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Syntax of the noun phrase

Martin Salzmann – martin.salzmann@uni-leipzig.de
www.martinsalzmann.com/teaching.htm#2016-17NP

1 Toosarvandani and van Urk (2014)

- why is agreement involving the *ezafe* interesting?
  - why is there such an element in the first place?
  - does it have any meaning?
  - which part of the structure does it occupy?
  - the Zazaki concord pattern is particularly relevant because it involves *split*-agreement when introducing a possessor
- major claim of the paper: concord functions like agreement at the clausal level
  - same restrictions: inherent case blocks ϕ-agreement
  - extension of cyclic Agree by Béjar and Řezáč (2009) to the DP

(1) a. ê kutik=ê gırs=ê rınd=i
that.M.S.OBL dog(M)=M.S.OBL big=M.S.OBL good=OBL.M.S
'that big good dog (obl)'

b. [Ga=yê çênek=a] vaş wen-o
ox(M)=EZ.M.S.OBL girl(F)=OBL.P grass(M) eat.PRS.3S.M
'the girl's ox is eating grass'

- observations
  - (1-a) EZ agrees with head noun ins ϕ-features and Case
  - (1-b) ϕ-agr with the possessum, Case-agr with the possessor (obl)

1.1 Verbal agreement

1.1.1 Case split based on tense

- past tense: Erg-Abs-pattern (oblique-direct):

(2) a. Ez vazd-a
1S.DIR run.PST.1S
'I ran.'

b. Kutik-=i ez guret-a
dog(M)=OBL.M.S 1S.DIR bite.PST-1S
'The dog bit me.'

- present tense: Nom-acc pattern (direct-oblique; acc only if specific/definite)

(3) a. Ez vazden-a.
1S.DIR run.PRS-1S
'I run.'

b. ez layik=i vinen-a
1S.DIR boy(M)=OBL.M.S see.PRS-1S
'I see the boy.'

- direct Case only on nom/abs arguments

- oblique Case also on complements of P and possessors (in addition to erg/acc arguments):

(4) a. Fatık=e Alık=i=rê şami pucen-a
Fatik(F)=F Alik(M)=OBL.M.S=for dinner(F)=F cook.PRS-3S.F
'Fatık makes dinner for Alık.'

b. Ga=yê Alık=i vaş wen-o
ox(M)=EZ.M.S.OBL Alik(M)=OBL.M.S grass(M) eat.PRS-3S.M
'Alik's ox is eating grass.'

1.1.2 Verbal agreement

- Verb agrees in person, number and gender
- verb always agrees with the highest argument that bears direct Case:
  - present tense: SU
  - past: OBJ

(5) Hesen=i Alık=i=rê mekdub=e nivısn-e
Hesen(M)=OBL.M.S Alik(M)=OBL.M.S=for letter(F)=**F**.S write.PST-3S.**F**
'Hesen wrote a letter for Alik.'

(6) *Case opacity*
A DP with theta-related case may not agree in ϕ-features (erg thus = inherent Case)

- ergative = assigned by P → if P = phase head, DP will be inaccessible for agreement outside the PP (but: by the same logic, the NP-complement of D should be inaccessible to v/T as well ... or conversely: suppose that P agrees with D [it assigns Case to it], one might expect it to get phi-features from D, which should then be accessible to v/T)

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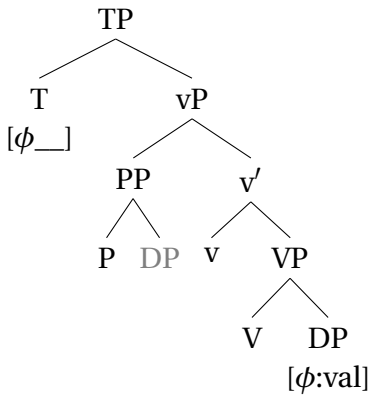

- accusative case: unclear if structural or inherent (PP)

1.2 Agreement in the nominal domain

- nominal concord appears on the ezafe-morpheme:
  - introduces dependents of the noun like adjectives and possessors (what about relative clauses?)
  - introduces dependents to its right, but cliticizes onto whatever precedes it to the left

(8) [O ga=wo sur=o gırs] mı vinen-o.
that.M.S.DIR ox(M)=EZ.M.S.DIR red=EZ.M.S.DIR big 1S.OBL see.PRS-3S.M
'That big red ox sees me.'

