

Single Conjunct Agreement and Resolved Agreement in Homshetsi

Intro. Homshetsi, an endangered Armenian dialect spoken in Turkey, displays a range of complex agreement patterns when the verb agrees with a conjunct phrase (&P). Agreement with an &P freely oscillates between resolved agreement (RA) and single conjunct agreement (SCA). Adopting Smith (2015), we propose that semantic agreement with interpretable features (iF) leads to RA. In contrast, syntactic agreement with formal features (uF) leads to SCA. Adopting a two-step Agree approach (Bhatt & Walkow 2013, Marusic et al. 2015, a.o.), we argue that the ordering of Agree-Copy with respect to linearization determines whether SCA is hierarchical or linear.

RA. Verbal agreement in Homshetsi cross-references the person and number features of the subject. When the subject is an &P, RA expones the person features of the conjunct with the highest person feature on the person hierarchy (1 → 2 → 3) and a plural value regardless of the number value on either conjunct. The table in (4) provides the resolution patterns for all conjunction types.

- (1) Yes u tun ert-oğ-uk.
I and you go-FUT-IMPF-1.PL
'I and you will go.'
- (2) Tun u yes ert-oğ-uk.
you and I go-FUT-IMPF-1.PL
'You and I will go.'
- (3) Tun u an ert-oğ-ek.
you and he go-FUT-IMPF-2.PL
'You and he will go.'
- (4) Resolution Patterns ('>' : c-command)
- | | |
|--------------------|-----|
| 1>2, 2>1, 1>3, 3>1 | 1PL |
| 2>3, 3>2 | 2PL |
| 3>3 | 3PL |

SCA. Homshetsi optionally allows SCA. With preverbal subjects where the first conjunct ranks **lower** than the second conjunct on the person hierarchy (**L>H**), the verb agrees with the second conjunct (linearly closest) but not the first one (5). This type of agreement has the signature properties of Closest Conjunct Agreement as an intervening argument blocks this type of SCA (6) and the extraction of the intervening argument enables it (7).

- (5) tun u yes eng-a-∅
you and I fall-PAST-1.SG / *2SG
'You and I fell.'
- (6) *tun u yes Alex-in haz-gen-im
you and I Alex-gen love-IMPF-1.SG
'You and I love Alex.'
- (7) şan-e-i, tun u yes ___i tev-i
dog-DET you and I beat-PAST.1.SG
'The dog, you and I beat.'
- (8) Single Conj. Agr. in L>H Configuration
- | | |
|----------|-----|
| 2>1, 3>1 | 1SG |
| 3>2 | 2SG |

With preverbal subjects where the first conjunct ranks **higher** than the second conjunct on the person hierarchy (**H>L**), the verb can agree with either conjunct.

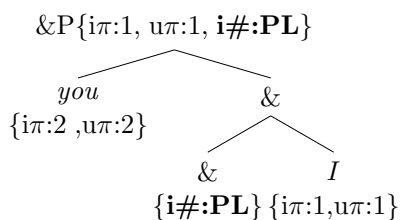
- (9) yes u tun eng-a-∅ / r
I and you fall-PAST-1.SG / 2.SG
'I and you fell.'
- (10) Single Conj. Agr. in H>L Configuration
- | | |
|----------|------------------|
| 1>2, 1>3 | 1SG/2SG, 1SG/3SG |
| 2>3 | 2SG/3SG |

Finally, SCA with postverbal subjects is restricted to the linearly closest conjunct regardless of the person hierarchy configuration between the two conjuncts (H>L or L>H).

- (11) Eng-a-r / *-∅ tun u yes
go-PAST-2.SG / 1.SG you and I
'Go, you and I did.'
- (12) Eng-a-∅ / *-r yes u tun
go-PAST-1.SG / 2.SG I and you
'Go, I and you did.'

