Agreement, Dislocation, and Partial Configurationality

Mark C. Baker

Rutgers University

## 1. Introduction

Jelinek's seminal (1984) article introduced the Pronominal Argument

Hypothesis into Principles and Parameters-style theories.  In brief, her idea was

that some languages have obligatory pronominal agreements/clitics that count as

the arguments of verbs and other predicators.  Full NPs in such languages are

thus never themselves arguments; when present at all they have the status of

optional adjuncts of some kind.  This view, as developed and extended by

Jelinek herself and others, has proved to be quite a successful way of accounting

for the properties of fully nonconfigurational, uniformly head-marking

languages within generative theory. Baker (1996), for example, provides a

whole-scale analysis of the major features of Mohawk grammar in these terms.

The main ingredients of the analysis have also been replicated for languages

such as Southern Tiwa, Nahuatl, Mayali, Chukchee (Baker 1996), Cree

(Reinholtz and Russell 1994), and Mapudungun (Baker 2000, in progress).

Jelinek's Pronominal Argument Hypothesis can be factored into two

logically distinct claims, identified in (1).  (1a) is the Pronominal Argument

Hypothesis proper, and (1b) provides the crucial link between it and the

nonconfigurational syntactic behavior.

(1) a.  In language X, pronominal elements (clitics or agreements) must

be related to each argument position in the clause.

b.  In the presence of a pronominal element related to an argument

position Y, an overt NP Z cannot occupy position Y at S-

structure.  Z can only be an adjunct to some constituent from

which it binds Y.

I refer to the syntactic configuration described in (1b) as *dislocation*, a

phenomenon found to some extent even in English (*That book, I really like it*).

Following Cinque (1990) and Baker (1996) I assume that the dislocated NPs are

base-generated in adjoined positions, rather than arriving there by movement,

although the evidence that distinguishes the two views is slender and not

particularly relevant to the main issue I want to address (but see note 4).

While questions remain about both aspects of (1), my concern in this

article is to investigate (1b) more closely. There is little doubt that something

like (1a) holds in languages like Mohawk.  There is also a good deal of syntactic

evidence that all overt NPs in this language are in fact dislocated (Baker 1996:

ch. 2, 3).  It is not, however, certain that this second property is caused by the

first, as (1b) would have it.  It is true that the dislocation of NPs correlates with

the presence of agreement almost perfectly in Mohawk, since both are present in

virtually every structure. But the empirical evidence for very implausible

correlations is just as strong.  One could, for example, say that the presence of

vowels within the verb causes dislocation in Mohawk.  There would be no

empirical evidence against such a claim, since every verb has vowels as well as agreement markers. Nor is it entirely clear exactly what it is about agreement that forces NPs to be dislocated.

Data from other languages have been used to call the theoretical connection between agreement and dislocation posited in (1b) into question. On the one hand, Austin and Bresnan (1996) argue against Jelinek (1984) on the grounds that there are Australian languages like Jiwarli that have the same nonconfigurational effects Jelinek observed for Warlpiri, but the pronominal clitics that are found in Warlpiri are absent in Jiwarli. Austin and Bresnan go on to claim that agreement and nonconfigurationality are independent of each other in the Australian languages. On the other hand, Indo-European languages like Spanish and Greek clearly do have agreement with subjects, but this agreement does not necessarily force dislocation of the subject (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998). Therefore, it is not clear that agreement is either necessary or sufficient to cause dislocation and hence nonconfigurationality.

The Bantu languages provide an excellent laboratory to study these questions. Descriptively speaking, they fall somewhere between fully nonconfigurational languages like Mohawk and "ordinary" configurational languages like Spanish or Greek. Subject agreement is required in most Bantu languages, but object agreement/clitics are optional, as shown in (2).[1]

> (2)  *Njuchi zi-na-(wa)-lum-a          alenje.*     (Chichewa)
>
>       bees    SM-PAST-(OM)-bit-FV   hunters.

'The bees stung the hunters.'

Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) show that when the Object Marker (OM) is present, the NP associated with the direct object theta-role can be freely omitted, freely ordered, and appears outside the VP; Mchombo (2001) adds the information that discontinuous constituents are permitted in just this case. Chichewa with the OM is thus syntactically like Mohawk. When the OM is omitted, however, a direct object NP is required, it appears inside the VP, right-adjacent to the verb, and discontinuous constituents are not permitted, just as in English. A Mohawk-like mode and a Spanish-like mode thus seem to co-exist in Chichewa and the other Bantu languages. There are also certain "inversion" constructions in which thematic subjects are not agreed with, so the effects of agreement on subjects can also be studied. (1a) clearly does not hold for Bantu languages the way it does for the languages Jelinek originally studied, which makes it easier to investigate the dynamics of (1b).

To capitalize on this opportunity, I consider in this article the relationship between agreement and dislocation in the Bantu language Kinande, building on Bresnan and Mchombo's work on Chichewa and Kinyalolo's (1991) work on Kilega, among others. By comparing Kinande, which has optional agreement, to languages like Mohawk with obligatory agreement, I argue that the biconditional in (3) (a strong version of (1b)) is valid for an interesting range of languages.

(3)    A verb X agrees with an NP Y if and only if Y is in a dislocated,

adjunct position.

Section 2 looks in particular at the effects of object agreement in Kinande, and

section 3 looks at the effects of subject agreement.  Section 4 then compares

Kinande, in which (3) holds, with the Indo-European languages studied by

Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) (henceforth A&A), in which it does

not. I propose a parameter that distinguishes the kind of agreement that causes

dislocation from the kind of agreement that does not in a way that is

independently motivated.  Section 5 considers briefly where Salishan languages

and Athapaskan languages—two families that Jelinek herself has worked on,

with controversial results—fit into the typology that emerges from section 4.

Section 6 concludes the discussion.


## 2.  Agreement and objects

I begin my defense of (3) by considering objects in Kinande.  As in Chichewa,

transitive verbs in Kinande may or may not bear an OM, as shown in (4).

(4)    a. *N-a-gul-a        eritunda.*

1sS-T-buy-FV   fruit.5

'I bought a fruit.'

b. *Eritunda,  n-a-ri-gul-a.*

fruit.5      1sS-T-OM5-buy-FV

'The fruit, I bought it.'

Conceivably one might say that there is phonologically null object agreement even in (4a)—a logical possibility that Jelinek (1984) explicitly allows. If so, then object agreement is really obligatory in Kinande after all. Evidence that this is not the case comes from *pro*-drop. When an overt OM is present, no NP object is required, as one would expect. If there is no overt OM, however, omitting the overt NP object forces the verb to have an intransitive interpretation. This is shown by the contrast in (5).

(5)    a.   *Ng-u-li-gul-a*          *ebitsungu, Kambale*

         if-2sS-NPST-buy-FV    potatoes.8   Kambale

         *a-luandi-bi-kuk-a.*

         1S-will-OM8-cook-FV

         'If you buy potatoes, Kambale will cook them.'

   b.   *#Ng-u-li-gul-a*         *ebitsungu, Kambale*

         if-2sS-NPST-buy-FV   potatoes.8   Kambale

         *a-luandi-kuk-a.*

         1S-will-cook-FV

         'If you buy potatoes, Kambale will do the cooking.'

Assuming that OMs either are pronominals themselves or license null pronouns (i.e. *pro*), (5) provides evidence that there is no Ø OM in Kinande, and hence that the OM is optional.[2]

With this established, we can investigate how the presence of the OM correlates with evidence that the associated NP is dislocated in Kinande. There

are two major syntactic sources of evidence as to whether an NP is dislocated or not: evidence from word order, and evidence from nonreferential/quantified NPs (see Cinque (1990), Baker 1996, and A&A, among others).[3] Consider first word order. Dislocated objects are adjoined at the periphery of a clause, whereas undislocated objects are inside VP, typically adjacent to the verb. (4) already shows that "object" NPs appear in different locations in Kinande depending on whether object agreement is present or not. In the absence of an OM, the direct object must immediately follow the verb (as in Chichewa). When an OM is present, the direct object—if there at all—must come at the front of the sentence, set off from it by an intonation break. It is impossible to have a postverbal object together with an OM, or a preverbal object without one:

(6)  a.  *N-a-(\*ri)-gul-a        eritunda.*

        1sS-T-OM5-buy-FV   fruit.5

        'I bought a fruit.'

    b.  *Eritunda, n-a-\*(ri)-gul-a.*

        fruit.5      1sS-T-OM5-buy-FV

        'The fruit, I bought it.'

