Move and Agree: The view from specificational copular clauses in Kinande[1]

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1 Introduction

In this paper, I ask what specificational copular clauses (SCCs) in Kinande, a Bantu language spoken in the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo, can tell us about Agree and what Agree can tell us about SCCs. The focus of my investigation will be binominal clauses—DP1 *be* DP2, where DP1 is the structural subject of the clause and DP2 is referential rather than predicational. Languages vary as to which of the two nominals in a specificational clause controls agreement on the copular element, which will be of particular interest in this paper. Here are some examples of SCCs from Kinande, where we can see that agreement, which is in terms of noun class—indicated by the numerals in the glosses—is with DP2, the post copular nominal:

(1) a. émbugá **l'** **ô**lúhi
AUG.9problem 11 COP AUG.11war
'The problem is the war.'

b. [ebyalya ebyo nyanzire kutsibu] **w'** **a**matimo
AUG.8food 8that I.like strongly 6 COP AUG.6bananas
'The food that I like best is bananas.'

SCCs often have patterns of agreement that are unexpected when compared to other agreeing constructions in the same language with respect to the way that agreement is expressed with nominals that are lower than the canonical subject position.
The DP2 agreement pattern in SCCs in Kinande is especially striking because Kinande, along with other Bantu languages, has been pointed to as a language that demonstrates a possible macroparametric difference in Agree where it is argued in the literature that Agree is only upward in the afore-named languages. As an illustration of the claimed only-upward-agreeing property, in locative inversion constructions in Kinande, agreement is with the locative that occupies the spec of TP—the agreeing T has been supplied with φ-feature values by the locative

[1] I have benefitted from and am grateful for discussions concerning the content of this paper with Philip Ngessimo Mutaka; Nancy Hedberg and the Simon Fraser-based Corpus Pragmatics and Prosody Lab members; Marcel den Dikken; Jenneke van der Wal and the BASIS project participants; Elena Anagnostopoulou, Carolyn Heycock, Maria Polinsky, Karlos Arregi, and other CreteLing Summer School participants; Agree and Move forum participants and review; and Emily Clem and Michelle Yuan and the rich discussions they provided during my sabbatical time at UCSD.

nominal in spec of TP position (Agree looks 'upward' to find the φ-feature values that will be encoded in the agreeing T). Agree is not downward with the notional subject that is in post verbal position:

(2) omo mulongo mw-ásátiré múlúme, tw-abúlíré ng' a-kálwa hayi.
18LOC 3village 18-danced 1man 1PL-ask if 3S-leaving 16where
'A man danced in the village; we wonder where he is coming from.'

Baker (2008: p215) argues for parametric variation in direction of agreement. He has proposed that Kinande belongs to a set of languages that adhere to the following upward Agree parameter, where F is a functional head that expresses agreement: 'F agrees with DP/NP only if DP/NP asymmetrically c-commands F.'[2]

This 'upward' agreement behavior in Kinande and other Bantu languages contrasts with the behavior of Agree in a language like English where Agree in such constructions is downward, agreeing with the notional subject that T c-commands instead (Agree looks 'downward' to find the φ-feature values that will be encoded in the agreeing T):

(3) a. In the park ✓sit/*sits [three children] very quietly.

b. In the park *sit/✓sits [a small child].

I will establish that DP2 agreement in Kinande is unequivocally a true case of downward Agree, and not covert upward Agree. Therefore, an upward Agree macroparameter being active in Kinande cannot be correct. Moreover, the classic Chomskyan (2000) view that Agree only probes downward seeking a goal which will value the uninterpretable φ-features would be difficult to defend for Kinande since there are clear cases of upward Agree. In fact, we will see there is a bifurcation for Agree in Kinande that is already familiar from the domain of licensing in Bantu languages: the regions below T show patterns of Agree and licensing that are found in languages like English—nominals need licensing within vP (Halpert 2015) and downward Agree is active. But in the T domain, licensing (as discussed rather extensively in the Bantu literature) and, as I will establish here, also Agree operate differently. In the T domain we will see that Agree operates upward and spec/head agreement is the only possibility. However, I will show that there is a low φ-probe in SCCs, below T, and in that low domain, Agree operates downward. Therefore, at least in Kinande, DP2 agreement is not an alternant agreement possibility of T but rather arises due to the presence of a low focus projection which has a φ-probe, located below T,

[2] Baker's proposal is related to work by Collins 2004who argues agreement and the EPP are inextricably linked in Bantu languages. Collins proposes the following parameter for Bantu languages:

(1) **Agreement Parameter**
Let Agree (X, YP), where X contains the probe [uPhi], and YP contains the goal, then
X has an OCC {=EPP} feature that is satisfied by YP.

Carstens 2005 makes a related proposal that links the EPP and movement in Bantu languages.

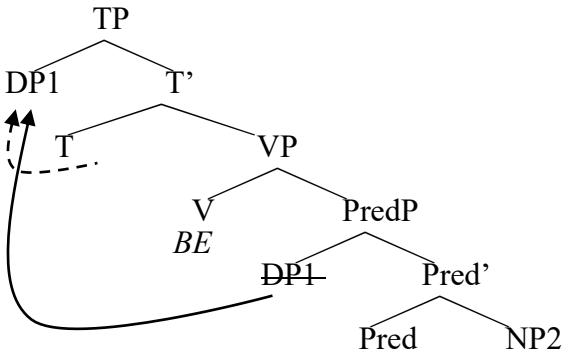
which also has a φ-probe. Possibilities of DP2 and DP1 agreement in this two-probe configuration are explored in this work.
Finally, I will argue for the necessity of a mixed Agree mechanism in Kinande. Such a mechanism would align with the views of den Dikken (2014) and Franck et al (2006) who present evidence that there are two different possible mechanisms for Agree: either through the operation Agree, which is Agree in a downward direction and which is dependent upon a probe/goal relation, or else through the Spec-Head relation.

2 The syntax of specificational copular clauses

2.1 Background: The basic structure

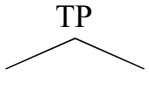
The correct analysis of SCCs is controversial. One influential position (Williams 1983; Heggie 1988; Moro 1990, 1997, 2000; Heycock 1994; den Dikken 1997, 1998, 2006; and Mikkelsen 2002, 2005) emphasizes the apparent reversibility of predicational and specificational clauses: a) *Kambale is the thief* (predicational), and b) *The thief is Kambale* (specificational) and argues that predicational and specificational clauses are related derivationally. From this perspective, there is a basic predication construction—a small clause—and from it, predicational copular clauses are derived and specificational copular clauses, as well. Predicational copular clauses are derived straightforwardly via raising of the subject of the small clause into the specifier of TP position, where the DP subject is licensed via the Agree relation between the φ-probe on T and the to-be-licensed nominal.

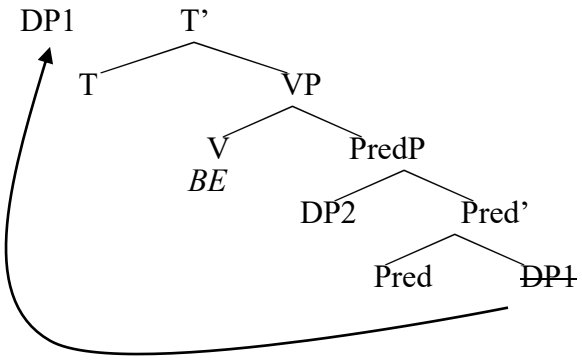
(4) **[PREDICATIONAL CLAUSE]**



Within this approach, SCCs are analyzed as inverted predicational clauses. They are derived via inversion of the predicate past the subject of the small clause, as illustrated in (5). Various accounts have been provided of what allows the predicate to move past the subject of the small clause into the specifier of TP position without violating any kind of minimality requirement, where under 'normal' circumstances, only the nominal that is structurally closest to the specifier of TP can move to that position. This aspect of the syntax of inversion will be discussed in section 3.2 and 3.3.

(5)





There are also non-derivational accounts of SCCs that analyze the underlying subject of specificational sentences as a predicate, such as Partee (1986).

