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BRIDGING WESTERN GERMANIC AND ROMANCE

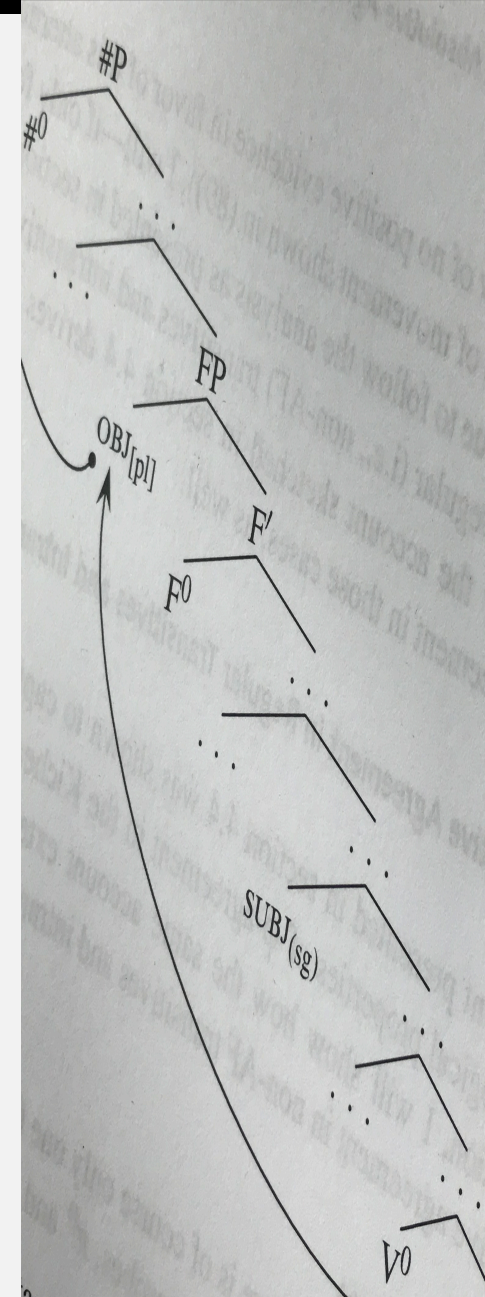
C-AGR in Galician



PRESENTATIONAL OVERVIEW

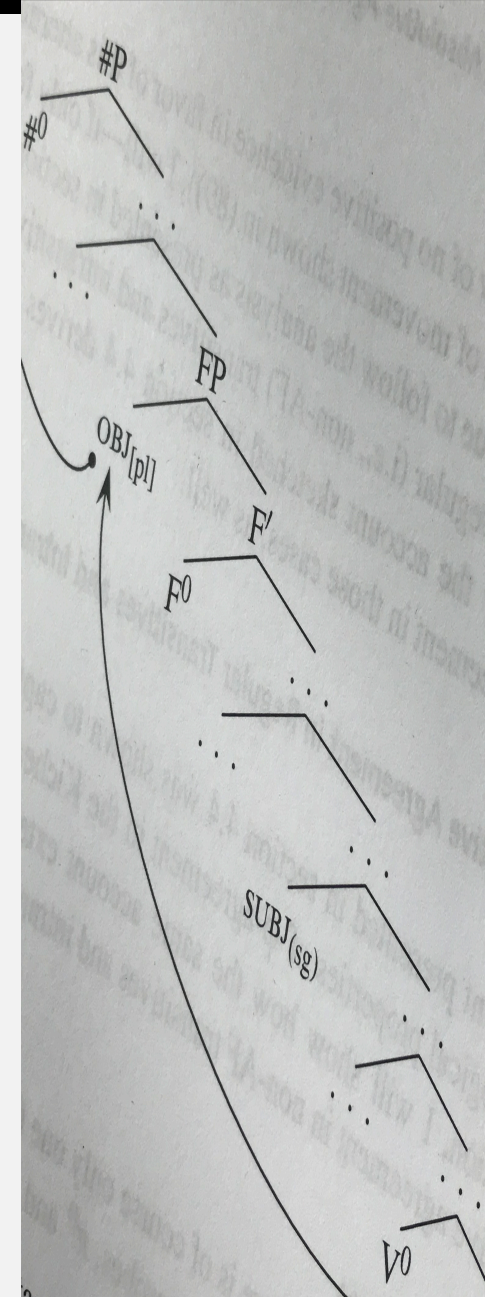
How is C-AGR licensed in Galician?

- Overview of C-AGR
- C-AGR and diachronic change
- C-AGR in Galician
- C-T dependency
- Narrow syntax or post-syntactic?
- Accounting for C-AGR in Galician



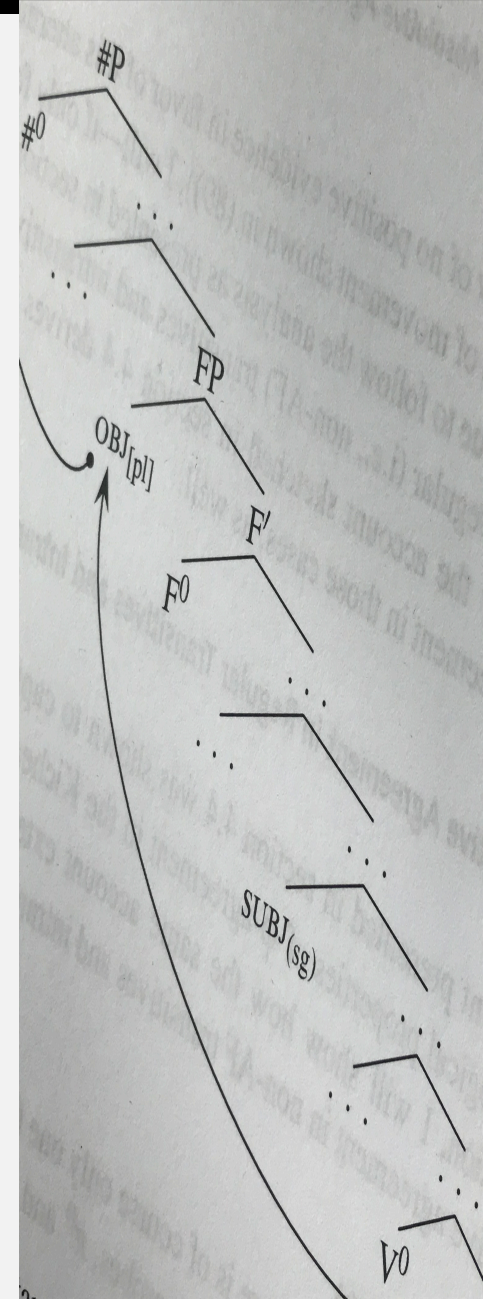
AN OVERVIEW OF C-AGR

- Found in many Germanic languages, Irish, & Bantu languages (von Koppen 2017)
- Variability cross-linguistically between:
 - complementizers / constituents in C
 - ϕ -set on T / subject
 - Single agreement / Double agreement
 - Optional / Obligatory
 - Most varieties with C-AGR show some sort of gap in the paradigm



