OBJECT AGREEMENT AND LOCALITY

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Overview

Definiteness agreement in Hungarian

Infinitival complement clauses and definiteness agreement

- Agreeing and non-agreeing verbs
- Problems
- Previous accounts

Definiteness agreement in multiple infinitival constructions

- Parallels with preverb climbing
- Description of definiteness agreement
- Potential implementation

Agreement with second person objects

- The three patterns of object agreement
- Bárány (2015), den Dikken (2004, 2016)
- A proposal for –LAK and the differences in past and present tense

Conclusion

1 Definiteness agreement

- Hungarian: definiteness agreement with the object

  - Definite object: definite/objective verb form

  - Indefinite object: indefinite/subjective verb form

  - No object: indefinite/subjective verb form

  For the more subtle details concerning the nature of the object and the form of the verb see Bárány (2015).

	Intransitive *fut* 'run'	Transitive *lát* 'see'	
		indefinite	definite
1sg	*fut-ok*	*lát-ok*	*lát-om*
2sg	*fut-sz*	*lát-sz*	*lát-od*
3sg	*fut-∅*	*lát-∅*	*lát-ja*
1pl	*fut-unk*	*lát-unk*	*lát-juk*
2pl	*fut-tok*	*lát-tok*	*lát-játok*
3pl	*fut-nak*	*lát-nak*	*lát-ják*

(1) *Anna   lát/*lát-ja   egy könyv-et*
     Anna.NOM   see.INDEF/see.DEF a   book-ACC
     'Anna sees a book.'

(2) *Anna   *lát/lát-ja   a   könyv-et*
     Anna.NOM   see.INDEF/see.DEF   the book-ACC
     'Anna sees the book.'

Questions

- No object/indefinite object: why same form?
  - No agreement?
  - Default indefinite agreement?

- Hard to say in light of the data above

- More complex structures can say more about the nature of agreement:
  - Accusative marked adjuncts (Csirmaz 2008)
  - Possessive DP objects (Bárány 2015)
  - Infinitival clauses (no direct syntactic relationship between the agreeing verb and the object) (Szécsényi - Szécsényi 2016, to appear)

Proposed triggers for definiteness agreement

- Bartos (1999, 2000)
  - Two types of nominal expressions: DP and NumP
  - The necessary and sufficient condition for object agreement is projecting a DP.
- Bárány (2015)
  - "Object agreement is only triggered by a D head that is specified for person features. If D lacks person features, it does not trigger agreement." (p. 75)
  - The person feature in Hungarian is argued to grammaticalize referentiality in the D head.

Infinitival complement clauses and definiteness agreement

Infinitives don't show overt agreement with their objects

(3)   *Anna   készül   olvas-ni   egy/a   könyv-et*
        Anna.NOM   prepare.INDEF   read-INF   a/the   book-ACC
        'Anna is preparing to read a/the book.'

Infinitival complement clauses and definiteness agreement

Finite verbs: two patterns

1. Non-agreeing verbs

- Indefinite finite verb

(3)   *Anna   készül   olvas-ni   egy/a   könyv-et*
Anna.NOM prepare.INDEF   read-INF   a/the   book-ACC
'Anna is preparing to read a/the book.'

Infinitival complement clauses and definiteness agreement

2. Agreeing verbs (= verbs taking infinitival complements and agreeing with the objects of the infinitive)

- Definite object – definite finite verb

> (4) *Anna *akar/akar-ja olvas-ni a könyv-et*
> Anna.NOM want.INDEF/want.DEF read-INF the book-ACC
> 'Anna wants to read the book.'

- Indefinite object – indefinite finite verb

> (5) *Anna akar/*akar-ja olvas-ni egy könyv-et*
> Anna.NOM want.INDEF/want.DEF read-INF a book-ACC
> 'Anna wants to read a book.'

- No object – indefinite finite verb

> (6) *Anna akar/*akar-ja fut-ni*
> Anna.NOM want.INDEF/want.DEF run-ACC
> 'Anna wants to run.'

- Transitive verbs + auxiliaries: *akar* 'want', *utál* 'hate' + *fog* 'will'

Questions

- How exactly does agreement take place?
  - What triggers agreement?
    - Object: why no agreement in (3)

(3)	*Anna*	*készül*	*olvas-ni*	*egy/a*	*könyv-et*
	Anna.NOM	prepare.INDEF	read-INF	a/the	book-ACC
	'Anna is preparing to read a/the book.'				

