

Agreement parameters: From Africa to Austronesian and the World

Close comparison between the Niger-Congo languages of Africa and the Indo-European languages suggests that the following two parameters govern how agreement works in natural human languages (Baker *in press*):

- (1) *The Direction of Agreement Parameter*
F agrees with DP/NP only if DP/NP asymmetrically c-commands F.
(Niger-Congo: Yes; Indo-European: No)
- (2) *The Case-Dependency of Agreement Parameter*
F agrees with DP/NP only if F values the case feature of DP/NP or vice versa.
(Niger-Congo: No; Indo-European: Yes)

But these parameters can only be attributed to Universal Grammar if they also prove to be applicable to languages of other families. In this paper, I claim that certain Austronesian languages that have agreement morphology (Fijian, Chamorro, *Tukang Besi*) have the same parameter settings as the Niger-Congo languages, and thus provide a crucial replication of the less-familiar cluster of properties.

One important effect of the Direction of Agreement Parameter in Bantu is that there is no subject agreement with NPs that stay inside the verb phrase. This happens in existential-like sentences with an expletive subject, such as (3a); note that there is subject agreement in comparable sentences in

English.

- (3) a. Mo-ha-teta-sat-a mukali (omo-soko).
 AFF-there-NEG/PAST-dance-FV woman.1 LOC.18-market
 'There was no woman who danced in the market.'
- b. Omukali mo-a-sat-ire (omo-soko).
 woman AFF-1S/T-dance-EXT LOC.18-market
 'The woman danced in the market.'

Similarly, existential sentences in Fijian do not show agreement with the subject, as shown in (4a), whereas comparable examples in which the subject has raised to Spec, IP apparently do as shown in (4b), just as in Kinande ((3b)).

- (4) a. e sō na vūlagi (Schütz 1985:329)
 3s.S be.some DEF villagers
 'There were some villagers.'
- b. era yaco māi e sō na vūlagi
 3p.S arrive DIR 3s some DEF villagers
 'Some villagers arrived.'

A second effect of the Direction of Agreement parameter in Kinande is that object agreement is possible only with definite/specific objects that have been dislocated, as shown in (5). Kinande contrasts in this respect with Spanish, where agreement is possible with indefinite objects in situ (Ormazabal and Romero 2006).

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

Similarly, there is a sort of object agreement in Fijian that takes place if and only if the object moves out of the minimal verb phrase, as shown in (6) (here I assume an analysis of this "incorporation" alternation similar to Massam's (2001) analysis of Niuean).

- (6) a. [E'au.i vola mai] a cauravou. (Dixon 1988:49)
 deliver letter to.here the youth
 'The youth is delivering letters.'
- b. [E'au-ta -- mai] a-i-vola yai a cauravou.
 deliver-TR.3O to.here the-letter this the youth
 'The youth is delivering the letter.'

A third striking effect of the Direction of Agreement Parameter in Bantu languages is the fact that a preposition cannot agree with its complements ((7a)) unless the complement is extracted out of the PP ((7b)) (Kinyalolo 1991). This contrasts with IE languages like Welsh, in which P can agree with pronominal complements even when they don't move.

- (7) a. Kambale a-ka-kanay-a na-(*bo) aba-syakulu
 Kambale 1S-PRES-speak-FV with-2 2-old.people
 'Kambale is speaking with the old people.'
- b. Aba-syakulu b-o Kambale a-ka-kanay-a na-bo.
 2-old.people 2-FOC Kambale 1S-PRES-speak-FV with-2
 'It's old people that Kambale is speaking with.'

Fijian is like Kinande in this respect, according to Dixon (1988:42, 248):

- (8) a. 'Eimami saa qaaqaa a 'ai-Boumaa [i-na drano].
 we ASP victorious ART native-place about-ART lake
 'We, the natives of Boumaa, were victorious concerning the lake.'
- b. A drano 'eimami saa qaaqaa ['i-na --] a 'ai-Boumaa.
 ART lake we ASP victorious about+3.SG ART native-place
 'The lake, we the Boumaa people were victorious concerning it.'

