Coordinate structure constraint and conjunction agreement

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Big question: linear order in grammar?

- Hierarchical structure plays a central role in syntax.
- The role of linear order, on the other hand, is less clear.
- To understand what role linear order plays in syntax, we look at phenomena that make reference to linear relations like precedence.
- Case study today: conjunction agreement.

(1) SV: [C1 and C2] $\text{PART}_{Masc/C1/C2}$

    a. Sva odela i sve haljine su juče prodati.
       [All suits.N.PL and all dresses.F.PL] are yesterday sold.M

    b. Sva odela i sve haljine su juče prodata.
       [All suits.N.PL and all dresses.F.PL] are yesterday sold.N

    c. Sva odela i sve haljine su juče prodate.
       [All suits.N.PL and all dresses.F.PL] are yesterday sold.F
       "All suits and all dresses were sold yesterday."

(2) VS: $\text{PART}_{Masc/C1/*C2}$ [C1 and C2]

    a. Juče su prodati sva odela i sve haljine.
       yesterday AUX sold.M [all suits.N.PL and all dresses.F.PL]

    b. Juče su prodata sva odela i sve haljine.
       yesterday AUX sold.N [all suits.N.PL and all dresses.F.PL]

    c. *Juče su prodate sva odela i sve haljine.
       yesterday AUX sold.F [all suits.N.PL and all dresses.F.PL]
       "All suits and all dresses were sold yesterday."

Sentences taken from Murphy & Puškar (2018). See also Bošković (2009);
Marušič et al. (2015); Willer-Gold et al. (2016); Willer Gold et al. (2018);

(3) $[_{\&P} \, C_1 \quad \text{and} \quad C_2]$ Target

(4) Target $[_{\&P} \, C_1 \quad \text{and} \quad C_2]$

- Resolved agreement
- Highest conjunct agreement
- Closest conjunct agreement
- No second conjunct agreement unless C2 is also the closest.

Linear approach

- Agreement = Agree-Link + Agree-Copy
- Agree-Link
  - establish feature dependence
  - only in narrow syntax, i.e. hierarchy only
- Agree-copy
  - copy feature value from goal to target
  - can be postponed to PF, before or after linearization

Agree-Link
$\downarrow$
(Agree-Copy) $\longleftarrow$ 'normal' Agreement

— Syntax
— PF
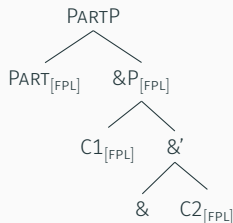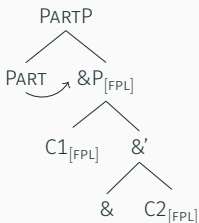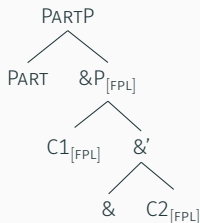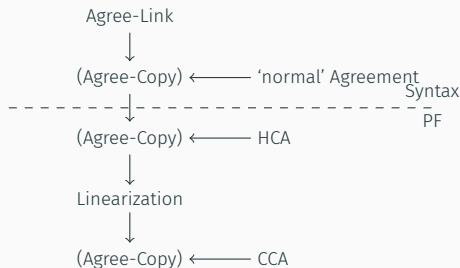
(Agree-Copy) $\longleftarrow$ HCA
$\downarrow$
Linearization
$\downarrow$
(Agree-Copy) $\longleftarrow$ CCA

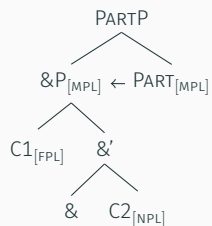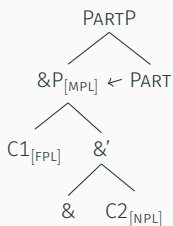1. Insert default [M] to &P due to mismatch → [MPL] on &P
2. Agree-Link between &P and PART
3. Agree-Copy from &P to PART → [MPL] on PART
4. Linearization in PF
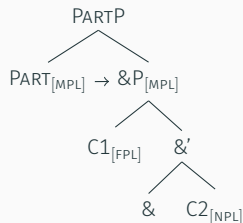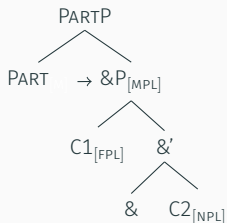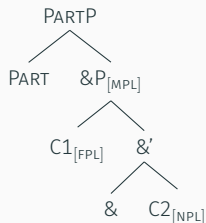
(5) PART$_{[MPL]}$ [$_{\&P}$ C1$_{[FPL]}$ and   C2$_{[NPL]}$]
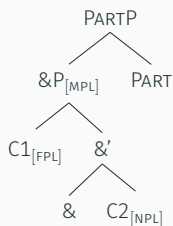
1. Insert default [+MASC] to &P → [MPL] on &P
2. Agree-Link between &P and PART
3. Agree-Copy from &P to PART → [MPL] on PART
4. Linearization in PF

