

The Morphosyntax of Upward Agreement and Downward Agreement

Introduction, Part IV: Case Studies

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1 Summary of Part IV

Cases of Agreement

Apparent empirical differences between Downward, Upward and Bidirectional Agree:

- **Downward:** Almost exclusively ϕ -agreement
- **Upward:** Often phenomena other than ϕ -agreement, but also very local ϕ -agreement
- **Bidirectional:** generally, cross-linguistic comparison of multiple constructions, e.g. regarding case matching, but also ϕ -agreement

Analyzing Cases of Agreement

- For all empirical cases, all analytical possibilities can be used.
- Very often, it's hard to distinguish empirically between the possibilities.
- In order to distinguish them, it is useful to check for:
 - The existence of movement
 - The existence of covert elements
 - Special morphological markers signalling (covert) elements or relations between elements

2 Complementizer Agreement

- CA in Germanic
- CA in Grassfields Bantu languages

Phenomenon

- **Languages:** Arabic, Dutch/German Dialects, Limbum, Lubukusu, ...
- **Phenomenon:** Complementizer agrees with a nominal argument, mostly the subject

- (1) a. (I frog' me) ob-**sd** ned **du** des mocha kan**sd**
I ask myself whether-2SG not you this make could-2SG
'I ask myself whether you could not make it.' (Bavarian,
Weiss (2005))
- b. **yì** kwà'cí **yì**-ne màmá bívù
2PL think 2PL-COMP grandmother FUT1 come
'You think that the grandmother will come.' (*Limbum*)

- **Direction** seems to depend on the language: Grassfields Bantu: upward agreement; Germanic: downward agreement
- **Note:** In any case, the phenomenon seems to involve (language-dependent?) locality restrictions

- 2 Complementizer Agreement
 - CA in Germanic
 - CA in Grassfields Bantu languages

The complementizer (partially) matches the ϕ -features of the subject of the **embedded** clause.

(2) *Katwijk Dutch*

a. ...dat ik zuinig leef.
that I frugal live.SG
'...that I live frugally.'

b. datt-**e** **we/jullie/hullie** gewoon lev-e.
that-PL we/you.PL/they normal live-PL
'...that we/you/they live normally.'

(Barbiers (2006))

- (3) **First conjunct agreement** *Limburgian*
- a. Ich denk de-**s** **doow** Marie ontmoet-s.
I think that-2SG you.SG Marie meet-2SG
'I think that you will meet Marie.'
- b. Ich denk de-**s** [**toow** en Marie] kump.
I think that-2SG you.SG and Marie come.PL
'I think that you and Marie will come.'

Haegeman and Koppen (2012:443)

(4) External possessor agreement *West Flemish*

- a. ... omda-**n** **die** **venten** toen juste gebeld een.
because-PL those guys then just phoned have.PL
'... because those guys called just then.'
- b. ... omda-**n** **die** **venten** toen juste underen computer
because-PL those guys then just their computer
kapot was.
broken was
'... because those guys' computer broke just then.'

Haegeman and Koppen (2012:443f.)

Observation

The verb agrees with the entire subject. The complementizer agrees with a part of it.

It's not a question of prosody

- (5)
- a. Kpeinzen **dat** zelfs **Valère** zukken boeken niet leest.
I.think that even Valère such books not reads
- b. ??Kpeinzen {**dat**/***da-n** **zukken boeken**} zelfs **Valère** niet leest.
I.think that/that-PL such books even Valère not reads
'I think that even Valère would not read such books.'
- c. ... **da-n**/?***dat** toen juste **men twee broers** kwamen.
that-PL/that then just my two brothers came
'... that my two brothers came just then.'

Haegeman and Koppen (2012:446)

Analysis for Germanic languages (Haegeman and Koppen (2012)):

- There are separate ϕ -features on T and C that may but not must have the same goal.

(6) a. **Simple agreement**

$[_{CP} C^0_{[\mathbf{u}\phi]} [_{TP} DP_{1[\phi]} T^0_{[\mathbf{u}\phi]} t_1 \dots]]$

b. **External possessors are base generated high**

$[_{CP} C^0_{[\mathbf{u}\phi]} [_{\alpha P} DP_{\text{poss}[\phi]} \alpha^0 [_{FocP} Adv Foc^0 [_{TP} DP_{1[\phi]} T^0_{[\mathbf{u}\phi]} t_1 \dots]]]]$

How universal is this analysis?

