

Syntactic Agreement

Roberta D'Alessandro

Class 3

EGG in Lagodekhi

Syntactic vs Morphological agr.

- Syntactic vs morphological agreement
- Do we need morphology to know that Agree has taken place?

(1) Jij loopt
 you walk-2.sg
 ‘ You walk’

(2) You walk

Is there agreement in English? How do we know?

Syntactic vs Morphological agr.

Maori

- No morphological marking for Case
- The most prominent DP does NOT receive any preposition marking
- All other DPs do

Transitive clause

(1) E here	ana	a	Huia	i	ngā	kurī
T tie	PROG	PERS	Huia	OBJ	the-PL	dog

‘Huia (NOM) was tying up the dogs’

(from Bauer 1997:477 in Chung 2013:255)

Syntactic vs Morphological agr.

Transitive active clause

(1) E here ana a **Huia** **i** ngā kuri
T tie PROG PERS Huia OBJ the-PL dog

‘Huia (NOM) was tying up the dogs’

(from Bauer 1997:477 in Chung 2013:255)

Passive clause

(2) E here-a ana ngā kuri **e** Huia
T tie-PASS PROG the-PL dog by Huia

‘The dogs (NOM) were being tied up by Huia’

(from Bauer 1997:477 in Chung 2013:255)

Negation in Maori

Negation is a raising structure: only the DP subject can raise

(3)a. E kore a ia e hoki mai
T not PERS she T return t-.here
i a Ponga
from PERS Ponga

‘She (NOM) will never return from Ponga’

(from Bauer 1997:459 in Chung 2013:256)

b. Kaua tētahi wakatūranga e hanga-ia ki runga
a construction T build-PASS to top
i te whenua
OBJ the land

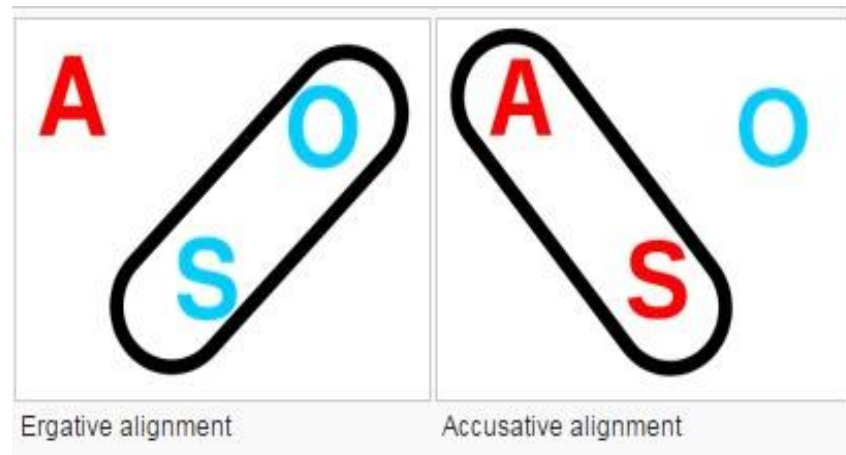
‘No construction (NOM) shall be built on the land’

(from Ngata 1994:68 in Chung 2013:256)

Agreement at PF

- Agreement is necessarily post-syntactic (Bobaljik 2008)
- It happens in the morphological subcomponent
- It accesses the output of operations that are invariably defined as postsyntactic, like morphological case assignment
- Only morphological (m-) case is accessed by agreement

Recall: **Ergativity**



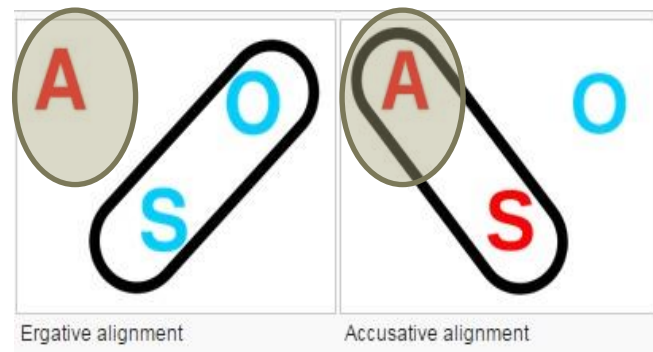
Agreement at PF

- Hierarchy of grammatical functions as agreement controllers (Moravcsik 1974)
- Subject > Object > Indirect Object > Adverb
- Implicational hierarchy