(6) $[_{\&P}$ C1$_{[FPL]}$ and   C2$_{[NPL]}$]   PART$_{[MPL]}$

- • Marušič et al. (2015): resolution is available in both S-V and V-S orders
  • Willer-Gold et al. (2016): resolution is not available in the V-S order

❶ Agree-Link between &P and PART → No value on &P

❷ enters PF

❸ Agree-Copy from the **highest** conjunct (C1) to PART → [FPL] on PART
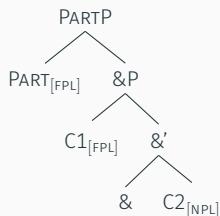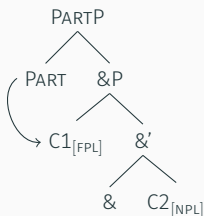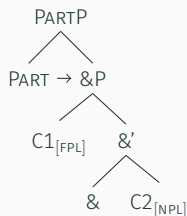
❹ Linearization

(7)   PART$_{[FPL]}$ [$_{\&P}$ DP1$_{[FPL]}$ and   DP2$_{[NPL]}$]

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❶ Agree-Link between &P and PART → No value on &P

❷ enters PF

❸ Linearization

❹ Agree-Copy from the **closest** Conjunct (C1) to PART → [NPL] on PART
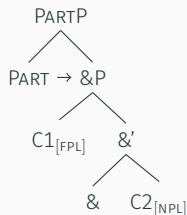
- CCA due to linear order.

  (8) Yesterday Aux $\text{PART}_{[N]}$ $[_{\&P}\ \text{C1}_{[N]}$ & $\text{C2}_{[F]}]$

- *C2 agreement with VS due to C2 being neither the highest nor the closest.

  (9) Yesterday Aux $\text{PART}_{[F]}$ $[_{\&P}\ \text{C1}_{[N]}$ & $\text{C2}_{[F]}]$

Non-linear approach

- Hierarchical structure only, no linear order involved.
- Starting from & head, the order of MERGE (of the conjuncts), ↑AGR↑, and ↓AGR↓ are free.
- Two cycles: &P internal and subject-verb agreement.
- The order of ↑AGR↑ and ↓AGR↓ are the same in both cycles in one derivation.
- Upward movement of the subject is driven purely to feed ↑AGR↑.

(10) a. MERGE ≫ ↑AGR↑ ≫ ↓AGR↓
  b. MERGE ≫ ↓AGR↓ ≫ ↑AGR↑
  c. ↑AGR↑ ≫ MERGE ≫ ↓AGR↓
  d. ↓AGR↓ ≫ MERGE ≫ ↑AGR↑
  e. ↑AGR↑ ≫ ↓AGR↓ ≫ MERGE
  f. ↓AGR↓ ≫ ↑AGR↑ ≫ MERGE

MERGE ≫ ↑AGR↑ ≫ ↓AGR↓

- Cycle 1
  1. MERGE of conjuncts
  2. ↑AGR↑ → &$_{[FPL]}$
  3. ↓AGR↓ → &$_{[FPL,NPL]}$ → &$_{[MPL]}$ → &P$_{[MPL]}$
- Cycle 2
  1. ↑AGR↑ → movement of the &P = pre-verbal subject and T$_{[MPL]}$
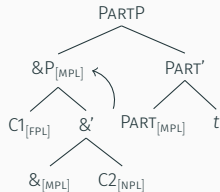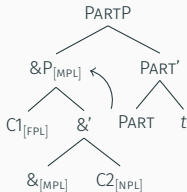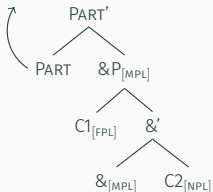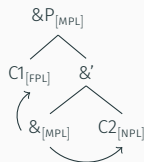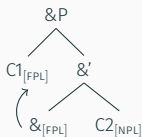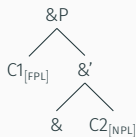
Closest conjunct agreement + VS

