

On Parameters of Agreement in Austronesian Languages*

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1. Two Agreement Parameters

In Baker (In press), I propose that the syntax of agreement can vary across languages in the following two respects:

- (1) *The Direction of Agreement Parameter (DAP)*:
F agrees with DP/NP only if DP/NP asymmetrically c-commands F (Yes or No).
- (2) *The Case Dependence of Agreement Parameter (CDAP)*
F agrees with DP/NP only if F values the Case feature of DP/NP or vice versa (Yes or No).

In general, a functional head can search upward or downward through the syntactic tree in order to find a DP/NP that it can agree with (I claim, see Baker In press: ch. 2, 3 for much discussion). The DAP says that this freedom is restricted in some languages, such that functional heads only search upward. Most Niger-Congo (NC) languages have the positive setting of the DAP, whereas most Indo-European (IE) languages have the negative setting. The CDAP concerns not the configurational aspect of agreement, but its relationship to case features. It states that in some languages agreement between a functional head and an NP/DP depends on the two entering into a Case-valuation relationship, whereas in other languages it does not. Most IE languages have the positive setting of this parameter, whereas most NC languages have the negative setting. I go on to argue that these are parameters in the classical sense of Chomsky (1981): they are variations in the syntactic principles that define a language, not reducible to the featural specifications of individual lexical items or classes of lexical items. Thus, in general all of the functional heads in a given language will, if they agree at all, show the same syntactic behavior with respect to (1) and (2).

* For help with the Kinande data reported in this paper, I thank Philip Mutaka. For fascinating and helpful discussion of the grammar of Austronesian languages, I thank Paul Kroeger, Mark Donohue, and the many other inspiring attendees of AFLA XIV. Mark Donohue was especially generous in helping me to understand the *Tukang Besi* data, in filling in some gaps in that data with new fieldwork, and in calling to my attention other Austronesian languages that have interesting agreement systems. Finally, I thank Lisa Travis for providing the occasion for me to work out how my views on agreement apply to Austronesian languages in more detail. All mistakes are my own responsibility.

Abbreviations used in the glosses of examples include the following: ABS, absolutive case; ACC, accusative case; AF, agent focus; AFF, affirmative; ALL, allative; APPL, applicative; ASP, aspect; ART, article; C, complementizer; DAT, dative case; DEF, definite; DIR, directional; DISJ, disjunct marker; EMP, emphatic; ERG, ergative case; FUT, future tense; FV, final vowel; GF, goal focus; I, irrealis; IF, instrument focus; LOC, locative; MASC, masculine; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative case; OBL, oblique case; OM, object marker; PASS, passive; PAST, past tense; PCPL, participle; PERF, perfective aspect; PL, plural; POSS, possessive; PRES, present tense; R, realis mood; REC, recent past; SG, singular; T, tense marker; TF, theme focus; TR, transitivity marker.

The DAP and the CDAP were originally motivated by a close comparison of the NC languages and the IE languages. As such, they may seem far removed from the normal concerns of Austronesianists, whose languages are generally not as rich in agreement as the Bantu languages are. But if it is right to think of the differences between NC languages and IE languages in terms of parameters embedded within a theory of Universal Grammar, then those parameters should apply to Austronesian languages just as well as they do to the languages that first led to their discovery. With this in mind, Baker (In press) went on to the validity of the parameters in (1) and (2) on a sample of 108 languages from around the world, consisting of the core sample defined in the *World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS)* (Haspelmath et al. 2005), plus a few others. The purpose of this paper is to discuss how these parameters apply to the Austronesian languages in that sample, going into a bit more detail on this than was possible in Baker (In press). I also extend the discussion by discussing another interesting pattern of agreement found in some languages of the Philippines, brought to my attention by Paul Kroeger and Mark Donohue.

The *WALS* core languages sample includes eight Austronesian languages: Chamorro, Tukang Besi, Fijian, Paiwan, Indonesian, Malagasy, Rapanui, and Tagalog. Of these, the last five do not have much for agreement phenomena (at least according to *WALS* itself), and Chamorro agreement has already been thoroughly studied from a generative perspective by Chung (1998). But Fijian and Tukang Besi prove very interesting. In section 2, I show how the less familiar settings of the DAP and the CDAP that are used in Kinande and other Bantu languages are active in Fijian as well. This counts as an important replication of one of the more novel parts of my overall approach to agreement. Then I go on to consider Tukang Besi (section 3), which shows some of the same behavior as Fijian, but unlike Fijian it has overt case marking on its noun phrases. The interaction of case and agreement is thus much richer in Tukang Besi. Some of this new data supports the CDAP, but some of it also looks problematic—until one integrates in a view of how case is assigned in Tukang Besi. Finally, I consider Kapampangan, which is like Tukang Besi in some respects, but is maddeningly different in others (section 4). I claim that the difference between the two is not only in the agreement parameters, but also involves differences in the movement processes that create the structures over which agreement is defined. Together, these three case studies serve as an illustration of how a small number of agreement parameters can interact with other aspects of grammar to characterize (much of) the rather rich diversity of agreement systems that we observe in languages of the world. I hope that they also illustrate the value of there being meaningful interaction between general theorists/typologists and those who are familiar with the intricate details of a particular language family.

2. Replicating the Bantu Parameter Settings in Austronesian: Fijian

The first Austronesian language that I discuss will be Fijian. In that it has no overt case marking and no complex Philippines-style voice system, Fijian is rather like Kinande and the other Bantu languages that originally motivated the parameters in (1) and (2). Hence, it provides an opportunity to see how these parameters are supposed to work.

2.1 The Direction of Agreement Parameter

Consider first the DAP, stated in (1). Perhaps the most obvious effect of this parameter being set positively in the Bantu language Kinande is that finite T always agrees with the phrase that has moved to Spec, TP, a position from which it c-commands T. In the most common sentences in this SVO language, the moved NP is the agentive subject, which results in normal subject agreement (see, for example (11a) and (18a) below). But Kinande also allows locative expressions to move to Spec, TP, in locative inversion sentences like (3a). When this happens, T agrees with the locative expression. Furthermore, Kinande allows the object to move to Spec, TP when there is contrastive focus on the subject (subject to other, ill-understood conditions). When this happens, T agrees with the fronted object ((3b)). Or it is possible for no NP to move to Spec, TP, as in (3c). Then T does not agree with any NP in the clause, but the agreement slot is taken by a special expletive element *ha*.

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

In none of these sentence types can T agree with anything that has not moved to Spec, TP. Kinande thus differs markedly from English and other IE languages, in which T can agree with the nominative subject even when Spec, TP is occupied by something else. (4a) shows this for locative inversion in English, (4b) shows it for object fronting in Yiddish, and (4c) shows it for expletive constructions in English.

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

These differences follow if one says that DP must c-command T for T to agree with DP in Kinande but not in the IE languages, a special case of the DAP.

Consider now Fijian. Finite verbs generally agree with their subjects in Fijian—*except* in existential constructions. Thus, there is third person plural agreement on the intransitive verb in (5b), but not on the existential verb in (5a).

- (5) a. e sō na vūlagi (Schütz 1985:329)
 3sS be.some DEF villagers
 ‘There were some villagers.’
- b. era yaco māi e sō na vūlagi
 3pS arrive DIR 3s some DEF villagers
 ‘Some villagers arrived.’

This contrast follows from the DAP being set positively in Fijian, plus the assumption that the Spec, TP position can be filled by a null expletive (comparable to English *there*) in existential sentences only. Hence, the phrase ‘some villagers’ must raise to Spec, TP and trigger agreement on the c-commanded head T in (5b), but not in (5a). The same contrast is seen in Chamorro, and is analyzed by Chung (1998: 68-69, 182-183). Inasmuch as there is no agreement in (5a), Fijian is more like Kinande ((3c)) than like English ((4c)) in this respect.

