

# The Locus of Variation in $\bar{A}$ -Sensitive Agreement

Nico Baier

McGill University – nico.baier@mcgill.ca

## 1 Introduction

- In many languages, clausal morphology is sensitive to the features typically associated with  $\bar{A}$ -extraction, such as those related to *wh*-questioning, relativization, focus and topicalization.
- In particular, in many languages the form of  $\varphi$ -agreement is sensitive to these features, a phenomenon I will refer to as  **$\bar{A}$ -sensitive  $\varphi$ -agreement (effects)**, defined descriptively as in (1).

### (1) $\bar{A}$ -sensitive $\varphi$ -agreement effects

An instance of  $\varphi$ -agreement X exhibits an  **$\bar{A}$ -sensitivity effect** if

- X takes the form  $\alpha$  for a particular set of  $\varphi$ -features  $\varphi_1$  on nominal N when N does not have an  $\bar{A}$ -feature and
  - X takes the form  $\beta$  for  $\varphi_1$  on N when N does have an  $\bar{A}$ -feature, where  $\alpha \neq \beta$ .
- Some examples of effects in relative clauses meeting the definition above are shown in (2)–(4), below.<sup>1</sup>

### (2) *Fiorentino (Romance, Italy)*

**le ragazze** che { **gli** / \***le** } { **ha** / \***hanno** } parlato con te  
 the girls C { 3SG.M / \*3PL.F } { have.3SG / \*have.3PL } spoken with you  
 ‘the girls who have spoken to you?’ (Brandi and Cordin 1989:124–125)

### (3) *Abkhaz (West Caucasian, Russia)*

wəy a-xac’a də-{z<sub>j</sub>/\*l<sub>j</sub>}-bàz **a-jyab<sub>j</sub>**  
 that DEF-boy 3SG.AN.ABS- $\{WH.ERG/*3SG.F.ERG\}$ -saw DEF-girl  
 ‘the girl who saw that boy’ (Hewitt 1979:61)

<sup>1</sup>Abbreviations used in this handout: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, AA = anti-agreement (form), ABS = absolutive, AN = animate, CL = class (Bantu), DEF = definite, DEM = demonstrative, ERG = ergative, F = feminine, FOC = focus, INAN = inanimate, M = masculine, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, PRS = present, PST = past, PTCP = participle, REL = relative, SBJ = subject, SG = singular, WH = wh-related morpheme.

### (4) *Kabyle<sup>2</sup> (Berber, Algeria)*

**taqciɛt-nni** i { **i-wala-n** / \***t-wala** } Mohand  
 woman-DEM C { 3SG.M-see-PTCP / 3SG.F-see } Mohand  
 ‘the girl who saw Mohand’

- In all three languages, the form of  $\varphi$ -agreement crossreferencing the head of the relative clause does not take the form expected given the  $\varphi$ -features of that nominal
- However, there are differences in the specifics of the morphology that surfaces in these contexts.
  - ▷ **Fiorentino** → The subject clitic and finite auxiliary are in default form (3SG.M and 3SG)
  - ▷ **Abkhaz** → Ergative agreement takes a specialized form that only occurs with  $\bar{A}$ -arguments (z-)
  - ▷ **Kabyle** → The verb takes default agreement (i-3SG.M) and an additional ‘participle’ suffix (-n)

### The Puzzle

Why does implication in an  $\bar{A}$ -dependency affect the form of agreement referencing a DP? That is, why does the situation in (5) potentially affect  $\varphi$ -agreement on H?

(5) [ ... DP<sub>[ $\varphi$ ,  $\bar{A}$ ]</sub> ... AGR-H ... ]  
 └──────────┘

- The dominant line of thought in the previous literature has been to treat default morphology in the  $\bar{A}$ -context and specialized morphology in the  $\bar{A}$ -context as **distinct**.
  - ▷ **Default morphology** → generally referred to as **anti-agreement** since Ouhalla (1993);
    - Treated as lack of agreement. Syntactic constraints on  $\bar{A}$ -movement block extraction of the agreeing DP. Circumvention of these constraints *disrupts* the normal syntax of agreement (Ouhalla 1993; Richards 1997, 2001; Boeckx 2003; Schneider-Zioga 2007; Diercks 2010; Henderson 2013, a.o.).
  - ▷ **Specialized morphology** → generally referred to as **wh-agreement** in the literature (Georgopoulos 1991; Watanabe 1996; Chung 1998).
    - Treated as the result of a normal agreement process between a head/probe and DP bearing  $\bar{A}$ -related features (Chung and Georgopoulos 1988; Georgopoulos 1991; Chung 1998; Watanabe 1996; O’Herin 2002; Caponigro and Polinsky 2015)

<sup>2</sup>Unless otherwise cited, Kabyle data in this talk were elicited by me during work with two native speakers in Montréal.

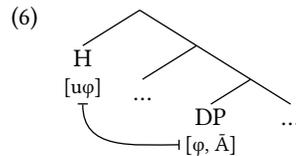
- On this view,  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive  $\varphi$ -agreement effects do not constitute a single theoretical class

### Evidence from variation

- I focus on the range of variation in the morphology that languages employ in the  $\bar{A}$ -context, what this morphological variation tells us about  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive  $\varphi$ -agreement
- ⇒ I argue that the above analytic dichotomy should be abandoned – anti-agreement and *wh*-agreement are two different surface instantiations of the same underlying phenomenon. Variation is located in the morphology.

### Analysis in a nutshell

- SYNTAX  
When a  $\varphi$ -probe agrees with a goal bearing an  $\bar{A}$ -feature, the resulting feature bundle on the probe includes both  $\varphi$ -features and an  $\bar{A}$ -feature.



- MORPHOLOGY  
When  $\bar{A}$ -features and  $\varphi$ -features cooccur in the same feature bundle, partial or total **impoverishment** of the  $\varphi$ -features may take place.
- (7) *Bundle on H*  
[H,  $\varphi$ ,  $\bar{A}$ ]
- (8) *Impoverishment*  
[ $\varphi$ ] → ∅ / [—, H,  $\bar{A}$ ]
- Impoverishment leads to the realization of an unexpected **underspecified** exponent.
  - **Variation** arises from how a given language's morphology manipulates and realizes feature bundles of the type in (7)

- Focus on two dimensions of variation:

① How many  $\varphi$ -feature contrasts are expressed in the  $\bar{A}$ -context?

- No  $\varphi$ -features = **total  $\varphi$ -impoverishment**
- Some  $\varphi$ -features = **partial  $\varphi$ -impoverishment**
- All  $\varphi$ -features = **no  $\varphi$ -impoverishment**

② Is there specialized morphology that occurs only in the  $\bar{A}$ -context =  **$\bar{A}$ -exponence**

- Dimensions ① and ② are **independent of one another**, that is, we can fill in completely a two by three typology of the interaction between  $\varphi$ -impoverishment and  $\bar{A}$ -exponence, as shown in table 1.

