

On the Loci of Agreement: Inversion Constructions in Mapudungun

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1. Introduction: Ordinary and Unusual Aspects of Mapudungun Agreement

“Languages are all the same, but not boringly so.” I think this is my own maxim, not one of the late great Kenneth Hale’s. But it is nevertheless something that he taught me, by example, if not by explicit precept. Ken Hale believed passionately in a substantive notion of Universal Grammar that underlies all languages. But this did not blind him to the details—even the idiosyncrasies—of less-studied “local” languages. On the contrary, I believe it stimulated his famous zeal for those details and idiosyncrasies. It is against the backdrop of what is universal that idiosyncrasies become interesting and meaningful. Conversely, it is often the fact that quite different, language particular constructions obey the same abstract constraints that provides the most striking evidence that those constraints are universal features of human language.

It is in this Halian spirit that I present this study of agreement on verbs in Mapudungun, a language of uncertain genealogy spoken in the Andes of central Chile and adjoining areas of Argentina.¹ Many features of agreement in Mapudungun look

¹ This research was made possible thanks to a trip to Argentina in October 2000, to visit at the Universidad de Comahue in General Roca, Argentina. This gave me a chance to supplement my knowledge of Mapudungun from secondary sources by consulting with Argentine experts on this language, and by interviewing members of the Mapuche community in General Roca and Junin de los Andes, Argentina. Special thanks go to Pascual Masullo for making this trip possible. I thank Roberto Aranovich, Lucía Golluscio, and Pascual Masullo for many comments and suggestions about Mapudungun, as well as my students at Rutgers University and the audience of NELS 33 at MIT. Some of the new Mapudungun data reported here was gathered by me from various speakers; the rest Roberto Aranovich checked for me with his consultant—both of whom I especially thank. I am responsible for any errors of fact or interpretation.

Abbreviations used in the glosses include the following: adj, adjectival ending; appl, applicative; asp, aspect; AT, actor topic; ds, dative subject; fct, factitive; foc, focus particle; fut, future tense; fv, final vowel (Bantu); ind, indicative mood; inst, instrumental case/preposition; inter, interrogative particle; inv, inverse; loc, locative; neg, negative; noml, nominalizer; nrld, nonrealized tense; pass, passive; past, past tense; plur, plural; poss, possessive particle; rep, reportative; stat, stative; tr, transitivity; TT, theme topic. Agreement markers are complex forms that indicate person (1, 2, or 3), followed by number (s, d, or p), followed by series (S for subject—or “topic”—and O for object). See Smeets (1989) for glosses of certain

familiar to a typologically savvy linguist, particularly one who knows other polysynthetic languages. For example, tensed verbs in Mapudungun agree with both their subject and object, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. Ti wentru *pe-fi-y* ti domo.
the man see-3O-ind/3sS the woman
‘The man sees the woman.’
- b. *Pe-fi-n* ti domo.
see-3O-ind/1sS the woman
‘I see the woman.’

The contrast between *y* in (1a) and *n* in (1b) expresses the difference between a third person agent and a first person agent. (Second person singular would be expressed by *y-mi*. There are also dual and plural forms, but I will not use them here, for simplicity; see Smeets (1989: 191) for the complete paradigm.) The affix *fi*, for its part, expresses a third person object (number unspecified). Other facts about agreement in Mapudungun also seem familiar. Nonfinite verbs can agree with their object but not their subject. Unaccusative verbs and passivized verbs, on the other hand, agree with their subject but not with their object—even when there is an object that might be agreed with, either as a result of applicative formation or because the verb was a ditransitive verb to begin with. Active ditransitive verbs agree with their goal object rather than their theme object. Object agreement is in partial complementary distribution with noun incorporation, so that incorporated objects are not agreed with. Turning to syntactic consequences, agreement with the subject and object makes *pro*-drop of these arguments possible, and when they are overt they can be freely ordered with respect to one another and with respect to the verb. Mapudungun is thus a nonconfigurational language in the sense of Hale (1983), thanks to the rich agreement morphology on the verb. Many of these properties are illustrated below. They are all respects in which agreement in Mapudungun is like agreement in other languages, including Mohawk as described in Baker (1996).

But not boringly so. For agreement in Mapudungun has certain typologically less common properties as well. The most striking is that the morphemes glossed as “subject” agreements in (1) actually agree with the “topic” of the sentence, rather than with the thematic subject. This was originally discovered by Adalberto Salas (see also Salas (1992)), and has since been accepted (sometimes with minor modifications) by Grimes (1985), Smeets (1989), and Rivano Fischer (1991). To see the motivations for this, compare (2) with (1).

additional aspectual morphemes in examples taken from her work that do not interact with the topics at hand.

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- (2) a. Ti domo pe-e-y-ew ti wentru.
the woman see-?-ind/3sS-? the man
'The woman, the man sees (her).'
- b. Pe-e-n-ew ti domo.
see-?-ind/1sS-? the woman
'Me, the woman saw.'

As in (1), the alternation between *y* and *n* shows the difference between a 3rd person argument and a 1st person argument. But this time it is not the thematic subject (the seer) that is expressed, but rather the thematic object (the seen one). (2a) also differs from (1a) in that the understood object 'woman' is clearly interpreted as the topic of the sentence in (2a), whereas the thematic subject 'man' is felt to be the topic in (1a). This is the basis of the claim that *y* and *n* are really topic agreements rather than subject agreements. This extends to (2b), on the assumption that basic human self-centeredness entails that 1st person objects are intrinsically topics in the discourse sense.

Object agreement is also somewhat unusual in Mapudungun. The object marker *fi* cannot occur in "topicalized" sentences like (2). Instead, the affix *e* appears in the same position in the verbal morphology (Smeets's (1989) slot 6), and the suffix *ew* attaches outside of the topic agreement marker. Moreover, *fi* (and perhaps *e*) is the only overt object agreement marker in Mapudungun.² There are no 1st or 2nd person object agreement affixes in the language. If there were, sentences like (3) would be attested.

- (3) *Ti domo pe-nü-y
the woman see-1sO-ind/3sS
'The woman saw me.'

But they are not. The meaning in question can only be expressed by the "topicalization" sentence in (2b). The fact that "subject agreement" is really "topic agreement" thus has the added consequence that object agreement is very impoverished in this language.

