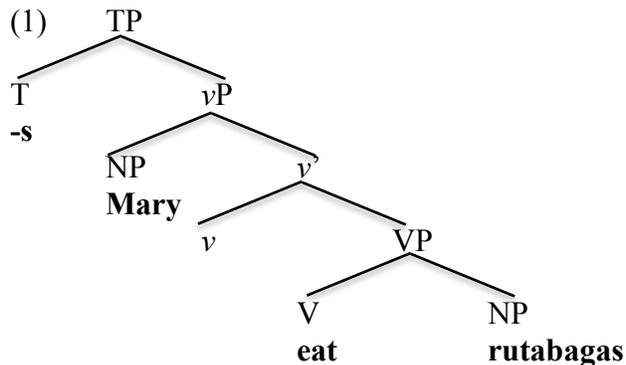
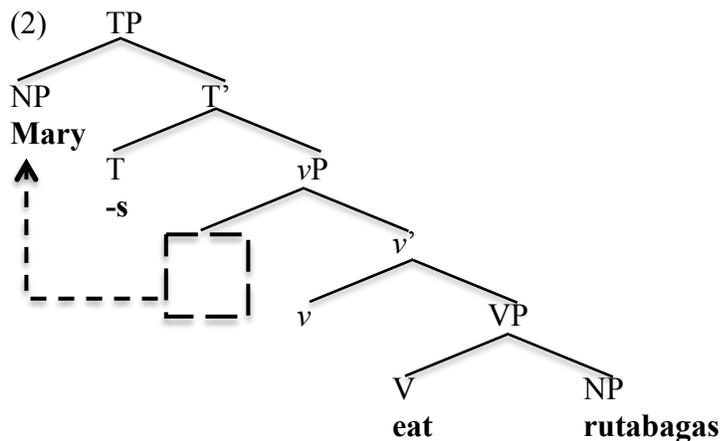


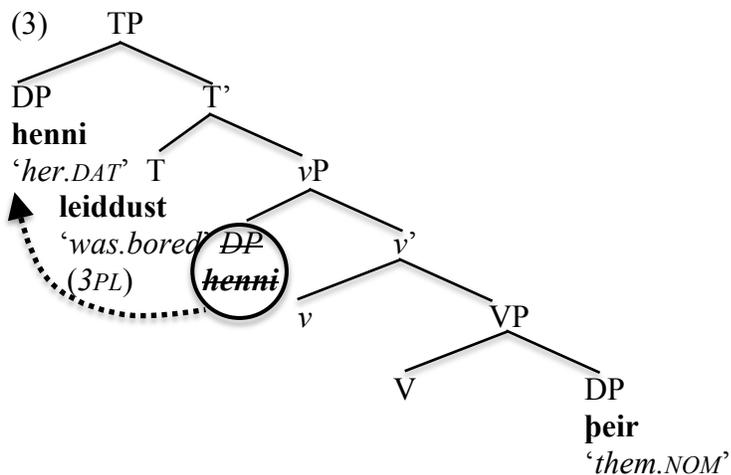
More on Agreement
24.902, 2017



- certain heads are *Case assigners*:
 - tensed T
 - *v* with a specifier
- Case assigners assign case to NPs in their sisters that don't yet have case:
 - T assigns Nominative to *Mary* in (1) (and also **Agrees** with it, appearing as *-s*)
 - *v* assigns Accusative to *rutabagas* (and so T doesn't assign them case, because they already have it)



- EPP: T needs a specifier. If T assigns Case to something, that thing will move to satisfy the EPP.



'She was bored by them' ('They bored her')

- *henni* 'her' gets quirky DATIVE from the kind of *v* that introduces this verb
- T Agrees twice:
 - once with *henni*, the closest DP, triggering movement of the DP into its specifier, because of the EPP.
 - and then again with the object, because T is 'choosy' enough to want to Agree with a DP that isn't yet Case-marked.

→ object becomes nominative, controls morphological agreement on the verb (3PL), but doesn't actually move into subject position, because that was triggered by the first Agree by T.

Now, it turns out that that second Agree relation is limited in interesting ways:

- (4)
- Henni **leiddust** þeir. [Icelandic]
 her.DAT bored.3PL them.NOM
 'She was bored by them'
 - Henni **leiddist** hún.
 her.DAT bored.3SG her.NOM
 'She was bored by her'
 - Henni **leiddist**.
 her.DAT bored.3SG
 'She was bored'
 - * Henni **leiddumst/leiddust/leiddist** við.
 her.DAT bored.1PL/bored.3PL/bored.3SG us.NOM
 'She was bored by us'

ECM offers us a useful twist on this. Agreement with Nominative ECM subjects is optional:

- (5) a. Þeim **hefur** alltaf fundist [hún vinna vel]
they.DAT has.3SG always found her.NOM work.INF well
'They have always found her to work well'
- b. Þeim **hefur/hafa** alltaf fundist [þeir vinna vel]
they.DAT has.3SG/have.3PL always found they.NOM work.INF well
'They have always found them to work well'
- c. Þeim **hefur/*höfum** alltaf fundist [við vinna vel]
they.DAT has.3SG/have.1PL always found us.NOM work.INF well
'They have always found us to work well'

(5c) contrasts with (4d): the verb can have the default form here (mysterious property of ECM). Evidence that the Person-Case effect is an agreement problem.