Thus, there is converging evidence that Fijian has the value for the parameter in (1) set "yes", just as most Bantu languages do.

The effects of the Case-Dependency of Agreement Parameter in (2) are more subtle in Bantu languages, because these languages do not have overt case marking on NPs. But an indirect reflection of it can be seen in examples like (9), where full agreement shows up on both the main verb and the auxiliary verb.

- (9) Abakali ba-lwe ba-ka-ly-a amatunda. (Kinande)
 women.2 2S-leave 2S-PTPL-eat-FV fruits.6
 'The women were eating fruits.'

Such instances of double agreement are ruled out in European languages: the lower T head could only agree with the thematic subject if it assigned that subject case, by (2); this would prevent the higher T head from assigning the subject case, and thereby prevent the higher T head from agreeing with the subject. In Kinande, though, agreement is not dependent on case assignment; therefore double agreement with the same argument is possible. (10) suggests that double agreement is also possible in Fijian:

- (10) Era dodunu me+ra la'o (Dixon 1988: 278-280)
 3p.S must C-3p.S go
 'They must go.'

Therefore, Fijian accurately replicates the parameter settings for agreement found in Kinande, helping to confirm that they are valid crosslinguistically.

Finally, I claim that *Tukang Besi* also has the same parameter settings as Fijian and Kinande do (based on Donohue 1999). This result however depends on taking a particular stand on the nature of "topicalization" in *Tukang Besi*—a controversial issue. This illustrates the need for productive interchange and collaboration between Austronesianists and general typologists/theoreticians, so that substantive and interesting universal principles and parameters to be discovered and confirmed.

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Parameters of Agreement: From Africa to Austronesian and the World

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1: Theoretical Background: Adjectives and the Conditions on Agreement

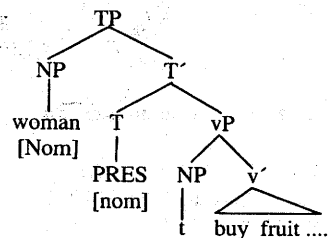
The core case of agreement: Subjects with the finite verb (i.e. with Tense)

- (1) The woman/she buys fruit each day in the market.
- (2) Abakali ba-[a]-gul-a eritunda. (Kinande)
woman.2 2S-T-buy-FV fruit.5
'The woman bought a fruit.'

Three Proposed Conditions on Agreement:

- A category agrees with the phrase in its *specifier* position (1985-1999)
- A category searches *downward* through the syntactic structure for the closest phrase it can agree with (Chomsky 2000, 2001).
- A category agrees with the phrase that it determines the *case marking* of.

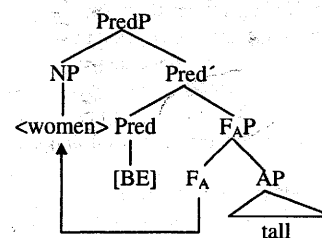
(3)



But none of these conditions generalize to other common types—like Adj-Noun agreement.

- (4) L-a-s muj-er-e-s son alt-a-s. (Spanish)
The-F.pl women-F.pl are(3pl) tall-f-pl
'The women are tall.'
- (5) Aba-kali ni/ba-lue ba-kuhi. (Kinande)
2-women PRED/2-were 2-short
'The women are short.'

(6)



Evidence for structure in (6): Unaccusativity diagnostics (Baker 2003)

- (7) a. Se ne rompono molti. (Italian) V: ne-cliticization OK
SE of-them break many
'Many of them broke.'
b. *Ne sono buoni pochi (dei suoi articoli). A: ne-cliticization Bad
of-them are good few (of his articles)
'Few of them are good.'

Evidence for structure in (6): Verbs agree in person but adjectives do not (Baker to appear)

- (8) a. Ni-li-kuwa ni-ki-som-a. (Swahili : Ashton)
1sS-PAST-be 1sS-CONT-read-FV
'I was reading.'
b. Ni-Ø m-refu.
1sS-be CL1-tall
'I am tall.'
- (9) *Structural Condition on Person Agreement (SCOPA):*
F can agree with XP in +1 or +2 only if a projection of F merges with a +1 or +2 element and F projects.