In order to see what the implications of this special agreement system are for a universal theory of agreement, we must first arrive at a generative analysis of "topicalization"—of the contrast between (1a) and (2a). Salas and Grimes use the term "topic" in a rather impressionistic way, to refer to a general discourse-structure notion such as "the one that the sentence (paragraph, text) is about." One can get a sense of this from the excerpt from a text given in (4) (from Salas 1992: 274-75).

- (4) a. Kiñe wentru inaya-wülke-rke-fu-i-y kiñe küme üllch domo.
one man visit-wander-rep-past-3O-ind/3sS one good young woman
'A man was going to visit a beautiful young woman.'

² Baker (to appear-b) argues that Mapudungun also has a \emptyset third person object agreement affix that occurs in more or less free variation with *fi*. (This claim differs from that of Smeets (1989), who says that object agreement is optional in Mapudungun.) I think that whatever I say about *fi* is also valid for \emptyset , but I do not go into that matter here.

- b. ayü-neke-rke-fu-i-y ... (direct form, topic is subject)
love-asp-rep-past-3O-ind/3sS
'He loved her.'
- c. feymeo chi üllcha domo ayü-rke-la-f-e-y-eo. (inverse, topic is object)
then the young woman love-rep-neg-past-??-ind/3sS-??
'But the girl did not love him.'

(4a) is the initial, scene-setting sentence of the text. It introduces the two main characters, a man and a woman. The story as a whole is told from the point of view of the man. (4b) is the next sentence: both the subject and the object are *pro*-dropped, but since the subject of the sentence is the same as the topic of the text as a whole, the “ordinary” *fi-y* verb form is used. (4c) has the same verb, but reverses the grammatical relations: now the topic ‘man’ is the thematic object (still *pro*-dropped) and the nontopic ‘woman’ is the thematic subject. As a result, the “object” topicalization form with *e-y-eo* is used. See Grimes (1985:159-60), Rivano Fisher (1991:124-28), and Arnold (1996:27-28) for similar examples.

The question then is: should this alternation be understood as topicalization in the generative sense of A-bar movement to the specifier of CP or some similar functional head (perhaps TopP, as in Rizzi (1997))? If so, then the agreement pattern in Mapudungun suggests that the primary agreement features of the clause can be housed in C⁰, rather than in T⁰, where they are in English and other familiar languages. That would be a theoretically interesting result. It would mean that there is some kind of “Locus of Agreement Parameter” that determines which functional categories agreement features are located in in a particular language.

There are, however, other plausible analyses of “topicalization.” It could be that the difference between (1) and (2) or (4b) and (4c) is really a kind of voice alternation, akin to the passive. On this view, the “topic” in Mapudungun is really the subject in the relevant generative sense (cf. Arnold (1996)). If so, then *y* and *n* are subject agreement morphemes after all. This result would be compatible with the strong universalist view that the primary agreement of the clause is always associated with some T-like head, rather than with some C-like head, for deep (although largely unknown) reasons. Then there would be no Locus of Agreement Parameter.

In this article, I argue that the second interpretation is the correct one, that the language particular details of Mapudungun are consistent with—yea call for—a strong universalist account of where agreement is located. In this, I agree with part of Arnold’s (1996) analysis of Mapudungun, and with Bruening’s (2001) analysis of the quite similar inverse system in Algonquian. The rest of the paper develops this as follows. Section 2 elaborates the two rival theories to the point that they make distinct predictions. Section 3 tests these predictions, comparing “topicalization” in Mapudungun to the language’s true passive (an A-movement process that targets Spec, TP) as well as to question movement and relativization (A-bar movement processes that target Spec, CP). In every

case, “topicalization” patterns with passive. Section 4 discusses a residual question concerning the role that the *ew* affix plays in expressing the thematic agent when the object is “topicalized”. Finally, section 5 discusses some implications of this result for the theory of nonconfigurationality, a topic that Ken Hale put on the map and had much to say about.

2. Two Analyses of Topicalization

I begin by spelling out the two rival analyses of “topicalization” in Mapudungun in more detail.

First, let me settle a point of terminology. Since the term “topicalization” is so closely associated with A-bar movement in the Chomskian tradition, it is not a good pre-theoretic term. Thus, I will also refer to (2) and (4c) in Mapudungun as the *inversion* construction. This is intended to be a theory neutral term. It also invokes the idea of inverse verb forms in Algonquian, which seem quite similar to these Mapudungun examples, as recognized by Grimes (1985:142) and Arnold (1996). The term is natural enough theoretically regardless of whether inversion turns out to be an A-movement or A-bar movement process. Under either analysis, the thematic object becomes structurally higher than the thematic subject, inverting the normal c-command relationship between the two, as we shall see.

Second, I need to clarify that I will not concern myself with the exact nature of the trigger of inversion. Clearly, “topicalization” (i.e. inversion) is obligatory in Mapudungun whenever the thematic object is “more topical” than the thematic subject. “Topicality” is in part determined rigidly by the person hierarchy (1st person arguments are always more topical than 2nd person arguments, which are more topical than 3rd person arguments), and in part dynamically by the structure of the discourse (when both arguments are 3rd person; see (4)). Conversely, inversion is forbidden when the thematic subject is more “topical” than the thematic object. For example, one cannot “topicalize” a third person object when the subject is first or second person:

- (5) *Ti domo pe-e-y-(ew) inche.
the woman see-??-ind/3sS-ds me
'The woman, I saw (her).'

I will not concern myself with how best to formulate these conditions (see Aissen (1999) for a possible account in Optimality Theory terms). I focus on the bricks and mortar of inversion rather than on its teleology—on what it is in terms of syntactic structure, not on what it is used for.

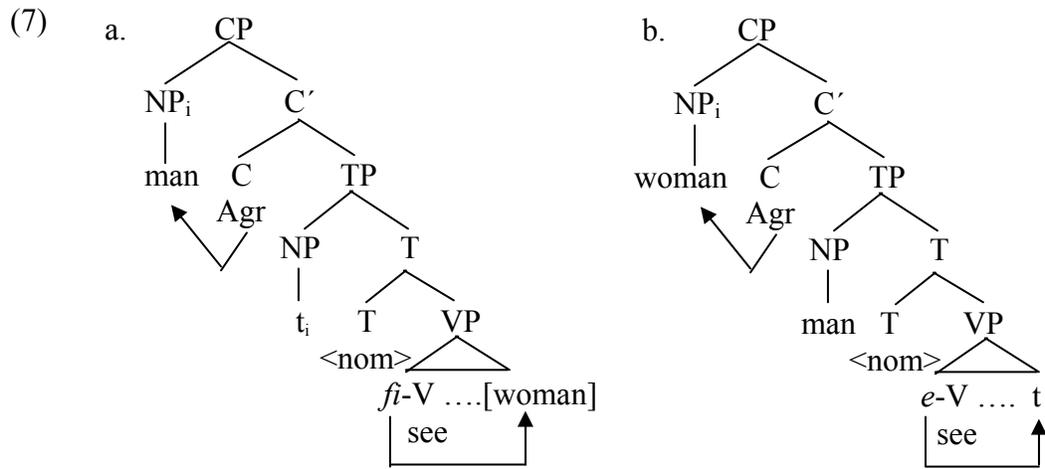
2.1 Inversion as A-bar Movement (True Topicalization)