PART$_{[N]}$ [$_{\&P}$ C1$_{[N]}$ &   C2$_{[F]}$]

↓AGR↓ ≫ MERGE ≫ ↑AGR↑

- Cycle 1
  1. ↓AGR↓ → fail
  2. MERGE of conjuncts→ no value on &P

- **3** ↑AGR↑ → &P$_{[NPL]}$
- Cycle 2
  1. ↓AGR↓ → PART$_{[NPL]}$

&P

&P
/\
C1$_{[NPL]}$ &'
         /\
        &   C2$_{[FPL]}$

&P$_{[NPL]}$
/\
C1$_{[NPL]}$ &'
         /\
    &$_{[NPL]}$ C2$_{[FPL]}$

PART'
/\
PART &P$_{[NPL]}$
     /\
  C1$_{[NPL]}$ &'
           /\
       &$_{[NPL]}$ C2$_{[FPL]}$

PART'
/\
PART$_{[NPL]}$ &P$_{[NPL]}$
          /\
      C1$_{[NPL]}$ &'
               /\
           &$_{[NPL]}$ C2$_{[FPL]}$

13
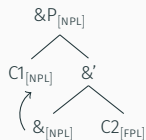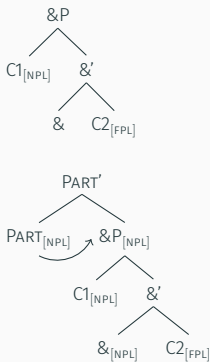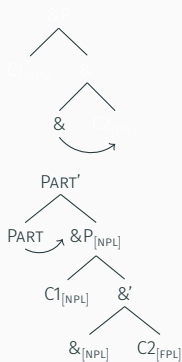
- Flexible orders generate all the attested patterns,

order	outcome
MERGE ≫ ↑AGR↑ ≫ ↓AGR↓	resolved agreement with SV
MERGE ≫ ↓AGR↓ ≫ ↑AGR↑	resolved agreement with VS
↑AGR↑ ≫ MERGE ≫ ↓AGR↓	C2 agreement with SV (CCA)
↓AGR↓ ≫ MERGE ≫ ↑AGR↑	C1 agreement with VS (CCA)
↑AGR↑ ≫ ↓AGR↓ ≫ MERGE	C1 agreement with SV (HCA)
↓AGR↓ ≫ ↑AGR↑ ≫ MERGE	C1 agreement with VS (CCA)

- and not the unattested one: C2 agreement with VS.

- linear effect accounted for without referring to linear order.

  (11)   Yesterday   Aux   PART$_{[N]}$ [$_{\&P}$ C1$_{[N]}$ &   C2$_{[F]}$]

- *C2 agreement with VS not derivable.

  (12)   Yesterday   Aux   PART$_{[F]}$ [$_{\&P}$ C1$_{[N]}$ &   C2$_{[F]}$]

- Both the linear and non-linear approaches are empirically adequate for agreement patterns in BCS (and Slovenian).
- I will present one argument from CSC-violating movement in BCS for the non-linear approach.

CSC-violating movement and agreement

- Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC): extraction of a conjunct is banned in many languages.

  (13) *What$_i$ did Marko buy [t$_i$ and movies]?

- But not in BCS:

  (14) ?Knjige$_i$ je Marko [t$_i$ i   filmove] kupio.
        books is Marko [and movies] bought
        'Marko bought books and movies.' (Bošković 2009)

- I will label the movement of the conjunct as CSCV (CSC-violating) movement. (See Bošković 2009; Stjepanović 2014, 2017; Oda 2017; Arano & Oda 2019; Arsenijević et al. 2020a; Gračanin-Yuksek & Arsenijević 2017)

- It turns out that the agreement patterns of (15) can tease apart the two approaches to CCA.