    - Verb: what does the agreeing verb agree with (if at all) in (6)

(6)	*Anna*	*akar/*akar-ja*	*fut-ni*
	Anna.NOM	want.INDEF/want.DEF	run-ACC
	'Anna wants to run.'		

Previous accounts

- Bartos (1999), É. Kiss (2002): Long distance agreement
- Den Dikken (2004): Clause union

➢Agreement is between the finite verb and the object DP

- Predictions
  - the only factor to consider is the definiteness of the object (however long distance)
  - other intervening constituents do not play a role

  - → not supported by multiple infinitival constructions (Szécsényi - Szécsényi 2016, to appear)

New data: multiple infinitives

- Agreeing verbs can agree in multiple infinitives

(7)   *Anna   *fog/fog-ja   akar-ni   olvas-ni a   könyv-et*
       Anna.NOM will.INDEF/will.DEF want-INF read-INF the book-ACC
       'Anna will want to read the book.'

- <u>In some cases, no agreement between an agreeing verb and a definite object - WHY?</u>

(8)   *Anna   fog/*fog-ja   készül-ni   olvas-ni a   könyv-et*
       Anna.NOM will.INDEF/will.DEF prepare-INF   read-INF the book-ACC
       'Anna will prepare to read the book.'

- The presence of *készül* 'prepare to', a non-agreeing verb, blocks agreement

Similar patterns in preverb climbing

- Stress avoiding verbs (e.g. *fog* 'will', *akar* 'want') trigger preverb climbing

(9) *Anna   be   akar   ~~be~~ men-ni a   szobá-ba*

Anna.NOM PREV want   go-INF   the room-INE
'Anna wants to go into the room.'

- Non stress avoiding verbs (e.g. *utál* 'hate'): no preverb climbing

(10) *Anna   utál   be   men-ni a   szobá-ba*

Anna.NOM hate   PREV   go-INF   the room-INE
'Anna hates to go into the room.'

Preverb climbing in multiple infinitives

(11)   *Anna   be   fog be̶ akar-ni   be̶ men-ni a   szobá-ba*

Anna.NOM PREV will   want-INF   go-INF   the room-INE
'Anna will want to go into the room.'

• The presence of a non stress avoiding verb blocks preverb climbing

(12)   *Anna   fog   utál-ni   be   men-ni a   szobá-ba*

Anna.NOM will   hate-INF PREV   go-INF   the room-INE
'Anna will hate to go into the room.'

➢The properties of the intervening verbs influence whether preverb climbing takes place or not
• Strict locality requirements

Similar description for definiteness agreement

- Locality restrictions observed in definiteness agreement as well

- Agreeing finite verb agrees with the object only if all the intervening verbs are agreeing

- Agreement is not between the finite verb and an embedded infinitival object

- Agreement is cyclic, from clause to clause

Properties of definiteness agreement

➢The most embedded infinitive agrees with its object covertly

➢What the agreeing verb agrees with is the definiteness feature of its own infinitival complement

➢Agreeing with an objectless infinitive: default indefiniteness

- Definiteness agreement with agreeing verbs

(13)	*Anna*	*fog-ja*	*akar-ni*	*olvas-ni*	*a könyv-et*
		[+DEF]	[+DEF]	[+DEF]	[+DEF]

Anna.NOM will want-INF read-INF the book-ACC
'Anna will want to read the book.'

(14)	*Anna*	*fog*	*akar-ni*	*olvas-ni*	*egy könyv-et*
		[–DEF]	[–DEF]	[–DEF]	[–DEF]

Anna.NOM will want-INF read-INF a book-ACC
'Anna will want to read a book.'

- Definiteness agreement with non-agreeing verb (default indefinite)

(15)	*Anna*	*fog*	*készül-ni*	*olvas-ni*	*a könyv-et*
		[–DEF]	[–DEF]	[+DEF]	[+DEF]

Anna.NOM will prepare-INF read-INF the book-ACC
'Anna will prepare to read the book.'