Rewritten as:

Nominative > accusative > dative

Problem: ergativity




Agreement at PF

- Generalizations:
 - a. no agreement (Dyirbal, Lezgian)
 - b. ABS only (Tsez, Hindi)
 - c. ABS ERG (Eskimo-Inuit, Mayan)
 - d. ABS ERG DAT (Basque, Abkhaz)
 - e. * ERG only
 - f. * ERG DAT, no ABS
 - g. * DAT only
 - h. (*ABS DAT, w/o ERG)

Absolutive > Ergative > Dative

Agreement at PF

- Absolutive > Ergative > Dative (for ergative languages)
 - Nominative > Accusative > Dative (for nom/acc languages)
- 
- **Unmarked case > Dependent Case > Lexical/Oblique case**
 - In a DOC: dative is lexical
 - two DPs compete for Case: one is assigned the DEPENDENT Case (acc), the other one the unmarked Case

Agreement at PF

- Hindi/Urdu: the agreement controller is the highest caseless (unmarked) DP
- Ergative markers appear on the external argument of transitives **ONLY in the perfective**
- Dative marks the experiencer
- The remaining arguments are caseless

Hindi/Urdu agreement

(8) Perfective: a. SUBJ-ne OBJ-∅ V
 b. SUBJ-ne OBJ-ko V default

Imperf.: c. SUBJ-∅ OBJ-∅ V
 d. SUBJ-∅ OBJ-ko V

Psych: e. SUBJ-ko OBJ-∅ V

(9) Raam-ne RoTii khaayii thii
Ram-ERG (M) bread-∅(FEM) eat.PERF.FEM be.PAST.FEM
'Ram had eaten bread.'

Hindi/Urdu agreement

- In the imperfective, no argument is marked for Case
- Agreement takes place with the highest m-case element (according to Moravcsik's hierarchy)

(10) siitaa kelaa khaatii thii
Sita- \emptyset (F) banana- \emptyset (M) eat.IMPERF.FEM be.PAST.FEM
'Sita (habitually) ate bananas.'

Compare with (9):

(9) Raam-ne RoTii khaayii thii
Ram-ERG (M) bread- \emptyset (FEM) eat.PERF.FEM be.PAST.FEM
'Ram had eaten bread.'

Nepali quirky subjects

(11) malāī timī man par-ch-au. (*parch-u)
 1SG.DAT 2MH.NOM liking occur-NPT-2MH(occur-
 NPT-1SG)
 ‘I like you.’

(Bickel & Yādava 2000:348 in Bobaljik 2008:311)

- The nominative object, not the dative subject, controls agreement
- It is the morphological case, not the grammatical function, that determined agreement

Agreement within PF domains

Ackema & Neeleman (2003)

(12) **Recoverability**

Rules of suppression operate under agreement

(A&N 2003:688)

(if you wish to delete or impoverish morphologically a terminal node (say, an agreement ending) this node must be in an agreement relation with something else, from which you can recover its full value.)

Recoverability can happen only within a prosodic phrase Φ

Agreement within PF domains

(13) jij loopt
you walk-2.SG
'you walk'

In inversion structures or adverb-initial V2

(14) [_{CP} Dagelijks [_{C'} **loop** [jij t_{Adv} met een hondje
daily walk-2.SG you-2.SG with a dog
over straat
t_v]on street
'You walk daily on the street with a dog']

Prosodic domains

(14) [_{CP} Dagelijks [_{C'} **loop** [jij t_{Adv} met een hondje
daily walk-2.SG you-2.SG with a dog

over straat

t_v]on street

‘You walk daily on the street with a dog’

Prosodic phrasing for (14):

(15) {Dagelijks} **{loop jij}** {met een hondje} {over straat}
daily walk-2.SG you-2.SG with a dog on street