1.2.1 Concord in ϕ-features

- ezafe co-varies in ϕ-features with head noun (where does pl on the ezafe in (9-c) come from?):

(9) a. [Kutık=o gırs] mı vinen-o.
dog(**M**)=EZ.**M**.S.DIR big 1S.OBL see.PRS-3S.M
'The big dog sees me.'

b. [Ju bız=a gırs]=e vaş wen-a.
one goat(**F**)=EZ.**F**.S big=F.S grass eat.PRS-3S.F
'A big goat is eating grass.'

c. [Ê bız=ê gırs]=i vaş wen-i.
those.**P** goat(F)=EZ.**P** big=P.DIR grass eat.PRS-3P
'Those big goats eat grass.'

- agreement is strictly local: if adj modifies possessor, ez agrees with possessor, not possessum (recall that fem nouns/DPs take an invariant Case marker):

(10) [O goşt=ê [bız=a gırs]=e] ben-o xrab.
that.M.S.DIR meat(M)=EZ.M.S.OBL goat(**F**)=EZ.**F**.SG big=F.S become.PRS-3S.M rotten
'That meat of a big goat is rotting.'

- even if the ezafe introduces a possessor, it does not agree with it in phi-features but with the head noun:

(11) [Bız=a Alik=i] vaş wen-a.
goat(**F**)=EZ.**F**.S Alik(M)=OBL.M.S grass eat.PRS-3S.F
'Alik's goat is eating grass.'

- if the adj modifies the possessum rather than the adjacent possessor, the ezafe introducing the adj agrees with the possessum:

(12) [Kutik=ê Fatik=o gırs] goşt wen-o.
dog(**M**)=EZ.M.S.OBL Fatik(F)=EZ.**M**.S.DIR big meat eat.PRS-3S.M
'Fatik's big dog is eating meat.'

1.2.2 Case agreement in the DP

- adj: ez always agrees in Case and ϕ-features with the head noun, unsurprising given that the adj does not have any inherent features:

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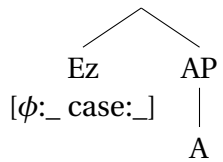
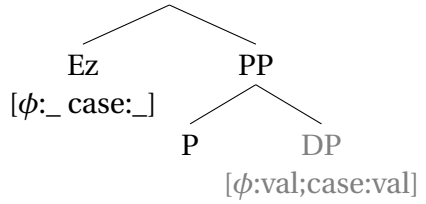


- possessors: do have inherent ϕ-features, yet ezafe does not agree with them: oblique case → Case-opacity; possessor = PP; this holds even if 'possessor' is an argument of the noun (note that the fem nouns do not have an oblique Case form, yet the ez takes obl agreement):

(14) [Werdiş=ê [vaş]=ê [bız]=e] gınen-o mı-ra.
eating(**M**)=EZ.**M**.S.**OBL** grass(F)=EZ.**M**.S.**OBL** goat(F)=F.S bother.PRS-3S.M 1S.OBL-LOC
'The goat's eating grass bothers me.'

(15)



→ ezafe must look for a different goal for ϕ-agreement

- opacity only constraints agreement for an ezafe that introduces a possessor; an adjective that modifies a possessor (bearing oblique case) can agree with it (the ezafe is within the oblique phrase):

(16) Ez [zeri-=ya [beran=ê gırs]=i] wena.
1S.DIR liver(F)=EZ.F.S sheep(**M**)=EZ.OBL.**M**.S big=OBL.M.S eat.PRS.1S
'I eat liver of a big sheep.'