In Polish, there is a connection between verbal agreement and complementizer agreement (Citko (2018)):

- (7)
- a. Maria chce, żeby^m ja i mój sąsiad wyszli.
Maria wants that.COND.1SG I and my neighbor.M.SG left.VIR.PL
 - b. Maria chce, żeby^{śmy} ja i mój sąsiad wyszli.
Maria wants that.COND.1PL I and my neighbor.M.SG left.VIR.PL
 - c. Maria chce, żeby^m ja i mój sąsiad wyszedł.
Maria wants that.COND.1SG I and my neighbor.M.SG left.M.SG
 - d. *Maria chce, żeby^{śmy} ja i mój sąsiad wyszedł.
Maria wants that.COND.1PL I and my neighbor.M.SG left.M.SG
'Maria wants me(fem.) and my neighbor to leave.'

2 Complementizer Agreement

- CA in Germanic
- CA in Grassfields Bantu languages

The complementizer agrees in person and number with the subject of the **matrix** clause.

(8) **Agreement with closest syntactic subject** *Limbum*

- a. **Nfor** à mū la [í-nε **bì** ó
 Nfor 3SG.AGR PST2 say 3SG-COMP people 3PL.AGR
 ci súŋ [*í-/ó-nε wε vù]
 PROG tell 3SG-/3PL-COMP 2SG come
 ‘Nfor said that people are reporting that you have come.’
- b. **wεr** à mū yōʔ sí **mū** [
 1PL 1PL.AGR PST2 hear PREP child 1PL-/3SG-COMP
wεr-/í-nε Nfor à sέʔ ŋgu]
 Nfor 3PL.AGR fetch wood
 ‘We heard from the child that Nfor fetched wood.’

- c. í bā bɔŋ [í-nɛ mū wàb à
EXPL PST1 good 3SG-COMP child 3PL.POSS 3SG.
chàà]
succeed
'It was good that their child succeeded.'
(cf. *Carstens (2016:12)* for the same facts in Lubukusu)

Nformi (2017)

(9) **Interveners for agreement** *Limbum*

a. **Paul** à mū sūŋ **mε** [(*í-/*mε)-nε wε dò
Paul 3SG.AGR PST2 tell 1SG 3SG/1SG-COMP 2SG go
rdjér]

journey

‘Paul told me that you have travelled.’

b. **í** mū yáŋ **Tanko** [(*í)-nε mε mū nàti
EXPL PST2 pain Tanko 3SG-COMP I PST2 leave
‘It pained Tanko that I left.’

(*contra Lubukusu, see Diercks (2013)*)

Nformi (2017)

(10) No interveners for agreement

- a. **mε** mū nɔŋ-sí **bō** [***o**-/**mε**-nε ó
 1 SG PST2 lie.down-CAUS children 3PL-/1 SG-COMP 3PL
 būmi
 sleep]
 ‘I made the children to lie down so that they can fall
 asleep.’
- b. **Shey** à mū là nì **bō** fɔ [
 Shey 3SG.AGR PST2 say to children DET
 ***o**-/**i**-nε ó bí dòsí]
 3PL-/3SG-COMP 3PL FUT1 go
 ‘They said to the children that they will go.’

- (11) **No closest conjunct agreement** *Lubukusu*
- a. E-mbwa ne **omu**-ndu **by**-a-loma **bi**-li o-mu-keni
9-dog and 1-person 8S-PST-say 8-that 1-1-guest
k-ool-ile.
1S-arrive-PST
'The dog and the person said that the guest arrived.'
(8 is a default marker, Diercks (2013))

Analysis for Grassfields Bantu languages I

Diercks (2013) on Lubukusu:

- There is indirect Agree: the embedded C agrees with a null operator in Spec-CP.
- The operator can be bound by the syntactic matrix subject or the logophoric center of the clause.
- This is Spec-Head-Agree (*Note*: This could be easily translated into a Downward Agree approach).

(12) [TP Subject_i ... [CP OP_i C ...]]