- ## Definiteness agreement with objectless infinitive (default indefinite)

(16)   *Anna*   *fog*   *akar-ni*   *fut-ni*
              [−DEF]   [−DEF]   [−DEF]

Anna.NOM will   want-INF   run-INF
'Anna will want to run.'

- ## Objectless finite verbs (default indefinite)

(17)   *Anna*   *fut*
                      [−DEF]
Anna.NOM   run
'Anna runs.'

Potential implementation

- Bárány (2015):
  - In order for object agreement to arise, *v* has to be valued by a person feature via Agree with a DP direct object
  - No person feature → default value

- Infinitival complement clauses:
  - *v* probes for a formal feature on the infinitive
  - As opposed to earlier accounts Agree does not have to target the nominal object
  - Non-agreeing verbs: default indefinite feature

2 Agreement with second person objects

- Three groups of verbs (not homogenous classes):
  - +Definiteness agreement ,+LAK agreement:
  (i) *fog, szokott, talál* (Kenesei 2001): auxiliaries, more local domain
  (ii) *elkezd, próbál, akar*
  Próbállak utánozni (téged).   Próbálom megtanulni a verset.

  - -Definiteness agreement, +LAK agreement (den Dikken 2004):
  (i) come/go aspectuals: *jön, megy, jár, nekiáll*
  (ii) some subject control verbs: *igyekszik, készül, jön, indul, vágyik, fél*
  Készül(te)lek meglátogatni.   *Készülöm megtanulni a verset.

  - -Definiteness agreement, -LAK agreement: *próbálkozik, látszik*
  *Próbálkoz(ta)lak lefesteni.   *Próbálkozod megtanulni a verset.

  - (+Definiteness agreement, -LAK agreement: not attested(?))

  When the verb agrees in definiteness it always has a –LAK form
  → hierarchical organization of features?

Further components of Bárány (2015): entailment

A combination of syntactic processes and morphological rules. All personal pronouns trigger object agreement.

- Entailment relationships between person features (Béjar and Rezac 2009):

$$[1] = \begin{Bmatrix} \text{SPEAKER,} \\ \text{PARTICIPANT,} \\ \pi \end{Bmatrix} \supset [2] = \begin{Bmatrix} \text{PARTICIPANT,} \\ \pi \end{Bmatrix} \supset [3] = \begin{Bmatrix} \pi \end{Bmatrix}$$

when *v* agrees with a direct object that has a set of person features [1], this will also value the sets of features [2] and [3] on the probe, since they are proper subsets of [1].

Inverse and direct Agree

Inverse agreement constraint for Hungarian

An object agreeing with a verb must be lower in the animacy hierarchy than the subject agreeing with the same verb, unless both the subject and the object represent the lowest level of the animacy hierarchy. (É. Kiss 2013: 8)

1sg > 1pl/2 > 3 (É. Kiss 2013: 8)

Inverse and direct Agree

EA→IA	1	2	3
1	—	*Lát-lak téged.* see-1SG>2 you.SG.ACC 'I see you (sg.).'	*Lát-om ő-t.* see-1SG.OBJ s/he-ACC 'I see him.'
2	*Lát-sz engem.* see-2SG.SBJ I.ACC 'You see me.'	—	*Lát-od ő-t.* see-2SG.OBJ s/he-ACC 'You see him.'
3	*Lát engem.* see.3SG.SBJ I.ACC 'S/he sees me.'	*Lát téged.* see.3SG.SBJ you.SG.ACC 'S/he sees you (sg.).'	*Lát-ja ő-t.* see-3SG.OBJ s/he-ACC 'S/he sees him/her.'

Table 4.1   Transitive singular agreement paradigm with personal pronouns in Hungarian: shaded cells show inverse contexts with subject agreement only

Cyclic Agree

Agree is cyclic: a single probe can agree more than once if it has unvalued sets of features left after a previous cycle of Agree […] *v* probes and agrees with the object if the object has a set of person features. After an Agree relation with the object, *v* can probe again if it has unvalued sets of features left. The remaining sets of features, however, can only be valued if the subject's features are a proper superset of the object's. Therefore *v* will have two sets of person features only if the subject's person features are a proper superset of the object's person features. Such configurations give rise to object agreement. (Bárány 2015: 106-107)

Object agreement in Hungarian and *v*

When *v* is valued twice, the verb shows object agreement.

