

"All features need to be checked/valued/interpretable for the derivation to converge."
"yield a grammatical utterance"

Not so fast.

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Recall "omnivorous agreement" in Kichean once more:

(40) a. ja rat x-at/* \emptyset -ax-an ri achin
 FOC you(sg.) COM-2sg/*3sg.ABS-hear-AF the man

'It was you(sg.) that heard the man.'

b. ja ri achin x-at/* \emptyset -ax-an rat
 FOC the man COM-2sg/*3sg.ABS-hear-AF you(sg.)

'It was the man that heard you(sg.).'

(41) a. ja rje' x-e/* \emptyset -z'et-ö rja'
 FOC them COM-3pl/*3sg.ABS-see-AF him

'It was them who saw him.'

b. ja rja' x-e/* \emptyset -z'et-ö rje'
 FOC him COM-3pl/*3sg.ABS-see-AF them

'It was him who saw them.'

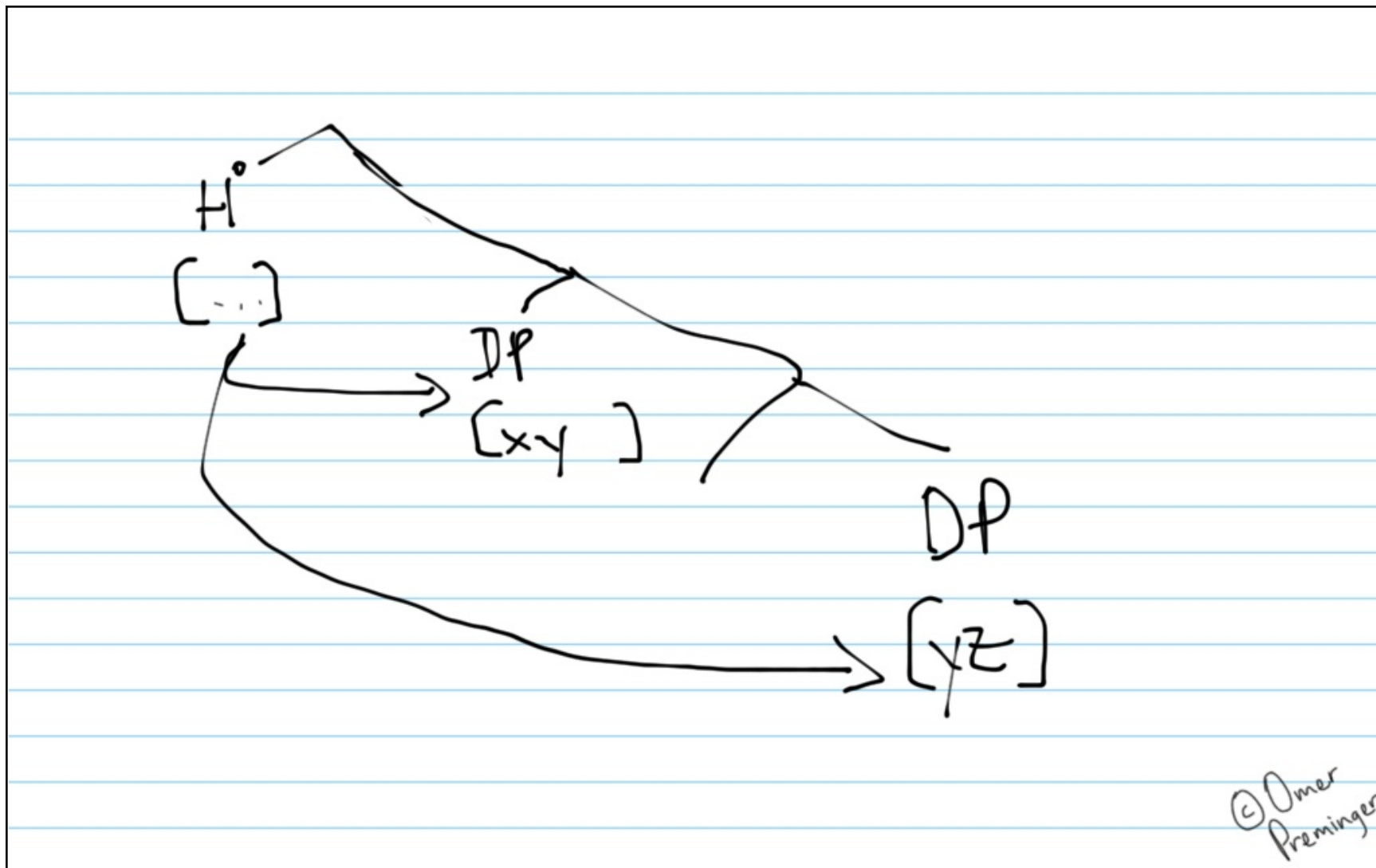
I. data like (40-41) do not involve Multiple Agree