One intrinsically plausible possibility is that “topicalization” is really topicalization in the sense of the A-bar movement of an NP (possibly null) to a clause-peripheral position. This possibility looks particularly good for examples like (2a). On this view,

Mapudungun has a rule to the effect of (6) (compare analyses of verb second in Germanic).

- (6) The most topical NP in a clause must move to Spec, CP.

The structure of (1a) would then be something like (7a), while the structure of (2a) would be something like (7b). (Here and in much of the discussion below I abstract away from the fact that Mapudungun is a nonconfigurational, pronominal argument language, in which the A-positions contain *pros* and overt NPs are adjoined to the clause.)



Consistent with this approach is the observation that (if it is overt), the topicalized NP tends to be in clause-peripheral position in Mapudungun—either sentence-initial or sentence-final (Smeets 1989:456; Arnold 1996:33). Thus, according to Rivano Fisher (1991:168-69) native speakers tend to interpret the sentence in (8a) as ‘The man killed the woman’ and the sentence in (8b) as ‘The woman killed the man’, and not the other way around.

- (8) a. Wentro domo langüm-fi-y.
 man woman kill-3O-ind/3sS
 ‘The man killed the woman.’ (Not: ‘The woman killed the man.’)
- b. Wentro domo langüm-e-y-eo.
 man woman kill-inv-ind/3sS-ds
 ‘The woman killed the man.’ (Not: ‘The man killed the woman.’)

If inversion in Mapudungun is topicalization in this sense, then the natural place to put the obligatory agreement features found in all finite clauses (the agreement that shows up as *y*, *n*, or *y-mi*, etc.) would in C⁰. This goes along with the fact that the most normal structural relation for agreement to occur in is the Spec-Head relationship.³

³ In pre- and early Minimalist theories, specifier-head configurations were taken to be the only configurations that triggered agreement. Chomsky’s more recent writings do not hold this: downward agreement at a distance is taken to be possible for structures like *There seem to be unicorns in the garden.*

Putting the agreement features in T instead might work well enough for (7a), since T could agree with the trace of the topicalized NP. But it would not account for the agreement in (7b). At no point is the topicalized NP in a local configuration with T. Before movement it is too low to agree with T, since the thematic subject intervenes between the two. After movement it is too high to agree with T; it is not in the c-command domain of T. So agreement must be in C instead. Mapudungun would then have a different settling of a Locus of Agreement Parameter than English does.

Finally, what could one say about the alternation between *fi* and *e* in the object agreement slot, given this theory? *Fi* would be ordinary object agreement, presumably housed in v if and only if v has +ACC features. This is correlated with v assigning an external theta-role, according to current versions of Burzio's Generalization. Evidence for this comes from the fact that applicativized unergative verbs can have the *fi* affix, but applicativized unaccusative verbs cannot, as shown in (9).

- (9) a. Küdaw-el-me-ke-fu-**fi**-n kiñe ülmen, ... Unergative
 work-appl-th-cf-ipd-3O-1sS one rich
 'I usually went to work for a rich man.' (Smeets 1989: 489)
- b. *La-ñma-**fi**-y ñi piñen. Unaccusative
 die-appl-3O-ind/3sS poss son
 'His son died on him.'

See Baker (1996:196-99) for discussion of the same contrast in Mohawk. As for the morpheme *e*, it has the same location and distribution as *fi* in various respects. One interesting possibility is that it is a special form of object agreement that agrees with a *wh*-trace. Agreements of this kind are not especially common, but there are precedents; Abaza, for example, has special third person agreement forms that agree with *wh*-elements (O'Herin 1995:ch. 9). Encouragement that this might be on the right track comes from object relatives in Mapudungun. If a direct object is relativized, the verb bears a special "nominalizing" affix *el*, called the "object verbal nominalization" in Smeets (1989). (10) is a typical example (Smeets 1989:255).

- (10) Fey-chi chanchu eyimi mi ngilla-**e**-l trongli-le-y.
 that-adj pig you 2s.poss buy-??-noml lean-stat-ind/3sS
 'That pig you bought is lean.'

It is tempting then to analyze this ending as being bimorphemic, consisting of the +*wh* object agreement affix *e* and the nominalizer/gerund affix *l* (although this is not the traditional analysis—see below). The nominalizer *l* seems to be found without *e* in other nominalized clauses in which there is no *wh*-extraction, such as (11).

But even this downward agreement is subject to strict intervention conditions, and non-local upward agreement is still ruled out. Thus, if (7) is the right structure, one cannot explain the Mapudungun facts by putting agreement on T rather than C even within the more permissive recent theories of the Agree relation.

- (11) Pi-y-mi mi küdaw-a-l. (Smeets 1989:259)
 want-ind-2sS 2s.poss work-nrld-noml
 ‘You wanted to work.’

Meanwhile the *e* in (10) could be taken to be the same *e* that is found without *l* in inversion sentences like (2). The fact that inversion seems to share some morphological trappings with an obvious case of A-bar movement like relative clause formation suggests that it too is an A-bar movement.

2.2 Inversion as A-movement (Non-demotion Passive)

There are, however, other possible analyses of inversion to consider. One is that “topicalization” in Mapudungun could be comparable not to topicalization in Germanic languages, but rather to the so-called “theme topic” constructions found in Austronesian languages like Malagasy and Tagalog. A canonical example of this kind is (12b) from Malagasy, which contrasts with the “actor topic” construction in (12a).