So there is agreement between A (technically F_A) and NP in (6) even though:

- NP is never in Spec, (F)AP.
- NP is never lower in the structure than (F)A.
- (F)A does not determine the case of NP (see (11)).

Two generalizations to the UG theory of agreement:

- (10) a. F agrees with NP only if F c-commands NP or vice versa.
b. F agrees with NP only if F values the case feature of NP or vice versa.

Factors agree in number
agree in gender
agree in adjective
agree in perhaps
agree on verbs
agree on prepositions
agree on case marked dp
agree on adverbs
agree on objects
agree on males
agree on law tight/loose

UG for hypothesis VB

Adjectives agree with NP in number and gender only if they agree with NP in Case:

- (11) a. María er góð. (Thrainsson 1979: 361)
 María.NOM is good.F.SG.NOM
 'Maria is good.'
- b. Ég tel María vera góða/ *góð.
 I believe María.ACC to.be good.F.SG.ACC good.F.SG.NOM
 'I believe Maria to be good.'

Case Concord

NP with

2. Agreement is Parameterized: Niger-Congo vs. Indo-European

- (12) *The Case Dependence of Agreement Parameter:*
 F agrees with DP/NP only if F values the Case feature of DP/NP or vice versa.
 (No: most Niger Congo languages; Yes: most Indo-European languages)
- (13) *The Direction of Agreement Parameter:*
 F agrees with DP/NP only if DP/NP asymmetrically c-commands F.
 (Yes: most Niger Congo languages; No: most Indo-European languages)

2.1 The Direction of Agreement Parameter

- T agrees with XP only if XP is in Spec, TP in NC languages:
- (14) a. Oko-mesa kw-a-hir-aw-a ehilanga.. (Locative Inversion)
 LOC.17-table 17S-T-put-PASS-FV peanuts.19
 'On the table were put peanuts.' (Kinande, Baker 2003)
- b. Olukwi si-lu-li-seny-a bakali (omo-mbasa). (Object Fronting)
 wood.11 NEG-11S-PRES-chop-FV women.2 LOC.18-axe.9
 'WOMEN do not chop wood (with an axe).'
- c. Mo-ha-teta-sat-a mukali (omo-soko). (Expletive subject)
 AFF-there-NEG/PAST-dance-FV woman.1 LOC.18-market
 'No woman danced in the market.'

end of subject

Central
Bantu
languages

No such requirement in IE languages:

- (15) a. On the table were put peanuts. (Locative inversion)
- b. ...az vayn ken men makhn fun troybn oykh. (Object fronting)
 that wine can one makefrom grapes also (Yiddish, Diesing 1990: 44)
 '(You should know)...that one can make wine from grapes also.' With Subj
- c. There are/*is some peanuts on the table. (Expletive subject)

- v agrees with the object only if the object moves higher than v in NC languages:

- (16) a. N-a-(*ri)-gul-a eritunda. Kinande: Agr only with dislocated object
 1sS-T-OM5-buy-FV fruit.5 (Baker 2003)
 'I bought a fruit.'
- b. Eritunda, n-a-ri-gul-a.
 fruit.5 1sS-T-OM5-buy-FV
 'The fruit, I bought it.'
- (17) a. Ngi-leth-el-a umfundisi incwadi Zulu: Agr only with definite object
 1sS-bring-appl-fv teacher.1 book.x (Doke, p. 299 Gr)
 'I am bringing a teacher a book.'
- b. Ngi-ya-m-lethela umfundisi incwadi
 1sS-DISJ-OM1-bring-appl-fv teacher.1 book.x
 I am bringing the teacher—the one who told me to do so—a book.
- (18) a. [TP Tense [_{VP} (*AGR_i+)bring [_{VP} teacher_i <bring> book]]]
 NP is in VP, domain of existential closure, can't trigger Agr-O
- b. [TP Tense [_{VP} teacher_i AGR_i+bring [_{VP} t_i <bring> book]]]
 NP is outside VP, domain of existential closure, does trigger Agr-O
 ...but the verb moves to T, concealing the object shift.