II. the (b) cases in (40-41) involve the probe(s) skipping the SUBJ outright.

III. Kichean AF clauses where both SUBJ & OBJ are 3sg: the probe(s) skip(s)... everything.

IV. ..., but they are grammatical anyway - so unchecked features are okay.

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Why not Multiple Agree?

THE AF PERSON RESTRICTION

In the Kichean AF construction, at most one of the two core arguments can be 1st/2nd person.

a. * ja rat x-in/at/Ø-ax-an yin

FOC you(sg.) COM-1sg/2sg/3sg.ABS-hear-AF me

Intended: 'It was you(sg.) that heard me.'

b. * ja yin x-in/at/Ø-ax-an rat

FOC me COM-1sg/2sg/3sg.ABS-hear-AF you(sg.)

Intended: 'It was me that heard you(sg.).'

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Important – no "AF number restriction":

a. ja rje' x-øj-tz'et-ö röj

FOC **them** COM-1pl.ABS-see-AF **us**

'It was them who saw us.'

b. ja röj x-øj-tz'et-ö rje'

FOC **us** COM-1pl.ABS-see-AF **them**

'It was us who saw them.'

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What would the condition(s) on MA need to be to derive this!

* $\langle \varphi_s, \varphi_o \rangle$ where...

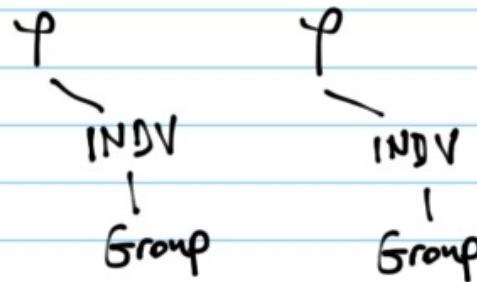
1. $\varphi_o \neq \varphi_s$ X $\langle 3^{rd}, 1^{st}/2^{nd} \rangle$ is OK



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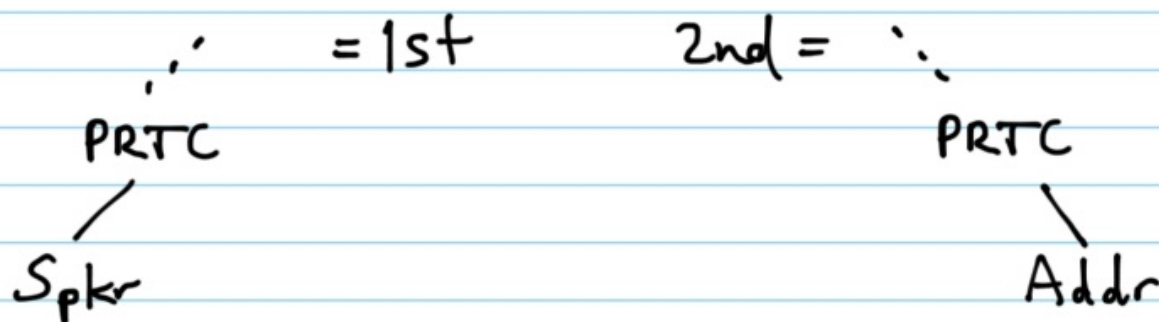
$$2. \Psi_S \cap \Psi_0 \neq \emptyset \quad \times \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \langle 3p1, 1p1/2p1 \rangle \\ \langle 1p1/2p1, 3p1 \rangle \end{array} \right\} \text{OK}$$

