Agreement without Agree

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1. Agree

(1)   [John$_{3SG}$ [probably [$_{VP}$ love-s linguistics]]]

(2)   [$_{TP}$ John$_{3SG}$ T$_{\varphi:unvalued}$ [probably [$_{VP}$ John$_{\varphi:3SG}$ [love-s linguistics]]]]

(3) a.   John's friends { love/*loves } linguistics
    b.   Friends of John { love/*loves } linguistics

(4) a.   There { seems/*seem } to be a man in the room
    b.   There { seem/*seems } to be several people in the room

(5)   *Feature sharing*
       In a dependent-nondependent pair, the nondependent shares its features with the dependent.

2. Exceptional agreement

1   Addressee agreement

(6) a.   Pettek   lan   egin   d-i-**k**-∅   Basque
         Peter:ERG work:ABS   do:PERF   3SG.ABS-AUX-**ALLOC:MASC.INFRML**-3SG.ERG
         'Peter worked' (to a male friend)
    b.   Pettek   lan   egin   d-i-**n**-∅
         Peter:ERG work:ABS   do:PERF   3SG.ABS-AUX-**ALLOC:FEM.INFRML**-3SG.ERG
         'Peter worked' (to a female friend)
    c.   Pettek   lan   egin   d-i-**zü**-∅
         Peter:ERG work:ABS   do:PERF   3SG.ABS-AUX-**ALLOC:FRML**-3SG.ERG
         'Peter worked' (formal)

2   Speaker agreement

(7) a.   ma-yana   b.   ñí-yana   Ignaciano
         3SG.MASC-go   3SG.MASC-go
         'he must go' (spoken by a male)   'he must go' (spoken by a female)

(8) a. ema má-imaha ema apana
   3SG.MASC 3SG.MASC-see 3SG.MASC other
   'He saw the other guy.' (spoken by a male)

 b. eñí   ñ-ímaha eñí apana
   3SG.MASC 3SG.MASC-see 3SG.MASC other
   'He saw the other guy.' (spoken by a female)

3 Possessor agreement

(9) a. huni ok-raa dekh-al-ak-**hin** (object agreement in secondary slot)   Angika
   3:HON he-OBJ see-PAST-3SU-3OB
   'He saw him.'

 b. huni ok-raa dekh-al-ak-**hõ** (addressee agreement in secondary slot)
   3:HON he-OBJ see-PAST-3SU-**2:HON**
   'He saw him.'

(10) a. tõ   ok-ra   beta-ke dekh-l-əhik   Maithili
    2:NHON 3:NHON-GEN son-OBJ see-PAST-2NHON>3NHON
    'You saw his son.'

  b. toh-ər beta ok-ra   dekh-l-əhik
    2:NHON-GEN son 3:NHON-OBJ see-PAST-3NHON>2NHON
    'Your son saw him.'

(11) a. é-yshú   Maasai
    3-be.alive
    'She is alive.'

  b. áa-yshú   en-tító
    3>1-be.alive FEM.SG-girl:NOM
    'My girl is alive.'

4 Agreement ad sensum

(12) alma-h   kuá'láást-ava/eh onne   Inari Sami
   man-NOM.PL fish-3DU/3PL   today
   'The (two) men are fishing today.'

(13) toda la familia fuimos   Spanish
   all the family go:PAST.1PL
   'We went with the whole family.'

(14) ki-jana a-me-anguka   Swahili
   7-youth SU:1-PERF-fall
   'The young man fell.'

(15)   The people who Clark { think/thinks } are in the garden

(4b)   There { seem/*seems } to be several people in the room

3.   Complementizer agreement

(16)   a.   de meid   gaa-t   uit   as   ze   zin   heb   South Hollandic
          the maid   go-3SG out   if   3SG.FEM   liking   have:SG
          'the maid goes out when she feels like it'

       b.   de meid-e   gaa-n   uit   as-**se**   ze   zin   heb-**be**
          the maid-PL   go-PL   out   if-**PL**   3PL   liking   have-**PL**
          'the maids go out when they feel like it'

(17)   a.   heit   sei   **dat-st**   do   soks   net   leauw-e   **moa-st**
          dad   say:PAST.3SG that-2SG   2SG   such   NEG   believe-INF   must-2SG
          'Dad said that you shouldn't believe such things.'   Frisian

       b.   heit   sei   **dat(*-st)** do   **moa-st**   soks   net   leauw-e
          dad   say:PAST.3SG that-2SG   2SG   must-2SG   such   NEG   believe-INF
          'Dad said that you shouldn't believe such things.'

narrow syntactic analyses

(18)   [$_{CP}$ C°   [$_{AgrSP}$ subject   AgrS°   [$_{TP}$ T° ... [$_{VP}$ V°]]]]   Zwart

(19)   [$_{CP}$ C°$_{φ:unvalued}$ [$_{TP}$ subject   T°$_{φ:unvalued}$ [$_{VP}$ subject $_{φ:valued}$ V°]]]]   Carstens