  (15)   C1$_{[N]}$ Aux Yesterday PART$_{[?]}$ [$_{\&P}$ t$_{[N]}$ &   C2$_{[F]}$]

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- Grammar 1: insertion of M to &P → M agreement
- Grammar 2: AGREE-COPY in PF before linearization → C1 agreement
- Grammar 3: AGREE-COPY in PF after linearization → C1 agreement
- C2 agreement: not the closest or highest, thus *

- (16) $C1_{[N]}$ AUX   Yesterday   PART $[_{\&P}$ $t_{[N]}$ & $C2_{[F]}]$

  - Grammar 1: insertion of M → M agreement
    (17)   C1 $PART_{[M]}$ $[_{[M]}$ t_{C1} and C2]

  - Grammar 2: AGREE-COPY in PF before linearization → C1 agreement (HCA)
    (18)   C1 PART $[$ t_{C1} and C2]

  - Grammar 3: AGREE-COPY in PF after linearization → **C2 agreement** (CCA)
    (19)   C1 PART $[$ t_{C1} and C2]

- predicted to be possible: C1, C2 and M agreement.

(20)   C1$_{[N]}$ Aux   Yesterday   Part   [$_{\&P}$ t$_{[N]}$ &   C2$_{[F]}$]

- CSCV movement: when Part probes up, triggering movement of the subject to its Spec position, either &P or C1 can move and agree.
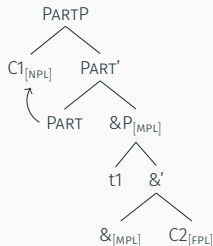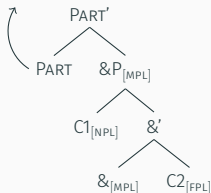
- 3 out of the 6 orders can derive CSCV:

(21)   merge » ↑agr↑» ↓agr↓; ↑agr↑» merge » ↓agr↓; merge » ↑agr↑» ↓agr↓.

Predictions:

- since CSCV movement is trigger by ↑agr↑, when C1 moves, **only C1 can control the agreement**.
- C2 or M agreement are predicted to be not available.

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(22) C1$_{[N]}$ AUX Yesterday PART [$_{\&P}$ t$_{[N]}$ & C2$_{[F]}$]

- Linear approach: C1, C2 and M agreement.
- Non linear approach: C1, not C2 or M agreement.

Spoiler: predictions of the non-linear approach are borne out.

Data reported here come from two sets of surveys:

- Survey 1: a google form with 30 participants from the facebook group *Kako biste VI rekli?* 'How would you say?'
- Survey 2: a series of short surveys distributed to 7-8 speakers.

Observation 1: CSCV is subject to considerable inter-speaker variation.

In Survey 1, 7 out of 30 participants gave sentences with CSCV in (23b)-(23c) a rating of 1, while giving (23a) a mean rating of 4.4 out of 5.

(23) a. Danas se sudaraju   sablje   i   koplja   u bici.
          today REFL collide-3PL.PRES sabers.FPL and spears.NPL in battle
          'Sabers and spears are colliding today.'   (baseline w/o CSCV)

     b. **Sablje$_1$** se danas **t$_1$** i   koplja sudaraju   u bici.
          sabers.FPL$_1$ REFL today   and spears.NPL collide-3PL.PRES in battle
          'Sabers and spears are colliding today.'   (CSCV scrambling)

     c. **Šta$_1$** se danas **t$_1$** i koplja   sudaraju   u bici?
          what$_1$ REFL today   and spears.NPL collide-3PL.PRES in battle?
          'What and spears are colliding today?'   (CSCV wh-movement)

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Observation 2: CSCV can be scrambling but is much less acceptable as wh-movement.

With the remaining 23 participants who gave at least one of the sentences a rating above 1 in Survey 1:

(24)   a.   Danas se sudaraju   sablje   i   koplja   u bici.
            today REFL collide-3PL.PRES sabers.FPL and spears.NPL in battle
            'Sabers and spears are colliding today.'   (baseline w/o CSCV: **4.7/5**)

   b.   **Sablje**$_1$ se danas **t**$_1$ i   koplja   sudaraju   u bici.
            sabers.FPL$_1$ REFL today   and spears.NPL collide-3PL.PRES in battle
            'Sabers and spears are colliding today.'   (CSCV scrambling: **3.1/5**)

   c.   **Šta**$_1$ se danas **t**$_1$ i   koplja   sudaraju   u bici?
            what$_1$ REFL today   and spears.NPL collide-3PL.PRES in battle?
            'What and spears are colliding today?'   (CSCV wh-movement: **1.5/5**)

This is compatible with the existing examples in the literature.

