Multiple ways to be multiply valued*

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1 Introduction

Starting point: Multiple valuation in syntax

Agree: a mechanism of checking and/or valuation.

Agree was originally a one-to-one relation between a probe and goal, but has increasingly been adapted to allow multiple valuation—to deal with omnivorous agreement, hierarchical agreement, portmanteau subject-object agreement, etc.

- Hiraiwa (2001): Multiple Agree
- Béjar (2003), Béjar and Rezac (2009): Cyclic Agree and relativized probing
- Deal (2015): Interaction and Satisfaction

Post-syntactic morphology (Distributed Morphology): realizes heads with multiple feature values—due to the subset principle, there will always be **some** possible realization.

But wait...

There are also cases where multiple values have been argued to result in ungrammaticality due to **feature conflicts**, potentially resolved by **syncretism**.

- For example, in some varieties of French, ATB extraction of a third-person object clitic is ungrammatical if the verbs in the two conjuncts require objects with different morphological case (Kayne 1975: ch. 2)[1]

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[1]In other varieties, the case conflict in (1) would be resolved by the dative clitic *lui*. Thanks to Rose-Marie Déchaine for bringing this variation to my attention.

(1) French: conflict between ACC and DAT clitics

a. J'ai [serré **Hélène** dans mes bras] et [donné un baiser **á Thérèse**].
I=have hugged H. in my arms and given a kiss to T
"I hugged Hélène and kissed Thérèse."

b. *Je { **l'** / **lui** } ai [serrée __ dans mes bras] et [donné un baiser __].
I 3SG.ACC / 3SG.DAT have hugged in my arms and given a kiss
Intended: "I have hugged her and given her a kiss."

- However, first and second person clitics don't distinguish ACC and DAT case, and with such clitics, ATB extraction is suddenly possible, even though the syntactic context is otherwise the same as in (1):

(2) French: conflict resolved by case syncretism in 1 & 2 person clitics

Elle **m'** a serrée dans ses bras et donné un baiser.
She 1SG.ACC/DAT has hugged in her arms and given a kiss
"She hugged me and gave me a kiss."

Questions:

- What is the profile of phenomena where resolution-via-syncretism is possible?
- In a theory where multiple valuation is possible, can we continue to explain certain cases of ungrammaticality in terms of feature conflicts?

Proposal:

- Given current models of Agree—which are well-motivated by the typology of agreement systems—feature conflicts must involve a different type of multiple valuation.
- Specifically, propose a divide between **parallel** and **sequential** multiple valuation—the former, but not the latter, triggers multiple parallel applications of vocabulary insertion, which are successful only if they insert the same vocabulary item.

Plan for today:

- Context: resolution-via-syncretism across languages, and theoretical background
- Case study: Hungarian
  - → a language where both portmanteau subject-object agreement and feature conflicts (resolvable via syncretism) arise in φ-agreement
- Proposal: parallel vs sequential valuation
- Conclusion

2 Empirical and theoretical context

2.1 A typology of resolution-via-syncretism

Question: How common is resolution-via-syncretism, and in what types of contexts does it arise?

The literature on resolution-via-syncretism has mostly focused on a small handful of cases:

- German Free Relatives (Groos and van Riemsdijk, 1981)
- Polish ATB extraction in WH-questions (Dyła, 1984; Citko, 2005)
- French ATB extraction of clitics (Zaenen and Karttunen, 1984)
- Right Node Raising in languages including German and Russian (Zaenen and Karttunen, 1984; Asarina, 2011)

These all involve **case** syncretisms, most involve **coordination**, and all involve **Indo-European** languages.

- Is this accidental, or is resolution-via-syncretism an odd historical residue of Indo-European case systems?

A wider survey of resolution-via-syncretism:

- **French**
  - ATB extraction of clitics in VP coordination, *case* (Kayne, 1975)[2]
- **German**
  - Right node raising, *case* (Zaenen and Karttunen, 1984)
  - Free relatives, *case* (Groos and van Riemsdijk 1981, see also Vogel 2002, Bergsma 2019)
  - Agreement in NOM-NOM copular clauses, *φ-features* (Coon and Keine, 2020)
- **Icelandic**
  - Agreement in DAT-NOM clauses, *φ-features* (Schütze 2003, citing Sigurðsson 1996 and Sigurðsson 2000; Coon and Keine 2020)
- **Norwegian**
  - Topicalization from embedded CP, *case* (Taraldsen, 1981)
- **English**
  - *Go-get* construction, *finite inflection* (Bjorkman, 2016)

continued next page

[2]Citko (2005) mentions similar facts for Italian clitics in a footnote.

- **Polish**
  - ATB extraction in WH-questions, *case* (Dyła 1984, Citko 2005)
  - Free relatives, *case* (Himmelreich 2017, citing unpublished presentation by Citko from 2013)
- **Russian**
  - ATB extraction, *case* (Biskup, 2018)
  - Right node raising, *case* (Asarina, 2011)
  - Free relatives, *case* (Levy and Pollard, 2002)
- **Greek**
  - Free relatives, *case* (comment in Asarina (2011))
  - Clitic doubling, *case* (Kouneli and Kushnir, 2021)
- **Finnish**
  - Right node raising, *case* (Zaenen and Karttunen, 1984)
- **Hungarian**
  - Object agreement, *φ-features* (Szamosi, 1976)
- **Yidiny**[3]
  - ATB shared subject of coordinated clauses, *case* (Frazier, 2012)

Caveat: In searching for examples, I have disregarded agreement with conjoined or disjoined subjects, as these are subject to a wider range of resolution strategies, and to more debate about the structures and mechanisms involved.

