Reprojection as a repair: A case of minimal look-ahead or a well-informed repair

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Myopia in Grammar

April 5, 2024

Discontinuous agreement

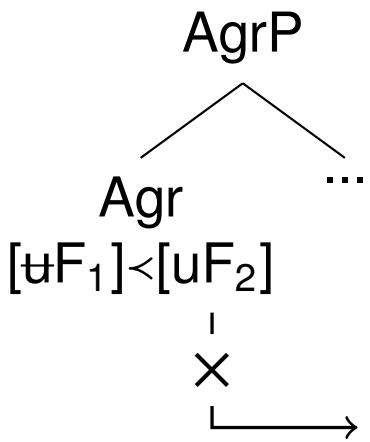
- instance of extended exponence (Matthews, 1972)
- multiple exponents spelling out one syntactic terminal node (the head which carries out Agree)
  (Noyer 1992; Halle 1997; Trommer 1999; Harbour 2008, 2023; Campbell 2012; Hewett 2023a,b among others)
- overexponence of agreement
- challenge: *one* underlying syntactic head – *two* exponents

(1) Modern Hebrew (Hewett, 2023a, 1098)

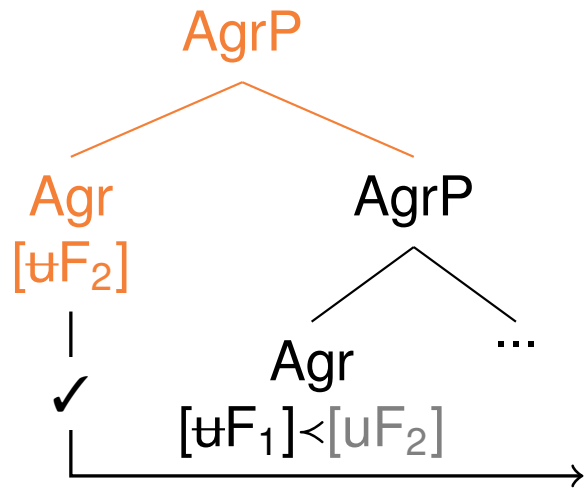
a. ti-xtev-u
2-write-pl
'You (pl.) will write'

A reprojection-based account

(2) 1st cycle of Agree, unsaturated probe



(3) Reprojection, 2nd cycle of Agree



– discontinuous agreement = result of *reprojection as a repair*

Today's talk

Minimal look-ahead

- reprojection as many repairs may include minimal look-ahead (for repairs in general see Heck 2021)

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3 ways to remove *minimal* look-ahead
within the reprojection-based account of discontinuous agreement

1. The size of a derivational step
2. The domain size in an optimization procedure
3. Availability of information in the structure

Roadmap

1. A Reprojection-based account of discontinuous agreement
   - Previous approaches
   - Ingredients for a reprojection-based analysis
   - Sample derivations
   - Didinga
2. Ways to remove minimal look-ahead
   - Size of a derivational step
   - Optimization procedure
   - A special type of repair
3. Conclusion

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- Fission (e.g. Halle 1997; Hewett 2023a,b; Kramer 2023)

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Goal: Explore a novel (syntactic) account

- ✓ No construction-specific operation
- ✓ Timing
- ✓ Single syntactic head
- ☞ Reprojection-based account

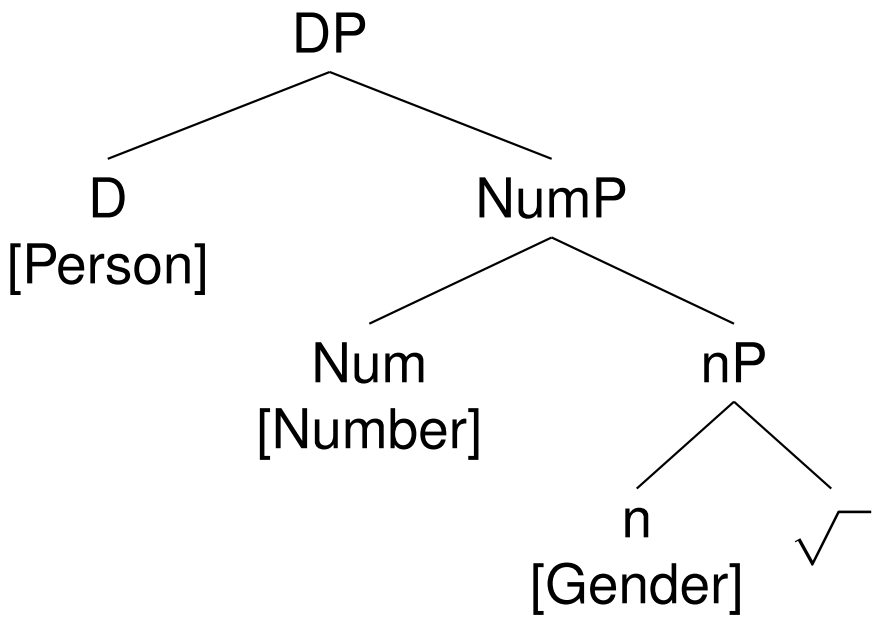
Ingredients I

φ-features on the goal

– In the DP, person features are located on D, number features on Num and gender on n (e.g. Ritter 1991; Danon 2011; Kramer 2016).

⇒ [Person] is located higher than [Number] on the goal
⇒ [Number] is located higher than [Gender] on the goal

(4)

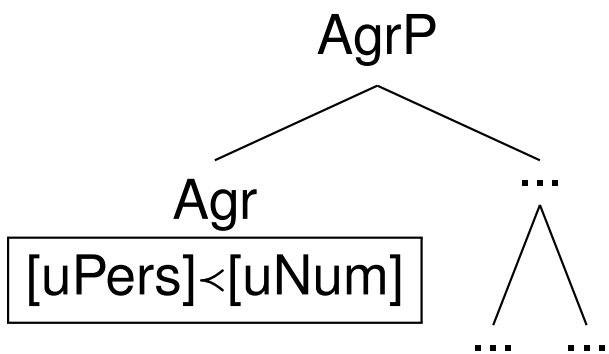


Ingredients II

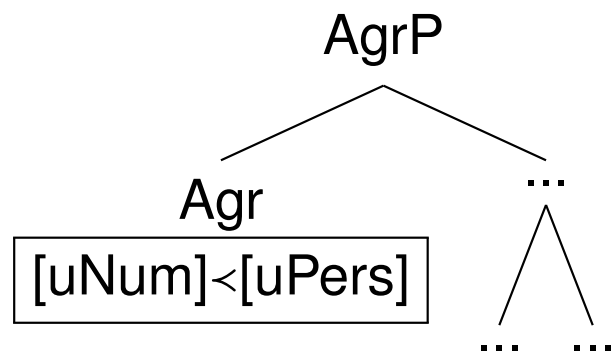
Ordered probes

- φ-features do not probe in a single bundle but separately (see e.g. Béjar 2003).
- Probes of a head are ordered and operations triggered by these features apply sequentially (see e.g. Koizumi 1994; Chomsky 1995 for ordered features).
- The order of probes is language-specific (see e.g. Georgi 2014 for the order of Merge and Move features).