There is also evidence that *v* can agree with the object in Bantu languages only if the object c-commands *v*. In some of these languages, including Kinande, object agreement appears on the verb only if the object is dislocated to the edge of the clause:

- (6) a. N-a-(*ri)-gul-a eritunda. (Baker 2003)
 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.’

In other Bantu languages, like Zulu and Swahili, the evidence is a bit more subtle. There is no difference in word order between (7a), which does not have object agreement on the verb, and (7b), which does have object agreement.

- (7) a. Ngi-leth-el-a umfundisi incwadi (Doke 1963:299)
 1sS-bring-APPL-FV teacher.1 book
 ‘I am bringing a teacher a book.’
- b. Ngi-ya-m-lethela umfundisi incwadi
 1sS-DISJ-OM1-bring-APPL-FV teacher.1 book
 I am bringing the teacher—the one who told me to do so—a book.

There is a difference in interpretation however: the agreed-with object in (7b) must be understood as being definite (or some related notion), whereas the unagreed with object in (7a) is not. Following the leading idea of Diesing 1992, I take the strong/definite reading in (7b) to be a sign that the object has moved out of VP, the domain of existential closure, and into Spec, vP in (7b) but not in (7a). This “object shift” has no effect on surface word order in Zulu, because the verb independently moves past *v* into T:

- (8) a. [_{TP} Tense+bring [_{VP} (*AGR_i+)v [∃ [_{VP} teacher_i <bring> book]]]] (=7a)

- b. [_{TP} Tense+bring [_{VP} teacher_i AGR_i+v [\exists [_{VP} t_i <bring> book]]]] (= (7b))

The object shift does affect agreement, however. In (8b), the shifted object *c*-commands *v* and *v* can agree with it, in accordance with the positive setting of the DAP. In contrast, *v* cannot agree downward with the unshifted object in (7a)/(8a), just as *T* cannot agree downward with the unmoved subject in (3). Again, there is no similar requirement that agreement be upward in IE languages. Ormazabal and Romero (2006:18) argue that *les* in a sentence like (9) from a *leista* dialect of Spanish counts as an object agreement. If so, then it is agreement with an undislocated and indefinite NP that remains inside VP—just the kind of agreement that is not allowed in (6a) and (7a) in the Bantu languages.

- (9) (Yo) les-llevé a unos jóvenes al pueblo.
 I 3pO-carry ACC a.PL youngsters to.the town
 ‘I gave some young people a ride to the town.’

The fact that *v* can agree downward into VP in IE but not in NC is parallel to the fact that *T* can agree downward into *vP* in IE but not Bantu—a testimony to the generality of the DAP.

Consider now Fijian. Dixon (1988) shows that transitive verbs in Fijian normally bear a special “transitivity suffix” that varies depending on whether the object is singular or plural; the singular version is seen in (10b). This is a kind of (relatively impoverished) object agreement, presumably associated with *v*. However, the agreement-bearing transitivity suffix is absent in (10a), which has an indefinite subject, in what is traditionally analyzed as a noun incorporation construction.

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

I assume that Massam’s (2001) analysis of pseudo-noun incorporation in Niuean also applies to this alternation in Fijian. According to this view, the bracketed constituent in (10a) is not a word-like unit, but a full VP, its right edge marked by the adverbial particle *mai*. An indefinite object stays inside VP, just as in Zulu, whereas a definite object-shifts out of VP, moving to a higher position. This accounts for the morpheme order difference between (10a) and (10b), as well as the difference in the interpretation of the object, given Diesing’s Mapping Hypothesis.¹ Taken together with the idea that the DAP is set positively in Fijian, it

¹ I leave open whether predicate fronting—VP movement to a Spec position at the left edge of the clause—happens in Fijian the way that it does in Massam’s analysis of Niuean or not. The fact that basic word order in Niuean is VSO but in Fijian it is VOS might suggest that specifiers are on the right in Fijian, although not in Niuean. Also, since I assume that the agreed-with subject in Fijian must be in Spec, TP in sentences like (5b), predicate fronting cannot be VP movement to Spec, TP in Fijian. Either predicate fronting targets the specifier of some functional head higher than *T*, or it does not take place in Fijian at all.

also explains the fact that the agreement-bearing transitivity marker is present in (10b) but not in (10a), since the object moves to a position that c-commands v only in (10b). The contrast between (10a) and (10b) in Fijian is thus very similar to the contrast between (7a) and (7b) in Zulu, whereas Fijian is different from Spanish in this respect.

Next consider agreement on prepositions. Kinyalolo (1991:111) shows that in Kilega P does not agree with its object when the object remains in situ. The object of the P can however undergo focus movement, or can move to the subject position in a passive. When it does so, then the P does agree with the moved object. (11) replicates this observation in Kinande.

- (11) a. Kambale a-ka-kanay-a na>(*bo) abasyakulu
 Kambale 3sS-PRES-speak-FV with-2 2.old.people
 ‘Kambale is speaking with the old people.’
- b. Abasyakulu si-ba-li-kan-ibaw-a na-bo.
 2.old.people NEG-2S-PRES-speak-PASS-FV with-2
 ‘Old people are not spoken with.’

This contrast too can be attributed to the DAP being set positively in Kinande (and Kilega). The unmoved object does not asymmetrically c-command P (rather there is mutual c-command), so P cannot agree with the unmoved object. From its final position in a sentence like (11b) (or more likely from an intermediate position along the way), however, NP does asymmetrically c-command P and agreement is possible in this structure. In contrast, Ps can agree with their complements even when the complement has not been moved in Welsh, showing that the DAP is not set positively in this IE language.

- (12) Soniais I amdan-o ef. (Harlow 1981:220)
 Talked I about-3sMASC him
 ‘I talked about him.’
 amdanaf (i); amdanat (ti); amdani (hi); amdanynt (hwy), etc (Harlow 1981:249)
 about-1s me about-2s you about-3sF her about-3p them

Again, Fijian is like a Bantu language and not like an IE language in this respect. Dixon (1988:42, 248) shows that there is agreement on P in Fijian only if its NP complement is extracted (by topicalization, in this case).

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

Agreement does not appear on as wide a range of functional heads in Fijian as in Kinande. In Kinande, agreement also appears on certain quantifiers, on complementizers, on

the focus particle, and on a special particle found inside the verb phrase. For all of these heads, it can be shown that agreement depends on the agreed with NP asymmetrically c-commanding the agreeing head. In Fijian, however, quantifiers and complementizers do not undergo agreement at all, so the setting of the DAP is moot for those categories.²

2.2 The Case Dependence of Agreement Parameter

Next consider the kinds of data that motivate the CDAP in (2), and how it applies in Fijian.

In most IE languages, it is transparently true that T agrees with a phrase X only if T assigns NP nominative case to that phrase. For example, the finite verb agrees with a nominative subject in Icelandic, but not with a dative subject; if anything, the finite verb agrees with the nominative object in a dative subject construction in this language:

- (14) Henni leiddust þeir. (Icelandic)
 She-DAT was.bored.by-3p they.NOM
 ‘She was bored with them.’

Similarly, in Hindi the finite verb agrees with its nominative subject in imperfective clauses like (15a), but not with a subject marked with ergative case in perfective clauses like (15b).

- (15) a. Niina baalak-ko ut^haa-eg-ii. (Hindi)
 Nina.F.NOM boy.M-ACC lift-FUT-F.SG
 ‘Nina will lift up the boy.’
- b. Niinaa-ne baalak-ko ut^haa-y-aa. (*uthaa-y-ii)
 Nina.F-ERG boy.M-ACC lift-PERF-M.SG lift-PERF-F.SG
 ‘Nina lifted up the boy.’