Within these boundaries, if you know of other examples, please tell me!

[3]The resolution due to syncretism in Yidiny is less clearly due to syncretism than other examples listed, but is included as a possible example from a non-European language. The language has a person-based ergativity split (third persons are ERG/ABS; first and second persons are NOM/ACC). Though the language shows syntactic ergativity elsewhere (regardless of person), coordinated clauses can share a subject of the same case (ABSfor third persons, NOMfor first and second). Frazier (2012) argues that this is due to a morphological filter that prevents one subject from being realized with multiple case values.

2.2 Illustration: syncretic resolution of case mismatches in Polish

Polish ATB *Wh*-questions require that the *Wh*-word receive the same case in both clauses.

Conflicting case values result in ungrammaticality, as illustrated in (3).

(3) Polish: Conflict between ACC and GEN (Dyła, 1984)

*{ Co / czego } [Janek lubi$_{\rightarrow \text{ACC}}$] a [Jerzy nienawidzi$_{\rightarrow \text{GEN}}$]
wh.N.ACC / what.N.GEN Janek likes and Jerzy hates
Intended: "What does Janek like and Jerzy hate?"

Unlike inanimate *co* in (3), which belongs to the neuter declension, the human interrogative pronoun follows the masculine declension, and is syncretic for accusative and genitive.

This syncretism resolves the conflict between ACC and GEN, as shown in (4):

(4) Polish: Conflict resolved by case syncretism in masculine (Dyła, 1984)

Kogo [Janek lubi$_{\rightarrow \text{ACC}}$] a [Jerzy nienawidzi$_{\rightarrow \text{GEN}}$]
who.M.ACC/GEN Janek likes and Jerzy hates
"Who does Janek like and Jerzy hate?"

Similar syncretism resolves conflict for free relatives (as in the more widely-discussed example of free relatives in German; Groos and van Riemsdijk 1981).

(5) Polish: case matching in free relatives, satisfied by syncretic morphology (Himmelreich 2017: 16)

a. Jan lubi$_{\rightarrow \text{ACC}}$ [{ *kogokolwiek / *komukolwiek } dokucza$_{\rightarrow \text{DAT}}$].
Jan likes whoever.ACC whoever.DAT teases
Intended: "Jan likes whoever he teases."

b. Jan unika$_{\rightarrow \text{GEN}}$ [kogokolwiek wczoraj obraził$_{\rightarrow \text{ACC}}$].
Jan avoided whoever.ACC/GEN yesterday offended
"Jan avoided whoever he offended yesterday."

Patterns of resolution-via-syncretism are fundamentally similar to this across Slavic.

- Variation in whether free relatives do in fact require case matching, and whether Right-Node-Raising requires matching or shows a closest conjunct effect.

2.3 First pass analysis: Parallel VI application

The existence of feature conflicts, and the possibility of resolving them morphologically in at least some languages, requires at least two components in our theory of grammar:

1. In the syntax: a way to assign (potentially) conflicting feature values to a single head
2. In the morphology: a way to impose the requirements of multiple values for a single feature (without accidentally making all languages agglutinative)

As noted in the introduction, multiple valuation is absolutely no problem for current approaches to Agree.[4]

- Revisions to Agree have, in many cases, been designed to allow multiple valuation.
  - Hiraiwa (2001): Multiple Agree
  - Béjar (2003), Béjar and Rezac (2009): Cyclic Agree and relativized probing
  - Deal (2015): Interaction and Satisfaction

Turning to morphology, then, when would a multiply-valued head end up subject to multiple realization?

Some of the answers proposed in the resolution-via-syncretism literature:

- Bjorkman (2016): if a head enters Agree relations that give it conflicting values for any node in a feature geometry, the result is the creation of a second geometry, and feature geometries (not heads) are the locus of VI.
- Asarina (2011): in a multidominant/coordinated structure
- Citko (2018): when a probe is valued by two targets in sequence, it can only be realized via syncretism or something like closest conjunct agreement (contrasted with Multiple Agree, which finds multiple targets simultaneously, and leads to resolved agreement)
- Coon and Keine (2020): when a single probe is valued by multiple targets (first target did not fully value the probe)

Common idea:

- Syntax doesn't care about having multiple geometries / values on a single head—just as it doesn't care about failing to find any value for a probe (Preminger, 2009)
- But morphology **does** care: when Vocabulary Insertion occurs, it is computed **once for each set of values on a probe/head**
  - A single position can be realized only by a **single** VI rule, so conflicting feature geometries are **grammatical only if they end up being realized by the same VI rule**→true morphological neutrality, not accidental homophony.