(5) Language A



(6) Language B



Ingredients III

The interaction of multiple probes on the same head

(7) **Nested Agree** (Amato, 2023, 24)

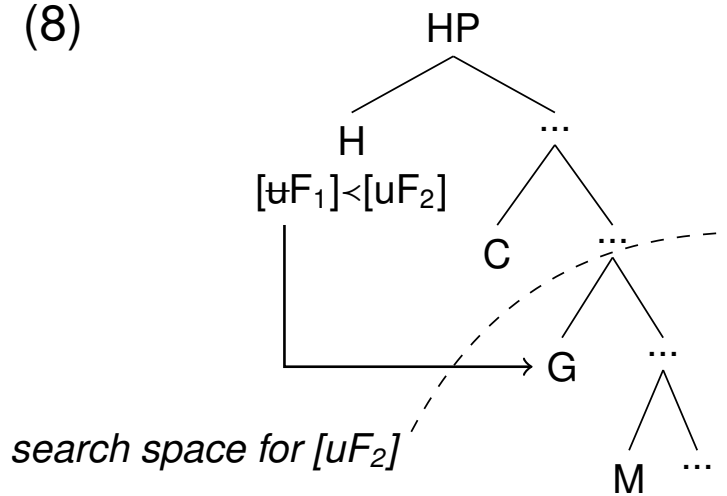
Let F_1 and F_2 be two ordered probes on the same head H. The search space of F_1 is the c-command domain of H.

a. **Maximize:** if the Agree operation A_1 for the feature F_1 has targeted the goal G, then the subsequent Agree operation A_2 for the feature F_2 must also target G.

b. **No-backtracking:** If G is not a matching goal for F_2, the search space of F_2 is the c-command domain of G (not of H)

☞ i.e. the search space of a probe starts at the point where the previous probe on the same head has carried out Agree.

(8)



Ingredients IV

Reprojection as a repair

- If Agree cannot be carried out, the respective probe undergoes reprojection as a repair mechanism and induces a new cycle of Agree.

  cf. similar mechanisms

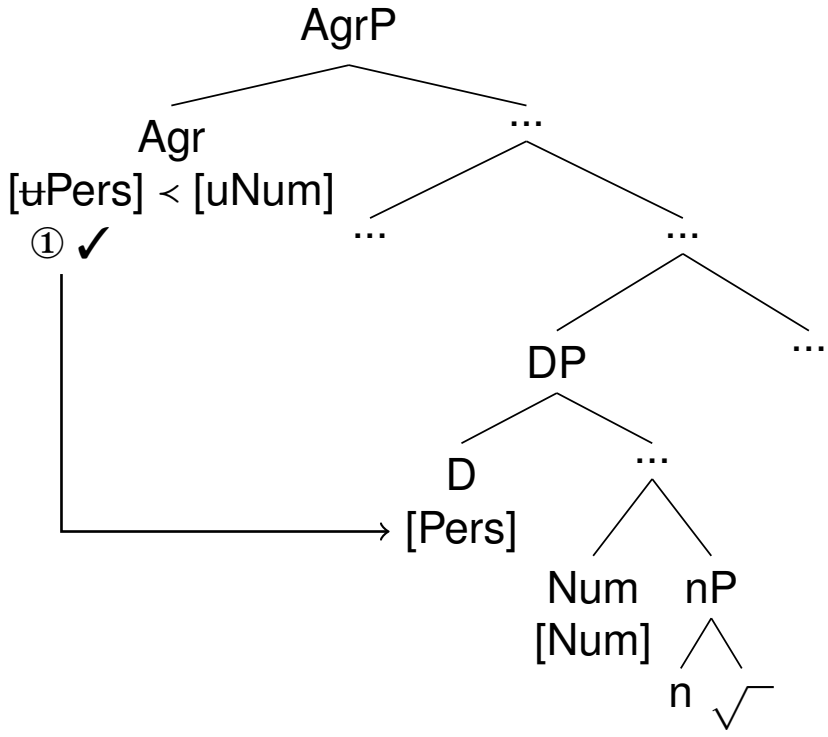
  - *with Münchhausen-style features* e.g. in Fanselow (2004); Georgi & Müller (2010); Börjesson & Müller (2020)
  - *the Head Splitting mechanism* in Martinović (2022)

One agreement exponent

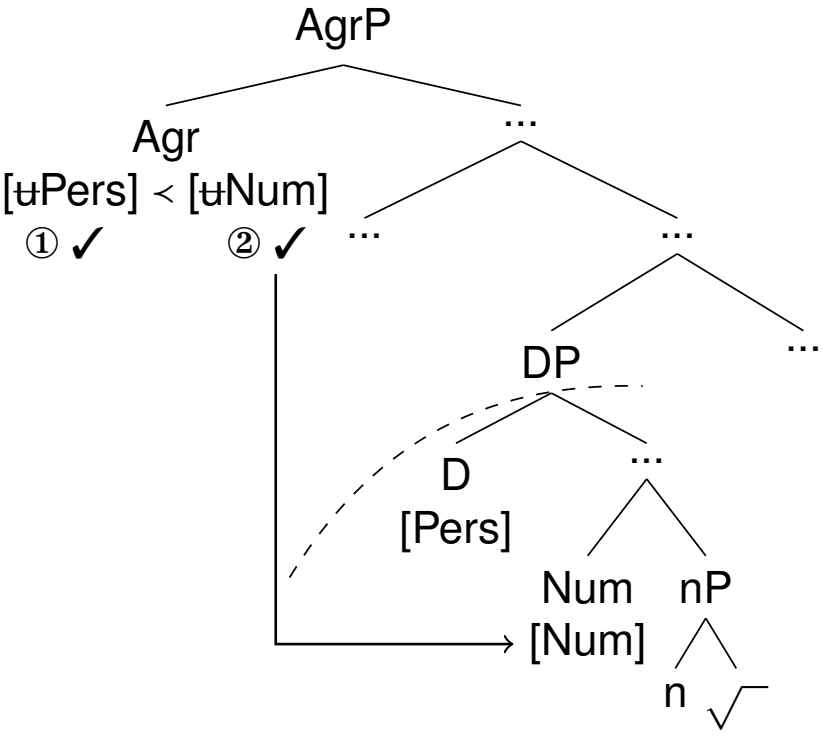
Order of the probes on Agr: [uPers] ≺ [uNum]

