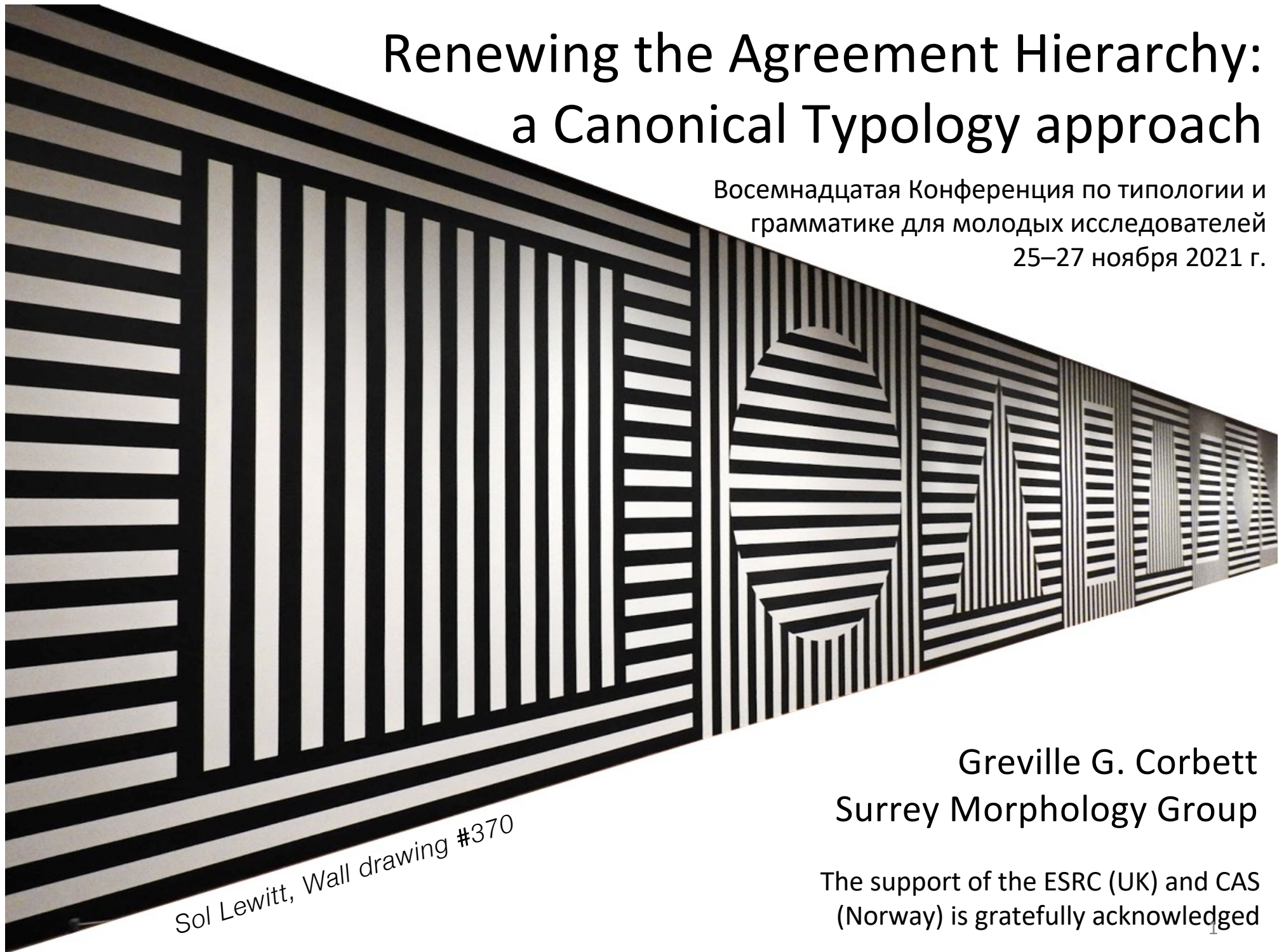


Renewing the Agreement Hierarchy: a Canonical Typology approach

Восемнадцатая Конференция по типологии и
грамматике для молодых исследователей
25–27 ноября 2021 г.



Sol Lewitt, Wall drawing #370

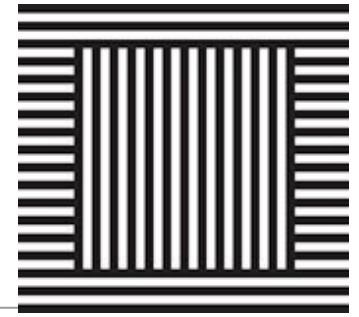
Greville G. Corbett
Surrey Morphology Group

The support of the ESRC (UK) and CAS
(Norway) is gratefully acknowledged

Outline

1. The Agreement Hierarchy
2. Why revisit?
3. The typology of controllers
4. The dimension lexeme-phrase
5. The dimension local-extraneous
6. Extraneous overrides
7. Interactions
8. Conclusions and prospects

1. The Agreement Hierarchy



It constrains agreement *choices*, induced by:

- lexical hybrids
- constructional mismatches

Example: lexical hybrid

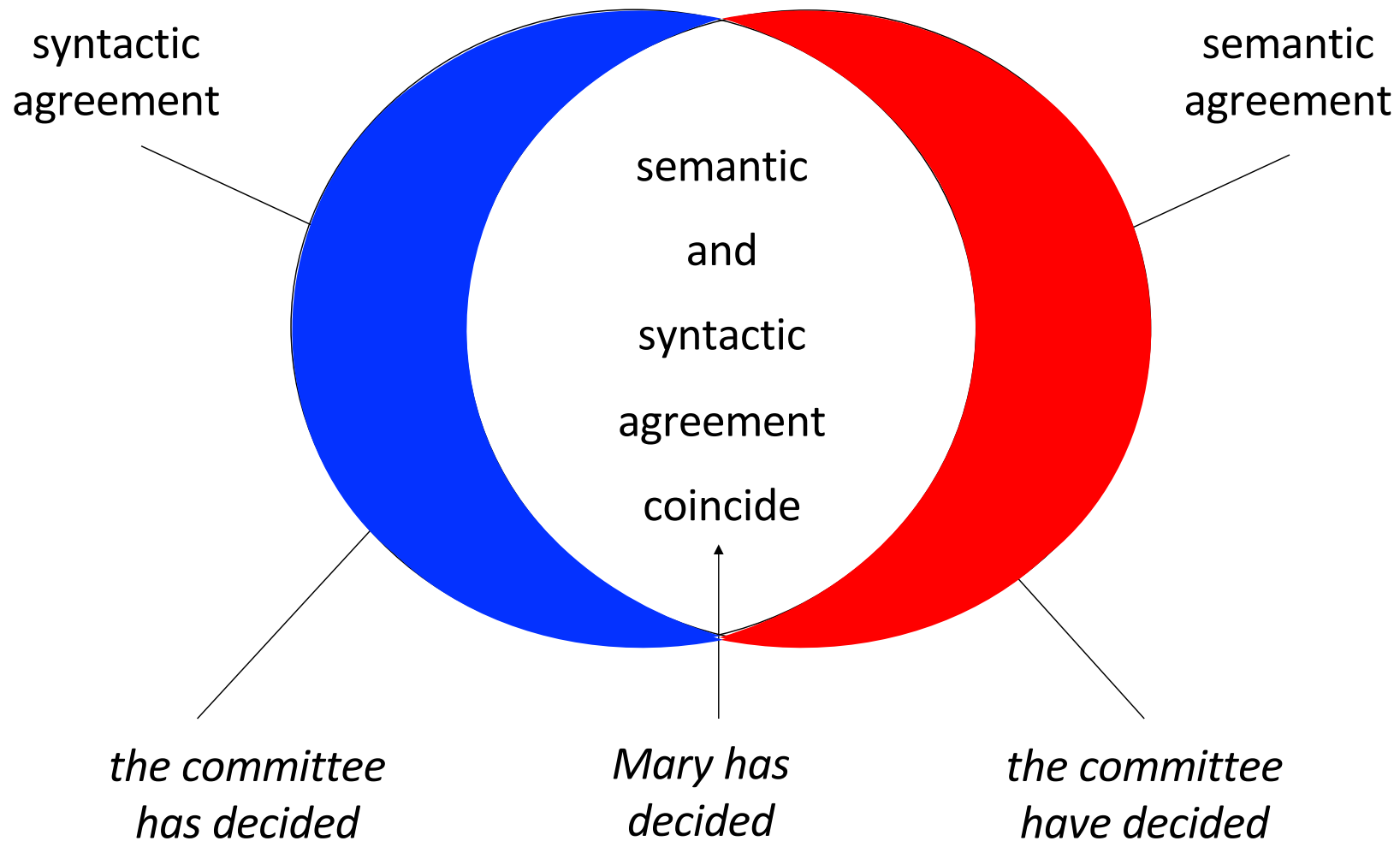
(1) the committee **has** decided ... / **have** decided ...

(2) **this** committee / ***these** committee

(3) the committee, **which has** / **who have** decided ...

(4) **it** / **they** ...

Terms: syntactic and semantic agreement



The Agreement Hierarchy

attributive > predicate > relative pronoun > personal pronoun

For any controller that permits alternative agreements, as we move rightwards along the Agreement Hierarchy, the likelihood of agreement with greater semantic justification will increase monotonically (that is, with no intervening decrease).

Corbett (1979, 2006: 206-233)

Agreement Hierarchy

For any controller that permits alternative agreements, as we move rightwards along the Agreement Hierarchy, the likelihood of agreement with greater semantic justification will increase monotonically (that is, with no intervening decrease). (Corbett 2006: 207)



= semantic agreement possible

	attributive	predicate	relative pronoun	personal pronoun	
	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	✓
	Blue	Blue	Blue	Red	✓
	Blue	Blue	Red	Blue	x
	Blue	Blue	Red	Red	✓
	Blue	Red	Blue	Blue	x
	Blue	Red	Blue	Red	x
	Blue	Red	Red	Blue	x
	Blue	Red	Red	Red	✓
	Red	Blue	Blue	Blue	x
	Red	Blue	Blue	Red	x
	Red	Blue	Red	Blue	x
	Red	Blue	Red	Red	x
	Red	Blue	Blue	Blue	x
	Red	Red	Blue	Red	x
	Red	Red	Red	Blue	x
	Red	Red	Red	Red	✓

Agreement Hierarchy

For any controller that permits alternative agreements, as we move rightwards along the Agreement Hierarchy, the likelihood of agreement with greater semantic justification will increase monotonically (that is, with no intervening decrease).
(Corbett 2006: 207)

attributive	predicate	relative pronoun	personal pronoun	
■	■	■	■	✓
■	■	■	■	✓
■	■	■	■	✓
■	■	■	■	✓
■	■	■	■	✓