Object agreement in Hungarian

If a direct object is definite, it triggers object agreement.

Definite = *referring to a unique, existing individual in a given situation* (Bárány 2015:94)
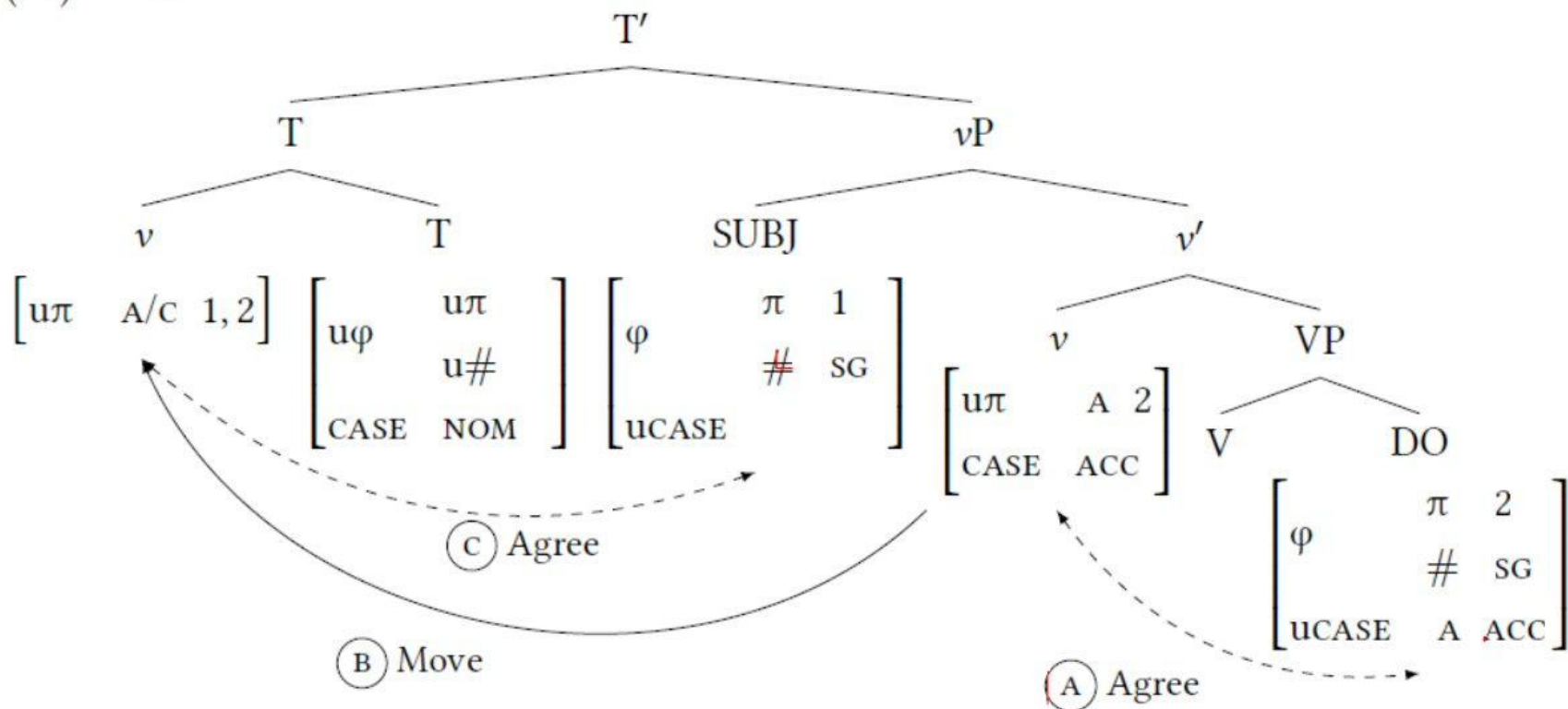
Fusion

- Fusion of v and T (post-syntactically, only one agreement slot for person and number in Hungarian): when their strongest person features match (third person object agreement, syntactically inverse configuration with direct behaviour)

Object agreement is spelled out when v and T undergo fusion.