We will focus on CSCV scrambling.

- (25) are base-line V-S sentences with no CSCV.
- (26) are the CSCV counterparts. Out of the 30 participants in Survey 1, 12 gave all three sentences in (26) a rating of 1. I take that these participants do not allow CSCV on top of mismatching subjects and agreement.
- For the remaining 18 participants:

(25) a. Juče   su   se sudarile   sablje   i   koplja   u bici. (C1 = 3.9/5)
          yesterday AUX.PL REFL collided.**FPL** sabers.**FPL** and spears.NPL in battle

      b. Juče   su   se sudarili   sablje   i   koplja   u bici. (RES = 4.1/5)
          yesterday AUX.PL REFL collided.**MPL** sabers.**FPL** and spears.NPL in battle

      c. *Juče   su   se sudarila   sablje   i   koplja   u bici. (C2 = 2.1/5)
          yesterday AUX.PL REFL collided.**NPL** sabers.**FPL** and spears.**NPL** in battle
          'Sabers and spears collided in battle.' (examples modified from Arsenijević et al. 2020b)

(26) a. Sablje   su   se juče   sudarile   *t* i   koplja   u bici. (C1 = 3.1/5)
          sabers.**FPL** AUX.PL REFL yesterday collided.**FPL** t and spears.NPL in battle

      b. Sablje   su   se juče   sudarili   *t* i   koplja   u bici. (RES = 1.6/5)
          sabers.**FPL** AUX.PL REFL yesterday collided.**MPL**   and spears.NPL in battle

      c. Sablje   su   se juče   sudarila   *t* i   koplja   u bici. (C2 = 1.5/5)
          sabers.**FPL** AUX.PL REFL yesterday collided.**NPL**   and spears.**NPL** in battle
          'Sabers and spears collided in battle.' (examples modified from Arsenijević et al. 2020b)

- This pattern is also confirmed in a Survey 2 with 7 native speakers (7 point scale):

(27) No CSCV movement

    a.   Juče   su prodata sva odela   i   sve haljine.   (C1 = 6.9/7)
        yesterday AUX sold.N [all suits.N.PL and all dresses.F.PL]

    b.   Juče   su prodati sva odela   i   sve haljine.   (RES = 3.9/7)
        yesterday AUX sold.M [all suits.N.PL and all dresses.F.PL]

    c.   *Juče   su *prodate sva odela   i   sve haljine.   (C2 = 2/7)
        yesterday AUX sold.F   [all suits.N.PL and all dresses.F.PL]
        "All suits and all dresses were sold yesterday." (examples modified from
        Murphy & Puškar 2018)

(28) CSCV movement

    a.   Sva odela$_1$ su juče   prodata [t$_1$ i   sve haljine]   (C1 = 6.4/7)
        All suits.N.PL AUX yesterday sold.N [and all dresses.F.PL]

    b.   *Sva odela$_1$ su juče   prodati [t$_1$ i   sve haljine]   (RES = 1.1/7)
        All suits.N.PL AUX yesterday sold.M [and all dresses.F.PL]

    c.   *Sva odela$_1$ su juče   prodate [t$_1$ i   sve haljine]   (C2 = 1.1/7)
        All suits.N.PL AUX yesterday sold.F [and all dresses.F.PL]
        "All suits and all dresses were sold yesterday." (examples modified from
        Murphy & Puškar 2018)

- Only C1 agreement is OK.
- C2 and Masc agreement are bad.

(29) C1$_{[N]}$ AUX Yesterday PART   [$_{\&P}$ t$_{[N]}$ & C2$_{[F]}$]

- Linear approach: C1, C2 and M agreement. (not supported)
- Non linear approach: C1, not C2 or M agreement. (supported)

Alternatives

One alternative analysis to CCA+CSCV involves clausal ellipsis:

(30)   [Sablje   su   se   juče   sudarile] i [koplja   ~~su~~
       sabers.**FPL** AUX.PL REFL yesterday collided.**FPL** and spears.**NPL** AUX.PL
       ~~se~~ ~~juče~~   ~~sudarila~~]...
       REFL yesterday collided.NPL

The ellipsis analysis can account for the absence of RES and C2 agreement.

What if CSCV+CCA is derived from ellipsis?