Illustration: Polish (examples repeated from (3) and (4))

(6) Polish: Conflict between ACC and GEN resolved by syncretism (Dyła, 1984)

a. *{ Co / czego } [Janek lubi$_{\rightarrow \text{ACC}}$] a [Jerzy nienawidzi$_{\rightarrow \text{GEN}}$]
wh.N.ACC / what.N.GEN Janek likes and Jerzy hates
Intended: "What does Janek like and Jerzy hate?"

[4] A possible concern is whether all instances of resolution-via-syncretism involve feature valuation via Agree. If anything involves syntactic valuation, φ-agreement presumably does, but morphological case is often assumed to be calculated "at PF", and verbal inflection (at least in English) is often modelled in terms of Lowering or other downwards feature assignment. We set the possible diversity of valuation mechanisms aside for the moment; the key case of Hungarian will involve only φ-agreement.

b. Kogo [Janek lubi$_{\rightarrow \text{ACC}}$] a [Jerzy nienawidzi$_{\rightarrow \text{GEN}}$]
who.M.ACC/GEN Janek likes and Jerzy hates
"Who does Janek like and Jerzy hate?"

Proposal is that **both** these examples reflect licit syntactic structures, where a *Wh* pronoun is valued for both accusative and genitive case

- Because of the double case values VI applies twice—once for each case value.
- If the **same** VI applies in both cases, the features were realizable.
- Otherwise you try to insert two strings in one position, and the result is ineffability.

$$\text{(6a)}: \begin{bmatrix} \text{D} \\ \text{WH} \\ \text{NEUT} \\ \{\text{ACC}, \text{GEN}\} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \text{(6b)}: \begin{bmatrix} \text{D} \\ \text{WH} \\ \text{MASC} \\ \{\text{ACC}, \text{GEN}\} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\text{VI } ① : \begin{bmatrix} \text{D} \\ \text{WH} \\ \text{NEUT} \\ \text{ACC} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{VI } ② : \begin{bmatrix} \text{D} \\ \text{WH} \\ \text{NEUT} \\ \text{GEN} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \text{VI } ① : \begin{bmatrix} \text{D} \\ \text{WH} \\ \text{MASC} \\ \text{ACC} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{VI } ② : \begin{bmatrix} \text{D} \\ \text{WH} \\ \text{MASC} \\ \text{GEN} \end{bmatrix}$$

	"who" (M)	"what" (N)
NOM	kto	**co**
GEN	**kogo**	czego
DAT	komu	czemu
ACC	**kogo**	**co**

Table 1: Polish interogative pronouns

2.4 Problematizing the first-pass analysis: Multiple valuation

Languages seem to have other ways of dealing with multiple "conflicting" features:

- Portmanteau morphology
- Realize most "marked" feature
- Agglutination

These are the results that a theory like DM is built to capture:

- Portmanteau: VI rule that's specified for multiple values
- Realize most "marked": most specified VI rule wins
- Agglutination: Fission

Focusing on φ-agreement: recent work on Agree has multiple valuation all *over* the place—without conflict or need for resolution-via-syncretism.

- Influential proposals by Béjar and Rezac (2009), Deal (2015) that unsatisfied probes continue searching and can be valued by multiple goals.
- In most cases, the probe either realizes the **most specified goal**, or realizes **all goals** (via portmanteau or agglutination)

For example: Oxford (2019) develops a compelling account in these terms of Algonquian agreement, specifically Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe); a similar analysis is developed in Hammerly (2020).

- Anishinaabemowin, like other Algonquian languages, has a **direct-inverse** system of agreement.

  In traditional descriptions: some morphology tells you what arguments are involved, and then an additional morpheme tells you whether the subject outranks the object (direct), or the object outranks the subject (inverse)

(7) a. ni-waabamaanaan
ni- waabam **-aa** -inaan
1- see -DIR -1PL
"We see her." (1PL→3, direct)

b. niwaabamigonaan
ni- waabam **-igw** -inaan
1- see -INV -1PL
"She sees us." (3→1PL, inverse)

(Oxford 2019: ex 6)

- Oxford (2019) (and earlier work): actually, we get a more elegant analysis if we say that the slot for direct/inverse is actually just **object agreement** (for him, on Voice).

  -aa in (7a) is just agreement with a third person.

  The "inverse" marker is a special morpheme that shows up when the object is also targeted for agreement by Infl—Voice is subject to Impoverishment if it has all the same features as Infl.

- Evidence for this: in **conjunct** agreement paradigms, there is a unique portmanteau realization for certain configurations where participants act on one another—no room for this in the traditional direct/inverse analysis.