When *v* and T agree with only the internal and the external argument, respectively, they do not fuse to become a complex head and only T is spelled out (as it has a full set of φ-features).
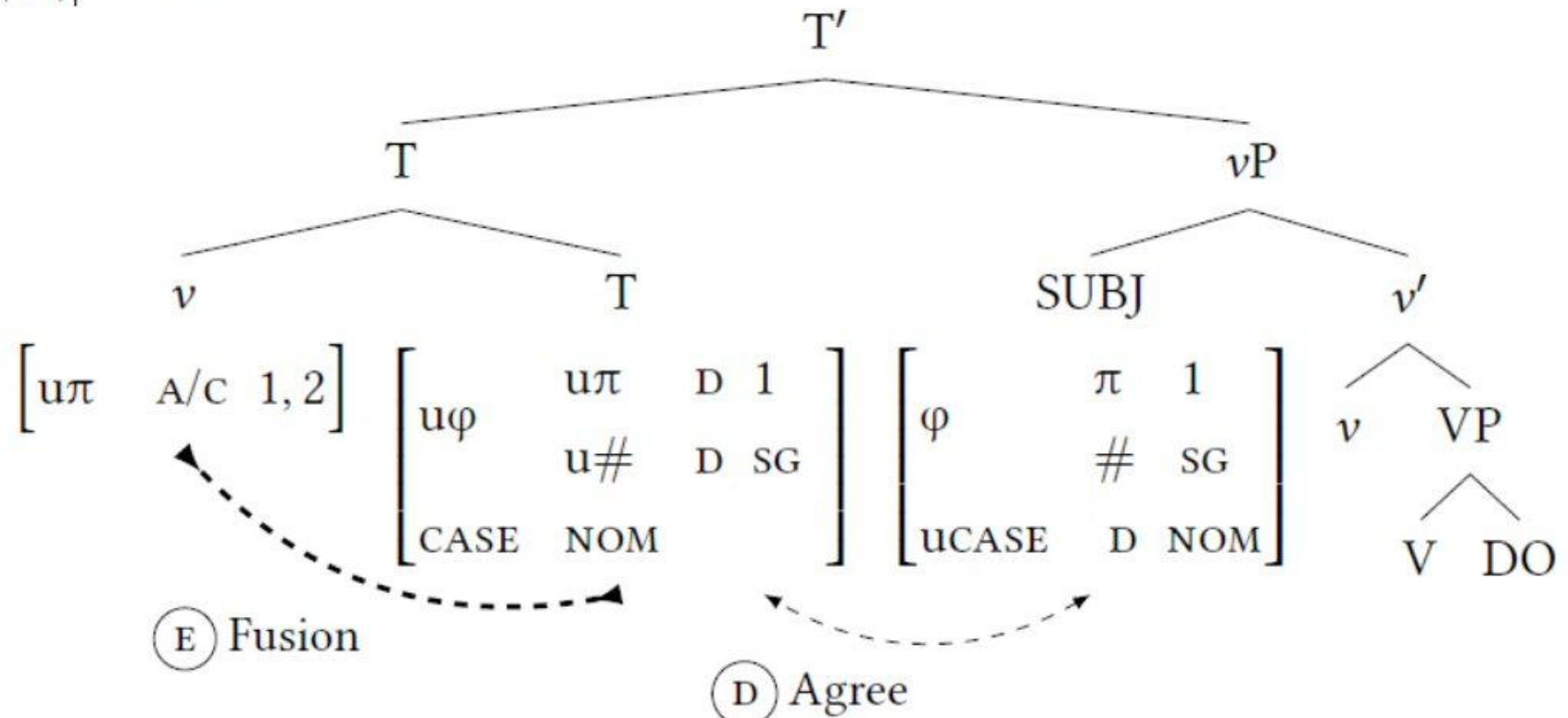
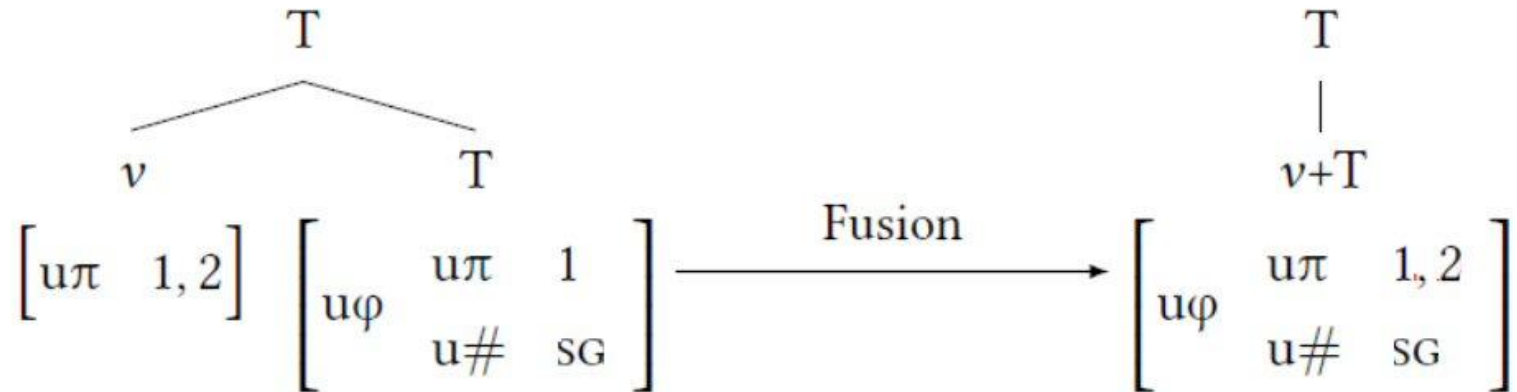# Sample derivation, direct configurations: Látlak (téged)