Kinande differs slightly from Chichewa on this point, in that the equivalent of (6a) is grammatical in Chichewa (see (2)). But Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) show that even in Chichewa the object is not in the VP when the OM is present. The difference between Kinande and Chichewa can be described by saying that

Chichewa permits both right dislocation and left dislocation, whereas Kinande allows only left dislocation. This is independently motivated by the fact that agreed-with subjects also cannot follow the verb in Kinande (see (7)), whereas this is perfectly possible in Chichewa.

(7)     *Mo-a-sat-ire            omukali.

AFF-1S/T-dance-EXT   woman

'The woman danced.'

For this reason, even with the OM present, word order in Kinande more restricted than it is in Mohawk or Chichewa. It is nonetheless true that all and only agreed-with objects show the word order characteristic of dislocation in Kinande, in accordance with (3).

Evidence from nonreferential, quantified NPs also supports (3). It is known that nonreferential indefinite NPs cannot be dislocated in a language like Italian (Rizzi 1986; Cinque 1990); rather dislocated NPs have only a definite or specific reading. Kinande nouns usually begin with an augment vowel that matches the vowel of its noun class prefix. Under the scope of negation, however, and in certain other contexts this vowel can be omitted. This augmentless NP has a narrow scope, nonspecific indefinite reading (Progovac 1993). Thus, we have the following contrast:

(8)     a. *Yohani  si-a-nzire         o-mu-kali.*

John     NEG-1S/T-like  AUG-CL1-woman

'John does not like the woman.'

b. *Yohani   si-a-nzire        mu-kali.*

John     NEG-1S/T-like  CL1-woman

'John does not like a(ny) woman.'

That this special nonreferential form can be in object position when there is no object agreement indicates that this is not a dislocated position. The augmentless noun cannot be used together with an OM, however, as expected:[4]

(9)   a. *Omukali  mo-a-teta-gul-a              ki-ndu.*

woman.1  AFF-1S-NEG/PAST-buy-FV  CL7-thing

'The woman didn't buy anything.'

b. *\*(E)-ki-ndu,        omukali  mo-a-teta-ki-gul-a.*

(AUG-)CL7-thing  woman   AFF-1S-NEG/PAST-

OM7-buy-FV

'Anything, the woman didn't buy it.'

Kinande differs in this respect from Mohawk, which has no truly nonreferential NPs.

*Wh*-phrases in Kinande have a similar distribution to augmentless noun phrases, as expected given that they too are nonreferential, quantified expressions. An object *wh*-phrase can appear in-situ, immediately following the verb when there is no OM ((10a)), but it cannot appear in a dislocated position with an object marker present ((10b)).

(10)   a. *Kambale  a-gul-a       ebihi?*   (also OK in Chichewa)

Kambale  1S/T-buy-FV what.8

'What did Kambale buy?'

    b.   *Ebihi, Kambale  a-bi-gul-a?*

       what.8   Kambale  1S/T-OM8-buy-FV

       'What did Kambale buy?'

Rizzi (1986) subsumes the ungrammaticality of the Italian equivalent of (10b) to the Weak Crossover Condition, which restricts when pronouns can act as variables bound by quantified expressions.  Again, an obligatory agreement language like Mohawk is different: since dislocation is required in that language, there is no *wh*-in-situ (Baker 1995); true *wh*-movement must always apply in such languages.  Nonreferential NPs of various kinds are thus possible in true object position in Kinande, when there is no OM, but not in dislocated position when there is an OM.

Over all then, we have evidence that agreement and dislocation go hand in hand for objects in Kinande.  True polysynthetic languages like Mohawk are consistent with this, in that they always have agreement and always have dislocation. The generalization in (3) is thus supported in this domain.


**3.  Agreement and Subjects**

Next let us consider the relationship of agreement and dislocation for subjects in Kinande. Unlike object agreement, subject agreement is in a sense obligatory in Kinande.  There is no alternative form of (11) that lacks the subject prefix *ba-*, for example.

(11)   Abakali   *(ba)-[a]-gul-a eritunda.

woman.2  2S-T-buy-FV    fruit.5

'The woman bought a fruit.'

Kinande does not seem very different from a polysynthetic language like

Mohawk in this respect.

There are, however, constructions in which the Kinande verb does not

agree with the *thematic* subject.  Rather, a variety of nominal expressions can be

moved into the Specifier of TP in Kinande, and whatever is moved there

triggers "subject" agreement.  (12b) illustrates one such case, the so-called

"subject-object reversal" construction, in which the direct object is preposed to

clause-initial position.  The verb comes between the preposed object and the

thematic subject, and shows "subject" agreement only with the former.  These

sentences are best in a generic tense (they have a proverbial flavor) and they

express contrastive focus on the thematic subject.

(12)   a.   *Omukali   mo-a-seny-ire*          *olukwi*          (Normal)

woman.1  AFF-1S/T-chop-EXT wood.11

*(lw'-omo-mbasa).*

LK11-LOC.18-axe.9

'The woman chopped wood (with an axe).'

b.   *Olukwi   si-lu-li-seny-a*          *bakali*

wood.11 NEG-11S-PRES-chop-FV women.2

*(omo-mbasa).*                              (SO-reversal)

LOC.18-axe.9

'WOMEN do not chop wood (with an axe).'

Similar reversal constructions have been analyzed in other Bantu languages, including Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980; Ura 2000), Kilega (Kinyalolo 1991) and Kirundi (Ndayiragije 1999). OVS orders are also possible in verb-second languages like German, of course, but in German the verb does not agree with the fronted object. This is our first hint that agreement in Bantu languages is fundmentally different from agreement in Indo-European languages.

A second kind of inversion is found with unaccusative intransitive verbs, including the passives of transitives. A locative expression can come before such verbs, triggering "subject" agreement, while the NP that would otherwise be the subject comes after the verb and is not agreed with. The Chichewa version of this locative inversion construction is studied in detail by Bresnan and Kanerva (1989).[5]

(13)   (?)Omo-mulongo   mw-a-hik-a        omukali.

LOC.18-village.3   18S-T-arrive-FV  woman.1

'At the village arrived a woman.'

Locative inversion exists also in English (Bresnan 1994), but in English the verb agrees with the postverbal theme, not the preverbal locative. This is the second hint that agreement in Bantu is fundamentally different from agreement in Indo-European languages—leads that I follow up on in the next section.

Kinande also has a kind of impersonal construction that can be used with unergative verbs, shown in (14). Here the intransitive verb comes before the agentive subject and does not agree with it. There is no obvious Specifier of TP, but the verb has a pleonastic locative affix *ha-* in the subject agreement slot.[6]

(14)   *Mo-ha-teta-sat-a*                                *mukali    (omo-soko).*

AFF-there-NEG/PAST-dance-FV woman.1   LOC.18-market

'No woman danced in the market.

Thus while it is true that all finite verbs bear "subject agreement" in Kinande, there are nevertheless a variety of erstwhile subjects that are not agreed with. We can therefore investigate the relationship between agreement and dislocation for putative subjects as well.

Consider first evidence for dislocation that comes from word order. In normal, SVO constructions like (11), the subject appears at the left edge of the TP. It cannot appear after the verb, as shown in (15) (see also (7)).

(15)   *\*A-gul-a       omukali   eritunda.*

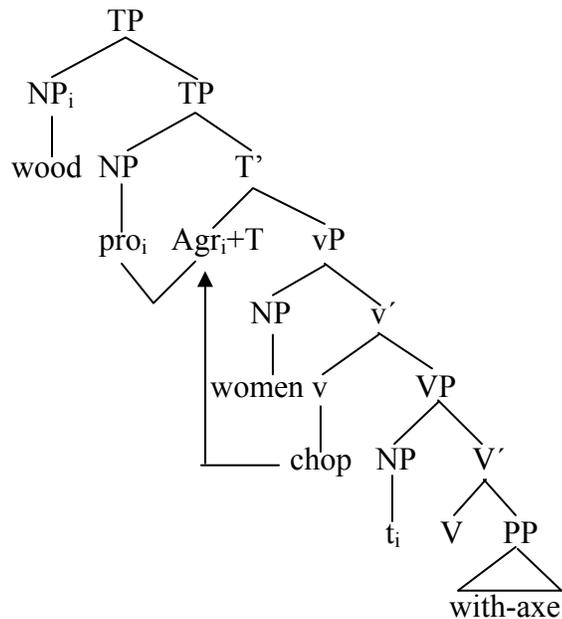1S/T-buy-FV woman.1  fruit.5

'The woman bought a fruit.'

