

Introduction

Hyperagreement in Alashkert Armenian (AA): same set of agreement/tense features are realized on the participle and the auxiliary, and with identical exponence.

- (1) Yes c'oren **enk^h** k-ab-**enk^h**
I wheat:ACC be:PST.1SG IMPFV-grind-PST.1SG
'I used to grind wheat.' OR 'I was grinding wheat.'

Possible hypotheses:

- (i) **Syntax:** two probes, tentatively at Asp⁰ and T⁰; and each instance of agreement is the realization of these probes.
(ii) **Post-syntax:** only one probe (at T⁰), agreement on the participle is a result of post-syntactic feature lowering.

Proposal

Hyperagreement in AA is a *post-syntactic lowering* of features from the auxiliary to the participle motivated by **morphological concerns**.

1. Eliminating the Syntactic Hypothesis

↪ **Hyperagreement is limited to a prefixal environment:**

- Participles in Armenian are mostly suffixal, and hyperagreement is not observed in these cases. See for example, the perfect aspect in (2).
- (2) Yes c'oren **enk^h** {abc'-[e] / *ab-**enk^h** }
I wheat:ACC be:PST.1SG {grind-PERF / grind-PST.1SG }
'I had ground wheat.'
- AA imperfective is exceptional in encoding aspect prefixally **k-**, (1). Hyperagreement is limited to prefixal environments.

☞ Under the *Syntactic hypothesis*, it is puzzling why hyperagreement is limited only to the prefixal environment.

2. Two Imperfectives

- AA distinguishes between two imperfectives:

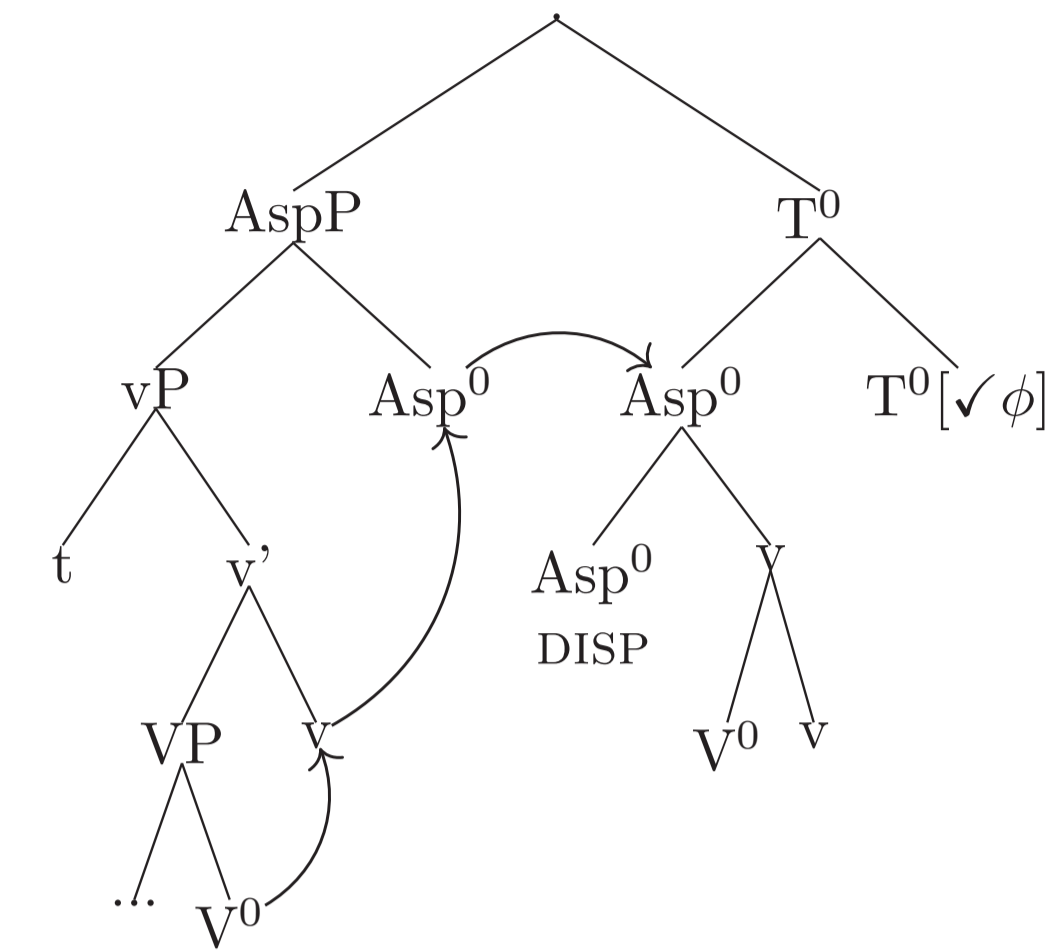
- (i) IMPFV, which expresses on-going and habitual events, and generally appears with an auxiliary, (3).
- (3) Yes c'oren **enk^h** k-ab-**enk^h**
I wheat:ACC be:PST.1SG IMPFV-grind-PST.1SG
'I used to grind wheat.' OR 'I was grinding wheat.' (IMPFV)
- (ii) DISP, which expresses dispositions [generic habitual properties that do not need to be actualized], and appears without an auxiliary, (4).
- (4) Yes c'oren **k-ab-**enk^h****
I wheat:ACC IMPFV-grind-PST.1SG
'I had the disposition of grinding wheat.' (DISP)

