

Baker, Mark. 2003. "Agreement, dislocation, and partial configurationality"

In Andrew Carnie, Heidi Harley, and MaryAnn Willie, eds., *Formal approaches to function in grammar*, pp. 107-132. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Jelinek (1984) NLLT article:

Some languages have obligatory pronominal arguments/clitics that count as arguments of the verbs. Full NPs are never themselves arguments -- optional adjuncts of some kind.

Baker's re-statement: (p. 108)

In the presence of a pronominal element related to an argument position Y, an overt NP Z cannot occupy position Y at S-structure. Z can only be an adjunct to some constituent from which it binds Y.

...dislocation of NPs correlates with the presence of agreement almost perfectly in Mohawk, since both are present in virtually every every structure. (p. 108)

(1) A verb X agrees with an NP Y if and only if Y is in a dislocated adjunct position. (109)

Kinande, a Bantu language.

subject agreement required, but object agreement is optional

- (2) a. N-a-gul-a eritunda.
 1sg.S-T-buy-FV fruit.5
 'I bought a fruit.'
- b. Eritunda, n-a-ri-gul-a.
 fruit.5 1sg.S-T-OM5-buy-FV
 'The fruit, I bought it.'

When there is OM, the object, if there is one, must occur at the front of the sentence.

- (3) a. N-a-(*ri)-gul-a eritunda.
 1sg.S-T-OM5-buy-FV fruit.5
 'I bought a fruit.'
- b. Eritunda, n-a-*(ri)-gul-a.
 fruit.5 1sg.S-T-OM5-buy-FV
 'The fruit, I bought it.'

The agreed-with category must be interpreted as definite/specific. This is illustrated for the object below.

- (4) Eritunda, n-a-ri-gul-a. ("reversal" construction)
 fruit.5 1SG.S-T-OM5-buy-FV

‘The fruit, I bought it.’

(5) “[t]rue polysynthetic languages...always have agreement and always have dislocation” (Ibid., p. 112). A higher Spec of TP, comparable to the dislocation position in Italian. **The agreement, therefore, occurs in a specifier higher than the normal Specifier of TP.**

Baker forces the agreed-with phrase to occur in a higher position – thus the agreement to hold between this higher specifier and some head – by requiring pro to occur in the “normal” Spec of TP (Ibid., p. 124).

(6) [TP NP_i [TP pro_i T<AGR_i>+Verb ... [VP t_i...]]]

Kinande allows non-subjects as well as subjects in the Spec of TP, **and the verb agrees with whatever occurs there.**

(7) a. Omukali mo-a-seny-ire okukwi (lw’-omo-mbasa).
woman.1 AFF-1.S/T-chop-EXT wood.11 LK11-LOC.18-axe.9
‘The woman chopped wood (with an axe).’

b. Olukwi si-lu-li-seny-a bakali (omo-mbasa).
wood.11 NEG-11.S-PRES-chop-FV women.2 LOC.18-axe.9
‘WOMEN do not chop wood (with an axe).’

Another kind of inversion is with the locative expression. This construction is found with unaccusatives and passives of transitives. Unlike in English, in Kinande, there is agreement between the locative expression and the verb.

(8) ?Omo-mulongo mw-a-hik-a omukali.
LOC.18-village.3 18.S-T-arrive-FV woman
‘At the village arrived a woman.’

Difference between English and Kinande: in English the locative is not in Spec, TP.

(9) *Who_i was on the wall hung a picture of t_i?

(10) Who was there a picture of t_i on the wall?

The phrase that is “agreed-with” must occur on the left edge, where it is interpreted as definite/specific. One piece of evidence for this has to do with “augment vowels.” Nouns often begin with an “augment” vowel that matches the vowel of the class that the noun prefix belongs to. This augment vowel may drop under the scope of negation and in some other contexts; a noun without this augment vowel has **a nonspecific, indefinite interpretation**. The following exemplifies an object with and without its augment vowel.

(11) a. Yohani si-a-nzire o-mu-kali.
John NEG-1.S/T-like AUG-CL1-woman
‘John does not like the woman.’

- b. Yohani si-a-nzire mu-kali.
 John NEG-1.S/T-like CL1-woman
 'John does not like a(ny) woman.'

The agreed-with phrase can **never drop** its augment vowel.

- (12) a. Omukali mo-a-teta-gul-a ki-ndu.
 AUG-CL.1-woman AFF-1.S-NEG/PAST-buy-FV CL7-thing
 'The woman didn't buy anything.'

- b. *Mu-kali mo-a-teta-gul-a eritunda.
 CL1-woman AFF-1.S/T-NEG/PAST-buy-FV fruit.5
 'No woman bought a fruit.'