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1. $\varphi_0 \neq \varphi_s$ after all, but:



Now, neither $1st \subset 2nd$ nor $2nd \subset 1st$

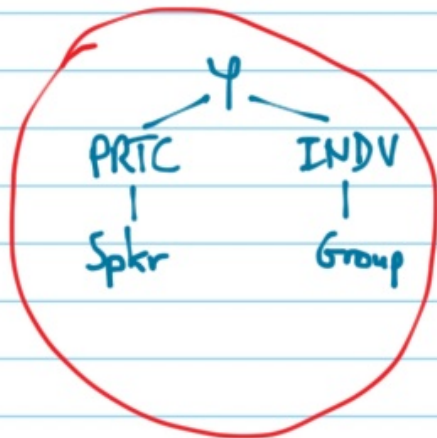
PROBLEMS...?

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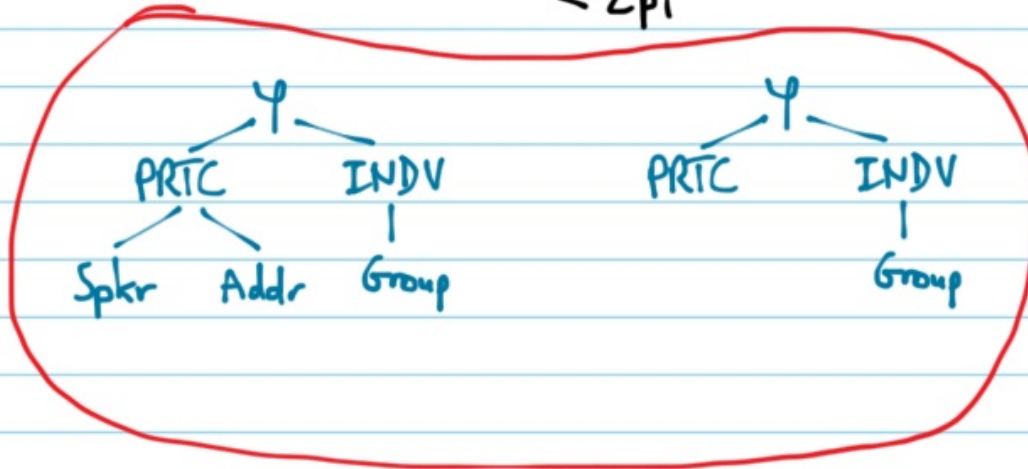
REMINDER:

Let's see how the **UNATTESTED** scenario would arise:

$X \text{ --- } 1pl \text{ EXCL}$
 $Y \begin{cases} 1pl \text{ INCL} \\ 2pl \end{cases}$



X



Y

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Let's compare this with a "Single Agree" approach:

ASSUMPTION: probing can be relativized, to seek only bearers of a particular feature.