1.2.3 Case concord

- if the ezafe introduces an adj: agr with Case of DP, direct or oblique:

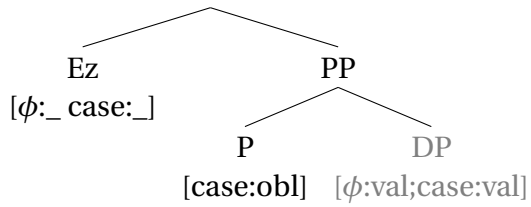
(17) a. [Kutık=o gırs] mı vinen-o.
dog(M)=EZ.M.S.**DIR** big 1S.OBL see.PRS-3S.M
'The big dog sees me.'
b. Ez [kutik=ê gırs]=i vinen-a.
1S.DIR dog(M)=EZ.M.S.**OBL** big=OBL.M.S see.PRS-1S
'I see the big dog.'

- if ezafe introduces a possessor, it agrees with the oblique form, irrespective of the function of the entire DP, viz. direct or oblique:

(18) a. [Ga=yê Alik=i] vaş wen-o.
ox(M)=EZ.M.S.**OBL** Alik(M)=OBL.M.S grass eat.PRS-3S.M
'Alik's ox is eating grass.'
b. Ez [ga=yê Alik=i] vinen-a.
1S.DIR ox(M)=EZ.M.S.**OBL** Alik(M)=OBL.M.S see.PRS-1S
'I see Alik's ox.'

- ezafe agrees with the P-head (which bears a valued Case-feature):

(19)



1.3 Cyclic Agree in the nominal domain

- Why does the EZ prefer to agree with the possessor in Case rather than the entire DP?

1.3.1 Cyclic Agree in Béjar and Řezáč (2009)

- observation: hierarchical agreement and preference for agr with IA
  - verb agrees with highest argument, irrespective of GF → structured probes
  - preference for Agree with internal argument visible when hierarchy is not fixed (e.g. Basque: 2>1 and 1>2) → follows from cyclicity: v first probes its complement before targeting its specifier

(20)
a. ikusi z-in-t-u-da-n
seen 2-x-PL-have-1-PST
'I saw you.' 1 > 2 → 2

b. ikusi n-ind-u-en
seen 1-x-have-PST
'He saw me.' 3 > 1 → 1

c. ikusi n-ind-u-zu-n
seen 1-x-have-2-PST
'You saw me.' 2 > 1 → 1

d. ikusi n-u-en
seen 1-have-PST
'I saw him.' 1 > 3 → 1

  - first slot does not encode a particular GF
  - agreement with EA only if IA 3rd person, cf. (20-d)

- assumptions:
  - decomposition of person: 1st: [1,2,3]; 2nd: [2,3]; 3rd: [3]
  - probe is structured: [2, 3] → derives hierarchy 1,2 > 3
  - probe can potentially agree with 2 arguments
  - probe first probes its c-command domain. if it finds a matching goal, it copies all features of G onto P (thus potentially more features than the probe contains, e.g. if IA = 1st)
  - if IA is 3rd person, not all features of the probe are checked → 2nd cycle: probe probes into its specifier and agrees with the EA
  - at least one of the segments of the probe have to enter Agree; if a segment is not involved in Agree, it undergoes default deletion
  - in local scenarios (1>2, 2>1): an additional probe is merged

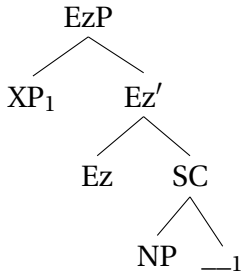
1.3.2 DP-Syntax in Zazaki

- order: Dem > N > possessor > Adj
- Case: on D (if present) and on the Case particle:

(21) Ez [ê kutik=ê Alik=i=ê gırs=i]
1S.DIR that.OBL.M.S dog(M)=EZ.M.S.OBL Alik(M)=OBL.M.S=EZ.M.S.OBL big=OBL.M.S
vinen-a.
see.PRS-1S
'I see that big dog of Alik's.'