Agreement at NS /the PIC

Phases are characterized by a Phase Impenetrability Condition, which is defined as follows:

- In a phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α ; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

(Chomsky 2000:108)

Agreement and the PIC

- Insensitivity

(16) ənan qəlyiɭu ləŋərkə-nin-et [Chukchee]
he regrets-3.**PL**

[iŋqun Ø-rətəmŋəv-nen-at qora-t]
that 3SG-lost-3-3PL reindeer-**PL**

‘He regrets that he lost the reindeers’ (Bošković 2007:613)

PIC insensitivity

Existentials

(17) [IP There \bar{I} [_{VP} seem to have [_{VP} appeared two problems]]],
(don't there)? (Bošković 2007: 615)

Wh- in situ

(18) John-ga Peter-ga nani-o kat-ta
John-NOM Peter-NOM what-ACC buy-PAST
to omotteiru no?
COMP think Q

'What does John think that Peter bought?'

(Bošković 2007: 616)

PIC insensitivity -

(19) weil die Traktoren zu reparieren
since the tractors-NOM.PL to repair

versucht wurden

tried were-**PL**

'since they tried to repair the tractors'

(Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2005: 815)

PIC sensitivity

- PIC = prosodic domains

Recall Kayne's generalization re: movement and agreement

(23)a. Le ragazze sono arrivate. [Italian]

the girls-fem.pl are arrived-fem pl

'The girls have arrived.'

b. Le ragazze sono state arrestate.

the girls-fem pl are been-fem.pl arrested-fem.pl

'The girls have been arrested.'

c. Si sono viste le ragazze.

SI are seen-fem pl the-fem.pl girls-fem.pl

'We have seen the girls/the girls have been seen.'

PIC sensitivity

(24) Le ragazze si sono guardate
the girls selves are looked-F.PL

allo specchio

at-the mirror

‘The girls have looked at themselves in the mirror.’

(25) Le abbiamo salutate.
them-fem pl we-have greeted-fem pl

‘We have greeted them.’