This is consistent with the view that agreed-with subjects are dislocated in Kinande, and are left-adjoined to TP.  In contrast, the unagreed-with thematic subjects in (12), (13), and (14) are not peripheral to the clause; rather, they come between the verb and a locative or instrumental PP.  This clearly indicates that they are not dislocated.  Presumably, they sit in a specifier position—either

Spec, vP or the specifier of some functional head lower than T. As such, they come before VP-adverbs but after the verb that has been raised to T. Agreed-with subjects cannot, however, occupy this internal position. This then supports the biconditional in (3). Sample structures are given in (16).

(16)    a.   Ordinary sentence: Agentive subject is agreed

with and occupies a peripheral position ((12a)).
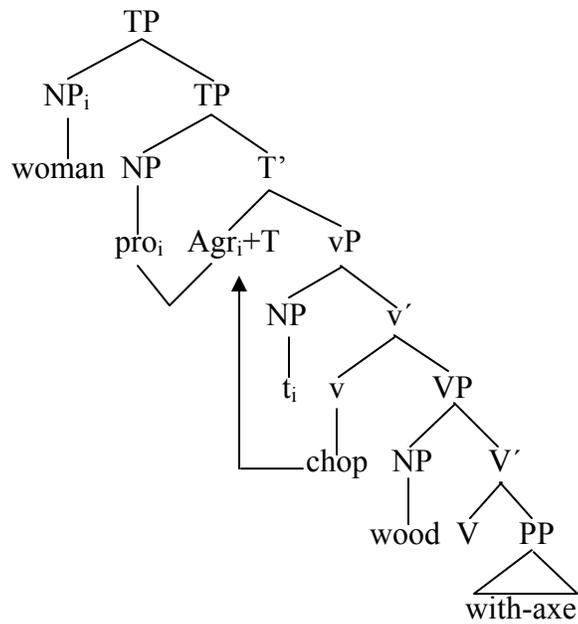
b. SO-reversal sentence: Agentive subject is not agreed

with and occupies an argument position ((12b)).

```
                    TP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
            NP_i           TP
             │       ┌──────┴──────┐
           wood  NP              T'
                  │        ┌──────┴──────┐
              pro_i   Agr_i+T          vP
                              ┌─────────┴────┐
                             NP              v'
                              │        ┌─────┴─────┐
                          women  v            VP
                                  │      ┌─────┴─────┐
                               chop    NP          V'
                                        │       ┌───┴───┐
                                       t_i      V      PP
                                                    with-axe
```

The situation is complicated somewhat by evidence that dislocated, preverbal subjects in Kinande do *not* appear in exactly the same positions as left-dislocated objects do.  A left-dislocated object is set apart from the rest of the clause by a clear intonation break, whereas a preverbal subject is not.  Moreover, a dislocated object must come before a preverbal subject in a sentence that has both, never the other way around:

(17)   a. *Eritunda,    omukali    a-ri-gul-a.*

           fruit.5         woman.1      1S/T-OM5-buy-FV
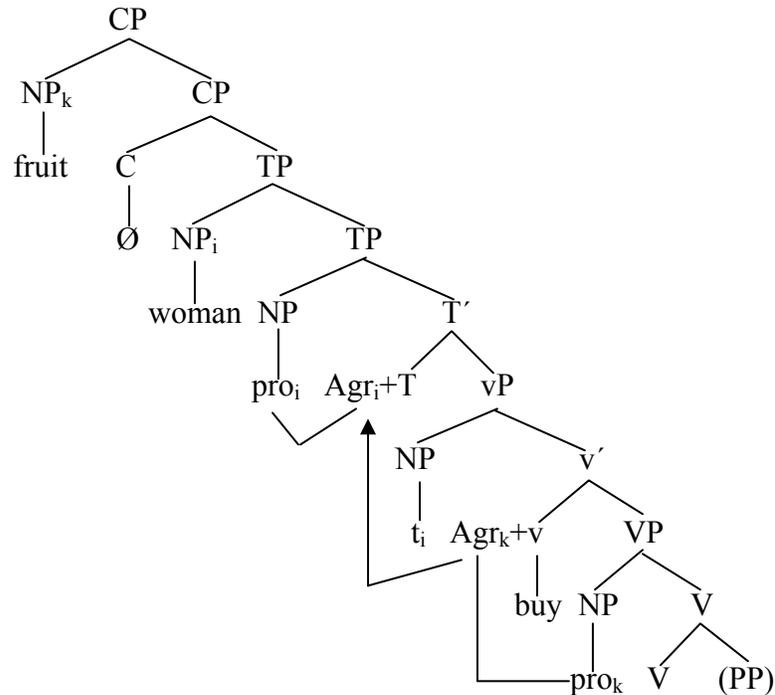
           'The fruit, the woman bought it.'

b. *Omukali,    eritunda,    a-ri-gul-a.*

woman.1      fruit.5      1S/T-OM5-buy-FV

'The woman, the fruit, she bought it.'

Kinande is more restricted in these respects than Chichewa, Greek, Italian, or Mohawk; in all of these other languages the equivalent of (17b) is possible. A dislocated object can also (marginally) come before a focused NP, but never after it, between the focus particle and the verb. Preverbal subjects show the opposite distribution: they naturally appear between the focus particle and the verb, but cannot come before the focused NP. The contrast is shown in (18).

(18)    a.  *Ehilanga   hyo      omukali, n-a-mu-h-a.*

peanuts.19  FOC.19  woman.1  1sS-T-OM1-give-FV

'It's peanuts that the woman, I gave to her.'

b.  *Ehilanga    hyo      Kambale a-h-a        omukali.*

peanuts.19  FOC.19  Kambale  1S/T-give-FV  woman.1

'It's peanuts that Kambale gave to the woman.'

These facts suggest that, although both agreed-with subjects and agreed-with objects are dislocated, they are adjoined to different positions. Dislocated subjects may adjoin to TP, below the Focus head, whereas dislocated objects may only adjoin to the very highest projection of the clause, presumably CP.[7] The structure of (17a) is thus (19).

(19)

```
                    CP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
            NPₖ            CP
             │          ┌───┴────┐
           fruit       C         TP
                       │     ┌────┴─────┐
                       Ø   NPᵢ          TP
                            │       ┌────┴─────┐
                          woman    NP          T′
                                ┌───┴───┐   ┌───┴────┐
                              proᵢ  Agrᵢ+T       vP
                                           ┌─────┴─────┐
                                          NP           v′
                                       ┌───┴───┐   ┌────┴────┐
                                      tᵢ   Agrₖ+v       VP
                                                │   ┌────┴────┐
                                              buy NP          V
                                                 ┌──┴──┐   ┌───┴───┐
                                               proₖ   V      (PP)
```

If a focus projection were included too, as in (18), it would come above TP as
the complement of C in such a structure.

Further evidence shows that even the dislocated subject's right to adjoin
to TP is not absolute.  The Kinande verb always raises at least as high as T, as
shown by the fact that it comes before the verb-phrase-internal subject in
(12b)/(16b) and (14).  Sometimes, however, it apparently raises even higher.  In
(20b) it has raised to unite with the affirmative element *mo-*.  This *mo-* is in
strict complementary distribution with the focus particle *kyo* seen in (20a), so I
assume that it belongs to the same category, which I call the Focus/Polarity

head.  In (20c), the verb has raised through T and Foc/Pol all the way up to C,

thereby combining with the monosyllabic complementizer *nga-* 'if'.

(20)  a.  *Ekihi    kyo        Marya    a-ka-bul-a*

   what.7   FOC.7    Maria    1S-PRES-wonder-FV

   *nga-kyo   Yosefu    a-gul-a?*

   if-FOC.7   Joseph    1S/T-buy-FV

   'What does Maria wonder if Joseph bought?'

b.  *Mo-ba-nyi-bw-ire        ba-ti    Kambale*

   AFF-2S-1sO-tell-EXT   2-that   Kambale

   *mo-a-gul-ire            eritunda.*

   AFF-1S/T-buy-EXT     fruit.5.

   'They told me that Kambale bought fruit.'

c.  *Marya    a-ka-bul.-a                Yosefu*

   Maria    1S-PRES-wonder-FV   Joseph

   *nga-mo-a-gul-ire          amatunda.*

   if-AFF-1S/T-buy-EXT    fruit.6

   'Maria wonders if Joseph bought fruits.'