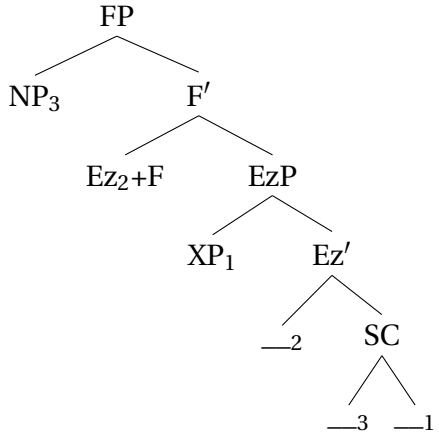
- ezafe analyzed as a linker that takes an SC-complement consisting of the head noun and its dependent
- ez triggers predicate inversion (cf. Dikken and Singhapreecha 2004):

(22)



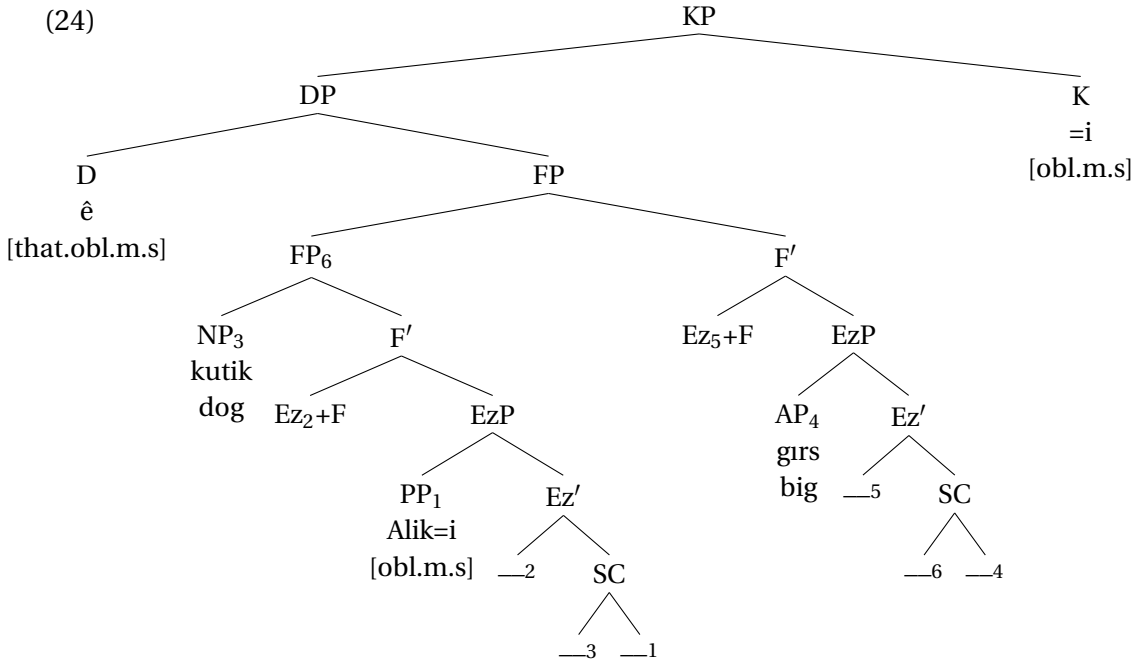
- to derive the surface word order, the head noun must raise to be DP-initial and the ez has to move past the predicate:

(23)



- with more than one dependent, the process iterates:

(24)



- evidence for this constituency
  - coordinated Ns cannot each take an ezafe → coordinated NP is SpecEzP/SpecFP:

    (25) Ez [kıla(*=yê) o palto=yê Alik=i] vinen-a.
    1S.DIR hat=EZ and coat=EZ Alik(M)=OBL.S.M see.PRS-1S
    'I see Alik's hat and coat.'

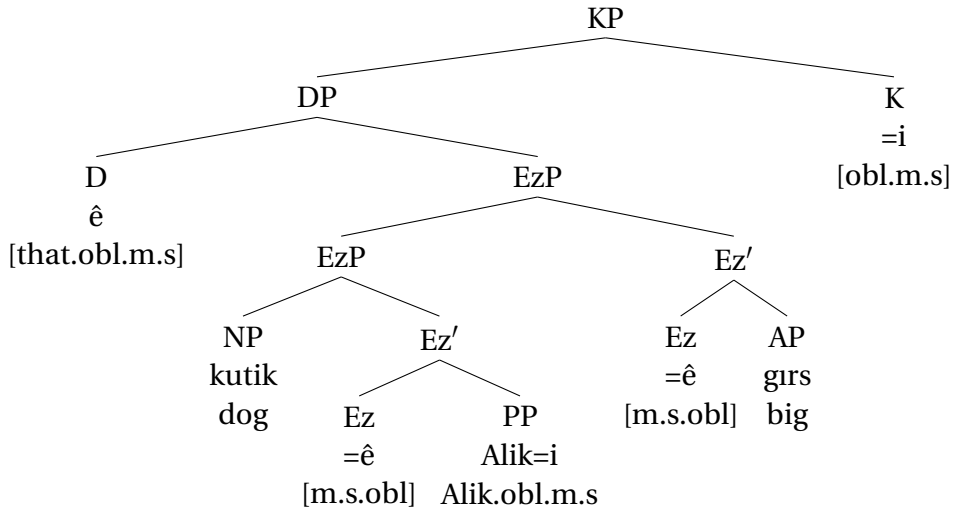
  - NP-ellipsis targets only the noun, the ezafe does not go missing:

