

Local Agreement

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*Trans Seminar on Syntax and Semantics
Utrecht, 23 October 2002*

1. Introduction

agreement (concord)

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

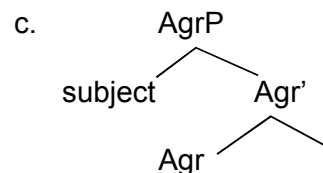
generalization

- (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

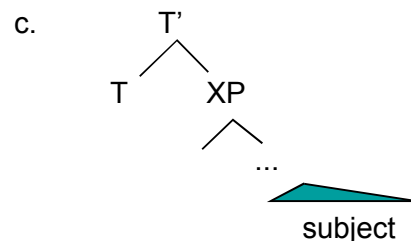
(Kayne 1989a/b, Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1991)



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 grammar recognizes only one local relation, which is sisterhood
 (ii) the subject agrees with its sister **S**
 (iii) agreement is spelled out on an eligible head **H** dominated by **S**
 (iv) there is no functional head carrying agreement features (except internal to DP)

subjects covered in this talk

1. proposal (6) contra (2) (and (3)/(4))
2. what explains subject movement
3. conclusions for clausal architecture

2. Against specifier-head agreement

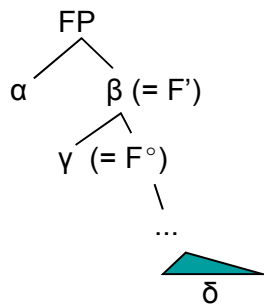
a. general considerations

(7) *The Derivational Approach to Syntactic Relations* (Epstein 1995)

The computational system of human language establishes grammatical relations only by merging the relevant entities in a sisterhood configuration

(8) specifier-head relation = sisterhood + dominance (Zwart 1992)

(9)



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

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)

b. English

no specifier-head configuration

- (10) a. John probably **loves** Mary
 b. John probably **does** not love Mary

covert movement is probably not the solution

- (11) a. John did it *fast*
 b. ..dat Jan het *snel* deed (Dutch)
 that John it fast did

Assuming fixed VP-external position for adverbs (Cinque 1999)

- (12) John [_{VP} did it]_i fast \bar{t}_i

...then by the Condition on Extraction Domains there can be no V-movement out of VP

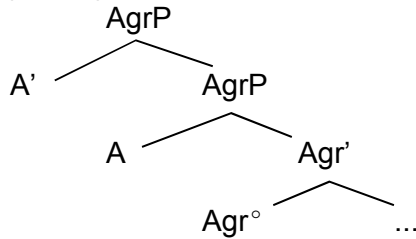
- (13) John did_j [_{VP} \bar{t}_j it]_i fast \bar{t}_i

c. French

- (14) a. (Les chaises) Il les a repeintes *A-movement*
 the chairs he them:F.PL has repaint-F.PL
 b. Les chaises qu' il a repeintes *A'-movement*
 the chairs:F-PL that he has repaint-F.PL
 c. Il a repaint(*es) les chaises *no movement*
 he has repaint-F.PL the chairs:F-PL

Kayne (1989a)

(15)



The A'-agreement (14b) is not spec-head agreement

d. Multiple agreement

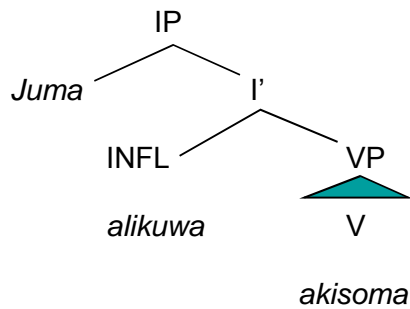
Bantu compound tenses (Ashton 1959:247f)

(16)

Juma a-li-kuwa a-ki-soma sana
 Juma SM₁-PAST-be SM₁-OM₇-read much
 'Juma used to read a great deal.'

(Swahili)

(17)



Juma agrees with I' and the agreement is spelled out on two heads (INFL and V)

e. Kimball/Aissen facts (Kimball and Aissen 1971)

(18)

- 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

Kayne (1989b): spec-head agreement in CP

(19)

- a. the people who Clark **thinks**: AGR-to-V lowering, inflected verb
 [CP who C [AGRP Clark t_i [VP think-s_i ...]]]
- b. the people who Clark **think**: AGR-to-C raising, bare verb
 [CP who AGR_i+C [AGRP Clark t_i [VP think ...]]]

Problem with visible Agr-to-C movement

(20)

- a. which girls **do/does** the boy think should be invited
- b. which girl **do/*does** the boys think should be invited

Alternative

(21)

- a. 2 agreement relations: Clark—I' and the people—C'
- b. both agreement relations spelled out on V (or on AUX, if present)
- c. the Kimball/Aissen speakers may choose to ignore [person] on Clark
- d. V = [SG] and [PL], for which think/do is a matching form
- e. thinks/does is not a matching form, explaining (18c) and (20b)

Pronouns are inherently marked for [person] (and perhaps not for number, Kayne 1989b)