= semantic agreement possible

Lexical hybrids: statistics

PLURAL agreement with *committee* nouns (Levin 2001: 109)

	verb	relative pronoun	personal pronoun
US (LSAC) (spoken)	9 (n=524)	74 (n=43)	94 (n=239)
GB (BNC) (spoken)	32 (n=208)	58 (n=277)	72 (n=607)

LSAC = Longman Spoken American Corpus

BNC = British National Corpus

For pronouns as targets see Cabredo-Hofherr (2010: 7-9)

Plural agreement of lexical collectives in Middle Welsh (adapted from Dedio 2015: 32, Nurmio 2019: 50)

controller	attributive	predicate	relative pronoun	personal pronoun
<i>byddin</i> 'army, host'	0% (0/11)	0% (0/5)	-	100% (6/6)
<i>enedl</i> 'nation, tribe, generation'	0% (0/41)	14% (1/7)	50% (3/6)	100% (9/9)
<i>cyweithydd</i> 'company, band, troop'	-	0% (0/1)	-	100% (1/1)
<i>gwerin</i> 'people, folk, troop'	50% (1/2)	-	-	100% (1/1)
<i>llu</i> 'host, a large number, army'	0% (0/23)	0% (0/12)	60% (3/5)	100% (5/5)
<i>lluydd</i> 'host, throng, army'	0% (0/2)	-	-	-
<i>nifer</i> 'number; host, troop'	4% (1/24)	11% (1/9)	32% (6/19)	100% (8/8)
<i>peddyd</i> 'infantry(man), foot soldier(s)'	-	0% (0/1)	100% (2/2)	-
<i>pobl</i> '(a) people'	3% (1/34)	29% (2/7)	50% (1/2)	100% (8/8)
<i>teulu</i> 'family, tribe, household'	-	0% (0/4)	100% (2/2)	100% (5/5)
<i>tylwyth</i> 'family, kinsfolk, household'	-	0% (0/1)	-	100% (1/1)
Total plural	2% (3/137)	9% (4/47)	53% 19/36)	100% (44/44)

(Unusual) example of constructional mismatch: '2'-'4' in Serbo-Croat

REMNANT FORM VS MASCULINE PLURAL

(5) on-a dv-a brat-a su
that-REMNANT two-M.NOM brother(M)-SG.GEN AUX.3PL
nesta-l-a / nesta-l-i
disappear-PST-REMNANT / disappear-PST-M.PL
'those two brothers have disappeared'

(6) dv-a brat-a koj-a / koj-i ... On-i ...
two-M.NOM brother(M)-SG.GEN who-REMNANT / who-M.PL ... 3-M.PL ...
'two brothers who ... They ...'

Constructional mismatch: statistics (% MASCULINE PLURAL)

	attributive	predicate	relative pronoun	personal pronoun
Sand (1971) Serbian texts	[0%]	18% (n=376)	62% (n=32)	[100%]
Leko (2000) Bosnian texts	1% (n=507)	42% (n=259)	56% (n=52)	100% (n=18)

Comparison: The Agreement Hierarchy: a sample of the evidence (gender hybrids)

	attributive	predicate	relative pronoun	personal pronoun
Chichewa diminutive for human	Blue	Blue	Blue	Red Blue
Serbo-Croat <i>d(j)evojče</i> 'girl' (dated)	Blue	Blue	Blue	Red Blue
Polish <i>łajdaki</i> 'wretches'	Blue	Red Blue	Red	Red
Konkani young females	Blue	Red	no data	Red
Russian <i>vrač</i> 'doctor' (female)	Red Blue	Red Blue	Red Blue	Red Blue
Serbo-Croat <i>gazde</i> 'bosses'	Red Blue	Red Blue	Red Blue	Red

Note: parentheses indicate a less frequent variant

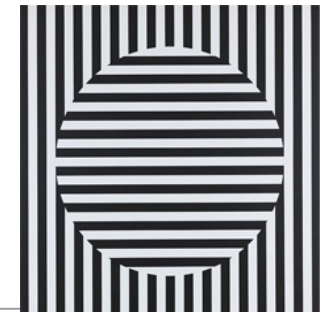
2. Why revisit?



- The Agreement Hierarchy covers a wide range of data
- new work in syntax
 - Landau (2016), Shen (2019), Thorvaldsdóttir (2019), *Glossa* NP/DP debate (2020)
- new work in typology

Progress in typology

- Lazarsfeld (1937): substruction
- Round & Corbett (2020)
 - investigate underpinnings of a typology
 - not necessarily those of original researcher



3. The typology of controllers

Canonical is a logical construct. It does NOT imply:

usual

normal

frequent

expected

unmarked

prototypical

permanent short-URL to the Canonical Typology bibliography: tiny.cc/ctbib

Canonical Typology of agreement

Principle I:

Canonical agreement is redundant rather than informative.

(Corbett 2006: 11).

- The Agreement Hierarchy positions are seen as increasingly less canonical targets.
- No suggestion that canonical agreement is common, normal, or functional. It's a baseline to measure from.

