

Syntactic Agreement

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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

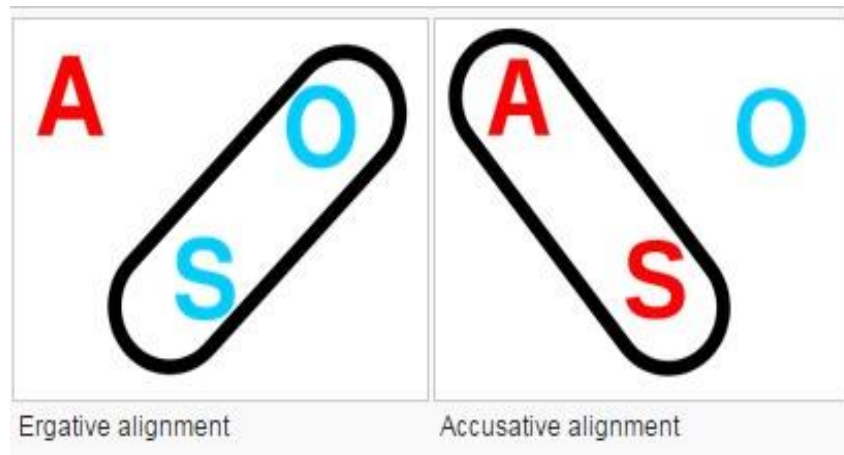
'No construction (NOM) shall be built on the land'

(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

- Moravcsik's grammatical function Hierarchy
 - 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
- 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- \emptyset V
b. SUBJ-ne OBJ-ko V default

Imperf.: c. SUBJ- \emptyset OBJ- \emptyset V
d. SUBJ- \emptyset OBJ-ko V

Psych: e. SUBJ-ko OBJ- \emptyset V

(9) Raam-ne RoTii khaayii thii
Ram-ERG (M) bread- \emptyset (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 \downarrow [_{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-fempl 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.’