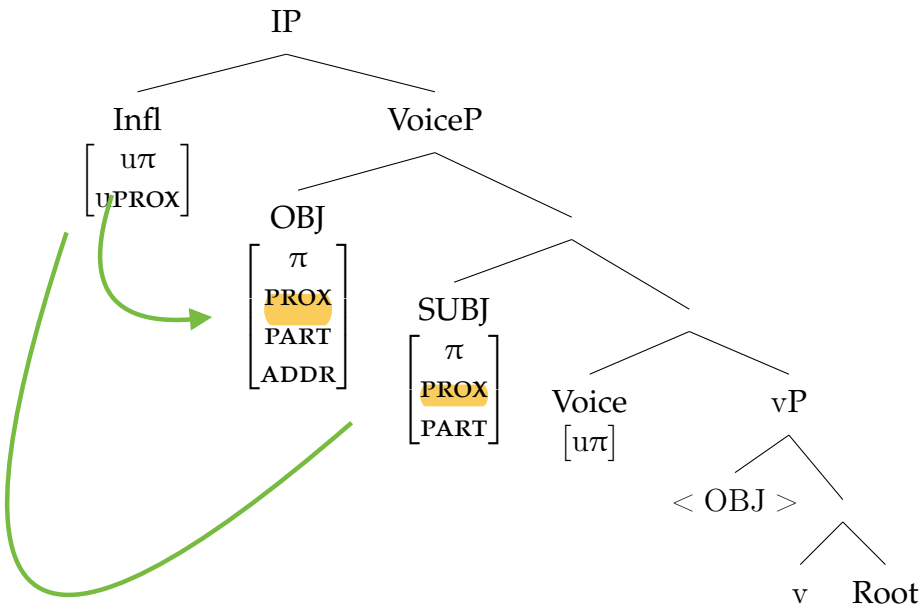
(8) waabaminagog
waabam -in -agogw
see -2OBJ -1SG→2PL
"I see you (PL)."

- For Oxford: this portmanteau arises when a probe on T/Infl is valued by both the

subject and object, due to these arguments being equidistant from the probe[5]

- He suggests that this happens because Ojibwe and other Algonquian languages happen to have a VI that references two independent sets of φ-features; otherwise this agreement slot would simply realize whichever feature set were more highly specified.

(9) Portmanteau agreement with 1/2 in Anishinaabemowin



If a multiply-valued head imposes a requirement for syncretism in some languages, why not in all languages?

- Could this be a language-specific, or realization-specific, parameter?
- **No**: because Hungarian.

3 Case study: Hungarian

Hungarian verbal agreement offers a key case study, because it exhibits **both** multiple valuation and resolution-via-syncretism within a single system.

Multiple valuation: portmanteau subject-object agreement in the transitive paradigm (Bárány 2015, 2017, though see Trommer 2005 for arguments against the portmanteau analysis)

Resolution-via-syncretism: In some configurations, matrix object agreement tracks properties of both an embedded CP and a phrase topicalized or *Wh*-moved out of that CP.

If they do not match for the relevant property, the result is ungrammatical—unless the verb happens to be syncretic for relevant realizations (Szamosi, 1976).

[5]Crucially, Oxford argues that certain internal arguments move to Spec-VoiceP after agreeing with Voice.

3.1 Multiple valuation: subject and object agreement in Hungarian

As traditionally described, finite verbs in Hungarian show agreement in person and number with the subject, but the form of the agreement is affected by the "definiteness" of the object, if present.

- **Subjective** agreement (aka *indefinite* agreement) appears on intransitive verbs and on transitive verbs with indefinite objects, as in (10a).
- **Objective** agreement (aka *definite* agreement) appears on transitive verbs with definite third-person objects, as in (10b).

(10) a. Lát-ok egy fiút. (*lát-om)
see-1SG.SBJ a boy.ACC (*see-1SG.OBJ)
"I see a boy."
b. Lát-om a fiút. (*lát-ok)
see-1SG.OBJ the boy.ACC (*see-1SG.SBJ)
"I see the boy." (Bartos 1997: 365)

- "Definiteness" is not quite the right distinction: first- and second-person objects do not trigger object agreement.[6]

(11) Péter lát-∅ { engem / téged / minket / titiket }. (*lát-ja)
Peter see-3SG.SBJ me / you.SG.ACC / us / you.PL.ACC (*see-3SG.OBJ)
"Peter sees me / you (SG) / us / you (PL)." (Bartos 1997: 368)

- The exception is 1SG>2 contexts, where a special portmanteau object marker *-lak* is found, distinct from both subjective 1SG *-ok* and objective 1SG *-om*.

(12) Lát-**lak** téged.
see-1SG>2 you.SG.ACC
"I see you (SG)."

Are these really portmanteaux?

- Trommer (2005) argues against a portmanteau analysis of Hungarian, on both empirical and theory-internal grounds.

  Proposes instead that objective agreement suffixes either arise from contextual allomorphy of subject agreement (conditioned by an adjacent AgrO with zero realization), or decomposed into separate subject and object agreement morphs.

- See Bárány (2015, 2017) for arguments that at least some objective agreement forms are best analyzed as portmanteaux.

[6] For various syntactic and semantic analyses of the basis of "definiteness" agreement see Szabolcsi (1994), Bartos (1997), Kiss (2002), Coppock (2013), Bárány (2015) among others.