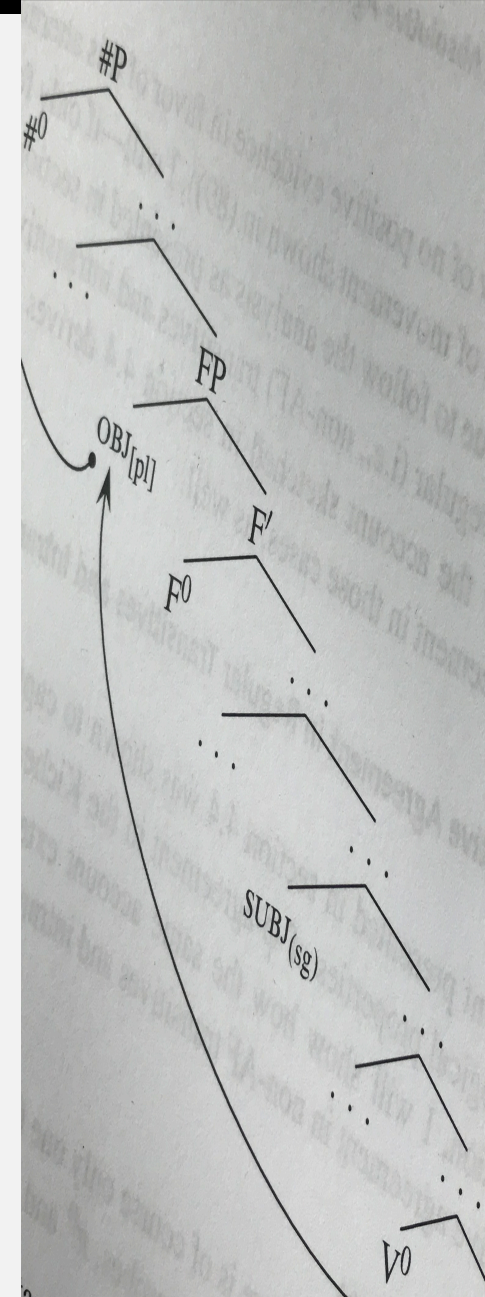
AN OVERVIEW OF C-AGR

- Single agreement: the two agreement affixes are identical morphologically
 - Heit sei datst do soks net leauwe moast
 dad said that-2SG you such not believe most-2SG
'Dad said that you should not believe such things'
 (Bavarian Zwart 2006: 67)
- Double agreement: the two agreement affixes are morphologically different
 - darre wij den besten bint
 that-3PL we the best are-3PL
'... that we are the best!'
 (Hellendoorn Dutch, Van Koppen 2005: 126)



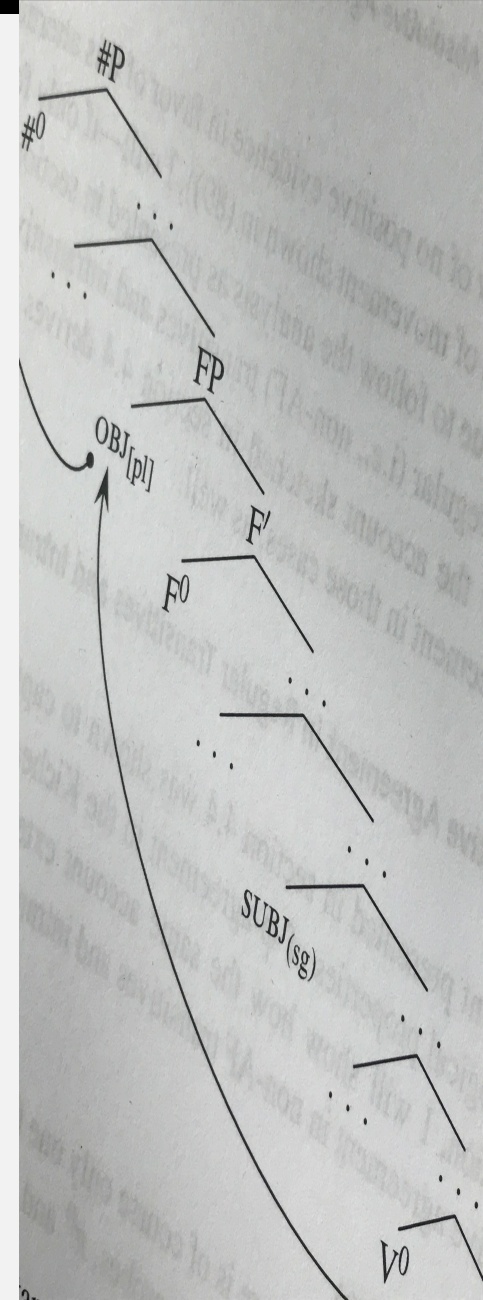
C-AGR IN ROMANCE?

- Typologically rare
- “Double-subject construction” in Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2010)
 - Not the realization of ‘subjecthood’ in a functional projection as in languages with inflecting complementizers (Ledgeway 2010: 289)
- Much more common: Subject clitics (Roberts 2014)
 - Overt licensing from a complementizer not necessary; C-oriented clitics show no agreement with the subject
 - E noi si parla troppo
CL we SUBCL.1PL speak.1PL.PRS too much
‘We talk too much’
(Fiorentino dialect, Brandi & Cordin 1989)