Controllers (substruction)

controller	canonical (factors align)	non-canonical (factors conflict)		
		select (“OR”)	compute (“AND”)	extraneous (“OTHER”)
noun	<i>cup</i> → SG	Russian <i>djadja</i> ‘uncle’ → M	Middle Welsh collectives → SG/PL	19c Russian honorific reference → SG/PL
NP/DP	<i>the cup</i> → SG	<i>the winner of the prizes</i> → SG	<i>this girl and boy are ...</i> → SG/PL	Norwegian ‘pancake sentences’ → own/default values
agreement	canonical		canonical / non-canonical (informative)	
information	local			extraneous

Note: logical “OR” (one value is selected)
 logical “AND” (both values are found, subject to the AH)
 to get started, binarity is imposed on gradience

What is meant by 'extraneous' (I)

Russian (19th century): honorific agreement (Turgenev *Nakanune* ch. 30, 1860)

(7) ... Mamen'k-a **plač-ut**
 mother.DIM-SG.NOM cry-3^{PL}
'(Your) mother is crying (literally 'are crying')

‘Extraneous’ II: Norwegian ‘pancake sentences’

Norwegian (Bokmål/Nynorsk, Faarlund 1977: 240): ‘pancake sentence’

(8) Pannekake-r er god-t.
pancake-PL COP good-SG.N

‘Pancakes is good.’ (‘Eating pancakes is good.’)

Norwegian (Bokmål, Enger 2004: 20): ‘pancake sentence’

(9) Nystekt-e pannekake-r er god-t.
new.fried-PL pancake-PL COP good-SG.N

‘Newly-fried pancakes is good.’ (‘Eating newly-fried pancakes is good.’)

Norwegian (Bokmål, Hans-Olav Enger, personal communication): ‘pancake sentence’

(10) Narkotika, som er grusom-t for både misbruker-e og
Narcotic(M)[SG], COMP COP awful-SG.N for both addict-PL and

pårørende, de-t skulle aldri vær-t oppfunnet.
relatives.spouses, it-SG.N should never be-PST.PTCP invent-PST.PTCP.PASS

‘Drugs, which is awful for both addicts and those close to them, - it should never have been invented.’

Controllers inducing Agreement Hierarchy effects

controller	non-canonical (factors conflict)	
	compute (“AND”) §5	extraneous (“OTHER”)
noun	↓ §4 Lexical hybrids e.g. Middle Welsh collectives	↓ §6 Extraneous overrides of lexemes e.g. 19c Russian honorific reference
NP/DP	↓ Constructional mismatches e.g. <i>this girl and boy are ...</i>	↓ Extraneous overrides of phrases e.g. Norwegian ‘pancake sentences’
agreement	canonical / non-canonical (informative)	



4. The dimension lexeme-phrase

	type	example	reference
lexical hybrid →	1. unique or virtually unique hybrid	Russian <i>para</i> 'couple'; Hebrew <i>be'alim</i> 'owner(s)	coming below; Landau (2016)
	2. set of similar hybrids	English <i>committee</i> nouns; Russian female professions	seen already; coming below;
	3. reduced quantitative noun	<i>the majority (of the patients)</i> , various languages	Leclercq & Depraetere (2018) (cf. Birkenes & Sommer (2015))
← free construction	4. reduced qualitative noun	French <i>ton phénomène de fille</i> 'your amazing daughter'	Hulk & Terrier (1999), Corbett (2006: 222-223)
	5. restricted numeral phrases	Serbo-Croat phrases with lower numerals	seen already
	6. comitative phrases	Russian <i>otec s mater'ju</i> 'father with mother'	coming below
	7. conjoined phrases	<i>Mary and John</i> , <i>table and chair</i>	Corbett (2006: 168-170, 179-181, 220-221, 238-263)

Russian noun *para* ‘couple’

Russian (Bunin, *Gospodin iz San-Francisko* ‘The Man from San Francisco’ 1915)

- (11) ... **by-l-a** **izjaščn-aja** **vljublenn-aja** par-a, za **kotor-oj** vs-e s
 be-PST-SG.F elegant-SG.F.NOM loving-SG.F.NOM couple(F)-SG.NOM after which-SG.F.INS all-PL.NOM with
- ljubopytstv-om sledi-l-i i **kotor-aja** ne skryva-l-a svo-ego sčast’j-a:
 curiosity-SG.INS follow-PST-PL and which-SG.F.NOM NEG hide-PST.SG.F own-SG.N.GEN happiness(N)-SG.GEN
- on tanceva-l tol’ko s nej, i vse vyxodi-l-o u **nix**
 3SG.M.NOM dance-PST[M.SG] only with 3SG.F.INS and everything turn.out-PST-SG.N at 3PL.GEN
- tak tonko, očarovatel’no, čto tol’ko odin komandir zna-l, čto
 so delicately charmingly that only alone captain know-PST[SG.M] that
- èt-a** para **nanjat-a** Lloyd-om igra-t’ v ljubov’ za xoroš-ie den’g-i
 this-SG.F.NOM couple employed-SG.F Lloyds-INS play-INF at love for good-PL.ACC money-PL.ACC
- i uže davno **plava-et** to na odnom, to na drugom korable.
 and already long.time sail-3SG now on one now on other ship.

‘there was an elegant loving couple, who everyone watched with curiosity and who did not hide their happiness: he danced only with her and with them everything turned out so delicately and charmingly that only the captain knew that this couple was employed by Lloyds for good money to play at being in love and had already been sailing for some time on different ships.’

Russian noun *para* ‘couple’ with pronoun

Russian (V. V. Lorčenkov, *Bez dna* ‘The Abyss’, 2013, from the Russian National Corpus)

- (12) Par-a tancu-et, **oni** kruž-at-sja na kanat-e ...
couple(F)-SG.NOM dance-3sg 3**PL**.NOM circle-3PL-REFL on rope-SG.LOC
‘The couple dances, they spin on a tightrope, ...’

