Hungarian has no Portmanteau Agreement

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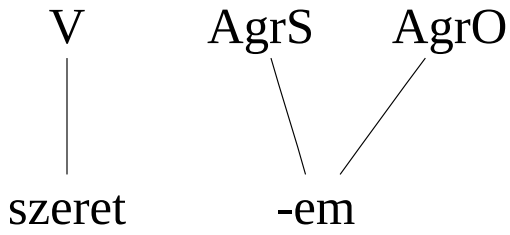
Jochen Trommer
Institute of Cognitive Science
University of Osnabrück
D-49069 Osnabrück

e-mail: jtrommer@uos.de
http://www.ling.uni-osnabrueck.de/~trommer/

Apparent Portmanteau Agreement

		Object	
		[-def]	[+def]
Subject	1sg	szeret-ek egy lányt	szeret-em a lányt
	2sg	szeret-sz egy lányt	szeret-ed a lányt

Alternative Analyses



Overview

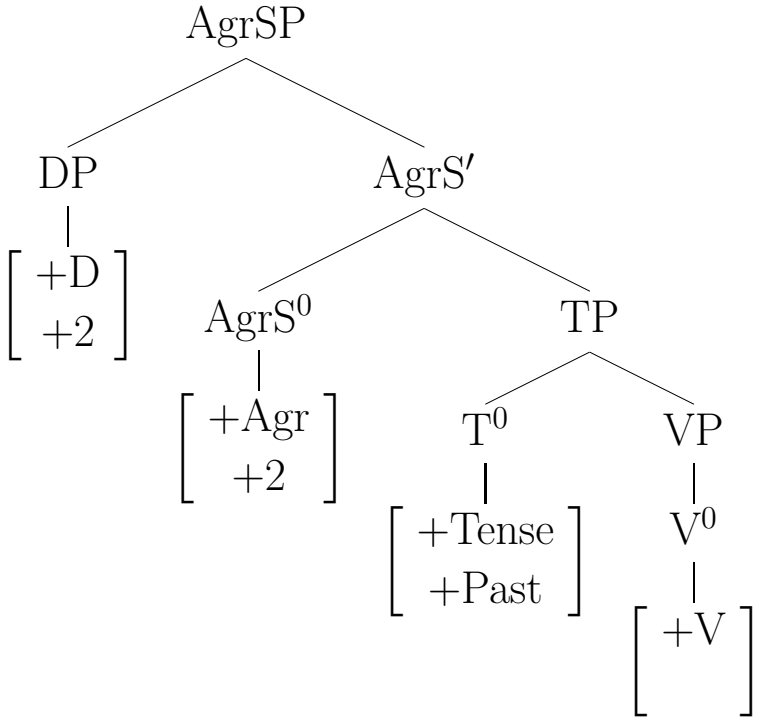
- The Framework: Minimalist Distributed Morphology
- Problems with Hungarian Verb Agreement
- Neutralization as Feature Deletion
- Carstair-McCarthy's Critique of DM

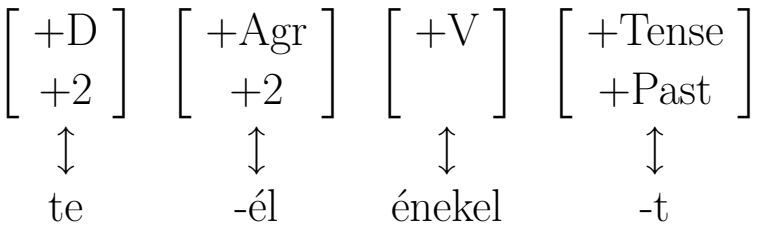
The Framework: Minimalist Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz, 1993; Trommer, 1999)