There is arguably no such requirement in Bantu languages. Claims about case assignment in the Bantu languages are necessarily somewhat abstract, since there is no morphological case marking in these languages. But recall that in locative inversion and object fronting structures, T agrees with the fronted XP in the Bantu languages, as shown again in (16).

- (16) a. Oko-mesa kw-a-hir-aw-a ehilanga. (Locative Inversion)
 LOC.17-table 17S-T-put-PASS-FV peanuts.19
 ‘On the table were put peanuts.’
- b. Olukwi si-lu-li-seny-a bakali (omo-mbasa). (Object Fronting)
 wood.11 NEG-11S-PRES-chop-FV women.2 LOC.18-axe.9
 ‘WOMEN do not chop wood (with an axe).’

²See Chung 1998 for evidence that there is a kind of upward-probing agreement between C and the NP in Spec, CP in Chamorro. The agreement in question is not phi-feature agreement, however, so it is not clear whether my theory of agreement can and should be extended to cover it as well.

Why is this kind of agreement possible in the Bantu languages, but not in the IE languages, from the point of view of case theory? The IE side of the question is straightforward: T cannot agree with the fronted phrase because it does not assign it nominative case; rather the object has accusative case in (4b) from Yiddish, and the PP has no case at all in (4a) from English. Now how does case work in Bantu? There are two plausible options. The first is that case in Bantu works the same way that it does in IE languages: the postverbal NPs in (16a) and (16b) have nominative case (what other case could they have?), the preverbal NP in (16b) has accusative case (compare (4b)), and the locative expression in (16a) has no case at all. Then it is clear that T agreeing with a phrase does not depend on T giving that phrase nominative case in Kinande. The other plausible option is that there simply is no morphological case assignment in Bantu languages. Then a fortiori the phrases in Spec, TP do not get case in (16a,b), and T does not assign them case. Nevertheless, T agrees with them. This assumption too points to the conclusion that the CDAP must be set negatively in the Bantu languages. There are other conceivable approaches to this issue—approaches that strive to maintain a tight relationship between Case and agreement even in Bantu—but they all lead to reasonably well-known difficulties (see Ndayiragije 1999 for some discussion).

It is widely assumed that these considerations apply to *v* as well, that *v* can only agree with the NP that it assigns accusative case to in an IE language. Certainly that is true for the Spanish example in (9), where the verb agrees with the plural direct object in accusative case, and not with the singular dative expression. However, true object agreement (as opposed to object clitics) is rare enough in IE languages that it is hard to show a compelling range of evidence for this assumption. On the other side of the question, given that (2) is set negatively for Bantu, we might expect that *v* could agree with an argument in oblique case rather than an accusative object in Bantu. This certainly happens in some other languages (see (27) below), but for Bantu the issue is again moot because there is no accusative/oblique case distinction.

Given that Bantu languages don't have overt case marking, the clearest consequence of the CDAP being set negatively is the possibility of multiple full agreement in auxiliary constructions. Only a single finite verb can agree with a given argument in IE languages. As a result, complex tenses are built out of a finite auxiliary and an uninflected participle, not out of two agreeing verbs, as shown in (17) from English.³

- (17) a. Chris is coming.
 b. *Chris is comes.

Why is (17b) ruled out? The ungrammaticality of such examples can be derived from the CDAP. The lower T agrees with the thematic subject, by hypothesis. Given a positive setting of the CDAP, this is only possible if the lower T values the case of the agreed with NP as nominative. Now case assignment is unique; the case feature of an NP can only be valued once. Once the lower T values the case feature of the subject NP, the higher T node cannot do so. The positive setting of the CDAP then implies that the higher T cannot agree with the subject NP. Either the higher T could agree, or the lower one, but not both, given

³ Some qualifications to this generalization are required to take into account the fact that participles show reduced, adjective-like agreement with the subject in number and gender but not person in some IE languages. This is possible because these participle forms also agree with the subject in case; see Baker In press for discussion.

the positive setting of the CDAP and the uniqueness of case assignment. But structures similar to (17b) are perfectly possible in many Bantu languages. (18) gives two examples in which the same kind of agreement with the same NP appears on both the main verb and the auxiliary verb in Kinande.

- (18) a. Abakali **ba**-bya **ba**-ka-gul-a amatunda.
 women.2 2S-were2S-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.’

This leads to the conclusion that the CDAP is set negatively in the Bantu languages.

Consider now Fijian. Like Kinande, Fijian does not have overt morphological case. It does not even have inversion constructions comparable to (16), as far as I know. Hence we cannot expect there to be a wide range of evidence as to how the CDAP is set. However, Fijian does have auxiliary-main verb constructions, and in some of these there is agreement on both verbs, much as there is in Kinande:

- (19) Era dodunu me+ra la’o (Dixon 1988:280)
 3pS must C-3pS go
 ‘They must go.’ (similarly with *bese* ‘not want’)

This suggests that Case assignment must not be a requirement for agreement in Fijian, any more than it is in Bantu.⁴

I conclude, then, that Fijian has the same parameter settings as Kinande does, and the kinds of data that motivate those parameter settings are similar, apart from a few obvious surface differences (like the fact that Fijian has VOS word order and Kinande is SVO). This is an important replication of the parameters in (1) and (2), confirming that they are not just artifacts of comparing NC and IE languages, but have value in the analysis of other languages as well—as one would expect from a proposal concerning parameters that are embedded in a theory of Universal Grammar. The evidence for these parameters is admittedly not as rich for Fijian as it is for Kinande. For example, Fijian does not have the same range of inversion constructions that Kinande has, where different kinds of NP can move to Spec, TP. Fijian also does not have the same rich system of gender that Kinande does, so agreement on *v* and *P* is only agreement for number, and hence it is easy to overlook and may be open to other kinds of analysis. Finally, not as many functional heads bear agreement in Fijian as in Kinande, and there is little or no case marking in Fijian. Nevertheless, the evidence for these parameter settings in Fijian is far from trivial, especially

⁴ In contrast, double agreement with the subject apparently never happens in auxiliary constructions in Chamorro (Topping 1973). Thus, I tentatively assume that the CDAP and the DAP are both set positively in Chamorro. If so, then Chamorro (like Kapampangan) illustrates a different type than either English or Kinande—in fact, the rarest type. It is impossible to get much converging evidence for this though, at least at my level of knowledge, given that *T* is the only robustly agreeing head in Chamorro, and there is little overt case marking.

for the positive setting of the DAP. The three categories that bear agreement in Fijian (T, v, and P) all behave in a consistent way, in that each kind of agreement is contingent on some kind of movement taking the agreed with NP to a high enough position (NP raising to Spec, TP; object shift out of VP; topicalization out of PP). The various functional heads thus behave in a consistent way in Fijian, just as they do in Kinande. This supports my claim that (1) and (2) are rightly thought of as true parameters in the syntax of agreement, not simply as properties stipulated in the lexical entries of the functional heads, which could differ from one functional head to the next internal to the same language.

3. Challenge of *Tukang Besi*

Having shown how the agreement parameters apply in a fairly straightforward way to Fijian, let us now turn to the more complex case of *Tukang Besi*, as described by Mark Donohue (1999). Unlike Fijian, *Tukang Besi* has a (Philippines-like) system of morphological case marking on NPs which includes the markers *na* “nominative”; *te* “core” (default structural case); *i/di* “oblique”; *nu* “genitive” (the labels are Donohue’s). Thus the interaction of case marking and agreement is richer. *Tukang Besi* also has a topicalization/voice system, so the kinds of movement that feed agreement are richer. The question to be considered, then, is whether the two agreement parameters apply in a consistent way in this language as well.