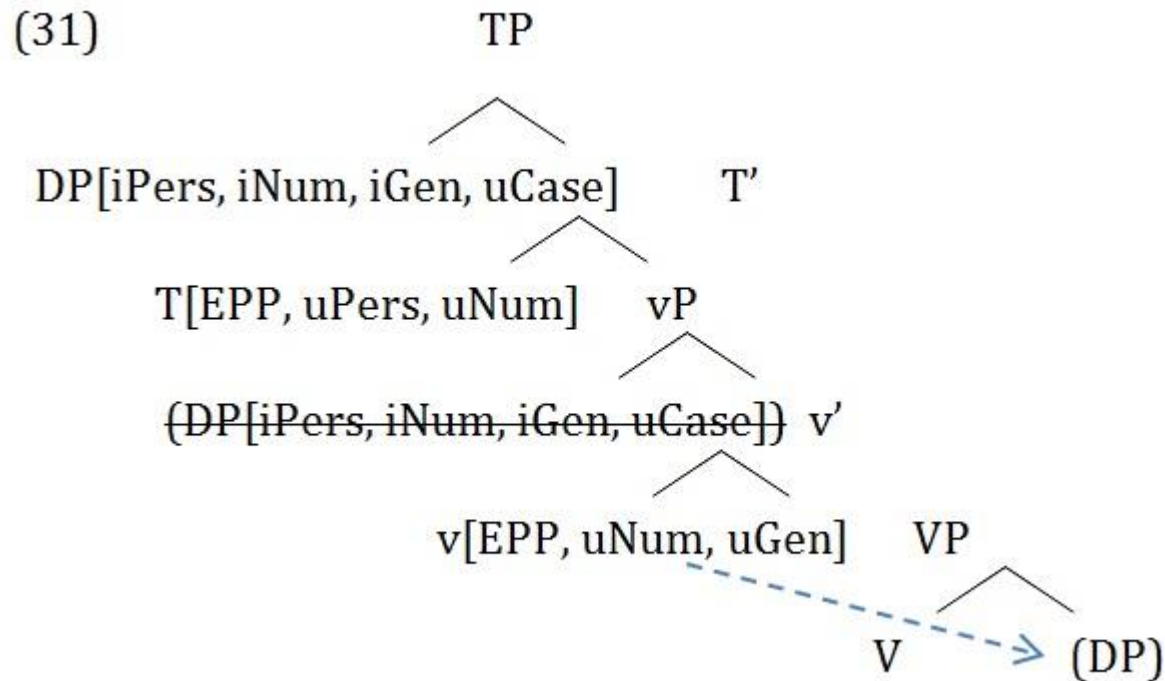
PIC sensitivity

(26) a. *Abbiamo salutate le ragazze.
have-1.PL greeted-F.PL the-fpl girls-F.PL

b. * Le abbiamo salutato

Kayne: movement triggers agreement

Kayne in the MP



Wrong prediction! The pp should agree with the *in situ* object.

Pp agreement in Italian

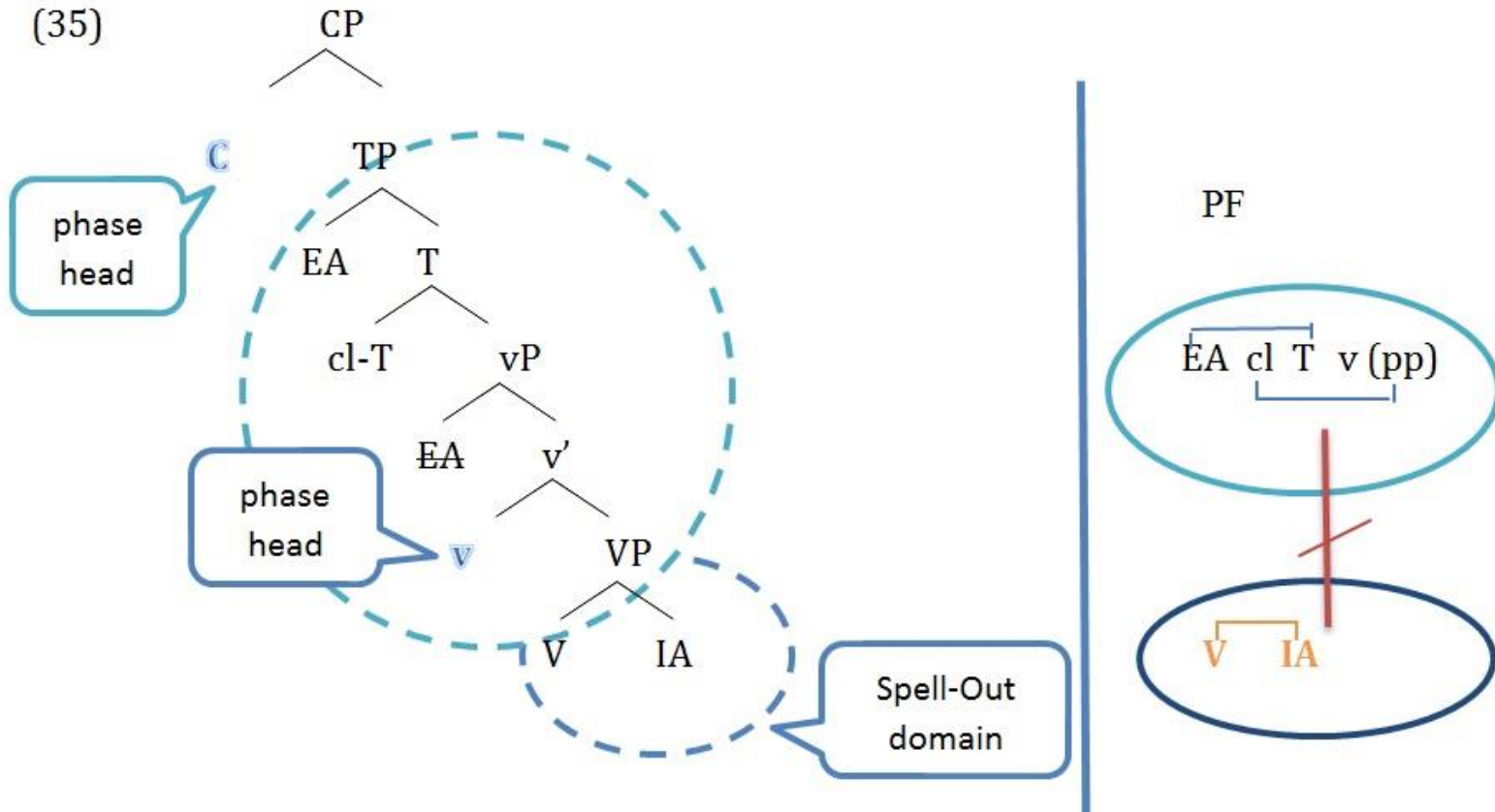
CONDITION ON THE MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL REALIZATION OF AGREEMENT