If the dislocated subject could always adjoin to TP, then it should be able to

appear after the verb in (20b) and (20c), given that the verb has moved on past

T.  But this word order is not possible. The ungrammaticality of such examples

confirms that the subject is truly dislocated and does not sit in the specifier of

TP or some other designated functional category that licenses its case (see

Kinyalolo (1991) for a similar argument in Kilega). Apparently, the subject

adjoins to TP if the verb is in T, to Foc/PolP if the verb is in Foc/Pol, and to CP

if the verb is in C.[8] The descriptive generalization can be stated as in (21).

> (21)     An NP can be adjoined to YP only if YP contains the head
>
> of the chain of the verb that theta-marks the pronoun bound
>
> by NP.

This generalization also applies to dislocated objects; it explains why the NP

'fruit' cannot adjoin to vP in a structure like (19), producing a Subject-Verb-

Object-PP order in which the verb agrees with the object.

Why then can the dislocated subject avail itself of the opportunity to

adjoin to TP or Foc/PolP, while the dislocated object must adjoin higher, to CP?

I assume that this is because the dislocated subject binds the highest *pro* in the

basic clause, whereas the object does not.  Because of this structural fact, the

clause can be interpreted as a predicate of the subject, but not of the object,

along the lines originally laid out by Williams (1980):

> (22)     An NP adjoined to YP is licensed by predication only if NP is
>
> coindexed with the highest nominal in YP and Y the head of YP
>
> contains the verb.

According to Williams, two kinds of pronominals can make a clause into a

predicate: a PRO in the highest subject position of a nonfinite TP, and a *wh*-

operator in the highest Specifier of a CP.  The first possibility is realized by

infinitival relatives like *a man$_i$ [PRO$_i$ to fix the sink]*, the second by ordinary

tensed relative clauses like *the man_i [who_i [I met t_i yesterday]*. Kinande

sentences with preverbal subjects are, I claim, similar to the infinitival relatives,

except that the "predicate variable" is the *pro* subject of a tensed clause, rather

than the PRO subject of a nonfinite clause.  A dislocated object cannot be

licensed in this way, because it does not correspond to the highest position in

the clause—unless operator movement has taken place, as in clefts like (18b).

Dislocated subjects, then, can be licensed in a variety of relatively low positions

by a kind of predication, whereas dislocated objects can only adjoined to the

expression as a whole, where they are licensed not by predication but only as a

discourse topic.[9]

I turn next to evidence of dislocation that comes from the distribution of

nonreferential and quantified NPs.  Recall that Kinande has special noun forms

that have no initial augment vowel and appear under the scope of negation and

certain other operators.  These augmentless nouns can occur in the ordinary

direct object position, but they cannot be left-dislocated (see (9)).  (23a) shows

that augmentless nouns also cannot be agreed-with, preverbal subjects.  This is

just what we expected if such subjects are dislocated.  (23b) shows how the

intended meaning is normally expressed in Kinande, with the erstwhile subject

functioning as the complement of an existential verb.

(23)    a.    *Mu-kali      mo-a-teta-gul-a                  eritunda.

              CL1-woman   AFF-1S/T-NEG/PAST-buy-FV      fruit.5

              'No woman bought a fruit.'

20

b. *Si-ha-li*          *n'-omukali*   *n'-omuyima oyo*

NEG-there-be   by-woman.1 by-one.1      that.1

*u-a-gul-a*          *eritunda.*

1Swh-T-buy-FV  fruit.5

'There is not a single woman who bought a fruit.'

Augmentless nouns can be subjects in the inversion constructions, however. Indeed, the subject must not have an augment in SO-reversal sentences ((24a)) and impersonal inversion ((24b)):

(24)    a.  *Olukwi si-lu-li-seny-a*          *(\*a-)ba-kali.*

wood.11 NEG-11S-PRES-chop-FV (AUG)-CL2-women

'WOMEN do not chop wood.'

b.  *Mo-ha-sat-ire*        *(\*o-)mu-kali*      *muyima.*

AFF-there-dance-EXT  (AUG)-CL1-woman.1  one

'Only one woman danced.'

Locative inversion is also possible—indeed, improved—when no augment vowel is prefixed to the postverbal subject:

(25)   *Omo-mulongo*   *mw-a-hik-a*       *(?o-)mu-kali.*

LOC.18-village   18S-T-arrive-FV  (AUG)-CL1-woman.1

'At the village arrived a woman.'

Nonreferential subjects are thus possible if and only if they are not agreed with, in accordance with (3).

*Wh*-expressions are expected to have a similar distribution. An in-situ *wh*-phrase can be in the postverbal object position, but not in the dislocated object position (see (10)). In the same way, I predict that *wh*-in-situ should be bad for preverbal, agreed-with subjects, but possible for postverbal, unagreed with subjects. The first part of the prediction is clearly true: interrogative subjects must normally be clefted in Kinande:

(26)  a.  * *(Iyo)ndi    a-gul-a        eritunda?*

        who         1S/T-buy-FV   fruit.5

        'Who bought a fruit?'

    b. *Iyondi   yo        u-a-gul-a          eritunda?*

        who     FOC.1    1Swh-T-buy-FV   fruit.5

        'Who (is it that) bought fruit?'

The second part of the prediction also seems true, although some of the sentences are less than perfect:

(27)  a.  *?Olukwi    si-lu-li-seny-a              ndi?*

        wood.11    NEG-11S-PRES-chop-FV   who

        'WHO does not chop wood?'     (SO-reversal)

    b. *?Mo-ha-teta-sat-a                 ndi?*

        AFF-there-NEG/PAST-dance-FV    who

        'Who didn't dance?'          (Impersonal inversion)

    c. *Omo-mulongo   mw-a-hik-a        ndi?*

LOC.18-village  18S-T-arrive-FV   who

'Who arrived at the village?'

I assume that these structures are possible as far as the syntax of dislocation is concerned, and the uncertain, intermediate status of (27a) and (27b) comes from a tension between the pragmatics of asking a question and the very specific discourse presuppositions associated with SO-reversal and impersonal inversion.[10]

Another way to tell whether an NP is dislocated or not has to do with the scope/specificity of the NP.  Dislocated NPs can have indefinite readings, but they must be specific (Cinque 1990: ch. 2).  A consequence of this is that they act like they have wide scope with respect to other quantified NPs.  Consider, for example, the contrast in (28).  The postverbal object in (28a) can be understood as a nonspecific indefinite, taking narrow scope with respect to the quantified subject.  This sentence has the normal meaning in which each man bought a different fruit.  In contrast, the dislocated object in (28b) must take wide scope with respect to the quantified subject; this sentence can only have the implausible reading that there is a single fruit that every woman bought.

> (28)   a.   *Obuli   mundu  mo-a-gul-ire             eritunda.*
>
>              every    man.1    AFF-1S/T-buy-EXT    fruit.5
>
>              'Every man bought a fruit.'   (can be different fruits)
>
>          b.   *#Eritunda, obuli   mukali      mo-a-li-gul-ire.*
>
>              fruit.5        every   woman.1    AFF-1S/T-OM5-buy-EXT

'A fruit, every woman bought it.'  (only one fruit bought)

(29) shows the results of applying this test to the preverbal subject position. The agreed-with subject must take wide scope with respect to a quantified object; the sentence implies that there is a woman who bought every fruit. Kinande differs in this respect from English, but is like Spanish and Greek, the *pro*-drop languages studied by A&A.

> *(29)    Omukali    a-gul-a          obuli    ritunda.*
>
> woman.1    1S/T-buy-FV    every    fruit
>
> 'A (single) woman bought every fruit.'

Overall, then, Kinande provides particularly good evidence for Jelinek's (1984) and Baker's (1996) claim that dislocation (and hence nonconfigurational syntax) is inherently related to the presence of agreement in some languages. Neither direct objects nor thematic subjects need to be agreed with in Kinande, so minimal pairs with and without agreement can be constructed.  Those arguments that are agreed-with consistently show the behavior of dislocated NPs, both with respect to word order and quantificational properties, whereas unagreed-with arguments do not.  The optional agreement in Kinande thus has the same syntactic consequences as the obligatory agreement found in polysynthetic languages like Mohawk.  Agreement does cause dislocation over a range of languages, including both polysynthetic and nonpolysynthetic ones.

