

Tense and agreement without functional heads

Jan-Wouter Zwart
University of Groningen

Seminari de lingüística a la Universitat de Barcelona
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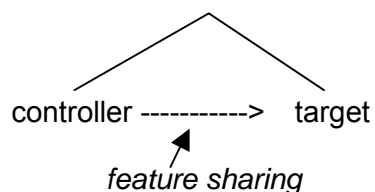
- (1) finiteness
A property of verbs or clauses showing tense and/or agreement morphology

A bit of history

- (2) pre-generative tradition (Bloomfield, Harris)
Locate [finiteness] outside the verb phrase
- (3) generative implementation
INFL-complex (Chomsky 1957), ultimately defined as the head of the clause (around 1980)
- (4) peak of Government-Binding stage, early minimalism:
AgrS, Tense, AgrO
- (5) Chomsky 1995
Abandon agreement phrases: only present to help the derivation along
- (6) Problems:
 - double representation of features (actually, triple), generates trigger for movement
 - agreement features on the target (V-INFL complex) are *uninterpretable*, so not part of the Lexicon
- (7) Chomsky's solution (Derivation by Phase, On Phases)
Generate uninterpretable features as part of another functional head (T, later C)
- (8) Uninterpretable features act as *probe* for a *goal* carrying the same features, and are then deleted by checking/matching
- (9) Bird-s fly-Ø
bird-PL fly-PL
[+int] [-int]
- (10) Problems in (6) not really solved

Agreement

- (11) Ideally: replace probe-goal system by a controller-target system
- (12) controller target
[+int] [-int]
- (13) agreement as a function of Merge



(14) realization of agreement on the target ([-interpretable])

a. *adjacent verb/auxiliary*

Jan wandel-**t** in het bos (Dutch)
 John walk-3SG in the forest
 'John is walking in the forest.'

b. *nonadjacent verb/auxiliary*

John rarely walk-**s** in the forest (English)

..dat Jan in het bos wandel-**t**
 that John in the forest walk-3SG (Dutch)
 '..that John is walking in the forest.'

c. *multiple predicate-internal elements*

Juma a-li-kuwa a-ngali a-ki-fanya kazi (Swahili)
 Juma1 SU1-PAST-beSU1-still SU1-PROG-do work
 'Juma was still working.' (Carstens 2003: 395)

d. *adjacent pronouns/clitics*

u bru la? pən-yəp u u psñ (Bhoi Khasi)
 3SG.MASC man PAST cause-die he 3SG.MASC snake
 'The man killed a snake.' (Nagaraja 1997)

e. *nonadjacent pronouns/clitics*

u bru pənyap psəñ u (Nongtung Khasi)
 3SG.MASC man cause-die snake he
 'The man killed a snake.' (Nagaraja 1997:355)

f. *objects*

na-pa-xa·m a-p-sa· apa·-m ux^w a-l' tukwe·-m xa-pa-ču· san
 1SG-soul DEM-2AGRS sky DEM-2AGRS 2SU-SUB-carry FUT
 '(that) you will carry my soul to heaven' (Troike 1981: 663) (Coahuilteco)

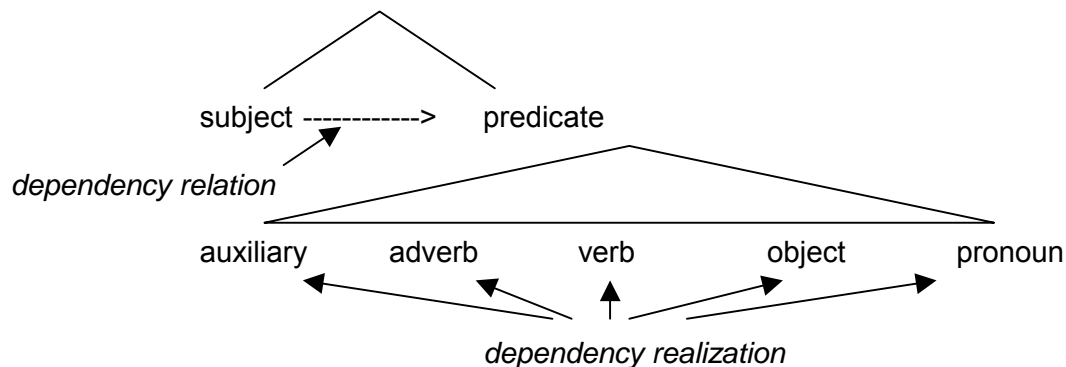
(15) Generalization

Agreement realized on one or more terms of the subject's sister ('predicate')