In a nutshell, 1) Homshetsi chooses freely between RA and SCA, 2) SCA seems to be linearly closest conjunct agreement as indicated by (extraction of) intervening arguments and agreement with postverbal &Ps, and yet 3) preverbal H>L configurations allow SCA with either conjunct.

Proposal. Our guiding intuition follows Smith (2015), who argued that 1) a single φ feature is split into two halves: one interpreted by semantics (iF) and another interpreted by morphology (uF) and 2) resolved agreement is “semantic” agreement with iFs. With these assumptions, RA in Homshetsi works as follows. Singular pronouns only have person feature values ($i\pi$, $u\pi$) without a



number specification and the $\&$ head is born with an $i\# : PL$ feature making it always semantically plural without any morphological number marking. A resolution algorithm (details to be articulated) combines the feature set on $\&$ with the highest ranking conjunct and projects them to $\&P$. In Smith’s model, a probe is defined by unvaluedness and they also have split features (iF, uF). RA is simply an iF probe agreeing with the $\&P$

and copying the $i\pi$ and $i\#$ values. Given that iFs are interpreted at LF but not at PF, iF agreement including valuation must happen in the syntax. How about uF agreement? uF agreement has been argued to happen in two steps: Agree-Link (syntactic) and Agree-Copy (post-syntactic) (Arregi & Nevins 2012). We argue that SCA in Homshetsi is an output of two-Step Agree between a uF probe and the uF feature on the $\&P$. Agree-Link establishes a relation between the uF probe and the $\&P$ in the syntax. Valuation of the uF probe is done at a later stage by Agree-Copy, a PF operation that can only interpret uF features but not the iF features. Necessarily, Agree-Copy can freely apply before or after linearization of syntactic structures which destroys the non-terminals but not the features on the terminals. When Agree-Copy applies before linearization, it can copy the uF value projected to the top of the $\&P$ in the syntax by the resolution algorithm. This accounts for the agreement with the distant conjuncts in H>L configurations illustrated in (9) and described in (10). On the other hand, when Agree-Copy applies after linearization, the non-terminals are destroyed and the only remaining look-up path is linear which leads to closest conjunct agreement. This accounts for the agreement with the linearly closest conjunct in the same H>L conjunctions described in (10). Finally, we assume that Agree-Copy applies to post-verbal subjects after linearization as we never get distant conjunct agreement with postverbal subjects.

To sum up, we have shown that conjunct agreement in Homshetsi can freely choose between RA and SCA. We have argued that RA is semantic agreement with iFs whereas SCA is the output of a two-step Agree process with uF features. The choice of which type of agreement (RA, SCA-distant, or SCA-closest) will surface depends on whether agreement targets iFs or uFs and whether the transfer of uFs happens before or after linearization.

Some loose ends. First: Where do the options come from? For semantic agreement we can think of two alternatives without any evidence to pick one. Either Homshetsi has two distinct probes one with iF and another with uF and the choice is at numeration or there is a single probe with both iF and uF features both of which are satisfied and the choice of which is exponed is determined at the Vocabulary Insertion Stage probabilistically. Second: If all of this is on the right track, then our original example for SCA in (5) and the L>H configuration ends up being ambiguous between uF valuation from $\&P$ and closest conjunct agreement as they yield the same output for (5). The fact that an intervening internal argument blocks SCA suggests that it is closest conjunct agreement after linearization. However, if Agree-Copy is freely ordered with respect to linearization, it is unclear why (6) is unacceptable. We concede that we do not yet understand the relation between transitives and agreement in Homshetsi to account for this particular fact.

SELECTED REFERENCES. Smith, Peter. 2015. Feature Mismatches: Consequences for Syntax, Morphology and Semantics. PhD Dissertation. – Bhatt, Rajesh and Martin Walkow (2013). Locating Agreement in Grammar: An Argument from Agreement in Conjunctions. *NLLT*. – Marusic, Franc, Andrew Nevins, and William Badecker (2015). The Grammars of Conjunction Agreement in Slovenian. *Syntax*.