	① $\varphi$ -impoverishment		
	TOTAL	PARTIAL	NONE
② $\bar{A}$ -exponence	YES Abaza	Tashlhit	Kobiana
	NO Fiorentino	Lubukusu	Spanish

Table 1: Typology of  $\bar{A}$ -exponence and impoverishment

- The analysis argued for here derives this variation through a uniform syntax for agreement in the non- $\bar{A}$ - and  $\bar{A}$ -contexts. Variation is located in the morphology

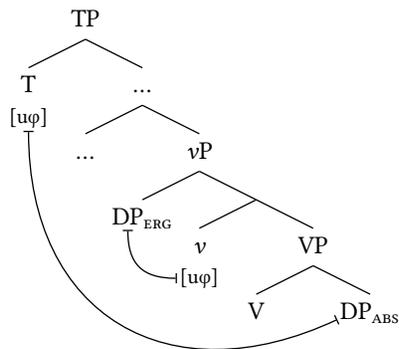
## 2 Deriving $\bar{A}$ -sensitive $\varphi$ -agreement effects

- In section 2.1, I motivate the morphological analysis of  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive  $\varphi$ -agreement, taking a close look at the West Caucasian language Abaza (closely related to Abkhaz)
- In section 2.2, I give an overview of the types of syntactic accounts that have been employed in the literature to account for anti-agreement

### 2.1 Abaza: motivating the analysis

- Verbs in Abaza display an ergative-absolutive agreement pattern for person/gender/number. Both subjects and objects control agreement in transitive clauses.
  - ▷ Intransitive subjects and transitive objects control one agreement paradigm; transitive subjects control another.
  - ▷ Absolutive is distinguished from ergative by position in the verb and by the form of 3rd person exponents.

- Following O’Herin’s (2002) analysis of Abaza, I assume that agreement prefixes spell out  $\varphi$ -probes on functional heads along the clausal spine. Specifically, I assume these probes are hosted by T (absolutive) and  $v$  (ergative).

(9) Agreement with T and  $v$ 

- ▷ The lower  $\varphi$ -probe on  $v$  agrees with the external argument in Spec-vP.<sup>3</sup>
- ▷ The higher  $\varphi$ -probe on T agrees with the next highest DP inside vP.
- ▷ Because ergative agreement is not present in intransitive clauses, I assume that only transitive  $v$  hosts a  $\varphi$ -probe.

- I assume that heads bearing  $\varphi$ -probes bear a feature that marks them as agreement heads. I will call this feature [Agr].<sup>4</sup>

▷ So, the heads T and  $v$  will have (at least) the features in (10) after Agree:

(10) Features on T and  $v$  after Agree

- [T,  $\varphi$ , Agr]
- [ $v$ ,  $\varphi$ , Agr]

- Each agreement paradigm in Abaza includes a morpheme that indexes  $\bar{A}$ -arguments:  $y$ - for absolutes, (11) and  $z$ - for ergatives, (12).

(11) Absolutive wh-agreement:  $y$ -

- a-č<sup>w</sup>wal **dzač<sup>w</sup>əya<sub>i</sub>** **yə<sub>i</sub>-ta-wa**  
DEF-sack what ABS.WH-in-PRS  
‘What is in the sack?’ (O’Herin 2002:252)
- Izmir *pro* **dzač<sup>w</sup>əya<sub>i</sub>** **yə<sub>i</sub>-r-bak<sup>w</sup>az**  
Izmir 3PL who ABS.WH-3PL-see.PL.PST  
‘Who did they see in Izmir?’ (O’Herin 2002:252)

<sup>3</sup>See Coon (2017) for arguments that ergative agreement is low, derived by Spec-Head agreement with  $v$ .

<sup>4</sup>I take the [Agr] feature in (10) to be equivalent to the postsyntactically inserted, dissociated Agr-nodes that are assumed in some analyses of morphological agreement in DM (Halle and Marantz 1993; Kramer 2010; Norris 2014).

(12) Ergative wh-agreement:  $z$ -

- dəzda<sub>i</sub>** s-axč<sup>l</sup>a **zə<sub>i</sub>-γəč<sup>l</sup>**  
who 1SG-money ERG.WH-steal  
‘Who stole my money?’ (O’Herin 2002:252)
- a-fač<sup>l</sup>ə<sup>w</sup> a-finj<sup>l</sup>an a-pnə **dəzda<sub>i</sub>** y-na-z<sub>i</sub>-ax<sup>w</sup>  
DEF-sugar DEF-cup 3SG.INAN-at who 3SG.INAN-PFV-ERG.WH-take  
‘Who took the sugar out of the cup?’ (O’Herin 2002:252)

- I argue that wh-agreement in Abaza is the result of an Agr head agreeing with a DP bearing an  $\bar{A}$ -movement related feature, [ $\bar{A}$ ].

	1	2F	2M	3F	3M	3INAN	$\bar{A}$
SG	s-	b-	w-	l-	y-	a-	z-
PL	h-	f <sup>w</sup> -	f <sup>w</sup> -	r-	r-	r-	z-

Table 2: Abaza ergative agreement (O’Herin 2002:55)

	1	2F	2M	3F	3M	3INAN	$\bar{A}$
SG	s-	b-	w-	d-	d-	y-	y-
PL	h-	f <sup>w</sup> -	f <sup>w</sup> -	y-	y-	y-	y-

Table 3: Abaza absolutive agreement (O’Herin 2002:63)

- Observation 1:** The two wh-agreement morphemes differ in their relationship to the rest of the paradigm.
  - ▷ Ergative wh-agreement  $z$ - **does not** occur elsewhere in the paradigm.
  - ▷ Absolutive wh-agreement  $y$ - **does** occur elsewhere in the paradigm.
- Observation 2:** Wh-agreement is highly syncretic – it only expresses that a given Agr head has agreed with an  $\bar{A}$ -operator. No other  $\varphi$ -feature contrasts are expressed.
- Assuming syncretism arises from underspecification, we come to the following conclusion:
  - The prefixes  $z$ - and  $y$ - are highly underspecified. They spell out a very small set of features.
    - The prefix  $y$ - is a morphological default.
    - The prefix  $z$ - spells out the feature [ $\bar{A}$ ]

- Taking (13) seriously, I assume that there are basically three types of agreement vocabulary items (VIs) in Abaza, shown in table 4:

VI type	Features spelled out	Distribution
Full agreement	$[\varphi, \text{Agr}]$	Abs/Erg
	$[\varphi, \text{Agr}, \text{T}]$	Abs
	$[\varphi, \text{Agr}, \nu]$	Erg
Proper <i>Wh</i> -agreement ( <i>z</i> -)	$[\bar{A}, \text{Agr}, \nu]$	Erg
Elsewhere ( <i>y</i> -)	$[\text{Agr}]$	Abs

Table 4: Types of Abaza agreement VIs

- The agreement VIs *z*- and *y*- do not spell out  $\varphi$ -features.