Subject

agree w/ object
if in
spec VP

No such requirement in IE languages:

- (19) (Yo) les-llevé a unos jóvenes al pueblo. (p. 18)
 I 3pO-carry ACC a.PL youngsters to.the town
 'I gave some young people a ride to the town.'
- P agrees with its object only if the object moves higher than P in NC languages:
- (20) a. Kambale a-ka-kanay-a na-(*b_o) abasyakulu. (no Agr)
 Kambale 3sS-Pres-speak-FV with-2 2.old.people with Pobj in situ
 'Kambale is speaking with the old people.' (see also Kinyalolo 1991: 111)
- b. Abasyakulu si-ba-li-kan-ibaw-a na-b_o (Agr with moved Pobj in
 2.old.people neg-2S-Pres-speak-pass-fv with-2 pseudo passive)
 'Old people are not spoken with.'

No such requirement in IE languages:

- (21) Soniais I amdan-o ef. (Welsh, Harlow, p. 220)
 Talked I about-3sM him
 'I talked about him.'
- amdanaf (i); amdanat (ti); amdani (hi); amdanynt (hwy), etc (p. 249)
 about-1s me about-2s you about-3sF her about-3p them

Richard

Since 9/10 govt has subject shift of agree
 parallel to Kinande which
 have free word order
 agree w/ sub but any other

and long distance agreement

- D/Q agrees with its complement only if it moves leftward in NC languages

*definite
like
heads*

- (22) obuli mu-kali; obuli ri-tunda (Kinande : no Agr in D NP order)
every 1-woman every 5-fruit
'every woman' 'every fruit'
(cf. also Swahili : kila ki-tabu 'every book'; kila m-tu 'every person')
- (23) aba-kali b-osi; amatunda w-osi (Kinande: Agr in NP D order)
2-woman 2-all 6-fruit 6-all
'all the women' 'all the fruits'
(cf. also Swahili: sisi s-ote 'we 1p-all'; ninyi ny-ote 'you.pl 2p-all')

No such requirement in IE languages:

- (24) a. El muchacho 'the boy' (Spanish: Agr in D NP order)
b. Las muchachas 'the girls' ...also agreement in Case in (e.g.) Greek

- C agrees only with an operator in Spec, CP in NC languages

complementizer

- (25) a. Ebi-hi by-o Kambale a-gul-a? Agr on C with moved Wh
8-what 8-FOC Kambale 1S/T-buy-FV
'What did Kambale buy?'
- b. Uti/*bi-ti Kambale a-gul-a ebi-hi? No agr on C with wh-in-situ
Q/8-Q Kambale.1 1S/T-buy-FV 8-what
'What did Kambale buy?'

Bank Spec

Agreement on C with logophoric operator generated in Spec, CP:

- (26) a. Mo-ba-nyi-bw-ire ba-ti Kambale mo-a-gul-ire eritunda.
Aff-2-1sO-tell-Ext 2-that Kambale AFF-1-buy-Ext fruit
'They told me that Kambale bought fruit.' (Kinande)
- b. Mo-n-a-layir-ire Kambale in-di a-gul-e amatunda.
Aff-1sS-T-convince-Ext Kambale.1 1sS-that 1S-buy-Subj fruits.6
'I convinced Kambale that he should buy fruits.'

agent with

[I_i convinced Kambale_k [_{CP} LOG_i C<Agr_i> [_{TP} he_k T<Agr_k> -buy fruits]]]

No such requirement in IE languages:

- (27) a. Kvinden dan die boeken te diere zyn. (W Flemish, Carstens, p. 393)
I-find that-PL the books too expensive are
'I find that those books are too expensive.'
- b. datt-e wiej noar 't park loop-t (Hellendoorn, p. 397)
that-PL we to the park walk-1p
'that we are walking to the park'

*Curpan
for 5p
down
So in dative
of
direction &
agree with
parameter*

2.2 The Case Dependence of Agreement Parameter

- T agrees with XP only if T assigns NP nominative case in IE languages

- (28) Henni leiddust Peir. (Icelandic)
She-DAT was.bored.by-3p they.NOM
'She was bored with them.'