    (26) a. Q: Tı kutık vinen-a?
    2S.DIR dog(M) see.PRS-2S
    'Do you see any dogs?'
    b. A: Ez ponj=ê gırs=a vinen-a.
    1S.DIR five=EZ.P big=OBL.P see.PRS-1S
    'I see five big ones.'

  → so NP in SpecEzP/SpecFP is deleted, but unclear why this should be different if the Ez took the NP as its complement

– simplified structure henceforth:

(27)

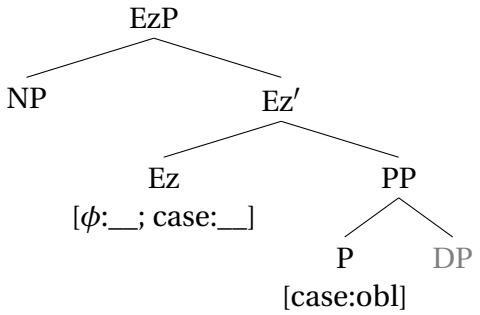


1.3.3 Deriving nominal concord in Zazaki

(28) Bidirectional Agree
A head H with an unvalued feature F agrees with a goal G with a valued feature F only if H c-commands G or G c-commands H

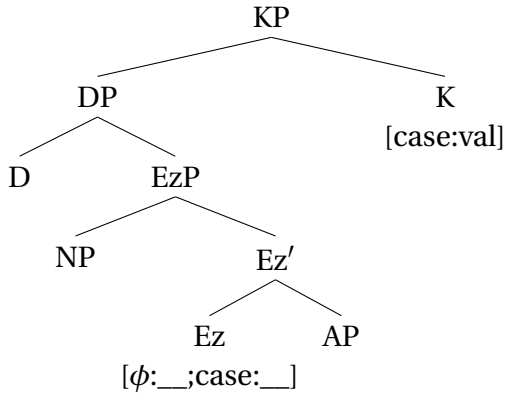
- cyclicity implies that the probe will first look downward
- case agreement 1: possessor:

(29)



- case assignment 2: adj: no goal in the c-command domain → upward probing, Agr with K:

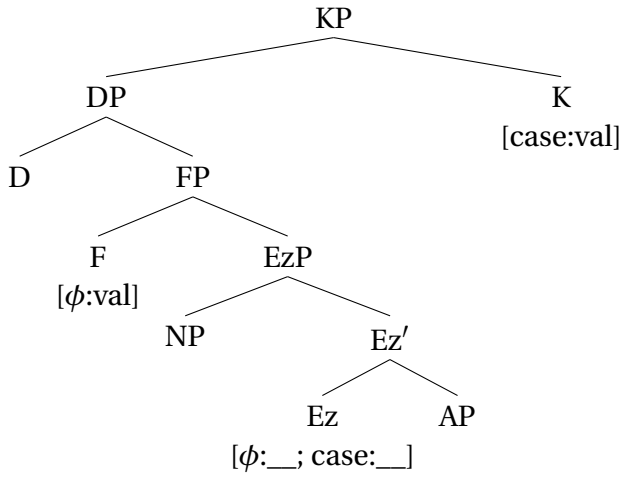
(30)



  - problem 1: Does K already have Case at this point – or only feature-sharing? (is K a goal that comes with a valued feature that is checked against a matrix Case-assigner?)
  - problem 2: what about D, which bears the same Case as K?
    - § D cannot probe downward as it would wrongly get the possessor Case
    - § upward Agree (because Ez = phase head), → Agree D–K? But does K already have a valued Case-feature at this point?

