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Abstract: Left conjunct and resolved "agreement" in S-selection

My research on nominal coordination has revealed that German differs from Italian with respect to agreement. While Italian exhibits *left conjunct agreement* with gender missmatches (1) German requires *resolved agreement* which can only be spelt out in case a syncretic form is available (3). In absence of such a form, an unacceptable utterance obtains (2):

1.) Questa   scuola di musica   e   centro culturale   è stata distrutta
This.fem   school.fem of music   and   center.masc of culture   was
destroyed.fem

2.) *Diese   Musikschule   und   Kulturzentrum   wurde zerstört
This.fem   school.fem of music   and   center.neut of culture   was destroyed

3.) Diesem Kind   und   Messerstecher   traue   ich   nicht   über den Weg
This.neut/masc   and   knife-stabber.masc   trust   I   not   over the way

In this talk, I want to show that the same patterns can be found in cases of *coordination of unlike categories* (Zhang 2009):

4.) You can depend [PP on my assistance] and [CP that I will be on time]
5.) *You can depend on my assistance and whether I will be on time
6.) *You can depend that I will be on time and on my assistance and

Following Pesetsky (1982) I assume that (verbal) selection reduces to S(emantic)-selection and L(exical)-selection. Data as in 4.) then show that (i) S-selection targets resolved agreement (cf. 5), while (ii) L-selection targets the left conjunct (cf. 6). I claim that this can be accounted for by assuming the same set of assumptions that derive the data in 1.) – 3.): Interpretable features (the ones that S-selection is sensitive to) can be used as a label (Chomsky 2015), while uninterpretable ones (the ones that are relevant for L-selection) cannot.

Additional support for this type of analysis comes from Rizzi's criterial freezing (Rizzi 2016). Combining both assumptions /approaches successfully predicts the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Smith in press).

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