3.1 The Direction of Agreement Parameter

Consider first the DAP. Donohue’s analysis makes it plain that object agreement appears on the verb in *Tukang Besi* if and only if the object moves out of the VP. This is shown by the comparison in (20).

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

In (20a), the thematic object is next to the verb, closer to it than the agentive subject, and its case particle encliticizes to the verb, showing that the two are in the same phonological phrase. In this sentence, the verb does not agree with the object. In (20b), the object is outside of the VP: it can follow the subject, and even if it is linearly adjacent to the verb its case particle cannot cliticize to the verb, showing that there is a phonological phrase boundary between them. And in this sentence there is a suffix on the verb that agrees with the object. This is similar to the data we have seen from Kinande and Fijian. The similarity suggests that the DAP is set positively in *Tukang Besi* as well, allowing v to agree only with NPs that have moved out of VP. Indeed, Donohue himself observes the similarity between object agreement in *Tukang Besi* and object agreement in Chichewa, a Bantu language analyzed by Bresnan and Mchombo (1987)—an insightful comparison, in my view.

Next consider agreement on T in *Tukang Besi*. Most verbs in *Tukang Besi* bear a prefix that agrees with the subject:

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

This prefix varies with the mood of the clause (realis or irrealis), which suggests that it is agreement on T, as per normal generative assumptions. It contrasts in this respect with the object suffixes, which are invariant, showing no dependence on the mood or tense of the clause (p. 113), which is consistent with the idea that they are realizations of agreement on a head other than T (namely v). The interesting point for us is that this type of subject agreement is not found in existential clauses such as the ones shown in (22).

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

Moreover, subject agreement is possible but not required in passive clauses:

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

This is reminiscent of what we saw in *Kinande* and *Fijian*, where subject agreement depends on word order (*Kinande*) or on the lexical properties of the predicate (*Fijian*). This confirms that the DAP is set positively in *Tukang Besi*. Normally subjects move to Spec, TP (at the right edge of TP) in *Tukang Besi* to satisfy an EPP feature of T, but in existential sentences that property is satisfied by a null expletive, and in passive sentences it may be satisfied by the passive morpheme itself. Thus the NP does not move to Spec, TP in these sentence types, and when it doesn’t, T cannot agree with NP by the DAP. (Again, this is different from English, where existential and passive verbs agree with the NP even when it doesn’t move to Spec, TP; see (4a,c).) In fact, there is other evidence that the “subjects” in (22) and (23) do not occupy the same structural position as other subjects do. For example, Donohue shows that the “subjects” in (22) and (23) do not count as discourse topics, and cannot be co-construed with floated quantifiers the way that other (agreed with) subjects are in *Tukang Besi*. Thus, he writes (Donohue 1999: 479) “In none of these sentences [existentials, passives –MCB] however, does this ‘nominative’ NP have any of the properties associated

with a nominative NP, such as launching floating quantifiers and controlling deletion in coordinate structures.”

T and v are the only agreement bearing heads in *Tukang Besi*; there is no agreement on D, C, or P in this language. But the evidence from T and v is consistent, and similar to what we saw in *Fijian* and *Kinande*. We may thus conclude that the DAP is set positively in *Tukang Besi*, just as it is in those other languages.

3.2 The Case Dependence of Agreement Parameter

The evidence for the setting of the CDAP in (2) seems at first glance to be somewhat more mixed. I will claim that this parameter is set negatively in *Tukang Besi*, making *Tukang Besi* less like an IE language and more like *Burushaski* or *Georgian*—languages which have overt case marking but the CDAP is set negatively, as discussed in Baker (In press). In particular, subject agreement doesn’t depend on the case marking of the subject in *Burushaski* the way it does in *Hindi* or *Icelandic*. Thus, the same first person singular agreement is found on the verb in both (24a), where the subject is nominative, and (24b), where the subject is ergative (contrast the *Hindi* examples in (15)).

(24) a. Jε u:ηε xidmat εč-a b-a. (Lorimer 1935:317)
 I.NOM your service do-1sS be-1sS
 ‘(For these many years) I have been at your service.’

b. Ja be.ʌdʌpi.ɛn ɛt-a b-a. (Lorimer 1935:321)
 I.ERG discourtesy do-1sS be-1sS
 ‘I have committed a discourtesy.’

Subject agreement doesn’t depend on the case marking of the subject in *Tukang Besi* either (Donohue 1999:53). In (25a), the agentive subject is marked with nominative case and in (25b) it is marked with core/default case; nevertheless it triggers the same subject agreement on the verb in both examples.

(25) a. Ko-hu’u te ika na iko’o te iaku. (Donohue 1999:55)
 2s.I-give CORE fish NOM you CORE me
 ‘You will give me some fish.’

b. Ko-hu’u-aku te ika na iaku te iko’o.
 2s.I-give-1sO CORE fish NOM me CORE you
 ‘You will give me some fish.’

This shows that T does not have to assign a particular case to an NP in order to agree with it in *Tukang Besi*, the way it does in *Icelandic* and *Hindi*. In other words, the CDAP is set negatively.

A second consequence of the CDAP being set negatively in *Burushaski* is the fact that multiple heads can agree with the same NP, as is possible in *Kinande* but not in *English* ((17) vs. (18)). This can also be seen in (24), where both the main verb and the auxiliary bear the first person singular marker *a* (contrast *εč-u b-o* ‘she is doing it’, *εč-i b-i* ‘it is doing it’, etc).

This sort of double agreement is found also found in some auxiliary constructions in *Tukang Besi* —specifically the kind that Donohoe calls “ambient serialization”.⁵

- (26) a. Te tukatutu no-agori no-tode... (Donohue 1999:192)
 CORE blacksmith 3R-immediate 3R-flee
 ‘The blacksmith fled without delay...’
- b. U-po’oli-mo u-po-‘awa ke iai-su?
 2sS.R-finish-PERF 2sS.R-REC-obtain with younger.sib-1sPOSS
 ‘Have you met my younger sister already?’
- c. Ku-hematuu-mo ku-henahenai te pogau Wanse.
 1sS-begin-PERF 1sS-learn CORE language Wansi
 ‘I have begun to learn Wansi.’

Tukang Besi is also like Fijian in this respect (see (19)).

The complication comes with object agreement. In canonical languages with the CDAP set “no”, like Burushaski, object agreement happens regardless of the case of the object. Thus, the same object agreement *gu-* is found in both (27a) and (27b), even though the agreed with second person pronoun is in nominative/absolute case in (27a) and in dative case in (27b) (Lorimer 1935).

- (27) a. (U:ŋ) gu-yetsΛ-m.
 you-ABS 2sO-see-1sS
 ‘I saw you.’
- b. U:ŋer hik trΛŋ gu-čičΛ-m.
 you-DAT one half 2sS-give-1sS
 ‘I shall give a half to you.’

But this paradigm cannot be replicated in *Tukang Besi*. Object agreement in *Tukang Besi* only happens when the agreed with object bears nominative case. (28a), where there is object agreement with an NP that bears the unmarked “core” case is impossible.

- (28) a. *No-kiki’i-ko te iko’o na beka.
 3R-bite-2sO CORE you NOM cat
 ‘The cat bit you.’
 (OK is: *No-kiki’i te iko’o na beka*, without object agreement)
- b. No-kiki’i-ko na iko’o te beka.
 3R-see-2sO NOM you CORE cat

⁵ Other auxiliary-like verbs in *Tukang Besi* always bear default third person agreement, full agreement showing up only on the main verb. These could be analyzed as verbs that take clausal complements but don’t trigger raising to subject (like *probable* as opposed to its synonym *likely* in English). If the subject NP doesn’t raise to the Spec, TP position associated with the auxiliary verb, then the higher T cannot agree with it, given that the DAP is set positively in *Tukang Besi*.

