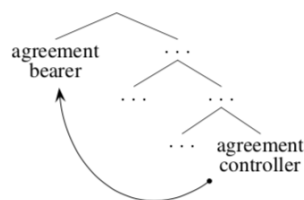


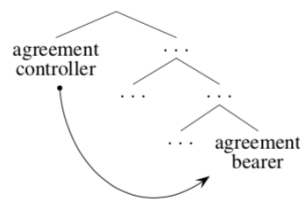
(1) *Some Theoretical Background: Agreement and Concord*

- **Definition of Agree:** “the fundamental licensing operation of minimalist syntax” (Chung 2012)
  - **”Given** a probe  $X$  and a goal  $Y$ , where:
    - a.  $X$  c-commands  $Y$ ,
    - b.  $X$  lacks values for uninterpretable features that can be supplied by the values of matching features on  $Y$ ,
    - c.  $Y$  lacks values for uninterpretable features that can be supplied by  $X$ ,
    - d. No potential goal intervenes between  $X$  and  $Y$ ,
    - e.  $X$  and  $Y$  are in the same phase,**Agree** supplies the values of each category’s uninterpretable features from matching features of the other category.” (Chung 2012)
- **Some History:** The Directionality of (Phi-)Agreement Before and During Minimalism.
  - **Downward Agree:** the hegemonic view since Lasnik & Saito (1991), Chomsky (2001)
    - \* **Basic Proposal:** Agree obtains between c-commanding Probes & c-commanded Goals.
    - \* **Core Domain:**  $\phi$ -agreement (in  $\pi, \gamma, \#$ ) and Case-licensing
    - \* **Key Evidence:** long-distance agreement phenomena (in Hindi, Basque, Icelandic...)
  - **Upward Agree:** position advocated by Bjorkman & Zeijlstra (2014, 2019).
    - \* **Basic Proposal:** Agree obtains between c-commanding Goals & c-commanded Probes.
    - \* **Historical Precedent:** Spec-head agreement (Kayne 1989, Müller 2017)
    - \* **Contemporary Parallels:** ‘hybrid’ UA/DA systems (Baker ’08, Merchant ’11)
    - \* **Original Domain:** NEG concord, NPI licensing, anaphor binding, sequence of tense, semantic agreement, inflection doubling (Zeijlstra 2004, 2008b, 2012, Den Dikken 2006, Chierchia 2013, Reuland 2006, Hicks 2009, Smith 2015, Wurmbrand 2012a,b, 2014)
    - \* **Intended Extension:** *all* (phi-)agreement (traditionally handled with Downward Agree.)
  - **Today:** Bjorkman & Zeijlstra (B&Z ’19) for, Preminger & Polinsky (P&P ’15) against UA.
  - **Two Diagrams:** DA (Upward Valuation) vs. UA (Downward Valuation), from P&P ’15

(1) UPWARD VALUATION



(2) DOWNWARD VALUATION

(2) **P&P’s Objections:** Three Arguments Against Upward Agree

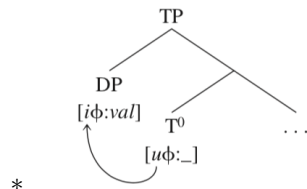
- **Typological Pattern:** Long-distance cross-clausal agreement always seems ‘downward.’
  - **Evidence for DA:** cross-clausal dependencies involve high probes, low goals.
  - Vivek-ne [<sub>TP</sub> **kitaab** parh-nii ] **chaah-ii**  
 V-ERG book.F read-INF.F want-PFV.F.SG  
 ‘Vivek wanted to read the book.’ (Bhatt 2005: Matrix T agrees w/ embedded DP<sub>DO</sub>).
  - **Typological gap:** apparently zero cases of low probes (phi-)agreeing with higher goals.
- **Practical Problem:** given enough stipulation, any theory can explain anything.
  - **Example 1:** B&Z ’14, ’19 claim that UA always ‘more robust’ than DA.
    - \* **Case 1:** Preverbal S triggers full agreement, postverbal S partial agreement in MSA:

- ʔal-ʔawlaad-u    naam-uu/\*-a                      –    naam\*-uu/-a                      l-ʔawlaad-u.  
the-children-NOM slept-M.3PL/M.3SG                      slept-M.3PL/M.3SG the-children-NOM  
'The children slept.'
- \* **Case 2:** Anything preverbal triggers subject agreement in Kinande (Bantu):
- Oka-mesa    kw-a-hir-aw-a ehilanga.                      –    Omo-mulongo    mw-a-hik-a mukali.  
LOC.17-table 17s-were.put    peanuts.19                      LOC.18-village.3 18s-arrived woman.1  
'On the table were put peanuts.'                      'At the village arrived a woman.' (B&Z '19)
- **Neither Case Conclusive:** both patterns can be equally well explained in a DA world.
- \* **Arabic Data:** DA constrained by locality; postverbal S too low to be fully visible.
- \* **Bantu Data:** Movement to Spec,TP triggered by DA probe with [EPP] features.
- \* **Key Intuition:** Nothing empirical suggests that UA should be preferred to DA.
- **Conceptual Objection:** Assimilating agreement with concord is a bad idea.
  - **Background:** P&P '15 claim 'no empirical arguments' for Upward Phi-Agreement.
  - **Elsewhere:** Other phenomena distinct from Phi-Agreement can be analyzed with UA.
  - **Claim:** It's not theoretically desirable to employ one mechanism to derive both.
    - \* "Suppose we are given a proposal P that seeks to unify some X ( $\phi$ -agreement) with some Y (a family of semantic concord phenomena). P [is] successful [if] it preserves the successes of existing accounts of X and Y while decreasing through unification the overall amount of required theoretical machinery. As we will see, it is not clear that [B&Z's] unification... regardless of whether it succeeds as a theory of agreement, would be able to achieve such a decrease. Conversely, P [is] unsuccessful... [if] it has deleterious effects on our ability to account for X and/or Y themselves. As we will show, the unification of agreement with semantic concord has precisely such effects."
  - **Instead:** Preminger (2013) suggests concord phenomena don't involve Agree.
    - \* "Theorizers who refer to such phenomena as negative concord and sequence-of-tense as 'agreement' would do well to find a new way to capture the relation underlying those phenomena—since there appeared to be irreducible differences between that relation and the relation underlying  $\phi$ -feature agreement."
  - **Parallel:** pragmatically-driven coreference/ 'concord' phenomena:
    - \* "I met the most fascinating woman yesterday. It turns out she/\*he invented the \*."

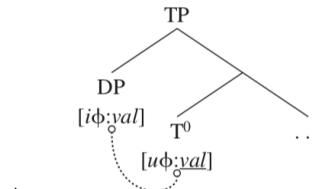
(3) *Bjorkman & Zeijlstra 2019: Checking Up on  $\phi$ -Agree*

- **Central Claim:** Probes universally look upward; Agree universally upward.
  - **Deriving the Configuration:** B&Z '19 eliminate EPP features; force movement by Greed.
    - \* **Classical View:** movement of goals triggered by [EPP] on probes (Chomsky '01)
    - \* **Greed:** movement of goals triggered by their need to check features (Bošković '07)
    - \* **Result:** goals move to c-command relevant probes purely to check their features.
  - **Defining Upward Agree:**  $\alpha$  enters an Agree relation with  $\beta$  iff:
    - a.  $\alpha$  has at least one uninterpretable feature &  $\beta$  has a matching interpretable feature;
    - b.  $\beta$  c-commands  $\alpha$ ;
    - c.  $\beta$  is the closest goal to  $\alpha$ . (B&Z '19)
  - **A Key Split:** Agree broken down into two components linked by *Accessibility*
    - \* **Checking:** classical 'Agree', checks uFs, strictly upward precedes *Valuation*.
    - \* **Valuation:** A valued feature on  $\alpha$  can value a matching unvalued feature on  $\beta$  iff  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are accessible to each other, and no other accessible element  $\gamma$  with a matching valued feature intervenes between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ .

- \* **Accessibility:**  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are accessible to each other iff an uninterpretable feature ( $uF$ ) on  $\beta$  has been checked (via UA) by a corresponding interpretable feature ( $iF$ ) on  $\alpha$ .
- \* **Timing:** If an interpretable feature on  $\alpha$  checks an uninterpretable feature on  $\beta$  and the interpretable feature on  $\alpha$  can also value the uninterpretable feature on  $\beta$ , it must.

a. Checking via UA between  $[u\phi]$  and  $[i\phi]$ 

b. Valuation, dependent on accessibility



- **Result:** feature *checking* strictly upward, *valuation* (sharing) goes either way.
  - \* **Practically:** Transfer permitted in any direction once upward agreement established.
  - \* **Look-ahead:** This mechanism effectively lets you model DA as successive UA.
- **Empirical Adequacy:** the bulk of B&Z '19 walks through UA accounts of LDA.
  - **Recall:** LDA phenomena provided the original argument for an exclusive DA theory.
  - **UA Counteranalysis:** apparent LDA involves successive upward feature valuation.
    - \* **Start:** The lowest UA relation values a goal's features on the lowest probe probe<sub>i</sub>.
    - \* **Then:** Probe<sub>i</sub> enters into Agree with probe<sub>j</sub> in a higher clause.
    - \* **Result:** The two probes establish an *accessibility* relationship.
    - \* **Consequence:** Probe<sub>j</sub>'s  $u\phi$  can be valued with the  $i\phi$  of probe<sub>i</sub>.
    - \* **Big-Picture:** These 'agreement chains' derive the surface phenomenon of UA.
- **Justification:** Arguments from typology and theory of the theory.
  - **Claimed Asymmetry:** UA appears systematically more robust than DA cross-linguistically.
    - \* UA always involves a 'fuller' agreement paradigm than DA (but cf. P&P)
    - \* UA never 'case-discriminating'; DA often is (but cf. P&P)
  - **Theoretical Concerns**
    - \* **Starting Point:** Some feature-sharing dependencies *must* involve UA:
      - Inflection doubling, Negative Concord (Bjorkman 2011, Zeijlstra 2012)
    - \* **Vision:** "Syntactic feature dependencies should, if possible, be given a unified account."
      - **Parallels:** concord phenomena also involve locality-sensitive dependencies.
      - **Parsimony:** the most elegant theory has one mechanism probing in one direction.
      - "The question at stake is whether more than one mechanism is available within the morphosyntactic component of grammar [to realize correspondences between different pairs of expressions]. Since phenomena like negative concord, multiple case licensing, and verbal inflection are all subject to syntactic locality relations, they cannot be explained by a pragmaticosemantic mechanism along the lines of the one responsible for feature matching under coreference.... Since these phenomena cannot be treated in DA terms (and Preminger and Polinsky do not claim they should be), treating  $\phi$ -agreement in terms of DA would necessarily require two coexisting agreement mechanisms in the morphosyntax. By contrast, the central claim of this article is that there is only one such mechanism." (B&Z '19)
  - **Case Study:** Long-Distance Agreement in Tsez (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001)
    - **Pattern:** Nakh-Daghestani, Algonquian languages permit Agr into finite clause.
      - \* **Information-Structure Sensitivity:** Agr w/ embedded left-peripheral arguments
      - \* **Generalization:** Tsez *requires* cross-clausal agreement with embedded Topics.

- \* Enir [CP užā **magalu** b-āc'ruḷi ] b-iyxo.  
 mother boy bread.ABS.III III-ate III-know  
 'The mother knows [that (as for the bread) the boy ate it].' (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001)
- \* **Claim:** no (covert) movement, no matrix object prolepsis- really LDA (P&P '01)

– Here's the account.

- \* **Assumption** The embedded topic DP<sub>TOP</sub> has [uTop] features which probe upward.
- \* **Assumption:** embedded C<sup>0</sup> bears [iTop],  $\phi$ -features in Tsez.
- \* **Accessibility:** prior UA (to value [uTop]) makes  $\phi$ -features of DP<sub>TOP</sub> accessible to C<sup>0</sup>.
- \* **Assumption:** embedded C<sup>0</sup> requires Case; understood as [uv].
- \* **Result:** embedded C<sup>0</sup> Agrees with matrix *v*; can pass up  $\phi$ -features