Kholodilova (2015: 77) notes an unusual case of a plural relative pronoun, this still fits within the constraint of the hierarchy.

Set of similar nouns: predicate agreement

variety	American		Australian		New Zealand		American		British		British		British	
source	<i>NYT</i>		<i>SMH</i>		<i>DOM/EVP</i>		LSAC		CBA		<i>Independent</i>		BNC	
total, % PL	n	%PL	n	%PL	n	%PL	n	%PL	n	%PL	n	%PL	n	%PL
<i>government</i>	191	0	345	0	100	0	27	4	3282	4	365	5	383	18
<i>committee</i>	149	0	123	5	100	1	27	4	281	9	137	9	104	26
<i>team</i>	154	1	161	7	100	7	28	11	656	32	145	37	97	37
<i>family</i>	162	4	118	16	100	41	117	5	848	40	173	37	102	43

Based on Corbett (2006: 213); data from *NYT* (*New York Times*), *SMH* (*Sydney Morning Herald*), LSAC (Longman Spoken American Corpus, five million words) *Independent* and British National Corpus (BNC, ten million word section on spoken language) are from Levin (2001: 166-169); data on New Zealand English, from the newspapers *Dominion* and *Evening Post*, are from Hundt (1998: 82), who counted 100 examples for each item; CBA indicates data from the British English component of the Cobuild Bank of English, about five million words from newspapers, magazines and ephemera, also including some spoken language (Depraetere 2003: 110-111).

Cf. Joosten, de Sutter, Drieghe, Grondelaers, Hartsuiker & Speelman (2007) on Dutch

Russian hybrids in the Panov survey

(A) upravdom **vydal** / **vydal-a** spravku
house.manager issued[M.SG] issued-F.SG certificate
'the (female) house manager issued a certificate'

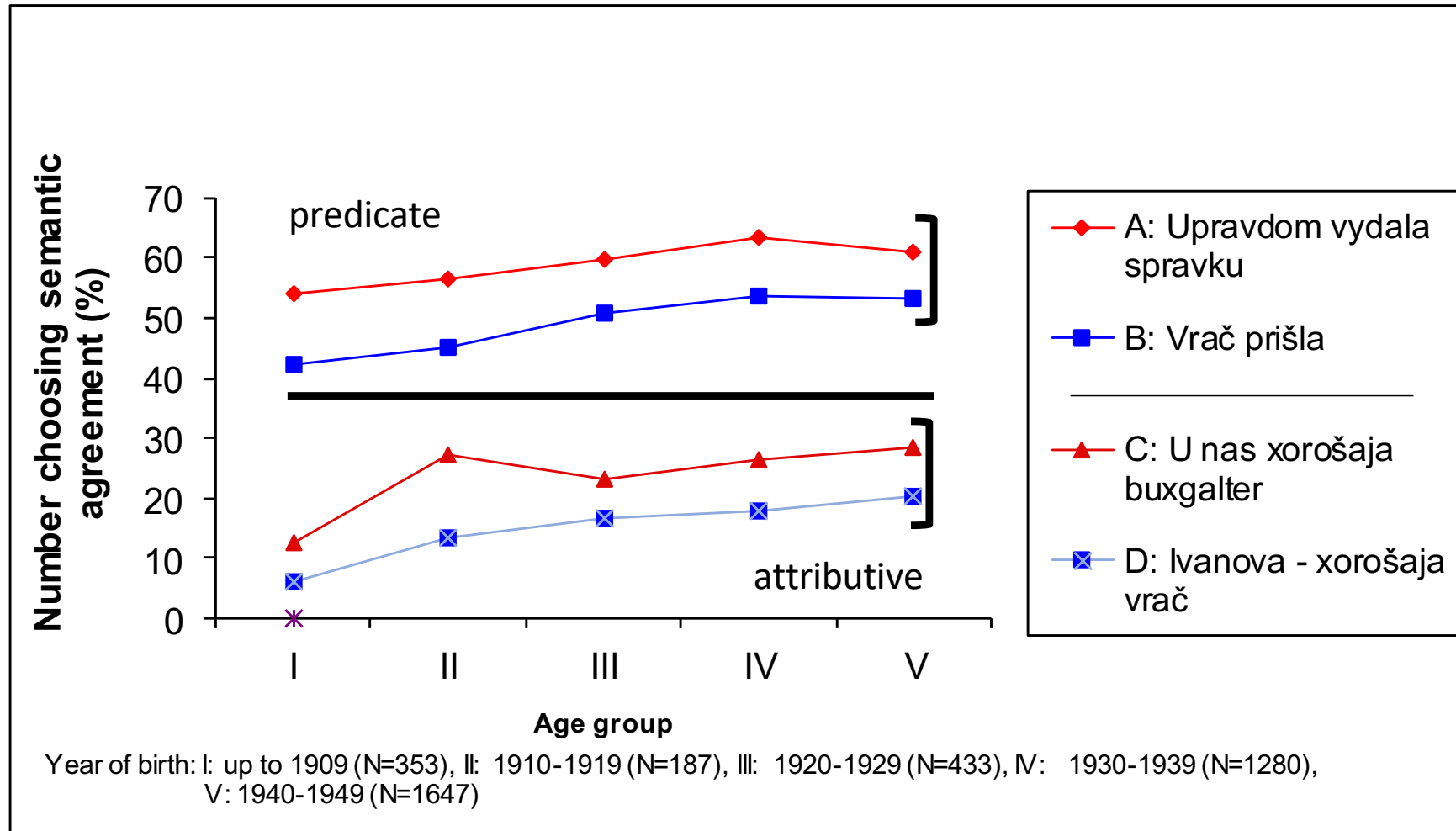
(B) vrač **prišel** / **prišl-a**
doctor came[M.SG] came-F.SG
'the (female) doctor came'

