.'

[6] Standard Arabic shows that first conjunct agreement in these examples is again obligatory, even though the reciprocal is present. (Data from Harbert and Bahloul 1997.)

(i) tuhibbu hiya wa axuuhaa ba'dhahu-maa (SA)
love.3F.SG she and brother-her each other
'She and her brother love each other.'

[7] I thank Jim McCloskey for the Irish data in this section and also for discussing them with me.

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c. D'fhill Sáile a clóca ar a chéile.
turned Sally her cloak on each other
'Sally folded up her cloak.'

It is not the case, however, that any singular NP can license the reciprocal, as the ungrammaticality of (14) shows. Unlike the singular NPs in (13b–c), the singular pronoun in (14) cannot license the reciprocal because semantic plurality is required. This contrasts minimally with the acceptability of (12), which shows first conjunct agreement.

(14) *Labhair sé le-n a chéile. (I)
spoke he with each other

We can conclude from these data that reciprocals do not always require formal syntactic plurality crosslinguistically, and that even closely related dialects of the same language might have different requirements. This emphasizes the need to carefully distinguish syntactic and semantic plurality generally.

2.5 Meet

ABS also show that first conjunct agreement subjects cannot appear with intransitive 'meet' in Arabic. However, the data in (15a–b) show that with a semantic plural as its subject, *lta¯a* 'meet' cannot take singular agreement; thus, only plural agreement is possible, even though *el-jama7a* 'the group' can take singular agreement with other verbs, as shown in (8). *Meet* in (North American) English is different in this respect, as (15c–d) show.

(15) a. el-jama7a lta¯o (LA)
the-group met.PL
b. *el-jama7a lta¯a
the-group met.SG
c. The group is meeting at 3:00.
d. *The group are meeting at 3:00.

The data above have shown that the inability of first conjunct agreement subjects to license elements such as *sawa* 'together', reflexives, and reciprocals is not sufficient to show that such subjects are not conjoined and therefore not semantic plurals. Instead, the data simply show that many elements are sensitive to syntactic plurality, and this is not present in cases of first conjunct agreement. In this respect, the data are somewhat equivocal: they are perhaps consistent with the clausal analysis, but they are also consistent with a phrasal coordination analysis with first conjunct agreement.[8]

[8] Again, the Standard Arabic data differ minimally, as Harbert and Bahloul (1997) point out. The verb 'meet' in Standard Arabic enters into first conjunct agreement, and the verb need not be syntactically plural.

(i) a. ¯iltaqa-at noura wa hedi ¯amaama al-kulliyyat-i (SA)
met.F.SG Noura and Hedi in-front-of the university
'Noura and Hedi met in front of the university.'

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2.6 Plural First Conjuncts and Singular Second Conjuncts

The evidence from plurality that ABS provide does not clearly distinguish the clausal coordination account from a phrasal coordination account that includes first conjunct agreement.[9] However, the two accounts make strikingly different predictions with respect to coordinate subjects where the first conjunct is plural and the second conjunct is singular. In a phrasal account, first conjunct agreement will license plural agreement on the verb, and other elements such as *sawa* 'together' should be licensed. On the other hand, if first conjunct agreement is clausal, then the presence of a singular second conjunct should be sufficient to rule out the structure, since no plural subject exists in the second clause.

The relevant structures are shown schematically in (16). The presence of an element like 'together' with a singular subject in (16b) (the clausal analysis) should rule the structure out, whereas plural agreement on the verb in (16a) (the phrasal analysis) should be sufficient to license an element like 'together'.

(16) a. V_{PL} NP_{PL} and NP_{SG} . . . 'together'
b. V_{PL} NP_{PL} 'together' and V_{SG} NP_{SG} . . . 'together'

Examples (17) and (18) from Moroccan Arabic provide the relevant evidence that the phrasal analysis is correct. The unacceptability of (17a) shows that *məžmu[7]in* 'together' in Moroccan Arabic (MA) behaves like *sawa* 'together' in Lebanese Arabic in that first conjunct singular agreement does not license it. However, the acceptability of (17b) shows that first conjunct agreement *can* license it if the agreement is plural. A similar fact is shown in (18) using the verb 'meet'. Although singular agreement cannot be used with 'meet' (as was shown above), plural first conjunct agreement is sufficient to license the use of the verb.

(17) a. *mša [7]umar w sa[7]id məžmu[7]in (MA)
left.3SG Omar and Said together
'Omar and Said left together.'
b. mšitu ntuma w ana məžmu[7]in
left.2PL you.PL and I together
'You and I left together.'

(18) tlaqitu ntuma w ana qəddam l-žami[7]a
met.2PL you.PL and I in.front.of the-university
'You and I met in front of the university.'

The presence of second person rather than first person agreement in (17b) and (18) shows that

b. *¯iltaqa-yaa noura wa hedi ¯amaama al-kulliyyat-i
met.M.DUAL Noura and Hedi in-front-of the university

[9] This section owes itself to the persistence of one of the reviewers, who pushed me to find these examples, which clearly distinguish the phrasal and clausal analyses and provide evidence for the syntactic nature of the licensing.

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there *is* first conjunct agreement. If the conjuncts occur preverbally, first person plural agreement is obligatory, as (19) and (20) show.

(19) a. ntuma w ana mšina (MA)
you.2PL and I left.1PL
b. *ntuma w ana mšitu
you.2PL and I left.2PL

(20) a. ntuma w ana tlaqina
you.2PL and I met.1PL
b. *ntuma w ana tlaqitu
you.2PL and I met.2PL

It should be clear that under the clausal analysis the acceptable cases of first conjunct agreement should be ruled out owing to the presence of the singular second conjunct, since each ''conjunct'' is in fact the subject of a separate clause under that analysis. These data clearly show that the elements that ABS use to show that first conjunct agreement is clausal are merely subject to a syntactic agreement requirement. Provided this is met, first conjunct agreement is possible.