→ all φ-features will be gathered on a single Agr node

(9) 1st cycle of Agree, step 1



(10) 1st cycle of Agree, step 2

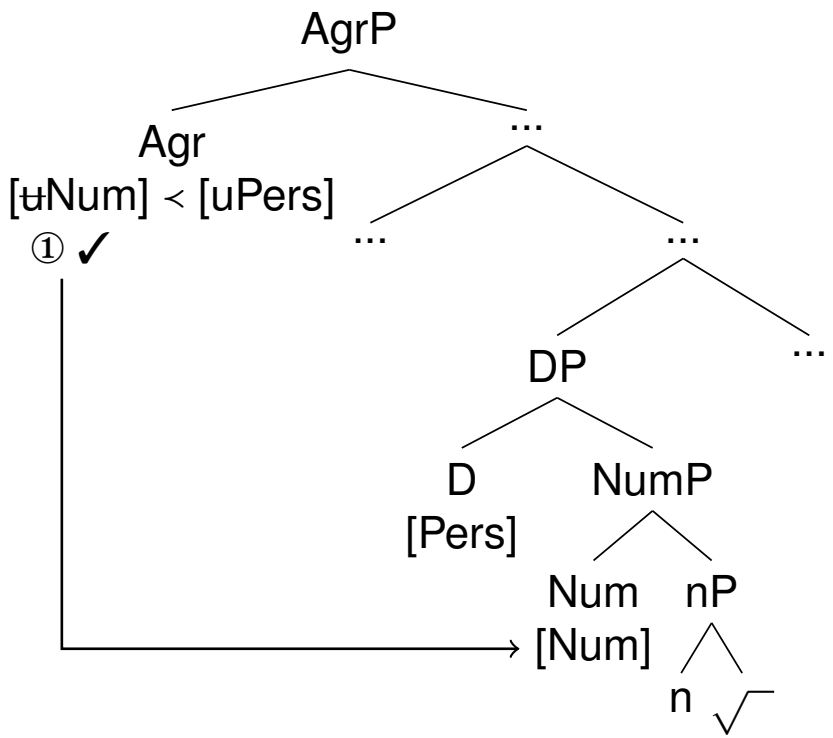


Two agreement exponents I

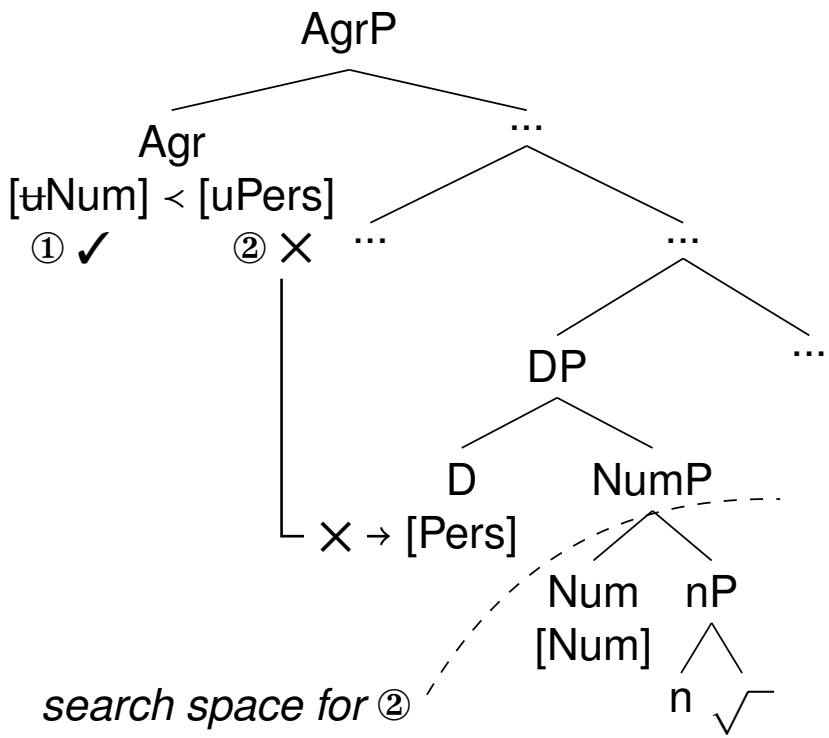
Order of the probes on Agr: [uNum] ≺ [uPers]

→ the φ-features will be distributed across two Agr nodes

(11) 1st cycle of Agree, step 1

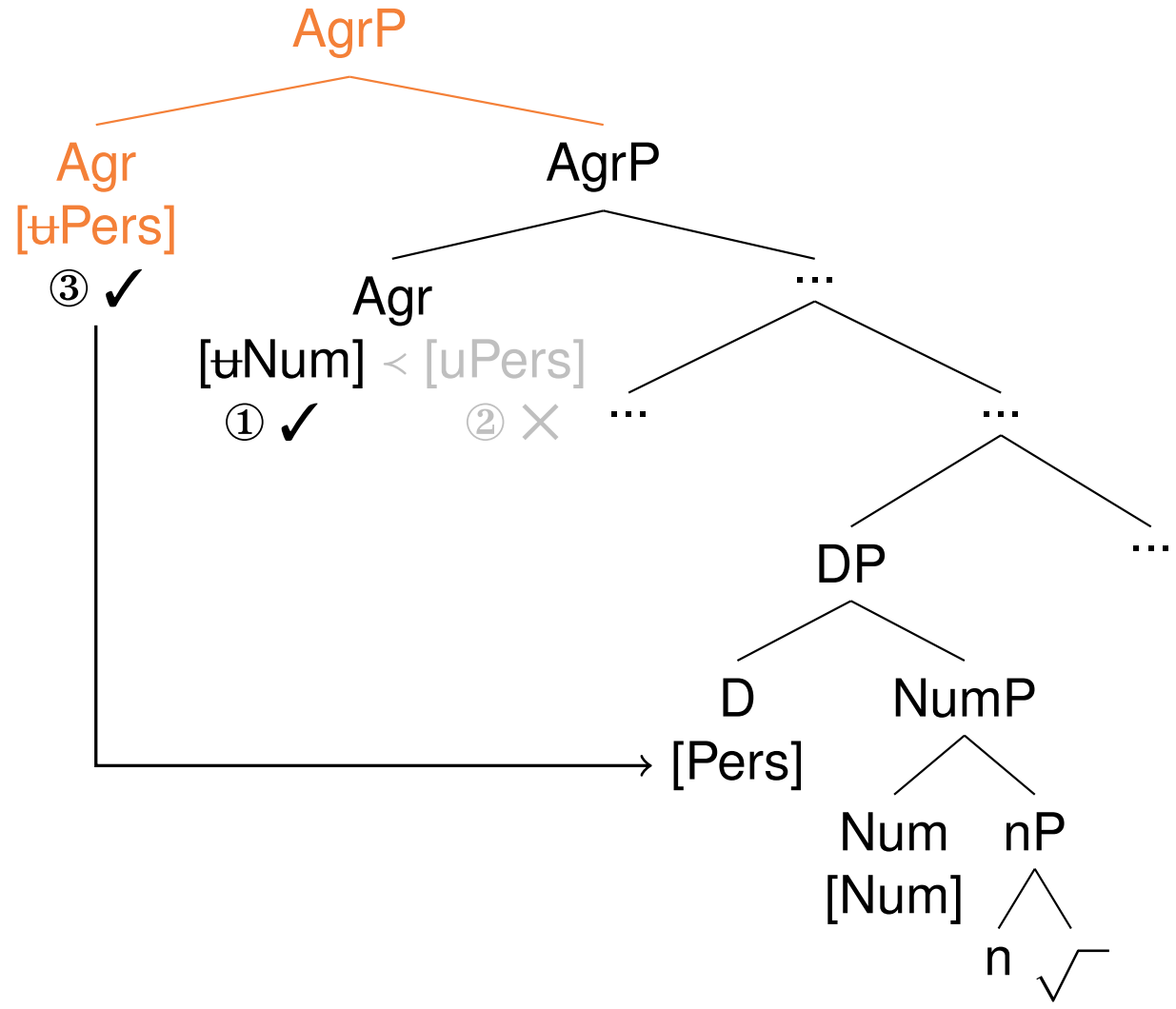


(12) 1st cycle of Agree, step 2



Two agreement exponents II

(13) Reprojection, 2nd cycle of Agree



Overview

Two possible situations:

- The order of probes *matches* the order of the features on the goal.
  - → [uPers] ≺ [uNum]
  - → one terminal node = one exponent

- The order of probes *does not match* the order of the features on the goal.
  - → [uNum] ≺ [uPers]
  - → reprojection, two terminal nodes = two exponents, i.e. discontinuous agreement

Discontinuous agreement in Didinga I

Didinga (Surmic/South Sudan)

(14) a. h-à-ìrìt-í
1-ASP-cough-1SG
'I am coughing'

b. h-à-ìrìt-tá
1-ASP-cough-1PL.EXCL
'We (excl.) are coughing'

c. h-à-írìt-ì
1-ASP-cough-1PL.INCL
'We (incl.) are coughing'

Discontinuous agreement in Didinga II

(Surmic/South Sudan)

(15) Didinga subject agreement, intransitive verbs, incompletive

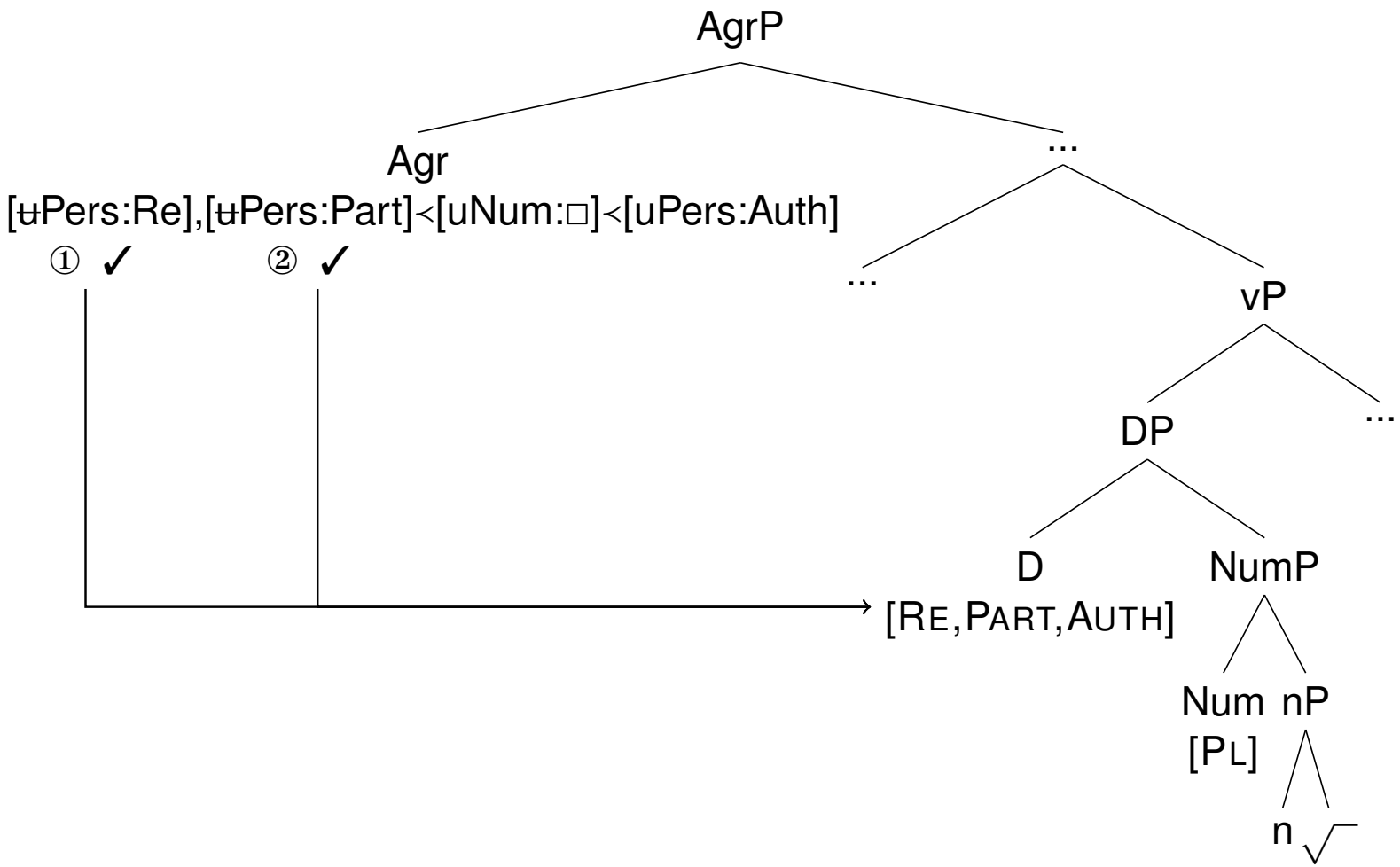
	Singular			Plural	
1	h-	-i	(excl.)	h-	-Ca
			(incl.)	h-	-ɪ
2		-i			-Cu
3		-ɪ			-ɪ

(16) Order of probes on Agr (Didinga):
[uPers: Re], [uPers: Part] ≺ [uNum: □] ≺ [uPers: Auth]