Formal analysis (following Bárány 2015, 2017)

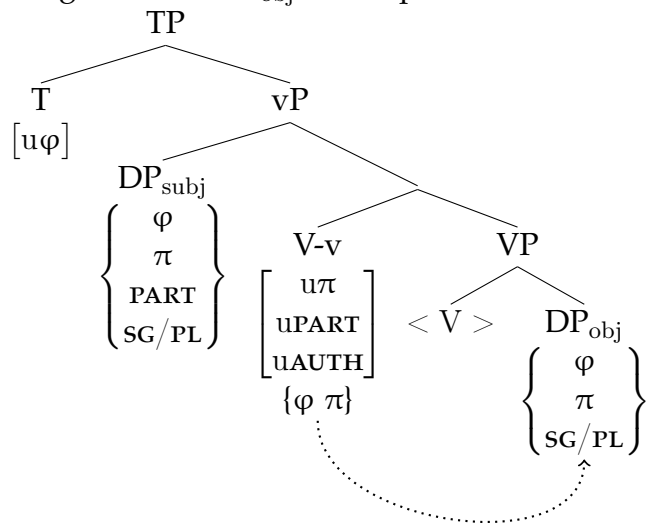
- Agreement morphology spells out T or (when v fuses with T) T+v
  - Subjective agreement realizes only φ-features of T
  - Objective agreement (potentially) realizes π-features of v as well
- T has a non-articulated probe: [uφ], and always Agrees with the subject.
- v bears only a person (π) probe; it Agrees with the object (if there is one) and moves to T.
  - "indefinite" objects structurally lack person (they are NumPs) or lack π
  - the probe on v is articulated: { π, PART, AUTH}
  - if v was not fully valued by the object, it re-probes and Agrees with the subject after moving to T
- T and v fuse only if their strongest features match.
  - This condition prevents fusion in 2>1 and 3>1/2 contexts, resulting in subjective agreement.

Illustration:

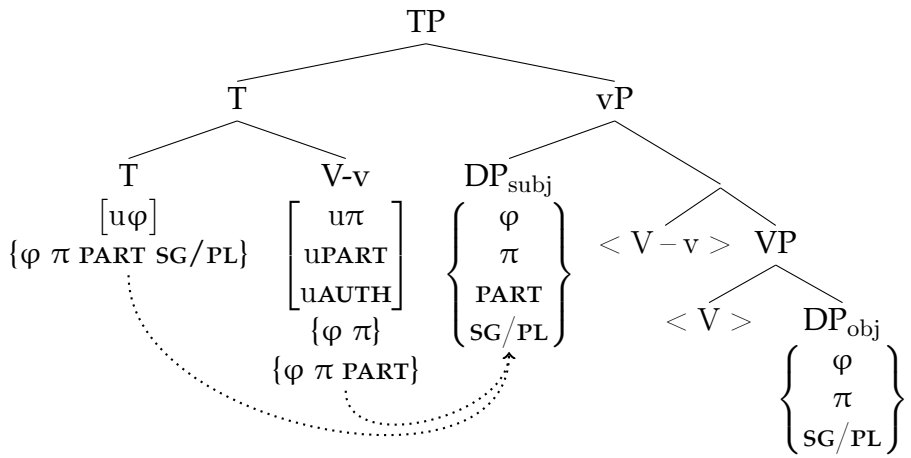
- Probes in square brackets: [uF]
- Valued features in curly braces: {F}

(13) **2→3 = objective**

a. v Agrees with DP_{obj} and copies a first set of feature values



b. v moves to T; because v was not fully valued it re-probes and Agrees with DP_{subj}

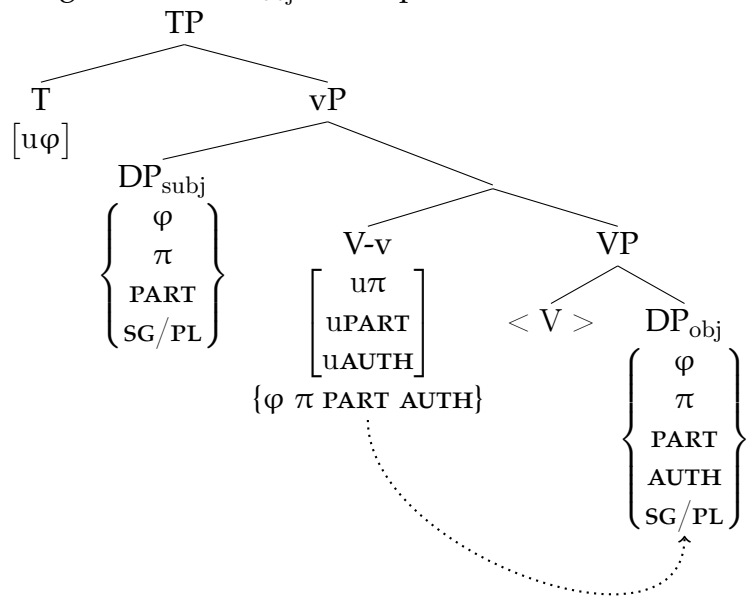


Fusion of v **and T:** Because v and T match for their "strongest" feature set, they **fuse**.