2.7 Elements Licensed by Semantic Plurals

A second way to show that first conjunct agreement is not clausal is to provide examples that *do* require semantic plurality to be licensed, but do not require syntactic plurality. If such examples exist, the two theories again make opposite predictions: if first conjunct agreement is clausal, it should be impossible with these elements; if it is phrasal, the elements should be licensed.

As discussed above for English, *same* and *different* do not require syntactic plurality to be licensed, but can be licensed by a semantic plural. If first conjunct agreement is clausal, then phrases containing *same*/*different* or their Arabic equivalents should be impossible with it. We can even use English data to show that this is not generally the case. English shows first conjunct agreement in *there* constructions and *same* and *different* are possible with it, as the acceptability of both (21a) and (21b) shows.

(21) a. There was a man and a woman reading the same book.
b. There was a man and a woman reading different books.

If conjunction were clausal, then (21) should be uninterpretable since *There was a man reading the same book*/*a different book* is unacceptable.

The same kinds of examples can be constructed for Arabic. In (22) first conjunct agreement is possible, even though *nəfs lə-ktab* 'the same book' requires a semantically plural subject.[10]

[10] Moroccan Arabic seems to impose a syntactic plurality requirement for 'different'. Jamal Ouhalla (personal communication) informs me that (22) requires plural agreement in Moroccan Arabic when 'different books' is used.

A reviewer objects to examples such as (i) on the grounds that adverbials containing *same*/*different* can appear in structures such as (ii).

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The acceptability of the singular *ž-žma⁷a* ‘the group’ in (22b) shows that semantic plurality is sufficient to license *nəfs* ‘same’.

(22) a. qrat ⁷alya w ⁷omar nəfs lə-ktab (MA)
read.F.SG Alia and Omar same the-book
‘Alia and Omar read the same book.’
b. qrat ž-žma⁷a nəfs lə-ktab
read.F.SG the-group same the-book
‘The group read the same book.’

Similar kinds of examples can be constructed using predicates that are necessarily group forming, but do not contain an overt plural.[11]

(23) a. darət ⁷alya w marwan dwira ⁷la š-šəžra (MA)
formed.F.SG Alia and Marwan circle around the-tree
‘Alia and Marwaan formed a circle around the tree.’
b. darət ž-žma⁷a dwira ⁷la š-šəžra
formed.F.SG the-group circle around the-tree
‘The group formed a circle around the tree.’
c. ⁷əmlit ⁷alya w marwaan ħal¯a ħawl š-šažra (LA)
formed.F.SG Alia and Marwaan circle around the-tree
‘Alia and Marwaan formed a circle around the tree.’

(i) bi nefs lwa¯at raaħ kariim w marwaan (LA)
at same time left.SG Kareem and Marwaan
‘Kareem and Marwaan left at the same time.’

(ii) John left and Bill arrived, at the same time.

Norbert Hornstein (personal communication) notes that these examples could easily arise because of the presence of an implicit temporal argument position in the first conjunct, which is then discourse bound to the adverbial in the second conjunct. This argument is harder to make in examples such as (22), since the element containing ‘same’ is a direct object and not an adjunct. However, as the reviewer points out, the possibility of right node raising (RNR) with elements like *same*, as in the English example (iii), may also weaken this argument.

(iii) John read, and Mary reviewed, the same book.

There is independent evidence, however, that Arabic does not have RNR. As the following examples show, in either SV or VS order, RNR is unacceptable:

(iv) *ali šədd w marwaan kal ħuta (MA)
Ali caught and Marwaan ate fish
‘Ali caught and Marwaan ate a fish.’

(v) *šədd ali w kal marwaan ħuta
caught Ali and ate Marwaan fish

Since RNR is not possible, it is unlikely that it has any effect on the acceptability of the data in (22).

[11] Some speakers I consulted preferred plural agreement in these cases, but all accepted first conjunct agreement forms as well. Such variability is noted also by ABS (p. 203, fn. 7; p. 208, fn. 14).

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d. ʔəmlit l-mažmuuʔa ħal‾a ħawl š-šažra
formed.F.SG the-group circle around the-tree
'The group formed a circle around the tree.'

The predicate 'form a circle around the tree' requires a semantic plural to be licensed. There can therefore be no clausal source for (23a). The acceptability of the syntactically singular but semantically plural subject *ž-žmaʔa* 'the group' reinforces this point.

2.8 Bound Pronouns

In addition to group-forming predicates, another kind of example can be constructed that does not depend on plurality at all, but instead depends on the syntactic constituency of the conjoined elements. One of the arguments for a hierarchical coordinate structure (see section 4) is that a quantifier in the first conjunct can bind a pronoun in the second conjunct. This is expected if the first conjunct c-commands the second conjunct. If first conjunct agreement were clausal, then first conjunct agreement should be impossible with a quantificational first conjunct and a bound pronoun in the second conjunct. Thus, (24a) could not have the structure of (24b).

(24) a. Each woman$_i$ and her$_i$ child read a story.
b. *Each woman$_i$ read a story and her$_i$ child read a story.

As (25) illustrates, these kinds of examples are acceptable in Lebanese and Moroccan Arabic with first conjunct agreement. This clearly shows that they cannot have a clausal source, even in the dialects that ABS discuss.