▷ The prefix *z*- spells out  $[\bar{A}]$ ,  $[\text{Agr}]$ , and  $[\nu]$ .

(14) *Abaza wh-agreement*  
*z*-  $\leftrightarrow [\bar{A}, \text{Agr}, \nu]$

▷ The prefix *y*- spells out just  $[\text{Agr}]$ .

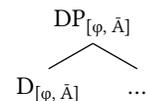
(15) *Abaza default agreement*  
*y*-  $\leftrightarrow [\text{Agr}]$

- \* I argue that a feature bundle including an  $\bar{A}$ -feature like the one in (14) is an option because of the way  $\varphi$ -probes interact with the features on a goal that they agree with.

### Ingredients of the account

1. XPs that undergo  $\bar{A}$ -movement bear some kind of  $\bar{A}$ -feature. I assume that  $\bar{A}$ -features on DPs are merged on D and both  $\bar{A}$ -features and  $\varphi$ -features percolate to the DP level.

(16) *DP bearing both  $\bar{A}$ - and  $\varphi$ -features*



2. Following Deal (2015, 2016), a probe's *interaction* condition(s) and *satisfaction* condition(s) may be distinct.

(17) *Interaction and Satisfaction in  $\varphi$ -agreement*

A probe H may interact with feature set F even if it may only be satisfied by feature set G,  $G \subseteq F$ .

- a. **Interaction:** Probe H interacts with feature  $[F]$  by copying  $[F]$  to H.
- b. **Satisfaction:** Probe H is satisfied by feature G if copying G to H makes H stop probing.  
(adapted from Deal 2016:3)

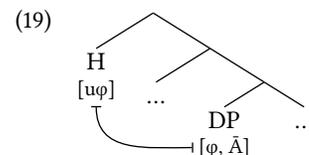
When a probe interacts with a feature but is not satisfied by that feature, it continues searching. Search only halts when probe's satisfaction condition is met.

3. The set of  $\varphi$ -features ( $\Phi$ ) and the set of  $\bar{A}$ -features ( $\bar{A}$ ) belong to a larger set of features,  $\mathcal{F}$ .

(18) a.  $\mathcal{F} = \{\Phi, \bar{A}\}$

- b. There is no variation in interaction conditions –  $\varphi$ -probes and  $\bar{A}$ -probes both have the same interaction conditions:  $\mathcal{F}$ .

- Consider the consequences of (17) and (18) for a  $\varphi$ -probe on a head H that finds a DP that bears both  $[\varphi]$  and  $[\bar{A}]$ .



▷  $[u\varphi]$  on H searches in its c-command domain for features and finds the DP bearing  $[\varphi]$  and  $[\bar{A}]$ .

▷ The probe interacts with both of these features, and therefore copies back both sets of features to H.

- Therefore, a head with  $[u\phi]$  that Agrees with a DP with  $[\bar{A}]$  in Abaza will always have (at least) the features in (20).

(20) Form of an Abaza head hosting a  $\phi$ -probe after Agree with operator

$$[\phi, \bar{A}, \text{AGR}, \left\{ \begin{array}{c} v \\ T \end{array} \right\}]$$

- However, if (20) is the form of a  $\phi$ -probe at the point of Vocabulary Insertion, the prefixes  $z$ - and  $y$ - should never be inserted, even in  $\bar{A}$ -contexts where this indeed occurs.
- This is because vocabulary insertion is constrained by the Subset Principle (Halle and Marantz 1993).

(21) *Subset Principle* (based on Keine 2010:8)

A vocabulary item  $V$  is inserted into a terminal node  $N$  iff (a) and (b) hold:

- The morphosyntactic features of  $V$  are a subset of the morphosyntactic features of  $N$ .
- $V$  is the most specific vocabulary item that satisfies (a).

- Full agreement VIs should always be inserted instead of  $z$ - or  $y$ - because they will always realize more features of the feature bundle in (20) than  $z$ - or  $y$ -.

### The Solution

- I propose that  $z$ - and  $y$ - can be inserted in the first place because of the postsyntactic operation **impoverishment** (Bonet 1991; Noyer 1992, 1997; Halle and Marantz 1993; Keine 2010).

- Specifically, I argue that the impoverishment rule in (22) applies prior to Vocabulary Insertion in Abaza

(22) *Abaza  $\phi$ -feature impoverishment*

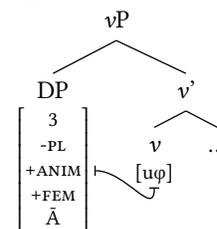
$$[\phi] \rightarrow \emptyset / [ \_ , \bar{A}, \text{Agr} ]$$

- By deleting features from a terminal nodes, impoverishment may block the insertion of a VI into that node because the VI's features are no longer a subset of that node.
- Thus, impoverishment systematically leads to the insertion of underspecified morphemes in certain environments.

- Consider how this analysis derives ergative *wh*-agreement with a 3sg feminine DP.<sup>5</sup>

(23) Derivation of *wh*-agreement with a 3sg feminine ergative argument

a. Agree in the Syntax    b. In the morphology



i. Feature bundle on  $v$ :

$$[3, -\text{PL}, +\text{ANIM}, +\text{FEM}, \bar{A}, v, \text{Agr}]$$

ii. Impoverishment:

$$[3, -\text{PL}, +\text{ANIM}, +\text{FEM}, \bar{A}, v, \text{Agr}] \rightarrow [\bar{A}, v, \text{Agr}]$$

iii. Vocabulary Insertion:

$$z- \leftrightarrow [\bar{A}, \text{Agr}, v]$$

$$y- \leftrightarrow [\text{Agr}]$$

$$l- \leftrightarrow [-\text{PL}, +\text{FEM}, \text{Agr}, v]$$

- This analysis centers the mechanism that derives  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive agreement primarily **in the morphology**.

▷ The same sequence of operations underlies  $\phi$ -agreement in the  $\bar{A}$ -context and in the non- $\bar{A}$ -context

i. Agree in the syntax

ii. Vocabulary insertion in the morphology

▷ Copying of an  $\bar{A}$ -feature to a head with a  $\phi$ -probe in the syntax has morphological consequences, here impoverishment of all  $\phi$ -features on the probe.

### Core Intuition

There is a deep connection between underspecification, impoverishment, and the morphology that appears in the context of  $\bar{A}$ -movement.