*case
dependent
in IE*

- (29) a. Niina baalak-ko ut^haa-eg-ii. (Hindi)
Nina.F.NOM boy.M-ACC lift-FUT-F.SG
'Nina will lift up the boy.'

*but not
in Bantu*

- b. Niinaa-ne baalak-ko ut^haa-y-aa. (*uthaa-y-ii)
Nina.F-ERG boy.M-ACC lift-PERF-M.SG lift-PERF-F.SG
'Nina lifted up the boy.'

*agrees
determined
by case not
position
so only
not*

No such requirement in NC languages:

- (30) a. Oko-mesa kw-a-hir-aw-a chilanga.. (=14)
LOC.17-table 17S-T-put-PASS-FV peanuts.19 (Locative Inversion)
'On the table were put peanuts.' (Kinande, Baker 2003)
- b. Olukwi si-lu-li-seny-a bakali (omo-mbasa). (Object Fronting)
wood.11 NEG-11S-PRES-chop-FV women.2 LOC.18-axe.9
'WOMEN do not chop wood (with an axe).'

... nor, more obviously, in Burushaski (and Warlpiri, and Georgian, etc.)

- (31) a. Ie u:ne xidmat eč-a b-a. (p. 317)
I.NOM your service do-1sS be-1sS
'(For these many years) I have been at your service.'

*compare
this*

- b. Ia be.adapi.en et-a b-a. (p. 321)
I.ERG discourtesy do-1sS be-1sS
'I have committed a discourtesy.'

- v agrees with XP only if v assigns NP accusative case in IE languages

- (32) (Yo) les-llevé a unos jóvenes al pueblo. (Spanish (=19))
I 3pO-carry ACC a.PL youngsters to.the town
'I gave some young people a ride to the town.'

*case is
independent*

No such requirement in (NC languages? and) Burushaski (and Warlpiri, Georgian, etc.)

- (33) a. (U:n) gu-yetsa-m. (Agr with absolutive object)
you-ABS 2sO-see-1sS (Lorimer 1935)
'I saw you.'

- b. U:nar hik tran gu-čiča-m. (Agr with dative object)
 you-DAT one half 2sS-give-1sS (Lorimer 1935)
 'I shall give a half to you.'

Similarly P can only agree with the NP it assigns oblique case to in IE languages (see (21)); this does not necessarily hold in NC languages (see (20b)).

D can only agree with its NP complement if they agree in Case (German, Greek); this would not have to hold in a NC language.

C can only agree with the immediately lower nominative subject, which it helps to Case-mark (see Watanabe 1996) in IE languages (see (27)); in Bantu languages, C can agree with an operator with which it has no case relation (see (25) and (26)).

- Only a single finite verb can agree with a given argument in IE languages

- (34) a. Chris is coming. *no agreement*
 *Chris is comes.
 b. Las muchachas están leyendo el libro (*leyendas)
 the girls are reading the book
 c. Las muchachas han leído el libro. (*leídas)
 the girls have read the book.

T1 can agree with NP only if T1 values NPs case as nominative. T2 cannot also value NP's case feature (structural case marking is unique), and thus T2 cannot agree with NP.

But no such requirement holds in Bantu languages:

- (35) a. Abakali ba bya ba ka-gul-a amatunda (Kinande)
 women.2 2S-were 2S-PCPL-buy-FV fruits.6
 'The women were buying fruits.'
 b. Tu-lwé tu-ká-ly-a.
 1pS-leave 1pS-PCPL-eat-FV
 'We were eating.'

Nor in Burushaski (or Georgian):

- (36) a. Je u:ne xidmat eč-a ba.
 I.NOM your service do-1sS be.1sS
 '(for these many years) I have been at your service.'
 b. eč-u bo; eč-i bi; eč-a ba:n
 do-FsS be.FsS do-xS be.xS do-1S be.1pS
 'she is doing it; X is doing it; we are doing it.'