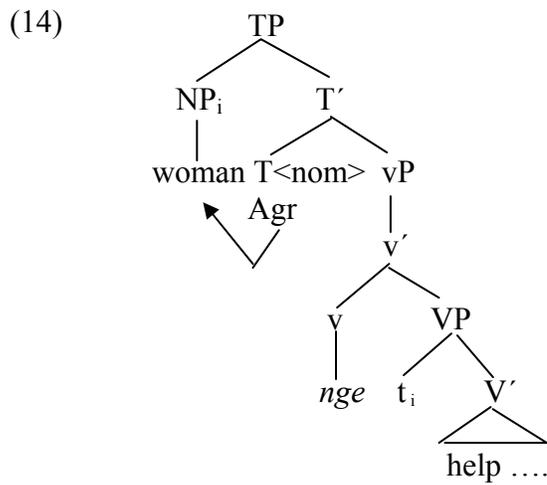
- (12) a. M-an-sasa ny lamba amin’ny savony ny zazavavy. “Agent Topic”
 AT-wash the clothes with-the soap the girl (active)
 ‘The girl washes the clothes with the soap.’
- b. Sasa-na ny zazavavy amin’ny savony ny lamba. “Theme Topic”
 wash-TT the girl with-the soap the clothes (nondemotion passive)
 ‘The clothes are washed with the soap by the girl.’

Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis (1992) (GHT) argue that (12b) is not the result of an A-bar movement at all; rather it is a special kind of passive. It is like the normal passive in that the verb has no structural Case to license the thematic object, which therefore moves to Spec, TP for Case licensing. The difference is that the external argument is still projected in the usual way; it simply remains in Spec, VP, and the object moves over it. Thus, GHT call this a “nondemotion passive”. Crucially, this is an A-movement process that targets Spec, TP (not Spec, CP) and is driven by Case theory in the usual way. We can then consider the possibility that the inversion construction in Mapudungun is a non-demotion passive in this sense.

This can be developed in the following way, updating the GHT analysis into more contemporary terms. Mapudungun, like English, would have a transitive v/Voice head that assigns an external argument and bears accusative case features. The morphological exponent of this voice would be \emptyset , as in most languages. This is what is found in the examples in (1) and (13a), which are ordinary transitive constructions. Mapudungun also has a normal, English-like passive in which the v/Voice head assigns no external theta-role and licenses no accusative Case. This version of the v/Voice head is realized as the suffix *nge*. An example is in (13b), which would have the syntactic structure in (14).

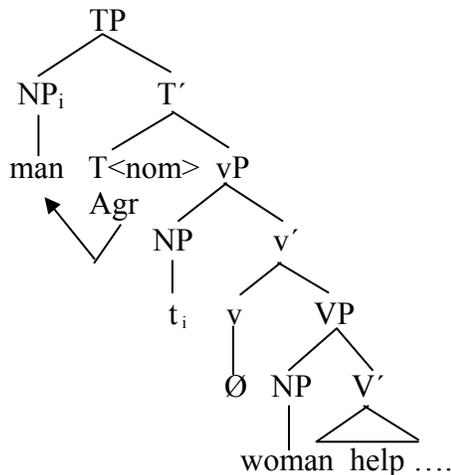
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- (13) a. *kellu-fi-y ñi pu wenü.* Active (Agent Topic)
 help-3O-3S poss plur friend
 'He helped his friends.'
- b. *kellu-nge-y.* Normal Passive
 help-pass-3S
 'He was helped; someone helped him.'
- c. *kellu-e-y-ew ñi pu wenü.* Nondemotion passive
 help-inv-3S-ds poss plur friend (Theme topic)
 'He was helped by his friends, His friends helped him.'

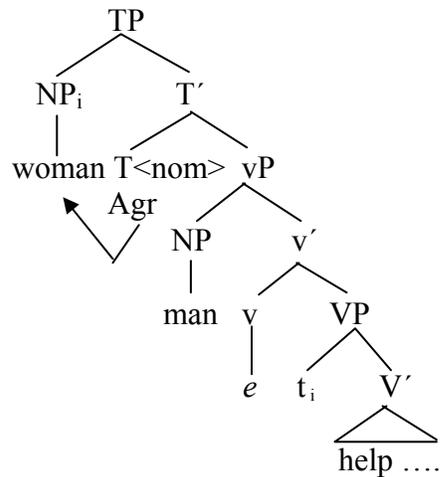


But Mapudungun also has a third type of v/Voice head, one that assigns an external theta role but does not have accusative Case. The theme then moves over the agent in Spec of vP to undergo Case licensing in Spec of TP, as shown in the structure in (15b). This can be contrasted with the ordinary active structure in (15a).

- (15) a. Active



- b. Non-demotion passive



On this view, *e* would not be an object agreement morpheme at all, but rather an exponent of the v/Voice head, which I gloss as “inv”. Some readers will also realize that the structure in (15b) is identical to that associated with transitive verbs in ergative languages by some researchers. I return to this briefly in section 4, where I take up the question of how the agent is Case-licensed in (15b).

The properties of the various v heads in Mapudungun are summarized in (16).

- (16) a. \emptyset : Assigns external theta role, bears accusative Case feature.
 b. *nge*: Assigns no theta role, does not bear accusative Case feature.
 c. *e*: Assigns external theta role, does not bear accusative Case feature.

And in place of (6), one would have (17).

- (17) The most topical NP in a clause must move to Spec, TP.

Crucially, there is no need for a Locus of Agreement Parameter on this view. The obligatory agreement in a finite clause would be housed in T, where it agrees with its specifier and is in the usual close relationship with nominative Case features. This theory, then, can take a more universalist approach to the theory of agreement—at the cost of a less universal approach to the theory of voice.

Note that the tendency of the “topicalized” NP to be in clause peripheral position, illustrated in (8b), follows just as well from the non-demotion passive theory as it did from the true topicalization theory. On both theories the “topicalized” NP lands in the highest Spec position in the clause; the only difference is whether that position is an A or A-bar position. The complementary distribution of *e* and *fi* also follows, but for a somewhat different reason. On the topicalization theory, *e* and *fi* are two realizations of object agreement (see (7)). On the non-demotion passive theory, *e* is a voice head that does not have Case features. The object agreement marker *fi* can only appear on a voice head that does have Case features, such as active \emptyset (Baker 1996: ch. 5). It cannot co-occur with *e* for essentially the same reason that it cannot co-occur with the canonical passive *nge* (see also the ungrammaticality of the unaccusative (9b)):

- (18) a. Elu-nge-(*fi)-n ti metawe. Passive
 give-pass-3O-1sS the metawe
 ‘I was given the metawe.’
- b. Kiñe metawe elu-e-(*fi)-y-m-ew. Non-demotion passive
 one metawe give-inv-3O-ind-2sS-ds
 ‘He gave a metawe to you.’