- In terms of the dimensions of variation mentioned in the introduction, Abaza has ...

▷ Total impoverishment, as no  $\phi$ -features are expressed in the  $\bar{A}$ -context

▷  $\bar{A}$ -exponence with ergative agreement

▷ No  $\bar{A}$ -exponence with absolutive agreement

<sup>5</sup>I assume that the set of  $\phi$ -features is decomposed into an articulated set of binary valued features. For Abaza, the relevant features are:  $[\pm\text{PART}(\text{ICIPANT})]$ ,  $[\pm\text{AUTH}(\text{OR})]$ ,  $[\pm\text{PL}(\text{URAL})]$ ,  $[\pm\text{ANIM}(\text{ATE})]$ ,  $[\pm\text{FEM}(\text{ININE})]$

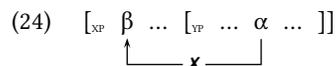
		① $\varphi$ -impoverishment		
		TOTAL	PARTIAL	NONE
② $\bar{A}$ -exponence	YES	Abaza		
	NO	Abaza		

Table 5: Typology of  $\bar{A}$ -exponence and impoverishment

- The fact that Abaza instantiates both this options is significant, in that it shows that lack of  $\varphi$ -agreement is not in complementary distribution with  $\bar{A}$ -exponing morphology *in the same language*.

## 2.2 Syntactic alternatives

- As mentioned above, the dominant line of thought in previous literature has been to treat default morphology in the  $\bar{A}$ -context (“anti-agreement”) as **different from** specialized  $\bar{A}$ -related agreement morphology (“*wh*-agreement”)
  - There is little theoretical consensus in the literature on how anti-agreement should be derived, but existing accounts are predominantly syntactic.
  - The core idea is that anti-agreement results from **syntactic constraints on movement**. The logic is generally as follows:
    - ① Agreement with a DP requires a certain structural configuration.
    - ② This structural configuration blocks  $\bar{A}$ -movement of that DP.
    - ③ For such a DP to be extracted, it must not enter into the structural configuration required for  $\varphi$ -agreement.
    - ④ Because the DP does not enter into this configuration, no  $\varphi$ -agreement occurs.
  - In other words, anti-agreement should arise in the scenario in (24), where  $\alpha$  is a position normally targeted for  $\varphi$ -agreement, and  $\beta$  is the landing site of  $\bar{A}$ -movement.



- Syntactic accounts of anti-agreement differ on the specifics of the nature of the constraint employed.

### 1. Criterion Freezing (Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007; Diercks 2010; Shlonsky 2014)

- ▷ Canonical  $\varphi$ -agreement requires that the DP move to a ‘criterial position’, from which further movement is blocked (Rizzi 2006, 2007).
- ▷ Avoidance → don’t move to the criterial position

## 2. Feature Strength (Richards 1997, 2001; Boeckx 2003; Henderson 2013)

- ▷ Positions in a movement chain may be ‘strong’ or ‘weak’ (defined featurally). A chain may not contain more than one ‘strong’ position.  $\bar{A}$ -movement and  $\varphi$ -agreement both involve ‘strong’ features.
- ▷ Avoidance → ‘weaken’ a strong position (voiding agreement)

## 3. Anti-locality (Bošković 1997; Cheng 2006; Schneider-Zioga 2007; Erlewine 2016; Pesetsky 2016)<sup>6</sup>

- ▷ Phrasal movement must not be too short/local. Canonical  $\varphi$ -agreement brings a DP into a position from which  $\bar{A}$ -movement will qualify as too short.
- ▷ Avoidance → move from a position that is not in an anti-local configuration

- The shared property of this type of accounts is that the normal syntax of  $\varphi$ -agreement is disrupted by  $\bar{A}$ -movement.
- In the next sections, I’ll present data that are problematic for this core property
- The unified, morphological theory of  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive  $\varphi$ -agreement developed in the previous section handles these data in a straightforward way.

## 3 Variation in $\varphi$ -feature neutralization

- Languages differ as to how many  $\varphi$ -feature contrasts are neutralized in the presence of  $\bar{A}$ -features.
  - ▷ **Total neutralization** → all  $\varphi$ -feature contrasts are neutralized
  - ▷ **Partial neutralization** → some  $\varphi$ -feature contrasts are neutralized while others are retained.
- Compare the Kabyle data in (25) with the Tashlhit (Berber, Morocco) data in (26). In Tashlhit, *number agreement is retained* under subject extraction, while *person and gender agreement are suppressed*.

(25) *Kabyle (Berber, Algeria)*

**iqcicin-nni** i { **i-wala-n** / \*wala-n } Mohand  
 woman-DEM C { 3SG.M-see-PTCP / see-3PL.M } Mohand  
 ‘the boys who saw Mohand’

<sup>6</sup>See Baier (2017) for further arguments against an anti-locality based approach to anti-agreement not discussed in this talk.

(26) *Tashlhit (Berber, Morocco)*

**irgazn<sub>i</sub>** nna ffegh-**n**-(**in**) —<sub>i</sub>  
 man.PL C<sub>REL</sub> left-PFV-**{PTCP-\*(PL)}**

‘the men who left.’

(Ouhalla 2005 citing Chafiq 1990:123)

- ▷ In Kabyle, the verb takes a 3SG.M prefix *i-* and the participle suffix *-n*.
- ▷ In Tashlhit, the verb takes the participle suffix, and in addition must take the plural suffix *-in*.

- The Kabyle and Tashlhit subject agreement paradigms and participle forms are given in the tables below.<sup>7</sup>

	SG	PL
1	V- <b>ɛ</b>	n-V
2M	t-V-t	t-V-m
2F	t-V-t	t-V-mt
3M	i-V	V-n
3F	t-V	V-nt

Table 6: Kabyle  $\varphi$ -agreement

	SG	PL
1	V- <b>ɣ</b>	n-V
2M	t-V-t	t-V-m
2F	t-V-t	t-V-mt
3M	i-V	V-n
3F	t-V	V-nt

Table 8: Tashlhit  $\varphi$ -agreement

	SG	PL
1	i-V-n	i-V-n
2M	i-V-n	i-V-n
2F	i-V-n	i-V-n
3M	i-V-n	i-V-n
3F	i-V-n	i-V-nt

Table 7: Kabyle participle

	SG	PL
1	i-V-n	V- <b>n-in</b>
2M	i-V-n	V- <b>n-in</b>
2F	i-V-n	V- <b>n-in</b>
3M	i-V-n	V- <b>n-in</b>
3F	i-V-n	V- <b>n-in</b>

Table 9: Tashlhit AA

- Partial neutralization is significant because it indicates that **there must be some successful agreement** with the extracted DP in the syntax.
- In Tashlhit, at least the [NUMBER] feature of the extracted subject must be available to Agree in the syntax so that these features can be spelled out in the morphology.
  - ▷ This fact is an important explanandum for any general theory of  $\varphi$ -agreement neutralization under  $\bar{A}$ -extraction.
- In terms of the current theory, the difference between total and partial neutralization rests in the impoverishment rules active in a given language.