(C) u nas **xoroš-ij** / **xoroš-aja** buxgalter
at us good-M.SG good-F.SG accountant
'we have a good (female) accountant'

(D) Ivanova — **xoroš-ij** / **xoroš-aja** vrač
Ivanova good-M.SG good-F.SG doctor
'Ivanova (woman's name) is a good doctor'

[Example letters match statistics to come.] See also Lyutikova (2015),

Russian hybrids: Panov survey data



Based on over 3800 questionnaires.

Data in Panov (1968: 25-40), written by I. P. Mučnik, and in Kitajgorodskaja (1976)

'Collective' phrases

(13) The majority **is** / **are** in favour.

(14) The majority of the voters **is** / **are** in favour.

- **plural** more easily accepted in (14)
- dependent phrase often found, in contrast to *committee, family ...*

The dimension lexeme-phrase

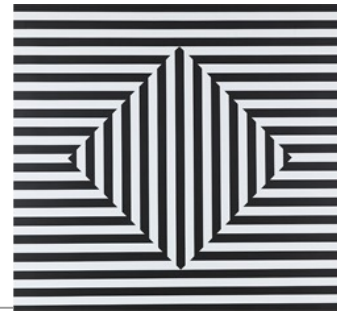
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	5. restricted numeral phrases	Serbo-Croat phrases with lower numerals	seen already
	6. comitative phrases	Russian <i>otec s mater'ju</i> 'father with mother'	coming below
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Russian comitative phrases

(15)... **moj** otec s mater'ju **vospityva-l-i** ego ...
my[SG.M.NOM] father(M)[SG.NOM] with mother-SG.INS raise-PST-PL 3SG.ACC
'my father and mother raised him'

(Ljudmila Petruševskaja, *Svoj krug* (1987), from the Russian National Corpus)

5. The dimension local-extraneous



- Agreement may depend on information not available locally (in the lexical entry or syntactic phrase)
- It's a cline

'Honorific agreement' in earlier Russian

Turgenev *Nakanune*

- (16) Mamen'k-a plač-ut ... a papen'k-a gnevaj-ut-sja
Mummy-SG.NOM cry-3PL and Daddy-SG.NOM be.angry-3PL-REFL
'(Your) mother is crying and (your) father is angry.' [predicate]

Pasternak *Doktor Živago*

- (17) Vy voj-d-ite k teten'k-e ... oni ničego ...
You go.in-IMP to aunt.DIM-SG.DAT ... 3PL.NOM nothing
'You go in to your aunt ... she is all right' [personal pronoun]

Pancake sentences

Norwegian (Nynorsk, Faarlund 1977: 251): pancake sentence

(18) Ein ny utanriksminister ville ikkje ver-e så **dum-t.**
INDF.SG.M new[INDF.SG.M/F] foreign.secretary would not be-INF so stupid-**SG.N**
'A new foreign secretary would not be a bad idea.'

Following a comparable Swedish example in Wellander (1949: 201-202).



6. Extraneous overrides

- Four types identified

Russian (Talitsk dialect) associative agreement

Russian (Talitsk dialect, Bogdanov 1968: 71): associative agreement

- (19) Góš-a **pr'ijéxa-l'-i**
NAME.DIM-SG.NOM arrive-PST-PL
'Goša (and his family) have arrived' (Egor, his wife and children, have arrived.)

Russian (Talitsk dialect, Bogdanov 1968: 69): associative agreement

- (20) **moj** brat tam toža **žy-l'-i**
my[SG.M.NOM] brother(M)[SG.NOM] there also live-PST-PL
'my brother (and his family) also lived there'

Russian (Talitsk dialect, Bogdanov 1968: 71): associative agreement

- (21) Pra Kuz'm-u my šypka ab'is'n'i-t' toža n'e mož-ym,
About Kuz'm-ACC.SG 1PL.NOM much explain-INF also NEG can-1PL

paš'imu **on'i** n'e p'iš-ut vam.
why 3PL.NOM NEG write-3PL 2PL.DAT
'About Kuz'ma we also can't explain much, why they don't write to you.'

Russian (Perm' area) associative agreement

Russian (Perm' area, Skitova 1989: 131): associative agreement

(22) Svet-a **uexa-l-i**

Sveta-SG.NOM leave-PST-**PL**

'Sveta (and her husband) have left' (literally: Sveta have left)

'Honorific agreement' in earlier Russian

Turgenev *Nakanune*

- (23) Mamen'k-a **plač-ut** ... a papen'k-a **gnevaj-ut-sja**
Mummy-SG.NOM cry-3**PL** and Daddy-SG.NOM be.angry-3**PL**-REFL
'(Your) mother is crying and (your) father is angry.' [predicate]

Pasternak *Doktor Živago*

- (24) Vy vojd-ite k teten'k-e ... **oni** ničego ...
You go.in-IMP to aunt-SG.DAT ... 3**PL**.NOM nothing
'You go in to your aunt ... she is all right' [personal pronoun]

