

## SURPRISING AGREEMENTS AT C AND T

Shigeru Miyagawa  
MIT

### 1. Introduction

A linguistic theory should minimally tell us the following:

- How are natural languages the same?
- In what ways can they be different?

#### (1) Uniformity Principle (Chomsky 2001: 2)

In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances.

### 2. Strong Uniformity: An instantiation of the Uniformity Principle

#### (2) Strong Uniformity (Miyagawa 2010)

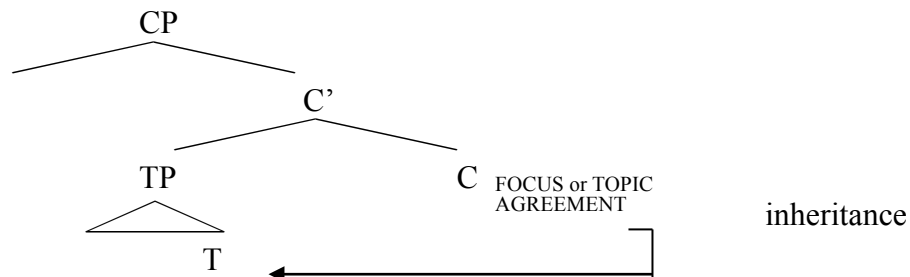
Every language shares the same set of grammatical features, and every language overtly manifests these features.

$\phi$ -feature; discourse-configurational feature (Kiss 1995)

#### 2.1. Agreement-based and Discourse Configurational Languages (Miyagawa 2010)

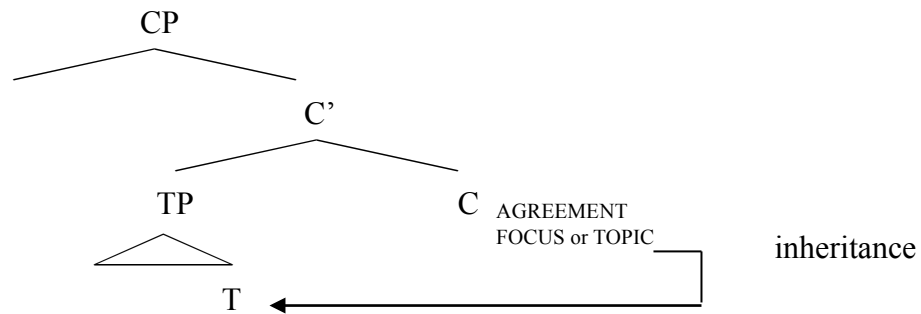
Agreement-based and Discourse Configurational Languages

#### (3) Agreement-based languages



Notion of inheritance: Chomsky 2005, 2008; Richards 2007; etc.

(4) Discourse-configurational languages



(5) Four Types:

(A(gree))	C: Topic/Focus	T: <u>Agreement</u>
(D(iscourse))	C: Agreement	T: <u>Topic/Focus</u>
(A/D)	C: _____	T: <u>Agreement, Topic/Focus</u>
(C(omp))	C: Agreement, Topic/Focus	T: _____

(6) A gap in the paradigm?

- (i) English/Romance
- (ii) Japanese
- (iii) Spanish (Jiménez-Fernández 2010)
- (iv) **Gap?**

### 3. Surprising agreement at C: Politeness marking as $\phi$ -feature agreement at C

Focused elements move to Spec,TP in Japanese (Miyagawa 2005, 2010; see also Hasegawa 2005).

Prediction: There ought to be  $\phi$ -feature Agreement at C in Japanese.

The politeness marking on the predicate in Japanese (*-mas-*) is  $\phi$ -feature Agreement.

- (7)a. Watasi-wa piza-o tabe-**mas**-u. (FORMAL)  
 I-TOP pizza-ACC eat-MAS-present  
 'I will eat pizza.'

- b. Watasi-wa piza-o tabe-ru. (COLLOQUIAL)  
 I-TOP pizza-ACC eat-present  
 'I will eat pizza.'

### 3.1. Allocutive agreement

Souletin, an eastern dialect of Basque, has **allocutive agreement** along with the familiar subject/object/indirect object agreement (Oyharçabal 1993).