There is an additional opposing analysis of SCCs. This analysis rejects the view that the structural subject of a specificational sentence (DP1) is a predicate and argues instead that the structural subject of an SCC is an *individual concept*[3] (Romero 2005, Heycock 2012, Arregi et al. 2021). This means that SCCs are not derived by inverting a predicational copular sentence. It does not, however, mean that there is no syntactic inversion, as Heycock, Arregi et al, and others point out. The finding that the structural subject of SCCs is an individual concept is a semantic observation. The syntax of SCCs is still an open question. Hartmann & Heycock (2016, 2017, 2020) and Heycock (2012, 2022) suggest that syntactic inversion occurs in SCCs, while embracing an *individual concept* semantic analysis for them. They argue that inversion provides the most straightforward account of the cross-linguistic variation of agreement in SCCs where some languages show agreement with DP1 and others with DP2.[4] As a syntactic instantiation of her view, Heycock (2012) argues that SCCs are based on a small clause headed by a functional category, F. This category has the semantics Romero (2005) proposes for the specificational BE copula with the change to Romero's original proposal that the complement of F will provide the *individual concept* required by an SCC, rather than the specifier:

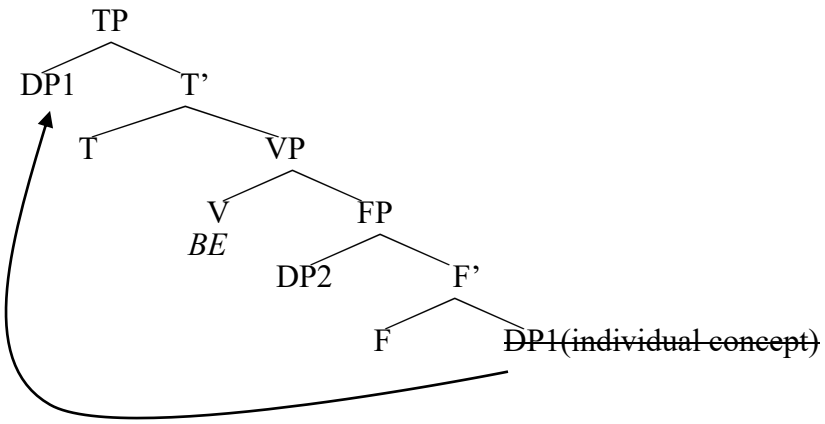
[3] *Individual concepts* are functions from worlds to individuals (Romero 2005, Arregi et al. 2021).

[4] English, for example, in contrast to Kinande, displays DP1 agreement in SCCs:

(i) The problem is/*are you.

(ii) The problem is/*?are guns.

(6)



All approaches to the syntax of SCCs note and attempt to account for the well-established observation in the literature that SCCs have a very strict information structure requirement—cross-linguistically they are rigidly TOPIC (DP1) (*be*) FOCUS (DP2).
In what follows, I adopt a syntactic inversion analysis of SCCs. I rely on the proposal in Heycock (2012) and Hartmann & Heycock (2020) with respect to the semantic nature of DP1 plus syntactic inversion and recognize its roots in the important works (cited above and also Hedberg & Schneider-Zioga 2015) that argue for inversion of the predicate in SCCs.[5] I will provide evidence that a richer structure is present in SCCs related to information structure, than is usually posited and argue that that richer structure mediates DP2 agreement, at least in Kinande. I turn now to Kinande, whose patterns of agreement and sensitivity to information structure will shed light on the syntax of SCCs.

2.2 Background: Agree & licensing

Before we look more closely at Kinande, I briefly introduce the understanding of Agree and licensing that will be relevant to the analysis of SCCs in Kinande. The earliest view of Agree, Chomsky (2000), proposed that Agree is relevant to uninterpretable features, with a focus on φ-features. Classically, Agree requires c-command between a *probe* that bears uninterpretable φ-features that must be valued, and a c-commanded *goal* that supplies a value for the features. This has been called *Downward Agree* or, from the point of view of valuation of uninterpretable features, *upward valuation*.[6] This relation is regulated by locality. The downward Agree view fits well with the English data, but is challenged by the Kinande/Bantu data, since it appears from the data discussed by Baker and others that Agree is upward in Kinande/Bantu (the SCC data were not part of that discussion).

In contrast, a number of researchers have argued that Agree generally requires an upward direction: the goal must c-command the probe. Some researchers representing an Upward Agree view have argued that agreement can only take place in a Spec-Head configuration, where the goal occupies the specifier position and c-commands the probe, which is head of the projection (e.g., Koopman 2006). Others have envisioned a broader view of Upward Agree, such that the

[5] I also acknowledge the insights of the semantic work discussed above as central to any progress in understanding the syntax of SCCs.
[6] *Upward valuation* expresses the direction of agreement from the point of view of valuation rather than probing, where valuation involves transmission of features from the goal to the probe. If the probe c-commands the goal, then the goal transmits its valuation upward in the tree.

distance between the c-commanding goal and the probe can be greater than that found in a Spec-Head configuration, including cases that have more traditionally been viewed as concord and where Agree is generalized beyond an operation involving φ-features, to one involving uninterpretable features more generally (Wurmbrand 2012, Zeijlstra 2012, and Bjorkmann & Zeijlstra 2019).

Mixed solutions have also been offered. Baker (2008) proposed that the direction of agreement in a language is a macroparameter that varies according to the language. As mentioned in the introduction, Baker proposed that in Bantu languages, the parameter is set to Upward Agree. In a language like English, the value is set to downward. A different kind of mixed solution has been argued for by Zeijlstra and Bjorkman (2019), who argue that Agree is upward, however, under certain circumstances, Agree also proceeds in a downward direction if an upward dependency has been created between two expressions. Den Dikken (2014) and Franck et al (2006) present evidence that there are two different possible mechanisms for Agree: either through the operation Agree, which is agreement in a downward direction, dependent upon a probe/goal relation, or through the Spec-Head relation. Moreover, Carstens (2013, 2016) argues that there is no set direction of Agree. Instead, apparent direction of Agree falls out from other components of the grammar, driven by derivation such that uninterpretable features are to be valued immediately upon merge if a match is possible for uninterpretable features on a head and the phrase with which it merges. Otherwise, Carsten argues, valuation can be delayed to a later point within the same phase, which might result in a downward direction for Agree depending on the presence of edge features. Finally, van der Wal (2022), who argues that Bantu languages rely on discourse features such as [+TOPIC] for licensing of some nominals, builds on Carsten's theory of delayed valuation and introduces a system of flexible licensing. In the flexible licensing system, both licensing and φ-agreement can arise via Agree that is either upward or downward.

3 SCCs in Kinande

In section 1, we saw examples of SCCs in Kinande. These are binominal sentences, where two DPs are separated by a connecting element that agrees in noun class—gender and number—with DP2. I provide here additional examples that underscore that agreement is with DP2, as the form of what I gloss here as COP changes depending on the noun class of DP2.

(7) a. émbugá **l'** ô**lú**hi (repeats 1a)
AUG.9problem 11 COP AUG.11war
'The problem is the war.'

b. émbugá **y'** ó**mu**galímu wage
AUG.9problem 1 COP AUG.1teacher 1my
'The problem is my teacher.'

c. émbugá **b'** â**bá**galimu
AUG.9problem 2 COP AUG.2teachers
'The problem is the teachers.'

3.1 Focus marker, not copula

I note first that the connecting element in SCCs, which I henceforth will call *YO* after the connecting element for noun class one, is not the same as the connecting element in predicational clauses. In binominal present tense predicational clauses with third person subjects of any noun class, there is an invariant copular particle *ni*, which expresses neither tense nor agreement:

(8) a. Kambale ni mugalímu
Kambale be 1teacher
'Kambale is a teacher.'
b. Abana ni …. / Ekitabu ni …. / Oluhi ni ….
AUG.2child be AUG.7book be AUG.11war be
'The children are…' 'The book is …' 'The war is ...'

We might conclude that the existence of two different connecting words, one for predication and one for specification, is consistent with the non-predicate inversion view of SCCs that I have adopted—semantically distinct pred heads are exponed as distinct forms. However, although it appears that there is a specialized copula for SCCs, additional data demonstrate that the agreeing particle we see in present tense SCCs is lower than the verbal complex and therefore cannot be the copula. The low position of the connecting word *YO* becomes clear when we consider different tenses and aspect.

In ((9)) and ((10)) we see that *YO* is lower than a tense-marked copula, such as 'abya' in ((10)).

(9) a. iyóndi y' u-wíb' ebitábu? (Context for the SCC in b.)
1who 1 FOC AA-stole AUG.7book
'Who stole the book?'

b. ómwibí álwé i[7]-y' ômúlámya
AUG.1thief 3s.TAM.be LK-'1 COP' AUG.1doctor
'The thief was (very recent past) the doctor.'

(10) ómwibí a-bya í-y' omugalimu
AUG.1thief 3s- TAM.be LK- '1 COP' AUG.1teacher
'The thief was the teacher.'