Another piece of evidence that it's an agreement problem: syncretism matters.

- (6) Henni [?]**leiddust/*leiddist** þið.
her.DAT bored.2/3PL/bored.3SG you.PL.NOM
'She was bored by us'

'be bored' happens to have the same form for 2nd plural and 3rd plural in Icelandic—and Icelandic speakers find examples like (6) better than examples (like (4d)) in which they'd be compelled to admit that the verb is agreeing with something 1st or 2nd person.

two kinds of phenomena to think about, bearing the Icelandic facts in mind:

Person-Case Constraint (PCC):

In ditransitive constructions in lots of languages, the direct object can't be 1st or 2nd person.

These effects generally show up in languages with complex agreement or clitic systems:

(7) a. Elle la leur a présentée [French]
she her.ACC them.DAT has introduced
'She has introduced her to them'

b. * Elle me leur a présentée
she me.ACC them.DAT has introduced
'She has introduced me to them'

(8) a. Tha su ton stílune [Greek]
will you.DAT him.ACC send.3PL
'They will send him to you'

b. * Tha tu se stílune
will him.DAT you.ACC send.3PL
'They will send you to him'

(warning! PCC effects may come in different kinds...)

Classic account of this kind of fact (Perlmutter, Bonet): there is a morphological filter on agreement/clitic sequences containing both a Dative and a non-Dative participant. (why?)

Argument against this kind of account (Rezac 2008): in Basque, you get PCC effects, but only if the Dative is above the object (=Absolutive). If the Absolutive is above the Dative, the result is fine. So it's not a ban on a particular morphological form.

Testing for relative height of Absolutive and Dative:

- (9) a. Kepa-ri bere buru-a gusta-tzen zako
Kepa-DAT himself-D_{sg}(.ABS) like-HAB AUX
'Kepa likes himself'
- b. *Kepa bere buru-a-ri gusta-tzen zako
Kepa(.ABS) himself-D_{sg}-DAT like-HAB AUX

→ **DAT above ABS** (DAT subject can bind ABS anaphor)

- (10) a. *Kepa-ri bere buru-a ji-ten zako ispilu-a-n
Kepa-DAT himself-D_{sg}(.ABS) come-PROG AUX mirror-D_{sg}-LOC
'Kepa is approaching himself in the mirror'
- b. Miren bere buru-a-ri mintzatu zaio
Miren(.ABS) herself-D_{sg}-DAT talk.PRT AUX
'Miren talked to herself'

→ **ABS above DAT** (ABS subject can bind DAT anaphor)

- (11) a. Miren-i gozoki-ak gusta-tzen Ø-zai-zki-o
Miren-DAT sweet-D_{pl}(.ABS) like-HAB 3.ABS-AUX-PL.ABS-3SG.DAT
'Miren likes candy'
- b. *Ni Miren-i gusta-tzen na-tzai-Ø-o
me(.ABS) Miren-DAT like-HAB 1.ABS-AUX-SG.ABS-3SG.DAT
'Miren likes me'

→ with DAT-above-ABS verbs, ABS must be 3rd person (cf. Icelandic)

- (12) Ni Peru-ri hurbildu na-tzai-Ø-o
I.ABS Peru-DAT approach 1.ABS-AUX-SG.ABS-3SG.DAT
'I approached Peru'

→ with ABS-above-DAT verbs, no such restriction.

So the problem is not, contra Perlmutter and Bonet, with the auxiliary *natzaio*.

It's with sentences in which a DAT is above an ABS, and the ABS is a Participant (, and something is trying to Agree with both?)

Anagnostopoulou (2003): the Icelandic facts and the PCC should have the same account, involving a single head agreeing with all the participants.

Another case to think about (Nez Perce, much work by Deal)

Nez Perce complementizer agreement

(13) a. **ke-x** kaa 'e-cewcew-téetu A.-ne
C-1 then 3OBJ-telephone-TAM A.-ACC
'when I call A.'

Agrees omnivorously with participants...

b. **ke-x** kaa A.-nim hi-cewcew-téetu
C-1 then A.-ERG 3SUBJ-telephone-TAM
'when A. calls me'

(14) a. **ke-m** kaa cewcew-téetum
C-2 then telephone-TAM
'when you call me'

...and if there are multiple participants, it Agrees until it hits a 2.

b. **ke-m-ex** kaa cewcew-téetu
C-2-1 then telephone-TAM
'when I call you'

(15) a. **ke-pe-m-ex** kaa cewcew-tée'nix
C-PL-2-1 then telephone-TAM
'when we call you (sg.)'

PL agreement only if the Probe finds a plural before it finds the 2 it's looking for.

b. **ke-m** kaa 'ee nees-cewew-téetum
C-2 then 2SG.CL O.PL-telephone-TAM
'when you (sg.) call us'