## 4. An Agreement Parameter

The biconditional in (3) is not a universal of human language, however. As impressive as it is for Mohawk, Kinande, and other languages, it does not hold for Indo-European (IE) languages. A&A show that agreed-with preverbal subjects in *pro*-drop IE languages like Spanish and Greek act like they are dislocated. My Kinande data replicates their results in this respect. But Spanish and Greek also allow the VSO order (or VOS) shown in (30b) for Greek. The subject is still agreed with in this order, but it shows no sign of being dislocated: it is clearly clause-internal, and it can receive a narrow scope indefinite reading.

(30)  a.  Kapios  fititis  stihiothetise kathe  arthro.  (SVO)

  some  student  filed  every  article

  'Some student filed every article.'  ($\exists > \forall$ only)

  b.  Stihiothetise  kapios  fititis  kathe  arthro.  (VSO)

  filed  some  student  every  article

  'Some student filed every article.'

  ($\exists > \forall$ (preferred) *or* $\forall > \exists$)

The equivalent of (30b) is clearly bad in Kinande (see (15)) and in Chichewa (Bresnan and Mchombo 1987). The similarities and differences between the two language families can be summarized as in (31).

(31)

|  | IE (Spanish, Greek) | Bantu (Kinande, Chichewa) |
|---|---|---|
| Preverbal subjects | Trigger agreement | Trigger agreement |

|                      | Are dislocated      | Are dislocated            |
|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| Postverbal subjects  | *Trigger agreement* | *Don't trigger agreement* |
|                      | In argument position | In argument position     |

This raises the question of why agreement systematically causes dislocation in the Bantu languages, but not in the IE languages. Some kind of parameter must be at work here, and identifying it should help to clarify the relationship Jelinek discerned between agreement and nonconfigurationality.

There is an independently motivated difference between agreement in IE languages and Bantu languages that I mentioned in passing in section 3. This difference, stated in (32), may be another manifestation of the same parameter.[11]

(32)    a.   Tense agrees with the nominative NP in Indo-European.

         b.   Tense agrees with its specifier in Bantu.

Locative inversion (and *there*-insertion) sentences in English provide the classic illustration of (32a): the finite Tense on the verb agrees not with the preverbal PP, but with the postverbal NP that depends on it for nominative case.

(33)    a.   On the table *stands* the *trophy* Chris won at the debate tournament.

         b.   On the table *stand* the *trophies* Chris won as a debater.

This is a robust property of IE languages: verbs agree with a nominative NP somewhere in VP rather than with an obliquely case-marked structural subject all the way from Icelandic in the extreme northwest to Hindi in the extreme

26

southeast. Bantu languages also have locative inversion and *there*-insertion constructions with much the same properties (see Bresnan (1994)), but throughout the Bantu area the verb agrees with the locative structural subject, not with the "nominative" postverbal subject. This could be seen in (13) (repeated here as (34a)) and (14) in Kinande; it also holds true for Chichewa, Sesotho, Kilega, and others.

(34)  a.  ***Omo*-*mulongo***   ***mw*-*a-hik-a***   *(?o)-mu-kali.*

   LOC.18-village.3   18S-T-arrive-FV   AUG-CL1-woman

   'At the village arrived a woman.'

   b.  ***Oko*-*mesa***   ***kw*-*a-hir-aw-a***   *ehilanga.*

   LOC.17-table   17S-T-put-PASS-FV   peanuts.19

   'On the table were put peanuts.'

The effects of the parameter in (32) can also be seen in auxiliary constructions. Many complex tenses are found in IE languages, and the rule is that person-number agreement appears on the highest auxiliary, but not on the nonfinite participle. (Adjective-like gender-plus-number agreement may appear on a participle under complex conditions that vary from one language to the next; I assume this is a different matter and put it aside.)

(35)  a.  *I am* eating fish.

   b.  *She has* eaten fish.

This too is valid from Iceland to India. In contrast, complex tenses in the Bantu languages show full person-number-gender agreement on both the participle and

the auxiliary. (36) shows this for Kinande; see Kinyalolo (1991) for detailed discussion of Kilega and Swahili.[12]

(36) a. *Abakali* **ba**-*bya* **ba**-*ka-gul-a*      *amatunda.*

women.2    2S-were   2S-PCPL-buy-FV   fruits.6

'The women were buying fruits.'

b. **Tú**-*lwé*      **tú**-*ká-ly-a.*

1pS-leave   1pS-PCPL-eat-FV

'We were eating.'

We may suppose that the theory of NP-movement requires that the thematic subject move successive cyclically from its theta-position, through the subject of the participle projection, to the subject of TP in both language families, as sketched in (37).

(37)     $[_{TP}$ *pro*$_i$ T+Aux $[_{PcplP}$ t$_i$ Pcpl+eat$_k$ $[_{vP}$ t$_i$ t$_k$ (fruits)]]]

The difference in agreement then follows directly from (32). There is a case relationship between the subject and T, but not between the subject and Pcpl in (35). Therefore, in IE languages where agreement is keyed to the checking of case, only the tensed auxiliary shows agreement. In contrast, agreement in Bantu is keyed to specifier relationships and the specifiers of both T and Pcpl contain a link in the chain of the thematic subject. Therefore, the Bantu value of parameter (32) implies that agreement appears on both verbs, as in (36).

There are other constructions, more peculiar to Kinande, that also illustrate (32). The focus particle in cleft-like constructions agrees with the

focused NP in its specifier, for instance; such agreement is not usually found in IE languages:

(38)  *Eritunda*  **ry**-*o*  *n-a-h-a*  *omukali.*

fruit.5  5-FOC  1sS-T-give-FV  woman.1

'It's a fruit that I gave to a woman.'

There is also a vP-internal particle that comes between an object and some other complement. This particle agrees with the object in its specifier position, even though case comes from the verb (see Baker and Collins (in preparation)).

(39)  *Mo-n-a-hir-ire*  *okugulu*  **k'**-*omo-kihuna.*

AFF-1sS-T-put-EXT  leg.15  LK.15-LOC.18-hole.7

'I put the leg in the hole.'

Particles appearing in approximately the same position in English do not show agreement with the object that precedes them (cf. *I put the book/books* **back** *in the box.*) We also saw in section 3 that objects fronted past the thematic subject trigger tense-related agreement on the verb in second position in Kinande (see (12b)), whereas agreement is with the nominative subject in comparable constructions in German.

It is easy to see why this robust parameter is relevant to the dislocation question. At stake is why a VSO word order is possible with agreement in the IE *pro*-drop languages, but not in the Bantu ones. The relevant configuration is something like (40).

(40)  … $T<Agr_i>+verb_k$ … $[_{vP} NP_i \ t_k…]$

In IE languages, this structure is conceivable (subject to language-specific requirements), because it is legitimate in these languages for Tense to agree with something that is not in its specifier as long as it is there is a case-checking relation. The same parameter value that allows "downward" agreement in locative inversion also allows agreeing VSO orders with no (overt) specifier of TP. The structure in (40) is not, however, well-formed in Bantu; Bantu Tense can only agree with something that is in its specifier. One might try fixing the structure by putting a *pro* in Spec, TP, as in (41). Then the agreement is legitimate, but the Theta Criterion is violated, since there are two argumental NPs (*pro* and the overt NP) associated with a single theta-role.

(41)     *$[\text{pro}_i \ \text{T}<\text{Agr}_i>+ \text{verb}_k \ldots [_{vP} \ \text{NP}_i \ \text{t}_k \ldots]]$

(41) is however possible if there is no binding relation between *pro* and the thematic subject, and hence no agreement between the verb and the thematic subject. This happens either if some other element moves to Spec, TP (as in the SO-reversal and locative inversion constructions), or if Spec, TP is filled with a null locative expletive, which triggers the special agreement marker *ha-*. This goes part of the way toward explaining why agreed-with NPs must be dislocated in Bantu; specifically, it explains why an undislocated NP cannot appear lower than the agreement-bearing head, a configuration that is allowed in IE languages.

To complete the analysis, I must also explain why an overt NP cannot be in the specifier of the agreeing head in Bantu . The representation in (42a) must also be ruled out, and only the one in (42b) permitted.

(42)   a.   *[$_{TP}$ NP$_i$  T<Agr$_i$>+Verb ... [$_{vP}$  t$_i$  ...]]

      b.   [$_{TP}$ NP$_i$  [$_{TP}$ pro$_i$  T<Agr$_i$>+Verb  ... [$_{vP}$  t$_i$  ...]]]

The Bantu languages do not differ in this respect from the IE ones that have *pro*-drop, according to A&A, although (42a) is possible in non-*pro*-drop IE languages like English and French.  Why would this be?