The connecting element *YO* is also lower than aspect. In the following example we see it occurs below a copula marked for aspect:[8]

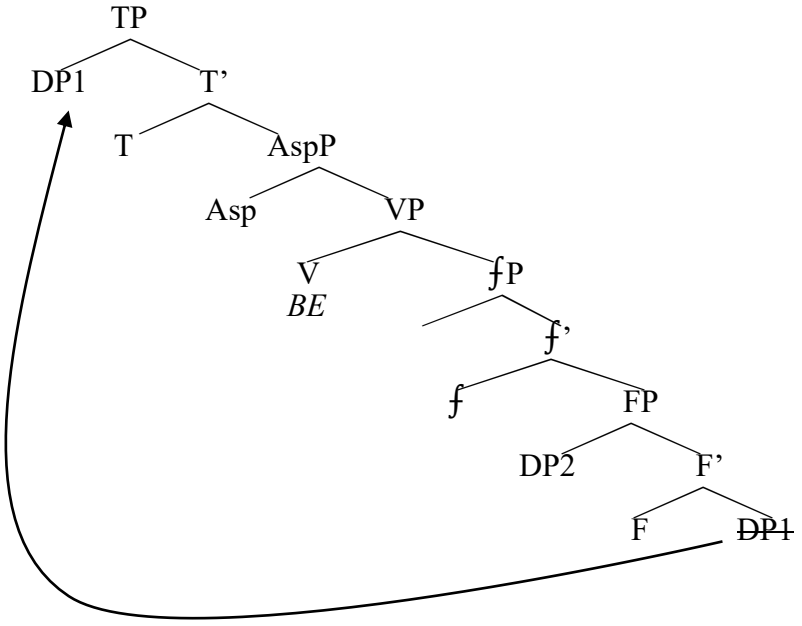
[7] The linker i- (glossed LK) possibly marks nominals/nominalized expressions that are preceded by verbal /temporal-indicating elements. It also precedes all tonic pronouns. This is a linker so named by Patrick Jones (2009) in his investigation of the morphology of Kinande. Its distribution and function are not completely clear. It is distinct from the linker in Kinande discussed by Baker and Collins 2006 and Schneider-Zioga 2015, and Schneider-Zioga & Mutaka 2015.

[8] (Possible) allomorphy of the copulas in Kinande has not yet been well explored. Mutaka 2012 provides an overview of some of the variation.

(11) Olúkogokogo lwetu lu-ki-né í-l' ôlúhi
AUG.11problem 11our 11-still-*be* LK-'11 COP' AUG.11war
'Our problem is still the war.'

The example in ((11)) clearly demonstrates that *YO* is too low in the tree to be a copula—it is below *ne*, an allomorph of the copula *ni* when preceded by aspect. The copula *ne/ni* is itself lower than the aspect projection. Therefore, the connecting morpheme *YO* must be lower than VP on the standard assumption that head movement of V is constrained by minimality which means that the copula *ni/ne* could not have started off below *YO*. Here is the structure I will argue for, which is common to many analyses of SCCs, but with the addition of a projection, ƒP, for the low *YO* that occurs below the copula in SCCs in Kinande:

(12)



I argue that the low projection I have identified, ƒP, is a focus projection. I propose that in SCCs the copula selects not simply a small clause headed by a functional head F with specificational semantics (Romero's specificational BE), but a slightly larger structure: namely a small clause embedded under the focus projection--ƒP. I assume that the relation between the focus head and the head of the small clause ensures that the correct structure is selected by BE. *YO*, which occupies the head of ƒP, agrees in gender and number with the obligatorily focused DP2 that it locally c-commands. The agreed-with DP2 is also obligatorily focused. In short, *YO* expresses focus agreement in SCCs. I note that *YO* in SCCs is in fact identical to the agreeing focus marker *YO* that occurs on the left edge in other type of focus constructions. Here are examples of the left edge focus marker *YO* in a question/answer sequence:

(13) Q: iyóndi **yó** w-á-hándik' ebharúha (kwé)?
1who 1FOC AA-TAM-write AUG.9letter (Q)
'Who wrote the letter?'

A: Kátsuba **yó** w-á-hándik' ebharúha [Subject is in **narrow focus**]
Katsuba 1FOC AA-TAM-write AUG.9letter
'Katsuba wrote the letter.'

The left edge focus marker *YO*, as seen in (13), agrees in noun class with the focused expression which occurs in its specifier. The following table presents the complete paradigm of the focus marker *YO*, where we see it consists of a pronominal formative *-O* to which are prefixed agreement markers which match the gender and number features (i.e. noun class) of the focused expression. The numbers in the table below correspond to the historical number of the noun class, where the odd numbered noun classes are singular and many of the even numbered classes are plurals of the corresponding singular genders.

FOCUS MARKERS AGR+-O			
1st ps/pl	---	---	
2nd ps/pl	---	---	
1	YO	2	BO
3	WO	4	YO
5	RYO	6	WO
7	KYO	8	BYO
9	YO	10	SYO
11	LO	12	KO
13	TO	14	BO
15	KO	16	HO
17	KO	18	MO
19	HYO	24	YO

Table 1 -- Complete paradigm focus markers

In sum, we see there is a low focus-dedicated projection below the copula in SCCs in Kinande. Based on that, I have proposed that the specificational copula selects an extended small clause—one embedded under a focus projection, which itself is directly selected by the specificational copula. The focus projection is headed by an element with a φ-probe that enters into agreement in gender, number, and A'-features with the focused DP2. This projection is distinct from T, which we will see can also express agreement in SCCs, and which will be discussed in section 3.3.

3.2 Agreement with focus

In this section I look more closely at the direction of Agree and licensing. The fact that in some languages agreement can be with DP2 in SCCs and in others with DP1 has provided a strong argument for syntactic inversion regardless of one's position on the semantic nature of DP1 (i.e., as *predicate* or *individual concept*). On the one hand, Moro 1997 observed that DP2 agreement in SCCs accords with the fact that 'subject/verb' agreement in all other contexts accurately reflects subjecthood in Italian.[9] He proposes a syntactic inversion analysis of SCCs where DP2 is understood as the subject of a small clause that forms the thematic basis of the SCC, from whence it is clearly a candidate for subject/verb agreement. Moreover, Heycock (2012) points out that an inversion analysis can provide a syntactic means for parametric variation: where, she argues, the cross-linguistic variation with respect to DP2 or DP1 agreement can be treated in the following way (keeping in mind that Heycock's proposed structure does not include a low focus projection with a φ-probe): A φ-probe on T would find either DP2, the subject of the small clause first ((14)a), since it would be structurally closer to T than DP1 or DP1 could adjoin to the small clause or another intermediate projection ((14)b) on its way to spec of TP and from there serve as goal for the φ-probe on T instead of DP2. Work by Béjar & Kahnemuyipour (2017, 2018) and Hartmann & Heycock (2016, 2017) explore accounts of SCCs and agreement possibilities related to this view of the structural possibilities:

(14) a. φ-T … [DP2 [pred [DP1]]]

b. φ-T … [DP1 [DP2 [pred ~~[DP1]~~]]]

The Kinande situation, however, indicates that the structure is more complex because the DP2 agreement is not subject/verb agreement but rather focus agreement, which is a type of agreement whose typology has not been well studied. The first issue to clarify then is what precisely is the Agree relation between the φ-probe on FOC and DP2.

I will first establish that in SCCs focus agreement is an instance of downward Agree, by which I mean probing for interpretable φ-features takes place in a downward direction—the probe looks for the closest goal in its c-command domain. I take the presence of defective agreement as a strong indication of downward Agree, especially keeping in mind the discussion of upward/downward Agree asymmetries in Bjorkmann & Zeijlstra (2019), although I do not adopt their account of Agree. Bjorkmann & Zeijlstra point out the widespread agreement asymmetries that have been discussed in the literature that indicate agreement differences between downward Agree and upward Agree (usually Spec-Head agreement). They review discussions in the literature of instances of defective agreement—where not all possible features of a goal are agreed with, or only a default type of agreement occurs—and underscore that this is observed to happen when agreement is with expressions that are lower than the agreeing element

[9] He also demonstrates that the agreeing DP2 exhibits a number of additional 'subject' properties such as the impossibility of extracting out of DP2 and Italian specific facts about subjects related to cliticization out of nominals.

rather than when there is a spec/head (or related) upward Agree relation between the agreed with nominal and the agreement marker.[10] With this in mind, we can note that in SCCs in Kinande, several classes of DP2 nominals display defective agreement with φ-FOC—namely, all tonic pronouns and singular proper names. This agreement fact is illustrated for the proper name *Kambale* below, where the focus marker is *ni*:

(15) émbugá **ni Kámbale**
AUG.9problem ni 1Kambale
'The problem is Kambale.'

The expected focus marker form is *yo* rather than *ni. Yo* is the focus marker form we would find if focused *Kambale* occurred in the specifier of focus phrase position on the left edge of a clause:[11]

(16) a. Kambale **y'** u-ka-genda
Kambale 1FOC AA-TAM-go
'KAMBALE is going.'

b. Kambale **yo** u-abya mwibi
Kambale 1FOC AA-TAM- BE 1thief
'KAMBALE was a thief.'

