

Syntax Fest 2004
The format of dependency relations
 Bloomington, June 28, 2004

Agreement

1. Agreement via Agr/T

agreement

- (1) a. John **loves** Mary
 3SG 3SG
 b. The boys **love** Mary
 3PL PL

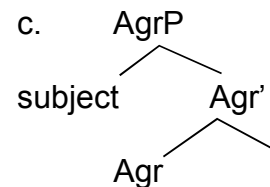
generalization

- (2) The subject is in a local relation **R** with a functional head **F** carrying agreement features

classical implementation (SPEC-HEAD AGREEMENT)

- (3) a. **R** = specifier-head configuration
 b. **F** = AGR

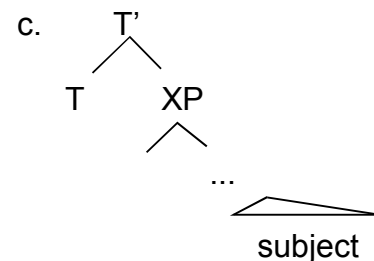
(Kayne 1989a/b, Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1991)



recent revision (AGREE)

- (4) a. **R** = local c-command (within a 'search space')
 b. **F** = T hosting 'unvalued ϕ -features'

(Chomsky 1998 etc.)



what explains movement of the subject (out of the lexical domain vP to the subject position)?

- (5) a. Spec-Head hypothesis: the need to be in a spec-head configuration with AGR
 b. Agree hypothesis: something else (the Extended Projection Principle)

my proposal (contra (2) and its implementations)


- (6) (i) the subject enters into a dependency relation only with its sister **S**
 (ii) the subject agrees with **S**
 (iii) agreement is spelled out on an eligible terminal **H** dominated by **S**

2. Position of H

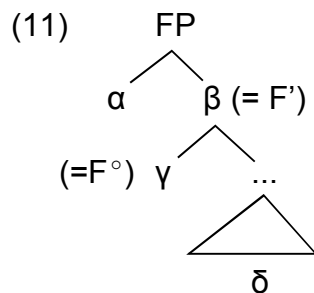
(7) *Implication*

The position of **H** (the lexical head spelling out agreement with the subject) is independent of the agreement relation.


- (8) a. ...dat Jan Marie **kust** Dutch
 that John Mary kiss-3SG
 '..that John kisses Mary.'
- b. Jan **kust** Marie 'John kisses Mary.'
- c. **Kust** Jan Marie ? 'Does John kiss Mary?'

(9) [Jan] [<kust> Marie <kust>]

 A diagram showing two brackets representing clauses: [Jan] and [<kust> Marie <kust>]. An arrow starts from the right side of the second bracket and points to the left side of the first bracket, indicating movement.

(10) Agreement established at some point in the derivation, **H** after that free to move.



- a. If γ agrees with α w.r.t. a feature ϕ , spelled out as $\mu(\phi)$ on γ , it is impossible to tell whether the agreement relation is between α and γ or between α and β .
- b. On the other hand, if α agrees with δ (i.e. $\mu(\phi)$ is on δ), it is still possible to maintain that α is in an agreement relation with β , but not (as easy) that α is in an agreement relation with γ (typically, one would have to propose that δ moves to γ in covert syntax)

(12) John probably [loves Mary] very much _____ (VP-movement bleeding head movement)

 A diagram showing two brackets: [loves Mary] and a blank space. An arrow starts from the right side of the second bracket and points to the left side of the first bracket. There is an 'x' mark under the arrow.

- (13) a. spec-head = sisterhood + dominance
 b. Agree = sisterhood + dominance (c-command)

(14) *person/number features*
 a. **inherent** on the subject (nondependent)
 b. **relational** on the verb (dependent)

(15) *more exactly*
relational on the subject's sister
morphological on the verb

- (16) *other spell-out options*
 a. phrasal marker (pronoun), taken to be the origin of verbal agreement
 b. multiple
 c. other
- (17) [wa treanrũ mwâ] [nrâ hôdrô mwâ] Tinrin (Osumi 1995)
 the person there 3SG burn hut
 'That person burned the hut.'
- (18) Juma a-li-kuwa a-ngali a-ki-fanya kazi Swahili (Carstens 2003:395)
 Juma₁ SU₁-PAST-be SU₁-still SU₁-PROG-do work
 'Juma was still working.'
- (19) a. Dios tupo'-n naxo-xt'e'wal wako' Coahuilteco (Troike 1981:663)
 god DEM-1AGRS 1PL:SU-annoy CAUS
 'We annoyed god.'
- b. Dios tupo'-m xa-ka'wa xo e ?
 god DEM-2AGRS 2SU-love AUX Q
 'Do you love god?'