'Back agreement' in Latin

Latin (Terence, quoted by Kennedy 1955: 117)

(25) Amant-ium ir-ae amor-is **integrati-o** **est.**
Lover-PL.GEN quarrel-PL.NOM love-SG.GEN renewal-**SG.NOM** be.3**SG**

'The quarrels of lovers are the renewal of love.' [predicate]

Latin (Livy, quoted by Kennedy 1955: 156)

(26) Thebae, **quod** Boeoti-ae **caput** est.
'Thebes(PL.F), which.**SG.N** Boeotia-SG.GEN capital(**N**)[**SG.NOM**] be.3**SG**

'Thebes, which is the capital of Boeotia.' [relative pronoun]

Latin (Mountford 1938: 64)

(27) **Ea** ver-a est **pietas.**
That.SG.**F** true-SG.F.NOM be.3**SG** piety(**F**)-SG.NOM. (**Id* that.SG.N)

'That is true piety.' [personal pronoun]

These are textbook examples, cited in Corbett (1979); see Pinkster (2015: 1261-1262, 1278-1282) for further data

Pancake sentences: covert and overt

Norwegian (Bokmål, Hans-Olav Enger, 28.01.2021): covert pancake sentence

(28) Dette bild-et hadde vær-t fin-t.
DEM.SG.N picture-DEF.SG.N had be-PST.PTCP fine-SG.N

‘This picture would have been fine.’

(29) Norwegian (Bokmål, Hans-Olav Enger, 10.08.2021): normal sentence

Disse bild-ene hadde vær-t fin-e
DEM.PL picture-DEF.PL had be-PST.PTCP fine-PL

‘These pictures would have been fine.’ (were it not for the weak painting of the faces)




Example (29) has normal agreement, and a normal interpretation. In contrast:

(30) Norwegian (Bokmål, Hans-Olav Enger, 10.08.2021): pancake sentence

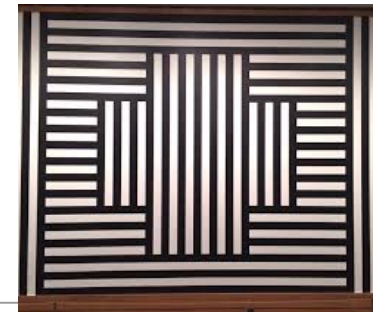
Disse bild-ene hadde vær-t fin-t
DEM.PL picture-DEF.PL had be-PST.PTCP fine-SG.N

‘These pictures would have been fine.’ (to put on this wall instead)

The ground covered: two dimensions

controller	non-canonical (conflicting factors)	
	compute (“AND”) 	extraneous (“OTHER”)
noun	§4 Lexical hybrids e.g. Middle Welsh collectives	§6 Extraneous overrides of lexemes e.g. 19c Russian honorific reference
NP/DP	 Constructional mismatches e.g. this girl and boy are ...	 Extraneous overrides of phrases e.g. Norwegian ‘pancake sentences’
agreement	canonical / non-canonical (informative)	

7. Interactions



controller	non-canonical (factors conflict)	
noun	§4 Compute (“AND”) >> §6 Extraneous (“OTHER”)	
NP/DP	<p>Lexical hybrids</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓ §7.1</p> <p>Constructional mismatches</p>	<p>Extraneous overrides of lexemes</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓ §7.4</p> <p>Extraneous overrides of phrases</p>

7.1 Hybrid overridden by conjoining

Lexical hybrids	Extraneous overrides of lexemes
Constructional mismatches	Extraneous overrides of phrases

French (Wechsler & Zlatić 2003: 177)

(31) La sentinelle et sa femme ont été
 DEF.F.SG sentry and 3SG.POSS.SG.F wife(F) have.3PL be.PST.PTCP

pris / *pris-es en otage
 take.PST.PTCP.PASS[M] / take.PST.PTCP.PASS-F.PL in hostage.

‘The sentry and his wife have been taken hostage.’

In this instance the form does not distinguish masculine singular and masculine plural. The finite verb shows it is plural.

French resolution rules (previous)

if all conjuncts are feminine, agreement is feminine;
 and otherwise agreement is masculine.

7.2 Russian titles are hybrids

Lexical hybrids	Extraneous overrides of lexemes
Constructional mismatches	Extraneous overrides of phrases

Russian (A. S. Puškin *Kapitanskaja dočka* 1836)

(32)... vaš-e prevosxoditel'stv-o ne **zaby-l-o** ...
 your-SG.N excellency(N)-SG.NOM NEG forget-PST-SG.N
 '...your Excellency did not forget ...'

Russian (V. V. Krestovskij, *Panurgovo stado* (1869), from the Russian National Corpus)

(33) ee prevosxoditel'stv-o **žela-l-a**, čtoby
 her excellency(N)-SG.NOM wish-PST-SG.F that ...
 'Her Excellency wished that'

Russian (D. S. Merežkovskij, *Petr i Aleksej* 1905, from the Russian National Corpus)

(34) ee vysočestv-o, **kotor-aja** s každy-m dn-em
 her highness(N)-SG.NOM REL-SG.NOM.F with each-SG.INS day-SG.INS
 okazyva-et mne vse bol's-uju družb-u ...
 show-3SG 1SG.DAT all greater-SG.ACC.F friendship(F)-SG.ACC
 '... her Highness, who with each day shows me ever greater friendship ...'