The focus marker form that occurs in (15) is a general third person form which distinguishes neither gender nor number. In other words, agreement in noun class is not tracked with this focus marker in contrast to the fully agreeing focus markers which express agreement in noun class with the focused DP2, when it is not a pronoun or proper name.

As mentioned, the default form also occurs when tonic pronouns are considered. Consider the following example involving a second person, third person singular (noun class 1), or animate plural (noun class 2), or inanimate plural (noun class 8) pronoun. This is an agreement failure related to the status of the Agree goal as a pronoun:[12]

[10] There is one case where surface agreement is clearly defective and agreement is with an expression that is HIGHER than the agreeing element: when anti-agreement occurs (see Schneider-Zioga 2007 for discussion of anti-agreement). In this case, the anti-agreeing morphology, the agreement morphology that occurs when a subject is wh-questioned or focused, expresses fewer or different features than canonical, full agreement—where the goal is also in a Spec-Head relation with agreement.

[11] As noted by a reviewer, copular sentences such as (16b), where DP1 is focused, raise interesting questions that remain to be thoroughly explored. For example, a closer investigation of the context/Question Under Discussion will help clarify what type of focus might or must be involved here. This will likely provide greater insight with respect to the semantic typology of copular clauses.

[12] In a number of languages, DP2 agreement fails or is not possible with local persons in SCCs. But agreement failure in Kinande is relevant to all pronouns. This is reminiscent of an observation made by den Dikken (2021) about Dutch where he notes in SCCs "There is an overall deteriorating effect of pronominality: whenever the focused subject of an inverse copular sentence {DP2} is a nominative pronoun, the result is less than perfect." The difficulty of agreeing with focused pronouns merits further investigation cross linguistically. A reviewer suggests that the antipathy between agreement and focus that we observe in anti-agreement contexts also might be closely related to den Dikken's generalization about pronouns and focus given that pronouns have such limited content that they are sometimes analyzed as phi-features.

(17) émbugá **ni** iwe/iye/ibo/ibyo
AUG.9problem ni you/her-him (NC1)/them (NC2)/them (NC8)
'The problem is you/her-him/them(humans)/them(things).'

Agreement failure occurs for all focused pronouns in DP2 position—the general third person form *ni* must occur instead. We can see the asymmetry in Agree direction clearly where full agreement is possible if a pronoun is fronted and occurs in the specifier of focus phrase position, on the left edge of the clause:

(18) a. Iye yo ….
1she/he 1FOC
'S/HE …'

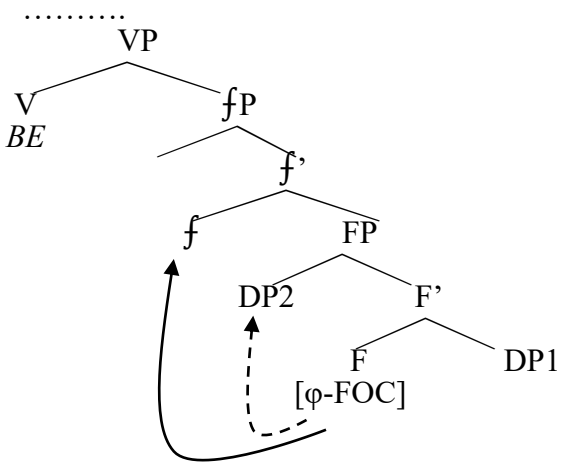
b. Ibo bo ….
2they 2FOC
'THEY … '

c. Ibyo byo ….
8they 8FOC
'THEY …'

Because of this obvious agreement difference between Spec-Head focus agreement and the focus agreement we find in SCCs, it is clear that the agreeing DP2 is not even covertly in a spec/head relation with the FOC marker, at least not at the point that Agree takes place, which I assume is as early as possible.

Let us first walk through the incorrect derivational possibilities revealed by the agreement facts in order to clarify which derivations of SCCs should be rejected in Kinande based on agreement facts. As a first possibility, we see that φ-FOC could not have originated in the head of the small clause, probe upward (or downward for that matter) for a goal (DP2) and then itself move to a higher position in the tree, after upward agreeing with DP2. That is, the following is not a possible scenario:

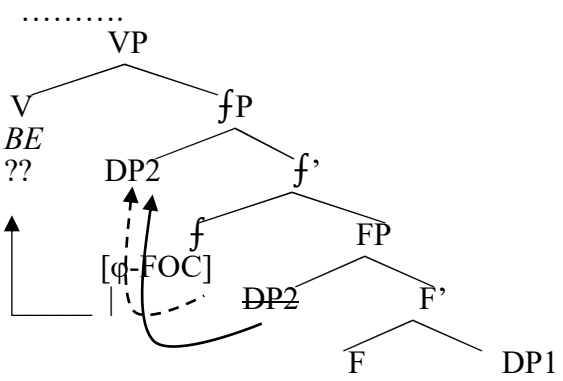
(19)



We know this is not a possibility because if φ-FOC had originated in the head of the specificational small clause, and Agree happens as early as possible, as generally believed, we could not account for why the focus marker shows failed agreement rather than full Spec-Head focus agreement. Agreement is not with DP1 so the possibility of downward Agree in this structure is also ruled out. These facts tell us that φ-FOC does not originate in the head of the specificational small clause.

Other upward Agree scenarios are impossible as well. For example, DP2, first merged as subject of the specificational small clause, could not have moved into the specifier position of the FOC phrase, at which point φ-FOC could have probed upward for a φ-goal. If that had taken place, then SCC focus agreement should look like spec/head focus agreement, but it does not when proper names and pronouns are DP2s. Furthermore, under an upward Agree scenario, the focus marker would have to rise to some higher position after upward Agree since DP2 follows the focus marker. Moreover, the target of the putative subsequent movement of the focus marker in this scenario, necessary to posit due to FOC DP2 word order, is quite unclear. The target cannot be the verbal copula because we saw that in non-present tenses, a copula and the focus marker co-occur:

(20)

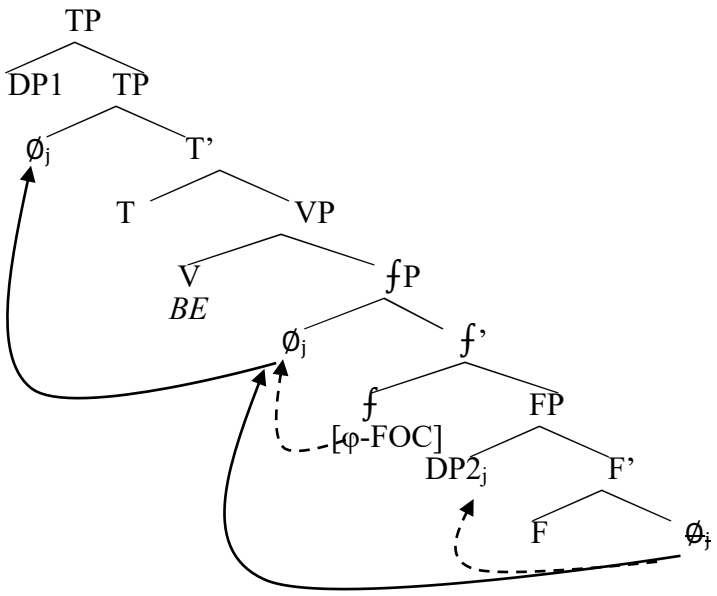


Even if we accept that Agree were downward with φ-FOC as probe and DP2 as goal, Occam's razor suggests that DP2 does not at any point move into spec of the focus phrase, due to the proliferation of gratuitous movements such movement would require to derive the surface word order facts. The difficulties with an analysis where DP2 moves to a specifier of focus phrase in SCCs in Kinande suggests that the proposal of Shlonsky and Rizzi (2018) for SCCs in general—that DP2 moves to a low focus position and undergoes criterial freezing with subsequent movement of the remnant small clause—should be carefully evaluated as it appears difficult to fill the specifier position of a focus projection when it is embedded under the verbal copula (V[BE] in (20)). Kinande is a language that makes prolific use of focus and focus movement. Yet it does not allow DP2 focus movement in SCCs, instead low focus here is in-situ and is licensed via downward Agree.