4.   Peculiar aspects of complementizer agreement

1   inversion morphology

(20)   a.   wy   speul-**t**   b.   speul-**e**   wy   East Netherlandic
          1PL   play-**PL**   play-**PL:INV**   1PL
          'We are playing.'   'Are we playing?'

       c.   dat-**te**   wy   speul-**t**
          that-**PL:INV**   1PL   play-**1PL**
          'that we are playing'

2   no tense morphology

(21)   wandel-∅-en   >   wandel-d-en
       walk-PRES-PL   walk-PAST-PL
       'we/you/they walk'   'we/you/they walked'

(22)   de meid-e   ging-e   uit   as-se/*as-t-e   ze   zin   had-**de**
       the maid-PL   go:PAST-PL   out   if-PL/if-PAST-PL   3PL   liking have:PAST-PL
       'the maids go out when they feel like it'

3   Tense/agreement consistency

(23)   PRESENT   speul-e   wy   speul-t   ze
                play-1PL:INV   1PL   play-3PL   3PL
                'we play'   'they play'

       PAST   bet-e   wy   beet-n   ze
                bite:PAST-1PL:INV 1PL   bite:PAST-3PL   3PL
                'we bit'   'they bit'

C-agr?   YES   NO

4   type of subject

complementizer agreement	pronominal subject	full noun phrase subject
3rd person plural	123	38

TABLE 1 (Barbiers et al 2005:1.3.8.2-3)

complementizer agreement (C=if) in Flemish dialects	pronominal subject	full noun phrase subject
3rd person plural	44	20

TABLE 2 (Barbiers et al 2005:1.3.8.4)

NB, full noun phrases > (i) optionality   (ii) prosodic effects

5   on specifiers

(24)   a.   jonge-s   **die-e**   werk-e will-e   South Hollandic
          boy-PL   REL-PL work-INF   want-PL
          'guys who want to work'

      b.   ik   zel   es   hor-e   **wat-te**   ze   zeg-ge
          1SG   will:SG   PRT   hear-INF   what-PL   3PL   say-PL
          'Let me find out what they say.'

6   adjacency effect

(25)   a.   volgens   miej   loop-t/*lop-e   op den   warmsten dag
          according.to   1SG:OBJ   walk-1PL/1PL:INV on the   hottest   day
              van   't   joar   ook   wiej   noar   't park
              of   the year also   1PL   to   the park
          'I think that on the hottest day of the year, we, too, go to the park.'   Hellendoorn

b. dat/*dat-**te**   op   den   warmsten dag   van   't   joar

that/that-PL   on   the   hottest   day   of   the year

    ook   wiej   noar   't park   loop-t

    also   1PL   to   the park walk-PL

'that on the hottest day of the year, we, too, go to the park'

7 first conjunct agreement

(26) a. de-**s**   doow morge   kum-**s**   Tegelen

         that-2SG   2SG   tomorrow come-2SG

         'that you are coming tomorrow'

      b. de-**s**   doow en   ich   ôs   tref-**fe**

         that-2SG   2SG   and   1SG   1PL:OBJ encounter-PL

         'that you and I meet'

5. Proposal

morphophonological units

(27) a. had   ik   >   hak   (28) a. zat ik   > *zak

        have:PAST.SG 1SG   have:PAST.1SG   sit

        'had I'

      b. heb   ik   >   hek   b. schep ik > *schek

        have:1SG   1SG   have:1SG   create

        'have I'

      c. zal   ik   >   zak   c. bal ik   > *bak

        shall:SG   1SG   shall:1SG   play.ball

        'shall I'

      d. moet   ik   >   moek   d. groet ik > *groek

        must:SG   1SG   must:1SG   greet

        'must I'

(29) dat   ik   >   dak

     that   1SG   that:1SG

     'that I'

(30) a. zul-len   we   >   zuwwe   b. lul-len   we   >   *luwwe

        shall-PL   1PL   shall:1PL   talk-PL   1PL   talk:1PL

        'shall we'   'do we talk'

      c. dat   we   >   dawwe

        that   1PL   that:1PL

        'that we'

analogical generalization

(31) had ik :   hadde we :: dat ik :   datte we

secondary generalization

(32) dat ik : datte we : : dat John : datte John en Mary

6. Revisiting the peculiar aspects of complementizer agreement

1 inversion morphology
2 no tense morphology

(33) *past tense of auxiliaries in Dutch (1SG)*
    a. have *heb > had*
    b. be *ben > was*
    c. shall *zal > zou*
    d. must *moet > moest*

3 Tense/agreement consistency
4 type of subject
5 on specifiers

(34) dat_C-ie : dat_C-te ze : : dat_{REL}-ie : dat_{REL}-te ze
     dat_C-ie : dat_C-te ze : : wat_Q-ie : wat_Q-te ze

6 adjacency
7 first conjunct agreement

(35) det ich : des doow : : det ich en doow : des doow en ich
     that I that you that I and you that you and I

7. Some further problems

1 embedded root clauses (cf. (17))

opacity

(36) a. Hy sei dat dizze oersetting net maklik **lês-t**
        3SG.MASC say:PAST.3SG that this translation NEG easy read-3SG
        'He said that this translation doesn't read easily.' Frisian
     b. Hy sei dat dizze oersetting **lês-t** net maklik
        3SG.MASC say:PAST.3SG that this translation read-3SG NEG easy
        'He said that this translation doesn't read easily.'