As for the fact that the vowel *e* appears in both the *e-y-ew* morphology of inversion clauses and the *e-l* morphology of object relatives, which the topicalization analysis sees great significance in, the non-demotion passive takes it to be a mere coincidence. The “object verb nominalizer” in Mapudungun just happens to be *el*, there being only so

many vowels to choose from. This is not an exciting theory, but it is the standard view among Mapudungunists such as Smeets (1989). And indeed there are instances of *el* appearing where there is no *wh*-trace in object position. (19) is an example (Smeets 1989:257).

- (19) Kuyfi-y ñi yi-we-no-*el* ta ilo.
be.long.time-3S 1s.poss eat-rem-neg-noml the meat
'It has been a long time since I ate meat.'

On this view, the nominalizer shows up as *l* in (11) because of a phonological rule that deletes *e* when it follows *a*. There is independent motivation for such a rule.

So both the topicalization theory of inversion and the nondemotion passive theory are successful up to a certain point. Yet they have opposite implications for the question of whether agreement features can be placed in different heads or not. So it will take some work to determine which is correct.

3. Choosing Between the Analyses

How could one go about choosing between these theories in a principled way that is rooted in the facts of Mapudungun? (13b) and (14) show that Mapudungun has a conventional passive in addition to the inversion construction. We may take this to be an uncontroversial instance of A-movement for Case purposes. Mapudungun also has a rather normal selection of A-bar movements, including relative clause structures (see (10)) and obligatory *wh*-movement in constituent questions (Baker to appear-b). We should then be able to do language-internal comparisons, comparing inversion clauses to passive clauses on the one hand and to questions and relative clauses on the other. In this section, I show that when this is done inversion patterns with passive and not with questions and relatives in at least five theoretically significant ways. I take this as vindicating the non-demotion passive analysis over the true topicalization analysis.

3.1 Is *e* really agreement with a *wh*-trace?

The two theories have sharply different ideas about the status of the *e* morpheme: for the topicalization theory, it is a specialized object agreement that goes with *wh*-traces; for the non-demotion passive theory, it is a voice head. It is natural, then, to ask if *e* is found in other *wh*-movement constructions. I already mentioned that the evidence from relative clauses is somewhat mixed: object relatives do systematically include the sound *e* (see (10)), but there is evidence that this might be a spurious generalization ((19)). Fortunately, the evidence from constituent questions is not mixed. (20a) contains a questioned object, and the object agreement that goes with it is *fi*, not *e*. Worse yet, (20b) shows that a *wh*-phrase cannot be interpreted as the topicalized element; when the verb bears the distinctive inversion morphology, the *wh*-expression can only be interpreted as the thematic subject, not as the thematic object.

- (20) a. Inei kam langüm-fi-y Piero? (Rivano 1991:121)
 who inter kill-3O-3sS Piero
 ‘Who did Piero kill?’
- b. #Inei kam langüm-e-y-ew Piero?
 who inter kill-inv-3sS-ds Piero
 Bad as: ‘Who did Piero kill?’ (OK only as: ‘Who killed Piero?’)

In one sense, the ungrammaticality of (20b) is not very surprising. *Wh*-expressions are focused indefinites, the very opposite of discourse topics. Therefore, one expects that Mapudungun’s obligatory “topicalization” rule (either (6) or (17)) will always “topicalize” the other NP in a transitive clause (Rivano Fischer 1991). But it is embarrassing to the A-bar theory that the most obvious instances of *wh*-traces in the language need not—indeed cannot—trigger the +*wh* form of object agreement.

Conceivably the true topicalization theory could be revised so that it changed its view about the object agreements but kept its view that the *y/n/y-mi* agreements are in C°. But constituent questions are awkward for this view too. (21) shows that even when the subject is a second person pronoun, a +*wh* object must undergo movement to Spec, CP.

- (21) a. *Pe-fi-y-mi chem? (Baker to appear-b)
 see-3O-ind-2sS what
 ‘What did you see?’
- b. Chem pe-fi-y-mi?
 what see-3O-ind-2sS
 ‘What did you see?’

If the finite agreement were housed in C, one would expect 3rd person agreement in (21b), rather than 2nd person agreement. But the exact opposite is the case. This strongly suggests that agreement is in T after all, as in the non-demotion passive analysis.⁴

3.2 “Topicalization” lands in Spec, DP in embedded clauses

Arnold (1996) also holds that the topicalized theme is the surface subject in inversion clauses in Mapudungun. In addition to some not very crisp evidence from word order, she presents the beginnings of an argument that is valid also in my theoretical context. This argument concerns how inversion takes place in embedded clauses.

⁴ These data by themselves are not necessarily fatal to the true topicalization analysis. It is conceivable that *wh*-phrases are fronted not by true *wh*-movement, but rather by something more like scrambling. Perhaps then the trace left behind is not a +*wh* variable (so *e* is not found) and the question word does not land in Spec, CP (so the agreement in C is free to match the thematic subject). But I think this is an unlikely way out. *Wh*-fronting in Mapudungun is not like the scrambling of *wh*-phrases in (say) Japanese in that it is obligatory (see (21a)) and always puts the *wh*-word in its scope position.

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All embedded clauses in Mapudungun are nonfinite nominalized constructions. In place of the usual mood marker and *y/n/y-mi* class agreement, these clauses have one of a series of nominalizing morphemes, including *n*, *t*, and the *el* mentioned above. Interestingly, the topicalization rule (6)/(17) is valid in embedded clauses too, inducing inversion in some cases and blocking it in others. (22a) is a “direct” clause, with a topical second person pronoun as the thematic subject; (22b) is an inverse clause, with a topical second person pronoun as the thematic object. (22a) has the normal 3rd person object agreement marker *fi*, whereas (22b) has the inversion marker *e*.