Finally, a treatment of DP2 agreement along the lines den Dikken proposes for Italian (e.g. den Dikken 2021; see also Moro 1997 for related discussion) cannot capture the Kinande facts. This would be an account where DP1 is a dislocated topic and the specificational small clause consisting of DP2 as subject and a null predicate (or perhaps null individual concept nominal) locally agrees with DP2, the subject of the small clause. Following Moro 1997, such agreement

is necessary since a null pro-predicate lacks features yet needs them for identification. Subsequent to agreement, there would be inversion of the null pro-predicate into the specifier of TP. The null nature of the inverted nominal would make it appear that Agree was operating downward, but in fact, according to den Dikken's analysis, Agree would be upward in languages, such as Italian, that use this construction.[13] Here is a possible derivation for Kinande using this approach, adapting it for the focus agreement we observe in Kinande. The null predicate agrees upwards with DP2 in situ (agreement being necessary to identify the null element), then moves to Spec-FocP, with the Foc head agreeing upward with it. The Null predicate then moves to Spec-TP. So according to this analysis the Foc head (YO) displays the same agreement features as the DP2 to its right, but in fact it is agreeing upwards with the null predicate in its specifier:

(21)



This way of deriving SCCs would not get the right empirical results for Kinande because it treats all focus agreement as being derived in an essentially identical manner, via spec/head upward agree. However, focused proper names and focused tonic pronouns in Kinande display defective agreement in SCCs but full agreement when focused on the left edge. Therefore, there must be a difference in their derivations, which is straightforwardly captured by different directions of Agree taking place in these two distinct focus configurations.

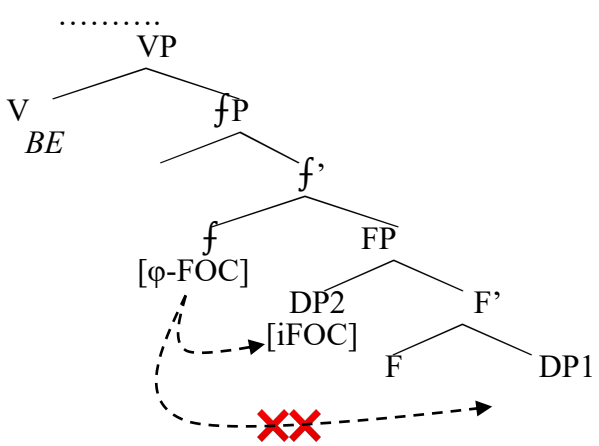
The DP2 focus agreement facts in Kinande can be straightforwardly accounted for by downward Agree given a φ-FOC probe in the head of the low focus phrase. Agree is subject to locality (Chomsky 2000).

(22) a. Agree requires closest c-command; a probe can only agree with the closest goal in its c-command domain.
b. The closest goal is the XP that is c-commanded by the probe and is such that there is no other XP' that c-commands it and is also c-commanded by the same probe.

[13] This allows den Dikken to account for languages where there is DP2 agreement but no sensitivity to person apparent as local persons seem to require a Spec-Head relation for agreement.

Here, via downward Agree, the focus φ-probe can check and seek to be valued by an expression with an interpretable focus feature and interpretable φ-features:

(23)



I reserve discussion of why agreement can be downward in Kinande and why downward Agree fails with proper names and pronouns until section 4 which addresses Agree and licensing.

In this section we have established that Kinande has downward Agree contra the assertions in the literature that Kinande and Bantu languages in general only allow Spec-Head/upward Agree. The fact that the DP2 agreement is focus agreement, with focusing being accomplished without movement to the specifier of focus phrase position also tell us that Agree does not always require move. The results of this section have theoretical implications as well as empirical ones. I reserve discussion of the theoretical consequences until section 4.

3.3 Agreement with T, Agreement with FOC

In many languages, agreement in SCCs is with the focused nominal (DP2), as Heycock (2012) notes concerning the findings of Fisher's (2003) study of agreement in German and Dutch SCCs. We have seen that in Kinande, it is not just a case of agreement consistently being with the focused nominal (i.e., DP2 agreement), rather there is a dedicated focus projection headed by an agreeing focus marker, FOC, which agrees with DP2 (the focused nominal) in SCCs. This agreement is distinct from agreement in T. Agreement in T co-occurs with FOC agreement in SCCs, other than in the present tense, which has a null copula in the context of focus. T agreement is only optionally with DP2. There are two possibilities:[14] a) T and FOC both express agreement with DP2, or b) T agrees with DP1 and FOC agrees with DP2:

(24) a. **T and FOC both express agreement with DP2**

ebyálya	ebyo	nábyá	nanzire	kutsíbú,	**lw**ábyá	i-**lw'**	ólukondi
AUG.8food	8that	1s.was	1s.like	best	11was	LK-11FOC	AUG.11beans

'The food that I liked best was beans.'

b. **T agrees with DP1; FOC agrees with DP2**

[14] It is possible that there are pragmatic or semantic distinctions between the two agreement patterns. However, I have not detected such differences at this point of my investigation into SCCs in Kinande.

ebyálya ebyo nábyá nanzire kutsíbú, **by**abyá í-**lw**' ólukondi
AUG.8food 8that 1s.was 1s.like best 11was LK-11FOC AUG.11beans
'The food that I liked best was beans.'

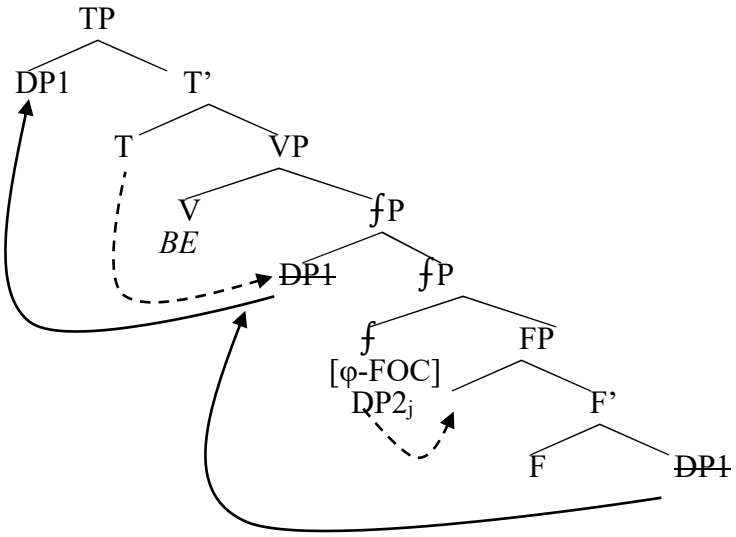
The B pattern, where T and FOC have different agreement goals, is an instance of full agreement for T rather than a default agreement for T. That is, the form of T agreement in the B pattern varies with the noun class of DP1, the structural subject. Therefore, we have the possibility of agreement with both DP2 (focus agreement) and DP1 (T agreement).

Pattern A, where T and FOC express agreement with the same goal, can be analyzed as arising from head-to-head agreement: T agrees with FOC, which has valued features via valuation by DP2. The alternative would be two φ-probes agreeing with the same DP, which violates the requirements of Agree, since Agree requires a relation between the closest probe and goal. FOC is a closer probe to DP2 than T is. Moreover, FOC is a closer goal to T than DP2 is.

Next, we ask how agreement pattern B arises. There are basically two logical possibilities, both of which have been explored in the literature: a) DP1 moves out of the small clause into an intermediate position, above FOC and below T, where it overcomes any phase boundaries. Moreover, it is then close enough to T to be probed by it, if T agreement probes downward. Alternatively, b) DP1 can move out of the small clause in one fell swoop if Agree is sensitive, for example, to information structure features and checks uninterpretable topic features on DP1; we do not have to worry about phases here (there is no vP); and T probes for an uninterpretable feature that the focused DP2 lacks, and therefore can probe past focus in a relativized minimality fashion.