- IMPFV and DISP differ in their syntax:

- DISP allows for head movement up to T⁰, i.e., (5).
- IMPFV blocks head movement of the participle to T⁰.
 - The features on T⁰ need a host and the auxiliary is inserted on T⁰, i.e., (6).

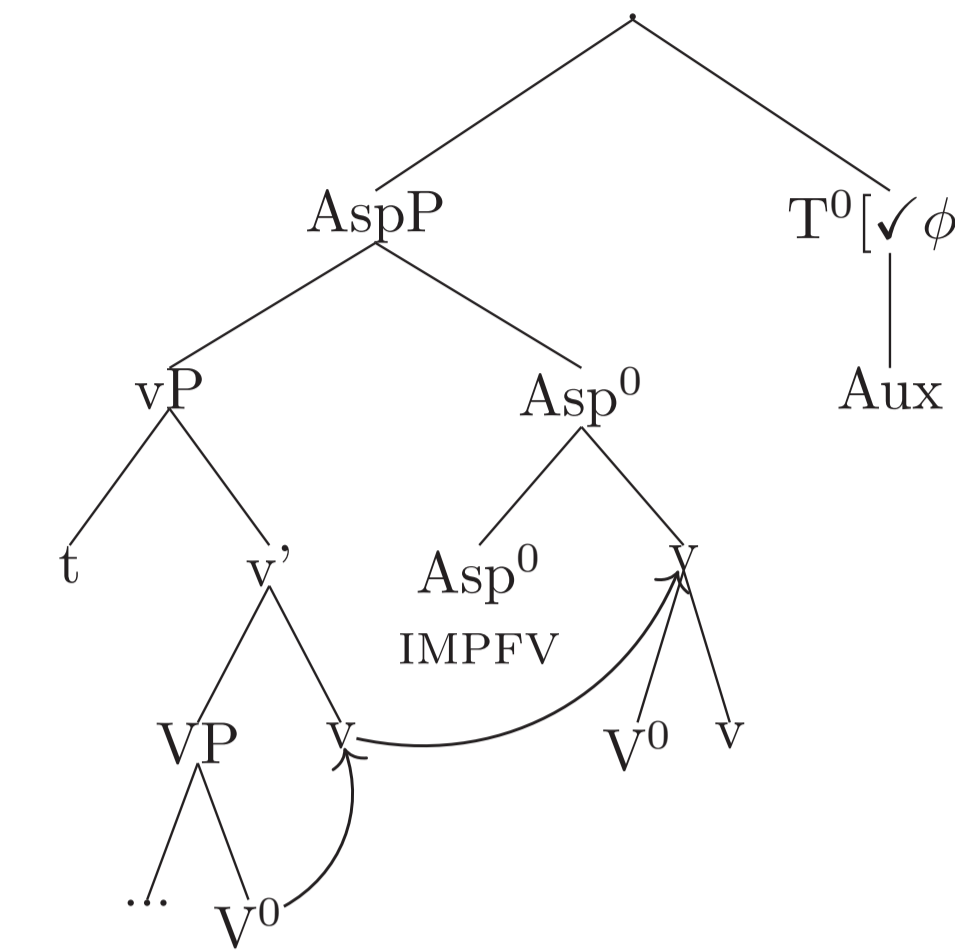
3. Structures for the two Imperfectives

(5) **DISP**



head-movement to T

(6) **IMPFV**



head-movement only up to Asp

- Successive-cyclic head-movt to T in (5) generates the auxiliary-less DISP structure.
- (6), on the other hand, does not produce hyperagreement yet. What (6) delivers is a suffix-less participle. More needs to happen.