(25) a. mšat kull mra w xu-ha (MA)
left.F.SG each woman and brother-her
'Each woman and her brother left.'
b. qrat kull mra w wəld-ha qiṣṣa
read.F.SG each woman and child-her story
'Each woman and her child read a story.'
c. raaħit kəll mara w ‾əbna (LA)
left.F.SG each woman and child.her
'Each woman and her child left.'
d. ‾əryit kəll mara w ‾əbna ‾əṣṣa
read.F.SG each woman and child.her story
'Each woman and her child read a story.'

The acceptability of the bound pronoun interpretation in (25) shows that at the level of quantifier/variable interpretation, the two conjuncts are in the same clause, and cannot be in separate clauses. This fact can be easily accounted for in the phrasal conjunction analysis, in which the two conjuncts form a constituent, but cannot be accounted for in a conjunction reduction analysis. These examples are also relevant because they support the idea that what distinguishes the various dialects of Arabic with respect to agreement and plurality is not different syntactic

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structures, but different agreement properties. There is no plurality requirement, either syntactic or semantic, in the examples in (25), only a requirement that the conjuncts be in the same clause, and the examples are acceptable with first conjunct agreement.[12]

3 The Relationship between First Conjunct Agreement and Government

The discussion above has shown that ABS's arguments for Arabic are falsified if we take differences between syntactic and semantic agreement into consideration. If first conjunct agreement does not follow from conjunction reduction, then the fact that it is licensed only in VS orders in Arabic becomes a problem again. If we examine first conjunct agreement crosslinguistically, there is a large amount of evidence for two descriptive facts: (a) first conjunct agreement cannot be given a clausal analysis in every language, and (b) first conjunct agreement arises in (surface) government configurations and is impossible in (surface) specifier-head relations. Any account of first conjunct agreement should be able to capture these generalizations.[13] In this section I will introduce data that support the idea that government is crucial in determining first conjunct agreement generally.

English first conjunct agreement provides an obvious example of the relationship between first conjunct agreement and government. As the examples in (21) showed, English allows first conjunct agreement in *there* constructions, where the agreeing NP is postverbal. If the subject is preverbal, first conjunct agreement becomes impossible.

(26) a. There is a man and a woman in the room.
b. *A man and a woman is in the room.

This shows that first conjunct agreement is in some sense ''automatic'': in the verbal agreement system of English it shows up in exactly one context. This would be quite unexpected if first conjunct agreement were dependent on particular properties of the conjunction itself. On the other hand, if the first conjunct is head-governed in (26a) but not in (26b), then the fact that first conjunct agreement arises in just one construction follows from the fact that there is only one construction in which agreement under government arises in English.

It is well known that conjunction usually requires some sort of default feature resolution rules. For example, in languages with gender agreement, conjoined masculine and feminine NPs usually resolve to masculine plural. This constraint is clearly violated in cases of first conjunct agreement, as we have seen in the Arabic examples.

[12] A reviewer points out that the bound variable data might hinge on the (un)availability of an E-type reading of the pronoun (Evans 1980), since E-type pronouns can be anaphoric to quantifiers that do not bind them. Given that the bound pronouns are singular, and that the meaning of (25b,d) is that one story was read jointly by mother and child, the possibility of an E-type reading seems remote here.

[13] Johannessen (1996) also makes the point that first conjunct agreement cannot be given a clausal analysis crosslinguistically, but she seems not to account for the second generalization. This is despite the fact that in discussing Czech, for example, she says that ''agreement [is] between the first conjunct and the preposed verb'' and ''[w]hen the verb and the PP precede the subject, the verb agrees only with the first conjunct'' (1996:664). It is not clear to me what accounts for the impossibility of first conjunct agreement when the subject is preverbal. Johannessen (1996:669, fn. 8) seems to imply that preverbal conjunctions have different lexical entries than postverbal conjunctions.

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Another example of this agreement resolution is noted for English by Sag et al. (1985). These authors show that conjoined pronouns that bind reflexives exhibit a hierarchy of agreement patterns, as in (27).

(27) a. He and she are proud of themselves.
b. You and he are proud of yourselves/*themselves.
c. You and I are proud of ourselves/*yourselves.
d. He and I are proud of ourselves/*themselves.

The generalization needed to account for the facts is that a 1st > 2nd > 3rd person hierarchy exists. What is important here is that the order of conjuncts is not relevant for this kind of agreement. This sort of resolution for person seems to be quite general. Given that first conjunct agreement arises in English only in *there* constructions and that pronouns are generally not permitted in such constructions, it is not possible to test whether the resolution holds in governed agreement configurations. However, in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) it is possible to show that in governed agreement configurations the hierarchy is ''violated'' or overridden by the first conjunct's syntactic requirements.

(28) a. Eu e as meninas saímos. (BP)
I and the girls left.1PL
b. As meninas e eu saímos.
the girls and I left.1PL
c. *As meninas e eu saíram.
the girls and I left.3PL
d. Foram as meninas e eu que compramos as flores.
were.3PL the girls and I who bought.1PL the flowers
'It was the girls and I who bought the flowers.'
e. Fui eu e as meninas que compramos as flores.
was.1SG I and the girls who bought.1PL the flowers
'It was me and the girls who bought the flowers.'

The contrast between (28a–b) and (28c) shows that a conjoined subject containing a first person pronoun can never control third person agreement, independent of the order of the conjuncts. However, as the contrast between (28d) and (28e) shows, when the subject is postverbal, third person agreement is preferred when the third person conjunct is the first one.

Data from Irish discussed by McCloskey (1986, 1989) and McCloskey and Hale (1984) show the effects of government in another way. The basic fact about Irish agreement is that when an agreeing head is present, the NP it agrees with must be pro. In conjoined VS structures, then, the first conjunct must be null. If the order of the conjuncts is reversed, the sentence is unacceptable unless an overt pronoun is present.