- Morphology interprets the output of syntax

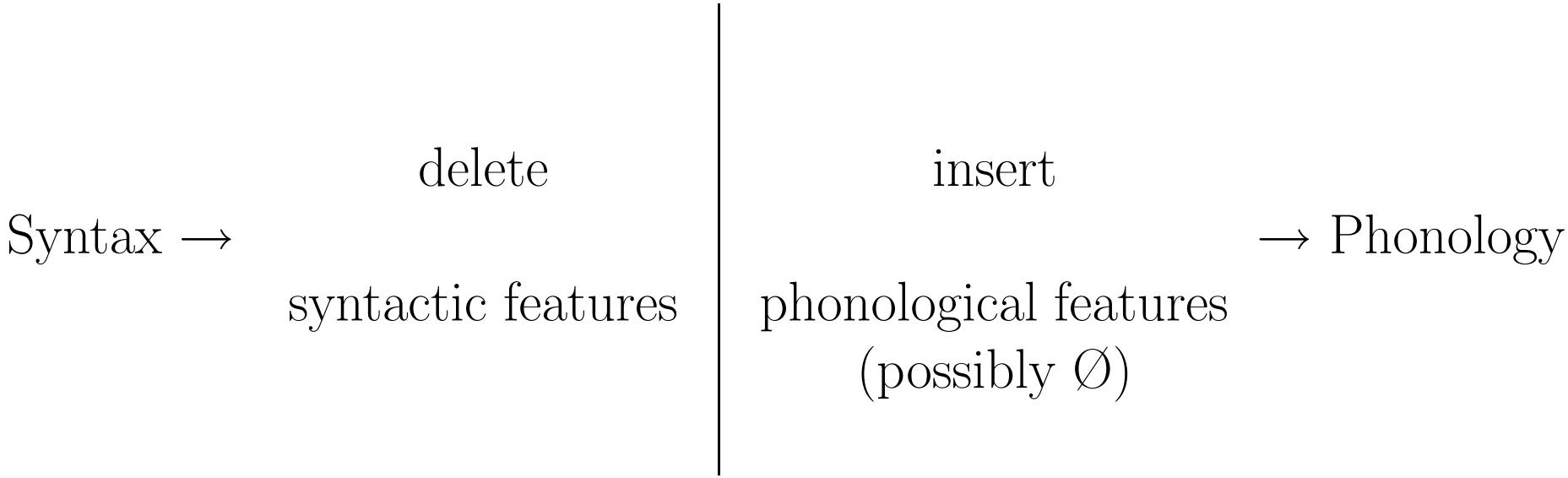
- Only one Morphological Operation: Vocabulary Insertion

The Framework





Vocabulary Items



Data I

	intransitive	indef. object	def. object	possessor
1sg	-ek	-ek	-em	-em
2sg	-sz/-el	-sz/-el	-ed	-ed
3sg	-Ø	-Ø	-i-Ø	-e
1pl	-ün-k	-ün-k	-(j)ü-k	-ün-k
2pl	-te-k	-te-k	-i-te-k	-te-k
3pl	-ne-k	-ne-k	-i-k	-(j)ü-k

Basic Observations

- indefinite object forms syncretize with intransitive forms
- definite object forms syncretize with nominal possessor (and postpositional agreeing) forms
- some definite object agreement markers are complex (-i-AGR)

Problem 1: Portmanteau Agreement

/-em/ $\leftrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+Nom} \\ \text{+1} \\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR}$ $\rightarrow$ doesn't account for the contrast to /-k/

/-em/ $\leftrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+Acc} \\ \text{+3} \\ \text{+def} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR}$ $\rightarrow$ doesn't account for the contrast with 2sg /-d/