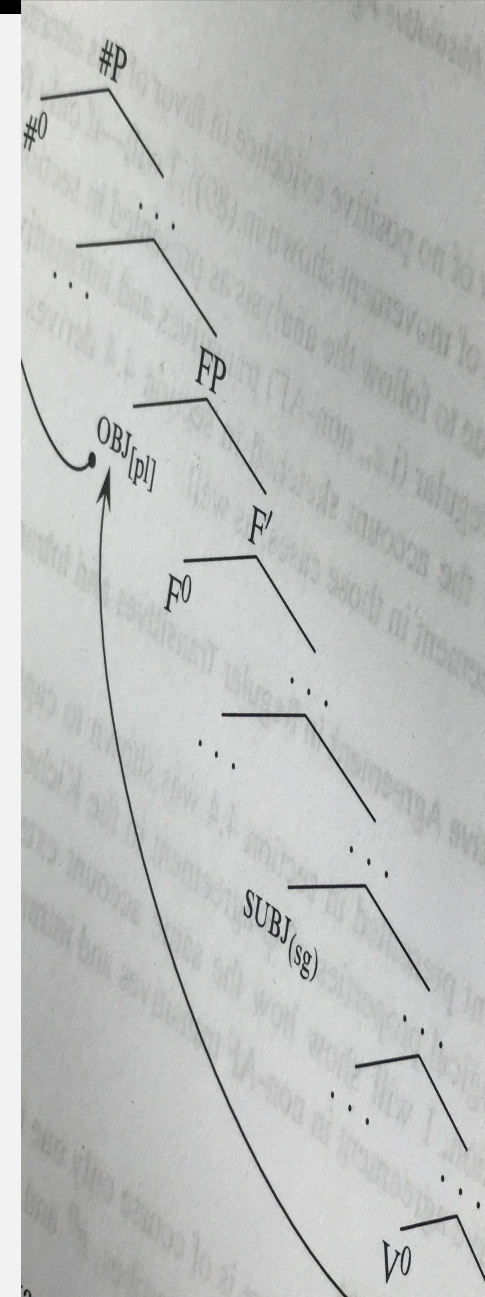
C-AGR AND DIACHRONY

- Result of grammaticalization, followed by exaptation (cf. cyclical change, van Gelderen 2011, *et seq.*) (Gravely 2017)
 - Ve-lo aí vai
see.2PRS-CL.ACC.Masc.Sing there go.3PRS
'See him, there he goes.'
 - Velaí vai
PRES go.3PRS
'There he goes'
 - Velaí o vai
PRES CL.ACC.Masc.Sing go.3PRS
'There he goes'



C-AGR AND DIACHRONY

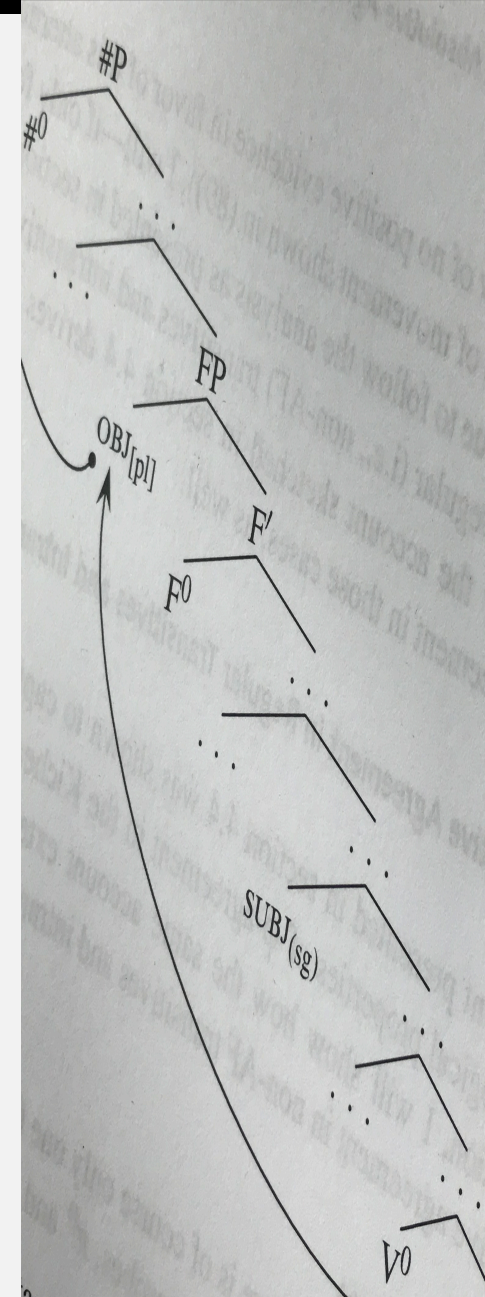
- Bousquette (2013, 2014): Wisconsin Heritage German shows 2SG only
 - Wenns du Zeit hast, kannst du mi helpn?
 if-2SG you time have-2SG can you me help
'If you have time, can you help me?'
 (Bousquette 2014: 573)
- Fuß (2004, 2005, 2008): Bavarian shows 2SG & 2PL only
 - Obst noch Minga kummst
 whether-2SG to Munich come-2SG
'Whether you come to Munich...'
 (Fuß 2004: 60)



C-AGR IN GALICIAN

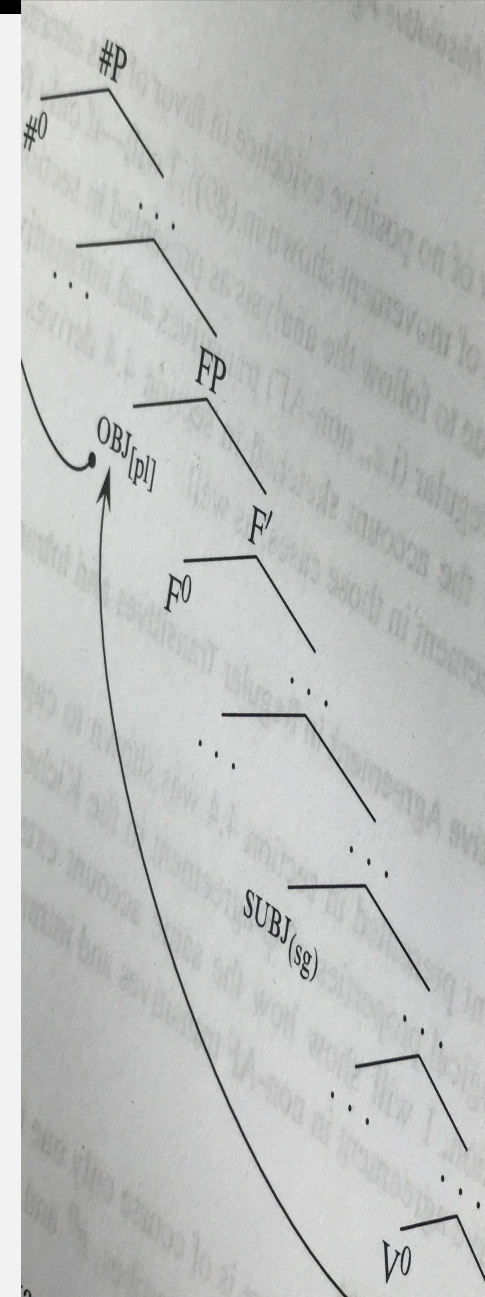
- ‘Presentative adverbs’ (Freixeiro 2006)
- C head (Force, (Rizzi 1997)) *velaí*/*velaquí* (‘there’ / ‘here’)
- Vémo-los aí/**velaí* cada venres
see.1PL.PRS-CL.ACC.Masc.Pl there each Friday
‘We see them there every Friday’
 - Main clause phenomenon
- cf. *voilà/voici* (Morin 1985)

