AGREEMENT AND FOCUS
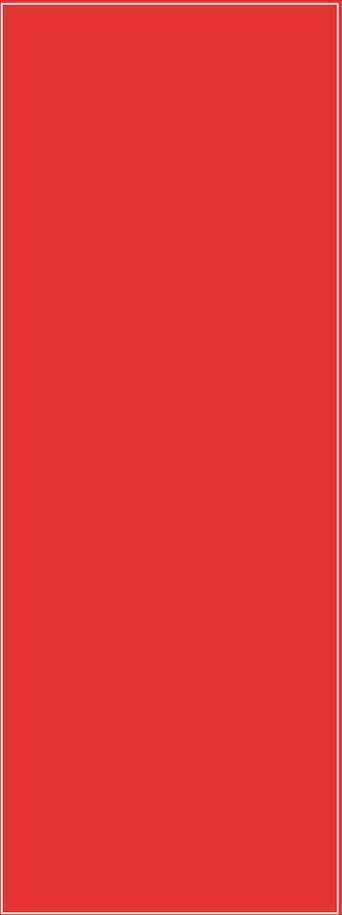
an exploration of the limits of an Agree/Move typology

- Proposal for the Afranaph Project Development Workshop

- Patricia Schneider-Zioga
  CSU Fullerton & UCI
  pzioga@fullerton.edu

- Rutgers University; Dec. 10, 2010

Why is there agreement?

□ a puzzling imperfection

□ Miyagawa (2010) proposes: that the purpose of agreement is to establish functional relations between lexical items and discourse related functions mediated by functional heads

□ language achieves a rich expressiveness
  ◘ topic,
  ◘ focus,
  ◘ subject,
  ◘ questions, etc. become possible.

□ That is, agreement relates lexical items introduced into the syntax via lexical heads to the structurally higher functional layer of the clause.

Why is there movement? Miyagawa's answer

- Miyagawa also proposes an answer for why movement exists:

  - necessary to retain a record of the functional relations that have been established by Agree but subsequently eradicated at the C-I interface when the semantically irrelevant ϕ-probe is removed.

  - Movement is motivated then by the existence of agreement.

Typology

- Agree/Move typology
  - discourse related elements must occur in the Left periphery.
  - is Agree expressed in terms of phi-features or other grammatical features?

Typology

- several areas of the typology that appear murky or problematic.
  - there are focus expressions related to the functional layer of the clause that appear to manifest neither phi-feature nor discourse-configurational agreement.
  - What does this typology predicts about languages where discourse related expressions remain in situ, or at least do not appear on the left edge.
    - How are such expressions then related to discourse notions such as topic and focus?
  - It is clearly empirically wrong, at least for Bantu languages, to propose, as Miyagawa does, that there is only **one** set of phi features on the left edge.

Proposed

- expand the empirical base upon which any Agree/ Move typology could draw by exploring the realization of agreement and focus in a variety of languages.

- Focus is chosen as it is a discourse-configurational notion and thus is necessarily related to the functional layer of a sentence and hence by hypothesis is implicated in Agree and Move.

Proposed

☐ resources of Afranaph are particularly well suited to exploring this issue as it includes a significant number of languages that are rich in agreement morphology and in focus constructions such as the Niger Congo languages.

☐ it also includes Afro-Asiatic languages such as Berber and Amharic which display agreement in gender as well as person.

□ Why gender?

  ◘ Carstens (2010) proposes that these features behave differently with respect to movement

  ◘ Baker (2006) gender vs. person agreement

working hypothesis

□ *Focus is always associated with the left edge via Agree and Move.* That is, with respect to focus, I will push Miyagawa's thesis to the limit to see to what extent is can be maintained or must be revised to accommodate the empirical facts.

Correlative disjunction

correlatives and focus

- Correlative disjunctions involve contrastive focus, as convincingly established by Den Dikken (2006), Hendriks (2004), Johannessen (2005), and Lipták (2001).

- This is related to a discourse function; therefore, Agree/Move typology predicts Agree and Move here

agreement?

- Since the core of agreement is reproducing apparently redundant information, we can perhaps extend the notion of agreement to reduplication of lexical items. However, this is not agreement in phi-features.

(correlative) disjunction in Kinande:

- **simple disjunction:**
- a. Kámbale alyá ebíkené kútsy' omutsérê
  - Kambale ate   yams   or   rice

  "Kambale ate either yams or rice."