- A. Given an Agree relation A between Probe P and Goal G, morphophonological agreement between P and G is realised iff P and G are contained in the complement of the minimal phase-head H.
- B. XP is the complement of a minimal phase head H iff there is no distinct phase head H' contained in XP whose complement YP contains P and G.

(D'Alessandro & Roberts 2008:482)

Pp agreement in Italian

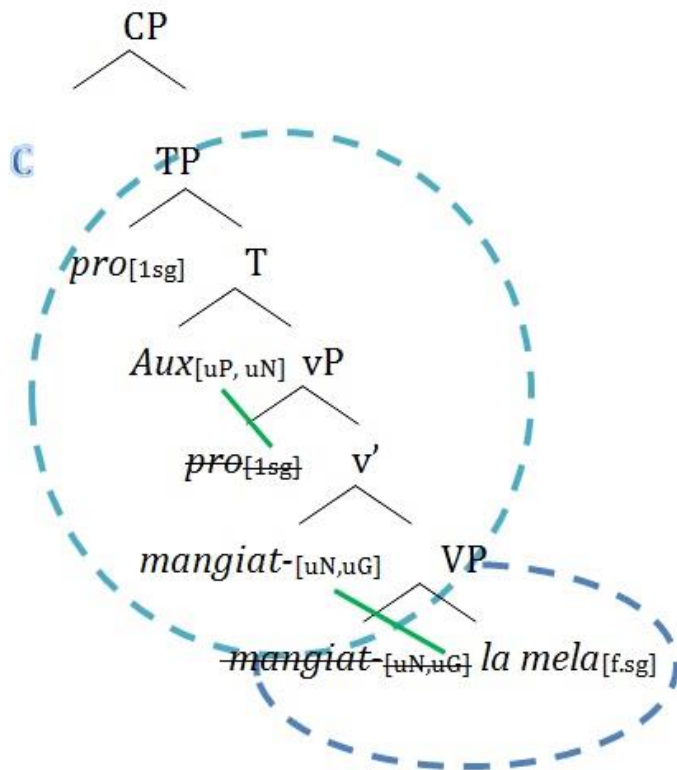
(35)



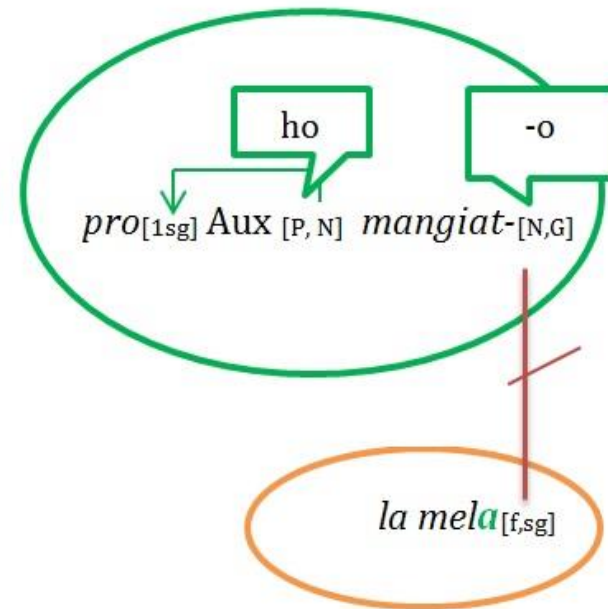
Pp agreement in Italian

Ho mangiat**o** la mela.
 I-have eaten-masc sg the-fem sg apple-fsg
 'I have eaten the apple.'