Conclusion: C-AGR is partly licensed by base-generated presentative complementizers



C-AGR IN GALICIAN

- T occupied by a group of intransitive verbs (motion & state)
 - *ir* 'go', *andar* 'walk', *estar* 'be', *quedar/ficar* 'stay', *aparecer* 'appear', *vir* 'come', etc.
- Subject always post-verbal
- Velaquí (a) vén (Uxía / a nena / ela)
 PRES CL.ACC.Fem.Sg come.3SG.PRS Uxía / the girl / her
 'Here comes Uxía/Here comes the girl/Here she comes'
- Velaí (os) estabamos (nós)...
 PRES CL.ACC.Masc.Pl be.1PL.PST we
 'There we were...'
- C-AGR is optional



C-AGR IN GALICIAN

- The C-AGR marker is an accusative clitic that agrees with the subject in [number] [gender] & is underspecified for [person]

C-AGR marking in Galician

o/a	os/as
o/a	os/as
o/a	os/as

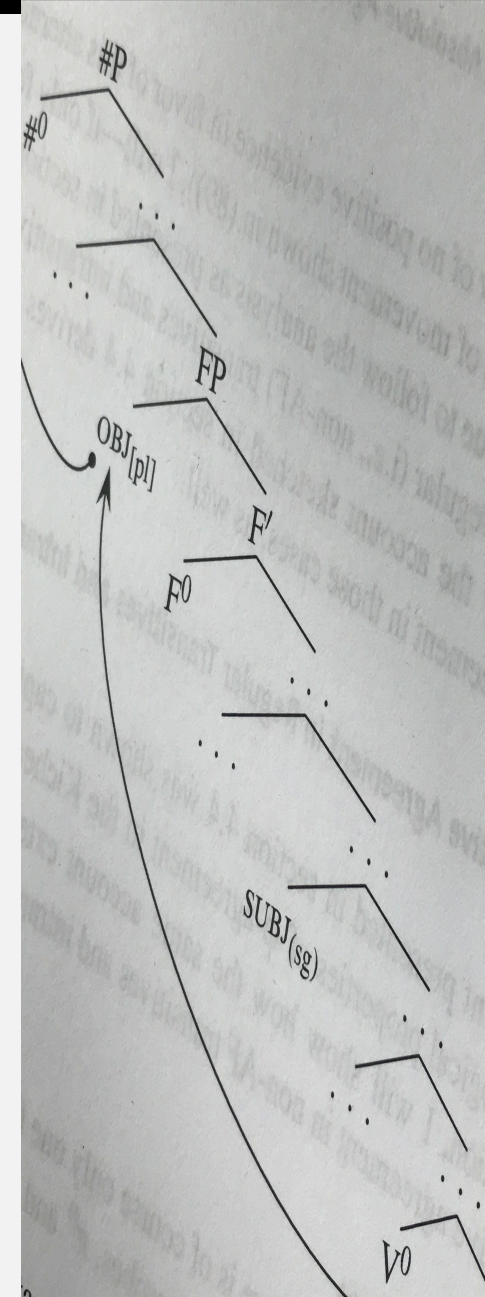
C-T DEPENDENCY

Adjacency

- C-T show an infrangible link
 - West Flemish and Frisian show this restriction between C and the subject
 - *dan [morgen] Pol en Valère werkenen
that.3PL tomorrow Pol and Valerie work.3PL
 - *da [morgen] Pol en Valère werkenen
that tomorrow Pol and Valerie work.3PL

(West Flemish– Fuß 2008: 85)

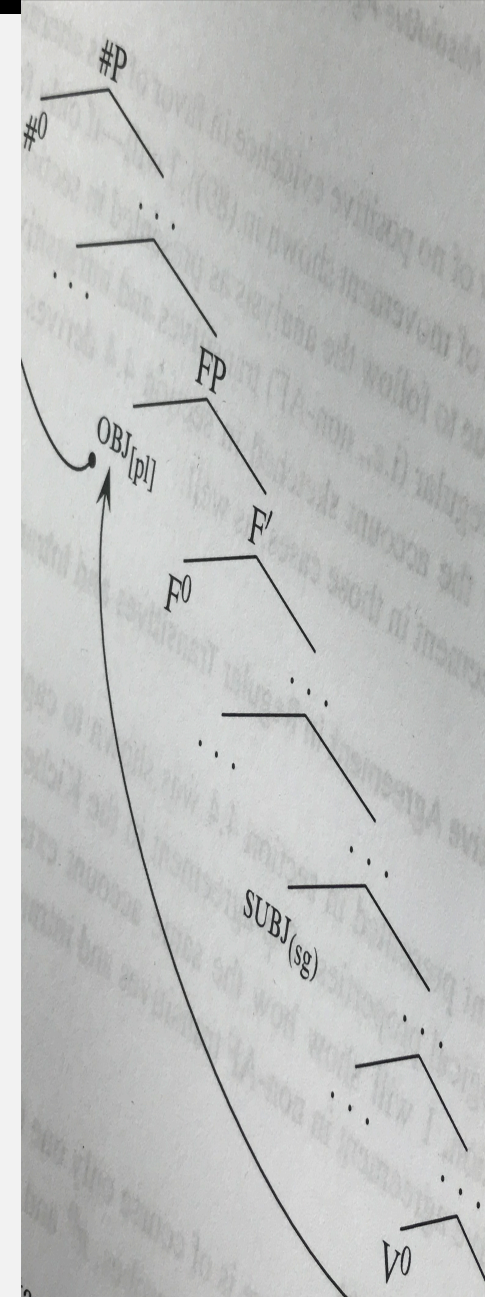
- *[_C Velaquí [_{TP} [_{DP} os nenos] [_T veñen]]]
PRES the boys come.3PL.PRS
'Here come the boys'
- *[_C Velaí [_{XP} lentamente] [_T andades]]]
PRES slowly walk.2PL.PRS
'There you go slowly'