Here is the first, stepwise possibility:

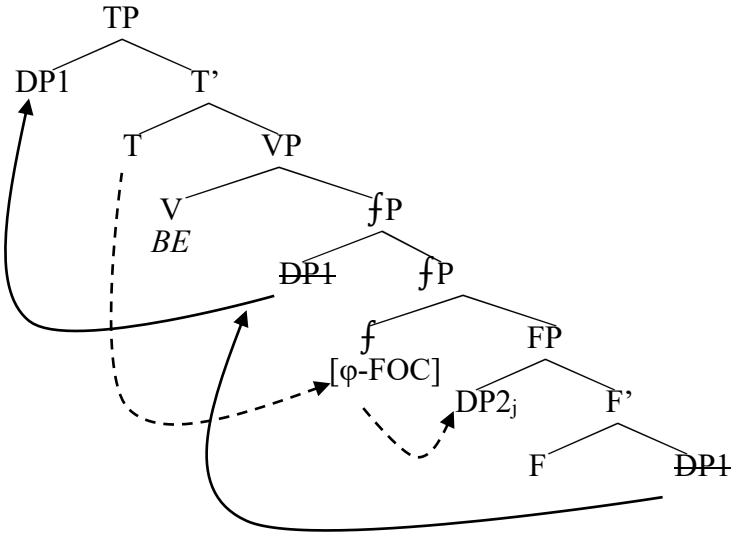
(25)



In support of this stepwise movement approach is the fact that given head/head agreement, this same structure can accommodate either DP1 or DP2 agreement without positing optionality of features. For DP1 agreement on T, T probes for a phrasal goal as we see in (25). When DP2 agreement is evident on T, T has undergone head/head agreement with FOC. Assuming relativized minimality is sensitive to like structure (as well as like features) an intervening XP

(DP1) would not interfere in a relation between two head: the DP2 agreement relation involves head/head agreement:

(26)



The other possibility, as mentioned, is that T can probe in a relativized way, in this case looking for [uTOP] (see van der Wal 2022 for the relevance of information structure features to licensing in Bantu languages). Certainly, DP1 in the specifier of TP has a topical or given information interpretation and DP2 does not. We do not have the right kind of data in SCCs to test directly the direction of DP1 agreement because of the semantic nature of DP1 in SCCs—it cannot be a pronoun or proper name since it must be an individual concept, and therefore there could not even potentially be defective agreement.[15] However, T-agreement in constructions other than SCCs show no defective agreement patterns in Kinande, which suggests that T agreement is upward, or spec/head agreement. I discuss this split and its implications further in section 4.

Consider now what happens with T/FOC Agree when defective focus agreement is involved. When DP2 is a name or pronoun, recall that FOC agreement is defective, and a general third person focus marker, *ni,* occurs. T agreement with DP2 via head agreement is impossible under these circumstances. T probes and finds defectively valued φ-features on FOC. These defective features cannot value T. There is not a default agreement strategy available for T under these circumstances ((27)a). Instead, only pattern B is possible—a pattern where T agrees with DP1 and FOC fail-agrees with DP2 ((27)b):

(27) a. *embuga, abya i-ni Kambale
AUG.9problem 1was LK - **NI** 1Kambale

[15] Joint work in progress with Nancy Hedberg will allow us to look more closely at the direction of Agree with T in copular clauses as we are examining equative and identificational copular clauses. These copular clause types also have focus and T agreement and do allow subjects that are pronouns or proper names. However, we do not yet have the relevant data to establish the full paradigm here.

intended: 'The problem was Kambale.'

b. embuga, yabya i-ni Kambale
AUG.9problem 9was LK-**NI** 1Kambale
'The problem was Kambale.'

The impossibility of T either agreeing fully or even fail-agreeing with DP2 via head/head agreement indicates that FOC has no features to pass on through head/head agreement if its valuation reflects agreement failure. DP1 agreement on T via spec/head agreement proceeds in the usual way.

There is an additional agreement phenomenon that will gives us insight into features under conditions of head/head agreement. The data of interest are from the phenomenon known as anti-agreement, which I will first introduce and then we will see what SSCs and DP2 agreement can tell us about the interaction between focus and φ-features.

Noun class one focused expressions in Kinande are subject to anti-agreement. Anti-agreement is an agreement phenomenon whereby agreement is sensitive to the A'-features (focus/wh- features) of the nominal with which it agrees. Agreement in T occurs in a special 'anti-agreeing form' when the agreed with nominal is a wh- and/or focused expression in noun class one. Here are some examples that do not involve SCCs to illustrate anti-agreement. In ((28)a), we see canonical agreement on T, *a-*, which expresses agreement with a noun class one DP subject when the DP is neither +focus nor wh-. In the second example ((28)b), we see a focused subject and note that the canonical agreement does not occur on the verb. Instead, the anti-agreeing form, *u-*, occurs. This is the form that expresses agreement with a focused/wh-subject in noun class one. Furthermore, note there are two instances of agreement in anti-agreeing contexts in Kinande, anti-agreement on the verb and focus agreement with the focused subject occupying the left edge:

(28) a. Omukali **a**-ka-genda [canonical agreement **a-**]
AUG.1woman 1- TAM -leave
'The woman is leaving.'
b. Iyondi **yo** **u**-ka-genda /***a**-ka-genda [anti-agreement **u- , focus marking *YO***]
1who 1FOC AA-TAM-leave /1- TAM-leave
'Who is leaving?'

Following Baier (2018), anti-agreement on the verb is the morphological expression of certain phi-features in the context of A'-features, such as focus. The anti-agreement morphology on the verb does not however reflect the checking of the focus feature. We know that because a second agreement relation occurs in Kinande that marks focus/wh-movement, namely, the checking and valuation of φ-FOC in the left edge focus projection itself (note the presence of *YO*). Therefore, despite T agreement, the focus/wh- feature must still be available for valuation until it checks FOC.

Consider now what happens with anti-agreement in SCCs, where DP2 is necessarily focused. In order to explore this, we need a DP2 that is in noun class one (but not a proper name or pronoun—to avoid agreement failure triggers) since only noun class one participates in anti-agreement. We also need a DP1 that is not noun class one so that we can see which DP controls

agreement in T. Under those circumstances, there is no evidence of anti-agreement on T (29)a). Instead, either canonical T agreement with DP2 occurs (29)b), or DP1 agreement occurs (30):

(29) a. *Eprobleme w-abya i-y' omuprezida.
AUG.9problem AA -was LK-1 FOC AUG.1president
intended: 'The problem was the president.'

b. Eprobleme, abya i-y' omuprezida.
AUG.9problem 1was LK-1FOC AUG.1president
'The problem was the president.'

(30) Eprobléme yábyá í-y' ómuprezidâ
AUG.9problem 9was LK-1FOC AUG.1president
(ísihalí n' ekindú kíguma eky' ákákolá ndeke)
there.NEG.be and 7thing 7one 7that 1did well
'The problem was the president. (He never did things correctly!)'

Of course, anti-agreement on T is possible in non-SCC copular clauses when T is lower than the focus projection. In that case, φ-features in the presence of an A'-focus/wh- feature have been exponed as anti-agreement when T is valued, but no uFOC features were present and/or valued in T. [uFOC] in the high focus projection was valued upon movement of a focused/wh-nominal expression to the spec of focus phrase:

(31) Omuprezidá yo w-ábya probléme.
AUG.1president 1 FOC AA -was 9problem
'The PRESIDENT was a/the problem.'

The data in SCCs seem to support the analysis of anti-agreement that claims structural configuration matters for anti-agreement.[16] But an alternative analysis based on feature checking is available. Returning to focus agreement in SCCs, we observe that T is unable to access the focus feature of DP2 after DP2 has valued φ-FOC. Instead, only canonical φ-features are visible for valuation once uFOC has been valued. A fuller investigation of anti-agreement is warranted in light of the SCC data, however it lies outside of the scope of this current paper which seeks to demonstrate the possibility of downward Agree in Kinande and to show that an asymmetry exists between Agree that is lower that T and Agree in the domain of T (and C).

In sum, the study of the existence and interaction of the two φ-probes establishes that T and low FOC Agree in different directions: downward for the φ-probe that is below T and upward for the φ-probe that is at T. Related to that, we saw that FOC agrees with DP2 but T does so only indirectly, via head/head agreement. T Agrees upward and directly only with DP1.

4 Licensing and direction of Agree

[16] Here I have in mind the family of anti-locality analyses, such as Schneider-Zioga 2007 and Erlewine 2016.

We return now to the agreement failure that we saw when proper names and pronouns are DP2 in SCCs. We will ask why these two categories of nominals induce agreement failure and what this tells us about the mechanisms of Agree.