Discontinuous agreement (1st person) I

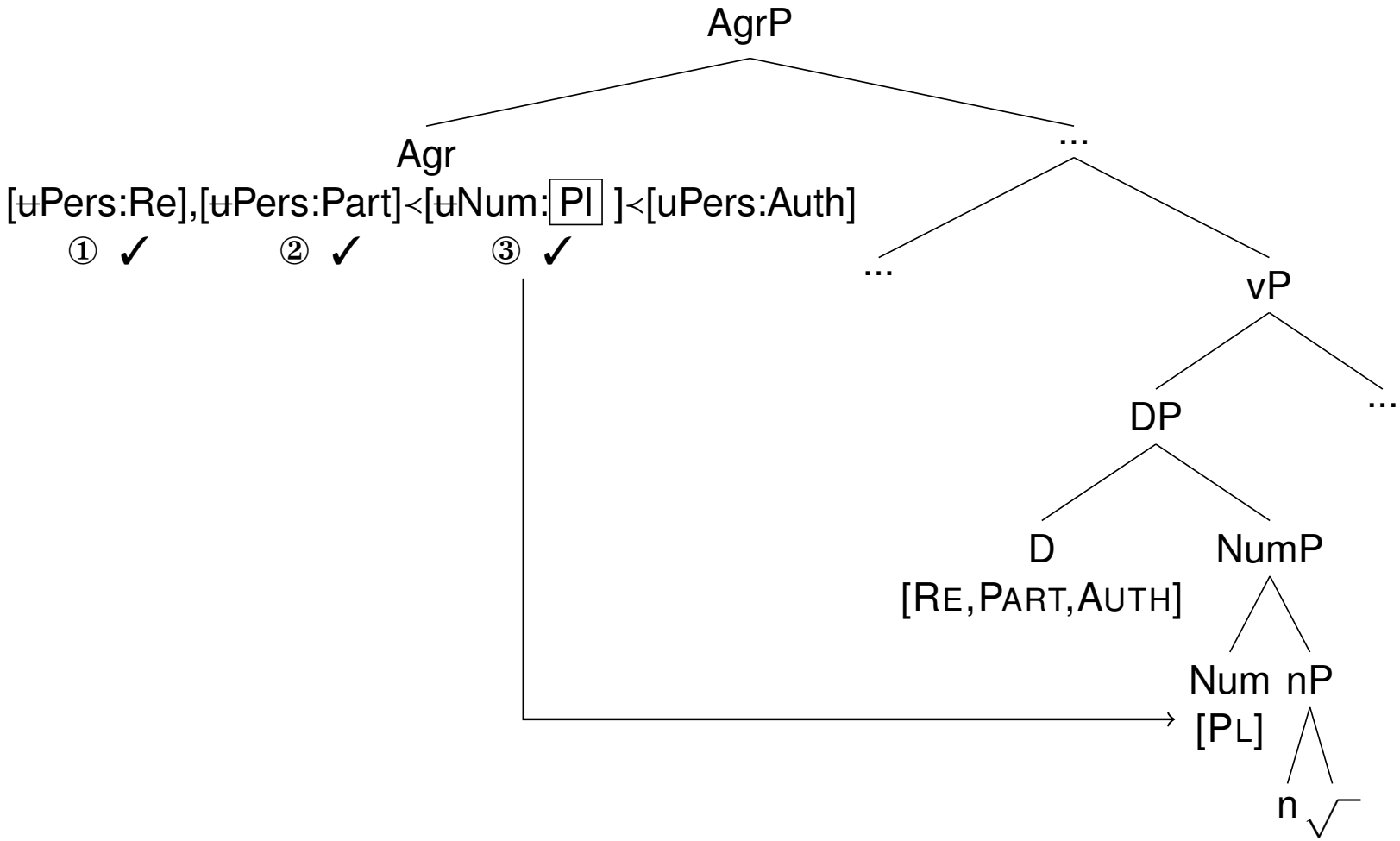
Example derivation for 1PL.EXCL in (17) - (20)