- (22) a. Müle-y ***mün*** allkü-ru-ñma-ya-fi-el ñi dungu.
have-ind/3S 2p.poss listen-tr-appl-nrld-3O-noml poss matter
‘You must listen to his word.’ (Smeets 1989: 278)
- b. Fey rupa-y ***mi*** chem-pi-nu-e-t-ew rumé.
He pass-ind/3S 2s.poss what-say-neg-inv-noml-ds ever
‘He passed without (him) saying anything to you.’ (Smeets 1989)

These examples are important in part because they support my presupposition that inversion is not purely morphological in nature, but has a syntactic component to it. One possible view of inversion is that it does not involve any kind of syntactic movement. Rather it is simply a morphological fact about the language in question that transitively inflected verb forms of a particular kind get restructured in the morphology in a certain way. On this view, the grammatical functions in “I saw the woman” and “The woman saw me” are the same; it just so happens that morphological principles say that the 1sS/3sO agreement form is *-fi-y-n* and the 3sS/1sO agreement form is *-e-n-ew*, containing the same *n* formative. This purely morphological view of inversion has often been adopted for similar patterns in Algonquian languages: see Anderson (1992: 170-76), Halle and Marantz (1993: 148-49), and Aissen (1999) (who cites unpublished work by Amy Dahlstrom on Fox). Grimes (1985) is in the same spirit. But (22) casts doubt on this approach for Mapudungun. These verb forms are quite different from the point of view of inflectional morphology. They are not doubly inflected for both the subject and the object, so there is no concern about ambiguity of which person features go with which argument. Nevertheless, exactly the same inversion alternation is found. This tells us that inversion is syntactically triggered rather than morphologically triggered, at least in Mapudungun.

Now back to the question of which kind of syntax it is. In these nominalized contexts, the “topicalized” NP does not agree with the nonfinite verb. Rather, it is treated as a genitive expression, similar to Poss-*ing* gerunds in English and many other languages. I tentatively assume that the “topicalized” NP is in Spec, DP, where it triggers agreement on a D⁰ head. This head shows up as a preverbal “possessive” particle, put in bold-face in (22). Note that the agent is expressed as the possessor in (22a) and the theme is expressed in the same way in the inverted form in (22b). Thus, the landing site of inversion is Spec, DP in embedded clauses, rather than Spec, TP or Spec, CP.

The crucial question, then, is whether Spec, DP in Mapudungun is an A-position or an A-bar position. The answer should give us insight into whether inversion is fundamentally A-movement or A-bar movement, which we can carry back to main clauses. I'm not sure there is any deep theoretical answer to this question. Spec, DP behaves like an A-position in many ways in English (e.g. passive nominals), but it has A-bar-like properties in Romance languages (*wh*-movement goes through it, giving Cinque's generalization). But we can at least compare inversion to passive, *wh*-movement, and relativization in this respect. The derived subject in a normal passive clause that is embedded clearly lands in Spec, DP, showing up as a genitive possessor:

- (23) Illu-e-n-ew ta-*ñi* langüm-nge-a-l iñché.
 desire-inv-1sS-ds 1s.poss kill-pass-nrld-noml me
 'He wants me to be killed.' (Smeets 1989)

Wh-phrases, on the other hand, do not end up in Spec, DP. In (24) the D head agrees with the thematic subject 'you', not with the moved *wh*-word 'what'. Rather, 'what' seems to be in a higher position, such as Spec, CP.

- (24) Allkü-la-y-mi mungel *chem mi* pedi-nge-n
 hear-neg-ind-2sS exactly what 2p.poss request-pass-noml
 'You did not hear exactly what you were requested.' (Smeets 1989: 246)

Relative operators are harder to locate, because they are phonologically null. But it seems that they don't land in Spec, DP, either, because even in object relatives the possessive head agrees with the thematic subject, not with the *wh*-moved object:

- (25) Eymi *mi* iy-a-f[u]-el-chi iyal utruf-entu-fi-n.
 you 2p.poss eat-nrld-past-noml-adj food throw-take.out-3O-1sS
 'I threw out the food that you would eat.'

This range of data suggests that Spec, DP is uniformly an A-position in Mapudungun, targeted by passive but not by *wh*-movement. Yet Spec, DP is targeted by inversion. Therefore, inversion is a type of A-movement, as in the non-demotion passive analysis.

3.3 Inversion is Local to a Single Clause

One of the most obvious and well-studied differences between A-movement and A-bar movement concerns locality. A-movement is limited to a single clause (more or less), whereas A-bar movement in many languages can take place successive-cyclically, creating what look like unbounded dependencies. These general expectations are valid for Mapudungun. (26) shows that question words can undergo successive cyclic movement out of an embedded clause and into the matrix clause.

- (26) Chem ayü-y-mi inche ñi elu-fi-el?
 what like-ind-2sS I 1s.poss give-3O-noml
 'What are you happy that I gave to you?'

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(27) shows that the null relative operator can also move successive cyclically in Mapudungun. (The higher verb in the relative clause here is the auxiliary-like verb *müle* ‘there be’, which creates a modal like structure. ‘It is that you will go home’ is a Mapudungun way of saying ‘You should/must go home.’)

- (27) Mesa-mew müle-y ti mamüllü ñi müle-n mi tukupu-a-l.
 table-loc be-ind/3sS the wood poss be-noml 2s.poss use-nrld-noml
 ‘On the table is the wood that you should use.’
 (lit. ‘the wood that it is that you will use’)

But there is no “long passive” in Mapudungun, not even when the matrix verb is the kind of argumentless modal verb that allows restructuring in Romance. Thus, (28a) cannot be passivized to give (28b), where an agreement with the theme of the lower verb appears on the higher verb.

- (28) a. Müle-y mi pe-a-fi-el Juan.
 be-ind/3S 2s.poss see-nrld-3O-noml Juan
 ‘You must see Juan.’
 b. *Müle-n pe-nge-a-l
 be-1sS see-pass-nrld-noml
 ‘I must be seen.’

This is just as one would expect, given that Mapudungun does not permit restructuring, at least in contexts like (28a).

Now how does inversion compare in this regard? If inversion is topicalization, then it should apply successive-cyclically. One would expect to see *e* on the embedded verb, agreeing with the *wh*-trace, but *y/n/y-mi* on the matrix C agreeing with the NP that has been topicalized into the main clause. In contrast, if inversion is a non-demotion passive, then forms of this kind should be impossible, for the same reasons that (28b) is. The *y/n/mi* agreement with the moved thematic object should never be on a different verb from the voice head *e*. (29b) shows that the form in question is in fact ungrammatical.

- (29) a. Müle-y Juan ñi pe-a-fi-el chi metawe.
 there.be-ind/3sS Juan poss see-nrld-3O-noml the vessel
 ‘Juan has to see a vessel.’ (lit., ‘It is that Juan will see a vessel.’)
 b. *Müle-n-(ew) Juan ñi pe-a-e-l
 there.be-1sS-ds Juan poss see-nrld-inv-noml
 ‘Me, Juan has to see.’ (lit., ‘Me, it is that Juan will see.’)