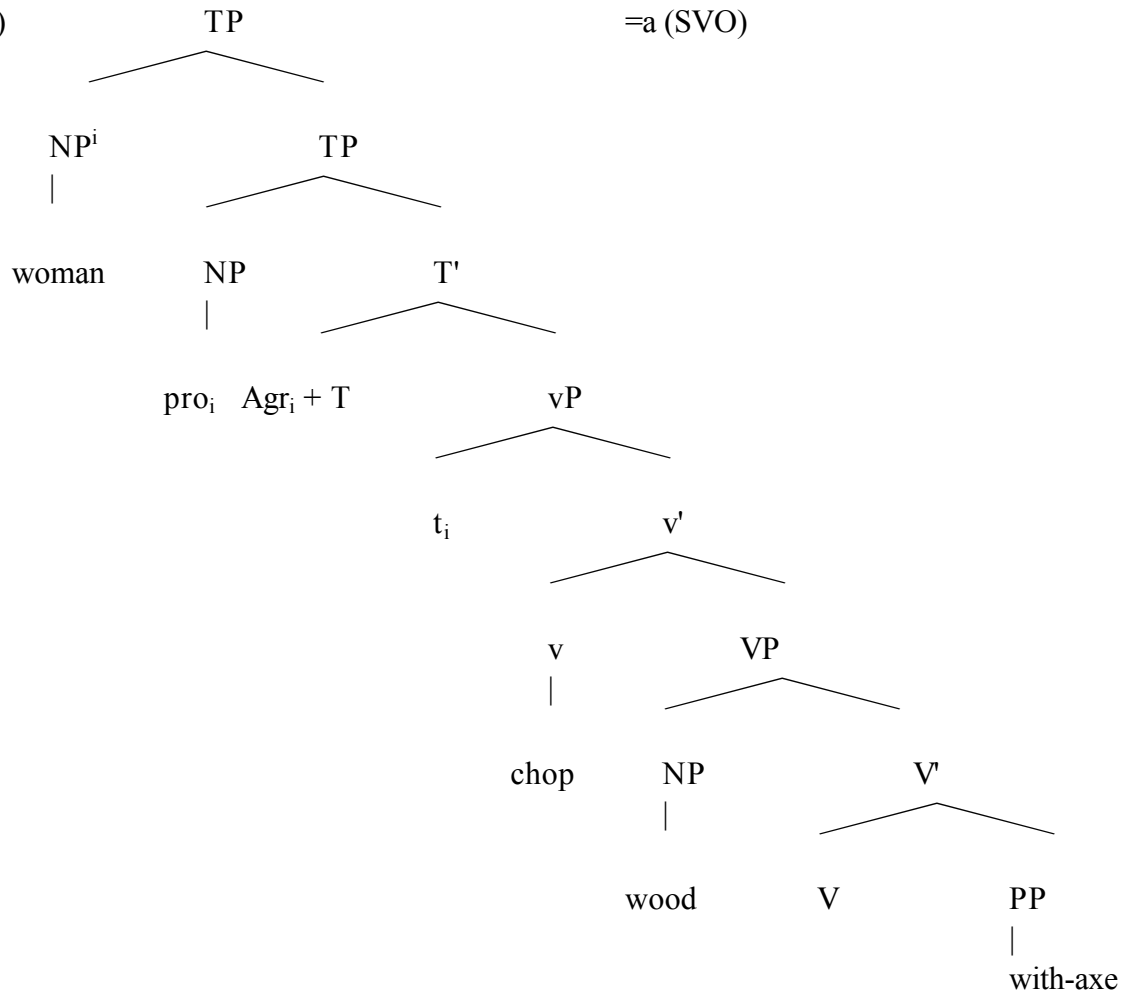
Agreed-with subjects are also dislocated: it cannot occur postverbally.

- (13) a. Omukali a-gul-a eritunda.
 woman.1 1.S/T-buy-FV fruit.5
 'The woman bought a fruit.'