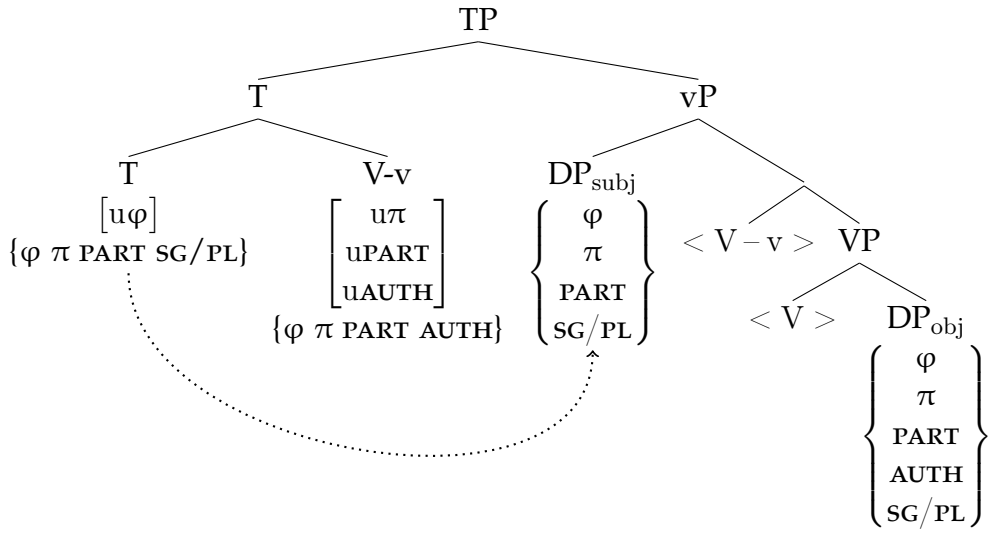
After fusion, v+T bears the features {φ π} {φ π PART}, which will result in objective agreement.

(14) **2→1 = subjective**

a. v Agrees with DP$_{obj}$ and copies a first set of feature values



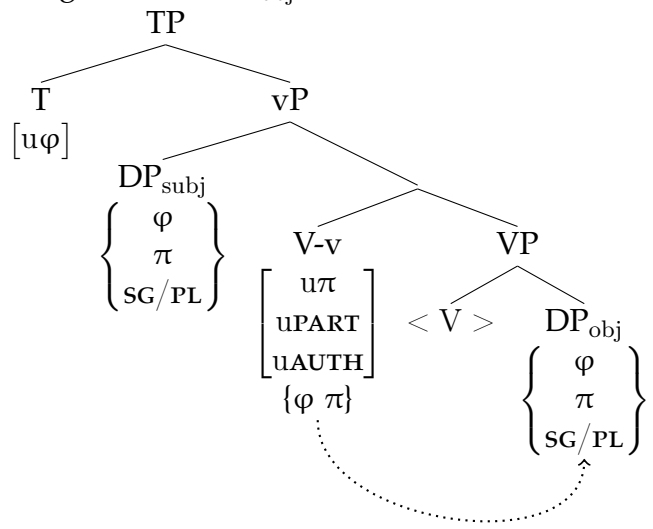
b. v moves to T; v was fully valued so it does **not** re-probe



- v and T do **not** have any matching feature bundles, so even though v moved to T the heads do not fuse.

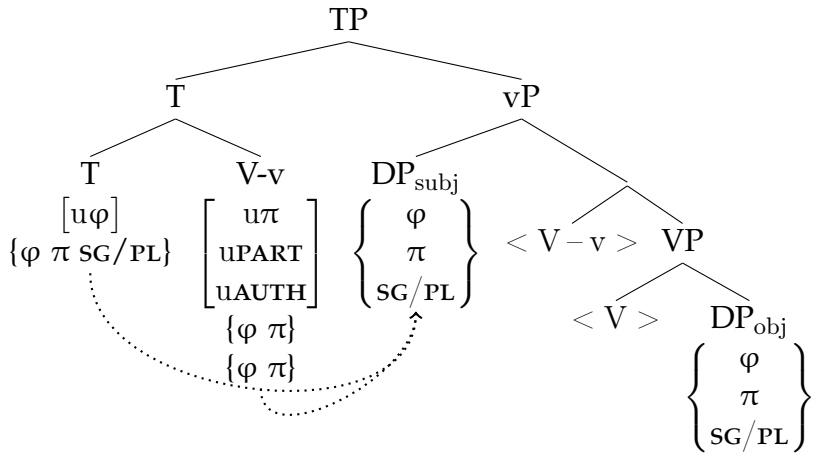
(15) **3→3 = objective**

a. v Agrees with DP$_{obj}$



b. v moves to T; because v was not fully valued it re-probes.[7]

[7]Bárány (2015, 2017) has v re-probe but not copy back a second value in this context; this somewhat complicates the statement of how the features of the two heads fuse, so here I assume it does copy back a second π feature.



- Again, v and T match for their strongest feature sets, so they fuse, resulting in objective agreement.

3.2 Conflict and resolution: agreement with CP complements

Szamosi (1976): A conflict in object agreement arises in some configurations with CP complements.

Two relevant factors:

1. CP complements introduced by the complementizer *hogy* trigger object agreement:

(16) János { akart-a / *akart-∅ }, hogy (el) hozz-ak egy könyvet.
John wanted-3SG.OBJ / wanted-3SG.SBJ that ASP bring-1SG.SBJ a book.ACC
"John wanted me to bring a book."

2. Accusative *Wh*-elements *mit* (interrogative) and *amit* (relative) "what" require subjective agreement on the verb (i.e. they don't trigger object agreement).