3. Raison d'être of spec-head agreement

- (20) a. (Les chaises) Il les a repeintes *A-movement*
 the chairs he them:F.PL has repaint-F.PL
 'He repainted them, the chairs.'
- b. Les chaises qu' il a repeintes *A'-movement*
 the chairs:F-PL that he has repaint-F.PL
 'The chairs that he repainted.'
- c. Il a repaint(*es) les chaises *no movement*
 he has repaint-F.PL the chairs:F-PL
 'He repainted the chairs.'
- (21) il les_i a [e]_i AGR_i repeintes [e]_i Kayne 1989a
- (22) *analysis modeled on spec-head agreement analysis of agreement in English*
 a. John has not seen Mary
 b. John_i [_{INFL} has]_i not seen Mary
- (23) *but no adjacency*
 a. John probably has not seen Mary
 b. [_{FP} John F [_{AdvP} probably ADV [_{FP} [_F has] [not seen Mary]]]]
- (24) [John]_↔[(probably) has not seen Mary]
- (25) [les/OP]_↔[repeintes]
 [repeint les chaises]

4. The Agree-relation

(26) There seems to be a man in the room

(27) *Feature distribution*

T: unvalued ϕ -feature
a man: unvalued Case-feature

(28) Unclear why T (= tense operator) should have ϕ -features (except for its association with the verb).

(29) Unclear what an unvalued case feature is: case (structural Case, that is) is a function of structure, i.e. acquired in the course of the derivation.

(30) a. there were [many people] in the room

b. ..dat er [veel mensen] (gisteren) in de tuin waren Dutch
 that there many people yesterday in the garden be:PAST-PL
waren is inside VP, *veel mensen* outside VP

c. [_{CP} dat [_{IP} er [_{XP} [veel mensen] \leftrightarrow [_{X'} ... gisteren in de tuin waren]]]]

PL PL

(31) a. there seem to be [many people] in the room

b. ..dat er [veel mensen] in de tuin schijnen te zijn Dutch
 that there many people in the garden seem-PL to be

c. [_{CP} dat [_{IP} er [_{XP} [veel mensen] \leftrightarrow [_{X'} ... in de tuin schijnen te zijn]]]]

PL PL

(32) *English has a thematization/externalization operation (Chomsky 2001)*

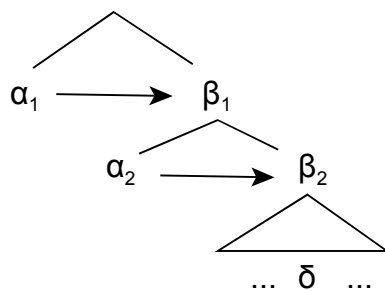
a. there is likely to arrive a man

b. there seem to have been caught several fish

(33) [a man] \leftrightarrow [is likely to arrive ___]

5. Multiple source agreement

(34)



(35) Juma a-li-ki-soma kitabu Swahili
 Juma₁ SM:1-PAST-OM:7-read book₇
 'Juma read the book.'

- (36) *Kimball/Aissen facts*
- | | |
|---|-------------|
| a. the people who Clark think-(s) are in the garden | PL—SG—PL/SG |
| b. the person who Clark think-*(s) is in the garden | SG—SG—SG |
| c. the person who the girls think-*(s) is in the garden | SG—PL—PL |

(37) [who_{PL}] ↔ [[Clark_{SG}] ↔ [think are in the garden]]
 SG/PL

(38) Matching form possible when [person] of nonpronominals may be disregarded

(39) *the people who she think are in the garden (inherent [3person])

(40) *Arabic defective agreement*

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------------|
| a. Subject-Verb | ʔal-ʔawlaad-u | naamuu / *naama |
| | the-children-NOM | slept:3.M.PL / *3.M.SG |
| b. Verb-Subject | naama | l-ʔawlaad-u |
| | slept:3.M.SG | the-children-NOM |

Both: 'The children slept.'

(41) a. hum naamuu / *naama
 they slept:3.M.PL / 3.M.SG

b. naamuu / *naama hum
 slept:3.M.PL / 3.M.SG they

Both: 'They slept.'

(42) [expl] ↔ [[the children] ↔ [slept]]
 SG 3.M.PL 3.M.SG/PL

(43) Matching form possible when number of nonpronominals may be disregarded
 (Bahloul and Harbert 1992:23)

6. Generalized agreement

Tense

(44) Tense morphology on the verb/auxiliary may be just the spell-out of an agreement relation between a tense operator (in specifier position) and its sister; no need to label a functional head as T (cf. (65b))

consequence: tense/agreement morphology does not betray verb movement
 (contra Kayne 1994:52)

Negation

(45) Negative morphology on the verb is similarly the result of agreement with a negative operator

consequence: the presence of negative morphology does not betray verb movement (contra Haegeman 2000:75)

- (46) ..da Valère dienen boek nie en-eet West Flemish
that Valery that book not NEG-has

Adverbial markers

- (47) The adverbial markers on the verb studied in Cinque (1999) may also be taken to reflect agreement rather than movement into the functional domain.

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