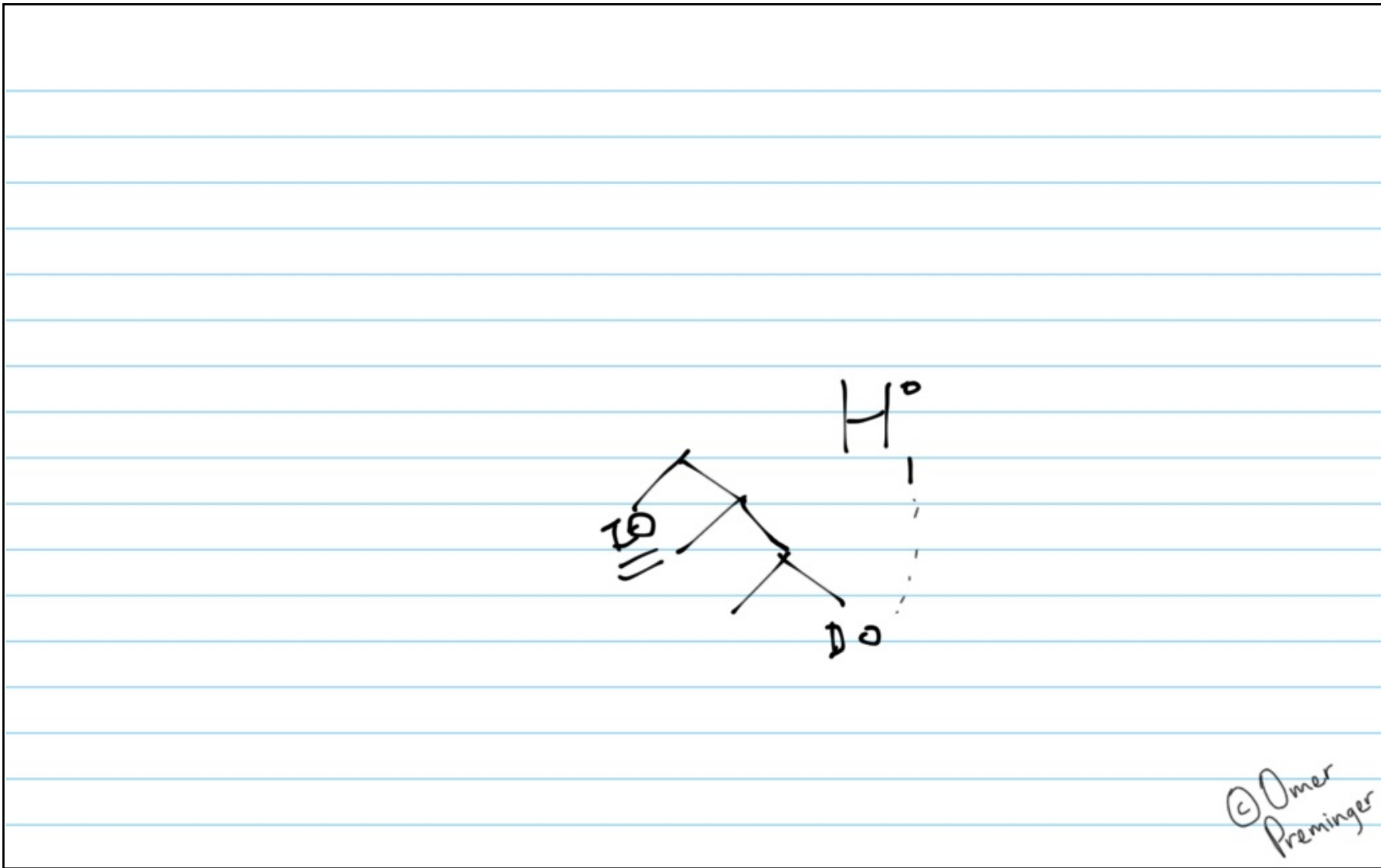
This is not really new —

any probe that can target "only nominals" is feature-relativized (since category membership - e.g. "D/DP" - is ultimately featural)

recall also our good ol' wh-probe

Kichean has a probe - call it Π^0 - that is relativized to seek only bearers of [PRTC].

