

Agreement and dependency marking typology

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Head-marking vs. dependent-marking (Nichols 1986): agreement = prototypical head-marking.

Today: marking does not express dependency in any straightforward way.

1. Concealed dependent-marking

- affix migration
- dependent head-marking
- floating agreement

1.1 Affix migration

(1) *head dependent*

- a. kop koffie no dependency marking
- b. cup of coffee dependent marking
- c. cuppa coffee head marking

(2) the morphological marker may simply register the presence of syntactic dependency (Nichols 1986:58)

(3) *linkers (izafet elements): marking the presence of syntactic dependency*

- | | | |
|---------------|------------------|-----------|
| a. mard-e pir | b. asb-e pedar | (Persian) |
| man-EZ old | horse-EZ father | |
| 'old man' | 'father's horse' | |

(4) *Agreement*

[A] morphological affix may (...) index particular inflectional or lexical categories of either the head or the dependent, **marking them on the other constituent** (*op.cit.*, 58)

- (5) a. kur-ê mezin b. keç-a baş (Kurdish)
boy_{MASC}-EZ:MASC.SG big girl_{FEM}-EZ:FEM.SG nice
'the big boy' 'the nice girl'

(6) *affix migration*

if any adposition or piece of affixal morphology moves, it will go from the dependent to the head, not vice versa (*op.cit.*, 84)

(7) *head dependent*

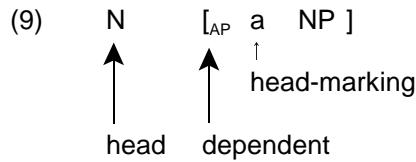
- | | | |
|------|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| cup | =a coffee | dependent marking cum cliticization |
| mard | =e pir | |

(PHONOLOGICAL) HEAD-MARKING MAY BE (SYNTACTIC) DEPENDENT MARKING

1.2 Dependent head-marking

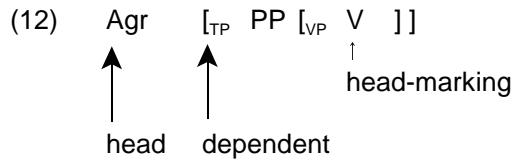
- (8) *head dependent*

ki-ti *ch-a* *m-ti* (Swahili)
 7-chair 7-LINK 3-wood
 'wooden chair'



- (10) 'dependent head-marking' = marking of a dependent on its head = dependent-marking

- (11) dat wij in het bos wandel-en (Dutch)
 that 1PL:NOM in the forest walk-PL
 'that we are walking in the forest'



- (13) dependent-marking typically affects a head contained in the dependent

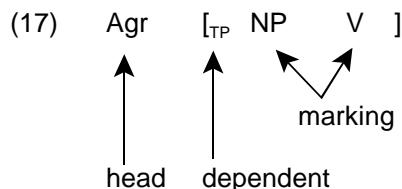
1.3 Floating agreement

- (14) a. xinär-en lavaš u-ne-k-sa (Udi)
 girl-ERG bread:ABS eat-3SG-\$-PRES
 'The girl EATS bread.'
 NB, \$ designates the part of the stem following the clitic.

b. xinär-en lavaš-*ne* uk-sa
 girl-ERG bread:ABS-3SG eat-PRES
 'The girl eats BREAD.'

- (15) realization of agreement is sensitive to focus (Schulze 2004)

- (16) if (14b) is not head-marking, then neither is (14a)



- (18) agreement is typically fixed on one element or the other (not necessarily the verb)

- (19) i *si* cu atavéa e?hó?h-i no cmói
 REC.PAST 3SG COMPL.ASP finally tear off-LT SU:INVIS bear
 na sapcí-si
 OB:INVIS face-POSS (Tsou)

'The bear finally mauled his face.'

2. The expression of dependency

- (20) Dependency is which must be can be and a. a *semantic* relation b. *syntactically* realized, c. *morphologically* marked, d. *phonologically* expressed. e.g. predication sisterhood by agreement via cliticization
- (21) The relations (((SEM → SYN) → MORPH) → PHON) need not be homomorphic
- (22) *Disturbances*
- a. SEM → SYN **movement** [S] \leftrightarrow [VO] → V [S] \leftrightarrow [tO]
 - b. → MORPH **dependent head-marking (1.2), floating agreement (1.3), multiple agreement**
 - c. → PHON **affix migration (1.1)**
- (23) *What are the syntactic relations we wish to mark?*
a. classical view: X'-relations: head-complement, head-specifier, head-adjunct
b. minimalist view: merge relations: sisterhood

THE MINIMALIST DEFINITION OF SYNTACTIC DEPENDENCY
REVOLVES AROUND SISTER PAIRS, NOT HEADS

- (24) New opposition: dependent-marking vs. nondependent-marking

3. How much nondependent-marking is there?

- (25) *Relations to consider (sample)*
- a. possessor—possessum
 - b. adposition—complement
 - c. noun—adjective
- (26) *possessor—possessum*
- a. **poss/or poss/um** possessor = subject = nondependent
 - i (Ewe) fia dadá *no marking*
chief mother
 - ii (Ewe) fia fé xo
chief POSS house *dependent marking*
 - iii (English) the chief =s house *dependent marking, affix migration*
 - iv (Abkhaz) à-č'k^o'ən yə-y^onə
DEM-boy his-house *dependent marking*
 - v ☀ (Lezgian) Ahmeda-n wan
Ahmed-GEN voice *nondependent marking?*
 - b. **poss/um poss/or** possessor = complement = dependent
 - i (English) the house of the chief *dependent marking*
 - ii (Persian) asb =e pedar
horse EZ father *dependent marking, affix migration*