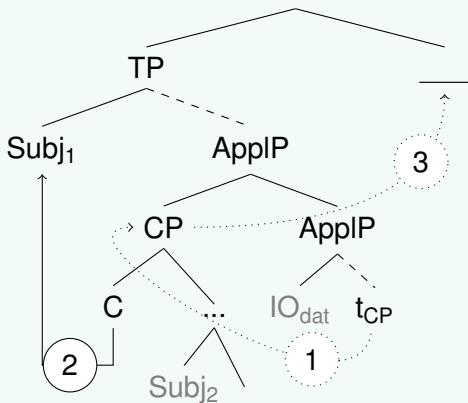
Analysis for Grassfields Bantu languages II

Carstens (2016) on Lubukusu:

- There is bidirectional Agree: The embedded C cannot find a goal in the embedded clause because the subject is too deeply embedded. As a last resort it looks upward.
- The indirect object cannot be a goal (nor an intervener): It receives dative and is rendered inactive.
- To maintain locality, the entire embedded clause is raised to the matrix clause.
- Then, local Agree with the subject is possible.
- Finally, the embedded clause gets extraposed.

Analysis for Grassfields Bantu languages III

(13)

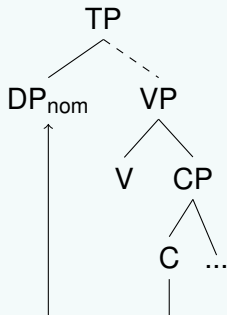


Analysis for Grassfields Bantu languages IV

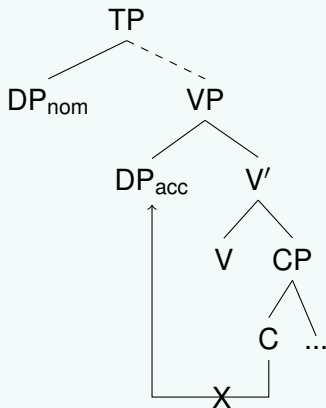
Nformi (2017) on Limbum:

- There is direct Upward Agree.
- C has its own ϕ -features, but agrees upward with the closest nominative DP as long as no other DP defectively intervenes.

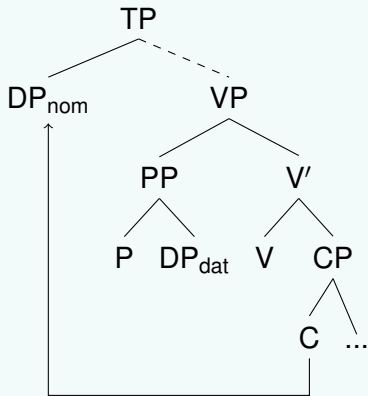
(14) a. **Simple CA**



b. Intervening objects



c. No intervening prep. objects



(Possible) Incompatibility of the two types of CA

- On the surface, CA in Germanic languages and CA in Grassfields Bantu seem to be incompatible.
- There are various technical ways to allow Upward Agree in Germanic or Downward Agree in Bantu:
e.g. Covert Movement, null pronouns
- There are indications that both CAs might be different:
 - In Bantu, the agreement paradigm for complementizers is full, whereas in Germanic languages, many paradigm cells are empty
 - In Bantu, the form of the agreement markers resemble the form of pronouns, whereas in Germanic languages, the form is more similar to verbal agreement markers

Clitic doubling in Bantu?

- Subject-oriented (+ logophoricity) in Lubukusu and Limbum, but Limbum shows intervention effects.
- Both Lubukusu and Limbum show agreement with expletive subject.
- Agreement morphemes are often tense-variant, while clitics tend to be tense-invariant (Nevins (2011)): Markers in Bantu are tense-invariant.

Open question: How important is tense for CA?

Remark: We could look more generally for variance (cf. Yuan (2018)), for instance variance of ForceP.

- Failed Agree leads to default markers, but failed clitic doubling leads to no marking (Preminger (2009)): Limbum shows no marking, while Lubukusu shows default markers

3 SVA Breton vs. Kinande

- SVA Breton
- SVA Kinande

3 SVA Breton vs. Kinande

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No agreement with overt subjects

- (15) a. **Ar vugale** a lenn/***lennont** levriou.
the children PART read/*read.3PL books
- b. levriou a lenn/***lennont ar vugale**.
books PART read/*read.3PL the children
'The children read books.'
- c. Levriou a **lennont**.
books PART read.3PL
'They read books.'

Stump (1984:291f.)

Agreement asymmetry with Neg

- (16) a. **Ar vugale** ne lenn**ont**/*lenn ket levrioù.
the children PART read.3PL/*read not books
'The children do not read books.'
- b. ne lenn***ont**/lenn ket **ar vugale** levrioù.
PART *read.3PL/read not the children books
'The children do not read books.'