Látlak (téged)

Látlak (téged)

(86)   **Fusion of *v* ~~and~~ T**

Other patterns

- Látja őt:
  - Inverse configuration
  - Fusion!
  $\rightarrow$ definite agreement

- Lát téged:
  - Inverse configuration
  - No fusion
  $\rightarrow$ indefinite agreement

Object agreement in finite and infinitival clauses

- Finite clauses: definite agreement

Tudom (azt), hogy szereted a csokit.

- Infinitives: indefinite or definite agreement

Szeretnék énekelni./Szeretném elénekelni ezt a dalt.

de Cuba & Ürögdi (2010): certain finite CPs have a formal referentiality feature

Bárány: person grammaticalizes referentiality

Finite CPs: referential (default third person?)→ object agreement → every finite CP has the relevant feature.

Lexical feature on the C-head *hogy*

Object agreement in infinitives

Infinitives: no person feature as a default, but cyclic Agree can carry the person feature of the object in the clausal functional domain

Location of feature (except auxiliaries forming a more local domain): C-head

- uniform treatment with finite clauses;
- independent evidence for infinitival clauses being CPs in Hungarian;
- since the value can change

→ a CP-structure can account for definite agreement more straighforwardly

Agreement in sentences with embedded infinitives

- Infinitives agree with their objects, the infinitival C-head has either no person feature or the person feature of the object. Motivation for movement to C: the person features of the object are available, but the person features of the subject are not → Cyclic Agree

- The finite verb agrees with the person feature on the C head of the infinitive similarly to the process in Bárány (2015). The difference is in the category of the object: CP instead of DP.

- The different patterns follow from the fact that not every verb taking an infinitival complement can be used transitively. Agree can fail leading to the emergence of a default value (3SG).

- The existence of the THREE patterns does not follow automatically.

The two basic patterns (the easy cases)

1) +Definiteness agreement ,+LAK agreement: the infinitive agrees with its object, definitenesss feature on C agreeing with v(+T) on finite verb.

Próbállak utánozni (téged).   *Próbálom megtanulni a verset.*
                                  Próbálom utánozni őt.

2) -Definiteness agreement ,-LAK agreement: the infinitive agrees with its object, but due to the lack of the relevant v associated with the finite verb, definiteness agreement cannot take place. Infinitival v agrees with its object, finite T with the subject → indefinite agreement paradigm