(38)



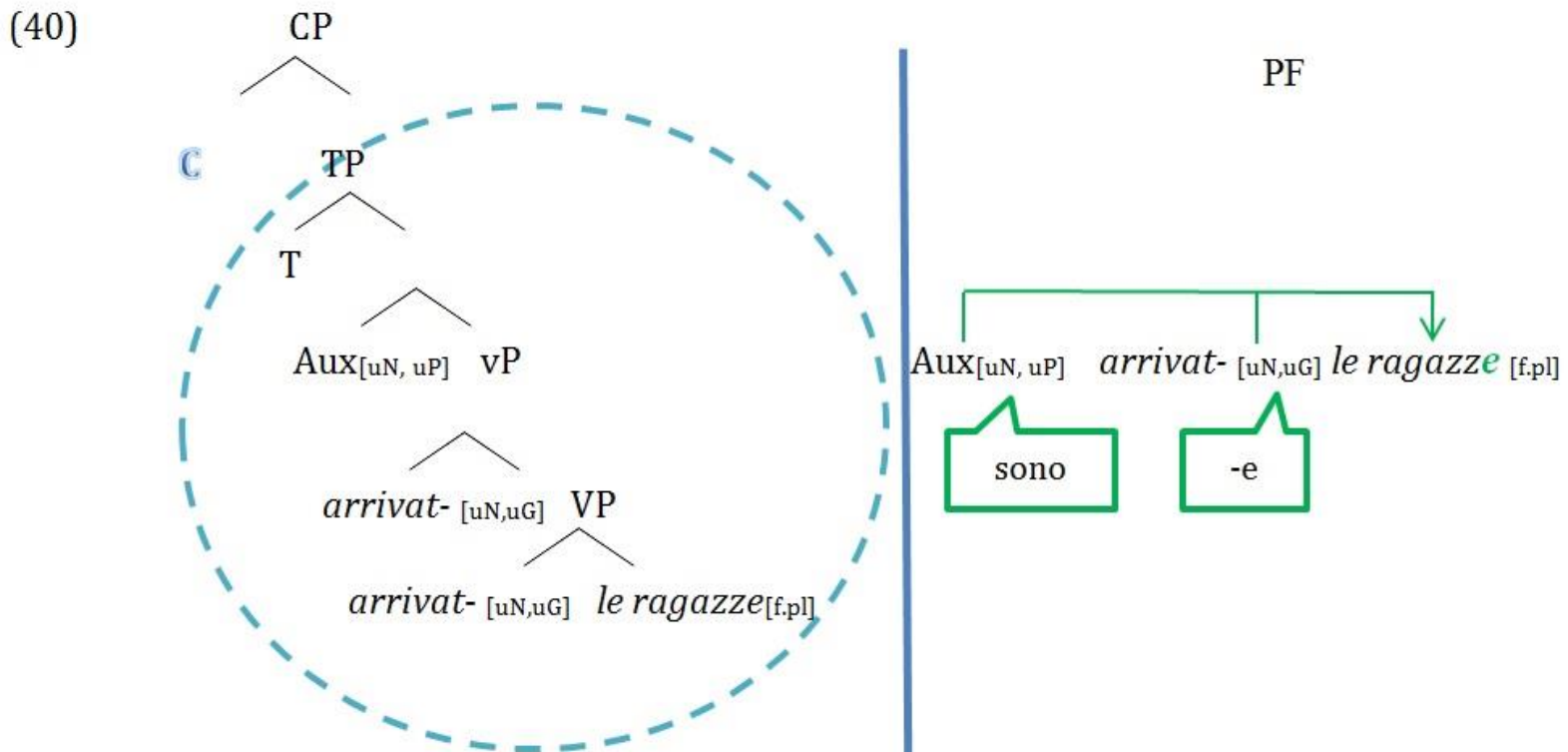
PF



Pp agreement in Italian

- (39) Sono arrivate le ragazze.
are arrived-fem pl the girls-fem pl
'The girls have arrived.'