Stump (1984:293)

Agreement with aux 'have'

- (17) Lennet **o** deus **ar vugale** al lizher.
read 3PL have the children the letter
'The children have read the letter.'

Borsley and Stephens (1989:415)

- SVA depends on the overtness of the subject, on word order, and the presence of functional verbal material (auxiliary 'have', negation 'not')
- The direction of agreement seems to depend on the presence of elements that do not show agreement.

Assumptions:

- In VS structures, the verb moves to T and the subject stays in situ; in SV structures, the verb and the subject move to the TP domain.
- The ϕ -probe in T cannot Agree with an overt subject in the same TP (Agreement Filter).
- In negative clauses, preverbal subjects can Agree with T because they move to Spec-CP.

(18) **no Agree with overt subject**

[_{CP} C [_{TP} T_[u ϕ]+V [_{VP} DP_[i ϕ] t_V]]]

(\hookrightarrow violates Agreement Filter)

[_{CP} C [_{TP} T+V [_{VP} DP_[i ϕ] t_V]]]

(\hookrightarrow does not violate Agreement Filter)

(19) **Agree with covert subject**

[_{CP} C [_{TP} T_[uφ]+V [_{vP} pro_[iφ] t_V]]]

(↔ does not violate Agreement Filter)

(20) **Agree with preverbal subject in negative clauses**

[_{TP} T_[neg,uφ]+V [_{vP} DP_[iφ] t_V]]

[_{CP} DP_[iφ] [_{TP} T_[neg,uφ]+V [_{vP} t_{DP} t_V]]]

(↔ does not violate Agreement Filter)

(21) **no Agree with postverbal subject in negative clauses**

[_{CP} C [_{TP} T_[neg,uφ]+V [_{vP} DP_[iφ] t_V]]]

(↔ violates Agreement Filter)

The more you add, the easier it is to Downward Agree

- It seems that the data are fully compatible with an account based on Downward Agree.
- The agreement filter can be derived by assuming that overt subjects stay low not being an accessible goal for Agree, while covert subjects are higher. (Might follow from obligatory movement of pros to higher positions, cf. McFadden and Sundaresan (2016))
- The effects of negation are derived by assuming that these elements provide accessible goal positions even for overt subjects (raising of the subject to NegP for instance).

3 SVA Breton vs. Kinande

- SVA Breton
- SVA Kinande

Inverse specificational clauses

(22) **ISC: full downward agreement with XPs**

- a. [ebyalya ebyo nyanzire kutsibu] w' amatimo
8food 8that 1s.like strongly 6COP 6bananas
'The food that I like best is BANANAS.'
- b. émbugá I' ólúhi
9problem 11COP 11war
'The problem is the WAR.'

(23) **ISC: no agreement with names or pronouns**

- a. Omugalimu ni/*yo Kambale
AUG.1teacher is/1COP 1Kambale
'The teacher is Kambale.'
- b. eprobleme ni ingye
AUG.9problem is I
'The problem is me.'

(24) **RSC: full agreement with XPs, names and pronouns**

- a. oluhi lo mbuga
11war 11COP 9problem
'The WAR is the problem.'
- b. Kambale yo mugalimu
1Kambale 1COP 1teacher
'KAMBALE is the teacher.'
- c. ingye ∅ mbuga
I 9problem
'I am the problem.'

Schneider-Zioga (2016)

Observations

- SVA depends on the clause structure and the type of subject (NP vs. pronoun)
- The direction of agreement might be fixed (depending on how the clause structure looks like).

Assumptions:

- Inverse Specificational Clauses are derived from Reversed Specificational Clauses
- Upward Agree is only an option if Downward Agree is not possible.
- Agree happens quite late after the clause structure is set.
- Pronouns cannot be the goal of Downward Agree.

- (25) a. RSC = FP:
[TP ... [FP DP_[iφ] Cop_[uφ] Pred]]
- b. ISC (= TopP) with full NPs:
[TP ... [TopP Pred Cop_[uφ]+Top [FP DP_[iφ] t_{Cop} t_{Pred}]]]
- c. ISC (= TopP) with pronouns/names:
[TP ... [TopP Pred Cop_[uφ]+Top [FP pro_[(iφ)] t_{Cop} t_{Pred}]]]

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