(17) 1st cycle of Agree, step 1 - 2



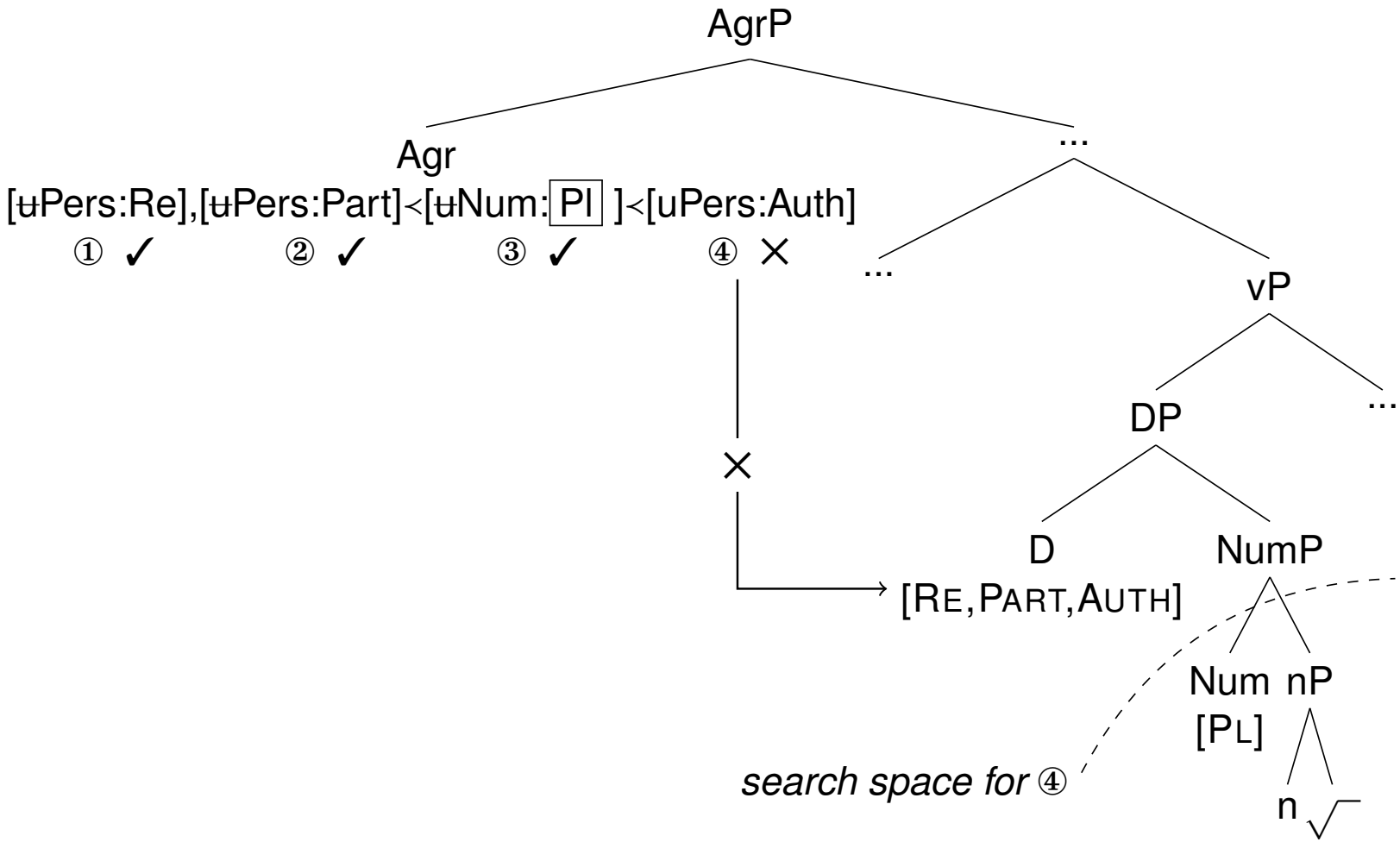
Discontinuous agreement (1st person) II

(18) 1st cycle of Agree, step 3



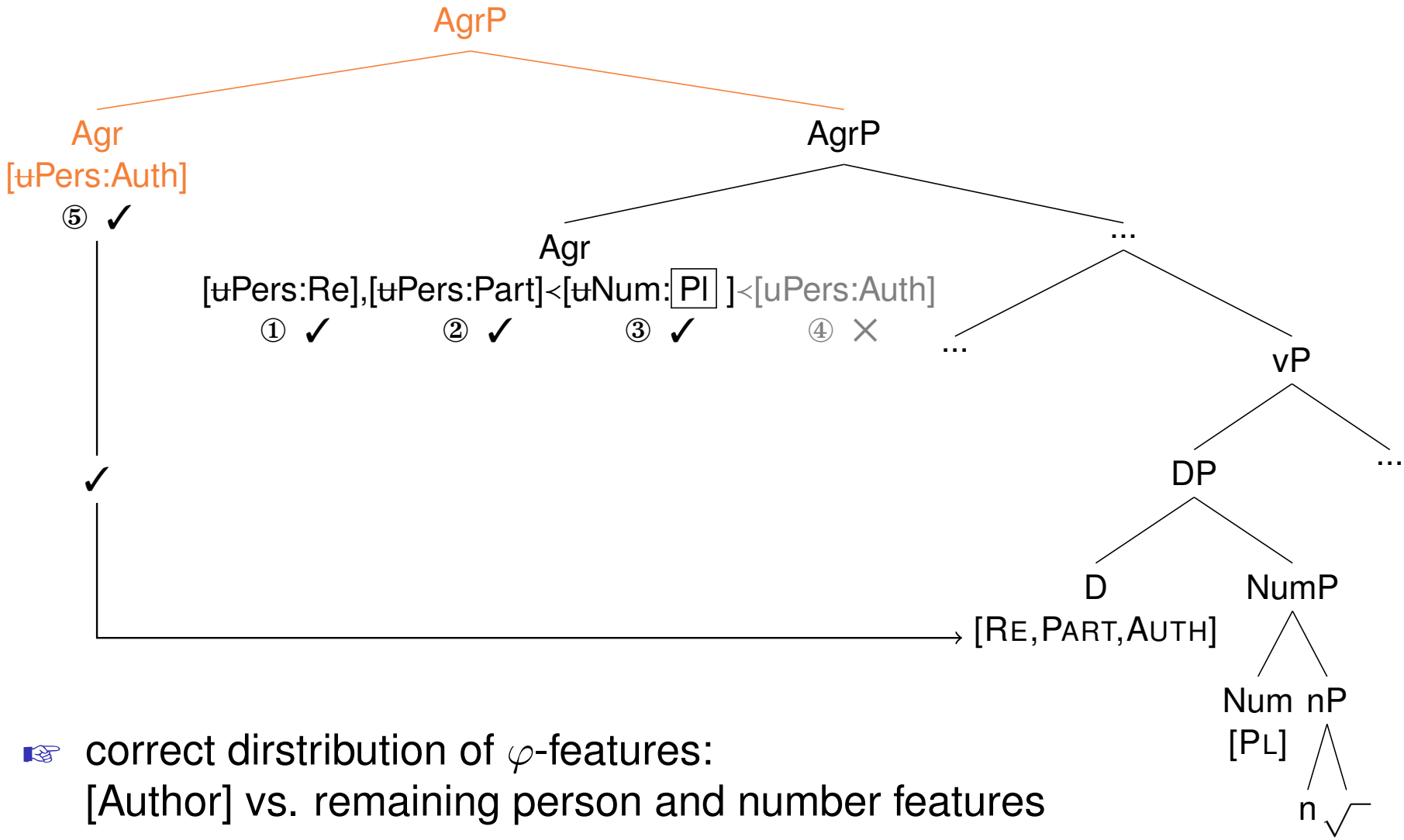
Discontinuous agreement (1st person) III

(19) 1st cycle of Agree, step 4



Discontinuous agreement (1st person) IV

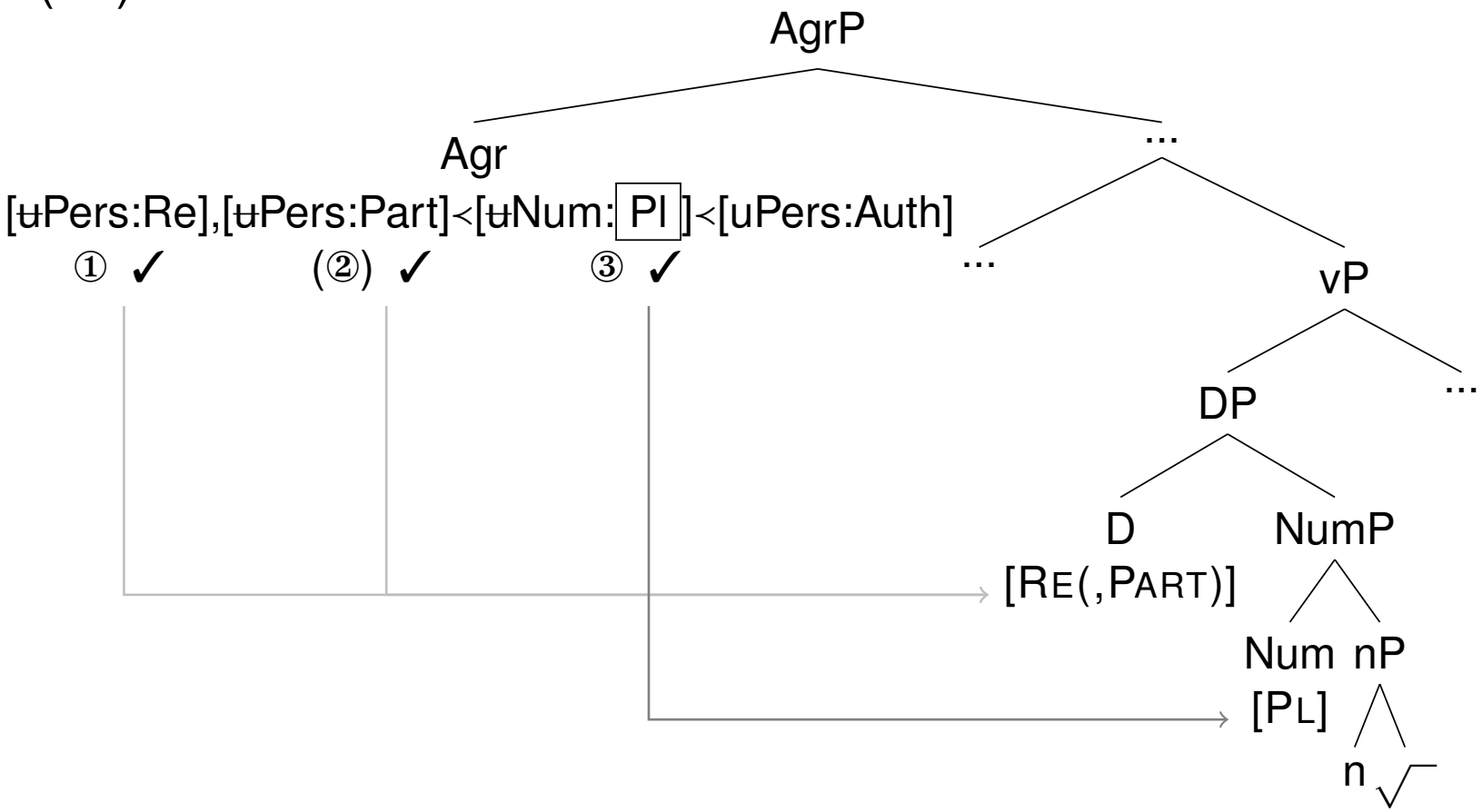
(20) Reprojection, 2nd cycle of Agree



☞ correct dirstribution of φ-features:
[Author] vs. remaining person and number features

Only one agreement exponent 3rd (+ 2nd) person

(21)



- all necessary person probes agree before [uNum:□] targets Num
- the probes match the order on the goal

⇒ all φ-features end up on a single terminal node (= one exponent)

Reprojection as a repair

What blocks reprojection (of [uPers:Auth]) in the 2nd+3rd person?