Próbálkoz(ta)lak lefesteni (téged).   *Próbálkozod megtanulni a verset.*
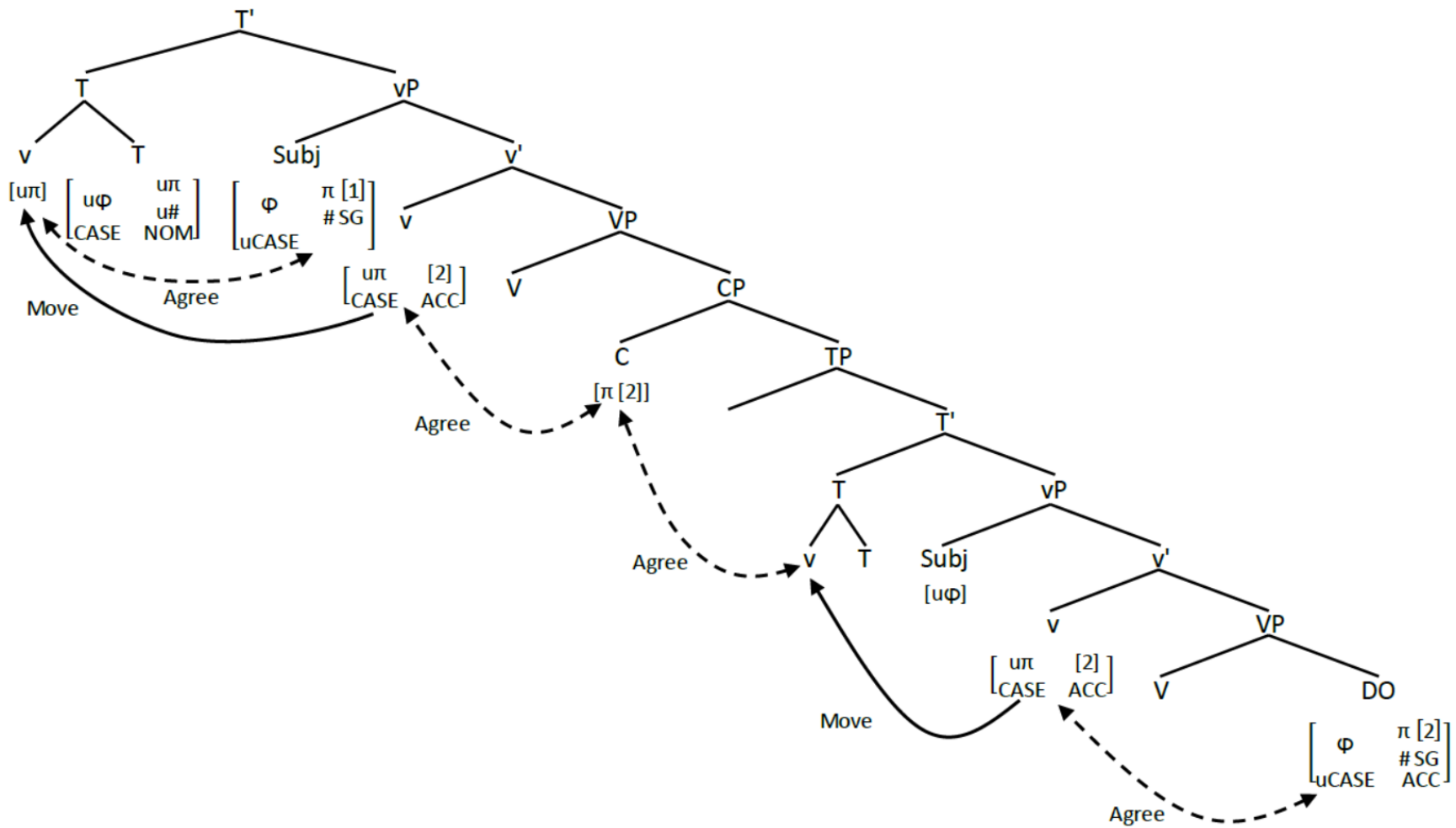   *Próbálkozod lefesteni őt.*
                                          Próbálkozol megtanulni egy verset.
                                          Próbálkozol lefesteni őt.

→Indefinite agreement can have different sources: no object/indefinite object for the infinitive and/or no v in the finite clause.

A sample derivation: Megpróbállak meggyőzni (téged)

Other patterns in the +DEF, +LAK class

- Megpróbálja meggyőzni őt:
  - Inverse configuration
  - Fusion
  - → definite agreement

  - Megpróbál meggyőzni téged:
    - Inverse configuration
    - No fusion
    - → indefinite agreement

    The results of Bárány (2015) carry over without modification.