‘The cat bit you.’

The question, then, is why is (28a) ruled out.

The interpretation of this fact that would be most threatening to the general theory of Baker (In press) is to say that *Tukang Besi* is inconsistent with respect to the CDAP. T does not need to assign a particular case to an NP in order to agree with it, but *v* does. This would imply that different functional categories within the same language can show markedly behaviors with respect to the syntax of agreement. That would refute my claim that (1) and (2) are unified syntactic parameters, and support the opposing view that all parameters are reducible to the specifications of features on individual functional categories.

But I argue that this pessimistic interpretation is unwarranted. Rather, I claim that the badness of (28a) as opposed to (28b) follows from the positive setting of the Direction of Agreement Parameter, plus independently motivated properties of how *na* case is assigned in *Tukang Besi*.

First, notice that allowing the Case Dependence of Agreement Parameter to be set positively for some functional heads but not others in a single language could only explain the data in (28) at a cost. The CDAP can only explain why agreement is possible in (28b) but not (28a) if one says that *v* (the bearer of object agreement) is the head that assigns nominative case to NP in (28b). This is not very plausible as a general principle of case assignment in *Tukang Besi*; nominative case is normally assigned by T, not by *v*. If we took this path, there would be no unified explanation for the assignment of nominative case in (28b) and its assignment in an intransitive (unaccusative) sentence like (21), or in a passive sentence like (23). One cannot simply loosen up the claim that parameters apply to languages as a whole to account for these facts; rather, some different conception about case and its relationship to agreement is needed for *Tukang Besi*.

In this light, I propose that nominative case in *Tukang Besi* is not assigned by *any* particular functional head. Rather, it is assigned by the simple configurational rule in (29).⁶

- (29) a. Assign *na* to NP1 if NP1 is the highest NP in its clause (if there is no other NP, NP2, such that NP2 is in the same clause as NP1 and NP2 c-commands NP1).
b. Assign *te* to all other nonoblique NPs in the clause.

The rule in (29) captures a number of properties of case marking in *Tukang Besi* in a very straightforward way. First, it is consistent with the fact that the nominative NP does not need to agree with any particular functional head: it can agree with T ((21), (23a), (25a)), or with *v* ((25b), (28b)), or with no functional head ((22), (23b)). Second, it is consistent with the fact that the nominative NP need not occupy a particular syntactic position: it can be in Spec, TP ((21)), but it can be VP-internal, as long as there is no higher NP ((22), (23b)). Third, it fits with the fact that there can only be one nominative-marked NP per clause in *Tukang Besi*. For example, in clauses that contain a triadic verb, there can be two or more NPs marked with the “core” (default) case marker *te*, but there can only be one NP that is marked with nominative *na* (see, for example, (25)). This follows from (29) together with the fact that there can be at most one NP that is not c-commanded by any other NP in a clause, under

⁶ Compare Marantz (1991), who proposes an approach to morphological case in which case is always assigned not by functional heads but by checking what domain an NP is in and what other NPs are inside the same domain.

normal assumptions about clause structure. Finally, (29) is consistent with the fact that nominative case can appear even in nonfinite control clauses, which don't have the sort of T that one would expect to assign nominative case. Thus, both (30a) and (30b) are possible in *Tukang Besi*.

- (30) a. Ku-nde'u manga te senga. (Donohue 1999:468)
 1sS-not.want eat CORE fried.food
 'I don't want to eat the senga.'
- b. Ku-nde'u manga-'e na senga. (Donohue, personal communication)
 1sS-not.want eat-3O NOM fried.food
 'I don't want to eat the senga.'

The embedded verb *manga* 'eat' in these examples has no subject agreement, and (hence) no marking for realis/irrealis mood, and its subject is controlled by the subject of the matrix verb. Hence, it has no finite T. Nevertheless, the object can still be marked nominative, as shown in (30b). This is problematic for the normal generative assumption that nominative is assigned by finite T, but is perfectly explainable in terms of (29). We must simply assume that the object can move to a specifier position above the position of the controlled PRO subject in (30b), without disrupting the mechanisms of control. (30b), then, is strong evidence that nominative case is assigned in a different way in *Tukang Besi* than it is in English and other more familiar languages.⁷

Now, what are the implications of this understanding of nominative case assignment for the problem of object agreement in *Tukang Besi*? We already know that *v* can only agree with the object in *Tukang Besi* if the object moves out of VP; this follows from the positive setting of the DAP. Now we can add the following assumption about clause structure in *Tukang Besi*:

- (31) Spec, *vP* is not possible as a final landing site in *Tukang Besi*; it can only be passed through on the way to a higher position (such as Spec, FocP above Spec, TP).

Reasonably closely related languages are known to differ in this respect. For example, NPs can stay in Spec, *vP* in the Scandinavian languages ("object shift") but not in English or French, where they only pass through Spec, *vP* on their way to Spec, CP (Chomsky 2001). Similarly, NPs can stay in Spec, *vP* in Zulu, but can only move through it to the right

⁷ Additional evidence for (29) might be gleaned from relative clauses in which the subject is extracted. The verb in such clauses is marked with *-um-* and does not bear subject agreement. It is plausible to analyze these as active participles, hence as clauses with nonfinite T. Nevertheless, nominative case can still be assigned to the thematic object in these relative clauses, as shown in (ib).

- (i) a. Ku-sepa-'e na mia t-um-opa te La Udi
 1s-kick-3O NOM person UM-slap CORE Udi
 'I kicked the person who was slapping Udi.'
- b. Ku-sepa-'e na mia t-um-opa-'e na La Udi
 1s-kick-3O NOM person UM-slap-3O NOM Udi
 'I kicked the person who had been slapping Udi.'

periphery in Kinande ((6) vs. (7)). Now I propose that NPs can stay in Spec, vP in Fijian, but can only move through it in *Tukang Besi*. The consequence of this is that NP cannot get out of VP by moving only a short distance in *Tukang Besi*; if it moves at all, it has to move to the periphery of the clause. If it doesn't move, v cannot agree with it, by the DAP. If it does move, it moves to become the highest NP in the clause, in which case it gets nominative case by (29). If "short movement" of the object, such that it did not cross the subject, were allowed in *Tukang Besi*, then the object could be agreed with and bear the "core" default case marking. But (31) says that this is impossible.

This analysis is committed to the view that the surface position of the agreed-with object is higher than the normal position of the subject; otherwise (29) would assign nominative case to the subject rather than the object in these sentences. There is some evidence that this is true. Thus, Donohue (1999: 79-80) shows that thematic objects bearing nominative case can appear after time adverbs (32a), whereas subjects bearing nominative case cannot.

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

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

This makes sense if time adverbs are right-adjoined to TP. As such, they are higher than the normal position of the subject (Spec, TP), but lower than the position of the moved object (Spec, FocusP, or something like it). (The nominative object also tends to follow the subject in core case (Donohue 1990:80), but the opposite order is also possible, perhaps due to stylistically driven reordering within the same phase at PF.)

In conclusion, once we arrive at a plausible view of nominative case assignment in *Tukang Besi*, motivated by language-internal considerations, a natural solution to the problem of object agreement and case marking emerges. The result is that the agreement parameters in *Tukang Besi* have exactly the same settings as they do in Fijian (and Kinande), and those settings are consistent.⁸ In particular, neither v nor T needs to assign case to the NP it agrees with. As a result, both can agree with the nominative NP, even though it is not assigned its case by any functional head. The differences between *Tukang Besi* and Fijian have to do with the fact that there is overt case marking in *Tukang Besi* (as in (29)), plus the fact that the two languages allow different kinds of object movement (as in (31)). Since *Tukang Besi* has some overt case marking, its setting for the CDAP is more obvious.