<sup>7</sup>Tashlhit paradigms from Applegate (1958:27).

▷ **Total neutralization** → total  $\varphi$ -impoverishment in the context of [ $\bar{A}$ ]

▷ **Partial neutralization** → partial  $\varphi$ -impoverishment in the context of [ $\bar{A}$ ]

- For Kabyle, the relevant total impoverishment rule is given in (27):

(27) *Kabyle partial  $\varphi$ -impoverishment*  
 $[\varphi] \rightarrow \emptyset / [ \_ , \bar{A}, \text{Agr} ]$

- For Tashlhit, the relevant partial impoverishment rule is given in (28):

(28) *Tashlhit partial  $\varphi$ -impoverishment*  
 $[ \text{PERSON}, \text{GENDER} ] \rightarrow \emptyset / [ \_ , \bar{A}, \text{Agr} ]$

- **Aside:** In both languages, I treat the participle suffix as the spell out of the  $\bar{A}$ -feature that remains after impoverishment

(29) *Kabyle/Tashlhit  $\bar{A}$ -exponence*  
 $-n \leftrightarrow [ \bar{A} ] / [ \_ , \text{Agr} ]$

- ▷ ‘Participle’ is a misnomer → the suffix is only found in the context of subject  $\bar{A}$ -extraction, and verb forms bearing the suffix show no nominal properties.<sup>8</sup>

- For syntactic accounts of anti-agreement, partial neutralization → partial syntactic agreement
- How would a syntactic account of anti-agreement handle the Tashlhit effect? Recall the logic of these accounts:

(30)  $[_{\text{XP}} \beta \dots [_{\text{VP}} \dots \alpha \dots ]]$

$\alpha$  is a position normally targeted for  $\varphi$ -agreement,  $\beta$  is the landing site of  $\bar{A}$ -movement

- For Tashlhit, a syntactic account could posit that:
  - ▷ [PERSON]/[GENDER] agreement are only accessible to the relevant  $\varphi$ -probe(s) when the DP occupies  $\alpha$ ,
  - ▷ while [NUMBER] agreement is accessible to the relevant  $\varphi$ -probe(s) even if the DP does not occupy  $\alpha$
- Other patterns of partial neutralization are not as simple as the Tashlhit example, however.

<sup>8</sup>See Drouin (1996) and Kossmann (2003, 2012) for comparative discussion of participles in Berber. See Baier (2018) for further discussion of this analysis of *-n*.



- I suggest that the morphological alternative is a much more straightforward way of explaining the Ben Tey and Ghadamès patterns.
  - ▷ It is known that  $\varphi$ -features are capable of triggering impoverishment of other  $\varphi$ -features (Noyer 1992, 1997).
  - ▷ Therefore, it should be possible for  $\varphi$ -features to condition such deletion in the context of  $\bar{A}$ -features.

#### 4 The independence of impoverishment and $\bar{A}$ -exponence

- We have now seen examples of morphological variation along two dimensions
  - ① How many  $\varphi$ -feature contrasts are impoverished in the  $\bar{A}$ -context?
  - ② Is there morphology that realizes the  $\bar{A}$ -feature copied by the  $\varphi$ -probe
- Whether a language has total or partial  $\varphi$ -impoverishment is independent of whether or not that language exhibits  $\bar{A}$ -exponence.
- Both Abaza and Kabyle have morphemes that realize this  $\bar{A}$ -feature, (34).

(34) *Abaza and Tarifit* → total impoverishment,  $\bar{A}$ -feature realized

a. *Abaza*

a-fač<sup>1</sup>əŋ<sup>w</sup> a-fin<sup>j</sup>an a-pnə dəzda y-na-z-ax<sup>w</sup>  
 DEF-sugar DEF-cup 3SG.INAN-at who 3SG.INAN-PFV-ERG.WH-take

‘Who took the sugar out of the cup?’ (O’Herin 2002:252)

b. *Kabyle*

**iqcicin-nni** i { **i-wala-n** / \*wala-n } Mohand  
 woman-DEM C { 3SG.M-see-PTCP / see-3PL.M } Mohand

‘the boys who saw Mohand’

- The northern Italian dialect Fiorentino does not realize the  $\bar{A}$ -feature responsible for impoverishment, (35).

(35) *Fiorentino* → total impoverishment,  $\bar{A}$ -feature not realized

Quante ragazze **gli ha** parlato con te  
 how.many girls 3SG have.3SG spoken with you

‘How many girls (it) has spoken to you?’ (Brandi and Cordin 1989:124)

- All three languages, however, exhibit total  $\varphi$ -impoverishment.

- The Berber language Tashlhit displays partial impoverishment and a morpheme expressing the  $\bar{A}$ -feature left over after such impoverishment has taken place, as shown in (36).

(36) *Tashlhit* → partial impoverishment,  $\bar{A}$ -feature realized

irgazen lli kerz-**n-in** igran  
 men C<sub>REL</sub> plow-PTCP-PL fields

‘the men who have worked the fields’ (Aspinon 1953:166)

- In the Bantu language Lubukusu, on the other hand, we have partial impoverishment but no overt realization of the  $\bar{A}$ -feature that is responsible for triggering the impoverishment rule, (37).

(37) *Lubukusu* → partial impoverishment,  $\bar{A}$ -feature not realized

a. Nise o-**{w/\*n}**-onak-e kumulyango kuno  
 1sg CL1.C-**{CL1.AA/1SG.SBJ}**-damage-PST CL3.door CL3.DEM

‘It is I who damaged the door’ (Diercks 2010:133)

b. Nifwe ba-**{w/\*khw}**-onak-e kumulyango kuno  
 1PL CL2.C-**{CL2.SBJ/1PL.SBJ}**-damage-PST CL3.door CL3.DEM

‘It is us who damaged the door’ (Diercks 2010:133)

- ▷ Assuming that 1st persons are specified for as class 1/2 (gender A singular or gender A plural), (37) involves the impoverishment of [PERSON] without deleting [GENDER, NUMBER] (Diercks 2010; Henderson 2013)
- It is also clearly the case that some languages do not neutralize  $\varphi$ -features in the context of  $\bar{A}$ -features.

- ▷ An example of one such language is Mexican Spanish, where full subject-verb  $\varphi$ -agreement is present on the verb in the relative clause part of a subject cleft.