iii.	(Latin)	vox	popul-i voice	people-GEN	<i>dependent marking (cf. a.v)</i>
(27) adposition—complement					
a.	standard cases	adposition	= nondependent		
i.	(Russian)	bez	brat-a without	brother-GEN	<i>dependent marking</i>
ii.	(Hixkaryana)	†-hyaye			<i>dependent marking, cliticization</i>
		3SG-from			
		'from him'			
b.	relational noun constructions	reduce to possessive constructions			
i.	(Burushaski)	ja	a-pači		<i>poss/or-poss/um, dependent marking</i>
		1SG:OBL	1SG-side		
		'with me, beside me'			
ii.	◊ (Tz'utujil)	r-umaal	aa Yaax		<i>poss/um-poss/or, nondependent marking? or movement?</i>
		3SG-by	CL Yaax		
		'by Yaax'			
(28) noun—adjective					
a.	adjective as complement	adjective = dependent, noun = nondependent			
i.	(Swahili)	ki-ti	ch-a	m-ti	<i>dependent marking</i>
		7-chair	7-LINK	3-wood	
		'chair of wood, wooden chair'			
ii.	(Kurdish)	kur	=ê	mezin	<i>dependent marking, affix migration</i>
		boy	EZ:MASC.SC	big	
b.	adjective as modifier	adjective = nondependent, noun = dependent			
i.	◊ (Russian)	zelen-yj	dom	house _{MASC}	<i>nondependent marking for gender (other features not inherent to N)</i>
		green-NOM.SG.MASC			
ii.	(Shushwap)	wist	t-citx°	REL-house	<i>dependent marking?</i>
		high			

4. Agreement theory

(29) Chomsky (2001): probe-goal relation

PROBE	GOAL
T _i	[_{X_P} DP [_{Y_P} V _i]]
[uΦ]	[Φ]

(30) problems

- a. Probe and goal are not in a minimalist dependency relation (are not sisters)
- b. The probe's sister (XP) arguably lacks the relevant φ-features
- c. Status of unvalued features on T unclear
- d. Agreement marking on V can be a function of the direct dependency of DP and its sister YP.

AGREEMENT IS NOT MEDIATED BY FUNCTIONAL HEADS

5. Complementizer agreement

(31) *Van Koppen (2005) adopts the probe-goal mechanism*

PROBE	GOAL
C_i	$[_{XP} DP [_{YP} V_i]]$
[$u\emptyset$]	[\emptyset]

(32) *additional problem*

Not easy to identify a semantic/syntactic relation underlying the dependency between C and DP
(= subject)

(33) *Goeman (1980, 2000), Kathol (2001)*

complementizer agreement = agreement of monosyllabic V in inversion followed by clitic

(34) *analogy*

*het $y\grave{e}$: hedde $y\grave{e}$:: dat $y\grave{e}$: dadde $y\grave{e}$ (Brabantish)
have you that you

(35) *funny properties of complementizer agreement*

- a. late emergence (Goeman 1997)
- b. (sometimes) optionality (Vanacker 1949)
- c. generalization to [monosyllabic] wh-specifiers/relatives (Van Haeringen 1939, Den Besten 1977)
- d. generalization to conjunction (Cremers and Van Koppen forthcoming)
- e. adjacency requirement (Ackema & Neeleman 2002)
- f. no tense features (Hoekstra & Smits 1997)
- g. (quite generally) only with [weak] pronoun subjects (Vanacker 1949, Goeman 1980, 2000)
- h. first conjunct agreement (Van Koppen 2005)

(36) *complementizer agreement with wh-elements*

- a. wenn-ste komm-st (nonstandard German)
when-2SG come-2SG

- b. jonge-s die-e werk-e wil-le (South Hollandic)
boy-PL REL-PL work-INF want-PL

(37) *adjacency (Ackema & Neeleman 2002, 2003)*

- a. Volgens miej lop-e wiej noar 't park (Hellendoorn Dutch)
according to me walk-PL.INV we to the park
- b. dar-re wiej noar 't park loop-t
that-PL.INV we to the park walk-PL
- c. Volgens miej loop-t op den wärmlsten dag van 't joar ook wiej noar 't park
according to me walk-PL on the hottest day of the year also we to the park
- d. dat op den wärmlsten dag van 't joar ook wiej noar 't park loop-t
that on the hottest day of the year also we to the park walk-PL

(38) *first conjunct agreement (Van Koppen 2003)*

- a. de-s [doow en ich] ôs kenn-e treff-e (Tegelen Dutch)
that-2SG you_{SG} and I 1PL can-PL meet-INF
'that you and I can meet'
- b. Ontmoet-e / *-s [doow en Marie] uch voor de kerk ?
meet-PL/2SG you_{SG} and Mary you_{PL} in front of the church
'Are you and Mary meeting in front of the church?'

- (39) a. verbal agreement determined by *rule* (dependent head-marking plus movement)
 b. complementizer agreement determined by *analogy* → overgeneralization possible

6. Conclusion

- agreement is not head-marking but dependent-marking
- complementizer agreement does not fit into the picture at all
- possibly, complementizer agreement is an analogical extension of the morphology of auxiliaries in inversion contexts when followed by a weak pronoun

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