- **correlative disjunction:**
  - b. Kámbale alyá kútsy' ebíkené kútsy' omutsérê
    - Kambale ate   or   yams   or   rice
    - "Kambale ate either yams or rice."

contrastive focus in correlative disjunction

- set of alternatives are introduced and one alternative is excluded.

- the simple disjunction can be interpreted collectively (cf. for English: Mary is taller than Jacky or Fusa.
  - vs.

  Mary is taller than either Jacky or Fusa. (she could be taller than both of them))

- reduplication forces the focus interpretation is illustrated by the fact that when kútse does not introduce a disjunction, it is interpreted with the adverbial meaning of "maybe:"

- Kambale kutse   asondire ini.alya   amapome
  Kambale kutse   wants   that he.eat apples
  "Maybe Kambale wants to eat apples."

locality

- the distance between the initial and second reduplicated disjunction is subject to the type of locality restrictions familiar from movement

negation (inner islands)

- a. Jakí, kútse mwagulá ebíkené kútsy' omutsérê
  Jacky, or   bought yams   or   rice
  "Jacky either bought yams or rice."

- negative
  b. Yohani kutse mwatetalya mutsere kutse buhoti
  John kutse neg.ate   rice   or   beans
  "John maybe/*either didn't eat rice or beans."

more islands

- a. Kambale kutse abuga [ng' alya omutsere kutse obuhoti]
  Kambale kutse said   if 3s.could eat rice or   beans

  *"Kambale either said if he could eat rice or beans."

  ok:"Maybe Kambale said if he could eat rice or beans."

  b. Motowir' kutse [omwatsi w' eribuga [ambu Amani akandisyabanira
  we.heard kutse news   of   saying   that   Amani will.meet

  kutse baba wiwe kutse omwira wiwe y'   eRutgers

  either father her   or   friend   her   Linker   at.Rutgers

  "Maybe we heard the rumor that Amani will meet her father or her
  friend at Rutgers."

within the island

Motowir' [omwatsi w' eribuga [ambu Amani akandisyabanira
we.heard kutse news   of   saying   that   Amani will.meet

kutse baba wiwe kutse omwira wiwe y'   eRutgers

either father her   or   friend   her   Linker   at.Rutgers

"We heard the rumor that Amani will meet either her father or her
friend at Rutgers."

- (not particularly natural, but grammatical)

subjects form islands!

- kútse Jakí   mwagulá ebíkené kútsy' omutsérê
  kutse Jacky   bought   yams   or   rice

"*either/ ok: maybe Jacky bought yams or rice."

- dislocated XP's intercept moved ones
- kutse lacks phi-features, therefore, cannot push the dislocated XP out of the left edge to overcome the intervention.

correlative disjunction of clauses okay

☐ Kinande does allow *kutse* to be interpreted as a contrastive focus marker just in case two complete clauses are disjoined:

☐ kutse [Eric akandisoma echapitre ya kasatu] [kutse Nadine y'

kutse Eric will.read   chapter of four   or   Nadine Wh-agr'

ukandisoma yo]

antiagr.read it
"Either(/maybe) [Eric will read chapter four] or [Nadine will read it]."

☐ kutse [Valinande akandiha esyofranga siwe sy' abasama] [kutse iniaha
ebitabu biwe by'euniversite]].
either Valinande will.give money his Lk' poor   or   he(foc).give books
his
Lk university
"Either [Valinande will give his money to the poor]or [he will give his books
to the university.]"

two possibilities for the origin of kutse

□ kutse+kutse, as a single "reduplicated" expression

□ also: [kutse ….] & [kutse ….].

semantic but not structural parallelism?

[Mobafungire kutse iyo Kambale] [kutse Valinande yo   bafunga]

3pl.locked.up either focus Kambale or   Valinande wh-agr(focus) 3pl.locked.up
  "They either locked.up Kambale or they locked.up Valinande."

☐ To what extent can this be a possible heuristic for discovering
   discourse functionally similar or identical structures via a
   coordination test?

Subject/object asymmetry

☐ SUBJECT:

☐ **a.** * [Kutse Amani kutse Josh]   a.gula   e ordinateur
         or   Amani or   Josh   3s.bought   computer

b. ok: Kutse Amani kutse Josh yo   w.agula   e ordinateur
        or   Amani or   Josh wh-agr antiagr.bought computer
        "Either Amani or Josh bought a computer."