⁸ Rackowski and Richards (2005) argue that the so-called voice morphology in Tagalog is really a reflection of the v agreeing in case with the NP that has moved to Spec, vP. If they are correct about this, then Tagalog must have exactly the same parameter settings as Fijian and *Tukang Besi*. The fact that v agrees only with an NP in Spec, vP, not with one that remains in VP, suggests that the DAP in (1) is set positively. The fact that v agrees with this NP in any of a variety of cases, shows that the case on the NP does not come from v itself. Yet v can still agree with it, showing that the CDAP in (2) is set negatively. It is interesting that these Austronesian languages have the same parameter settings, even when the type of agreement that they display is superficially very different.

4. An extension to Kapampangan

As my last investigation into agreement in Austronesian languages, I consider Kapampangan, a language not considered at all in Baker (In press), whose significance for this topic was pointed out to me by Paul Kroeger and Mark Donohue.⁹ Kapampangan is interesting to compare with *Tukang Besi*, because it has a more prototypical Philippines-style voice system, very similar to that of Tagalog. It also has a case and agreement system that is organized around more or less ergative lines (Mirikitani 1972). I claim that while agreement must be upward in Kapampangan as it is in other Austronesian languages, agreement *is* dependent on case in Kapampangan. There also seems to be a crucial difference in the landing sites available for object movement, which results in the more ergative pattern.

A basic description of the key facts is as follows. There is agreement on the verb with the agentive subject in both intransitive sentences and transitive “agent focus” constructions (all page references for Kapampangan data refer to Mirikitani 1972):

- (33) a. Makasulat ka ngeni (p.62)
can-write you.ABS now
‘You can write now.’
- b. Migaral ya ng Inglis i Nena (p.166)
AF.studied 3sA ACC English NOM Nena
‘Nena studied English.’
- c. Sumulat ya ng poesia ing lalaki king mestra paraking babai
AF.write 3sA ACC-poem NOM-boy OBL-teacher for OBL girl
‘The poem will be written by the boy to the teacher for the girl.’ (p. 116)

In theme or oblique focus constructions, this same kind of agreement appears, reflecting the phi-features of the focalized theme or other argument. There is also a second agreement morpheme that expresses the phi-features of the nonfocused agent argument:

- (34) a. Asulat me (mu+ya) ing istorya ngeni (p. 62)
Can-write 2sE+3sA the story now
‘Can you write the story now?’
- b. Saupan na-ka ning lalaki (p. 175)
TF.help 3sE+2sA the boy
‘The boy will help you.’
- c. Pigaralan ne (na-ya) ng Nena **ing Ingles** (p.167)
TF.Studied 3sE+3sA ERG Nena NOM English

⁹Technically, Paul Kroeger recommended that I look into Ilocano, but Ilocano seems to be very much like Kapampangan in the relevant respects, based on the (rather limited) information in Rubino (2000). In particular, agreement on T and v and its interaction with the focus/voice system seems to be syntactically identical. The one notable difference for my interests here is that v and T in Ilocano assign identical cases (both *ti*) in Ilocano, whereas the two structural cases are morphologically distinct in Kapampangan.

‘English was studied by Nena.’

The focused argument headed by a common noun always appears with the case marker *ing*, as in (33b), (34a), and (34c) (for proper nouns, the form is *i*, as in (33b)). If the agent argument is not focused, it appears with the case marker *ning* as seen in (34b) (*ng* with a proper noun as in (34c)). All other arguments appear marked with *ng* or *king*. (35) illustrates this clearly by giving other voice forms of the sentence in (33c). Notice that in each version the NP marked with the *ing* particle is different (Mirikitani 1972:117).

- (35) a. Isulat ne ing poesia ning lalaki king mestra para king babai
TF-write 3sA+3sA NOM-poem ERG-boy OBL-teacher for OBL girl
‘The poem will be written by the boy to the teacher for the girl.’
- b. Sulatanan ne ng poesia ning lalaki ing mestra para king babai.
GF-write 3sA+3sA ACC-poem ERG-boy NOM-teacher for OBL girl
‘The teacher will be written a poem by the boy for the girl.’
- c. Panyulat ne ng poesia ning lalaki ing pen.
IF-Write 3sA+3sA ACC poem ERG boy NOM pen
‘The pen will be used for writing a poem by the boy.’

As in other languages in which agreement is not transparently aligned with subjects and objects, it is not immediately obvious which kind of agreement is associated with which functional head in Kapampangan. I assume that the agreement with the focused argument—the one realized as 2s *ka* in (33a) and (34b) and as 3s *ya* in (33b) and many other examples—is agreement on T. Evidence in favor of this is that there is one tense/aspect category in Kapampangan, the recent past, in which there is no absolute agreement, as shown in (36). There is however still the second kind of agreement—the kind realized as 2s *mu* in (34a) and as 3s *na* in (34b,c) and (35)—which reflects the phi-features of the subject.

- (36) a. Kapuputut na ning babai ng manuk (p. 134)
Just-cut 3sE the woman ACC chicken
‘The woman just cut a chicken.’
- b. Kararatangna ning mestra (p. 65)
Just-came 3sE ERG teacher
The teacher just came.

Thus, whether *ka/ya* agreement is present or not depends on the particular tense-aspect inflection that is used, whereas *mu/na* is possible in all transitive clauses. Conversely, *ka/ya*-type agreement is found on nonverbal predicates but *mu/na*-type agreement is not:

- (37) a. Mestro ya ing lalaki (p. 44)
teacher 3sA NOM boy
‘The boy is a teacher.’

- b. Masanting ya ing lalaki; mangasanting la reng lalaki (p.57)
 handsome 3sA NOM boy handsome 3p NOM.pl boy
 ‘The boy is handsome; the boys are handsome.’

These are presumably sentences that have a T node (for present tense) but no v node. This distribution follows if the *ka/ya*-type agreement is the realization of agreement on T (or similar inflectional category) and the *mu/na*-type is the realization of agreement on v.

The next thing to notice is that there is a perfect correlation between agreement and case marking in Kapampangan. An NP headed by a common noun that triggers agreement on T always bears *ing* case. An NP that triggers agreement on v always bears *ning* case.¹⁰ In the sentences in (36), there is (exceptionally) no agreement-bearing T, there is also no nominal that has *ing* case. In the sentences in (37), there is no agreement-bearing v, there is also no nominal that has *ning* case. Kapampangan is different from *Tukang Besi* in this respect; in *Tukang Besi*, T can agree with either a *te*-marked NP or with a *na*-marked NP. Moreover, in *Tukang Besi* clauses that have no “subject” agreement, such as (22) and (23b), it is still possible to have an NP that bears nominative case, in contrast to what we see in (36). It makes sense, then, to say that Kapampangan is a language in which the CDAP is set “yes”. T agrees with an NP in Kapampangan if and only if it assigns nominative case (*ing*) to that NP; v agrees with an NP in Kapampangan if and only if it assigns ergative case (*ning*) to that NP. The contrast between Kapampangan and *Tukang Besi* gives us an example of parametric variation with respect to agreement within the Austronesian languages.

If the CDAP is set “yes” in Kapampangan, then I predict that Kapampangan should not contain auxiliary constructions that have double agreement, the way that *Tukang Besi* and Fijian do. That seems to be correct, according to the limited data I have: there is no sign of such a construction in Mirikitani 1972. The following are some examples comparable to the *Tukang Besi* examples in (26), but agreement occurs only once, on the highest verb.

- (38) a. Kailangan-ku ng sumulat istorya king Inglis (p. 226)
 have.to-1sA C write story OBL English
 ‘I have to write a story in English.’

- b. Susubukan ke-ng bubuklat ing awang. (p. 221)
 try 1sE+3sA-C open NOM window
 ‘I am trying to open the window.’