Note that in (29b) the most topical NP in the sentence has become the topic of the sentence as a whole, which should be consistent with (6). The impossibility of such forms confirms that inversion is really a passive-like A-movement.

3.4 Double Object Constructions

Another domain in which A-movement and A-bar movement behave quite differently has to do with double object constructions. In many languages that have double object constructions, the goal object can become the subject of the passive, but the theme object cannot. Mapudungun is like American English in this respect:

- (30) a. Kiñe metawe elu-nge-n.
 one vessel give-pass-1sS
 ‘I was given -- a vessel.’
- b. *Elu-nge-(fi)-n domo. (OK is: Elu-nge-n domo-mew.)
 give-pass-3O-1sS woman give-pass-1sS woman-inst
 ‘I was given the woman --.’ ‘I was given to the woman.’

In order to get a theme subject with the passive of a verb like ‘give’, the goal argument must be expressed as a PP—a *to* phrase in English, or with the postposition *mew* in Mapudungun. There are different suggestions about why this restriction holds. One is that it is a Case theoretic phenomenon: the goal gets structural accusative Case from the verb, whereas the theme gets inherent accusative. Since passive morphology cancels the structural Case features of the verb, it is the goal, not the theme, that is forced to go to Spec, TP for Case licensing. Another line of analysis appeals to the Minimal Link Condition: the goal NP is higher in the structure than the theme NP, so the theme cannot cross over the goal to reach the subject position without violating some kind of Relativized Minimality. For current purposes, it is not important which line of analysis is on the right track (or if both are); the important thing is that *wh*-movement is not subject to the same condition. It is perfectly possible to question or relativize the theme object of a double object construction. (31) and (32) show that this is true for Mapudungun.

- (31) Chem elu-fi-mi Juan?
 what give-3O-2sS Juan
 ‘What did you give Juan?’
- (32) Xoanna nü-tu-y ti libru ñi nü-ñma-wye-fi-el Lisa.
 Joanna take-again-ind/3S the book poss take-appl-plpf-3O-noml Lisa
 ‘Joanna took back the book that she had taken away from Lisa.’

In Case theory terms, *wh*-movement is not triggered by the need for an NP to undergo Case licensing. In Minimal Link Condition terms, *wh*-movement is triggered by a different kind of feature than A-movement is, a feature that the intervening goal NP does not intrinsically bear.

Now consider inversion. It behaves exactly like passive in this respect. If the goal object is more topical than the subject, inversion applies in the usual way ((33a)). But a “topic” NP cannot be interpreted as the theme argument in the presence of an

unmarked goal ((33b)). One can only have a highly topical 1st or 2nd person theme argument of a verb like *elu* ‘give’ if the goal argument is expressed as a PP.

- (33) a. Kishu elu-e-n-ew kiñe metawe.
 he give-inv-1sS-ds one metawe
 ‘Me, he gave a metawe.’
- b. *Elu-(fi)-n-ew domo. (OK is: Elu-e-n-ew domo-mew.)
 give-3O-1sS-ds woman give-inv-1sS-ds woman-inst
 ‘He gave me to the woman’ ‘He gave me to the woman.’

I conclude that inversion must have roughly the same triggers as passive does. Either the goal object is the one that fails to get Case from the nonactive voice head *e*, or the goal object blocks the theme argument from undergoing A-movement to Spec, TP (or both). Again, this supports the non-demotion passive analysis.

3.5 Interference Among A-bar Dependencies

The last source of evidence that I consider has to do with the fact that having more than one A-bar dependency in a clause generally produces interference, whereas A-bar dependencies and A-movement usually do not interact with each other. For example, one can have passive movement and *wh*-movement in the same clause in English, because they target different positions and are triggered by different features. Passive and *wh*-movement can also happen in the same clause in Mapudungun:

- (34) Chem elu-nge-y-mi? (Passive and constituent question)
 what give-pass-ind-2sS
 ‘What were you given?’
- (35) Pe-fi ti metawe inche ñi elu-nge-n.
 see-3O/ind/3sS the metawe I 1s.poss give-pass-noml
 ‘He saw the metawe that I was given.’ (Passive and relative clause)

Consider now inversion. If inversion is like passive, it too should be able to happen in the same clause as a *wh*-movement. On the other hand, if inversion is more like English topicalization, it would probably be incompatible with questioning or relative clause formation, under the assumption that only a single NP can move to Spec, CP.⁵ In fact, the first prediction is the right one. (36) is an example with both inversion

⁵ It is also possible that topicalization, relative movement, and question movement target different specifier positions in an articulated left periphery, as in Rizzi (1997). Then there is no competition for a single position, as there was under older assumptions. But there is still interference, presumably for Relativized Minimality-like reasons. Whatever the exact reason, questioning and relativization are incompatible with topicalization in English: (i) and (ii) contrast with (36) and (37) in Mapudungun.

- (i) *What did John, you give to?
 (ii) *That is the book that Lisa, Joanna gave to.

and a constituent question, parallel to (34). (37) is an example with inversion and relativization of an argument not involved in the inversion, similar to (35).

(36) Chem elu-e-m-ew Juan?
 what give-inv-2sS-ds Juan
 ‘What did Juan give to you?’

(37) Xoanna nü-tu-y ti libru ñi nü-ñma-wye-e-t-ew Lisa.
 Joanna take-again-ind/3S the book poss take-appl-plpf-inv-noml-ds Lisa
 ‘Joanna took back the book that Lisa took away from her.’ (Smeets 1989:277)

Again, inversion is like passive in just the way the voice-style analysis would expect.

By similar reasoning, if inversion in Mapudungun were topicalization, one would expect it to create islands, preventing successive cyclic movement of another argument, just as English has “topic islands” parallel to *wh*-islands. But this prediction is not borne out either, as shown in (38). (38a) has an inverted embedded clause, which is nominalized in the usual way. (38b) attempts to extract the theme argument (which is not involved in the inversion) from this embedded clause. The result is grammatical.

(38) a. Ayü-y-mi inche ñi elu-e-t-ew iyal Maria.
 like-ind-2sS I 1s.poss give-inv-noml-ds food Maria
 ‘You like Maria to give me food.’

c. Chem ayü-y-mi inche ñi elu-e-t-ew?
 what like-ind-2sS I 1s.poss give-inv-noml-ds
 ‘What are you happy that she gave to me?’ (+ other (better?) interpretations?)

This data too is consistent with the non-demotion passive account, according to which inversion is no more expected to create a *wh*-style island than passive is.