The derivation for (39) is as follows:



PIC domains \neq prosodic d.

(25) a. (bá-níké ú-Síphó íí-maali) [Zulu]
2SUBJ-give CL1-Sipho CL9-money
'They gave Sipho money.'

b. (ín-kósíkaazi) (í-théngel' ábá-fán' ízím-baatho)
CL9-woman 9SUBJ-buy.for CL2-boy CL10-clothes
'The woman is buying clothes for the boys.'

c. (ú-Síph' ú-phékél' ú-Thánd' in-kuukhu)
CL1-Sipho 1SUBJ-cooked.for CL1-Thandi CL9-chicken
'Sipho cooked chicken for Thandi.'

d. (bá-ník' ú-Síph' í-bhayisékili) (namhlanje)
2SUBJ-gave CL1-Sipho CL5-bicycle today
'They gave Sipho a bicycle today.'

(Cheng & Downing 2012: 7)

Zulu

(26) [_{CP} [_{TP} subject verb [_{vP} [_{VP} IO DO]]]]

Tone spreading is
insensitive to the
upper boundary

Modular PIC

- We need to take PF more seriously.

Eastern Abruzzese

8. a. So vistə b. So **vv**istə
 am seen am seen
 ‘I have seen’.act ‘I am seen’. Pass
9. a. Si rəspəttatə b. Si **rr**əspəttatə
 are respected are respected
 ‘you have respected’ ‘you are respected’

(Biberauer & D’Alessandro 2006, D’Alessandro & Scheer 2015)

Phonological rules

- Phonological rules need a DOMAIN of application
- We know that the domain of application of phonological rules is NOT a syntactic phrase: NON ISOMORPHISM (Selkirk 1981, Nespor & Vogel 1986)
- No correspondence, two different «modules»
- A phonological RULE expressing syntactic information is very rare
- Who cares

Rafforzamento fonosintattico

- *Rafforzamento fonosintattico* (phono-syntactic doubling, RF) is a SANDHI rule applying to the initial consonant of Word 2 in a sequence W1 W2 if given conditions are met

W1 W2
1. CVCV CVCV → CVCV CCVCV

stress



gemination



Auxiliary selection in EA

10.

So vistə	(I) am seen	'I have seen'	BE
Si vistə	(you) are seen	'you have seen'	BE
A vistə	(he) has seen	's/he has seen'	HAVE
semə vistə	(we) are seen	'we have seen'	BE
setə vistə	(you.pl) are seen	'you have seen'	BE
a vistə	(they) have seen	'they have seen'	HAVE

D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010)

1/2 BE
3 HAVE

Voice

Eastern Abruzzese

11.a. So vistə

am seen

‘I have seen’.act

b. So **vv**istə

am seen

‘I am seen’. Pass

12.a. Si rəspəttatə

are respected

‘you have respected’

b. Si **rr**əspəttatə

are respected

‘you are respected’

Voice

- 2 different auxiliaries?
> Unlikely

13. So/ si > so/si ssəmbatəchə (I am/you are nice)

Compare:

14. nu wagliona səmbatəchə

a guy nice

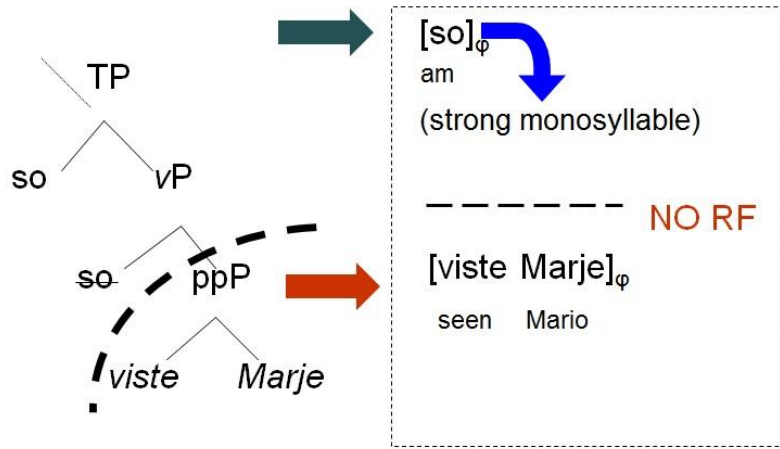
'A nice guy'