The mixed pattern

- -Definiteness agreement, +LAK agreement:

(Épp) Készül(te)lek meglátogatni.   **Készülöm megtanulni a verset.*
                                       *Készülöm meglátogatni őt.
                                       Készül(ök) megtanulni a verset.
                                       Készül(ök) meglátogatni őt.

                                       *Készülöm, hogy meglátogassam őt.
                                       Készülök, hogy meglátogassam őt.

The infinitive is not an object (adjunct or *oblique infinitive*)
Mire készülsz?/Mire vágysz?/Mitől félsz?/Miért jöttél?

Potential accounts of the mixed pattern

Approaches to –LAK: an organic part of the definiteness paradigm (Bárány 2015) or a special case?

First impression in infinitives: special case

Wat we need: Cyclic Agree as usual without the third person feature participating in it

Bárány (2015): no fusion for these infinitives?

Készülöm meglátogatni őt should still be grammatical, contrary to fact (direct configuration: 1SG > 3)

Impoverishment rules

Lát-t-am egy fiú-t.   *ház-am*

see-PST-1SG a boy-ACC   house-POSS.1SG

Vocabulary items involving first person singular subjects

a.   /-Ok/   ↔   [1, SG] / [+V]

b.   /-Om/   ↔   [1, SG]

(Bárány 2015:128)

Trommer (2005): [+V] deleted in contexts that feed the vocabulary insertion rule for /-Om/: nominal domain, past tense, *–ik* verbs (p. 128). After impoverishment applies, the form with [+V] cannot be inserted.

Proposal I: anti-impoverishment

-*Ok* can only be inserted in the context of a feature [+V] (Bárány 2015)

Verbs of the third class (-DEF, +LAK): Obligatory [+V] feature without affecting –LAK.

Modification of Bárány (2015): -LAK also has a [+V] feature.

/-Ok/	↔	[1, SG] / [+V]
/-lAk/	↔	[1, 2, SG]
/-Uk/	↔	[1, 3, PL]
/-Om/	↔	[1, SG]
/-Unk/	↔	[1, PL]

→ 1, 2, SG / [+V]

Clitics in the object agreement paradigm: den Dikken (2004, 2016)

-L as a clitic in –LAK (den Dikken 2004)

-m is also a clitic, the feature does not distinguish the two patterns?

Different types of clitic:

- -L an object clitic
- -m a subject clitic

Difference between past and present: the past form does not have a verbal base (den Dikken 2016), cf. Bárány, Trommer: [+V] impoverishment: not only morphological in nature, but deeper syntactic sources.

The final touch (for now)

- The trigger for the appearance of -L in 1SG.2 comes from the past tense paradigm, verbal –k cannot appear there (alone), together with the clitic (non-verbal) it can.

Other persons: choice between verbal and nonverbal inflection, not in 1SG.2, with –LAK it is not necessary:

- -k is verbal
- -L is nominal, the closest to the past ending

-LAK: *verbal form the outside, nominal from the inside*

The infinitival patterns indicate that –LAK is not a portmanteau morpheme (vs. Bárány 2015)

The final final touch

- Difference in present and past forms of the mixed pattern:

*Jönlek meglátogatni.	Jöttelek meglátogatni.
*Kész vagylak meglátogatni.	Kész voltalak meglátogatni.

Morphological in nature, defectivity of irregular verbs.

When a verb is regular, present tense forms are fine:

(Úgy) Vágylak megérinteni.
(Majd) Igyekezlek meglátogatni.
?Készüllek meglátogatni.

Conclusion

Agreement in infinitival clauses provides evidence for the following claims:

- Definiteness agreement is more local than previously assumed, is the result of cyclic Agree → properties of the intervening infinitives also play a role, agreement takes place not between the matrix verb and the object of the most embedded infinitive but cyclically from infinitival clause to infinitival clause up till the finite verb

- The infinitive agrees with its object, the finite verb agrees with the person features of its infinitival C

- -LAK is not a portmanteau morpheme

- Clauses also have formal features of referentiality

Further research

- A fully worked-out morphosyntactic account for (anti-) impoverishment environments

- Infinitives with datives:

?Muszáj/Kénytelen voltalak meglátogatni.

Muszáj volt meglátogatnom (téged).

- Accusative adjuncts (Csirmaz 2008)
- Cross-linguistic outlook

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