(29) a. Bhíos pro-féin agus Eoghan i láthair. (I)
be.PAST.1SG EMPH and Owen present
'Owen and I were present.'

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b. Bhí Eoghan agus *(mé) féin i láthair.
be.PAST Owen and me EMPH present
'Owen and I were present.'

The distribution of pro in Irish is linked directly to the presence of agreement. This clearly shows that first conjunct agreement cannot be clausal in Irish. If it were clausal, then one would have to claim that an agreeing verb is allowed in the first clause of a clausal coordination, but not in the second clause. It is not clear how such a condition should be stated in the grammar.

On the other hand, the data in (29) receive a straightforward analysis if the first but not the second conjunct is governed by the verb and thus must be realized as pro when the verb shows agreement.[14] It is important to note that with respect to these data the condition must be stated in terms of the conjunct itself, and not simply in terms of features of the conjunct. If the entire conjoined constituent were subject to the requirement, then conjoined subjects would simply be barred from being the subjects of agreeing verbs.

3.1 Mixed Agreement

A major prediction of the clausal analysis of first conjunct agreement is that ''mixed'' agreement—that is, first conjunct agreement with one element and full agreement with another element—should never occur, since both clauses contain singular verbs.[15] In fact, this is the kind of case that ABS show to be ungrammatical in Arabic. Again, Irish provides a counterargument to the generality of the claim. McCloskey (1986) shows that first conjunct singular agreement can cooccur with plural agreement in certain Irish predicative constructions. These predicative constructions are formed by prefixing a possessive clitic onto a noun or verbal noun as shown in (30).

(30) a. Tá mé 'mo dhochtúir. (I)
am I 1SG doctor
'I am a doctor.'
b. Tá mé 'mo sheasamh.
am I 1SG stand VN
'I am standing.'

With a conjoined subject, the verb agrees with the first conjunct in the singular, and the predicate shows up with the plural clitic, as in (31).

[14] A further problem for a clausal analysis of first conjunct agreement in Irish is the fact that in conjoined subjects only the first NP in the conjuncts receives nominative case; the other conjuncts receive accusative (default) case. Again, if first conjunct agreement is clausal, then somehow it must be stipulated that accusative case is assigned in the second clause. It is again unclear how this could be effected.

[15] Also, if what Johannessen calls ''balanced agreement'' is a property of the lexical specification of the conjunction (see footnote 13 above), then mixed agreement would seem to be ruled out under her analysis as well.

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(31) a. Tá mise agus mo dhearthár ’nár ndochtúirí. (I)
am I + CONTR and my brother 1PL doctors
‘My brother and I are doctors.’
b. Bhínn pro-féin agus an seanduine ’nár suí.
be.PAST.HAB.1SG pro-EMPH and the old fellow 1PL sit
‘The old fellow and I used to be sitting.’

If we were to suppose that the examples in (31) were derived from clausal paraphrases, then we would have to explain how the plural clitic in the second conjunct is sensitive to the structure after conjunction reduction, whereas the agreement in the first conjunct is sensitive to the agreement before conjunction reduction.

The data in (31) also show the differential effect of structure in determining the agreement pattern. Whereas the verb, which governs the conjoined subject, shows first conjunct agreement, the predicate, which does not, shows plural agreement. This clearly shows that the agreement properties of conjoined NPs are not determined uniquely; that is, we cannot say for a particular coordinate structure that it either behaves like its first conjunct or behaves like both conjuncts. Instead, the agreement properties are determined configurationally.

3.2 First Conjunct Agreement within the Noun Phrase

First conjunct agreement facts in NPs in Brazilian Portuguese also provide a clear case of the influence of structural position and first conjunct agreement, in addition to showing that first conjunct agreement cannot have a clausal source. Brazilian Portuguese, like other Romance languages, has both prenominal and postnominal adjectives, along with prenominal determiners, all of which show agreement. Depending on the order of the adjectives, it is possible to have mixed agreement with first conjunct agreement on the determiner and the prenominal adjectives and ‘‘both’’ conjunct agreement on the postnominal adjectives. An example is given in (32). In (32a) the first conjunct is feminine, and all prenominal elements agree with it in gender and number. The unacceptability of (32b–c) shows that the prenominal elements must agree with the first conjunct, while the acceptability of (32d) shows that the postnominal adjective *famosos* ‘famous’ is modifying (and therefore agreeing with) both conjuncts and not simply the second conjunct.

(32) a. Eu encontrei as minhas velhas amigas e amigos (BP)
I met the.F.PL my.F.PL old.F.PL friends.F.PL and friends.M.PL
famosos.
famous.M.PL
‘I met my famous old female friends and (my famous old) male friends.’
b. *Eu encontrei os meus velhos amigas e amigos
I met the.M.PL my.M.PL old.M.PL friends.F.PL and friends.M.PL
famosos.
famous.M.PL

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c. *Eu encontrei os meus velhas amigas e amigos
I met the.M.PL my.M.PL old.F.PL friends.F.PL and friends.M.PL
famosos.
famous.M.PL

d. Eu encontrei os meus velhos amigos e amigas
I met the.M.PL my.M.PL old.M.PL friends.M.PL and friends.F.PL
famosos.
famous.M.PL
'I met my famous old male friends and (my famous old) female friends.'

The meaning of (32a) is that both the prenominal and the postnominal elements take scope over both conjuncts (i.e., both female and male friends are old and famous); thus, the agreement pattern cannot be attributed to meaning in these cases. Nor can these NPs be interpreted as clausal, since they can be modified by *juntos* 'together' (which agrees in the plural) or by *no mesmo dia* 'on the same day'.