- Do these parameters work for a wider range of languages, outside the language families that originally motivated them?
- Do all the functional heads that undergo agreement show consistent behavior with respect to these properties in other languages, as they do in Kinande and IE?
- More specifically: Do they work for Austronesian languages? (WALS sample: Chamorro, Tukang Besi, Fijian, Paiwan, Indonesian, Malagasy, Rapanui, Tagalog)

3. Partial Replication of Bantu Parameter settings in Fijian

Object agreement only if object moves out of VP (assuming Massam's (2001) analysis of NI)

- (37) a. [E'au.i vola mai] a cauravou. (Dixon 1988:49)
 deliver letter to.here the youth
 'The youth is delivering letters.'
 b. [E'au-ta -- mai] a-i-vola yai a cauravou.
 deliver-TR.3sO to.here the-letter this the youth
 'The youth is delivering the letter.'

Agreement on P only if object of P is extracted (Dixon 1988:42, 248):

- (38) a. 'Eimami saa qaaqaa a 'ai-Boumaa [i-na drano].
 we ASP victorious ART native-place about-ART lake
 'We, the natives of Boumaa, were victorious concerning the lake.'
 b. A drano 'eimami saa qaaqaa [i-na --] a 'ai-Boumaa.
 ART lake we ASP victorious about+3.SG ART native-place
 'The lake, we the Boumaa people were victorious concerning it.'

Agreement with subjects except in existential constructions (where subject doesn't raise).

- (39) a. e sō na vūlagi (Schütz 1985:329)
 3sS be.some DEF villagers
 'There were some villagers.'
 (compare Chung 1998 on Chamorro, esp. pp. 68-69, 182-83)
 b. era yaco māi e sō na vūlagi
 3pS arrive DIR 3s some DEF villagers
 'Some villagers arrived.'

Therefore F agrees with XP only if XP asymmetrically c-commands F in Fijian, as in Bantu.

No overt case marking in Fijian, but some double agreement in Aux+verb constructions:

- (40) Era dodunu me+ta la'o (Dixon 1988: 280)
 3pS must C-3pS go
 'They must go.'
 (similarly with bese 'not want')

Therefore Case assignment must not be a requirement for agreement in Fijian, as in Bantu.
 Therefore Fijian has the same less-familiar settings for the case parameters as Kinande does.

Any other
 Niger Congo?
 100 languages in WALS
 needs to be a typologist

4. The Challenge of Tukang Besi

Unlike Fijian, Tukang Besi has a (Philippines-like) system of morphological case marking on NPs (*na* "nominative"; *te* "core" (default structural); *i/di* "oblique"; *nu* "genitive"). Thus the interaction of case marking and agreement is richer.

4.1 The Direction of Agreement Parameter

Object agreement on verb if and only if the object moves out of VP:

- (41) a. [_{VP} No-'ita+te kene-no] na ana. (Donohue 1999:70)
3R-see+CORE friend-3POSS NOM child
'The child saw its friend.'
- b. [_{VP} No-'ita-'e] te ana na kene-no.
3R-see-3O CORE child NOM friend-3POSS
'The child saw its friend.'

Subject agreement on T (realis versus irrealis) with most subjects...

- (42) No-tinti/no-buti na ana (Donohue 1999:51)
3R-run/3R-fall NOM child
'The child is running/the child fell.'

But not in existential clauses:

- (43) a. Ane i Tindoi na po'o koruo. (Donohue 1999:58)
exist OBL Tindoi NOM mango many
'There are many mangoes in Tindoi.'
- b. Mbea'e-mo na po'o koruo i Tindoi.
Not.exist.PF NOM mango many OBL Tindoi
'There aren't many mangoes in Tindoi anymore.'

Only optionally in passive clauses:

- (44) a. 'U-to-'ita na iko'o. (Donohue 1999:158, 275)
2sS.R-PASS-see NOM you
'You were seen.'
- b. No-to-'ita na iko'o.
3R-PASS-see NOM you
'You were visible.'

NB: The "subjects" in (44) and (45) also lack other "subject properties" in Tukang Besi (not discourse topics, not interpretable with floated Qs), suggesting they do not raise to Spec, TP.