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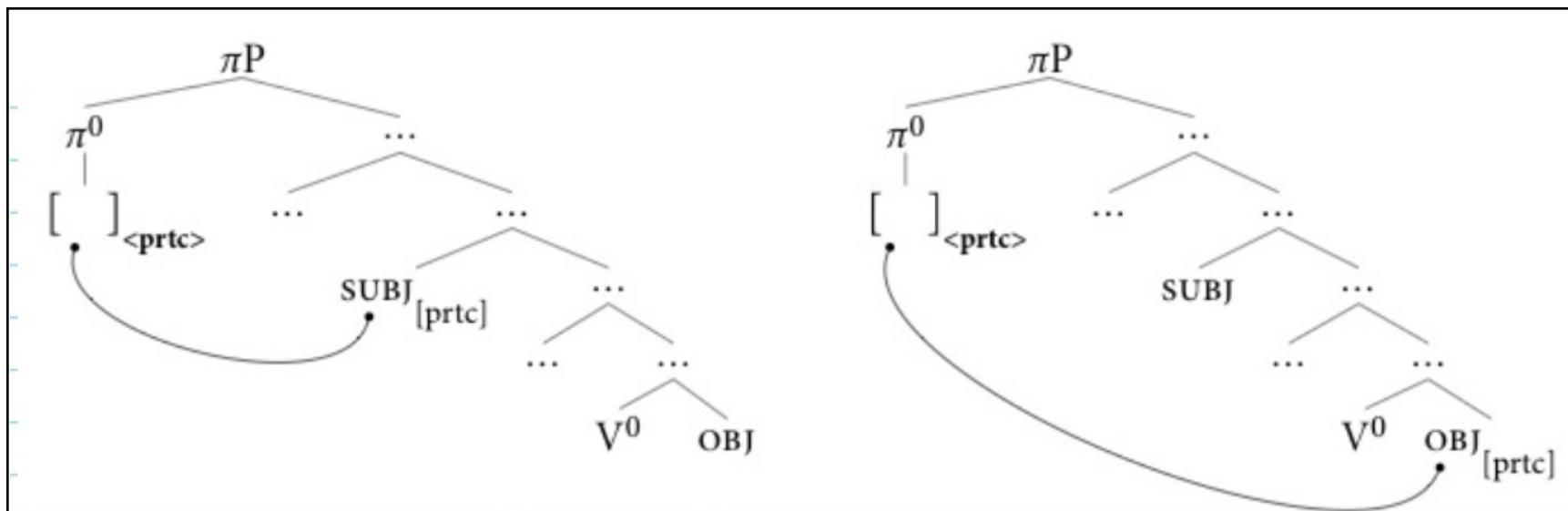
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In discussing the Person Case Constraint yesterday, we appealed to Bejar + Rizac's (2003) licensing condition on [PRTC] features:

[PRTC]-bearing args must be
licensed by agreement

("Person Licensing Condition"/PLC)

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⇒ at most one of {SUBJ, OBJ} can be [PRTC]-bearing

THE AF PERSON RESTRICTION

In the Kichean AF construction, at most one of the two core arguments can be 1st/2nd person.

QED? © Omer Preminger

An aside — implicit in B&R's condition,

[PRTC]-bearing args must be licensed by agreement
 ("Person Licensing Condition"/PLC)