(33) a. Eu encontrei as minhas velhas amigas e amigos (BP)
I met the.F.PL my.F.PL old.F.PL friends.F.PL and friends.M.PL
juntos.
together.M.PL

b. Eu encontrei as minhas velhas amigas e amigos
I met the.F.PL my.F.PL old.F.PL friends.F.PL and friends.M.PL
no mesmo dia.
on.the same day
'I met my old female friends and male friends together/on the same day.'

The data in (32) and (33) clearly establish the relationship between the structural conditions under which agreement arises and the possibility of first conjunct agreement. We can make sense of these data if prenominal elements agree under government and postnominal elements do not. This conclusion is (somewhat) independent of the exact analysis of adjective placement we adopt. Determiners are heads, and therefore a D will always agree under government. If prenominal adjectives are heads, while postnominal adjectives are adjoined, as Bernstein (1993) argues, then only prenominal adjectives will govern their NPs, and thus only they will show first conjunct agreement. If prenominal adjectives are specifiers of independent functional heads, as suggested by Cinque (1994), then these heads will govern and thus show first conjunct agreement. The adjective in the specifier of a head that agrees under government will thus appear to agree as if it governed. Schematic structures are given in (34). In both of the trees in (34) each higher head governs its complement, and thus agreement will always take place under government.[16]

[16] The position of postnominal adjectives is more problematic, since it is commonly claimed that the N AP order is derived by head movement of N to some higher functional head (e.g., Longobardi 1994, Cinque 1994, Bernstein 1993). A head-raising analysis seems unable to account for the fact that postnominal adjectives can modify conjoined NPs, which are not heads. I will assume that they are simply right-adjoined to NP or some higher functional head and thus do not agree under government.

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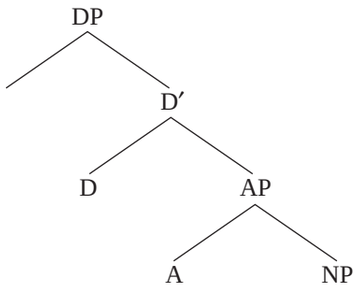
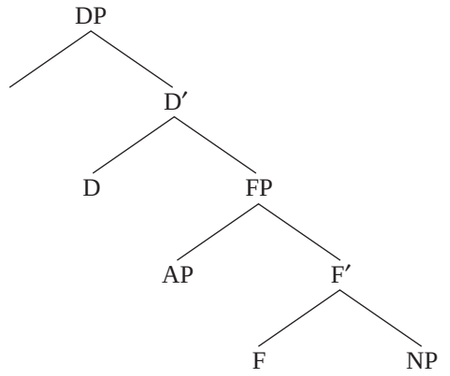
(34) a.



b.



3.3 First Conjunct Agreement in Participial Absolutes

Schmitt (1998) demonstrates that first conjunct agreement effects show up in participial absolutes and *have* + agreeing-participle constructions, both in Brazilian Portuguese and in Spanish. The Brazilian Portuguese data for participial absolutes are given in (35); similar examples exist for *have* + agreeing participles. Participial absolutes are permitted with transitive verbs and unaccusatives. In (35) the verb 'combine' is used, which has only a group interpretation when used unaccusatively, thus ruling out a clausal analysis. The fact that both plural agreement (35c) and singular agreement (35a) are possible shows that there is no default agreement in these cases. Similar facts hold for Spanish.[17]

(35) a. Combinada a prata e o ouro, a Maria tinha (BP)
combined.F.SG the.F.SG silver and the.M.SG gold the Maria had
o suficiente para fazer um anel.
the sufficient for to.make a ring

[17] Schmitt (1998) also shows that accusative-clitic-doubling constructions in Spanish (S) display first conjunct agreement, as in (i) and (ii).

(i) La vi a ella y el. (S)
her saw.1SG to her and him
'I saw her and him.'

(ii) Lo vi a el y ella.
him saw to him and her
'I saw him and her.'

Interestingly, accusative-clitic-doubling constructions (and the participial absolute constructions discussed in the text) impose a semantic restriction that forces them to be interpreted as a single event if the verb normally induces iterativity on the VP. (For example, they cannot be modified by 'repeatedly'.) This is also evidence against a clausal analysis for this kind of construction. Further discussion of this construction is beyond the scope of this article. See Schmitt 1998 for details.

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b. *Combinado a prata e o ouro, a Maria tinha
combined.M.SG the.F.SG silver and the.M.SG gold, the Maria had
o suficiente para fazer um anel.
the sufficient for to.make a ring
'With the silver and the gold combined, Maria had enough to make a ring.'

c. Combinadas as moedas de prata e o ouro,
combined.F.PL the.F.PL coins.F.PL of silver.F.SG and the.M.SG gold
a Maria tinha o suficiente para fazer um anel.
the Maria had the sufficient for to.make a ring
'With the silver coins and the gold combined, Maria had enough to make a ring.'

Participial absolutes as in (35) clearly show the effects of government on first conjunct agreement. In Portuguese and Spanish the absolute can also be preceded by the preposition 'with'. In this case the agreeing NP raises to the preverbal position and the verb must agree with both conjuncts (in this case masculine plural given that one conjunct is masculine), as shown in (36a). In these cases first conjunct agreement becomes impossible, as shown in (36b).

(36) a. Com a prata e o ouro combinados, a Maria tinha (BP)
with the.F.SG silver and the.M.SG gold combined.M.PL the Maria had
o suficiente para fazer um anel.
the sufficient for to.make a ring

b. *Com a prata e o ouro combinada, a Maria tinha
with the.F.SG silver and the.M.SG gold combined.F.SG the Maria had
o suficiente para fazer um anel.
the sufficient for to.make a ring
'With the silver and the gold combined, Maria had enough to make a ring.'