C-T DEPENDENCY

Morphological realization

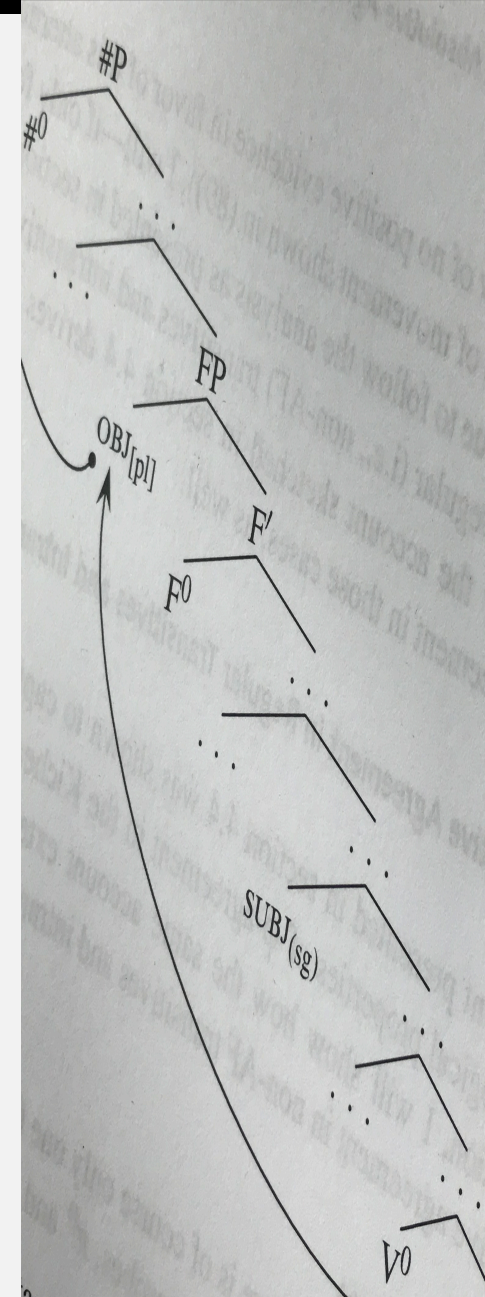
- Comparatives in Germanic with an elided T show no C-AGR
 - D'Resl is gresser [als wiast du bist]
the-Resl is taller than as.2SG you are
 - *D'Resl is gresser [als wiast du]
the-Resl is taller than as.2SG you
 - D'Resl is gresser [als wia du]
the-Resl is taller than as you
'Resl is taller than you (are).'
- Fuß (2008, 2014) uses this to show that C may not show inflection without T because the former gets its ϕ -set from the latter at Morphological Structure



POST-SYNTACTIC PROBLEMS FOR GALICIAN

Fuß (2008, 2014)

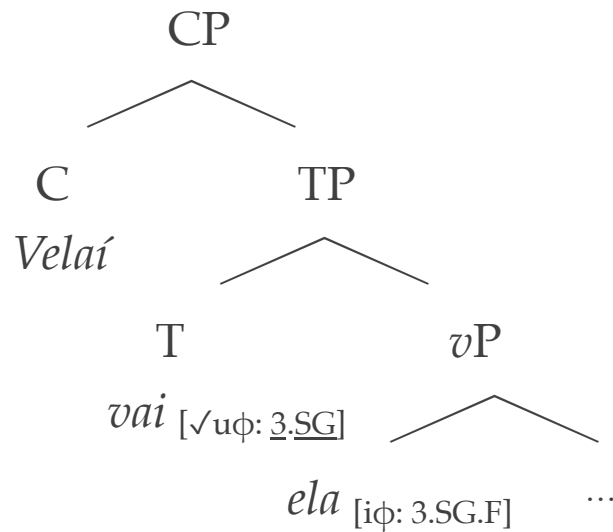
- Fuß (2008, 2014) argues for a possible post-syntactic analysis of all cases of C-AGR
 - C-AGR is sensitive to adjacency effects
 - C-AGR does not behave like normal verbal agreement
- Solution:
 - C-AGR results from post-syntactic insertion of inflectional features
 - Feature matching between C and the subject cannot take place direction; the valued ϕ -set on T is the source.



POST-SYNTACTIC PROBLEMS FOR GALICIAN

Fuß (2008, 2014)

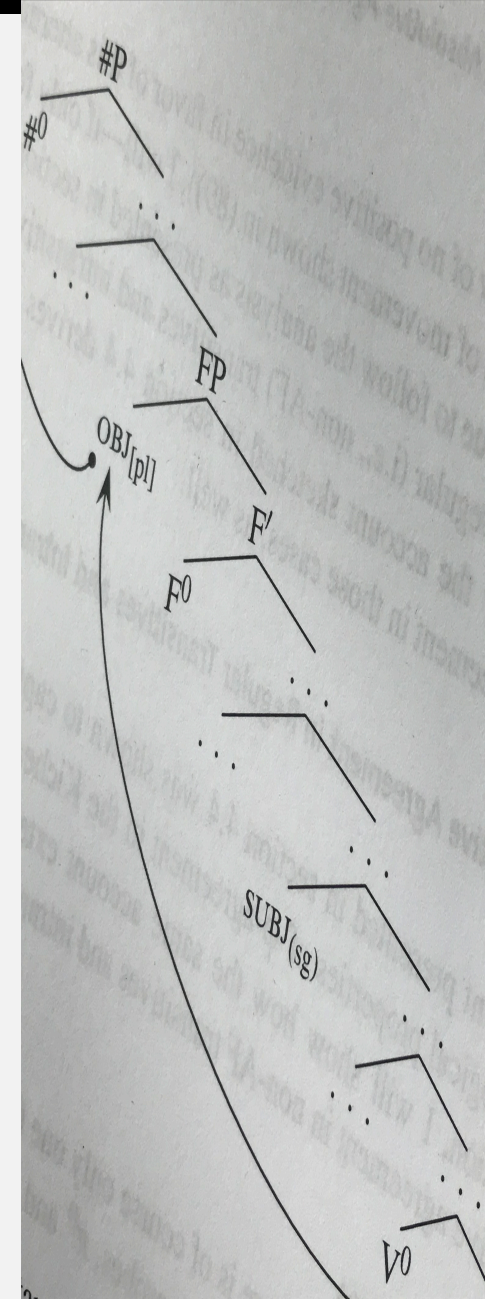
Velaí vai ela ('There she goes')



$[CP[C \text{ Velaquí } [u\phi: 3.SG] [TP[T \text{ vai } [\checkmark_{u\phi}: 3.SG] [vP \text{ ela } [i\phi: 3.SG.F]]]]]]$

An arrow points from the $u\phi$ feature in the CP level to the $\checkmark_{u\phi}$ feature in the TP level, indicating a matching operation.