(38) *Mexican Spanish subject cleft* → full  $\varphi$ -agreement, no  $\bar{A}$ -exponence<sup>10</sup>

Soy yo que **estoy** aquí  
 be.1SG 1SG C be.1SG here

‘It’s me who is here.’

- ▷ The full agreement between the verb *estoy* and the clefted 1sg pronoun can be accounted for by saying that Mexican Spanish does not have an active  $\varphi$ -impoverishment rule in the context of  $\bar{A}$ -features

<sup>10</sup>Judgement from a native speaker of Mexican Spanish from Oaxaca.

- A clear prediction of the theory of  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive agreement developed in this talk is the following

(39) There should be languages that exhibit  $\bar{A}$ -exponence while lacking  $\varphi$ -impoverishment in the context of  $\bar{A}$ -features.

- There is at least one such language  $\rightarrow$  **Kobiana** (Atlantic, Guinea-Bissau).
- Verbs in Kobiana agree with their subjects for person and number through a set of subject agreement prefixes. Subject focus triggers a second set of subject agreement prefixes on the verb.

(40) *Kobiana subject-verb agreement* (John Merrill, p.c.)

a. <i>No subject focus</i>	b. <i>Subject focus</i>
á-ndékk-i	áyì ée-ndékk-ən-i
2SG-walk-PFV	2SG 2SG.FOC-walk-FOC-PFV
‘You walked.’	‘It’s you who walked.’

- ▷ In (40a), the 2SG subject is not focused and the verb bears the agreement prefix *á-*.
- ▷ In (40b), the 2SG subject is focused and the subject agreement prefix is changed to *ée-*.<sup>11</sup>

- The paradigms found with non-focused subjects and focused subjects are given in tables 14 and 15, respectively (both from Voisin 2015:368).

	SG	PL
1	má-	ngée-
2	á-	káa-
3	à-	náà-

Table 14: Kobiana  $\varphi$ -agreement

	SG	PL
1	mé-	ngéena-
2	ée-	káana-
3	áma-	náàná-

Table 15: Kobiana subject focus agreement

- There are two crucial observations with regards to the two  $\varphi$ -agreement paradigms above.
  1. The subject focus agreement paradigm in table 15 retains all  $\varphi$ -feature contrasts present in the basic agreement paradigm in table 14.
  2. The Kobiana subject focus  $\varphi$ -agreement paradigm is not transparently segmentable.
- In the current theory, I argue that this means Kobiana has two distinct sets of  $\varphi$ -agreement VI, shown in (41a)

<sup>11</sup>In addition, the verb in (40b) takes the focus suffix  $\rightarrow n$ , which is limited to subject focus clauses (John Merrill, p.c.).

(41) *Kobiana agreement VIs*

- a. má-, á-, à-, ngée-, káa-, náà-  $\leftrightarrow$  [ $\varphi$ , Agr]
- b. mée-, ée-, áma-, ngéena-, káana-, náàná-  $\leftrightarrow$  [ $\varphi$ ,  $\bar{A}$ , Agr]

- ▷ The first realizes just a set of  $\varphi$ -features, and is shown in (41a).
- ▷ The second set realizes a set of  $\varphi$ -features and an  $\bar{A}$ -feature, as shown in (41b), and will block insertion of the first set of VIs whenever the subject bears an  $\bar{A}$ -feature.

- If my analysis of Kobiana is on the right track, then we can fill in completely a two by three way typology of the interaction between  $\varphi$ -impoverishment and  $\bar{A}$ -exponence.

	① $\varphi$ -impoverishment		
	TOTAL	PARTIAL	NONE
② $\bar{A}$ -exponence	YES Abaza	Tashlhit	Kobiana
	NO Fiorentino	Lubukusu	Spanish

Table 16: Typology of  $\bar{A}$ -exponence and impoverishment

- Table 16 obscures the important point that in languages like Abaza, there may be instances  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive agreement morphology that exhibit  $\bar{A}$ -exponence and some that do not.
- $\Rightarrow$  This supports the conclusion that these properties are independent dimensions of variation
- The typology in table 16 falls out naturally if  $\bar{A}$ -sensitivity is simply a property of  $\varphi$ -probes in general, and is not subject to crosslinguistic variation.

(42) *The  $\bar{A}$ -Sensitivity Uniformity Hypothesis*

All  $\varphi$ -probes are  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive – they interact with  $\bar{A}$ -features on their goal(s). There is no crosslinguistic variation in this property.

- Variation arises from how a given language’s morphology manipulates and realizes feature bundles that include [ $\varphi$ ] and [ $\bar{A}$ ].
  - ① Languages vary as to whether impoverishment applies in the context of  $\bar{A}$ -features, and when it does, how many features are impoverished
  - ② Languages vary as to whether there are vocabulary items that spell out the  $\bar{A}$ -features that are copied to  $\varphi$ -probes when it interacts with a  $\bar{A}$ -marked DP.
- These types of variation are independently needed in the model of morphology employed here (DM).

## Appendix A: Asymmetries in $\varphi$ -feature impoverishment

- When one looks closely at the patterns of  $\varphi$ -feature syncretism in the context of  $\bar{A}$ -features attested crosslinguistically, the number of possible patterns turns out to be very small.
- The attested patterns of leveling in a survey of 63 languages are summarized in table 17 (Baier 2018).

	Non- $\bar{A}$ -Context			$\bar{A}$ -Context		
	Person	Gender	Number	Person	Gender	Number
Type 1	✓	(✓)	✓			
Type 2	✓	(✓)	✓			✓
Type 3	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓

Table 17: Patterns of syncretisms in the context of  $\bar{A}$ -features

- ▷ **Type 1 impoverishment** → all normal agreement features are neutralized
- ▷ **Type 2 impoverishment** → all normal agreement features other than NUMBER are neutralized
- ▷ **Type 2 impoverishment** → only PERSON agreement is neutralized, while GENDER and NUMBER agreement remain indexed
- The generalization that emerges from table 17 is that  $\varphi$ -contrast neutralization under  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive agreement is constrained by an implicational hierarchy, given in (43).

(43) *Feature Impoverishment Hierarchy (FIH)*  
 PERSON  $\ll$  GENDER  $\ll$  NUMBER

- The FIH requires that an rule that deletes feature category [X] also delete all features belonging to categories to the left of [X] on the scale. In other words, if a rule deletes [GENDER], that rule must also delete [PERSON].
- See Baier (2018) for a proposal regarding the structure of  $\varphi$ -features that derives (43)

## Appendix B: Distribution of $\bar{A}$ -sensitive phi-agreement

### Prediction of the theory

Variation in which instances of agreement in a clause exhibit  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive phi-agreement effects should reduce to which probes are targeted by  $\varphi$ -impoverishment.