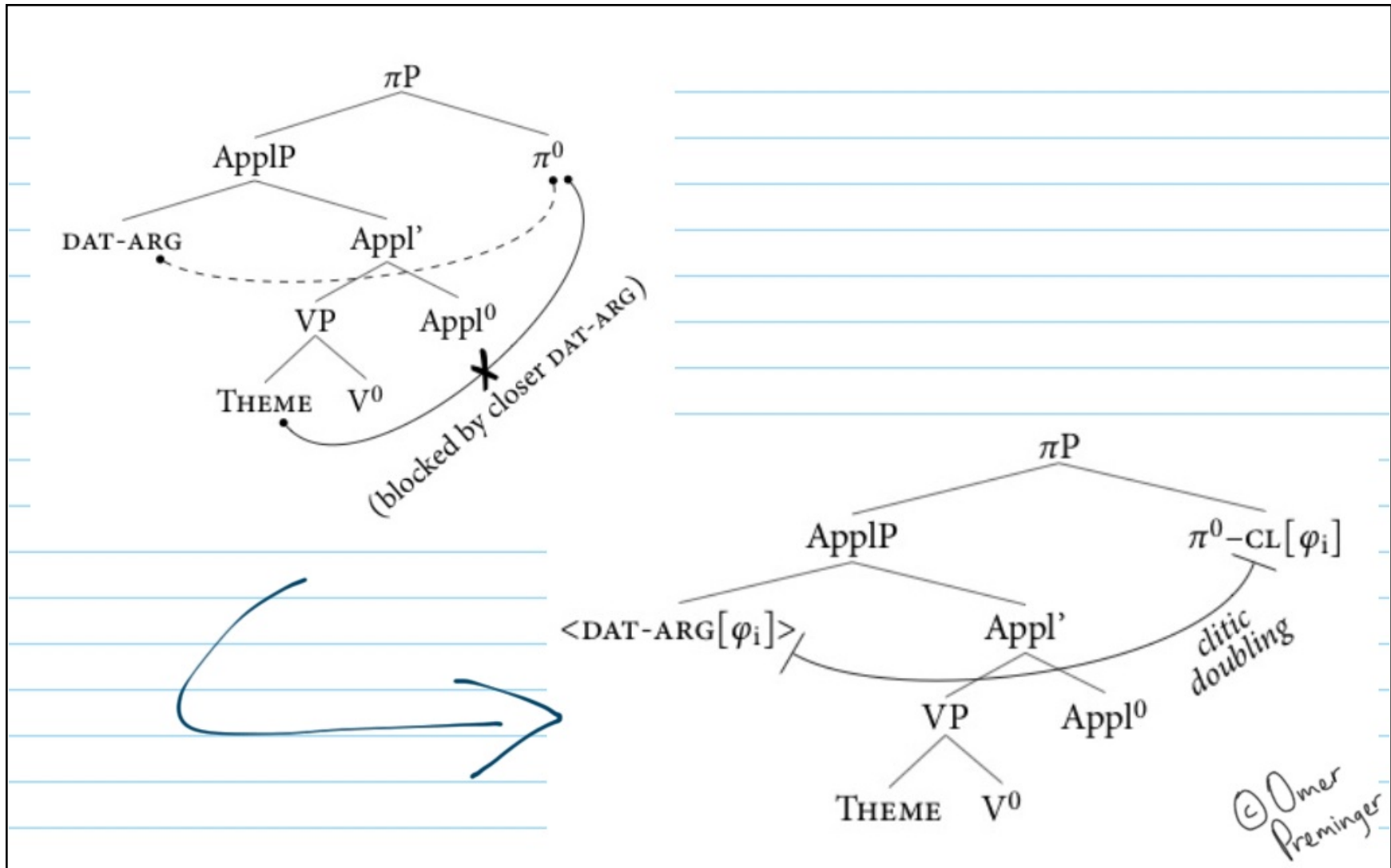
is that the relevant probe must agree in a set of φ -features that includes [PRTC]

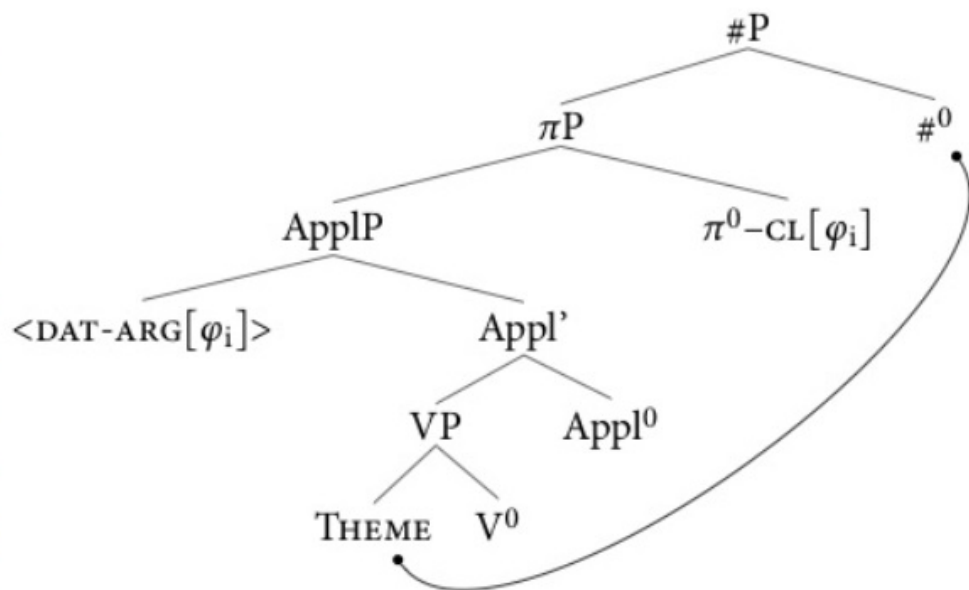
(i.e., [PRTC] must "travel" as part of valuation)