In standard Minimalist accounts, T has two features: an EPP feature that attracts a specifier and a nominative case feature that checks the case of some NP.  Suppose that these are the two basic features of T.  T may also have Agr features, but these must be parasitic on one of its two primary features.  IE languages choose to package Agr with the nominative case feature, and Bantu package it with the EPP feature, as expressed in (43a,b).  So far, this is nothing more than a restatement of the parameter in (32) in more technical terms.  But suppose that we also add the statement in (43c).

(43)   a.   Agreement is not a distinct feature of a head.

      b.   It must be packaged with an EPP feature or a Case feature.

      c.   If Agr is packaged with one feature, it checks the head's other feature.
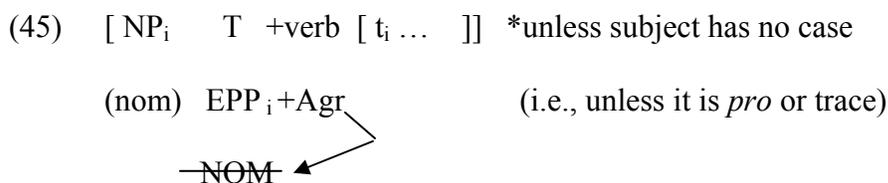
In IE languages like Spanish or Greek, Agr is packaged with the nominative case feature.  (43c) therefore implies that it checks the EPP feature of T.  This

means that (42a) is impossible in Greek and Spanish, because nothing triggers

movement of the subject NP out of vP to Spec, TP:

(44)　　[ NP$_i$　　T　+verb　　[t$_i$ …　　]]　　　* unless NP$_i$ = Ø

　　　　(nom)　~~EPP~~ ◄⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯　　　　　　(no feature triggers movement)

　　　　　　　NOM +Agr$_i$
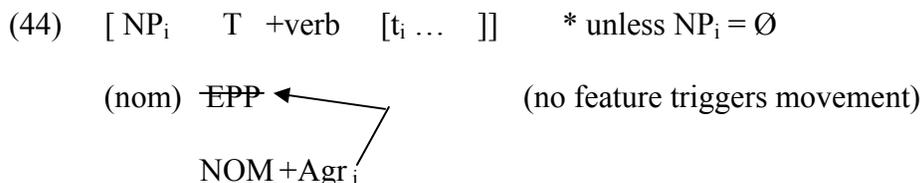
This is nothing more than a restatement of A&A's analysis of IE *pro*-drop

languages: the agreement features on the verb satisfy the EPP feature of tense,

making A-movement to the subject position impossible.

　　　　Consider now the Bantu side of the parameter.  The same result holds,

but for a different reason. In Bantu, Agr is packaged with the EPP feature.

Therefore, according to (43c) it checks the nominative case feature of Tense.

An NP can be attracted to Spec, TP in these languages, but it must be an NP that

has no Case feature to check.  In other words, it must be an empty category, *pro*.

(45)　　[ NP$_i$　　T　+verb　[ t$_i$ …　　]]　*unless subject has no case

　　　　(nom)　EPP$_i$ +Agr　　　　　　　(i.e., unless it is *pro* or trace)

　　　　　~~NOM~~ ◄⎯

Thus, the representation in (42a) is also bad in Bantu.

　　　　The structure in (42b), in contrast, is possible in *pro*-drop languages of

both the IE and Bantu families.  Dislocated NPs are exempt from case-checking,

which applies only to NPs in A-positions (see Baker (1996) and references cited

there).  If they have a case-form at all, it can be a default one not necessarily the

same as the case of the theta-position it binds (cf. *Him, I think he is really*

*smart*).  Such dislocated NPs are therefore possible no matter how the nominative case feature of Tense is checked.  My theory technically implies that the subject *pro* is in Spec, TP and caseless in Bantu and that it is in Spec, vP and checks nominative case in Spanish and Greek.  But these theoretical differences are not visible in the surface form of SVO sentences, which look the same in both language families.

Finally, there is the question of why (42a) is possible in non-*pro*-drop IE languages like English. For such languages, I assume that the few agreement endings that there are (mostly just –s in the present tense, plus the irregular forms of be) are either syntactically inert (A&A: 523) or are entirely absent in the syntax and added in the postsyntactic morphology, as proposed by Halle and Marantz (1993).  Neither the EPP feature nor the Case feature is taken out of the equation by Agr in such a language, and the same overt NP can check both.  This completes my discussion of the basic cases.

A prediction that emerges from this analysis is that the unagreed-with postverbal subjects in Kinande must not receive nominative Case, in contrast to their IE counterparts. This is because the Case feature is automatically absorbed by the agreement in Kinande.  I suggest that this explains the fact, noted above, that postverbal subjects must usually be augmentless, nonreferential NPs in Kinande.  This is clearly true for SO-reversal and impersonal inversion, as shown again in (46).

(46)　　a.　*(?)Obwabu　bu-ka-hek-a　　　　(*a)-ba-kali.*

drink.14      14S-HAB-carry-FV  AUG-CL2-women

'WOMEN carry drink (not men).' (SO reversal)

b. *Mo-ha-sat-ire*          *(\*o)-mukali*       *muyima.*

AFF-there-dance-EXT  AUG-CL1-woman  one.1

'Only one woman danced.' (Impersonal inversion)

This restriction follows if the augmentless NPs are NPs that do not have

structural Case: they either bear a special partitive case (Belletti 1988) or they

are nonreferential NPs rather than DPs and as such do not need to have Case at

all. The one inversion construction that (marginally) allows an augment vowel

on the post-verbal NP is locative inversion. But locative inversion obeys

another well-known restriction: the postverbal "subject" must be the theme

argument of an unaccusative verb, not the agent argument of an unergative verb,

as shown in (47) (compare Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) on Chichewa).

(47)   a. *Omo-mulongo*      *mw-a-hik-a*       *(?o-)mu-kali.*

LOC.18-village.3   18S-T-arrive-FV  AUG-CL1-woman

'At the village arrived a woman.'

b. *\*Oko-ririma*     *kw-a-lim-a*        *omukali.*

LOC.17-field.5  17S-T-cultivate-FV  woman.1

'In the field cultivated a woman.'

Because it is a theme, generated in VP, the postverbal NP in (47a) can get the

inherent accusative case found also in double object constructions (cf. Baker

(1988)). Agents generated in vP cannot get this Case, so (47b) is bad. We thus

34

correctly account for the fact that …VS… constructions are much more restricted in Kinande than in IE languages like Greek and Spanish, even when the difference in agreement is controlled for.[13]

These ideas can also be applied to object agreements/clitics in Bantu and the IE languages. Some IE varieties allow an NP in argument position to be doubled by an object clitic, including Greek ((48a), from Artemis Alexiadou, personal communication) and River Plate Spanish (Jaeggli 1982). However, simple clitic-doubling seems not to be possible in Bantu languages: agreed-with objects (if possible at all) are always dislocated.

(48)    a.   *O    Janis de **ti** theori    ti    Maria eksipni.*

                DET  John  not  her  considers DET Maria  intelligent

                'John does not consider Mary intelligent.'

      b.   **N-a-**ri**-gul-a*         *eritunda.*         (Kinande)

                1sS-T-OM5-buy-FV  fruit.5

                'I bought a fruit.'

This can be seen as a straightforward consequence of the parameter in (43). The object clitic in both language families appears on some head lower than T, say for concreteness v. Then the substructure of interest is (49):

(49)    [$_{vP}$ (pro$_i$)  OM/cl$_i$+v [$_{VP}$ V  NP$_i$ ]]

In an IE language, it is possible (subject to language-particular requirements) for this agreement to be related directly to an NP in argument position, lower than the object clitic. In a Bantu language, however, this is impossible. There

must be a *pro* in Spec, vP (or the equivalent) in order to trigger the object

agreement in Bantu. If there is also a full NP in the argument position, the

Theta Criterion is violated. A structure like (49) is only possible in Bantu if a

*pro* in Spec, vP binds a trace inside VP. If there is an overt "object" NP at all, it

must be dislocated, adjoined to the CP as a whole.[14] Thus, the same principles

apply to subject agreement and to object agreement in so far as dislocation is

concerned—a very attractive feature of the current theory.[15]


**5. Agreement and Dislocation in Other Languages**

Whenever a new parameter is proposed, it creates curiosity about how it applies

to other languages and language families. Jelinek exemplifies this enterprising

spirit, having pursued the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis not only for

Warlpiri (the primary language considered in her first article) but also for many

other languages, including Salish and Athapaskan languages. As a result of the

research she has inspired, I can close this article with informed conjectures

about how my agreement parameter applies to St'át'imcets and Slave, based on

the information in Davis and Matthewson (this volume) and Rice (this volume).