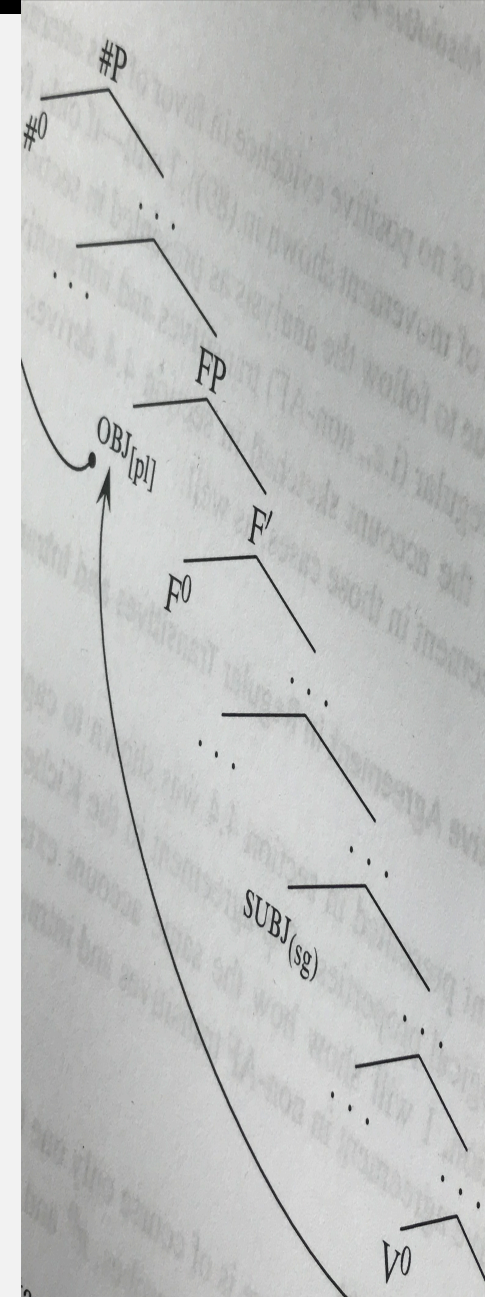
- C-AGR in Galician shows [gender] differentiation; however, T's ϕ -set is not marked for [gender] in Romance
- C-AGR shows no agreement for [person]; however, T's ϕ -set is always marked for [person] in Romance



Φ -SET COPY PROBLEMS FOR GALICIAN

Richards (2012)

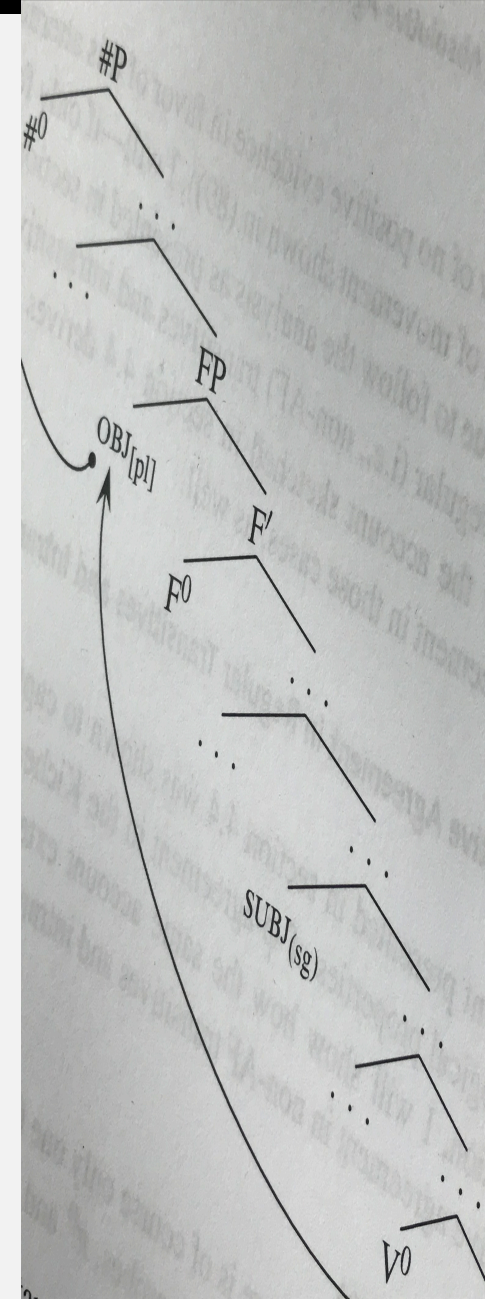
- Richards' (2012) idea is a narrow-syntax version of Fuß' approach in that it links C & T with the same ϕ -set
- Following this approach, we would need two post-syntactic repair strategies: removing [person] feature and adding a [gender] feature (which would later require valuation from another $i\phi$ -set)
- Observation: There is a strong link between C & T in Galician, but their ϕ -sets are different



ACCOUNTING FOR C-AGR IN GALICIAN

- I follow Carstens (2003) in proposing that both C and T have an individual ϕ -set
- In turn, C's ϕ -set must be directly valued by the subject just as T's must
 - Recall: this is not a strict adjacent relationship as in Germanic
- This makes C-AGR in Galician a normal instance of Agree (*pace* claims by Fuß)

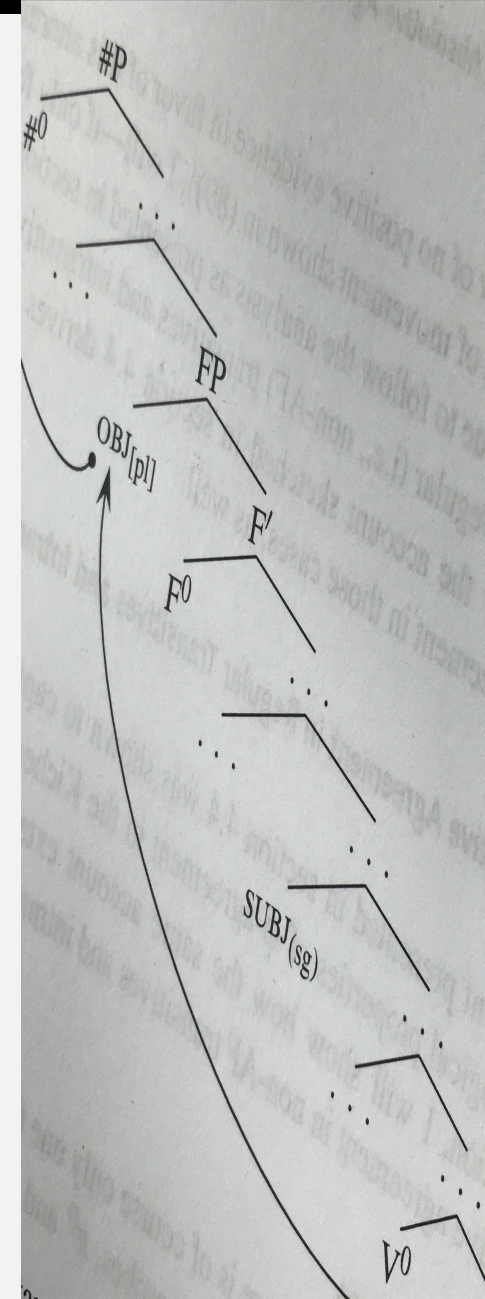
*How can we account for this irregularity?