Otherwise, we falsely predict that, say, number agreement would rescue PLC violations

c.	Miren- i_j	gozoki- ak_i	gustatzen	zai- zki_i - o_j .	_____
	Miren-DAT	sweets-the.ABS	liking	$\sqrt{D-PL-3}$	_____
	Miren likes candies.				

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But this doesn't rescue (e):

e. */??Ni_i Miren-i_j gustatzen n_i-a-tzai-o_j.
 I.ABS Miren-DAT liking 1-TM-√D-3
 Miren likes me. (Albizu 1997: 21)

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So indeed,

"Single Agree" + PLC \Rightarrow

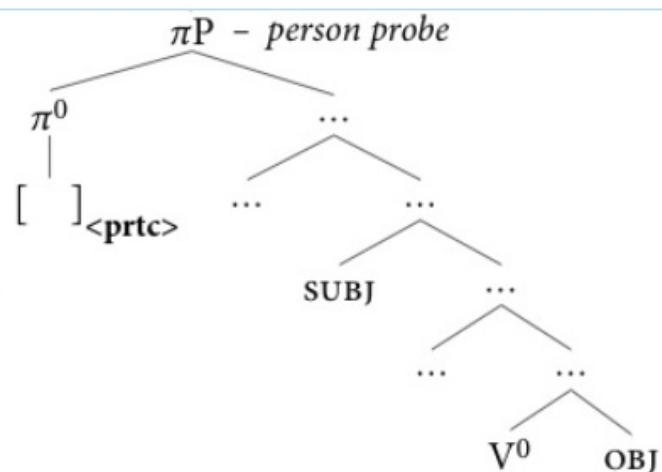
THE AF PERSON RESTRICTION

In the Kichean AF construction, at most one of the two core arguments can be 1st/2nd person.

\Rightarrow Single Agree fares better than Multiple Agree in accounting for the behavior of the Kichean AF construction.

But this means that in combinations of $\langle 3rd_s, 3rd_o \rangle \dots$

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π^0 has not agreed with anything, because π^0 must skip 3rd person targets.

remember what goes wrong if we relax this assumption?

ja ri achin x-at/*Ø-ax-an rat
 FOC the man COM-2sg/*3sg.ABS-hear-AF you(sg.)
 'It was the man that heard you(sg).'

but <3rd_s, 3rd_s> combinations are (unsurprisingly?) grammatical:

ja ri xoq x-Ø-tz'et-ö ri achin
 FOC **the woman** COM-3sg.ABS-see-AF **the man**
 'It was the woman who saw the man.'



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So, have we shown that unvalued/unchecked/uninterpretable features don't cause "crashes" (i.e., ungrammaticality)?

What about —

① Π° checks its features against a null expletive

Well, the null expletive would have to be 3rd person
(indeed, no 1st/2nd person morphology arises in this case)

But 3rd person targets must be skipped.

② Π° checks its features against some projection along the clausal spine
(e.g. the entire vP)

see ①

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③ LAST RESORT: suppose that there is a mechanism capable of eliminating unchecked/unvalued/uninterpretable before they have a chance to cause a "crash" or ungrammaticality (e.g. Bejar's 2003 "Default Valuation")

We must make sure that this operation is indeed a last resort, to prevent "gratuitous non-agreement"

ja rje' x-e/*Ø-tz'et-ö rja'

FOC them COM-3pl/*3sg.ABS-see-AF him

'It was them who saw him.'