(37) Hokker oersetting sei hy
     which translation say:PAST.3SG 3SG.MASC
     dat (*lês-t) net maklik (lês-t)
     that read-3SG NEG easy read-3SG

(38) a. Pyt   sei   **dat** **hy**   my   sjoen   **hie**
       Pete   say:PAST.3SG that   3SG.MASC   1SG.OBJ see:PART   have:PAST.3SG
       'Pete said that he saw me.'
          > **dat-er**   my   sjoen   **hie**
             that-SCL:3SG.MASC   1SG.OBJ   see:PART   have:PAST.3SG
    b. Pyt   sei   **dat** **hy**   **hie**   my   sjoen
       Pete   say:PAST.3SG that   3SG.MASC   have:PAST.3SG   1SG.OBJ   see:PART
       'Pete said that he saw me.'
          > * **dat-er**   **hie**   my   sjoen
               that-SCL:3SG.MASC   have:PAST.3SG   1SG.OBJ   see:PART

CP-recursion?

(39) [$_{CP}$ C°   [$_{CP}$ subject   C°   [$_{TP}$ T° ... [$_{VP}$ V°]]]]

(40) a. Pyt   woe   siz-ze   dat
       Pete   want:PAST.3SG say-INF   that
          hy   (*hie)   my   sjoen   (hie)
          3SG.MASC   have:PAST.3SG 1SG.OBJ   see:PART   have:PAST.3SG
       'Pete wanted to say that he saw me.'
    b. Pyt   leau   net   dat
       Pete   believe:3SG   NEG   that
          hy   (*hie)   my   sjoen   (hie)
          3SG.MASC   have:PAST.3SG 1SG.OBJ   see:PART   have:PAST.3SG
       'Pete does not believe that he saw me.'

(41) a. Jan   zei   dat   hij   (ken-de)   dat   boek   (ken-de)
       John   say:PAST.SG that   3SG.MASC   know-PAST.SG   that   book   know-PAST.SG
       'John said that he knew that book.'   Colloquial Dutch
    b. Jan   betreur-de   dat   hij   (*ken-de)   dat   boek   (kende)
       John   regret:PAST.SG that   3SG.MASC   know-PAST.SG   that   book   know-PAST.SG
       'John regretted that he knew that book.'
    c. Jan   betwijfel-de   of   hij   (*ken-de)   dat   boek   (kende)
       John   doubt:PAST.SG if   3SG.MASC   know-PAST.SG   that   book   know-PAST.SG
       'John doubted if he knew that book.'

(42) a. Zei   Jan   dat   hij   (*ken-de)   dat   boek   (ken-de) ?
       say:PAST.SG   John   that   3SG.MASC   know-PAST.SG   that   book   know-PAST.SG
       'Did John say that he knew that book?'
    b. Waarom   zei   Jan
       why   say:PAST.SG   John
          dat   hij   (*ken-de)   dat   boek   (ken-de) ?
          that   3SG.MASC   know-PAST.SG   that   book   know-PAST.SG
       'Why did John say that he knew that book?'

> layered derivation analysis: matrix clause = output of separate derivation

2   Agreeing conjunction

(43) ich   ving   det   Marie   of-s   toow   d'n   ierste môs   sien
      1SG   find   that   Marie   or-2SG you   the   first   must:3SG   be:INF
      'I think that Marie or you should be the first.'

(44) ich   vroog   of-s   toow   komp-s
      1SG   ask:PAST.SG   if-2SG 2SG   come-2SG
      'I asked if you are coming.'

(45) of$_C$ doow   :   of$_C$-s doow   ::   of$_{CONJ}$ doow   :   of$_{CONJ}$-s doow

(46) dien   broor   is   'n stök   slummer   den-s   toow
      2SG.POSS   brother   be:3SG a piece   smarter   than-2SG   2SG
      'Your brother is much smarter than you.'

(47) Marie of(-*s) toow   môs   d'n   ierste sien
      Mary or-2SG 2SG   must:3SG   the   first   be:INF
      'Mary or you must be the first.'

(48) dat   Har   in Mestreech   mot   goan   woene
      that   Har   in Maastricht   must:3SG   go:INF live:INF
           en-s   toow   in   Hèrle
           and-2SG   2SG   in   Heerlen
      'that Har must go and live in Maastricht and you in Heerlen'

3   external possessor complementizer agreement

(49) omda-n   **die**   **vent-en**   toen   juste
      because-3PL   DEM.PL   guy-PL   then   just
           underen   **computer** kapot   was
           3PL.POSS   computer   broken   be:PAST.SG
      'because those guys' computer was broken then'

(50) a. aux + subject pron. agr   >   compl + subject pron. agr
      b. compl + subject pron. agr   >   compl + subject NP agr
      c. compl + subject NP agr   >   compl + external poss. agr

8.   Conclusion
> complementizer agreement is not narrow syntax
> narrow syntax relations can be kept maximally simple