Subject/object asymmetry

- OBJECT:

- don't have to occupy the far left edge:

  Kambale   agula [**kutsy**' ebikene   **kutsy**' omutsere]
  Kambale   bought **or**   yams   **or**   rice
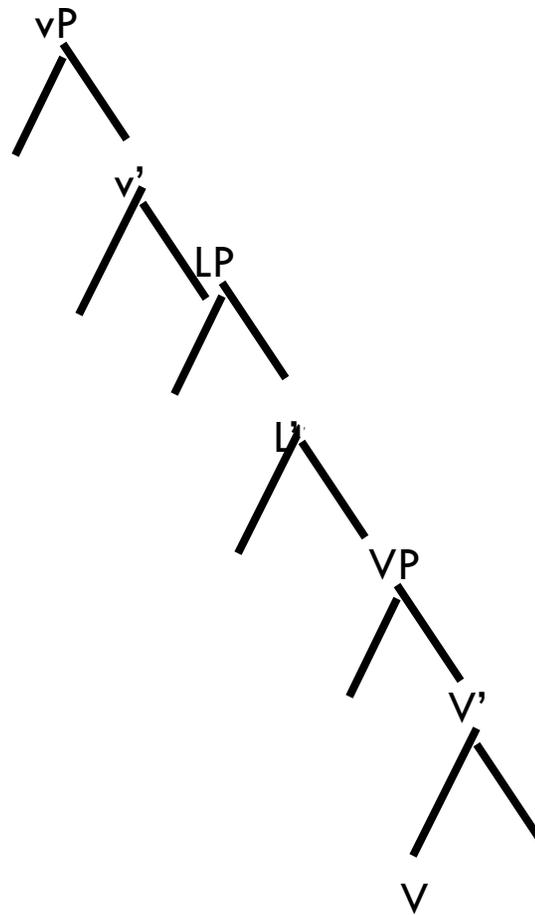 "Kambale bought either yams or rice."

- but recall:

- Mobafungire[$_{vP}$ kutse iyo   Kambale] kutse Valinande yo bafunga
  3pl.locked.up   either focus Kambale or   Valinande wh-agr(foc)
  3pl.locked.up
  "They either locked.up Kambale or they locked.up Valinande."

vP
v'
LP
L'
VP
V'
V

cf. Baker and Collins 2006

Subject/object asymmetry

- *[**kutsy**' ebikene **kutsy**' omutsere], byo   Kambale agula
  or   yams   **or**   rice   WH-agr K.   bought
  "Either yams or rice, Kambale bought ___."

- Instead, the following construction must be used:

- [mulí byabyá bíkené, mulí abyá   mutséré], wo/byo Kámbale ágúla
   there.is CL8.is yams there.is CL3.is rice,   wh-agr K   bought
  "Either yams or rice, Kambale bought ___."
  LIT:"Exist yams, exist rice, Kambale bought."

- suppose that correlatively disjoined objects would occupy the left edge of vP, as by hypothesis they must. If agreement features are no longer active after participating in an agreement relation on the Left Edge of vP, the correlative disjunction construction can move no higher.

feature resolution in coordination

feature resolution

- A different aspect of this research will be of interest to morphologists, typologists, and anyone who is concerned about issues of feature resolution.

- **subject/verb agreement**
  a. abalwana babiri   n'   omusika muguma **ba**hika
  CL2.boys CL2.two   and   CL1.girl CL1.one CL2.arrived
  "Two boys and a girl arrived."

  b. Obuki   n'   ebiribwa bibiri   **by**ahirawa   oko mesa
   CL14.honey and CL8.yam CL8.two   CL8agr.put.pass on   table.
    "Honey and 2 yams were put on the table"

feature

- **focus (wh-) agreement**
  a. omwana n'   embene **bo**   natsumanga
     CL1   and   CL9   CL2.wh-agr   1s.scolded
     *omwana n'   embene **syo**   natsumanga
     CL1   and   CL9   CL10.wh-agr   1s.scolded
     "It is the child and the goat that I scolded."

  b. obuki   n'   ebiribwa   **byo**   nanzire
     CL14.honey and CL8.sweet potatoes CL8.wh-agr 1s.like
     "It is honey and sweet potatoes that I enjoy."

- **linker agreement**
  Monaha obuki n'ebiribwa **byo** Kambale
   1s.gave CL14.honey and CL8.sweet potatoes CL8.Linker Kambale
  I gave a book and honey to Kambale.

exclusive and additive focus elements

exclusive focus

- *–sa* only construction, agrees with focalized noun in gender

- Jackí mwágúla e**bí**kene   **bi**.sá   (by' omosóko)

  Jacky bought CL8.yams CL8.only   (L' LOC.market)
  "Jacky bought only sweet potatoes at the market."