- In the current theory, this reduces to the types of contextual restrictions that impoverishment rules have in any given language.
  - ▷ An impoverishment rule whose contextual restriction contains [Agr] should apply to all instances of agreement.
  - ▷ An impoverishment rule that has a contextual restriction referring to a specific categorial feature such as [T] should only apply to heads with that feature, and no others.
- Consider the abstract scenarios in (44) on the next page. All three involve the same basic structure: a clause that includes two  $\varphi$ -probes, each hosted on a head of a distinct category, and each of which targets a distinct DP in the structure.

(44) *Possibilities for  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive agreement with two probe-goal pairs*

a. *Scenario 1: Neither DP has  $[\bar{A}]$ , X and Y copy  $[\varphi]$*

[ ... X<sub>[u $\varphi$ ]</sub> ... DP<sup>1</sup><sub>[ $\varphi$ ]</sub> ... [ ... Y<sub>[u $\varphi$ ]</sub> ... DP<sup>2</sup><sub>[ $\varphi$ ]</sub> ... ]]

b. *Scenario 2: DP<sub>1</sub> has  $[\bar{A}]$ , X copies  $[\varphi, \bar{A}]$*

[ ... X<sub>[u $\varphi$ ]</sub> ... DP<sup>1</sup><sub>[ $\varphi, \bar{A}$ ]</sub> ... [ ... Y<sub>[u $\varphi$ ]</sub> ... DP<sup>2</sup><sub>[ $\varphi$ ]</sub> ... ]]

c. *Scenario 3: DP<sub>2</sub> has  $[\bar{A}]$ , Y copies  $[\varphi, \bar{A}]$*

[ ... X<sub>[u $\varphi$ ]</sub> ... DP<sup>1</sup><sub>[ $\varphi$ ]</sub> ... [ ... Y<sub>[u $\varphi$ ]</sub> ... DP<sup>2</sup><sub>[ $\varphi, \bar{A}$ ]</sub> ... ]]

- Example (44) exhausts the possibilities of cases where zero or one of the DPs targeted for agreement have an  $\bar{A}$ -feature, in a clause that includes two  $\varphi$ -probes and two DPs.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup>This sets aside the possibility of derivations in which multiple DPs host  $\bar{A}$ -features. In (44), the relations between probes and goals each in their own right are key, and not the relationships between the two dependencies. That is, I take these diagrams to represent cases where the two dependencies occupy separate portions of structure, as depicted here, as well as cases where they nest, as will be seen below.

- In all three scenarios, the  $\varphi$ -probe on X agrees with DP<sub>1</sub> and the  $\varphi$ -probe on Y agrees with DP<sub>2</sub>.
  - ▷ **Scenario 1**, (44a) → neither DP has [ $\bar{A}$ ]. Control scenario.
  - ▷ **Scenario 2**, (44b) → DP<sub>1</sub> has an  $\bar{A}$ -feature. Probe on X copies back both [ $\varphi+\bar{A}$ ].
  - ▷ **Scenario 3**, (44c) → DP<sub>2</sub> has an  $\bar{A}$ -feature. Probe on Y copies back both [ $\varphi+\bar{A}$ ].
- **Question** ⇒ Which of these scenarios display an  $\bar{A}$ -sensitivity effect?
  - ▷ If **both scenario 2 and 3** display such an effect, then the simplest analysis is to posit an impoverishment rule that targets heads bearing [Agr].
  - ▷ If **only scenario 2** displays an effect, then the impoverishment rule targets heads of category [X].
  - ▷ If **only scenario 3** exhibits an effect, then the relevant impoverishment rule targets heads of category [Y].
- These outcomes and the needed impoverishment rules are summarized in table 18.

	$\bar{A}$ -sensitivity effect		Impoverishment rule
	Scenario 2 (X)	Scenario 3 (Y)	
Outcome 1	✓	✓	$[\varphi] \rightarrow \emptyset / [ \_ , \bar{A}, \text{Agr} ]$
Outcome 2	✓	✗	$[\varphi] \rightarrow \emptyset / [ \_ , \bar{A}, X ]$
Outcome 3	✗	✓	$[\varphi] \rightarrow \emptyset / [ \_ , \bar{A}, Y ]$

Table 18: Possible outcomes for scenarios 2 and 3 in (44)

- The prediction above is confirmed by the All  $\varphi$ -probes generalization, shown in (45).
 

(45) *All  $\varphi$ -probes generalization*  
Crosslinguistically, any XP that triggers  $\varphi$ -agreement is in principle be capable of triggering an  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive agreement effect on any  $\varphi$ -probe that it interacts with.
- To show that this is the case, I approach this question from the perspective of agreement alignment (**ergative-absolutive** and **nominative-accusative**).
- In terms of the abstract configurations in <multi-scenarios>, alignment emerges from the way that probes X and Y patterns with regards to the arguments of transitive and intransitive clauses
  - ▷ **Nominative-Accusative**: X agrees with transitive/intransitive subjects; Y agrees with transitive objects (or vice versa).

- ▷ **Ergative-Absolutive**: X agrees with intransitive subjects and transitive objects; Y agrees with transitive subjects (or vice versa).

- This approach to agreement alignment is summarized table 19

	Argument		
	A	S	O
Nominative-accusative	X	X	Y
Ergative-absolutive	X	Y	Y

Table 19: Alignment with two probes

- There are three possible distributions of anti-agreement for each alignment type, as shown in table 20.

	Target probe(s)	Anti-agreement?			Language
		A	S	O	
Nom-Acc	X+Y	✓	✓	✓	Zulu (Doke 1997)
	X	✓	✓	✗	Palauan (Georgopoulos 1991)
	Y	✗	✗	✓	Ndebele (A. Pietraszko, p.c.)
Erg-Abs	X+Y	✓	✓	✓	Abaza (O'Herin 2002)
	X	✓	✗	✗	Semelai (Kruspe 2004)
	Y	✗	✓	✓	Selayarese (Finer 1997)

Table 20: Possible distributions of anti-agreement

- ▷ ✓ indicates the argument in question *does* trigger an  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive agreement effect when it has an  $\bar{A}$ -feature
- ▷ ✗ indicates the argument in question *does not* trigger an  $\bar{A}$ -sensitive agreement effect, even when it has an  $\bar{A}$ -feature.

## Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Peter Jenks, Amy Rose Deal, Line Mikkelsen, Johanna Nichols, David Pesetsky, Norvin Richards, Jessica Coon, Lisa Travis, Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine, Jason Zentz, Michael Diercks, Michelle Yuan, Kenyon Branan, Emily Clem, Tessa Scott, Hannah Sande, and numerous other colleagues who have helped shaped the analysis presented here, and who have shared language data with me. All mistakes are of course my own!