4.1 Intervention effects?

It is notable that the DP2 nominals that fail to agree in SCCs (personal pronouns, proper names) belong to the categories of nominals that typically rank high on scales of animacy and/or agency. Here is an example of such a scale proposed by Dixon (1979) which he called a *potentiality of agency scale*:

(32) first person pronoun > second person pronoun > third person pronoun > proper nouns > human common noun > animate common noun > inanimate common noun
(Dixon 1979: 85)

Scales like this are used to organize the hierarchy between nominal expressions that might need to undergo differential marking of some type, with the nominals furthest to the left/highest on the scale more likely to undergo differential marking than those lower on the scale. By differential marking, the following is meant:

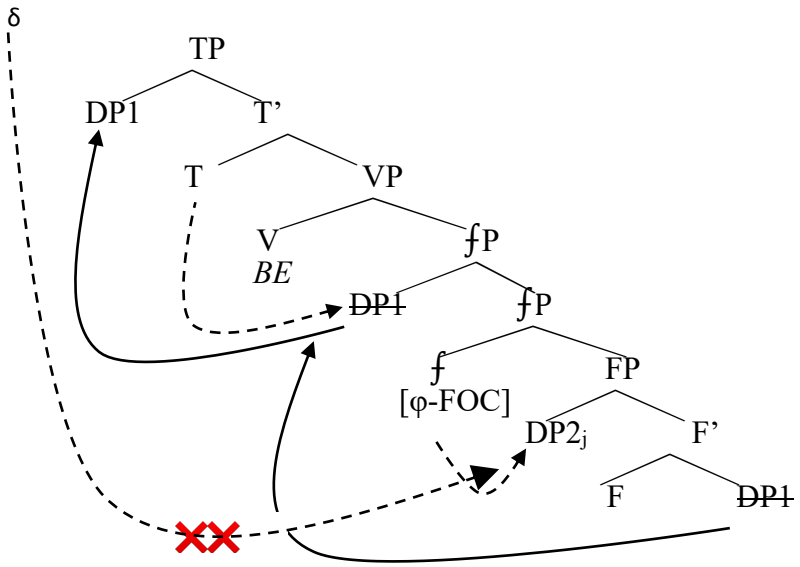
(33) **Broad definition of Differential Argument Marking (DAM)**
Any kind of situation where an argument of a predicate bearing the same generalized semantic argument role may be coded in different ways, depending on factors other than the argument role itself, and which is not licensed by diathesis alternations.
(Witzlack Makarevich & Ilja A. Seržant: p.3)

The Kinande facts are quite reminiscent of differential marking especially in that differential marking is often restricted to nominals that are particularly high on the DAM scale and differential marking is required only in certain contexts. Moreover, Irimia (2021) argues that Differential Marking calls for licensing beyond uninterpretable Case, and specifically she proposes that differential marking involves an 'additional licensing operation on certain types of nominals that contain a δ-related feature beyond {uninterpretable Case}.' In light of this, we might propose a discourse licenser is necessary to license pronouns and proper names in Kinande to make them syntactically 'strong' enough to be able to value φ-features on a probe.[17] One way to instantiate this is via a discourse operator, δ, on the left edge of the clause. This discourse operator must then license DAM sensitive nominals—pronouns and proper names in Kinande. Under this view, pronouns and proper names in structural subject position will always be licensed, but ones lower in the tree will not be because at least one argument will intervene between the discourse licenser and the DAM sensitive nominal, if minimality plays a role in

[17] As a reviewer notes, the notion of 'strength' that is relevant here is syntactic rather than semantic. From a semantic point of view the very nominals that fail to agree seem "strong"—they are highly animate, high on any scale of agency. The reviewer points out that such high agency nominals are often syntactically smaller. For example, if proper nouns are basically predicates, a common assumption, many languages require determiners for proper nouns to function as arguments. This suggests they are not inherently syntactically 'strong.' Similarly, the reviewer suggests, 'Kinande tonic pronouns [might be] φPs rather than DPs in the sense of Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002, and hence lack maximal syntactic 'strength.'

regulating the discourse related licensing. The following structure would be present in SCCs—DP1 would always intervene between DP2 and the discourse operator:

(34)

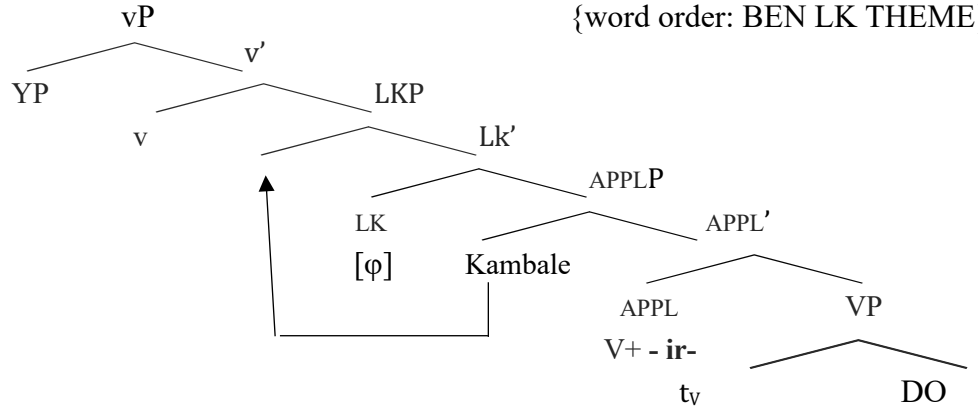


The proposed account of agreement failure is consistent with Preminger (2015), and Preminger and Polinsky (2015) who point to a widely accepted view that failed or weakened agreement arises from intervention: something intervenes between the probe and the goal that it c-commands: agreement failure is a type of minimality effect. In the proposal for Kinande we are considering, the agreement failure does not arise from an intervention between the probe and the goal, but it does arise from an intervention effect—namely between the licensing discourse operator and DP2. This approach does successfully tie the semantic class of the DP2 that participates in agreement failure to the distribution of differentially marked arguments. There is a parallel, because pronouns and names are implicated in a differentiated marking of their role in the clause under consideration. However, this approach must ultimately be rejected because pronouns and proper names in Kinande can occur more deeply embedded in a clause and still participate in full agreement—that is, they can still fully value a φ-probe despite the depth of their embedding. The following example illustrates a so-called linker construction where an agreeing particle, which tracks topic, occurs within vP. A proper name, in this case 'Kambale', can easily fully agree with the linker:

(35) Valinande atum-ir-a Kámbale y' ekitábú
1Valinande 1sent- APPL- FV 1Kambale 1LK AUG.7book
'Valinande sent Kambale a/the book.'

Clearly the problem is not that a nominal might intervene between a δ-licensor and a DP that needs δ-licensing. The difference is that here the proper name is in a specifier position with respect to the φ-probe. The following tree illustrates the structure of (35), so that the reader sees clearly that the proper name 'Kambale' is in a specifier position:

(36) {word order: BEN LK THEME}



Therefore, the correct generalization is not about the semantics of the nominal per se and the relation it might need to some kind of discourse-related licensor, but rather about the position the nominal in question occupies with respect to the agreeing probe. Pronouns and proper names can value a probe downward, but not upward. In the next section I argue that morpho-syntactic properties of pronouns and proper names are responsible for the agreement failure.

4.2 Why does downward Agree fail with proper names and pronouns?

I propose that the reason for failed agreement in the low focus marker contexts has to do with the unusual morphosyntactic structure of names and pronouns in Kinande and how that syntactic structure interacts with Agree. I follow Schneider-Zioga and Mutaka (2015) in observing that lack of agreement in downward agreeing contexts is related to the fact that pronouns and proper names are unable to take the full range of nominal morphology that other nominals in the language take. This observation is supported by noting that plural names (associative plurals), which have a completely typical morphosyntactic structure (they include an augment and noun class marker—see below), can fully agree with the focus marker, even in downward agreeing contexts:

(37) **ábibí** **b'** **á-bo-Magúlu**
AUG.2thief 2 FOC AUG-2a-Magulu
'The thieves are Magulu and his associates'.

But singular names lack overt morphology to express two common features of nominals in Kinande: i) augments, a nominal pre-prefix that de Dreu (2008), Schneider-Zioga and Mutaka (2015), Hedberg and Schneider-Zioga (2015), and Gambarage (2019) and Gambarage & Matthewson (2022) analyze as a D-head. Gambarage proposes the augment has the semantics of belief of existence; and ii) a nominal prefix that overtly indicates the noun class to which the name belongs.[18] Tonic pronouns also lack augments although all third person pronouns have

[18] More specifically, we can note that proper names often do have noun class prefixes—for example, names that begin with Ka- (such as Kambale) have the diminutive class 12 marker. However, that noun class marker is lexicalized. It is not morphosyntactically available—it does not control subject/verb agreement, unlike syntactically active noun class markers. Instead, all proper names in Kinande control noun class one agreement. Moreover, the

noun class markers. Instead of an augment, tonic pronouns are always preceded by the indexical *i-*. Here are some examples:

(38)

pronoun	morphological breakdown
ibo NC2 (they)	i+NC2+O
iyo NC4 (they)	i+NC4+O
iryo NC5 (it)	i+NC5+O
ikyo NC7 (it)	i+NC7+O
ibyo NC8 (they)	i+NC8+O (etc.)

The class of nominals that undergo agreement failure in downward agreeing contexts in Kinande are what are called 'unaugmentables' in the Bantu literature. What is unaugmentable is language specific. For example, proper names are augmentable in Zulu, but not in Kinande.