- Movement should be feature-driven and reprojection is not feature-driven. Thus, reprojection comes with a cost.
- The cost is not worth it in the 2nd+3rd person
  - no [Auth] present → reprojection wouldn't change anything
- The cost is worth it in the 1st person
  - [Auth] present → reprojection allows full Agreement

- Seems like the derivation needs to now the immediate next step (successful Agree or not) in order to know whether reprojection will be worth it.
- *minimal* look-ahead (cf. e.g. Georgi & Müller 2010, 16)

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3. Conclusion

① What is a derivational step

Georgi & Müller (2010, 16, footnote 19)

- every structure building operation comprises two pieces:
  - feature checking
  - the structure-building operation
- same with reprojection (and Münchhausen features)
- in the account here: reprojection + subsequent Agree operation = one derivational step

⇒ avoids minimal look-ahead

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Drawback: variability in the size of a derivational step

- Agree may be a derivational step on its own
- and a derivational step together with reprojection

② Domain size in an optimization procedure

- optimization procedure (Prince & Smolensky, 2004)
- which applies in a cyclic fashion
  (in syntax see e.g. Heck & Müller 2000, 2007; Murphy 2017)
- domain size:
  - slightly bigger than just one derivational step
  - cyclic XP (Heck & Müller, 2000)

Constraints

(22) LAST RESORT (LR) (Chomsky, 1995)
Assign a violation * for movement without prior feature-deletion.

(23) AGREE CONDITION (AC) (Heck & Müller, 2007; Chomsky, 2001)
Assign a violation * for every probe ([uF]) that does not participate in Agree.

(24) NESTED AGREE (NA) (Amato, 2023)
Assign a violation * for every Agree operation of a head H1 that has already an established Agree link AL1 to a goal G1 in the input

a. that does not agree with G1 as well
b. or that does not agree with a goal in the c-command domain of G1.

(25) ORDERED FEATURES (OF) (e.g. Koizumi 1994; Chomsky 1995)
Assign a violation * for an operation triggered by a feature that is not the first active feature on a head in the input.

(26) Constraint ranking:
OF $\gg$ NA $\gg$ AC $\gg$ LR

[uNum] agrees with Num

Probes on Agr in the Input: [ʉPers: Re], [ʉPers: Part] ≺ [uNum: □] ≺ [uPers: Auth]

I: $[_{AgrP}\ Agr_{...[uNum:\ ]<[uPers:Auth]}\ [\ \ldots[_{vP}\ [_{DP}\ D_{[...,Auth]}\ [_{NumP}\ Num\ [_{nP}\ n+\sqrt{}\ ]]]]\ ...\ ]]$	OF	NA	AC	LR
O_1: No change $[_{AgrP}\ Agr_{...[uNum:\ ]<[uPers:Auth]}\ [\ \ldots[_{vP}\ [_{DP}\ D_{[...,Auth]}\ [_{NumP}\ Num\ [_{nP}\ n+\sqrt{}\ ]]]]\ ...\ ]]$			**!	
☞ O_2: [ʉNum:Pl] agreed with Num $[_{AgrP}\ Agr_{...[ʉNum:Pl]<[uPers:Auth]}\ [\ \ldots[_{vP}\ [_{DP}\ D_{[...,Auth]}\ [_{NumP}\ Num\ [_{nP}\ n+\sqrt{}\ ]]]]\ ...\ ]]$			*	
O_3: [ʉPers:Auth] agreed with D $[_{AgrP}\ Agr_{...[uNum:\ ]<[ʉPers:Auth]}\ [\ \ldots[_{vP}\ [_{DP}\ D_{[...,Auth]}\ [_{NumP}\ Num\ [_{nP}\ n+\sqrt{}\ ]]]]\ ...\ ]]$	*!		*	
O_4: [ʉNum:Pl] agreed with Num & [ʉPers:Auth] with D $[_{AgrP}\ Agr_{...[ʉNum:Pl]<[ʉPers:Auth]}\ [\ \ldots[_{vP}\ [_{DP}\ D_{[...,Auth]}\ [_{NumP}\ Num\ [_{nP}\ n+\sqrt{}\ ]]]]\ ...\ ]]$	*!			

1st Person: Discontinuous Agreement

Probes on Agr in the Input: [~~u~~Pers: Re], [~~u~~Pers: Part] ≺ [~~u~~Num: Pl] ≺ [uPers: Auth]

I: $[_{AgrP}\ Agr_{...[\text{~~u~~Num:Pl}]<[uPers:Auth]}\ [\ \ldots [_{vP}\ [_{DP}\ D_{[...,Auth]}\ [_{NumP}\ Num\ [_{nP}\ n+\sqrt{}\ ]]]]\ ...\ ]]$	OF	NA	AC	LR
O_{21}: No change $[_{AgrP}\ Agr_{...[\text{~~u~~Num:Pl}]<[uPers:Auth]}\ [\ \ldots [_{vP}\ [_{DP}\ D_{[...,Auth]}\ [_{NumP}\ Num\ [_{nP}\ n+\sqrt{}\ ]]]]\ ...\ ]]$			*!	
O_{22}: [~~u~~Pers:Auth] agreed with D $[_{AgrP}\ Agr_{...[\text{~~u~~Num:Pl}]<[\text{~~u~~Pers:Auth}]}\ [\ \ldots [_{vP}\ [_{DP}\ D_{[...,Auth]}\ [_{NumP}\ Num\ [_{nP}\ n+\sqrt{}\ ]]]]\ ...\ ]]$		*!		
☞ O_{23}: Reprojection & [~~u~~Pers:Auth] agreed with D $[_{AgrP}\ Agr_{[\text{~~u~~Pers:Auth}]}\ [_{AgrP}\ Agr_{...[\text{~~u~~Num:Pl}]}\ [\ \ldots [_{vP}\ [_{DP}\ D_{[...,Auth]}\ [_{NumP}\ Num\ [_{nP}\ n+\sqrt{}\ ]]]]\ ...\ ]]]$				*