It seems clear that St'át'imcets is like IE languages with respect to the

parameters of agreement and dislocation discussed here, not like Kinande or

Mohawk. One obvious sign of this is that VSO word orders in which the verb

agrees with the subject (and the object is not right-dislocated) are the norm in

this language:

(50)  Cuz'  k'ác-cal  ta  n-sísq7-a  ku  sts'úqwaz'.

      going.to  dry-ACT  DET  1sP-uncle-DET  DET  fish

      'My uncle is going to dry fish.'

In this respect, St'át'imcets is clearly like Greek and Spanish (see (30b)) and not

like Kinande or Chichewa (see (15)).  Further confirmation comes from the fact

that subjects in St'át'imcets can contain the nonreferential, narrow-scope

indefinite determiner *ku*:

(51)  Cw7aoz  kw-s  ít'-em  ku  smúlhats.

      NEG  DET-NOM  sing-MID  DET  woman

      'No woman sang.'

*Ku*-NPs in St'át'imcets are semantically very similar to the augmentless NPs

found in Kinande.  Nevertheless, the grammaticality of (51) contrasts with the

ungrammaticality of the comparable Kinande sentence in (23a).  This

reconfirms that agreed-with subjects need not be dislocated in St'át'imcets.  I

thus agree with Davis and Matthewson that the Salish languages are not

Pronominal Argument Languages in the sense of (1), although I believe Jelinek

was right to posit a Pronominal Argument Parameter as part of UG.

     In contrast, the Northern Athapaskan language Slave seems very much

like Kinande in the relevant respects.  Since this is a head-final language, one

cannot expect to find VSO orders that will show whether the subject is

dislocated or not.  But for direct objects it is clear that agreement goes along

with dislocation:

(52) a. **_Gah_**　_t-iC_　_niCdháá_　_teyedéhnde._

rabbit　dog　far　　　　　3S-PF-chase-yDO

'The rabbit, the dog chased it far.' (Agr and Dislocation)

b. Sem<u>o</u>　　　zhéhchá　　　　　gots'<u>e</u>h **tudhe** thehtsiC.

1sP-mother　3S-PF-boil-yDO　and　　soup　3S-PF-make

'My mother boiled them and made gruel.'

(no Agr, no dislocation)

Rice herself (1989: 1209) analyzes sentences like (52a) as left dislocations of

the object. Indeed, there are several similarities of detail between Slave and

Kinande. In both languages object agreement is optional from the point of view

of verbal morphology but highly conditioned by the syntax. Object agreement

is required when the object is _pro_-dropped (see the first conjunct of (52a) for

Slave, and (5) for Kinande) or dislocated, and it is (usually) forbidden when the

object not dislocated but adjacent to the verb.[16] Slave is also like Kinande in

that the dislocated object must come before the subject, giving an OSV order

(not SOV), and is set off from the sentence by an intonation break. This

suggests that object NPs adjoin only to CP in Slave, whereas subjects (assuming

that they too are dislocated by agreement) adjoin to IP. Thus not only does

(43b) have its Bantu setting in Slave, but (21) and (22) hold as well. Slave is

another good example of a partially nonconfigurational language, in which the

(1a) part of the Pronominal Argument Hypothesis does not hold, which serves

to highlight the fact that the (1b)/(3) part holds in spades.

I conclude that the agreement parameter proposed in section 3 applies in a meaningful way to languages other than the Bantu and IE languages that originally motivated it.

## 6. Conclusion

In this article, I have argued that the correlation between agreeing with a nominal and having that nominal be dislocated is very close in some languages. This applies not only to the purely polysynthetic, nonconfigurational languages studied by Jelinek and Baker, but also to partially configurational languages like the Bantu languages. Since agreement is optional in Bantu languages, one can see all the more clearly that it forces dislocation. This vindicates an essential theoretical component of Jelinek's vision of a pronominal argument language.

I also compared agreement in Bantu languages with agreement in Indo-European languages, to see why agreement always causes dislocation in one group but not the other. I related this to the independently motivated fact that agreement is keyed to EPP features in Bantu, but to case features in IE languages. Since agreement in Bantu is not directly related to Case features, it absorbs those Case features. The consequence of this is that agreed-with arguments in Bantu can only be Case-less *pros* and any overt NP must be dislocated. In this way differences in dislocation can be related to other differences in the syntax of …VS… constructions and in the behavior of auxiliary constructions in a satisfying way. Salish languages seem to be like IE

languages in these respects, whereas Slave seems to be very much like Kinande. Fully polysynthetic languages like Mohawk apparently all have Kinande/Slave-style, EPP-related type of agreement, which causes dislocation. This fact could be worked into the statement of the Polysynthesis Parameter itself, pending further investigation.

It is very exciting that over the last 20 years it has become more and more feasible to discover subtle and interesting parameters that distinguish (say) Kinande, Slave, and Mohawk on the one hand from St'át'imcets, Greek, and perhaps Navajo on the other. This is true in part because better data is becoming available on this range of languages, and in part because there is increasing awareness about how the principles of generative linguistics can be applied to them, even though they look at first quite foreign to the fields that first spawned those principles. Both the empirical and theoretical advances can be attributed in no small part to the research, stimulation, and personal example of Eloise Jelinek.

comments and the general stimulation of working together on the syntax of African languages.  I thank Heidi Harley, Andrew Carnie, and an anonymous reviewer for their comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this article. My greatest thanks go to Philip Mutaka: without his interest, influence, and native Kinande judgments this paper would have been completely impossible. Its remaining faults are entirely my responsibility.

**Notes**

---

[1] The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of the examples: 1sS, 1st singular subject marker; 1sP, 1st singular possessor; 1pS, 1st plural subject marker; ACT, active voice; AFF, affirmative; AUG, augment vowel; CL, noun class prefix; DET, determiner; EXT, extended mood marker; FOC, focus particle; FV, final vowel (perhaps a mood marker); HAB, habitual tense; LK, linker particle; LOC, locative gender prefix; MID, middle voice; NEG, negative; NPAST, nonpast tense; PCPL, participle; OM, object marker; PRES, present tense; SM, subject marker; T, tense prefix.  Arabic numerals between 1 and 19 are used to represent the various gender/number noun classes in Bantu languages; they can be appended to the gloss of a noun (e.g. fruit.5), to a subject agreement (5S), to an object prefix (OM5), and to certain other elements that agree with nouns in their environment (e.g., focus particles).

[2] See Baker (in preparation) for a comparison between Kinande and Mapudungun, a language that does have a null OM as well as an overt one. The difference is induced by the fact that overall Mapudungun has the morphosyntactic properties of a polysynthetic language (noun incorporation, restricted causatives, nominalized clauses, etc.) but Kinande does not.

[3] Phonological and/or pragmatic evidence is sometimes used to tell if an NP is dislocated. For example, dislocated NPs are sometimes set off from the rest of the clause by an intonation break, and they are sometimes associated with topic or contrastive focus interpretations (see Rice (this volume) on Slave). The Pronominal Argument Hypothesis is committed to there being cases of syntactic dislocation that do not have these nonsyntactic properties, however. NPs in Mohawk , for example, need not be set off intonationally, and they can have any discourse function. I show below that agreed-with objects in Kinande have these phonological and pragmatic characteristics of dislocation, but agreed-with subjects do not. All this implies that there are natural interconnections between the various components of language, but they are not fully deterministic.

[4] Several reviewers point out that, although the definiteness of the agreed-with object is consistent with its being clitic-left-dislocated in the sense of Cinque (1990), it is also consistent with the claim that the object has undergone "object shift" via movement. This process too produces a definite interpretation of the object (Diesing 1992). Nevertheless, it is clear that the object agreement cannot itself be the trigger for such an object shift, attracting the object to its specifier,

as one reviewer suggests. The fronted object must come before the subject; it is thus either adjoined to TP or it is in the specifier of some functional head higher than T. The OM, on the other hand, is adjacent to the verb root and inside of the tense marker and subject agreement. This suggests that whatever head houses the OM is lower than T (I assume it is adjoined to v). The fronted object is therefore much higher in the structure than the head that putatively causes its fronting. This confirms my belief that dislocation is a better account of these facts than object shift. The complete structure is drawn in (19) below.