(Note that constructions with ‘try’ have double agreement in *Tukang Besi*, according to Donohue 1999:191.)

Now what is the setting of the DAP? If I have identified the agreements correctly, then it is clear that T agrees with an NP only if the NP has been focused. Assuming that “focusing” in Kapampangan involves movement to a functional specifier high in the clause, as many people have argued for Tagalog (Guilfoyle et al. 1992), this suggests that T can only agree upward. (This conclusion follows regardless of the much-debated question of whether “focusing” is considered to be an A or A-bar movement). Meanwhile, v agrees only with

¹⁰ *Ning* is also used on the possessor in possessed nominals, and the possessed nominal bears a *mu/na*-type clitic/agreement that agrees with the possessor. So the correlation between the type of agreement triggered and the type of case marking borne even extends from the clausal domain to the nominal domain.

the agent phrase, never with a theme or other internal argument. This suggests that *v* also only agrees upward, never downward with an argument generated inside VP. We thus have converging evidence that the DAP is set “yes” in Kapampangan, just as it is in *Tukang Besi* and Fijian. Kapampangan (possibly like Chamorro; see note 4) is therefore a new example of a language in which both parameters are set positively—the rarest type in Baker’s (In press) typological survey.

This similarity in parameter settings however belies an important difference between agreement in *Tukang Besi* and agreement in Kapampangan—one that is not explained purely by the settings of the agreement parameters. This has to do with Kapampangan being more or less ergative in its case-and-agreement system in a way that *Tukang Besi* is not. The difference does not show up in intransitive clauses, or in clauses where the agent is focused. But it does show up in transitive clauses in which the object is focused (moved out of VP to a position higher than the subject). In such clauses, T continues to agree with the thematic subject in *Tukang Besi*, while *v* agrees with the moved object. In contrast, T agrees with the focused object NP in Kapampangan, while *v* agrees with the thematic subject. As a result, T consistently agrees with the subject argument in *Tukang Besi*, whereas it agrees with the thematic object in the most common type of transitive clause in Kapampangan. In that sense, agreement follows a (split) absolutive pattern in Kapampangan. Meanwhile, *v* is involved in object agreement in *Tukang Besi*, whereas it agrees with ergative thematic subjects in Kapampangan. This difference clearly cannot be attributed to the DAP, because the two languages have the same setting for that parameter. Nor can it be attributed to the CDAP: since this parameter is set negatively in *Tukang Besi*, it doesn’t constrain agreement in that language at all. In Kapampangan, the case pattern is semi-ergative because the agreement pattern is semi-ergative and agreement is dependent on case assignment, but this does not determine which NP each functional head must agree with.

Rather, I believe that this difference between the two languages ultimately comes down to a difference in clause structure. More specifically, I suggest that the difference is in the landing site that is targeted by object movement in the “object focus” construction. Consider first *Tukang Besi*. Why does T agree the agent in this language, and not with the focused object? We know that agreement must be upward in this language. So this pattern follows if the agent is always the first NP that T finds when it probes upward. In other words, the agentive subject is in Spec, TP. In fact, Donohue shows that even when it is not topicalized, the agent phrase is outside the verb phrase in *Tukang Besi*. Some evidence that the thematic subject moves to Spec, TP even when the object is “focused” in *Tukang Besi* comes from the fact that the case marker associated with the subject never encliticizes onto the verb in *Tukang Besi*, the way that the case marked associated with the object does when the object remains in situ (see (20)). This suggests that it is not part of the *vP* phase. Moreover, since it gets nominative case and often appears farther from the verb than the subject in Spec, TP, the focused object must be higher—say in Spec, FocP (see (32) above and related discussion). So the subject is always in Spec, TP in *Tukang Besi* (except in existential sentences and some passives), and object movement targets a distinct, even higher position, Spec, FocP. As a result, T always agrees with the thematic subject, and never with the focused object, by the usual locality conditions on agreement.

Now consider agreement on *v* in *Tukang Besi* in a construction with a moved object. This is c-commanded by both the trace of the moved object and by the base position of the subject. It is not clear which is closer to *v* if both are specifiers (or adjuncts) of *vP* (this

depends on whether the moved object “tucks in” under the subject or not, and whether specifiers of the same category count as equidistant). Suppose that in principle v can agree with either one. T, however, can only agree with the agent, as we have seen. If v agreed with the agent, that agreement would be redundant, whereas if v agreed with the theme, it would be doing something new. It is plausible to think that languages favor the second situation. Kinyalolo (1991) and Carstens (2005) argue that a condition like the following holds in Kilega and certain other Bantu languages:

(39) Kinyalolo’s Constraint:

* Agreement on a lower head with NP X if there is a higher head that also agrees with X and the two functional heads are in the same word at PF.

(39) is motivated in Kilega by the fact that agreement between T and the subject, which is normally obligatory in Kilega, is suppressed when the subject raises to Spec, CP and the verb raises to C, because then ordinary subject agreement is redundant with the agreement between C and its specifier.

Kinyalolo’s Constraint is probably not universal. There are a few languages in which v and T both seem able to agree with the same NP. One is the Austronesian language Nuaula, called to my attention by Mark Donohue (another is Burushaski; see Baker In Press:215 for discussion). Nuaula is an SVO language that seems to have the same parameter settings as Fijian and Tukang Besi. Like Tukang Besi it normally uses prefixes to agree with subjects in Spec, TP and uses suffixes to agree with objects which have moved out of VP or are null pronouns. But unlike Tukang Besi, some intransitive verbs allow both T and v to agree with the sole argument of an intransitive verb, resulting in double agreement:

- (40) a. Ina-i na ama-i o-mata-so.
 Mother-3sP and father-3sP 3pS-die-3pO
 ‘His mother and father died.’
- b. Ami a-eu-ma nau nuae.
 We 1pS-go-1pO seaward sea
 ‘We went toward the sea.’

In one sense, it is not surprising that such double agreement should arise. The subject in Spec, TP is the closest NP that c-commands both T and v in these intransitive sentences, hence both T and v can in principle agree with it, given the positive setting of the DAP that these Austronesian languages have. Moreover, no case conflict is implied by the double agreement in (40), given that the CDAP is set negatively in these languages. So it is actually expected that v and T could both agree with the same NP (the subject) in a language like this. What needs to be explained is why the same sort of double agreement is not found in Tukang Besi and most other languages—why sentences like (41) are out.

- (41) a. To-manga-do (*To-manga-kita) (Donohue 1999:130)
 1p.R-eat-EMP 1p.R-eat-1pO
 ‘Let’s eat first.’

- b. No-wila na ana kua daoa (*no-wila-‘e) (Donohue 1999:118)
 3s.R-go NOM child ALL market 3s.R-go-3O
 ‘The child went to the market.’

Kinyalolo’s Constraint as stated in (39) fills this need, ruling out intransitive verb forms that have object agreement as well as subject agreement.

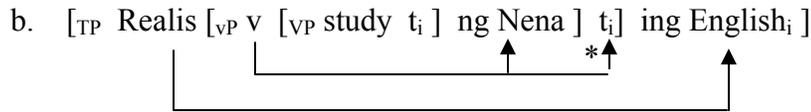
The same principle then can determine what *v* agrees with in transitive clauses with focused objects. *T* necessarily agrees with the subject in Spec, TP, and (39) forbids *v* from also agreeing with this argument. This forces *v* to agree with the trace of the moved object adjoined to *vP* instead. On this analysis, then, the structure of a simple transitive sentence like (20b) with a focused object in *Tukang Besi* is (42).

- (42) a. No-‘ita-‘e te ana na kene-no.
 3R-see-3O CORE child NOM friend-3POSS
 ‘The child saw its friend.’