2nd Person: No Discontinuous Agreement

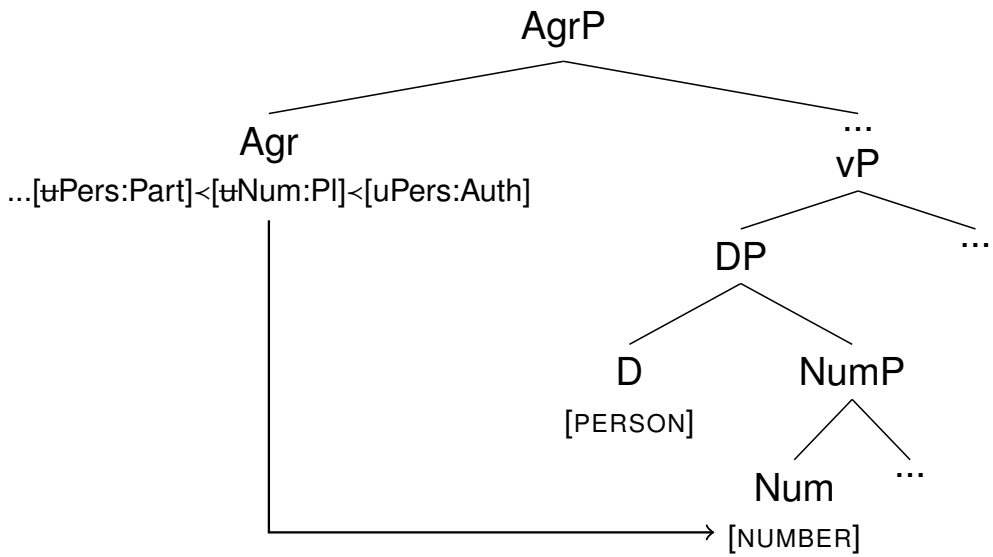
Probes on Agr in the Input: [~~u~~Pers: Re], [~~u~~Pers: Part] $\prec$ [~~u~~Num: Pl] $\prec$ [uPers: Auth]

I: $[_{AgrP}$ Agr$_{...[\text{~~u~~Num:Pl}]\prec[\text{uPers:Auth}]}$ $[\ldots[_{vP}$ $[_{DP}$ D$_{\textbf{[Re,Part]}}$ $[_{NumP}$ Num $[_{nP}$ n+$\sqrt{}$ $]]]]$ ... $]]$	OF	NA	AC	LR
☞ O_{21}: No change $[_{AgrP}$ Agr$_{...[\text{~~u~~Num:Pl}]\prec[\text{uPers:Auth}]}$ $[\ldots[_{vP}$ $[_{DP}$ D$_{[\text{Re,Part}]}$ $[_{NumP}$ Num $[_{nP}$ n+$\sqrt{}$ $]]]]$ ... $]]$			*	
O_{22}: Reprojection $[_{AgrP}$ Agr$_{[\text{uPers:Auth}]}$ $[_{AgrP}$ Agr$_{...[\text{~~u~~Num:Pl}]}$ $[\ldots[_{vP}$ $[_{DP}$ D$_{[\text{Re,Part}]}$ $[_{NumP}$ Num $[_{nP}$ n+$\sqrt{}$ $]]]]$ ... $]]]$			*	*!

③ A special type of repair

- the information whether the cost to conduct the repair is worth it (presence or absence of [Auth]) is already present in the structure
- and the head responsible for agreement has already passed the relevant node (D)

☞ well-informed repair



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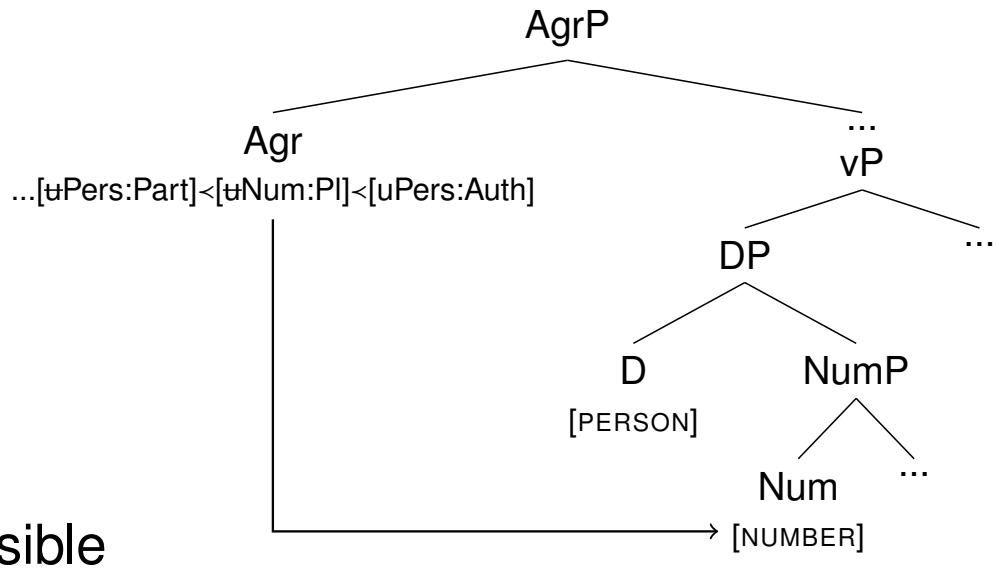

This type of repair is possible

- in the Minimalist Program without optimization
- without (minimal) look-ahead

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Summary

- a novel syntactic account of discontinuous agreement using reprojection

3 ways to remove *minimal* look-ahead within the reprojection-based account

① reprojection forms one composite derivational step with the subsequent Agree operation

② optimization + cyclic XP as the domain size

③ special type of repair: information is already present in the structure

- Note that all these options to remove look-ahead apply only to case of *minimial* look-ahead vs. cases of *global* look-ahead

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Context of discontinuous agreement

→ order of probes

8 relevant combinations (with 4 probes)

(27) No disc agr
[uPers: Re], [uPers: Part], [uPers:Auth] ≺ [uNum:□/Pl]

(28) Disc agr in 1st
[uPers: Re], [uPers: Part] ≺ [uNum:□/Pl] ≺ [uPers:Auth]

(29) Disc agr in 2nd
[uPers: Re], [uPers:Auth] ≺ [uNum:□/Pl] ≺ [uPers: Part]

(30) Disc agr in 3rd
[uPers: Part], [uPers:Auth] ≺ [uNum:□/Pl] ≺ [uPers: Re]

(31) Disc agr in 1st+2nd
[uPers: Re] ≺ [uNum:□/Pl] ≺ [uPers:Part], [uPers: Auth]

(32) Disc agr in 1st+3rd
[uPers: Part] ≺ [uNum:□/Pl] ≺ [uPers:Re], [uPers: Auth]

(33) Disc agr in 2nd+3rd
[uPers: Auth] ≺ [uNum:□/Pl] ≺ [uPers:Re], [uPers: Part]

(34) Disc agr in every person
[uNum:□/Pl] ≺[uPers: Re], [uPers: Part], [uPers:Auth]

Didinga vocabulary entries

	Singular			Plural	
1	h-	-i	(excl.)	h-	-Ca
			(incl.)	h-	-ɪ
2		-i			-Cu
3		-ɪ			-ɪ

Table: Didinga subject agreement, intransitive verbs, incompletive

(35) Vocabulary entries

a. -ɪ ↔ [ ]
b. h- ↔ [+auth]
c. -i ↔ [+part −pl]
d. -Ca ↔ [−addr +pl] / [+auth]
e. -Cu ↔ [−auth +addr +pl]