The contrast between (35) and (36) shows again that the agreement properties of a coordinate structure are determined structurally. In all cases first conjunct agreement is impossible in (surface) specifier-head configurations and possible (and sometimes obligatory) in government configurations.[18]

4 Analysis: First Conjunct Agreement with Government

The survey of data thus far has shown that in a wide variety of constructions, first conjunct agreement is possible and sometimes obligatory in constructions that either force group readings

[18] A reviewer points out that full agreement is sometimes available under government configurations. What never seems to happen, however, is the reverse: first conjunct agreement never arises in specifier-head relations. Since specifier-head agreement involves many factors that are not simply structural, it is possible that these factors can override governed agreement for prescriptive reasons. Also, claims about the relationship between structure and agreement must depend on independently motivated syntactic analyses of the languages in question. In the case of the Arabic, Irish, English, and Portuguese data, we can be reasonably sure of the structures involved. In the case of single sentences from less well studied languages, it is not sufficient to show that first conjunct agreement does not arise when the verb is to the left.

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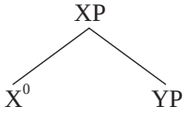
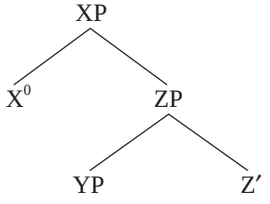
or are compatible with them. The possibility of group readings is not predicted with the clausal analysis, and this fact supports the idea that phrasal coordination plus agreement under government is necessary to account for first conjunct agreement. Treating first conjunct agreement in terms of government also preserves the strong crosslinguistic correlation that first conjunct agreement will arise whenever agreement under government is possible. The correctness of this generalization is amply illustrated by the Arabic facts, the agreement patterns within the noun phrase, and the alternation in participial absolutes shown above. In this section I will show that first conjunct agreement can be accounted for straightforwardly if an adjunction structure is assumed for coordinate structures.

Under standard definitions of government (e.g., Aoun and Sportiche 1981, Chomsky 1986) the complement of a head is governed by the head (I will call this *government*), and the specifier of the complement is governed by the head provided the complement is made transparent in some way, either by stipulation or by incorporation into the governing head (I will call this *exceptional government*).[19] These two configurations are schematized in (37), where in each case X governs YP. In all of the cases discussed above, one of the two configurations is manifested.

(37) a. *Government*



b. *Exceptional government*



Configuration (37a) is manifested in the determiner/prenominal adjective data from Portuguese, and also in the participial absolutes data, according to Schmitt (1998). Configuration (37b) is manifested in the Arabic and Irish VS word orders. Depending on one's analysis of *there* constructions in English, either (37a) (if the coda of the *there* construction is adjoined to VP) or (37b) (if a small clause analysis of *there* constructions is adopted) is realized.

If first conjunct agreement arises under government configurations, it must be the case that the first conjunct of a conjoined set of DPs in the position of YP in (37) is governed. One way to effect this in (37a) is to assume that conjunctions head their own phrases and that the conjuncts are in the specifier and complement of the conjunction phrase.[20] Provided we stipulate that the conjunction phrase itself is transparent to government, the first conjunct will be governed.

In two other analyses of first conjunct agreement in Arabic (Bahloul and Harbert 1993 and Benmamoun 1992), the facts are accounted for in exactly this way. What is not clear from either

[19] It is not important for the present discussion what the exact definition of government is, or, in fact, whether government is abandoned altogether as in Chomsky 1993. Whatever accounts for the standard cases of exceptional government should carry over in this framework. See footnote 24 for more discussion.

[20] This is the structure I proposed in Munn 1987, and it has been adopted (sometimes independently) by many authors since. Various arguments independent of the first conjunct agreement facts are presented in favor of treating conjunction structures as endocentric structures in which the first conjunct c-commands the second. See Munn 1992, 1993 for details.

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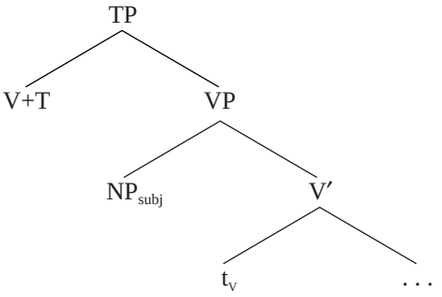
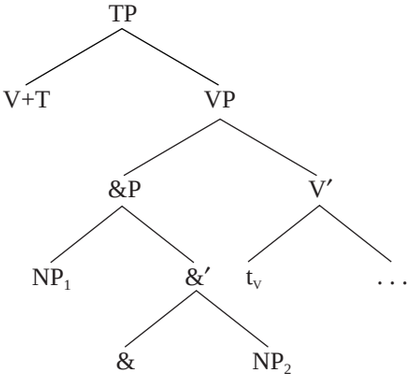
of these analyses, however, is whether putting the first conjunct in the specifier of the conjunction phrase actually accounts for the facts. For the sake of discussion, let us assume, as Benmamoun (1992) does, that the postverbal subject in Arabic remains inside the VP and agrees under government with the V + T complex shown in (38).

(38)



Embedding a conjunction phrase in the subject position of (38) results in the structure in (39).

(39)



Whereas in (37a) we simply need to stipulate that the conjunction phrase is transparent to government, in (39) we must allow for ''exceptional'' exceptional government—that is, government into the specifier of a specifier. This amounts to allowing government to be recursively defined. There is independent evidence that such an extension of government is never permitted.[21]

If we take exceptional-Case-marking verbs to be core cases of exceptional government, and if government into the specifier of a specifier were allowed, we should be able to embed an exceptional-Case-marking clause as the subject of a small clause, but, as Stowell (1981) points out, this is never permitted.