- (8) Four ways to say *Peter worked* in Souletin, an eastern dialect of Basque, depending on **who you're talking to** (Oyharçabal 1993)

					allocutive agr.	subj. agr.
					↓	↓
a. <i>To a male friend</i>						
Pettek	lan	egin	dik.			
Peter.Erg	work.Abs	do.Prf	Aux-3.S.Abs-	<u>2.S.C.Msc.Alloc</u>	-3.S.Erg	
'Peter worked.'						
b. <i>To a female friend</i>						
Pettek	lan	egin	din.			
Peter.Erg	work.Abs	do.Prf	Aux-3.S.Abs-	<u>2.S.C.Fm.Alloc</u>	-3.S.Erg	
c. <i>To someone higher in status (formal)</i>						
Pettek	lan	egin	dizü.			
Peter.Erg	work.Abs	do.Prf	Aux-3.S.Abs-	<u>2.S.F.Alloc</u>	-3.S.Erg	
d. <i>Plural addressee</i>						
Pettek	lan	egin	du.			
Peter.Erg	work.Abs	do.Prf	Aux-3.S.Abs-	3.S.Erg		

The allocutive agreement is authentic agreement — competes with the normal 2<sup>nd</sup> person agreement morpheme. If the sentence contains a 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject, object, etc, the allocutive agreement does not arise (Oyharçabal 1993).

- (9) a. (Nik **hi**) ikusi **haut**.  
(1.S.Erg **2.S.C.Abs**) see.Prf Aux-**2.S.C.Abs**-1.S.Erg  
'I saw you.'
- b. (**Zuek** ni) ikusi **naizue**.  
(**2.P.Erg** 1.S.Abs) see.Prf Aux-1.S.Abs-**2.P.Erg**  
'You saw me.'

Allocutive agreements are limited to the main clause.

Relative clause

- (10)a. [Lo egiten duen] gizona Manex dun  
sleeping AUX.3E.COMP man John COP.3A.ALLOfem  
'The man [who is sleeping] is John.'
- b. \*[Lo egiten dinan] gizona Manex dun  
sleeping AUX.3E.ALLOfem.COMP man.the John 3A.COP.ALLOfem

(11)a. Ez dinat nahi [gerta dakion]  
NEG AUX.1E.ALLOfem want happen 3A.AUX.3D.COMP  
'I don't want it to happen to him.'

b. \*Ez dinat nahi [gerta diakionan]  
NEG AUX.1E.ALLOfem want happen 3A.AUX.3DALLOfem.COMP

Allocutive agreement is not allowed in the main clause if it is a question.

(12) a. Lan   egiten   duia           hire lagunak?  
           work       AUX.3E.Q your friend.ERG  
           'Does your friend work?

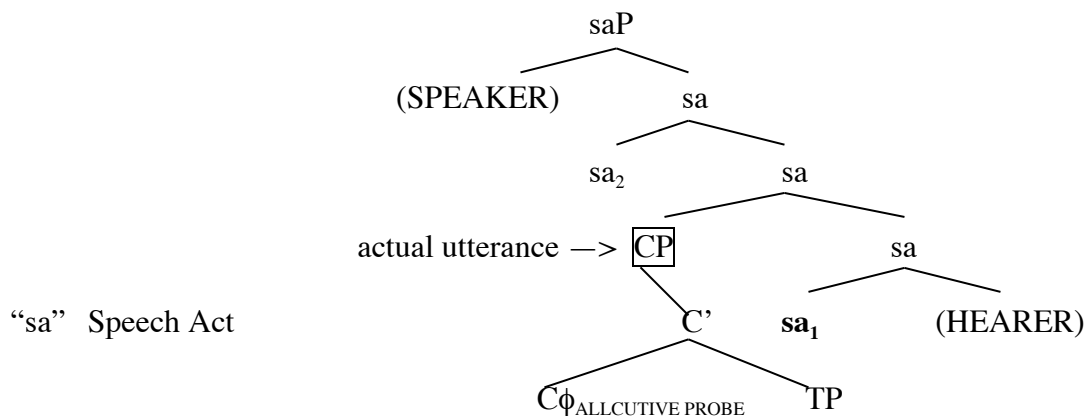
b. \*Lan egiten dina hire lagunak?  
work AUX.3E.ALLOfem.Q your friend.ERG

Oyharçabal (1993): the allocutive agreement must be borne by C. Referring to Miyagawa (1987), he observes that the Souletin allocutive agreement and its property of being borne by C makes it parallel to the politeness marker in Japanese.

(13) The politeness marker *-mas/-des-* in Japanese is borne by C (Miyagawa 1987).