4. The Role of the Verbal Morphology

- Roots in Armenian cannot appear on their own, (7) (similar to e.g., Spanish). Instead they always surface in combination with other morphemes, e.g., aspectual/tense-agreement morphemes, which are predominantly suffixal, (8-10).

(7) *ab
√GRIND

(9) abc'-e(r)
√GRIND-PERF

(8) ab-al
√GRIND-INF

(10) ab-**enk^h**
√GRIND-PST.1SG

- In Alashkert, the imperfective is realized as a prefix **k-**.
 - Still, with the imperfective **k-** prefix, the verbal root doesn't compose a complete word, (11), and requires a suffix to make a complete word, i.e., (12).

(11) *k-ab
IMPFV-grind

(12) **k-ab-**enk^h****
IMPFV-grind-PST.1SG

5. Morphological lowering derives hyperagreement

- (6) delivers a suffix-less participle, which is not the structure for (1).
- Note that the auxiliary in (1) does not actually follow the participle.

Auxiliary placement in Armenian: Transitive clauses

- The auxiliary in Armenian is a second position clitic (Bezrukov, 2022; Kahnemuyipour & Megerdumian, 2011,2017), which in transitive structures follows the direct object creating [Subj - DO - Aux - Asp+V] order.

- Auxiliary movement in transitive clauses disrupts the *Asp+V - Aux* order.
- When the syntactic adjacency is disrupted, then *post-syntactic feature lowering* is used as a backup strategy to meet the morphological need of the participle.
- Lowering results in hyperagreement.

6. Evidence for Post-Syntactic Hypothesis

This analysis predicts that in the case of syntactic adjacency, hyperagreement is not possible, and on the surface the difference between (5) and (6) should be neutralized.

- To test this analysis, we turn to *intransitive* clauses.

Auxiliary placement in Armenian: Intransitive clauses

- The auxiliary follows the Asp+V in intransitive clauses, yielding [Subj - Asp+V - Aux] order, e.g., (13), unless an element such as an adverbial precedes the Asp+V, thus hosts the Auxiliary clitic resulting in the default [Subj - Adv+Aux - Asp+V] order, (14).

- (13) Yes vaz-er **enk^h** (14) Yes arag **enk^h**
I run-PERF be:PST.1SG I fast be:PST.1SG
'I had run' vaz-e
run-PERF
'I had run fast'

- Imperfective intransitives:** The distinction between (5) and (6) is *neutralized*, s.t. there is only one surface order for representing both structures, (15).

- (15) Yes k-vaz-**enk^h**
I IMPFV-run-PST.1SG
'I used to run' OR 'I was running' (IMPFV)
(i) Subj - Asp+V - T.Aux

'I had the disposition to run' (DISP)
(ii) Subj - Asp+V+T.Aux

- The neutralization in (15) shows that there is no lowering in (6).
- The default linearization of the auxiliary produces the [Subj - Asp+V - Aux] order, and lowering is not forced and is in fact impossible.
- Therefore, hyperagreement in this configuration leads to ungrammaticality, (16).

(16) *Yes k-vaz-**enk^h** **enk^h**
I IMPFV-run-PST.1SG be:PST.1SG

- Imperfective intransitives with adverbs:** Auxiliary is not adjacent to the Asp+V; therefore, feature lowering takes place resulting in hyperagreement for the IMPFV, (17).

- (17) Yes arag **enk^h** k-vaz-**enk^h**
I fast be:PST.1SG IMPFV-run-PST.1SG
'I used to run/was running fast' (IMPFV)
(18) Yes arag k-vaz-**enk^h**
I fast IMPFV-run-PST.1SG
'I had the disposition of running fast' (DISP)

7. Implications and Prospects

- The DISP reading involves head-movement and therefore its linearization is not affected by the auxiliary-placement concerns, e.g., (18).
- The treatment of the present, in which the lowering results in an invariant form of the auxiliary *a* in hyperagreement environments, (19).

(19) Yes c'oren **a** k-ab-**am**
I wheat:ACC AUX IMPFV-grind-NON-PST.1SG
'I grind/am grinding wheat' (IMPFV)

- Formulation of the lowering operation which involves not just the copying of ϕ -features but also the tense features,
- and the formulation of the 'must-have-a-suffix' requirement.