(17) a. Mit akart-∅ / *akart-a János?
What.ACC wanted-3SG.SBJ / *wanted-3SG.OBJ John
"What did John want?"
b. A könyv amit akart-∅ / *akart-a...
The book which.ACC wanted-3SG.SBJ / *wanted-3SG.OBJ...
"the book which they (SG) wanted"

The conflict: For some speakers, verbs agree not only with their CP complement, but with any phrase A-bar extracted from that CP.

In other words: the CP and an extracted phrase must match for "definiteness"

- With *akar* "want", which shows objective agreement because of its CP complement (18), extraction of *amit* (or *mit* in *Wh*-questions) is not possible for such speakers (19):

(18) Akart-a [hogy elhozz-am a könyvet]
want-3SG.OBJ that bring-1SG.OBJ the book.ACC

"They (SG) wanted me to bring the book."

(19) *A/Egy könyv amit { akart-a / akart-∅ }, [hogy
The/A book which.ACC wanted-3SG.OBJ wanted-3SG.SBJ that
elhozz-ak. . .]
bring-1SG.SBJ
"The/A book which they (SG) wanted me to bring."

- Similarly, though Hungarian allows topicalization out of an embedded clause (20), such speakers prohibit topicalization of indefinite arguments if the matrix verb is definite (21):

(20) A könyvet akarta, [hogy elhozzam]
the book.ACC want.3SG.OBJ that bring.1SG.OBJ
"It was the book that they (SG) wanted me to bring."

(21) *Egy könyvet { akart-a / akart-∅ }, [hogy elhozzak]
a book.ACC wanted-3SG.OBJ wanted-3SG.SBJ that bring.1SG.SBJ
"It was a book that they (SG) wanted me to bring."

The resolution: *Wh*-moving or topicalizing an indefinite argument into a definite clause is rescued for such speakers if the matrix verb is **first person singular past** or **first person plural conditional**.

(22) A könyv amit akar-nánk, [hogy elhozz-on. . .]
the book.ACC which.ACC want-1PL.COND.{OBJ/SBJ} that bring-3SG.SUBJ
"The book that we would want him to bring. . . "

(23) Egy könyvet akart-am [hogy elhozz-on.]
A book.ACC wanted-1SG.{OBJ/SBJ} that bring-3SG.SBJ
"It was a book that I wanted him to bring."

Why?

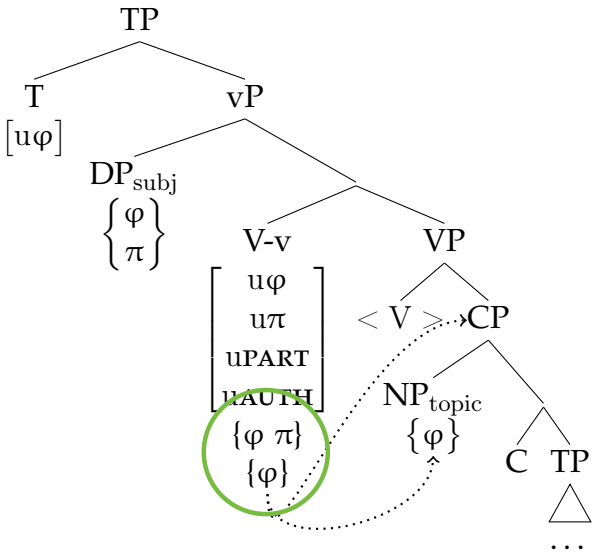
- The first person singular past and the first person plural conditional are **coincidentally syncretic** for subjective and objective agreement.
- With these verb forms, the verb can simultaneously reflect the definiteness required by its clausal complement, **and** the indefiniteness required by the fronted DP.

To accommodate these facts in terms of an Agree-based approach to valuation, several modifications are needed:

1. v Agrees with CP / C (options: Bárány 2015 pp. 87–88)
2. v Agrees with "indefinite" (π-less) objects: [uφ] included in probe
   $\rightarrow$ in order to generate a *conflicting* value, they have to generate a value
3. extraction from embedded CP proceeds via a position that v can probe

(21) *Egy könyvet { akart-a / akart-∅ }, [hogy elhozzak]
a book.ACC wanted-3SG.OBJ wanted-3SG.SBJ that bring.1SG.SBJ
"It was a book that they (SG) wanted me to bring."

(24)



- **Why does this result in ungrammaticality?** How is this different from the multiple valuation that results when v moves to T and then re-probes?

4 Proposal: Two ways of being multiply valued

The puzzle: Why does multiple valuation only *sometimes* require resolution-via-syncretism?

Key idea: The problem is ambiguity in which set of object agreement "counts"

- Parallel / simultaneous Agree with coordinated DPs results in a representation requiring syncretism to resolve (or other PF resolution strategies like "agree with closest")
- PCC effects: when accounted for with multiple valuation, hinge on the idea that you're doing object agreement twice.

Feature conflict—and the possibility of resolution-via-syncretism—arises only when the valuers somehow can't be distinguished from one another.

Encoding this: putting derivational history into valuation.

