Unifying species of C-agreement

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NELS 51, UQAM

November 6th, 2020

Goals

We argue here that the heterogeneity of complementizer agreement (C-agreement):

- ☞ Parallels that of clause-internal agreement.
- ☞ Can be derived from similar assumptions re. a "split C" domain (paralleling a "split Infl" within the clause, Pollock, 1989).

Background

I. Downward complementizer agreement (DCA)

C Agrees with the embedded subject, as in West Flemish (1) from Haegeman (1992):

(1) K peinzen da-[n] [ze] morgen goan.
I think that-3pl they tomorrow go-3pl
'I think that they will go tomorrow.'

(2) $\text{Subj}_{Matrix} \ldots \text{C} \ldots \text{Subj}_{Embedded} \ldots$

II. Upward complementizer agreement (UCA)

C Agrees with the matrix subject, as in Lubukusu (3) from Diercks (2013):

(3) Ba-ba-ndu ba-bol-el-a Alfredi ba-li a-kha-khil-e.
2-2-people 2-said-ap-fv 1Alfred 2-that 1-fut-conquer
'The people told Alfred that he will win.'

(4) Subj_{Matrix} ... C ... $\text{Subj}_{Embedded}$ ...

III. Allocutive agreement (AA)

C Agrees with the addressee, as in Basque (5) from Oyharçabal (1993):

(5) Pettek lan egin di-n.
Peter.erg work.abs do.prf 3.s.abs.3.s.erg-2.s.c.fm.alloc
'Peter worked.' Uttered to a close female friend

(6) (Subj$_{Matrix}$) ... C ... Subj$_{Embedded}$ ...

Observations

Articulating the puzzle

- DCA and UCA are with an argument DP, but AA is with the representation of a Speech-Act participant (Miyagawa, 2017; McFadden, 2020).
- UCA & AA probe upward, DCA probes downward.

(7) C-agreement types:

	Goal	
Probing	Argument	Non-Argument
Downward	DCA	—
Upward	UCA	AA

Observation 1

☞ (U/D)CA is restricted to embedded structures, while AA is a root phenomenon.

Embedded CPs in e.g. Frisian seem to disallow CA just in case they have root (V2) syntax (de Haan, 2001):

(8) Heit sei dat *-st do moa-st soks net leauwe.
dad said that-2p.sg you must-2p.sg such not believe
'Dad said that you should not believe such things.'

In contrast, AA in embedded clauses is:

- famously impossible in Basque (and several other languages Antonov, 2015)
- possible in Japanese & Tamil, but only in complements of typical bridge verbs and other types of embedded root clauses (Miyagawa, 2012; McFadden, 2020)

Observation 2

☞ UCA involves a higher C head than DCA.

1. UCA is commonly associated with interpretive effects wrt. utterance-speaker (Diercks, 2013, for Lubukusu and Diercks et al., 2020 for Kipsigis), hinting at a high C head, e.g. an evidential (Speas, 2004).
2. UCA complementizers often show a closer connection to the matrix clause, frequently being grammaticalized from 'say' verbs and even being able to replace the matrix verb in Kipsigis (see e.g. Diercks et al., 2020).

3. Patterns (1)-(2) have not been reported for DCA, suggesting that this involves a lower C, more closely associated with the embedded clause.

Proposal

I. Deriving DCA:

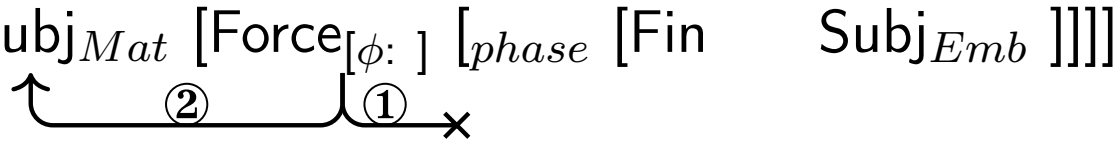
- DCA and UCA involve ϕ-probes on Fin & Force, respectively, with Fin being below the embedded CP phase and Force being above it (Carstens, 2016).
- Fin probes downward, Agreeing with the closest nominal = the embedded subject, yielding DCA.