[21] Raposo and Uriagereka (1990) argue for a recursive definition of government. By their definition, recursive government is always subject to Minimality; that is, a head can govern long-distance provided there is no closer head that governs the projection in question. Even with their definition, exceptional exceptional government is not permitted.

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(40) a. I consider John to be foolish.
b. *I consider John to be foolish to be obvious.

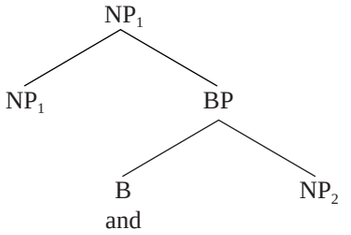
One might argue that the unacceptability of (40b) is due not to government, but simply to the impossibility of assigning Case for reasons independent of government. However, Johnson (1988) shows that this is not the case. Consider the data in (41).

(41) a. I consider John being here to be a problem.
b. *Who do you consider t being here to be a problem?
c. I remember John being here.
d. Who do you remember being here?

In contrast to the infinitive in (40b), an ACC-ing gerund is possible as the subject of a small clause governed by *consider*, as shown in (41a). This shows that the subject of the gerund is internally Case-marked. The subject of the gerund cannot be extracted, however, as the unacceptability of (41b) shows. *Consider* in (41b) must therefore not govern into the gerund. At the same time, however, we cannot say that the subject position of the gerund cannot ever be governed, because of the acceptability of (41d): here *remember* plausibly does govern into the subject position, even if it does not assign Case to the subject.[22] The contrast between (41b) and (41d) is therefore attributable to the impossibility of exceptional exceptional government in (41b).

Elsewhere (Munn 1992, 1993) I have argued that the general unavailability of exceptional exceptional government supports a different structure for coordination, one in which the Boolean phrase is adjoined to the first conjunct, as in (42).[23]

(42)



[22] Johnson (1988) uses this fact to argue that gerunds are CPs, but his arguments are dubious, given the large amount of evidence to the contrary (see Reuland 1983, Abney 1987, Munn 1991).

[23] In the works cited I present two other arguments for the adjoined BP structure. The first is that conjunction phrases can be extraposed, which is consistent with the idea that they are maximal projections. If the first conjunct were in the specifier of the conjunction phrase, the extraposed constituent would have to be a B′. A second argument comes from my analysis of across-the-board extraction as an instance of operator movement to [Spec, BP].

A reviewer questions whether the structure in (42) captures the fact that head-final languages display second conjunct agreement, as shown by Johannessen (1996). For Johannessen this follows from two assumptions: (a) conjunctions are head-final in head-final languages, and (b) the second conjunct is in a right-hand specifier of the conjunction phrase. This second assumption would make conjunction phrases the only phrases with right-hand specifiers in these languages (see Johannessen 1996:671, fn. 10). Under an adjunction analysis, the same facts follow without this anomaly: in head-initial languages, right adjunction is possible; in head-final languages, only left adjunction is possible. The topmost conjunct in a head-final language will thus always be the rightmost, since the BP is an adjunct.

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When we embed structure (42) in either (37a) or (37b), the first conjunct will be governed, either directly or by exceptional government, however that is to be worked out in detail. By treating coordination as adjunction, we can account for all of the first conjunct agreement facts without appealing to stipulative extensions to the theory of government.

In the next section I will argue that specifier-head agreement must be distinguished from governed agreement independent of conjunction, and that the adjunction structure provides a principled way of accounting for the fact that first conjunct agreement is possible only under government.

5 Distinctions between Governed Agreement and Specifier-Head Agreement

The data from first conjunct agreement show that syntactic agreement and semantic agreement do not always coincide. This seems to be an important property of agreement systems in general. If such mismatches between types of agreement were restricted to first conjunct agreement, then it would be quite reasonable to try to tie the agreement mismatches to properties of coordination. This is essentially the tack that ABS take in claiming that first conjunct agreement in Arabic should be analyzed as an instance of conjunction reduction. Because ABS claim that VS agreement is specifier-head agreement, they must deny that first conjunct agreement exists. However, agreement mismatches are not restricted to coordinate structures, but are characteristic of governed agreement generally. In this section I would like to show how governed agreement and specifier-head agreement differ in consistent ways, a fact that, as far as I am aware, has not been noticed before.

The fact that first conjunct agreement overrides normal conjunct resolution rules, as the examples in section 3 have shown, points to a fundamental asymmetry between governed agreement and specifier-head agreement. Whereas the former seems to ''see'' only the governed element (in these cases the first conjunct), the latter is able to ''see'' more than the first conjunct. In this sense, specifier-head agreement is looser than governed agreement and thus may be affected by other factors.

To see that this is so, consider the well-known, but not very well understood, phenomenon of collective noun agreement in British English. In British English, collective nouns can agree in either the singular or the plural, as in (43).

(43) a. The band are going to be playing at 6:00. (BE)
b. The band is going to be playing at 6:00.

However, as Barlow (1992) (citing Corbett 1979) shows, such nouns cannot take plural demonstratives, even when they control plural agreement on the verb.

(44) a. *These band are going to be playing. (BE)
b. This band are going to be playing.
c. This band is going to be playing.

If the indefinite article is used, plural agreement is still possible on the verb.

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(45) a. A band from Poland are going to be playing. (BE)
b. A band from Poland is going to be playing.

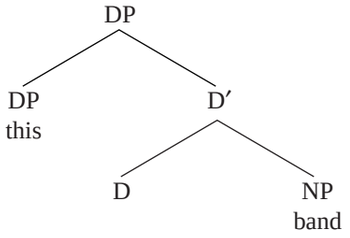
If governed agreement is identical to specifier-head agreement, we would expect collective nouns in British English to control either plural or singular agreement in *there* constructions, given the data in (45). However, as the data in (46a–b) show, this is not the case. In a *there* construction, only singular agreement is possible. This contrasts with the standard cases of agreement in *there* constructions, as in (46c–d), which show that the verb indeed agrees with the postverbal subject. (I am ignoring here the contracted form *there's*, which essentially shows no agreement in English at all.)