The phonological rule applies when it can

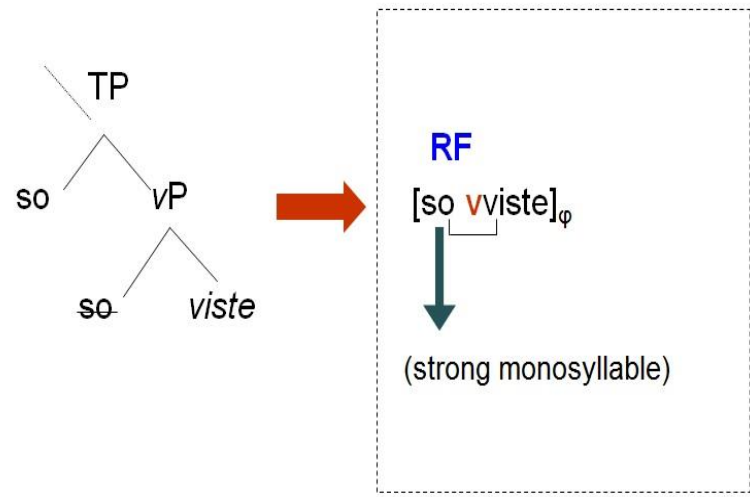
Voice

- Structural difference between active and passive

Active



Passive



Unaccusatives

- Observe the following

a. So **mmorte** (predicative)

b. Me so **morte** (unaccusative/inchoative)

c. So **rəmastə**
am.1.SG stayed.SG
'I have stayed'

[Arielli]

Voice

(1) A rəmastə
 has.3.SG stayed.SG
 ‘(S)he has stayed’

[Arielli]

(2) Jè vvistə
 is.3.SG seen
 ‘(S)he is seen’

Voice is the relevant feature, not transitivity

Syntax – Phonology mismatch

Modular PIC

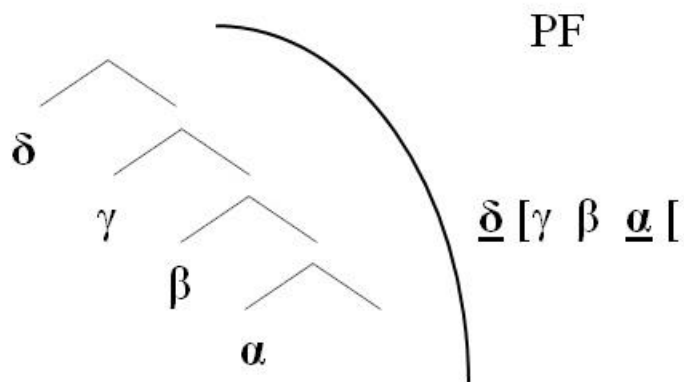
- We can also have a PIC at PF (D'Alessandro & Scheer 2015)

(3) Modular PIC: languages choose which access points are endowed with a PIC

language A:

phase heads α and δ have a PIC at PF

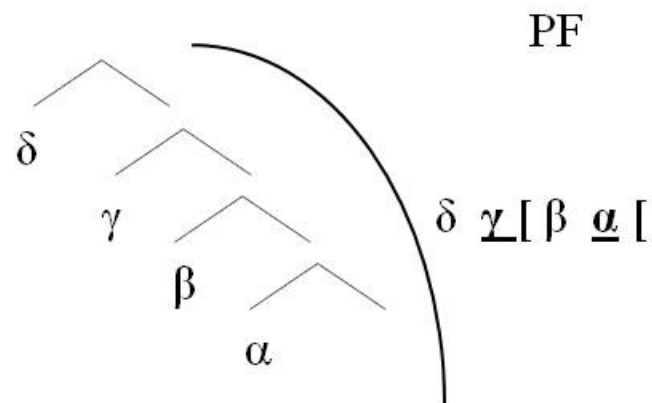
phase heads β and γ do not



language B:

phase heads α and γ have a PIC at PF

phase heads β and δ do not



References

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