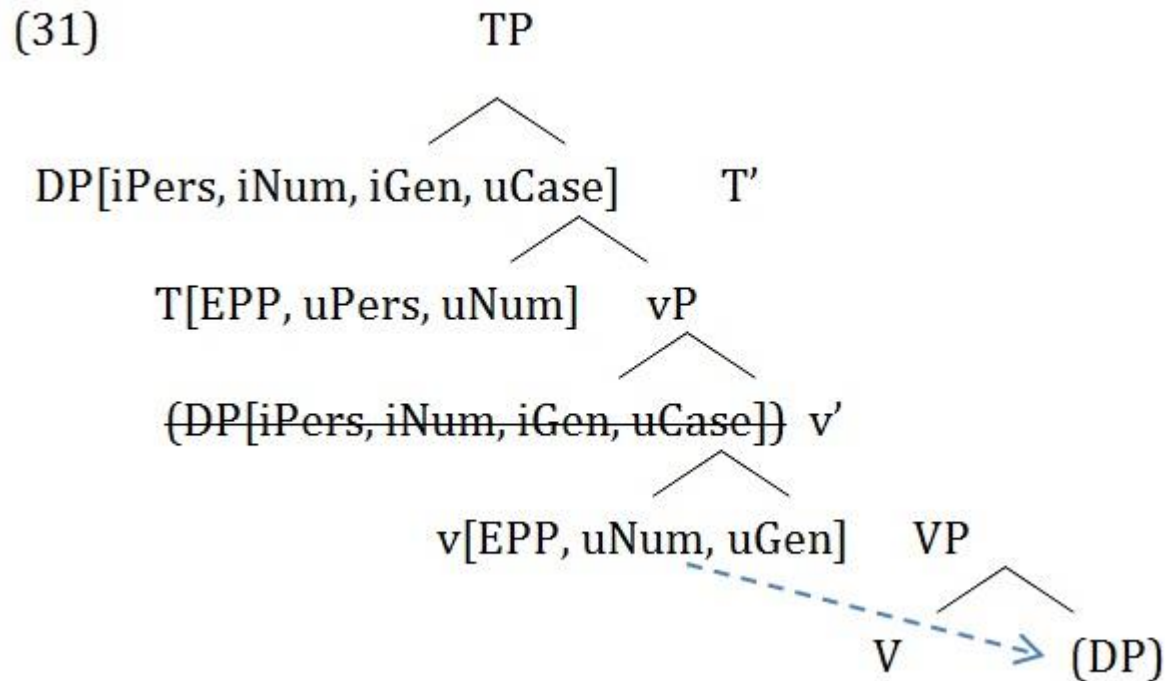
PIC sensitivity

(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

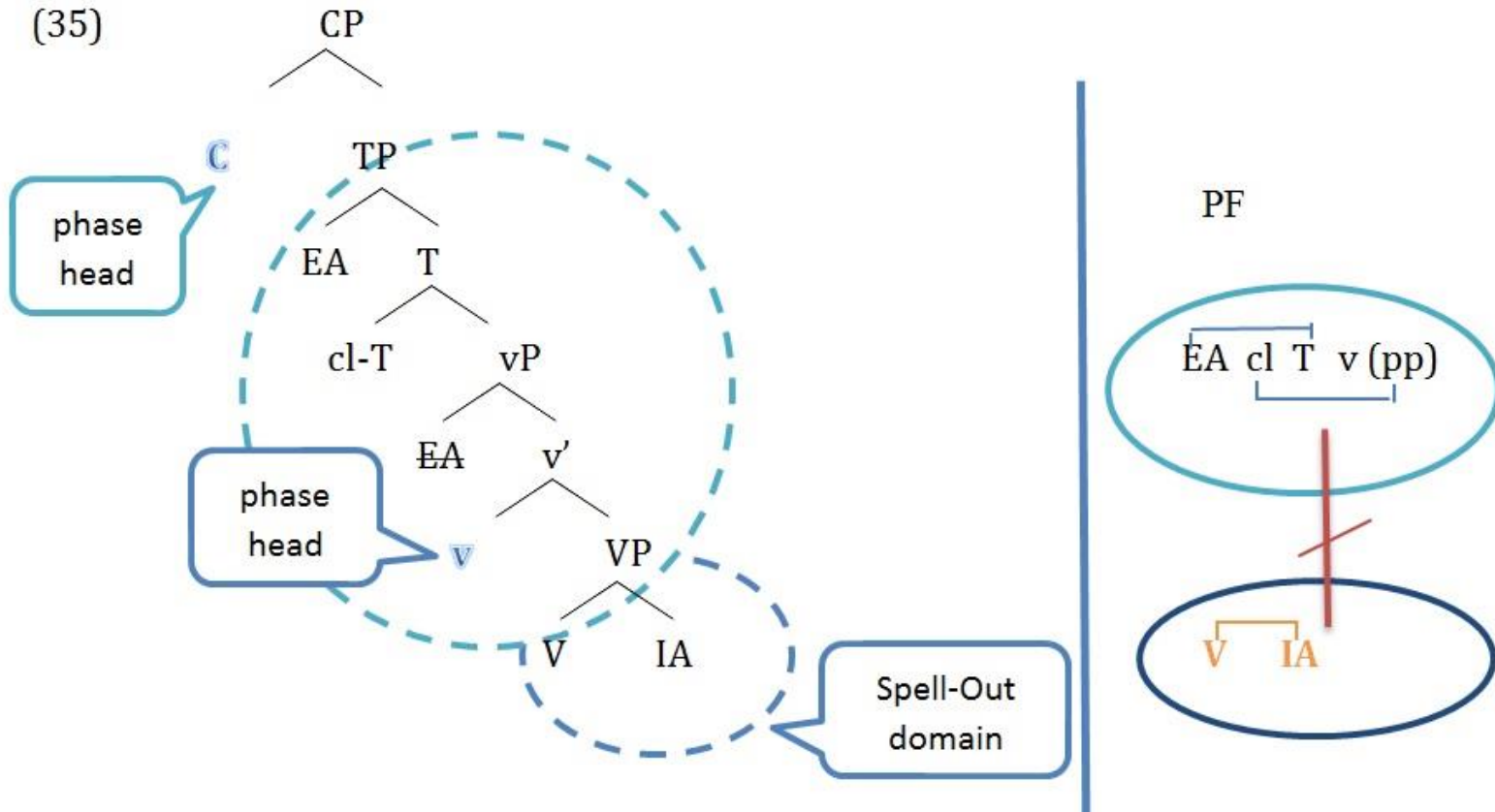
CONDITION ON THE MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL REALIZATION OF AGREEMENT