## References

- Applegate, Joseph R. 1958. *An outline of the structure of Shilha*. New York: American Council of Learned Societies.
- Aspinon, Robert. 1953. *Apprenons le berbère: initiation aux dialectes chleuhs*. Rabat: éditions Félix Moncho.
- Baier, Nico. 2017. Antilocality and antiagreement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 48:367–377.
- Baier, Nico. 2018. Anti-Agreement. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Boeckx, Cedric. 2003. *Islands and Chains: Resumption as stranding*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Bonet, Eulalia. 1991. Morphology after syntax: Pronominal clitics in Romance. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Bošković, Željko. 1997. Coordination, object shift, and V-movement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 28:357–365.
- Brandi, Luciana, and Patrizia Cordin. 1989. Two Italian Dialects and the Null-Subject Parameter. In *The Null Subject Parameter*, ed. Osvaldo Jaeggli and Ken Safir. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Caponigro, Ivano, and Maria Polinsky. 2015. Relative embeddings: A Circassian puzzle for the syntax/semantics interface. Ms., UCSD.
- Chafiq, Mohamed. 1990. *44 lessons in the Tamazight language*. Arab-Africa Press.
- Cheng, Lisa Lai-Shen. 2006. Decomposing Bantu Relatives. In *Proceedings of NELS 36*, ed. Christopher Davis, Amy Rose Deal, and Youri Zabbal, 197–215.
- Chung, Sandra. 1998. *The Design of Agreement: Evidence from Chamorro*. Chicago University Press.
- Chung, Sandra, and Carol Georgopoulos. 1988. Agreement with gaps in Chamorro and Palauan. In *Agreement in Natural Languages: Approaches, Theories, and Descriptions*, ed. Michael Barlow and Charles A. Ferguson, 251–67. Cent. Study Lang. Inf.
- Coon, Jessica. 2017. Little-v agreement and templatic morphology in Ch’ol. *Syntax* 20:101–137.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2015. Interaction and satisfaction in  $\phi$ -agreement. In *NELS 45: Proceedings of the Forty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the North East Linguistic Society*, ed. Thuy Bui Bui and Deniz Özyıldız.
- Deal, Amy Rose. 2016. Interaction and satisfaction: a theory of agreement. Talk presented at MIT Syntax Square, MIT, Cambridge, MA, April 14.
- Diercks, Michael. 2010. Agreement with Subjects in Lubukusu. Doctoral Dissertation, Georgetown University.
- Doke, Clement M. 1997. *Textbook of Zulu grammar*. Cape Town: Longman, sixth edition.
- Drouin, Jeannine. 1996. Les formes participiales en berbère – essai de dialectologie comparée. *Littérature Orale Arabo-Berbère* 24.
- Erlewine, Michael Yoshitaka. 2016. Anti-locality and optimality in Kaqchikel Agent Focus. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 34:429–479.
- Finer, Daniel L. 1997. Contrasting A’-Dependencies in Selayarese. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15:677–728.
- Georgopoulos, Carol. 1991. *Syntactic variables: Resumptive pronouns and A’ binding in palauan*.

- Dordrecht: Springer.
- Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. 1993. Distributed Morphology and the pieces of inflection. In *The view from Building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, ed. Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 111–176. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Harley, Heidi, and Elizabeth Ritter. 2002. Person and number in pronouns: A feature-geometric analysis. *Language* 78:482–526.
- Heath, Jeffrey. 2013. *A Grammar of Ben Tey (Dogon of Beni)*. Ms., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Henderson, Brent. 2013. Agreement and person in anti-agreement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 31:453–481.
- Hewitt, B. George. 1979. *Abkhaz*. *Lingua Descriptive Studies* 2. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.
- Keine, Stefan. 2010. *Case and Agreement from Fringe to Core: A Minimalist Approach*, volume 536 of *Linguistische Arbeiten*. Germany: De Gruyter.
- Kossmann, Maarten. 2003. The Origin of the Berber ‘Participle’. In *Selected Comparative-Historical Afrasian Linguistics in the Memory of Igor M. Diakonoff*, ed. M. Lionel Bender, Gábor Takacs, and David L. Appleyard, 27 – 40.
- Kossmann, Maarten. 2012. Berber. In *The Afroasiatic Languages*, ed. Frajzyngier Z, Shay, 18–101. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press.
- Kossmann, Maarten. 2013. *A Grammatical Sketch of Ghadamès Berber (Libya)*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Kramer, Ruth. 2010. The Amharic definite marker and the syntax-morphology interface. *Syntax* 13:196–240.
- Kruspe, Nicole. 2004. *A Grammar of Semelai*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nevens, Andrew. 2007. The representation of third person and its consequences for person-case effects. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25:273–313.
- Norris, Mark. 2014. A theory of nominal concord. Doctoral Dissertation, UC Santa Cruz.
- Noyer, Rolf. 1992. Features, positions and affixes in autonomous morphological structure. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Noyer, Rolf. 1997. *Features, Positions, and Affixes in Autonomous Morphological Structure*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- O’Herin, Brian. 2002. *Case and agreement in Abaza*, volume 138 of *Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics*. Arlington, TX: SIL International.
- Ouhalla, Jamal. 1993. Subject-extraction, negation and the anti-agreement effect. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11:477–518.
- Ouhalla, Jamal. 2005. Agreement features, agreement and antiagreement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23:655–686.
- Pesetsky, David. 2016. Exfoliation: towards a derivational theory of clause size. Handout, UMass Amherst.
- Richards, Norvin. 1997. What moves where when in which language? Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.
- Richards, Norvin. 2001. *Movement in language: Interactions and architectures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Rizzi, Luigi. 2006. On the form of chains: criterial positions and ECP effects. In *WH-movement: moving on*, ed. Lisa Lai Shen Cheng and Norbert Corver. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2007. On some properties of Criterial Freezing. In *CISCL Working Papers on Language and Cognition, Vol 1*, ed. V. Moscati, 145–158. University of Sienna.
- Rizzi, Luigi, and Ur Shlonsky. 2007. Strategies of Subject Extraction. In *Interfaces + Recursion = Language?: Chomsky's Minimalism and the View from Syntax-Semantics*, ed. Henk van Riemsdijk, Jan Koster, and Harry van der Hulst, volume 89 of *Studies in generative grammar*, 115–160. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schneider-Zioga, Patricia. 2007. Anti-agreement, anti-locality and Minimality. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25:403–446.
- Shlonsky, Ur. 2014. Subject positions, Subject Extraction, EPP, and the Subject Criterion. In *Locality*, ed. Enoch Oladé Aboh, Maria Teresa Guasti, and Ian Roberts, 58–85. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2015. Les classes nominales en kobiana. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, ed. Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov, 324–380. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Watanabe, Akira. 1996. *Case Absorption and WH-Agreement*. Dordrecht/Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.