(16) Inflection of the verb is just one of a range of agreement realization possibilities

(17) Agreement not necessarily associated with the heads of 'extended functional projections' of V (typologically biased view)

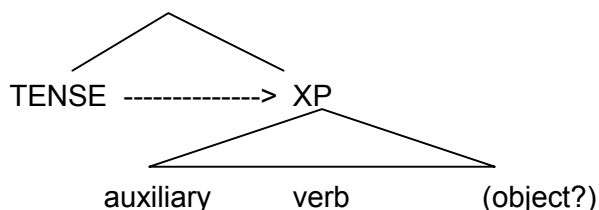
(18) Simplest analysis



Tense

(19) Can tense be analyzed as a form of agreement?

(20)



(21) If so, unclear that Tense is a functional head, rather than a clausal operator

(22) *Wiklund facts (Wiklund 2005)*

a. Han försök-te o **skrev** / skriva ett brev (Swedish dialects)
 he try-PAST LINK write:PAST /-INF a letter
 'He tried to write a letter.' (TMA copying)

b. Han hade kunnat **skrivit** / skriva
 he have:past can:PART write:PART / INF
 'He had been able to write.' (participle copying)

c. Han satt o **skrev** dikter
 he sit:PAST LINK write:PAST poems
 'He was writing poems.'

(23) Generalization
 Copying only happens with tenseless complement clauses

(24) Wiklund's test for tensedness
 Check for possible tense mismatches between matrix and embedded clause, made visible by the independent use of time adverbials

(25) *Today* John claimed to have been asleep all day *yesterday*

(26) In terms of agreement
 Multiple realization of [tense] (in matrix and embedded clause) on the sister of the TENSE operator (in the matrix clause)

(27) Tense morphology in the absence of Tense

(28) Tense ≠ finiteness

Infinitival tense in Dutch

(29) Tense in Dutch

present	<i>wandel-t</i>	'walks'	unmarked
simple past	<i>wandel-de</i>	'walked'	cotemporaneous with reference point in the past
perfect	<i>heeft gewandeld</i>	'has walked'	relative tense, prior to reference point = now

(30) Difference past vs. perfect

- a. Scriabin was een genie
Scriabin be:PAST a genius
- a'. # Scriabin is een genie geweest
Scriabin AUX:PRES a genius be:PERF

(reference point = now implies that Scriabin is alive but no longer a genius)

- b. Ik heb het toen al gedaan
I AUX:PRES it then already do:PERF
'I already did it then.'
- b'. Ik deed het toen nog
I do:PAST it then still

(*al* implies reference point = now, *nog* implies prior reference point)

(31) Testing tense in infinitives

Check for morphological alternation connected with an explicit reference time in the embedded clause

- a. Jan slaapt terwijl de telefoon gaat (*sliep)
John sleeps while the phone rings (*slept)
- b. Jan sliep toen de telefoon ging (*slaapt)
John slept when the phone rang (*sleeps)

(32) *te+auxiliary+perfective participle = past infinitive*

- a. Jan beweert [dat hij sliep toen de telefoon ging]
John claims that he was asleep when the telephone rang
- b. Jan beweert [geslapen te hebben toen de telefoon ging]
John claims to have been asleep when the telephone rang
- (*te slapen)
(to sleep)

(33) *lifetime effect*

- a. Scriabin wordt geacht [een genie geweest te zijn]
Scriabin is considered a genius to have been
- b. # Scriabin wordt geacht [een genie te zijn]
Scriabin is considered a genius to be

(does not have the funny reading of (30a'), but the lifetime reading of (30a))

(lacks the lifetime reading of (30a), but is simply a present tense infinitive, implies S = alive)

(34) *accessibility reading*

- a. Jan speelde viool toen de bom ontplofte
John played violin when the bomb exploded
(EXPLODE included in PLAY)