ACCOUNTING FOR C-AGR IN GALICIAN

Diachronic influences

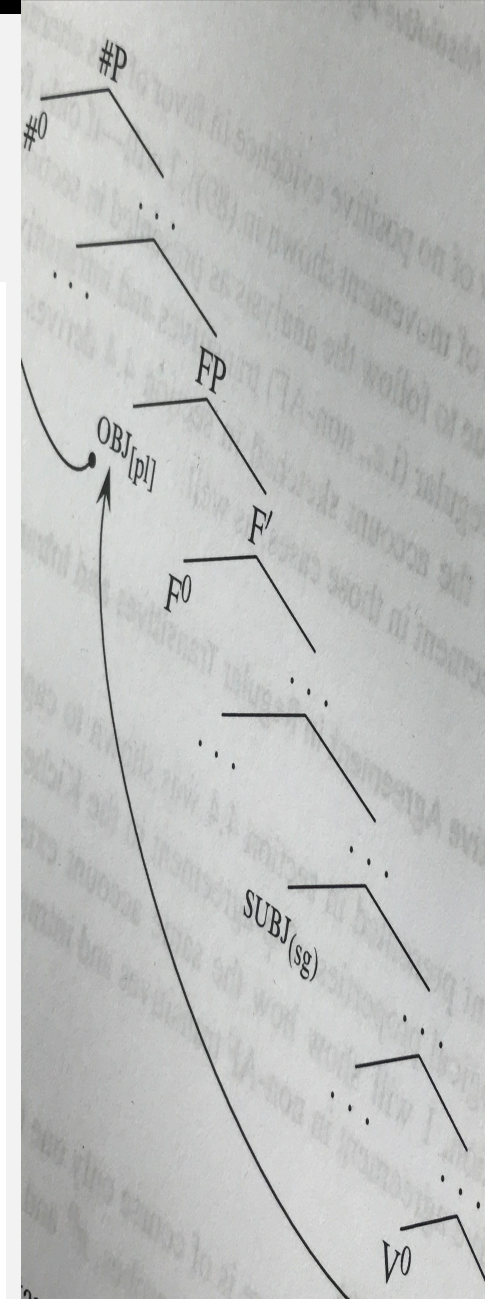
- In the early stages of the grammaticalization of *velaí*/*velaquí*, the direct object always agreed with the subject of the second clause
 - | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------|--|------------------|--|----|--|-------------------|
| vé-las | | elí'stán | | as | | cardas de lá |
| see.2SG.PRS-CL.ACC.PL.F | | there-be.3PL.PRS | | | | the cards of wool |
| <i>'See them there, there are the wool cards.'</i> | | | | | | |
- Once *velaí*/*velaquí* grammaticalize and lose their argument structure, the monoclausal structure is left with but one DP
- Carstens (2003: 399) puts forth the following stipulation for constituents able to fulfill C's ϕ -set:
 - C can agree with α only if
 - a. C c-commands α , and
 - b. α is nominative



C-AGR AND DIACHRONY

(Data from Slide 6 repeated)

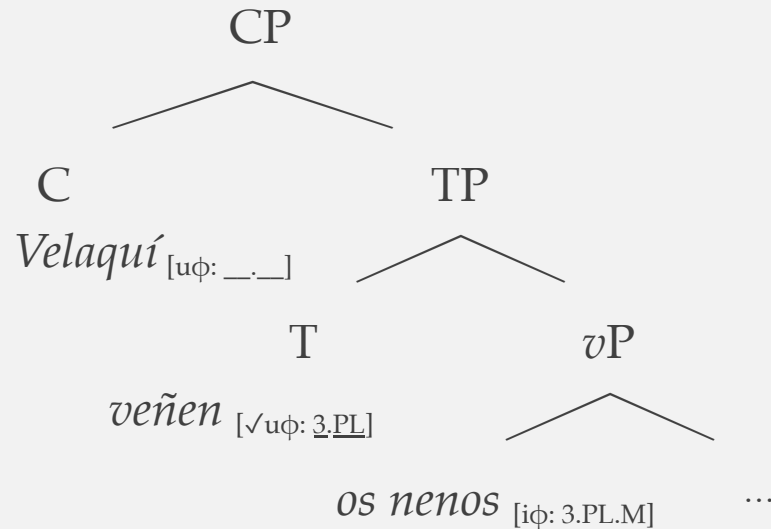
- The coindexation of the DO and the subject of the second clause in Step 1 becomes a monoclausal dependency in Step 3
 - Ve-lo aí vai el
see.2PRS-CL.ACC.Masc.Sing there go.3PRS him
'See him, there he goes.'
 - Velaí vai el
PRES go.3PRS him
'There he goes'
 - Velaí o vai el
PRES CL.ACC.Masc.Sing go.3PRS him
'There he goes'



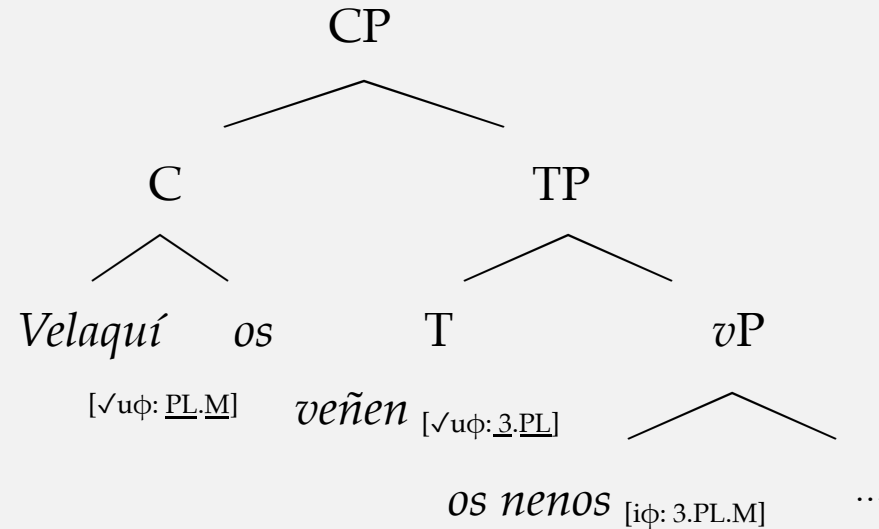
ACCOUNTING FOR C-AGR IN GALICIAN

Valuation of T

Velaquí veñen os nenos ('Here come the boys')