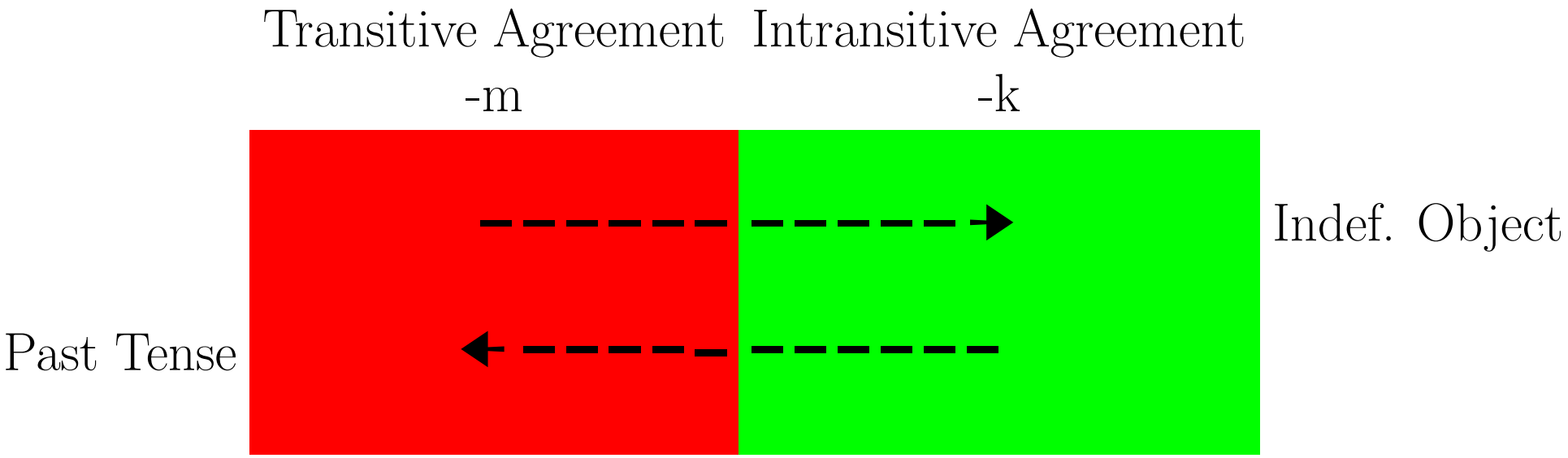
/-em/ $\leftrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+Nom} \\ \text{+1} \\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} / \_\_ \begin{bmatrix} \text{+Acc} \\ \text{+3} \\ \text{+def} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR}$ $\rightarrow$ incompatible with appearance in possessors

/-em/ $\leftrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+Nom} \\ \text{+1} \\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \begin{bmatrix} \text{+Acc} \\ \text{+3} \\ \text{+def} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR}$ $\rightarrow$ not possible by assumption

Data II

	intr. pres.	intr. pres. ik	intr. past	def. obj. past	def. obj. pres.
1sg	-ek	-em	-em	-em	-em
2sg	-sz/-el	-el	-e-el	-ed	-ed
3sg	-Ø	-ik	Ø	-e-Ø	-i-Ø
1pl	-ün-k	-ün-k	-ün-k	-(j)ü-k	-(j)ü-k
2pl	-te-k	-te-k	-e-te-k	-e-e-te-k	-i-te-k
3pl	-ne-k	-ne-k	-e-k	-e-e-k	-i-k

Problem 2: Double Neutralization



K = M -X

M = K -Z

→ **Contradiction**

Problem 3: Definiteness Agreement

- Crosslinguistically verbs don't agree with objects in definiteness, but tend to lack agreement with indefinite objects (Croft, 1988)

- The same in other Uralic Languages (Mordva, Nenets etc.):
  Definite agreement = number agreement with definite objects
  + non-agreement with indefinite ones.
  (Abondolo, 1998)

Indefinite Non-Agreement as Feature Deletion

- Definiteness is not an Agreement Feature.
- Universal Rule R: $\left[\begin{array}{c}+\text{AGR} \\ \dots\end{array}\right]_i \leftrightarrow \emptyset / \_\_ \left[\begin{array}{c}\text{-def} \\ +\text{Acc}\end{array}\right]_i$

  "If a chain contains an indefinite direct object
  then delete all corresponding agreement features."
- In a given language, R may or may not be active.
- more restrictive than account in terms of definiteness agreement, which predicts agreement with all features of indefinite objects.

Nominal Possessor Forms might be transitive

(1) *KUHU KEJ TU?* *(kuhugəitʲü)*
skin du 3sg
"his two skins"

(2) *KODA?A KEJ TU?* *(koδa?akəitʲü)*
kill du 3sg
"he kills two" (Nganasan;Helimski, 1998:498/504)

But *-m* occurs with ...