In order to receive proper valuation, allocutive agreement requires a second person “goal” in the structure that corresponds to the addressee. This recalls Ross’s (1969) performative analysis, and I adopt a modern version of the performative analysis proposed by Speas and Tenney (2003) (see also Haegeman and Hill 2011) (below from Miyagawa 2011, which is slightly different from Speas and Tenney but the core notions are maintained).

(14)



#### 4. Surprising agreement at T: Chinese as an agreement-based language

(15) Four Types:

(A(gree))	C: Topic/Focus	T: <u>Agreement</u>
(D(iscourse))	C: Agreement	T: <u>Topic/Focus</u>
(A/D)	C: _____	T: <u>Agreement</u> , <u>Topic/Focus</u>
(C(omp))	C: Agreement, Topic/Focus	T: _____

Chinese is another language that does not have agreement, and the standard view is that it is a discourse configurational language given its robust topicalization construction.

- (16) Zheben shu Zhangsan mai-le.  
this-CL book Zhangsan buy-ASP  
'This book, Zhangsan bought.'

Pro-drop: In GB, pro-drop is correlated with rich agreement (Jaeggli 1982, Rizzi 1982).

- (17) \_\_\_\_ baila bien. (Spanish, Jaeggli 1982)  
dance-3SG well  
'She dances well.'

- (18) \_\_\_\_ verrà. (Italian, Rizzi 1982)  
comes-3SG-FUT  
'He will come.'

The problem of viewing pro-drop as being licensed by rich agreement is that we also find pro-drop in languages without any agreement such as Chinese (Huang 1984).<sup>1</sup>

- (19) Zhangsan shuo [*e* bu renshi Lisi].  
Zhangsan say *e* not know Lisi  
'Zhangsan said that [he] did not know Lisi.'

##### 4.1. NP Ellipsis: Not all "pro" drop are the same

An important discovery made in the early 1990s: not all pro-drop are the same (Huang 1991, Otani and Whitman 1991).

- (20)a. Taroo-wa zibun-no hahaoya-o aisiteiru.  
Taro-TOP self-GEN mother-ACC love  
'lit. Taro loves self's mother.'
- b. Hanako-wa *e* nikundeiru.  
Hanako-TOP *e* hates  
'lit. Hanako hates *e*.'

---

<sup>1</sup>Jaeggli and Safir (1989, Introduction) suggest that Romance and Chinese/Japanese have in common what they call "morphological uniformity." See their work for details.

- (21) a. Hanako hates his (= Taro's) mother. (strict)  
 b. Hanako hates her own mother. (sloppy)

Oku (1998): not VP ellipsis.

- (22) a. Bill-wa kuruma-o teineini aratta.  
 Bill-TOP car-ACC carefully washed  
 'Bill washed a car carefully.'  
 b. John-wa *e* arawanakatta.  
 John-TOP not.washed  
 'lit. John didn't wash *e*.'  
 = John did not wash a car.  
 ≠ John did not wash a car carefully.

NP ellipsis

- (23) a. Taroo-wa zibun-no hahaoya-o aisiteiru  
 Taro-NOM self-GEN mother-ACC love  
 'lit. Taro loves self's mother'  
 b. Hanako-wa ~~zibun-no hahaoya-o~~ nikundeiru.  
 Hanako-TOP ~~self-GEN mother-ACC~~ hate  
 'lit. Hanako hates self's mother'

Sloppy reading is possible in the subject position in Japanese.

- (24) a. Taroo-wa [zibun-no kodomo-ga eigo-o sitteiru to] itta.  
 Taro-TOP self-GEN child-NOM English-ACC know that said  
 'lit. Taro said that self's child knew English.'  
 b. Hanako-wa [*e* furansugo-o sitteiru to] itta.  
 Hanako-TOP French-ACC know that said  
 'lit. Hanako said that *e* knew French.'  
 'Hanako said that 's/he' (Taro's child) knew French.' (strict)  
 'Hanako said that her own child new French.' (sloppy)

Spanish

- (25) a. María cree que su propuesta será aceptada.  
 Maria believes that her proposal will-be accepted  
 'Maria believes that her proposal will be accepted.'  
 b. Juan también cree que *e* será aceptada.  
 Juan also believes that it will-be accepted  
 'Juan also believes that it will be accepted.'  
 = Juan believes that Maria's proposal will be accepted.  
 ≠ Juan believes that Juan's proposal will be accepted.

## 4.2. Occurrence of agreement blocks NP ellipsis

The brief observation by Oku about the contrast between Japanese and Spanish has led to a series of works by Saito (2007), Şener and Takahashi (2010), Takahashi (2006, 2008a, 2008b), Tomioka (2003), among many others. The following are due to João Costa (personal communication); the second verb in (35) is different from the first in order to avoid a VP-ellipsis interpretation.