- 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

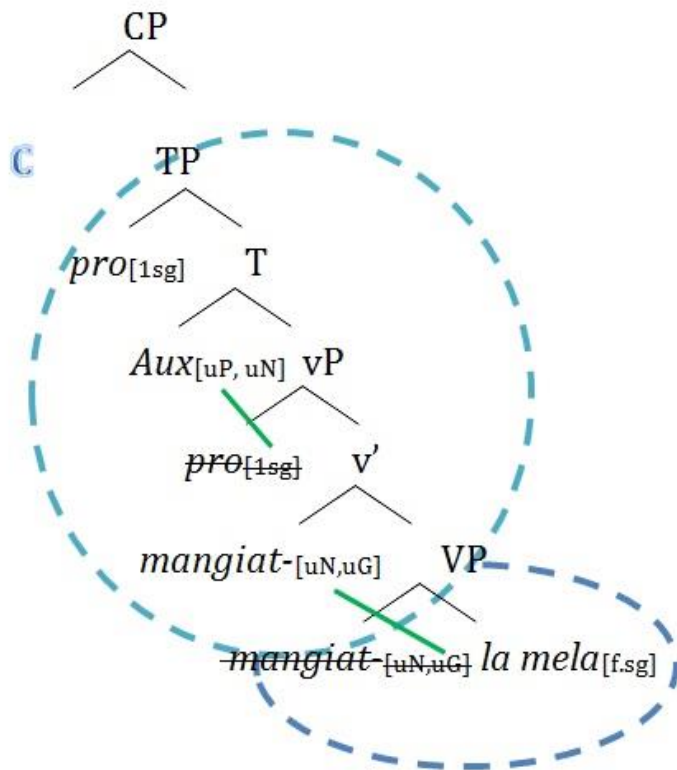
(35)



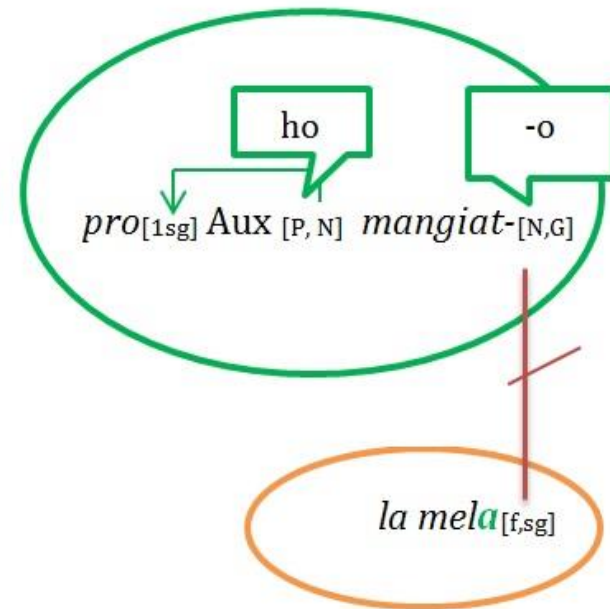
Pp agreement in Italian

Ho mangiato la mela.
 I-have eaten-masc sg the-fem sg apple-fsg
 'I have eaten the apple.'