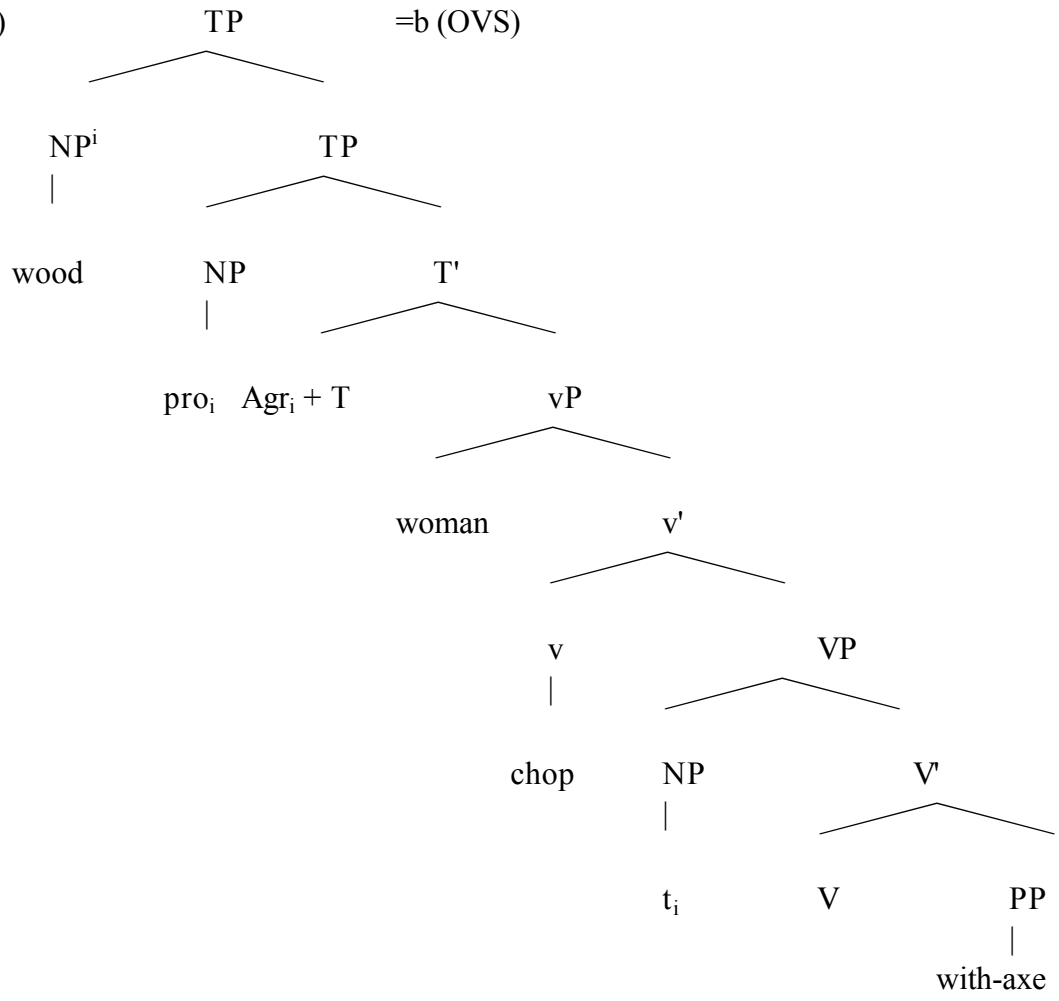
- b. *A-gul-a omukali eritunda.

(14)

=a (SVO)



(15)



(16)	IE	Bantu (Kinande, Chichewa)
preverbal subjects	Trigger agreement Are dislocated	Trigger agreement Are dislocated
postverbal subjects	Trigger agreement In argument position	Don't trigger agreement In argument position

(17) Agreement in IE, Bantu

- (a) Tense agrees with the nominative NP in IE.
- (b) Tense agrees with its specifier in Bantu.

(18) Locative inversion in English: agreement with postverbal NP
On the table **stands the trophy** Chirs won at the debate.

In Bantu, an overt NP cannot be in the specifier of the agreeing head.

- (19) a. * $[_{TP} NP_i T<Agr_i>+Verb \dots [_{VP} t_i \dots]]$
- b. $[_{TP} NP_i [_{TP} pro_i T<Agr_i>+Verb \dots [_{VP} t_i \dots]]]$ BANTU

Theory:

- (20) a. Agreement is not a distinct feature on a head.
 - b. It must be packaged with an EPP feature or a Case feature.
 - c. If Agr is packaged with one feature, it checks the head's other feature.
- (21) In Greek/Sp, Agr is packaged with the nominative case feature. It therefore checks the EPP feature. a is impossible because nothing triggers movement to Spec, TP. Same as A&A -- agreement feature on the Verb checks off the EPP feature.
- (22) In Bantu Agr is packaged with the EPP feature. It checks off the nominative case feature of T. An NP that is attracted to Spec, TP, must be of the kind that has no Case feature to check -- it must be an empty *pro*.
- (23) Why is a possible in, e.g., English? That is, in non-pro-drop languages of IE. The few verbal agreement markers are either syntactically inert or are entirely absent in the syntax and added in the postsyntactic morphology (cf. Halle and Marantz 1993).