(46) a. *There are a band from Poland playing. (BE)
b. There is a band from Poland playing.
c. *There is two bands from Poland playing.
d. There are two bands from Poland playing.

Thus, whatever accounts for the ability of collective nouns in British English to control plural agreement is not generalizable to cases of governed agreement. It also does not extend to demonstrative agreement.

The first conjunct agreement facts inside the noun phrase support this idea. As argued above, first conjunct agreement is obligatory for prenominal elements and impossible for postnominal elements in Portuguese. If demonstratives are in [Spec, DP] (as proposed by, e.g., Baker (1988), Szabolcsi (1994), Vergnaud (1985), Uriagereka (1988), and Schmitt (1996)), then demonstrative agreement is simply the reflex of specifier-head agreement between the D head and the demonstrative. But since the D governs the NP (or the rest of the extended functional projection of N), the agreement between it and the NP takes place under government and thus forces singular agreement. The relevant structure would be (47).

(47)



Since the agreement facts in *there* constructions show the same effects, then whatever accounts for the raising of the associate to the expletive is a case of head-head relations and not specifier-head relations.[24]

[24] In the minimalist framework (Chomsky 1993, 1995), government is dispensed with entirely, being subsumed (largely) by the specifier-head relation. The notion of agreement under government will therefore need to be recast if minimalism is to be adopted. However, the differences between governed agreement and ''regular'' agreement still need to be accounted for. If government does not exist as a relation in the grammar, then we need to ask what its analogue

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These data clearly point to a difference between governed agreement and specifier-head agreement, and this difference extends beyond cases of first conjunct agreement. This is important, because ABS's account of first conjunct agreement cannot be extended to cases of governed agreement that do not involve coordination.

It should be clear from the above data that first conjunct agreement can easily be accounted for using agreement under government with the assumption that the first conjunct of a set of conjoined NPs is in fact governed by a verb that governs the conjoined set as a whole. If all agreement is simply specifier-head agreement, then the asymmetries between the two types of agreement cannot easily be captured. ABS deny the existence of agreement under government because they argue that allowing only a single relation for agreement is conceptually simpler. They argue that the difference between VS and SV agreement in Standard Arabic cannot be the result of agreement with some higher expletive element, hence that the agreement is with the postverbal subject and that agreement is lost under head movement. They leave unanswered the question of how and why the agreement is lost, since it is not lost, for example, by V-to-C raising in English. In order to maintain their proposal, however, they give up a very strong crosslinguistic generalization about languages that exhibit agreement under government: if a language has agreement under government, it will also show first conjunct agreement in exactly those places where agreement under government holds.

6 Conclusion

I have not given a detailed analysis of all of the constructions described above, since in all cases the point is the same: first conjunct agreement cannot generally be given a clausal analysis; instead, it follows directly from agreement under government on the assumption that conjunction phrases are adjoined to the first conjunct.

It is beyond the scope of these remarks to give a full analysis of all of the cases discussed above in terms of LF head (or feature) raising. If the suggestions in footnote 24 are on the right track, however, then head-head agreement is an allowable case of agreement within the minimalist framework, and thus the argument that agreement under government is conceptually invalid does not hold under minimalist assumptions. What is interesting about this approach, however, is that it still encodes the subtle differences between the two types of agreement in terms of whether

is in the minimalist framework. In this framework, all movement is driven by feature-checking requirements of attracting heads, and movement takes place either before Spell-Out or at LF. This entails that in agreement-under-government configurations the agreeing element (e.g., the postverbal subject) has not moved overtly *relative to the agreeing head* (which is not to say that it hasn't moved at all), whereas in specifier-head agreement configurations the agreeing element has moved overtly. Agreement under government is therefore always an instance of covert agreement.

We might exploit this fact, in conjunction with the adjoined BP structure, to explain the differences between the two types of agreement. Under the adjoined BP structure, both the first conjunct and the BP are in the checking domain of a head when in a specifier-head configuration, because the coordinate NP is an adjunction structure. On the other hand, if covert agreement is instantiated as feature movement, as Chomsky (1995) suggests, then only the closest feature that would satisfy the agreement relation would move. This would be the first conjunct. The fact that first conjunct agreement is impossible in specifier-head agreement configurations would then follow from the fact that in overt movement all conjuncts must be pied-piped for PF reasons. A full exploration of this idea is beyond the scope of this article, however.

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pied-piping of adjuncts is allowed or not. Heads will never be able to pied-pipe adjoined conjunction phrases, and this is consistent with the fact that agreement under government does not care about the other conjuncts with respect to feature resolution.

Specifier-head agreement is predicted to allow for agreement with more than one element according to feature resolution rules of the usual type. This will follow, at least partially, by treating the conjunction phrase as an adjunct to the first conjunct and therefore in the checking domain when specifier-head agreement arises. If we treat the conjunction as a sort of plural proform element as in Munn 1993, then the fact that agreement resolution is necessary in specifier-head relations might follow. Conjunct resolution rules themselves are a poorly understood phenomenon, and I do not claim to have a full account for them here. However, given the plural agreement facts with collective nouns in British English, which arise only in specifier-head configurations, it is not entirely obvious that a purely syntactic account of the effects of specifier-head agreement can be found.

These kinds of facts also support the idea that Arabic dialects do not vary because they have drastically different syntaxes, but because they have subtly different agreement systems.

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