⇒ the system must keep track of whether agreement has been attempted, independently of whether it has culminated successfully

(which is what the checked/valued/interpreted distinctions track)

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But if agreement must be attempted independently of whether it has culminated successfully -

Then un_____ features no longer bear any empirical burden

i.e. no utterance is ruled out (solely) due to un_____ features.

⇒ We are back to "un_____ features don't cause crashes".

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④ What if un_____ features are only present on the probe when there's something there for them to agree with? (cf. "the reference set contains only convergent derivations")

⇒ something must prevent the "bare" version of the probe from appearing in derivations where an appropriate target is available

For 1st/2nd person arguments, the PLC will do the job.
But recall that there is no "NLC"—

ja rje' x-øj-tz'et-ö röj

FOC **them** COM-1pl.ABS-see-AF **us**

'It was them who saw us.'

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⇒ we lose the ability to rule out "gratuitous non-agreement"
in [Group]:

ja rje' x-e/*Ø-tz'et-ö rja'

FOC them COM-3pl/*3sg.ABS-see-AF him

'It was them who saw him.'

⇒ We are again back to "un_____ features don't cause crashes".

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Does this mean that Ψ -features are a syntactic "outlier", after all?

No!

I. Object Shift \leftrightarrow specificity

a. Ég las₁ [þrjár bækur]₂ aldrei [VP t₁ t₂] (Icelandic)

I read(PAST) three books never

'There are three books that I never read.'

(✓ *specific reading of "three books"* / ✗ *non-specific reading of "three books"*)

b. Ég las₁ aldrei [VP t₁ þrjár bækur]

I read(PAST) never three books

'I never read three books.'

(✓ *non-specific reading of "three books"* / ? *specific reading of "three books"*)

[Thráinsson 2007:76]

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Enter Holmberg's Generalization -

- * þau hafa [viðtöl við Blair]₂ alltaf [VP sýnt t₂] klukkan ellefu.
 they have interviews with Blair always shown clock eleven

Precisely in this environment - specificity available VP-internally

þau hafa alltaf [VP sýnt [viðtöl við Blair]] klukkan ellefu.
 they have always shown interviews with Blair clock eleven

'They have always shown interviews with Blair at 11 o'clock.' (ambiguous)

[*Thráinsson 2007:78; examples modeled after Vikner 1997*]

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\checkmark°
["unchecked" specificity]

- can attract [specific] DP \Rightarrow does so.
(no "gratuitous non-OS")

- can't \Rightarrow doesn't (no "crash"/ungrammaticality)

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II. (intermediate) wh-movement

What did Mary say (t_{what} [C^0 that] $\langle \downarrow_{\text{wh}} \rangle$ John wanted t_{what})?

Mary said [[C^0 that] John wanted an armadillo].
 $\langle \text{wh} \rangle?$

This issue is not actually restricted to wh-movement out of declaratives, in the first place –

(299) ma_2 Dina šaxex-a [t_2 le-mi₁ Dan natan t_1 t_2]? (Hebrew)

what Dina forgot-3sg.F DAT-who Dan gave

'What did Dina forget to whom Dan gave?'

(≡ 'What is the thing_i such that Dina forgot who Dan gave that thing_i to?')

(300) Dina šaxex-a [le-mi₁ Dan natan t_1 et ha-matana].

Dina forgot-3sg.F DAT-who Dan gave ACC the-gift

'Dina forgot to whom Dan gave the gift.'

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C^0
["unchecked" wh]

What did Mary say [t_{what} [C^0 that] John wanted t_{what}]? _____

Mary said [[C^0 that] John wanted an armadillo]. _____

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III. The definiteness effect

...

IV. Zulu "conjoint-disjoint" alternation

...

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Motivation for interp./uninterp. came from Υ —

Boys were ...

e.g. [wh] on C^0 being "uninterp." makes far less sense, to begin with.

⇒ Maybe "uninterp." was a red herring,
and unvalued/unchecked features don't cause ungrammaticality

⇒ What does rule out "gratuitous non- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{agreement} \\ \text{wh-movement} \\ \dots \end{array} \right\}$ "?

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