7.2 Russian titles overridden by honorific agreement

Lexical hybrids	↔	Extraneous overrides of lexemes
Constructional mismatches		Extraneous overrides of phrases

Russian (A. I. Kuprin, *Junkera* 1932)

(35)... ego prevosxoditel'stv-o **izvolj-at** vas ožida-t' v gostin-oj
 his excellency(N)-SG.NOM deign-3**PL** 2PL.ACC await-INF in guest-SG.LOC.F

komnat-e

room(F)-SG-LOC

'His Excellence deigns (literally 'deign') to await you in the drawing room.'

(36) Russian (B. A. Sadovskoj, *Lebedinye kliky* 1911, from the Russian National Corpus)


lx prevosxoditel'stv-o **prikaza-l-i** doloži-t', čto **oni** ožidaj-ut.
 their excellency(N)-SG.NOM order-PST-**PL** report-INF, COMP 3**PL**.NOM wait-3PL

'His Excellency ordered (me) to report that he is (literally 'they are') waiting.'

On the use of honorific agreement see Houtzagers (2018)

7.3 Hybrid overridden by pancake sentence

Lexical hybrids	Extraneous overrides of lexemes
Constructional mismatches	Extraneous overrides of phrases



(37) Norwegian (Bokmål, Hans-Olav Enger, 19.02.2021): hybrid noun

En ny regjering hadde ikke vær-t
 INDF.SG.M new[INDF.SG.M/F] government(M) had not be-PST.PTCP

så **dum** / så **dumm-e**
 so stupid-**SG.M/F** / so stupid-**PL**

‘A new government would not be so stupid.’ [rude, they are stupid]

(38) Norwegian (Bokmål, Hans-Olav Enger, 19.02.2021): pancake sentence


En ny regjering hadde ikke vær-t
 INDF.SG.M new[INDF.SG.M/F] government(M) had not be-PST.PTCP

så **dum-t**
 so stupid-**SG.N**

‘A new government would not be so stupid.’ (‘Having a new government would not be such a bad idea.’)

7.4 Extraneous overrides of lexeme and extraneous overrides of phrase


Lexical hybrids	Extraneous overrides of lexemes
Constructional mismatches	Extraneous overrides of phrases



- feasible: e.g. associative agreement and pancake sentences
- no example yet
- the types are individually rare, and we would need a language with both

7.5 Conjoining overridden by pancake sentence

Lexical hybrids	Extraneous overrides of lexemes
Constructional mismatches	Extraneous overrides of phrases



Norwegian (Bokmål) Hans-Olav Enger, p.c. 18.01.2020 (in Agreement mailbox)

- (39) Magnus Carlsen og Bobby Fischer hadde vær-t **super-t**
Magnus Carlsen CNJ Bobby Fischer had be-PST.PTCP super-**SG.N**
'Magnus Carlsen and Bobby Fischer would have been wonderful'

English (constructed)

- (40) Messi, Neymar and Mbappe **is** daunting for any defence.

English (Sam Dean, Telegraph, 7 August 2021)

- (41) Messi, Neymar and Mbappe **is** a fantasy football strikeforce - but can Mauricio Pochettino make it work?

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/football/2021/08/07/messi-neymar-mbappe-fantasy-football-strikeforce-can-mauricio/>


Conjoined hybrids overridden by pancake sentence

English (constructed)

- (42) After consulting her diary for next Monday, Rachel decides that her reading group, who enjoy long discussions, and her family, who are very demanding, **is** simply too much for one afternoon, so she postpones the family's visit.

7.5 Conjoining overridden by back agreement

Lexical hybrids	Extraneous overrides of lexemes
Constructional mismatches	Extraneous overrides of phrases



Czech (Vanek 1970: 53, Corbett 2006: 63-64)

(43) jedna a dvě **jsou** tři
one and two COP.3PL three
'one and two are (make) three'

(44) jedna a tři **jsou** čtyři
one and three COP.3PL four
'one and three are four'

(45) dvě a tři **je** pět
two and three COP.3SG five
'two and three are five'

(46) tři a tři **je** šest
three and three COP.3SG six
'three and three are six'

7.6 Interactions: results

controller	non-canonical (conflicting factors)	
	§4 Compute (“AND”) >> §6 Extraneous (“OTHER”)	
noun	Lexical hybrids ↓ §7.1	Extraneous overrides of lexemes ↓ no example yet
NP/DP	Constructional mismatches	Extraneous overrides of phrases

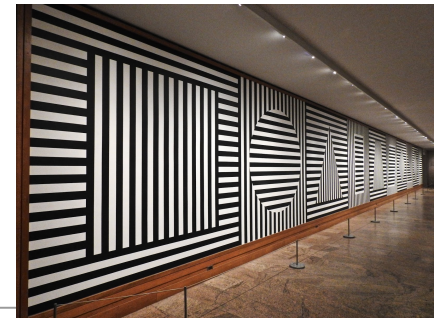
What we learn from these interactions

overrides present a coherent picture:

- along either dimension (lexeme-phrase, or local-extraneous)
- the possibility further from a canonical hybrid dominates (visually: downwards or rightwards (or both))
- fits our views about how syntax operates

overriding pattern shows agreement with a greater degree of semantic justification (but that is another story)

8. Conclusions and prospects



- new underpinning for Agreement Hierarchy controllers
- cycle of typology, measurement, understanding ...
- invitation for those in theoretical syntax to tackle a fuller range of controllers
- this Canonical Typology analysis demonstrates again that Linguistics is normal (social) science (Round & Corbett 2020, Spike 2020, Himmelmann 2021)

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