Portuguese: Object:

- (26) O Pedro adora a mãe, mas o Paulo odeia \_\_\_\_.  
The P. adores the mother, but the P. hates \_\_\_\_  
✓strict, ✓sloppy

Subject:

- (27) O Pedro disse que a mãe é bonita e o Paulo disse que \_\_\_\_ é feia.  
The P. said that the mother is beautiful and the P. said that \_\_\_\_ is ugly  
✓strict, \*sloppy

## CHINESE

Object:

- (28) a. Zhouhong zai yuyanxue ke shang piping le ta ziji de xuesheng .  
Zhouhong in linguistics class criticiz-ed self's student  
'Zhouhong criticized his student in the linguistics class.'  
  
b. Tiantian zai shuxueke shang piping \_\_\_\_\_.  
Tiantian but in mathematics class criticiz-ed  
'But Tiantian criticized \_\_\_\_ in mathematics class.'  
✓strict, ✓sloppy

Subject:

- (29) a. Zhouhong jide ta ziji de gou zai 2dian zuo you jiao .  
Zhouhong remember self's dog 2.o'clock around bark-ed.  
'Zhouhong thought that self's dog barked around 2 o'clock.'  
  
b. Tiantian ze jide zai 2 dianban zuoyou jiao-kuo .  
Tiantian but remember 2o'clock.half around bark-ed.  
'But Tiantian thought that \_\_\_\_ barked around 2:30.'  
✓strict, \*sloppy

This suggests that there is φ-feature agreement at T in Chinese.

A language with subject and object agreement: Kaqchiquel (Otaki, et al 2011, Imanishi 2012).

(30) Object ellipsis

- a. A Xwan n-Ø-u-na'oj-ij  
 CLF Juan IMPF-3sg.ABS-3sg.ERG-know-ACT  
 [chi xta Mari'y tikir-el n-Ø-u-chäp ri ru-syan]  
 COMP CLF Maria can IMPF-3sg.ABS-3sg.ERG-catch the 3sg.ERG-cat  
 'Juan thinks that Maria can catch his cat.'
- b. Chuqa' a Kalux n-Ø-u-na'oj-ij  
 also CLF Carlos IMPF-3sg.ABS-3sg.ERG-know-ACT  
 [chi ri xta Mari'y tikir-el n-Ø-u-chäp \_\_\_\_]  
 COMP the CLF Maria can IMPF-3sg.ABS-3sg.ERG-catch  
 Lit. 'Carlos also thinks that Maria can catch \_\_\_\_.'  
 ✓strict, \*sloppy

(31) Subject ellipsis

- a. A Xwan n-Ø-u-na'oj-ij  
 CLF Juan IMPF-3sg.ABS-3sg.ERG-know-ACT  
 [chi ri ru-syan tikir-el y-e-ru-chäp taq ch'oy]  
 COMP the 3sg.ERG-cat can IMPF-3pl.ABS-3sg.ERG-catch PL mouse  
 'Juan thinks that his cat can catch mice.'
- b. Chuqa' ri a Kalux n-Ø-u-na'oj-ij  
 also the CLF Carlos IMPF-3sg.ABS-3sg.ERG-know-ACT  
 [chi \_\_\_\_ tikir-el y-e-ru-chäp taq ch'oy]  
 COMP can IMPF-3pl.ABS-3sg.ERG-catch PL mouse  
 Lit. 'Carlos also thinks that \_\_\_\_ can catch mice.'  
 ✓strict, \*sloppy

Further observations: Altaic vs. Sino-Tibetan?

Korean: same as Japanese (thanks for Shin-Sook Kim for the data)

- (32) a. Minswu-nun [caki-uy ai-ka violin-ul chin-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta  
 Minswu-TOP self-GEN child-NOM violin-ACC play-DEC-C think-PRES-DEC  
 (Lit.) 'Minswu thinks that self's child plays violin.'
- b. Mina-nun [e cello-lul chin-ta-ko] sayngkakha-n-ta  
 Mina-TOP cello-ACC play-DEC-C think-PRES-DEC  
 (Lit.) 'Mina thinks that self's child plays cello.'  
Sloppy OK



