The six French swimmers like people who support them. The German swimmer does, too.'

> [plural] feature mismatch in ellipsis in ASL is grammatical.

> the [plural] feature remains uninterpreted.

Schlenker (2014) uses this as a diagnostic to identify φ-features.

### Agreement in LSC

Assuming a minimalist approach to agreement which involves the movement of the verb to T via φ-features checking (Pitsu et al. 2017; Costellic 2016):

> in LSC we can identify three verb classes:

a) plain verbs, which do not overtly/spatially agree with the arguments;

b) agreement verbs, which agree with subject and object;

c) spatial verbs, where the verb agrees with a locative referent.

"Agreement is understood as the movement between two points associated with the arguments of certain verbs" (Quadros and Que 2008).

> both agreement and spatial verbs use a morpheme that realizes agreement between subject-object toi or locations: PATH:

(3) JORDI SCHOOL_GO_[LSC] ‘Jordi went to school.’

### Derivation of φ-features in LSC

In the minimalist program, Chomsky (2001) and others (Pieszky and Torrego 2007) describe φ-features entering the derivation as unvalued and uninterpretable:

- if the lexical entry enters the derivation with the feature already lexically specified, this feature is valued, otherwise it is unvalued.
- if the feature contributes to the semantic of the lexical entry, this feature is interpretable, otherwise it is uninterpretable.

Biskovicic: it is not obligatory to check valued uninterpretable features, they can be directly deleted. Uninterpretable features do not need to be checked in valued uninterpretable features on the NP, valued uninterpretable valued on the NP, unvalued valued on the verb:

- Valued on the NP, because the feature is already lexically specified
- Interpretation on the NP, because it affects the interpretation of the lexical item.

(11) PERSON+++ CATALAN PARLIAMENT GO_[LSC] ‘Catalan people went to the parliament.’

### Optional agreement

(high/low/non) for hierarchy and iconicity (Barberá 2014)

(12) BOSS MONEY Tanzania GIVE [normal] ‘The boss gave me money.

NP (BOSS): [normal] -> valued interpretable
VP (GIVE): [normal] -> unvalued uninterpretable

- the verb functions as probe and the goal is the NP
- the goal’s feature value (NP) is assigned to the probe’s features (VP).

### Obligatory agreement

(high/low/normal) for hierarchy and iconicity (Barberá 2014)

(13) BOSS PEOPLE GIVE [normal] ‘The boss gave me money.

NP (BOSS): [normal] -> valued interpretable
VP (GIVE): [normal] -> unvalued uninterpretable

- the verb functions as probe and the goal is the NP
- the goal’s feature value (NP) is assigned to the probe’s features (VP)

### Optional agreement

(high/low/normal) for hierarchy and iconicity (Barberá 2014)

(14) BOSS PEOPLE GIVE [normal] ‘The boss gave me money.

NP (BOSS): [normal] -> valued interpretable
VP (GIVE): [normal] -> unvalued uninterpretable

- the verb functions as probe and the goal is the NP
- the goal’s feature value (NP) is assigned to the probe’s features (VP).

### Obligatory agreement

(high/low/normal) for hierarchy and iconicity (Barberá 2014)

(15) BOSS MONEY Tanzania GIVE [normal] ‘The boss gave me money.

NP (BOSS): [normal] -> valued interpretable
VP (GIVE): [normal] -> unvalued uninterpretable

- the verb functions as probe and the goal is the NP
- the goal’s feature value (NP) is assigned to the probe’s features (VP).

### Optional agreement

(high/low/normal) for hierarchy and iconicity (Barberá 2014)

(16) BOSS MONEY Tanzania GIVE [normal] ‘The boss gave me money.

NP (BOSS): [normal] -> valued interpretable
VP (GIVE): [normal] -> unvalued uninterpretable

- the verb functions as probe and the goal is the NP
- the goal’s feature value (NP) is assigned to the probe’s features (VP).

### Conclusion

- Observation of agreement

- Mismatch in gapping: φ-features in Catalan Sign Language (LSC)

- No need to have morphological identity: the syntactic identity is met before the inflection of the verbs (Lasnik 1995).

- The obligatory and optional distinction in checking φ-features supports Biskovicic (2011). It shows that it is not necessary to check valued uninterpretable features, like in the case of optionally expressed φ-features in LSC.

- Mismatch in gapping is a cross-linguistic and cross-modal property.