I make a proposal to account for the agreement failure based on the observation that the core of agreement failure is a spec-head versus downward Agree asymmetry for a class of nominals—the unaugmentables—that has a special morphological structure. I suggest that the SCC agreement failure facts are related to certain facts concerning agreement, including first- and second-person agreement in pseudo-cleft and semi-cleft sentences, in a variety of languages that den Dikken (2014) discusses under the rubric of 'agreement attraction.' These are cases of agreement where the phi-features on the verb are determined by something other than the expected target of agreement. The following examples are from den Dikken (2014), where "!" marks the (non-standard) cases of agreement attraction (= his (32a) and (33a) respectively):

(39) a. some people's information {is/!are} stored in a database

b. information about some of the passengers {is/!are} missing

We observe that in a., instead of the subject of the sentence, the specifier of the subject can control verbal agreement. In b., instead of the subject, a quantified noun phrase, that den Dikken analyzes as undergoing QR to become a derived specifier of the subject, can control verbal agreement. By contrast, downward Agree cannot participate in agreement attraction. For example, attraction is not possible in the following sentences den Dikken (2014) introduces (= his (32b) and (33b) respectively):

(40) a. there {is/*are} some people's information stored in a database

b. there {is/*are} information about some of the passengers missing

Den Dikken, drawing on work by Franck et al. (2006), develops a principled account of this agreement asymmetry by exploiting the difference between downward Agree, which, he notes, is

lexicalized marker in proper names is also is not replaced by, for example, the plural noun class 2 marker when the name is pluralized. Finally, borrowed names such as Tekela (Thecla) have no noun class markers and still control noun class one agreement.

derivational and relies on structure building, and what he calls the "Spec-Head relation," which is representational. The "Spec-Head relation" is explored at length in den Dikken's 2019 work on agreement where he proposes that, under a particular understanding of how agreement works, the appropriate heads in the clausal spine can probe into the internal structure of DP in specifier position under Spec-Head agreement. Downward Agree, he argues, in contrast, can only see information available at the level of the phrase, as the phrase is merged. Therefore, the probe cannot see into the merged XP that it c-commands. This explains the failure of agreement attraction in downward Agree contexts. Den Dikken also examines some of the well-known asymmetries regarding first and second person agreement[19] and analyzes them in the light of agreement attraction. The following sentences illustrate the asymmetry where agreement with a preverbal second person pronoun (Spec-Head agreement) is grammatical, but agreement with a postverbal second person pronoun (agreement via downward Agree) as in ((41)b) (= his (23b)) is not. Number rather than person is available for postverbal agreement (41c):

(41) a. you are the person nobody likes

b. what/the person nobody likes {is/*are} you

c. what nobody likes {is/!are} the narcissists[20]

Den Dikken (2014) is able to explain the failure of person agreement in downward Agree contexts by representing person as a specifier of the relevant DP rather than projecting the person feature along the spine of the postverbal DP that is the target of agreement. This specifier, which represents person, is too deeply embedded to participate in agreement attraction under downward Agree. However, if person specifies an expression which stands in the Spec-Head relation, this specifier is also visible to the right kind of head(s) in the Spec-Head relation, which is a representational relation. Therefore, agreement in person is possible. Moreover, other non-c-commanding expressions, provided they are specifiers of the specifier, can participate in agreement attraction in the Spec-Head relation. Number, in contrast to person, is visible in downward Agreeing contexts because it is encoded via the head of the highest phrasal projection of the noun phrases and therefore, in contrast, can undergo Agree in such contexts.

Returning to Kinande, I provide a similar account of failed agreement in the language for downward agreement by expanding den Dikken's (2014 & 2019) analysis. First, consider names and recall that they lack both overt augment pre-prefixes and syntactically active noun class prefixes. It should be noted that augments themselves express agreement - their forms being predictable from the form of the noun class marker. I take the non-overtness of augment morphology to mean that the head or heads that are related to noun class themselves lack or are insufficiently specified for phi-features. I assume that the semantic and morphological information is still represented in specifier positions of the relevant head in these cases. I

[19] Among those investigating these special properties of first and second person is Baker. Baker (2008, 2011) captures the special properties of person agreement in his Structural Condition on Person Agreement (SCOPA): "a category F can bear the features +1 or +2 if and only if a projection of F merges with a phrase that has that feature and F is taken as the label of the resulting phrase." Through this condition, he asserts that agreement in first and second person can only take place through a Spec-Head relation, as opposed to an Agree relation. Den Dikken's work builds on Baker's proposal.

[20] A reviewer remarks that (41c), where there is agreement in number with the postverbal subject, is much better than cases such as (39) which involve agreement attraction in number. Den Dikken points out that when there is ambiguity of agreement (two or more possible goals as in (39)) in the same Agree configuration, the acceptability declines. This contrasts with the single possibility of agreement goal for postverbal agreement (41c).

conjecture that since these heads are non-overt, agreement with the non-overt heads is not possible. Therefore, information that would normally be encoded in the labels of these projections cannot be transmitted upward to the probe to provide features for agreement with the merged phrase. However, when these features are representationally available in the Spec-Head configuration, all information is fully visible to the agreeing probe(s). Therefore, upward Agree[21] can "see," and therefore, agree with, all of the relevant features, but downward Agree cannot. As den Dikken asserts, downward Agree is influenced by derivational structure building, but upward agreement is shaped by representation.[22] Given the derivational/representational difference that distinguishes Upward Agree from downward Agree, we can return to the agreement asymmetries we observed earlier and confidently conclude that a difference in richness of agreement in post- versus pre-copular agreement, where we failed to find anything intervening between the probe and the goal, corresponds to a difference in direction of Agree.[23]

5 Conclusion

In this paper, I have explored the syntax of SCCs, especially with respect to Agree. This investigation provided evidence for an inversion analysis of SCCs, with the existence of a low focus phrase in SCCs in Kinande, the head of which licenses focus on the post copular argument (DP2). Focused DP2 remains in-situ, rather than moving into a low specifier of focus phrase. A number of distinct agreement patterns were evidentthere were two distinct systems of Agree in Kinande: one downward and one upward—involving the Spec-Head relation. This fact establishes that Baker's parametric approach to agreement: upward in some languages, tied to Case in some, and downward in others, needs to be expanded to include Agree in more than one directions for some languages. In addition, because agreement/valuation clearly exists in both directions in Kinande, a uni-directional approach such as that (tentatively) taken in Preminger (2013) or Preminger and Polinsky (2015) also cannot fully account for the data. This leaves us with approaches that admit both directions of agreement. One view (Francks et al 2006, den Dikken 2014) is that there are two relations: Agree, which involves downward probing, and the Spec-Head relation, which is a local relation between a specifier and the head of the projection that contains it. This approach was able to help us account for agreement failures in SCCs with certain nominals—in particular, proper names and pronouns. Furthermore, it could also account for the fact that it was possible for DP2 to agree with a low focus head and DP1 to agree with the copula (along with other patterns of agreement, as discussed here in the body of the paper). It remains to be seen if a flexible licensing approach (Carstens 2016, van der Wall 2022) could also account for the agreement failures and the alignment of downward Agree with a low φ-probe and upward Agree with a higher φ-probe in T. The fact that Agree is not restricted to only one direction in this approach is promising with regard to the data discussed here.

[21] I use the term upward Agree here in a descriptive sense in that I am making no claim about whether the mechanism of Spec-Head agreement involves probes and goals in the same way as more distant probe/goal relations.
[22] This aspect of agreement also forms the core intuition of Carstens's (2013) theory of agreement.
[23] There is a general c-command/c-commanded asymmetry, whose explanation likely extends beyond the reaches of directionality of AGREE, that has no explanation as far as I can determine. In these cases one member of the pair is less marked. For example, if a language has ex-situ wh-constructions, we can predict with certainty that it has in-situ ones but not the reverse. If a language has clitic-doubling, we can predict it has clitic-left dislocation, but not the reverse, etc.

I also noted that the domain within which Agree is downward and the domain within which it is upward appears to align with nominal licensing possibilities in the language: within vP there is a restricted distribution of nominals, especially unaugmented ones are restricted to this domain (see Halpert 2015 for discussion). So too we see that in SCCs in the region below T, the behavior of referential nominals is restricted—only augmentable nominals are able to value the low φ-probe associated with FOC.[24] External to the domain below T, however, they have no problem participating in agreement. And in that external domain, Agree appears to be upward or spec/head reliant. Another way to think about this is: below T, Agree is not necessarily paired with move—focused/wh- expressions can remain in-situ and do not 'need to move' to the specifier of a focus projection. It has been well documented that within the domain of T, Agree and move are necessarily paired.

Finally, we saw that SCCs in Kinande have two φ-probes and the locus of DP2 agreement is not T, but rather the head of a lower focus projection. It remains to be seen if, in SCCs, DP2 agreement in other languages also involves a lower focus φ-probe.

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[24] Due to the semantics of SCCs, there cannot be an unaugmented nominal in DP2 position, so we cannot ascertain whether or the extent to which unaugmented nominals are restricted

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