- Simultaneous Agree with equidistant targets results in a different type of multiple valuation than successive valuation.[8]
- A minimal representational contrast:

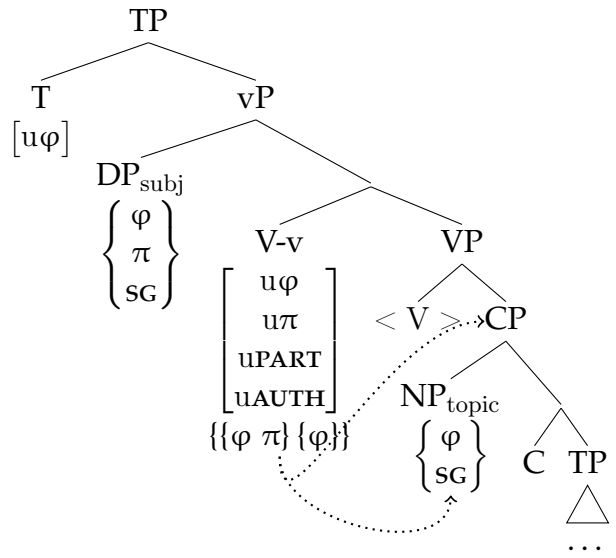
[8]This is the reverse of what is proposed by Citko (2018), who suggests that it is *sequential* agreement with two coordinated DPs that requires some form of PF resolution, as opposed to multiple agreement in parallel which leads to resolved agreement.

Simultaneous valuation: { F1, F2 } (unordered sets of features)

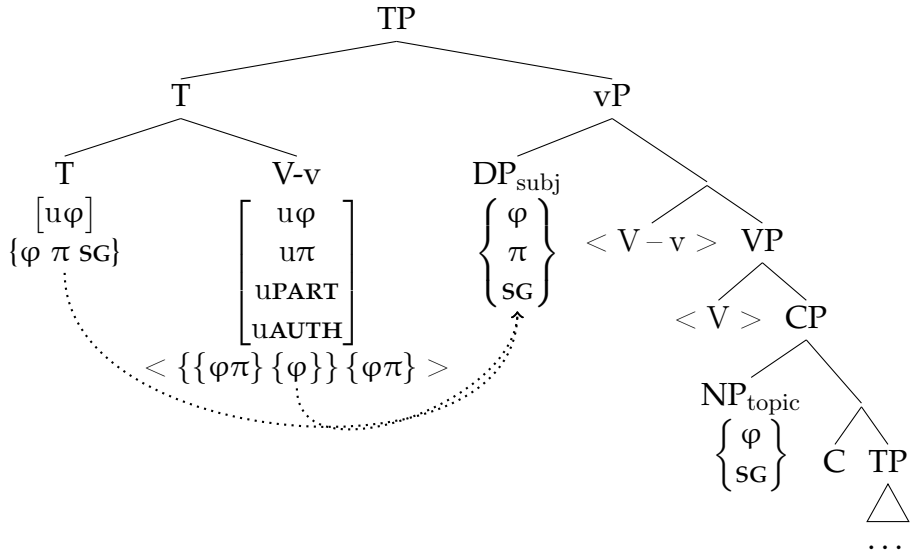
Sequential valuation: < F1, F2 > (ordered sets of features)

(21) *Egy könyvet { akart-a / akart-∅ }, [hogy elhozzak]
a book.ACC wanted-3SG.OBJ wanted-3SG.SBJ that bring.1SG.SBJ
"It was a book that they (SG) wanted me to bring."

(25) a. v probes and finds CP (or C) and NP_{topic} in Spec-CP simultaneously, and copies two unordered feature sets back.



b. After moving to T, v re-probes and adds an ordered value from DP_{subj}



- After v and T fuse, the features to be realized are: <{{φ π} {φ}},{φ π SG}>
- The unordered set is akin to an ordering paradox: two features where one is expected. This triggers two parallel applications of VI:
  1. <{φ π},{φ π SG}> → 3 SG objective *-a*

2. $<\{\varphi\},\{\varphi\ \pi\text{SG}\}> \rightarrow$ 3SG subjective -∅

- At this point two non-identical morphs have been inserted into a single position, and the inconsistency results in ungrammaticality.

5 Conclusions

In a theory where Agree regularly results in (grammatical) multiple valuation, we need more than one way of valuing features in order to accommodate feature *conflicts*.

- Hungarian is plausibly a language with both portmanteau agreement and feature conflicts within a single system, so this can't simply be variation across languages or across constructions.
- Outstanding issues:
  - The value resulting from Agree with indefinite objects
  - Alternative resolution strategies: first value, last value, most specific value
  - Multiple valuation and Equidistance.
    - If feature conflicts arise from simultaneous valuation under Equidistance, we have to re-evaluate every account of successful multiple valuation that assumes it depends on the two targets being equidistant from the probe (cf. Oxford 2019 for Algonquin—but alternatives models of multiple valuation are potentially available, as in Hammerly 2020 for Border Lakes Ojibwe)
  - Feature conflicts and sequential Agree
    - Conversely, to the extent that there are analyses that attribute ungrammaticality to feature conflicts in sequential Agree, these require an alternative analysis (as in some accounts of PCC phenomena)

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