- (33) a. Minswu-nun caki-uy           sensayng-nim-ul           pangmwunha-ess-ta.  
           Minswu-TOP self-GEN    teacher-HONORIFIC-ACC visit-PAST-DEC  
           (Lit) 'Minswu visited his own teacher.'
- b. Mina-nun e pangmwunha-ci anh-ass-ta  
       Mina-TOP   visit                   not.do-PAST-DEC  
       'Mina didn't visit \_\_\_\_.'  
       Sloppy OK

Thai: same as Chinese (Phimsawat 2011)

- (34) kimi bòok wâa   lûuklûuk (\*khǒŋ thəəi) chòob pay sǎansàt nókj bòok wâa  
       Kim say   COMP children   of-GEN she like go zoo   Nok say COMP  
       e chòob pay (\*sǎansàt) mǎankan  
       like go zoo as well  
       (Lit.) 'Kim said that her children liked to go to the zoo. Nok said that e did, too.'  
       \*Sloppy

## Selected References

- Barbosa, Pilar. 1995. Null subjects. Doctoral dissertation. MIT.
- Bošković, Željko, and Daiko Takahashi. 1998. Scrambling and Last Resort. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29:347-366.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2005. Three factors in language design. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36:1-23.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2008. On phases. In Robert Freidin, Carlos Otero, and Maria-Luisa Zubizarreta, eds., *Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 133-166. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Haegeman, Liliane and Virginia Hill. 2011. The syntacticization of discourse. Ms. Ghent University and University of New Brunswick-SJ.
- Harada, S.-I. 1976. Honorifics. In Masayoshi Shibatani (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics 5: Japanese Generative Grammar*, 499-561. New York: Academic Press.
- Hasegawa, Nobuko. 2009. Agreement at the CP level: Clause types and the 'person' restriction on the subject. *WAFJL* 5: 313-152. MITWPL, MIT.
- Hayashibe, Hideo. 1975. Word order and particles: A developmental study in Japanese. *Descriptive and Applied Linguistics* 8:1-18.
- Huang, C.-T. James. 1984. On the distribution and reference of empty pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15:531-574.
- Imanishi, Yusuke. 2012. A non-uniform merge of argument WH: A case study in Kaqchikel. Ms., MIT. Paper presented at the 22<sup>nd</sup> Colloquium on Generative Grammar, Barcelona, Spain, March 2012.
- Jaeggli, M., Safir, K. (Eds.) 1989. *The Null Subject Parameter. Series: Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, Vol. 15. Springer.
- Li, Audrey. Born empty. Ms., University of Southern California.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1987. LF affix raising in Japanese. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18, 362-367.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2010. *Why Agree? Why Move? Unifying Agreement-based and Discourse Configurational Languages*. LI Monograph 54. MIT Press.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2012. Agreements that occur mainly in main clauses. In *Main Clause Phenomena. New Horizons*, eds., Lobke Aelbrecht, Liliane Haegeman, and Rachel Nye, 79-112. Amsterdam, John Benjamins.
- Oku, Satoshi. 1998. A theory of selection and reconstruction in the minimalist perspective. Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Otake, Koichi, Koji Sugisaki, Noriaki Yusa, and Masatoshi Koizumi. 2011. Kakuchikeru-go-ni-okeru kousakujo-no kahi-ni-tsuite [On the availability of argument ellipsis in Kaqchikel]. *Proceedings of the 143rd Conference of the Linguistic Society of Japan*, pp.28-33.
- Otani, Kazuyo and John Whitman. 1991. V-raising and VP-ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22:345-358.

- Oyharçabal, Beñat. 1993. Verb agreement with non arguments: On Allocutive Agreement. In: José Ignacio Hualde and Jon Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), *Generative Studies in Basque Linguistics*, 89-114. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Phimsawat, On-Usa. 2011. The Syntax of Pro-drop in Thai. Ph.D. dissertation, Newcastle University.
- Raposo, Eduardo. 1989. On the null object in European Portuguese. In Jaeggli, M., Safir, K. (Eds.) *The Null Subject Parameter. Series: Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, Vol 15, 373-390. Springer.
- Richards, Mark D. 2007. On feature inheritance: an argument from the phase impenetrability condition. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38, 563-572.
- Saito, Mamoru. 1985. Some asymmetries in Japanese and their theoretical implications. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Speas, Peggy and Carole Tenney. 2003. Configurational properties of point of view roles. *Asymmetry in grammar*, ed. A.-M. Di Sciullo, 315-344. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Takahashi, Daiko. 2006. Apparent parasitic gaps and null arguments in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 15: 1-35.
- Takahashi, Daiko. 2008b. Quantificational null objects and argument ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39, 307-326.