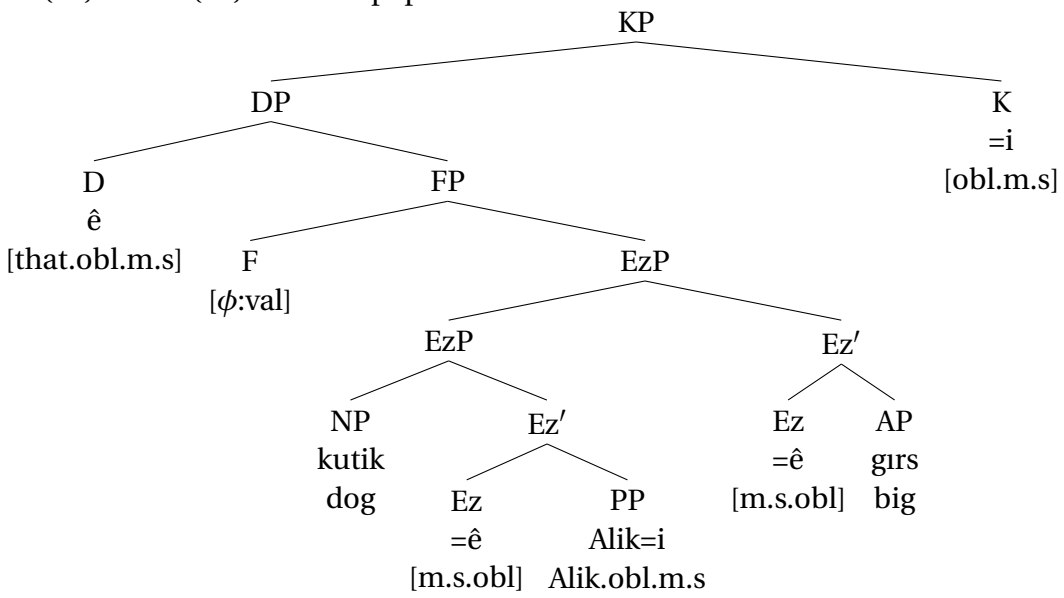
- concord in ϕ-features:

(31)



  - ϕ-features on F; possible argument: plural is only marked on D and Ez but never on N
  - ezafe probes upward (also with possessors, as there are no accessible ϕ-features)
  - why no ϕ-features on N? (perhaps: because NP is not a head? but how can you tell?)
  - what if there are several adjectives? cf. ex. 12 2x ezafet (or ex. 29 with 1x possessor + 1x adj): both Ez probe upwards → crucially, this only works if the ϕ-features are above EzP as NP does not c-command the second Ez (for two adj, replace PP with Adj):