- b. Jacky **mu**.sá   yo   wagula   ebíkene
  Jacky CL1.only wh-agr antiagr.bought   yams
  "Only Jacky bought sweet potatoes."

additive particle na…

- a. na Kambale
  b. Kambale naye
  c. Kambale…..[naye]

- strategy:
  - a. the simple additive construction,
  - b. the locally anaphoric construction,
  - c. the distant anaphoric construction.

anaphoric properties

- a. c-command is required between antecedent and additive particle
- b. split antecedents are not possible
- c. the relation cannot be established across clause boundaries.
- d. the additive construction involves an element that agrees with the antecedent.

restricted distribution wrt direct object

- the local anaphoric strategy is completely impossible in active sentences. When the additive meaning is desired the simple additive construction must be used:

- *Kambale mwalire [eBikene$_i$ na.Byo$_i$]
  Kambale ate   CL8.yams and.AGRCL8

- Kambale mwalire n'eBikene

  Kambale ate   and-yams
  "Kambale ate yams also." (with "also" modifying "yams")

possible use of anaphoric strategies for logical D.O

- passive

  [Ebikene$_i$ naByo$_i$] mo**By**alirwe

   yams   and-AGr eat.pass

   "The yams were also eaten."

- [eBikene]$_i$ mo**By**alirwe [nabyo]$_i$

   yams   eat.pass   and.AGR

   "The yams were eaten also."

possible use of anaphoric strategies for logical D.O

□ possible for D.O. in DOC's provided it is the local anaphoric strategy

□ a. Kambale aha [eBikene$_i$ naByo$_i$] By'esyombwa
　　　Kambale gave　yams　　and-AGR Lk'

□ b. *Kambale aha [eBikene]$_i$ By'esyombwa [naByo]$_i$

□ generalization: a theme can be in an anaphoric relation with a focus particle only if it agrees with something

contrasts with I.O's

- Kambale   aha [aBana$_y$ naBo$_y$]   B'eBikene
  Kambale gave children and-AGR L' yams
                    (cl.2)   (cl.2)   (cl.2) (cl.8)
  "Kambale gave also the children yams."

- Kambale aha [aBana]$_y$ B'eBikene [naBo]$_y$
    Kambale gave children L' yams and-AGR
                    (cl.2) (cl.2)(cl.8) (cl.2)
  "Kambale gave the children the yams also." (with "also" modifying "the children")

- Kambale aha   eBikene By'[aBana$_y$ naBo$_y$]
-     Kambale gave yams L'   children and-AGR
-                    (cl.8) (cl.8) (cl.2) (cl.2)
  "Kambale gave the yams to the children also."(with "also" modifying "the children")

the functional structure of vP

- assume the structure for VPs proposed by Baker and Collins (2006) where a projection is assumed for the linker in between vP and VP and the goal is projected in the specifier of VP.

- I propose that the local anaphoric additive construction involves adjunction of the NP to the additive *na* or to a projection immediately dominating it under the right circumstances.

the functional structure of vP

- *Na* as a conjunction/comitative element doesn't tolerate movement away from it and so the movement must be repaired with a resumptive pronoun. Adjunction is only possible if the immediately dominating projection to the adjunction site is not is not a recipient of theta.

- never possible for a theme that is not in an agreement relation, as only when it is in the spec of the linker phrase is it not immediately dominated by a theta marking projection, but rather only a functional category

the functional structure of vP

- The goal, in contrast, as a specifier can adjoin to VP when it is in a theta position and so participate in a local anaphoric construction.

- The goal, like the theme, can move into the functional periphery in the vP and has done so whenever we see it in an agreement relation in vP. In this situation, it can participate in both distant anaphoric constructions and local ones.

concluding thoughts

- This preliminary examination of the additive focus construction has confirmed part of the intuition of the Agree/Move typology; namely when a relation to clausal functional structure (including vP) is established, it is marked by the grammar somehow.

- However, we do not necessarily find Agree/Move signified in the form of spec/head agreement involving phi-features of some type.

concluding thoughts

□ The data can be expanded by including applicative constructions as well as small clauses and seeing how well they stand up to the generalizations just made. It will be particularly interesting to see if languages that lack the linker yet are otherwise similar share the same about of functional structure on the vP periphery. Moreover, the behavior of the additive particle can be compared to reflexive pronouns and reflexive adverbs for which a fair amount of documentation currently exists.

concluding thoughts

- there is plentiful evidence supporting the function of Agree as relating lexical items to the establishment of functional structure. The imperfect existence of Move does not however, appear illuminated by the Agree/Move link.