Hence the Direction of Agreement Parameter is set "up only" in Tukang Besi, as in Fijian and Kinande. (There is no agreement on D, C, or P.)

4.2 The Case Dependence of Agreement Parameter

Double agreement is found in some auxiliary constructions ("ambient serialization")

- (45) a. 'Te tukatutu no agori no tode... (Donohue 1999:192)
CORE blacksmith 3R-immediate 3R-flee
'The blacksmith fled without delay...'

- b. 'U-po'oli-mo 'u-po-'awa ke iai-su?
2sS.R-finish-PERF 2sS.R-REC-obtain with younger.sib-1sPOSS
'Have you met my younger sister already?'

- c. Ku-hematu-mo ku-henahenai te pogau Wanse.
1sS/begin-PERF 1sS-learn CORE language Wanci
'I have begun to learn Wansi.'

(Note: Other auxiliary-like verbs have default agreement: these don't trigger NP raising.)

Subject agreement doesn't depend on Case marking of the subject: (Donohue 1999:53)

- (46) a. No-kiki'i te iko'o na beka. AgrS with nominative subject
3R-bite CORE you NOM cat
'The cat bit you.'

- b. No-kiki'i-ko na iko'o te beka. AgrS with core case subject
3R-see 2sO NOM you CORE cat
'The cat bit you.'

But object agreement only happens with an NP marked in nominative case.

- (47) *No-kiki'i-ko te iko'o na beka. *AgrO with core object
3R-bite 2sO CORE you NOM cat (compare (46b))
'The cat bit you.'

Does this imply that agreement on v is case-dependent in Tukang Besi, even though agreement on T is not? (inconsistency wrt the Case Dependence of Agreement Parameter)

Optimistic claim: No. The badness of (47) as opposed to (46b) follows from the setting of the Direction of Agreement Parameter, plus the general rule for assignment of *na* case in TB.

(Technically, the Case Dependence of Agreement Parameter could explain the contrast between (47) and (46b) only under the assumption that v (the bearer of object agreement) is what assigns nominative case to NP in (46b). This is not very plausible as a general principle of case assignment—see especially (42) and (44).)

A possibility:

- (48) Assign *na* to NP1 if NP1 is the highest NP in its clause. (if there is no other NP, NP2, such that NP2 is in the same clause as NP1 and NP2 c-commands NP1).

Consequences of (48):

- *Na*+NP does need to agree with a particular functional head: it can agree with T ((41a), (42)), or with *v* ((41b)), or with no functional head ((43), (44b)).
- *Na*+NP does not need to occupy a particular syntactic position; it can be in Spec, TP ((41a)) or it can be VP internal, as long as there is no higher NP ((43), (44b)).
- *Na*+NP is associated with subjects in the absence of movement.
- There is only one *Na*+NP per clause (in contrast with default case *te*, which can appear more than once in double object constructions).

(49) Ko-hu'u te ika na iko'o te iaku. (p. 55)

2sS.I-give CORE fish NOM you CORE me
'You will give me some fish.'

only 1 NP in clause
to the highest
can have
no other
anything

- *Na*+NP is possible in nonfinite clauses (contrast IE nominative). (p. 373-74) (if *-um-* is like an active participle; also Donohue (p.c.) for control complements)

(50) a. No-lagu-mo na La Judi [b-um-alu te loka akote ina-no].
3R-sing-PERF NOM La Judi REL-buy CORE banana for CORE mother-his
'La Judi, who bought some bananas for his mother, is singing.'

b. Te ama [mbeaka '-um-ita-'e na kokipo] no-motuturu-mo.
CORE man not REL-see-3O NOM shark 3R-sleep.RED-PERF
'That man who didn't see the shark was feeling sleepy.'

Implications of (48) for object agreement:

- The head *v* can only agree with NP if NP moves out of *vP* (Direction of Agreement Parameter).
- Spec, *vP* is not possible as a final landing site in *Tukang Besi* (as in English, French); it can only be passed through on the way to a higher position—above Spec, TP.