- b. [_{FocP} [_{TP} Realis [[_{vP} v [_{vP} see t_i] t_k] t_i] te+child_k] na+friend_i]
-

Now let us see how a slight change in the assumptions about clause structure and movement can give us the different, more ergative agreement pattern in *Kapampangan*. In this language, *T* always agrees with the focused phrase, whatever the theta-role of that phrase might be. *T* never agrees with the agent unless the agent is the focused phrase. The easiest way to get this result would be to say that the landing site of focus object movement in *Kapampangan* is Spec, TP, not a distinct focus position. This also implies that when the object (or other internal argument) undergoes focus movement, the subject must stay in its theta position, Spec, *vP*, lower than *T*. As a result, *T* can only agree with the focused argument in *Kapampangan*, not with the subject unless it itself happens to be “focused”. The question then arises as to why *v* in *Kapampangan* agrees with the unmoved subject in Spec, *vP* rather than with a trace of the object adjoined to *vP*. In principle, *v* could agree with either, but Kinyalolo’s Constraint cuts the opposite way in *Kapampangan* than it does in *Tukang Besi*. In *Kapampangan*, *T* agrees with the focused object; hence *v* must agree with the in-situ subject; otherwise it would agree with the same NP that *T* does. The same non-redundancy principle thus favors *v* agreeing with the thematic subject in *Kapampangan*, but with the thematic object in *Tukang Besi*. The more ergative agreement pattern in *Kapampangan*, then, is a reflection of a different structure of the TP-CP space, such that the landing site for object focus is distinct from the Spec, TP position in *Tukang Besi* but not in *Kapampangan*. The structure for a simple transitive sentence with object focus in *Kapampangan* is thus (43).

- (43) a. Pigaralan ne (na-ya) ng Nena ing Ingles (=34c)
 studied 3sE+3sA ERG Nena NOM English
 ‘English was studied by Nena.’



This difference in clause structure is by no means unprecedented in the literature. On the contrary, there have been many similar proposals, saying that A-bar movement of the topic or focus type targets Spec, TP in some languages and a distinct position of its own in others: Icelandic and Yiddish are supposed to differ from other Germanic languages in this respect, for example (Diesing 1990); see also Goodall 2001 on *wh*-movement targeting Spec, TP and bleeding subject raising in Spanish (but not English). When this relatively familiar parameter of variation interacts with the less familiar settings of the agreement parameters, one can derive the different agreement systems of *Tukang Besi* and *Kapampangan*.

Ideally, one would want to find a cluster of observable differences that all follow from this basic difference in clause structure. Unfortunately, exploring this fully goes beyond my expertise and the data available to me. I can mention only one other suggestive fact here. We saw above that subject control in *Tukang Besi* is possible and is quite independent of whether the object is focused in the embedded clause or not. Thus, the version without “object focus” and the version with object focus are both grammatical:

- (44) a. Ku-nde’u manga te senga. (=30)
 1sS-not.want eat CORE fried.food
 ‘I don’t want to eat the senga.’
- b. Ku-nde’u manga-‘e na senga.
 1sS-not.want eat-3O NOM fried.food
 ‘I don’t want to eat the senga.’

In contrast, subject control and focalization do not seem to be independent of each other in *Kapampangan*. In all of the examples of subject control given in Mirikitani 1972, the embedded verb is always in the actor focus form, never in the theme focus form (see also Rubino 2000:lxxxii on Ilocano). The examples in (45) seem representative in this respect; note also that the object is always in unmarked/default case, and apparently cannot bear the nominative case marker *ing*.

- (45) a. Sumaup ku-ng maglinis bale keka.
 Help 1s-C AF.cleanhouse you.OBL
 ‘I will help you clean the house.’
- b. Kailangan-ku ng sumulat istorya king Inglis (p. 226)
 Have.to-1sA C AF.write story OBL English
 ‘I have to write a story in English.’

This difference between the two languages is not unexpected given the difference in clause structure shown in (42) and (43). Suppose that subject control in both languages happens when the agent of the embedded clause is a PRO that occupies the Spec, TP position of a

nonfinite TP. Object focus in Kapampangan crucially targets the Spec, TP position; therefore the two are incompatible, and it is impossible to have object focus and subject control in the same clause in Kapampangan. But object focus in *Tukang Besi* targets a position distinct from Spec, TP; hence it is in principle independent of subject control, and may (or may not) occur in a nonfinite control clause. If data like this bears up under further scrutiny—or other better data can be found to support the same conclusion—then the difference in clause structure that I have suggested is not merely a kludge to explain the differences in agreement in these two languages, but an important feature of their syntax more generally.¹¹

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown that two parameters that affect the syntax of agreement, which were originally discovered by comparing NC languages and IE languages, also apply in an interesting way to various Austronesian languages. In particular, Fijian is demonstrably similar to the Bantu language Kinande, and its agreement system is characterized by the same parameter settings. Those parameter settings also apply to *Tukang Besi*; moreover, they account for the interaction between agreement and overt case marking, an issue that doesn't arise in Kinande and Fijian. Finally, Kapampangan shares the same positive setting of the Direction of Agreement Parameter as its Austronesian kin, but it differs from them in also having a positive setting of the Case Dependency of Agreement Parameter. As such, it provides a new example of the rarest kind of language in my typology.

We have also seen that the two parameters in (1) and (2) are by no means the only factors that determine the character of agreement that a language will have. Parameters that concern clause structure and the landing sites of movement also play an important role. Of particular importance is the question of where objects can move to. In Fijian, the object can stop in Spec, vP, whereas in *Tukang Besi* and Kapampangan it can only transit through that position on its way to a clause peripheral position. Moreover, in Kapampangan, object movement targets the same Spec, TP position that the subject would otherwise occupy, whereas in *Tukang Besi* it targets a distinct A-bar position. All these variations of object movement are known to exist in well-studied IE languages. When they interact, with the non-IE-like settings of the agreement parameters found in Austronesian languages, however, the result is some unfamiliar patterns of agreement.

A more general moral of this study is, I believe, the value of deep and meaningful interaction between general theorists and typologists on the one hand and experts on particular Austronesian languages on the other hand. With the exception of Chung 1998, agreement has not gotten too much attention from Austronesianists interested in formal linguistics. Perhaps it takes an outsider like me, eager to replicate his Bantu results in some

¹¹ There seems to be a related difference between *Tukang Besi* and Kapampangan in the syntax of nonfinite (participial) relative clauses. Nonfinite relative clauses marked by the infix *-um-* in *Tukang Besi* are always understood as having the subject argument of the nonfinite verb as the head of the relative, and it is possible to focalize the object inside such a relative clause (see note 7). In contrast, when the head of the relative clause is the agent in Kapampangan, the verb must be in agent-focus form, and it is not possible to focalize the object inside such a relative clause. This difference could follow if the head of this sort of relative clause must always move from the Spec, TP position. Then this sort of relativization will interfere with object movement in Kapampangan (which also crucially involves the Spec, TP position), but not in *Tukang Besi*. But the data is complex, and there are other sorts of relative clauses that must be included in a complete analysis.

other language family, to show what a rich and interesting domain this is, full of potential insights into clause structure, movement processes, and other topics of general interest. I am, however, very aware of how much I have depended on the detailed and insightful discussions of the specialists on these languages to pursue this topic as far as I have here, and how much more collaboration would be needed to take the matter farther. My naive study of agreement has led me to the deepest waters of Austronesian linguistics, including the nature of the topic/focalization structures, and the crucially different notions of “subject” that are at work. The experts will have to judge whether what I have conjectured about these matters in order to get the agreement to work out right is viable on other grounds. More generally, I think this is the kind of healthy and constructive interplay between the concerns of the generalists and those of the specialists that we should work for throughout the linguistics community.

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