- b. Jan heeft viool gespeeld toen de bom ontplofte
 John has violin played when the bomb exploded
 (EXPLODE precedes PLAY, J. starts playing *right after* the bomb exploded)
- c. Jan beweert [viool gespeeld te hebben toen de bom ontplofte]
 John claims [violing played to have when the bomb exploded]
- ambiguous:* i. EXPLODE included in PLAY (past)
 ii. EXPLODE precedes PLAY (perfective)

(35) *reference point (cf. (30b))*

- a. Jan beweert [het *toen al* gedaan te hebben] (perfective)
 John claims [it then already done to have]
- b. Jan beweert [het *toen nog* gedaan te hebben] (past)
 John claims [it then still done to have]

(36) Perfect infinitive used to morphologically express past tense
 (i.e. agreement with a TENSE operator with the value [past])

(37) Finiteness ≠ tensedness

So what is finiteness?

- (38) Wiklund's findings
 Sometimes verbs have tense morphology, but they are really **nonfinite**. This happens *only* when they are in a clause without tense (i.e. as a form of agreement)
- (39) Dutch findings
 Sometimes a verb has no tense morphology, but they are still tensed. This happens when they are in a nonfinite clause with tense. So these are tensed but **nonfinite**.
- (40) If finiteness is not a function of Tense, it must be a function of (subject) agreement
- (41) But subject agreement was shown to reduce to the subject-predicate relation
- (42) Finiteness is a property of the subject-predicate nexus
 (i.e. a function of subject merger)
- (43) Consequence: control/raising infinitivals lack a subject (neither trace nor PRO)
- (44) *AgrO may be realized regardless of the presence of Tense*
- Vivek-ne [kitaab parh-nii] chaah-ii (Hindi)
 Vivek-ERG book_F read-INF:F want-PERF:F.SG
 'Vivek wanted to read the book.'
 (NB, main verb also shows object agreement, = Long Distance Agreement)
- (45) *Tense may be realized regardless of the presence of finiteness/subject*
- (46) *Subject-finiteness may be realized regardless of the presence of C*
- (47) Conversely
- a. A particular value for Tense narrows the options for subject/finiteness
- b. A particular value for subject/finiteness narrows the options for C

(48) finite-nonfinite split in the verbal paradigms = subject-nonsubjectform split

The Extended Projection Principle (EPP)

(49) Every clause must have a subject (Chomsky 1981/1982)

- (50) a. -tense --> -finiteness/subject
b. +tense --> ±finiteness/subject

- (51) a. -finiteness/subject --> infinitival clause, verb has nonsubject form
b. +finiteness/subject --> finite clause, verb has subjectform

(52) Expletive constructions

a. ..dat er zelden mensen in de tuin waren (Dutch)
that there rarely people in the garden be:PAST.PL
'..that there were rarely people in the garden.'

b. [C [**expl** [tense [neg [associate [predicate [copula]]]]]]]
that there PAST rarely people in the garden were

(53) Expletive is a finiteness operator, ensuring finiteness when the subject is not available

(54) Agreement with expletive = default agreement

3 = 'nonperson' (i.e. neither speaker nor addressee; it has a transparent plural)
SG = 'nonnumber' (cf. nonnumeral usage *Do you take lemon in your tea?*)

(55) Control infinitives

- a. *how do we get the interpretation that what's missing is the **subject**?*
b. *how to explain effects of subject orientation within the control infinitive (reflexives, case of secondary predicates, obviation, etc.)?*
c. *ultimate consequence: external and internal arguments not generated inside VP, so base-generation in the grammatical function position*

(56) Beginning of an answer

Control is not a relation between NPs or NP positions, but a relation between predicates

(57) *Control shift*

Jan beloofde Piet op de kinderen te zullen / mogen passen
John promised Pete after the kids to shall / may look
'John promised Pete to (be allowed to) look after the children.'

zullen --> controller = *Jan*
mogen --> controller = *Piet*

control infinitive = [-agentive] --> controller = [-agentive] argument of control V
control infinitive = [+agentive] --> controller = [+agentive] argument of control V
(cf. Farkas 1988)

(58) *Current best shot*

Finiteness is a semantic property of a clause resulting from the interaction of the time slices associated with a subject and a predicate.