(22)

the people who she think-*(s) are in the garden

3. Against AGREE

a. general considerations

questionable assumptions

- (23) a. T (tense) hosts unvalued ϕ -features (i.e. agreement features without value)
ALTERNATIVE: T has just tense features (to be modified)
b. DP (noun phrase) has a $\bar{\kappa}$ -interpretable Case feature
ALTERNATIVE: Case is a function of structural position, i.e. acquired in the course of the derivation; it is interpretable to the extent that the notions subject/object are

the Case/Agreement relation

- (24) a. Agreement: I' dependent on DP (spelled out on V)
b. Case: DP dependent on I' (spelled out on K?)

ordinary cases

- (25) a. John loves Mary
b. [_{IP} John \leftrightarrow [_{I'} [_{VP} loves Mary]]]
3SG 3SG

expletive constructions

- (26) 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

more complex expletive constructions

- (27) 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

b. Icelandic defective agreement (Sigurðsson 2000)

object agreement with quirky case subjects, but only 3rd person

- (28) a. henni líkuðu þeir 'she liked them'
she-DAT liked-3PL they-NOM
b. * henni líkuðum við 'she liked us'
she-DAT liked-1PL we-NOM
c. * henni líkuðuð þið 'she liked you (PL)'
she-DAT liked-2PL you (PL)-NOM

default agreement (3SG) if no object

- (29) okkur hefur/*höfum verið kalt 'we have been cold'
we-DAT have-3SG/*1PL been cold

matching effect with some verbs and 1/2 person objects (for 'many speakers')

- (30) a. henni líkaði eg 'she liked me'
she-DAT liked-1/3SG I-NOM
b. henni leiddist þú 'she found you (SG) boring'
she-DAT found boring-SG you (SG)-NOM

Generalization (cf. Sigurdsson 2000:93)

- (31) a. number agreement with object
 b. person agreement with subject (= default = 3)
 c. spell-out OK if there is a matching form for conjunctive subject/object agreement

Consequences for AGREE

- (32) a. a single probe (T) looking for two different goals (subject/object) for ϕ -feature valuation?
 b. subject has inherent case, possibly not a suitable goal, still contributes to agreement

Agreement via sisterhood

- (33) [DATIVE \leftrightarrow [_X NOMINATIVE \leftrightarrow [_X ... verb ...]]]
 3 3 SG/PL 3 SG/PL

- (34) a. * henni leiðumst við 'she found us boring'
 she-DAT found boring-1PL we-NOM
 b. ? henni leiddust við 'she found us boring'
 she-DAT found boring-3PL we-NOM

c. defective subject agreement in Standard Arabic (Aoun et al. 1994)

number agreement = default in VS order, not in SV order

- (35) a. naama I-ʔawlaad-u 'the children slept'
 slept:3.M.SG the-children-NOM
 b. ʔal-ʔawlaad-u naamuu / *naama 'the children slept'
 the-children-NOM slept:3.M.PL / *3.M.SG

no such effect with pronouns

- (36) a. naamuu / *naama hum 'they slept'
 slept:3.M.PL / 3.M.SG they
 b. hum naamuu / *naama 'they slept'

generalization (cf. Aoun et al. 1994:209, Bahloul & Harbert 1992:23)

- (37) a. number is intrinsic on pronouns, not on nonpronominal noun phrases
 b. agreement in VS order is only with *intrinsic* ϕ -features

problem for AGREE

- (38) why would the ordering of verb and subject matter?

alternative

- (39) a. VS = EXPL V S (verb is in INFL, Aoun et al 1994:198)
 b. EXPL has default number (SG) (not a full set of ϕ -features, Aoun et al 1994:200f)
 c. default number overrules nonintrinsic number features (i.e. on nonpronominal subjects)

- (40) [_{IP} EXPL \leftrightarrow [_I [_{XP} SUBJ \leftrightarrow [_X ... verb ...]]]]
 SG SG pers pers
 gen gen
 SG

d. conclusion: the AGREE analysis has problems when agreement is derived from more than a single source, and matching effects occur

4. Movement to subject position

Agreement (often) only after reordering

- (41) a. Il les a repeintes (French)
 he them:F.PL has repaint-F.PL
 b. Il a repeint(*es) les chaises
 he has repaint-F.PL the chairs:F-PL

- (42) a. [_{XP} X YP] no agreement
 b. [_{XP} YP ↔ [_{XP} X <YP>]] agreement

reordering looks like passive, creating a subject—predicate configuration

- (43) I have [read [the book]] — I have [[the book] [read]]

but for a subject—predicate configuration, (42b) does not suffice: YP must be **outside XP**

- (42) c. [_{ZP} YP ↔ [_{Z'} Z [_{XP} X <YP>]]] = externalization

the minimal configuration for predication (cf. Hale & Keyser 1998:11c)

- (43)
-
- Whenever this happens, α agrees with h'.
 The agreement can be spelled out on h or inside β.

On this view, movement to specifier position is forced not by the EPP but by semantic considerations (the need to externalize an element).

5. Clausal architecture

- (44) Even if functional heads a) do not carry agreement features to be valued
 b) do not trigger movement to their specifier position
 they must still be assumed to ensure externalization

A note on Tense

- (45) it is plausible that tense is not an inherent, but a relational feature on the verb

- (46)
-
- TENSE is an operator in specifier position
 and it agrees with F', leading to spell-out of
 tense morphology on the verb (in F or inside XP)

6. Conclusion

Local agreement is a relation between **phrases** requiring **sisterhood**.

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