Valuation of C

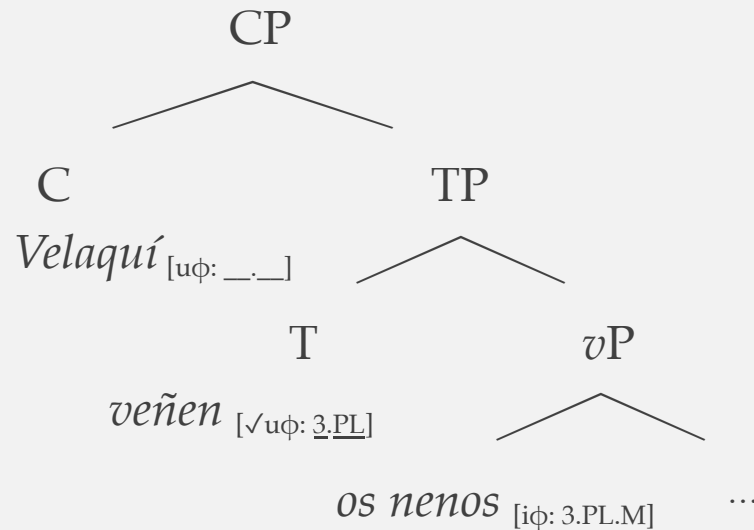


(cf. Bayer 1984)

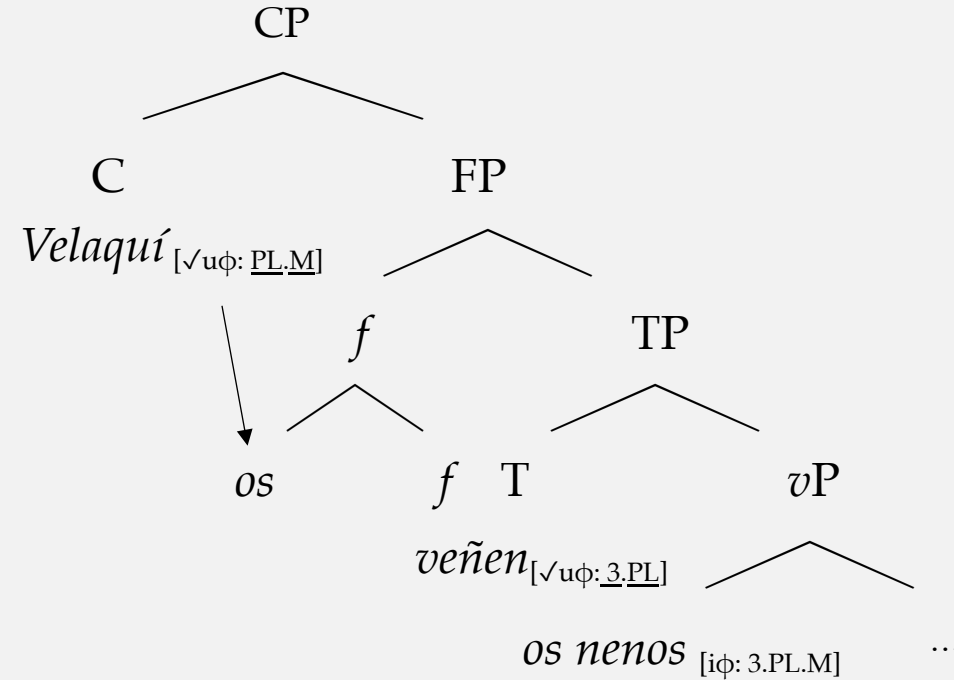
ACCOUNTING FOR C-AGR IN GALICIAN

An alternate approach

Valuation of T



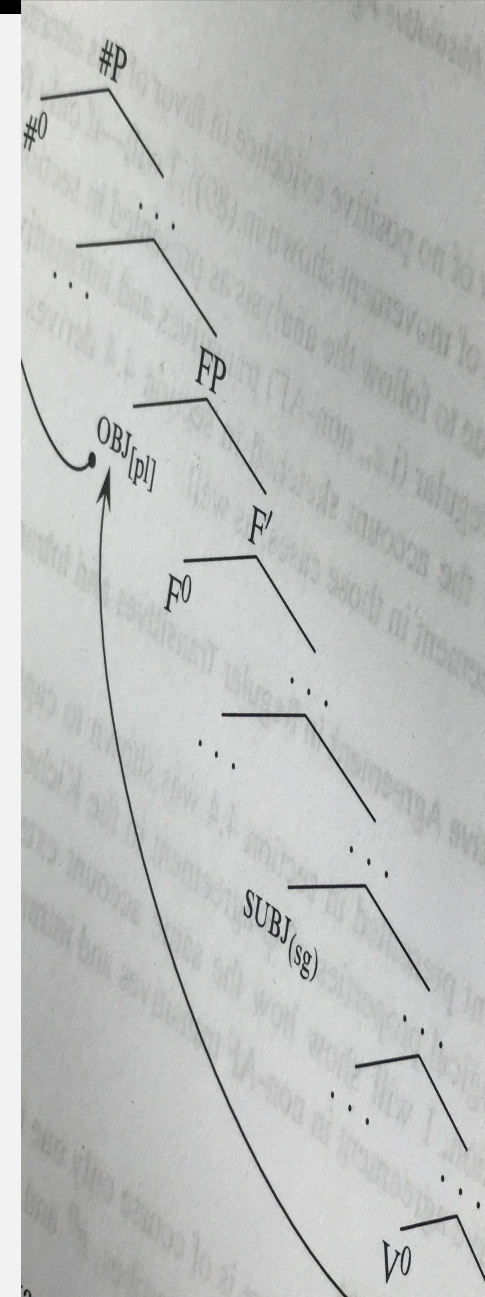
Valuation of C



*C-AGR is realized as a clitic in F

CONCLUSIONS

- Just as there are parametric differences regarding the morphological completeness of C-AGR, its optionality vs. obligatoriness, and its adjacency constraints, C-AGR may be licensed in different ways cross-linguistically
 - Parametric differences depending on main clause/subordinate clause C-AGR
- Due to the morphological richness of C-AGR in Galician, T's ϕ -set must not be the source for C's ϕ -set
- Cf. Fuß (2005) & Bousquette (2011) regarding the 'creation' of C-AGR systems
 - Cf. Bayer (1984) & Fuß (2005) regarding C-AGR beginning as a clitic



GRACIÑAS!

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ACCOUNTING FOR C-AGR IN GALICIAN

An alternate approach

- Morphologically ‘active’ left peripheral projection F (=f) as the locus of clitics in Western Iberian (Uriagereka 1995a; Raposo & Uriagereka 2005)
- FP & Rizzi’s (1997) Fin are the same projection (Gupton 2014)
- Uriagereka (1995b) claimed that superfluous clitics lack their own individual projection and are base generated in *f*
- ‘Derivational cascade’ (Uriagereka 1999, *et seq.*)