(32) ex. (29) from the paper



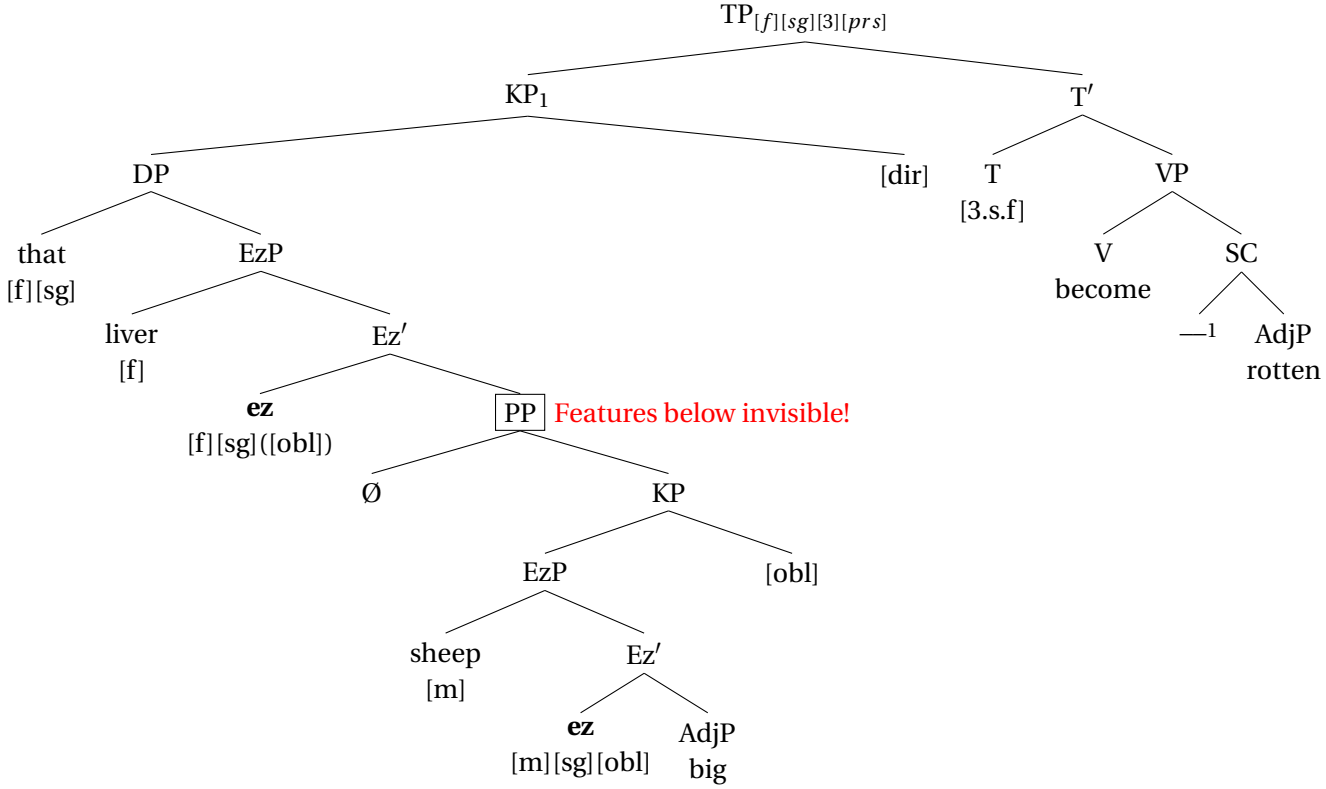
- What about the ϕ-features of D? – features cannot be inherent – downward probing?
- K also expresses ϕ-features: also a phi-probe on K?

1.4 Discussion

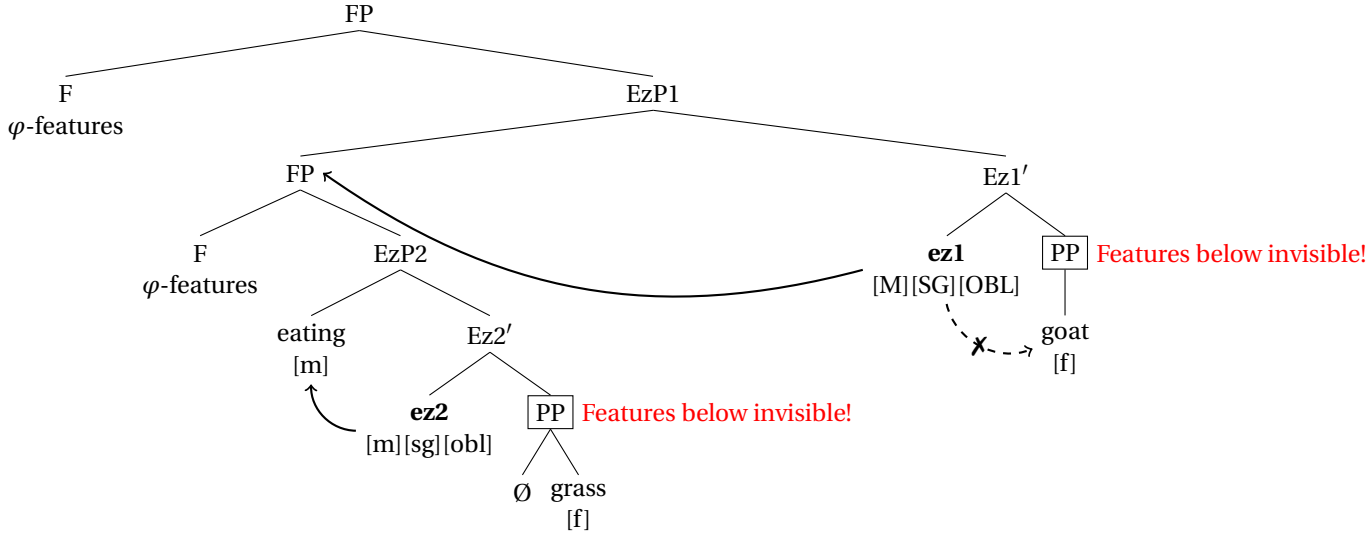
- issues
  - agreement can target probe features, e.g. the Case-feature of P
  - a mixture of valuation and checking it seems w.r.t. Case: probes start out unvalued, goals are already valued
  - What is the goal of v/T-Agree? arguably KP, as K also expresses phi-features
- possible questions
  - are the facts also compatible with the NP-hypothesis?
  - what if an adj/P takes a modifier/complement?
  - what about analyzing the Ez as a functional head that introduces the adj (so finally evidence for the many heads postulated in cartographic approaches?) – adj is on the wrong side of the ezafe ...
  - what about relative clauses?
  - what about linkers in other languages: cf. associative marker in Bantu (agr only with possessum)
  - is there a comparable phenomenon in the verbal domain?