(38)



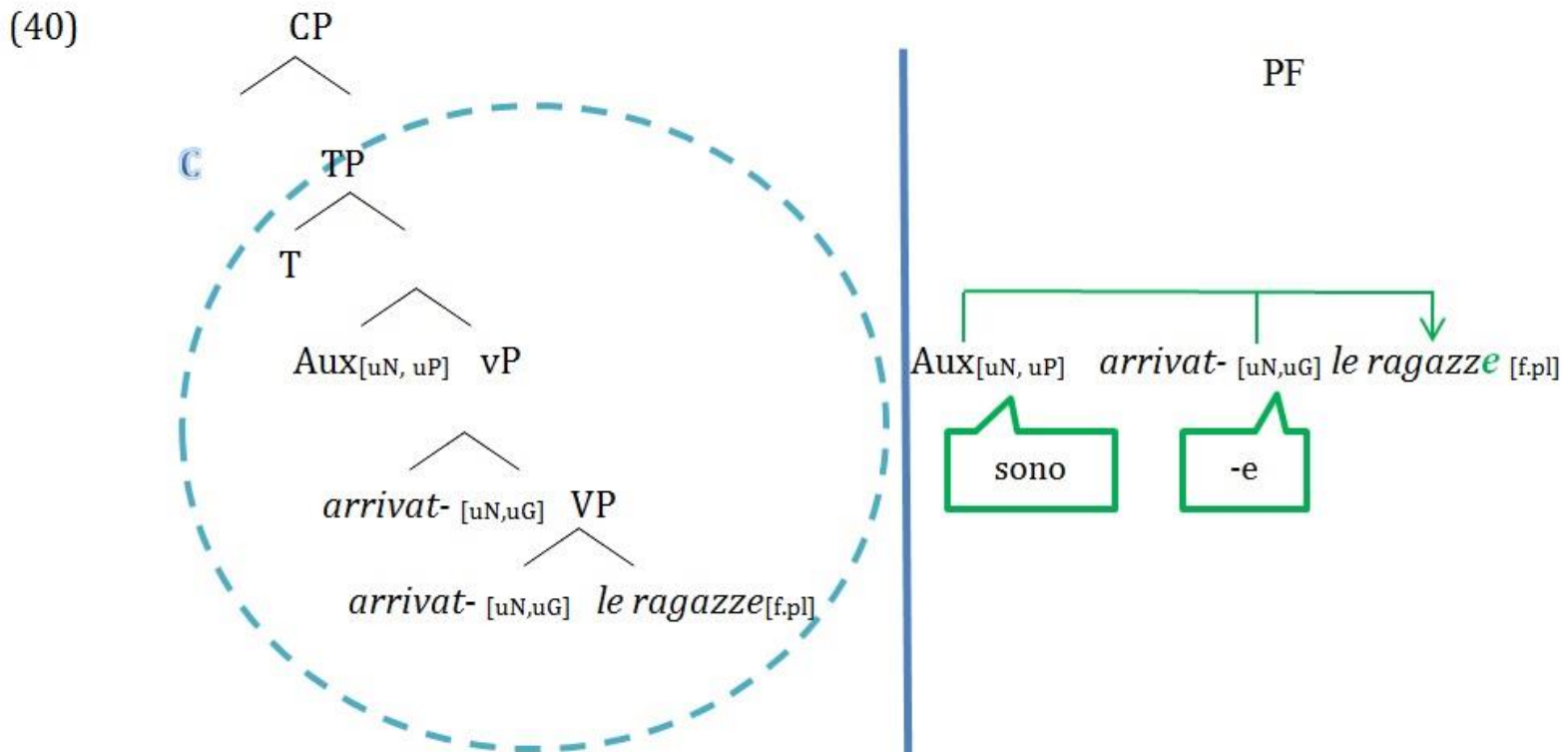
PF



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-kúukhu)
CL1-Sipho 1SUBJ-cooked.for CL1-Thandi CL9-chicken
'Sipho cooked chicken for Thandi.'

d. (bá-ník' ú-Síph' í-bhayisékili) (namhlaanje)
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

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