[5] This example is better without an augment vowel on the theme NP; see section 4 below for discussion.

There is a second type of locative inversion in Kinande, in which locative gender marker appears not on the preverbal NP but as an enclitic on the verb. This Kinande-specific type of locative alternation (which is preferred in many contexts) has the same properties as the crosslinguistically more common type illustrated in the text in the relevant respects.

[6] Both SO-reversal and impersonal inversion are subject to a transitivity restriction in Kinande: they are impossible if an object as well as a subject follows the verb. See Collins and Branigan (1997) and Collins (1997) for analysis of a similar restriction on quotative inversion in English. SO-reversal in Kilega and Kirundi, in contrast, is not restricted in this way.

[7] Alternatively, one could identify the head of the projection where the dislocated object appears as a Topic head, as in Rizzi (1997).

[8] The alternative, suggested by an anonymous reviewer, would be to say that the subject is always generated in TP, but that Focus/Polarity and complementizer heads lower to T in (20b) and (20c). I have no conclusive evidence against this, but assume that head-lowering analyses are the last resort, especially for a language like Kinande, which is already known to employ V-raising to T, rather than T lowering (see (16b)). Note that the attachment of Foc/Pol and C to the inflected verb cannot be simply a matter of PF cliticization under string-adjacency because the overt subject would intervene between the particle and the verb. Also unlike these alternatives, (21) does independent work in my analysis, explaining why dislocated objects cannot adjoin to vP.

[9] That an NP adjoined to TP must be licensed by predication is evidently a parameter, distinguishing Kinande from languages like Chichewa, Mohawk, Italian and Greek, all of which allow S-O-V orders with an object clitic/agreement on the verb. The exact nature of this parameter deserves closer consideration than I can give it here.

Presumably dislocated subjects can adjoin to CP instead of TP as long as they are discourse topics. In most cases, it is hard to tell whether the dislocated subject is adjoined to TP or to CP. The unacceptability of (i) as contrasted with (18b) could be interpreted as evidence that subjects cannot adjoin to CP.

(i)     *Kambale,  ehilanga   hyo      a-h-a            omukali.
        Kambale,   peanuts.19  FOC.19   1S/T-give-FV   woman.1
        'As for Kambale, it's peanuts that he gave to the woman.'

This sentence is judged to be "too artificial". I assume that it is ruled out as some kind of garden path effect or discourse clash, rather than as a violation of syntactic principles. (Note that even dislocated objects adjoined to Focus Phrases are considered marginal.) I still guess that dislocated subjects can adjoin to CP even though I have not constructed the perfect sentence to prove it.

[10] A related concern is that (27a,b) might be echo questions, not true constituent questions, in which case their grammaticality may not be relevant. The discourse situations in which inversion is used are so restricted that it is hard to tell the two readings apart.

[11] This parameter has emerged out of joint work on verb phrase structure in African languages done with Chris Collins (see Baker and Collins (in preparation)); I think him for inspiration and extensive discussion of this topic.

[12] These structures are somewhat problematic for one aspect of Jelinek's (1984) theory: her claim that the pronominal prefixes on the verbs are literally the arguments of the verb. These sentences have two subject prefixes, but only one relevant theta role, creating a potential Theta Criterion violation. The problem does not arise if these prefixes are simply agreements, which are not themselves arguments but have the capacity to license a null *pro* argument, as assumed in Baker (1996), Kinyalolo (1991), and in (36) below.

[13]Still to be investigated is how these considerations apply to languages like Chichewa and Kilega, which also have inversion constructions but which do not show Kinande's contrast between augmented and nonaugmented nouns.

[14] See section 3 for discussion of why the dislocated object cannot adjoin to vP or (in Kinande) to TP, but only to CP.

Another notable difference between object clitics in IE languages versus object clitics in Bantu shows up in periphrastic tenses. In IE languages, object clitics typically attach to the inflected auxiliary (e.g. French: *Je l'ai mangé* 'I it-have eaten'), whereas in Bantu languages they attach to the participle:

(i)     *Tu-a-(\*ri-)by-a*          *tu-ka-(ri)-ly-a.*

        1pS-T-(OM5)-be-FV  1pS-PCPL-OM5-eat-FV

        'We were eating it.'

It seems very plausible to see this as another consequence of the parameter in (43), which allows certain nonlocal agreement relations to exist in IE but not in Bantu. I do not pursue the details of such an account here, for reasons of space.

[15] There is still one irreducible difference between the two, however, which is that T must bear an EPP feature (and hence, in Bantu, an agreement), whereas vP may or may not bear such a feature. I have no special insight on why this is so. (I thank Henry Davis for discussion helping to clarify this point.)

[16] Rice (this volume) discusses a few marginal exceptions to this general pattern, conjecturing that they helped lead to historical change in Southern Athapaskan, but these do not invalidate (52) as revealing the basic parameter

setting for Slave. I leave open the question of how these ideas apply to Navajo, in which agreement is obligatory. The obvious possibility is that Navajo is an IE-like language, with agreement not causing dislocation, as Rice assumes. But it could also be that Jelinek is right to analyze Navajo as a pronominal argument language, and the difference is that (for some reason) dislocated NPs can adjoin to a wider range of categories in Navajo than in Slave or Kinande, including PP and vP.

**References**

Alexiadou, Artemis and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1998. Parametrizing AGR: word order, V-movement and EPP-checking. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16: 491-539.

Austin, Peter and Joan Bresnan. 1996. Non-configurationality in Australian aboriginal languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14: 215-268.

Baker, Mark. 1988. *Incorporation: a theory of grammatical function changing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Baker, Mark. 1995. On the absence of certain quantifiers in Mohawk. In *Quantification in natural languages*, ed. Emond Bach, Eloise Jelinek, Angelika Kratzer and Barbara Partee, 21-58. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Baker, Mark. 1996. *The polysynthesis parameter*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Belletti, Adriana. 1988. The case of unaccusatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 1-34.

Bresnan, Joan. 1994. Locative inversion and the architecture of Universal

    Grammar. *Language* 70: 72-131.

Bresnan, Joan and Joni Kanerva. 1989. Locative inversion in Chichewa: a case

    study of factorization in grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 1-50.

Bresnan, Joan and Sam Mchombo. 1987. Topic, pronoun, and agreement in

    Chichewa. *Language* 63: 741-782.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. *Types of A-bar dependencies*. Cambridge, Mass.:

    MIT Press.

Collins, Chris. 1997. *Local Economy*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Collins, Chris and Phil Branigan. 1997. Quotative Inversion. *Natural Language*

    *and Linguistic Theory* 15: 1-41.

Diesing, Molly. 1992. *Indefinites*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Halle, Morris and Alec Marantz. 1993. Distributed morphology and the pieces

    of inflection. In *The View From Building 20*, ed. Kenneth Hale and S.J.

    Keyser, 111-176. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Jaeggli, Osvaldo. 1982. *Topics in Romance syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Jelinek, Eloise. 1984. Empty categories, case, and configurationality. *Natural*

    *Language and Linguistic Theory* 2: 39-76.

Kimenyi, Alexandre. 1980. *A relational grammar of Kinyarwanda*. Berkeley,

    Calif.: University of California Press.

Kinyalolo, Kasangati. 1991. Syntactic dependencies and the SPEC-head
agreement hypothesis in KiLega. unpublished Ph.D. disseration, UCLA,
Los Angeles.

Ndayiragije, Juvénal. 1999. Checking economy. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 399-444.

Progovac, Ljiljana. 1993. Non-augmented NPs in Kinande as negative polarity
items. In *Theoretical aspects of Bantu grammar 1*, ed. Sam Mchombo,
257-270. Stanford, Calif.: Center for Study of Language and
Information.

Reinholtz, Charlotte and Kevin Russell. 1994. Quantified NPs in pronominal
argument langauges: evidence from swampy Cree. In NELS 25 1, 389-
403. University of Pennsylvania, Graduate Linguistics Student
Association.

Rice, Keren. 1989. *A grammar of Slave*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1986. On the status of subject clitics in Romance. In *Studies in
Romance Linguistics*, ed. Oswaldo Jaeggli and C Silva-Corvalan, 391-
420. Dordrecht: Foris.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of
grammar*, ed. Liliane Haegeman, 281-338. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Ura, Hiroyuki. 2000. *Checking theory and grammatical functions in Universal
Grammar*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, Edwin. 1980. Predication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 11: 203-238.