- exercises
  1. Draw a tree structure for 14
  2. Draw a tree structure for 19 (pay attention to the gender agr on T)
  – solutions by courtesy of Jelena Stoijkovic:

(33) Example (14a) from Toosarvandani & van Urk (2014)



(34) Example (19) from Toosarvandani & van Urk (2014)



- it is arguably sufficient to have just one FP, viz., one above the higher EzP and both Ez would get their ϕ-features from it, basically as in the tree for ex. 29 (in the text) above. However, what remains strange is the non-local and very indirect relationship between the head hosting the phi-features and the head noun - after all, the FP is arguably part of the extended projection of the noun – and the gender feature arguably comes from N

→ if [gender] first has to be copied/shared from N onto F (as in the concord approach by Danon 2011 between N and D), feature sharing between F, N, ez1 and ez2 seems required

2 Notes on concord

- possessor agr in Turkish/Hungarian: inherent vs. probe/contextual features
  - the feature-sharing approach blurs the distinction between inherent features (that normally participate in Agree) and probe-features (that are invisible once they have participated in Agree)
  - while this is welcome for DP-internal concord, it becomes problematic once N (or some agreement head/D) bears agreement features that result from Agree with a possessor dependent on N: we have to make sure that only the inherent features of N are visible to an outside probe (the agreeing verb takes 3sg, not 1pl):

(35) (biz-im) kitab-ımız
we-GEN book-1PL.POSS
'our book'

- Tundra Nenets (Uralic): observation 1: possessum agrees with possesor, agrement suffix expresses inherent as well as probe/contextual features (Nikolaeva 2005: 225):

(36) (pidør°) serako-q tí-d°
you.S white.P reindeer-P.2S
'your (sg) white reindeer (pl)'

- observation 2: attributive adj agrees with the possessor in person (Nikolaeva 2005: 226):

(37) (pidør°) serako-d° tí-d°
you.S white-P.2S reindeer-P.2S
'your (sg) white reindeer (pl)'

  - blurring of inherent vs. contextual features both w.r.t. agreement as such and morphology
  - does the A agree directly with the possessor or via the possessum? With the possessum as agr on A depends on agr on N (which seems generally optional), cf. Nikolaeva (2005: 227):

(38) a. Wata-h serako ti/te-da
Wate-GEN white reindeer/reindeer-3S
'Wata's white reindeer'
b. Wata-h serako-da te-da/*ti
Wate-GEN white-3S reindeer-3S/reindeer
'Wata's white reindeer'

  - via doesn't the possessor trigger agreement on T?

- agreement hierarchy and adjectives that agree with N in different ways (e.g. lower one: grammatical gender; higher one: biological gender) → argument against feature sharing

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