(9) DCA [Subj$_{Mat}$ [$_{phase}$ [Fin$_{[\phi:\ ]}$ Subj$_{Emb}$]]]

II. Deriving UCA:

- Force can't probe into the embedded TP (PIC, Chomsky, 2001, et seq.).
- By Domain expansion (Béjar and Rezac, 2009; Clem, 2019) it *can* probe upwards, yielding UCA.
- UCA thus diagnoses a relatively elaborated periphery, with intepretive consequences (Observation 2).

(10) UCA



Explaining subject vs. object agreement:

- Something extra must be said to explain why a UCA C-probe (typically) Agrees with the matrix subject over a minimally closer matrix object (e.g. the probe is featurally relativized for subject vs. object).

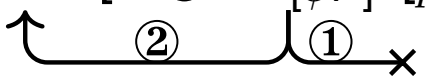
III. Deriving AA

- The (embedded) root clauses with AA are characterized by projecting a SpeechActP (SAP), with representations of Author & Addressee (Speas and Tenny, 2003; Hill, 2007; Sundaresan, 2012; Krifka, 2017).
- The AA ϕ-probe is *as high as or higher than* the UCA ϕ-probe — we will label the head 'High-C'.

- As with UCA, the AA probe cannot search inside the embedded CP phase and must, again following Domain Expansion, probe upward.
- But unlike with UCA, the SAP provides the Addressee as a minimally local Goal, bleeding Agree with any matrix arguments.

(11) AA

[(Subj$_{Mat}$) [$_{SAP}$ Addr [High-C$_{[\phi:\ ]}$ [$_{phase}$ Subj$_{Emb}$]]]]



Summing up

- The directionality of probing falls out solely as a function of the relative position of the probe wrt. the CP phase.
- A ϕ-probe below the phase boundary will just probe downward, while one above it will try and fail to probe downward, and then end up probing upward.

Further variation (across languages and clauses) results from the presence vs. absence of particular ϕ-probes and -goals, which depends on:

1. the size of the 'CP' selected under a given predicate;
2. whether a given C head hosts a ϕ-probe or not.
   - West Flemish: ϕ-probe on embedded Fin (DCA)
   - Lubukusu: ϕ-probe on embedded Force (UCA)
   - Tamil: ϕ-probe on root High-C (AA)
   - English: no ϕ-probes in the C domain (no C-agr)

Empirical predictions

Prediction Ⓐ Since both Fin and High-C can host a ϕ-probe, a single language can have both DCA and AA, in distinct clause types (embedded vs. root).
Confirmed: Upper Austrian German (Wiltschko and Heim, 2016; Wiltschko, 2014).

Prediction Ⓑ DCA and UCA can co-occur in a single language or even in a single structure.
Confirmed: switch-reference systems (Arregi and Hanink, 2018; Clem, 2019).

Prediction Ⓒ UCA & AA can both occur in a given language, but they should (all else being equal) be in complementary distribution in a given structure.
TBD.

Prediction Ⓐ

☞ This is confirmed for Upper Austrian German (Wiltschko and Heim, 2016; Wiltschko, 2014):

(12) Wonn-[ts] nua es kumm-[ts].
if-2pl only you.pl come-2pl
'If only you guys would come.'

(13) Ea hot an neichn Hund, goi-ts.
He has a new dog, conf-2pl.alloc
'He has a new dog, right (you guys)?'

Prediction Ⓑ

- This is plausibly a way to analyze (at least some) switch-reference systems where a C head Agrees with both the matrix and embedded arguments (Arregi and Hanink, 2018; Clem, 2019).

Prediction Ⓒ

- If the ϕ-probe on Force appears in an embedded root clause, it should Agree with the Addressee which will always be closer than a matrix argument.
- Thus, all else being equal, AA should bleed UCA.

If we still find UCA in such a configuration, this is because:

1. the Addressee argument in SAP is featurally invisible to the UCA probe (e.g. due to relativized probing); or
2. UCA does not instantiate real agreement in this language, but something else, e.g. clitic doubling; or
3. there is selectional variation in whether a root clause projects as high as SAP (with Addressee) or not.

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