- intransitive *-ik* verbs
- intransitive past tense verbs

Definite Object Agreement as Feature Deletion

- Verbs are represented as $\sqrt{}$ + [+v] (Root + little v)
- specifically verbal affixes are context-restricted to [+v], other affixes are unrestricted
- in definite forms (with 3rd person object agreement), [+v] is deleted

$$\begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ -pl \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \leftrightarrow \text{/-k/} \; / \; \_\_ \; [+v] \qquad [+v] \leftrightarrow \emptyset / \begin{bmatrix} +Acc \\ +3 \end{bmatrix}_{AGR}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ -pl \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \leftrightarrow \text{/-m/}$$

Derivation of Definite Object Form

$$\surd \quad [+\text{v}] \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Nom} \\ +1\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Acc} \\ +3 \end{bmatrix}_{AGR}$$

$$\surd \quad \emptyset \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Nom} \\ +1\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Acc} \\ +3 \end{bmatrix}_{AGR}$$

$$\surd \quad \emptyset \quad \emptyset \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Acc} \\ +3 \end{bmatrix}_{AGR}$$

$$\updownarrow$$

/-m/

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{AGR} \\ \dots \end{bmatrix}_i \leftrightarrow \emptyset \quad /\_\_ \begin{bmatrix} \text{-def} \\ +\text{Acc} \end{bmatrix}_i$$

$$[+\text{v}] \leftrightarrow \emptyset \quad / \_\_ \begin{bmatrix} +3 \\ +\text{Acc} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \leftrightarrow \text{/-k/} \quad / \_\_ [+\text{v}]$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \leftrightarrow \text{/-m/}$$

Derivation of Indefinite Object Form

$$\surd \quad [+\text{v}] \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Nom} \\ +1\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Acc} \\ +3 \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{AGR} \\ \dots \end{bmatrix}_i \leftrightarrow \emptyset \quad /\_\_\begin{bmatrix} \text{-def} \\ +\text{Acc} \end{bmatrix}_i$$

$$\surd \quad [+\text{v}] \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Nom} \\ +1\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \quad \emptyset \qquad [+\text{v}] \leftrightarrow \emptyset \quad / \_\_\begin{bmatrix} +3 \\ +\text{Acc} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Agr} \\ +1 \end{bmatrix} \leftrightarrow /\text{-k}/ \quad / \_\_[+\text{v}]$$

$$\surd \quad [+\text{v}] \quad \emptyset \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Acc} \\ +3 \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \leftrightarrow /\text{-m}/$$

$$\updownarrow$$

/-k/

Neutralization for *-ik* verbs and [+past] forms

$$[+\text{v}] \leftrightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \_\_ \quad [+\text{past}]$$

$$[+\text{v}] \leftrightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} +1 \\ \text{-pl} \end{bmatrix}_{AGR} \_\_ \; \text{esz, isz, } \ldots$$

Further Evidence for Non-Portmanteau Agreement

Subject	szeret-nee-l V-cond-2sg	kert-e N-3sg
Subject	szeret-ek V-1sg	eerte-tte-tek V-Past-2pl
Object + Subject	szeret-l-ek V-2sg-1sg	eerte-tte-e-tek V-Past-3sg-2pl

$\Rightarrow$ V AgrO AgrS is also the standard order in other Uralic languages

Carstair-McCarthy's (1998a; 1998b) Analysis

- Inflectional affixes can have disjunct meanings but disjuncts must be compatible with each other
- Inflectional affixes should not have meanings containing negations or unmarked feature values

possible	**impossible**
-m [1 (definite OR past)]	-m [1 (past OR conditional)]
-k [1]	-k [1]
	-k [1 present]

But this account ...

- is emprically inadequate (-*m* in possessor/adpositional agreement)
- is of the wrong type: affix choice is driven by context restrictions (presence of -*ik* verbs)
- Affixes **are** often restricted to unmarked contexts (2sg -*sz*)

How to restrict Neutralization

- Formal Restrictiveness of DM-account allows "double neutralization" only in rich feature contexts
- Morphology is already substantially restricted by syntax
- Impoverishment (1sg -*m*) is restricted to marked categories, contexts of visible VIs are not (2sg -*sz*)

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