- I report three tests in (31) to show that such analysis is not on the right track.
- Sentences in (31) were presented with Fig. 1-3 and the participants were asked if the sentences can describe the pictures truthfully.
- For the 16 participants who gave CSC+CSCV a rating above 1, 14 chose *yes* for (31a) and (31b) and 12 chose *yes* for (31c).

(31)   a.   Sablje$_1$ su danas stavljene   t$_1$ i   koplja   u 3   kutije …
   Sabers.FPL AUX today put.PASSIVE.FPL   and spears.NPL in three boxes
   'Sabers and spears were put in three boxes today …' ('Yes' - 14/16)

   b.   Sablje$_1$ su se   juče   sudarile   t$_1$ i   koplja   u bici.
   Sabers AUX REFL yesterday collided.FPL   and spears.NPL in battle
   'Sabers and spears collided in battle yesterday.' ('Yes' - 14/16)

   c.   Sablje$_1$ su danas stavljene   t$_1$ i   koplja u različite kutije.
   Sabers.FPL AUX today put.PASSIVE.FPL   and spears in different boxes
   'Sabers and spears were put in different boxes.' ('Yes' - 12/16)

Figure 1: 3 boxes

Figure 2: collided (Figure 2 in Arsenijević et al. 2020b)

Figure 3: different

If CSCV occurs in the PF and follows Agree-Copy, the absence of C2 agreement is not evidence against the linear approach.

(32)　　　　　Aux　Yesterday　PART$_{[N]}$　　　[$_{\&P}$ C1$_{[N]}$　&　C2$_{[F]}$]

(33)　C1$_{[N]}$　Aux　Yesterday　PART$_{[N]}$　　　[$_{\&P}$ t$_{[N]}$　&　C2$_{[F]}$]

- CSCV feeds bound variable reading, which is unlikely for PF movement.
- (34a): 'every general' does not c-command 'his soldier'.
- (34b): 'every general' undergoes CSCV and c-commands 'his soldier'.
- (35a) = bound variable reading

(34) a. Njegovi vojnici   vole svakog   generala i   svoju zemlju.
          his   soldiers.nom love every.acc general.acc and self's country.acc

      b. Svakog$_1$ generala   njegovi vojnici   vole t$_1$ i   svoju zemlju.
          every.acc general.acc his   soldiers.nom love   and self's country.acc
          Bound variable reading: 'For every general, his soldiers love him and the
          soldiers' country.'

(35) Čiji su vojnici?   'Whose soldiers are they?'

      a. Generalovi   'The generals'.' (bound variable reading)
      b. Od nekog drugog.   'Someone else's.'

Out of 16 participants,

- 1 chose (35a) for (34a) when no CSCV = no bound variable reading
- 14 chose (35a) for (34b) when CSCV = yes bound variable reading

(36)   C1$_{[N]}$ Aux   Yesterday   Part   [$_{\&P}$ t$_{[N]}$ &   C2$_{[F]}$]

- Data from CSCV empirically supports the non-linear approach, making it more empirically adequate.
- More empirical evidence from Greek first conjunct clitic doubling (Lefteris Paparounas & Martin Salzmann)

The non-linear approach has a hard time accounting for CCA in RNR, while the linear approach can be extended to these cases straight-forwardly.

(37) Anna beweerde dat **wij** nooit, maar Steven zei   dat **jij**   vaak, bedorven
Anna claimed   that 1PL never, but   Steven said that 2SG often, spoiled
vlees **hebt**/*hebben gekocht.
meat have.2SG/*.PL   bought
'Anna claimed that we never, but Steven said that you often, bought spoiled meat.' (Dutch; modified from (3) and (19) in the appendix of Kluck 2009)

(38) Ramesh-ne   **ek baksaa**   aur Sitaa-ne **ek thailii**   uthaa-yii th-ii
Ramesh-ERG a   box.M.SG and Sita-ERG a   small.bag.F.SG lift-PERF.F be.PST-F.SG
'Ramesh had lifted a box and Sita had lifted a bag' (Hindi-Urdu; Bhatt & Walkow 2013)

(39) **Ten** tall and **one** short **student** came from the U.S. (Shen 2018)

- It's possible that CCA with &P and CCA in RNR should not be analyzed in the same way:
- Maybe we don't have a uniform way to generate CCA patterns across constructions and languages.
- An obvious way to divide the pie is the non-linear approach for CCA with &P and the linear approach for CCA in RNR.

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