(51) a. No-manga-'e-mo te ana-no (dinggawi) na bae. (p. 79)
3R-eat-3O-PERF CORE child-3POSS yesterday NOM rice
'Their children ate the rice yesterday.' (p. 79)

b. [3R-eat te rice] (*yesterday) na + child-their (yesterday) (p. 80)

Therefore, if the object moves at all, it must move high, where it gets nominative by (48).

Therefore, *Tukang Besi* has the same (consistent) settings for the Agreement Parameters as Fijian (and Bantu).

But to see this requires (i) an understanding of the Case-marking rules in the language ((48)), plus (ii) an understanding of what the possible movement types are in the language.

And to do this right requires interaction between—and even collaboration between—typologists/theoreticians/generalists and Austronesianists.

Appendix: Testing the Consistency of the Parameters against the WALS sample

	Agree must be up ((1)=Yes)	Agree can be up or down ((1)=No)
Agreement dependent on Case ((2)=Yes)	Turkish, Lango, Greenlandic, Apurinã, Chamorro, Mapudungun (n=6)	IE languages (27), Hausa, Finnish, Abkhaz-Abaza, Kannada, Asmat, Amele, Alamlak, Maung, Mangarrayi, Tiwi, Lavukaleve, Daga, Yimas, Lakota, Tzotzil, Warao, Barasano, Yagua, Wichí, Choctaw, Hixkaryana, Hebrew, Wari', Chukchi, Makah, (n=32)
Agreement independent of Case ((2)=No)	Zulu, Swahili, Kinande, Berber*, Arapesh, Tariana, Fijian, Tukang Besi, Slave, Canela-Krahô, Jarawara (n=11)	Georgian, Arabic, Persian, Warlpiri, Dani, Kewa, Burushaski, Mayali, Halkomelem, Tauya, Ojibwa, Nez Perce, Karok, Otomi, Zoque, Ika, Basque, I. Quechua, Guaraní, (n=19)

see
most
canon

- Downward agreement possible, case dependence indeterminate: Khoekhoe, Kiowa, Nahuatl, Pirahã, Gooniyandi
- Upward agreement required, case dependence indeterminate: Luvalé, Mohawk?
- Not case dependent, direction indeterminate: Maricopa
- Case dependent, direction indeterminate: Bagirmi, Acoma
- Both parameters indeterminate: Wichita
- No Agreement: Sango, Yoruba, Supyire, Grebo, Krongo, Koyra Chiini, Harar Oromo, Khalkha, Japanese, Korean, Lezgian, Mandarin, Burmese, Meithei, Hmong, Thai, Vietnamese, Paiwan, Indonesian, Malagasy, Rapanui, Tagalog, Imonda, Kayardild, Martuthunira, Ngiyambaa, Yaqut, Mixtec, Sanuma (n=29)

Consistency of the Case Sensitivity Parameter:

- (52) a. Consistently case-sensitive: 7 (Greenlandic?, Choctaw, Tzotzil?, Yimas?, Daga, Wari', Mangarrayi, Peruvian Quechua)
b. Consistently insensitive to case: 7 (Georgian, Burushaski, Warlpiri, Ika, Basque, Canela-Krahô, Imbabura Quechua)
c. T case-sensitive, *v* not: 1? (Nez Perce—but alternative analysis exists)
d. *v* case-sensitive, T not: 1 (Gooniyandi)

what does the
mean

- (53) a. No agreement with obliques; no multiple agreement: 20 languages (Hindi, Apurinã, Daga, Choctaw, Hixkaryana, ...)
b. Agreement with obliques; multiple agreement OK: 11 languages (Georgian, Burushaski, Ika, I. Quechua, Maricopa, Jarawara...)
c. Agreement with obliques; no multiple agreement: 6 languages (Warlpiri, Basque, Chukchi, Tauya, Dani, Kewa)
d. No agreement with obliques; multiple agreement OK: 0 languages

Consistency of the Direction of Agreement Parameter:

- (54) a. Consistent up languages (at least two functional heads): 16
b. Consistent down languages: 43
c. Inconsistent languages: maybe 2 (Berber, Nez Perce—alternatives exist)

Balkans
12 Collins and Carstairs agree 5 heads EPP

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