Overall, we have seen that inversion in Mapudungun is like passive and unlike clear cases of *wh*-movement in at least five different respects. I therefore declare the non-demotion passive analysis sketched in section 2.2 to be the hands-down winner.

4. The Thematic Subject in Inversion Clauses

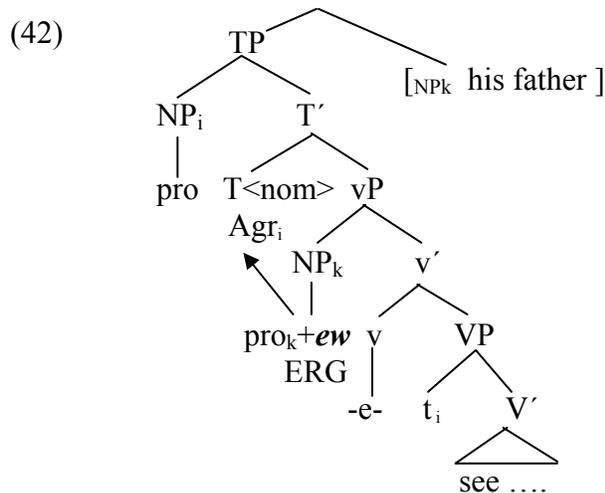
Before I can reflect on the implications of this result for theories of agreement and nonconfigurality, however, I must complete the non-demotion passive analysis. There are at least two remaining questions. First, from a theoretical perspective, we need to ask how the Case of the thematic subject is licensed in inversion clauses. Because the voice head *e* does not have accusative Case features, the object enters into an agreement-inducing licensing relationship with T, rather than the subject. How then is the subject licensed? Second, from a descriptive point of view there is one prominent part of the inversion clause that has so far played no role in my analysis, namely the suffix *ew*. This suffix is found in all and only the sentences with *e* shown so far, but I have attributed no

Finally, and most curiously, Lucía Golluscio (personal communication) points out that *ew* seems to be a phonological variant of the locative/instrumental postposition *mew* seen in (30b) and (33b). The initial /m/ of *mew* is deleted after a consonant-final verb stem, but when the verb stem ends in a vowel, the /m/ shows up, as seen in (41b). Also the /ew/ of the postposition becomes /u/ if the stem it attaches to ends in /u/ ((41a)); (41b) shows that the “dative subject marker” undergoes the same alternation.

- (41) a. Kuchillo-*mew*, wangku-*mu*
 knife-inst chair-inst
 ‘with a knife’ ‘from the chair’
- b. pe-e-lu-*mu* ñi chaw amu-tu-y (Smeets 1989: 287)
 see-inv-noml-ds poss father go-again-ind/3sS
 ‘When he was seen by his father, he went back.’

So it seems clear that *ew* is related to the postposition *mew*, at least historically. It is a kind of agreement marker, but a peculiar kind, it would seem.

These peculiarities begin to fall into place if one assumes that *ew* is an ergative Case marker. My structure for an ordinary inversion clause is given in (42). (This structure does not abstract away from *pro*-drop and dislocation; see below.)



Before I compared this structure to the Malagasy Theme Topic construction as analyzed by GHT. But it is also identical to the structure of an ergative clause on the analysis of Bok-Bennema (1991), Campana (1992), Bittner and Hale (1996), and others. In ergative clauses, the thematic object moves to Spec, TP (at some level) to get nominative case (alias absolutive, the unmarked Case). The subject then receives ergative Case somehow. Suppose that is what happens in Mapudungun as well. It is very common in ergative languages for the ergative case to be homophonous with a semantic case/adposition—most often the instrumental (Dixon 1994: 57), presumably because agents and instruments are semantically similar. *Mew* is the instrumental adposition in Mapudungun ((41a)), so it is a natural candidate to be recruited as an ergative Case marker. It is also

common cross-linguistically for ergative Case to show up on 3rd person pronouns, but not on 1st or 2nd person pronouns; this is a familiar kind of split ergativity conditioned by person (Dixon 1994:85-87). This observation makes sense of the data in (39): *ew* appears with 3rd person subjects but not with 2nd person ones.

The obvious problem with this account is that *ew* appears on the verb, not on the subject noun phrase. But this too can be explained. Mapudungun is a nonconfigurational/pronominal argument language in the sense of Jelinek (1984) and Baker (1996) (see Baker to appear b for justification). As such, the true subject and object of the clause are always *pro*; if overt NPs appear at all, they are dislocated adjuncts. Given this, the ergative case marker always attaches to *pro*, never to an overt NP in Spec, vP (see (42)). But *pro* cannot bear a suffix morphologically. As a result, I assume that the ergative P *ew* cliticizes to the verb. The fact that it is a clitic, attached at PF, rather than an affix picked up by head movement explains the observation that *ew* is always the final element in the inflected verb, appearing outside all true affixes/heads, including the T+Agr combination. The fact that *ew* is a clitic also explains why it is not dependent on Case, appearing just as well in nonfinite embedded clauses as in finite matrix clauses. It is not a realization of the Case features on a head, the way canonical agreements are, so it is independent of finiteness. It simply gloms onto whatever verbal word happens to be nearby. One might also wonder why ergative *ew* always cliticizes to the verb of the clause, not an adverb or adjoined NP. This can be taken to be a consequence of my (1996) Polysynthesis Parameter, which says informally that the word containing the verb root must contain a morphological expression of every argument of the verb. If *ew* cliticizes onto the verb, it counts as satisfying this requirement for the agent argument, but if it attached to some other word the Polysynthesis Parameter would be violated.⁷

This then is my proposal for completing the non-demotion passive analysis of inversion in Mapudungun. It addresses both the question of how the less topical agent gets Case and the question of what the morpheme *ew* is there for. I would not attribute this part of the analysis to Universal Grammar; it seems more like an unusual and ad hoc adaptation that uses the resources available in the language to solve a problem created by general features of the language. As such it is a marked phenomenon. But it is not totally idiosyncratic; one can see how it arises fairly naturally in the context of a language that wants to have Austronesian style “theme topic” constructions and still obey the Polysynthesis Parameter.

⁷ It is on the treatment of *ew* and the nature of the agent argument in inversion constructions that my account differs most sharply from Arnold’s (1996) analysis. Using the LFG framework, Arnold claims that inversion in Mapudungun is a grammatical function changing process that maps the thematic object to the surface subject and the thematic subject to the surface object. I agree with her that the thematic object is the surface subject. But she has no clear evidence that the thematic subject is the surface object in an inversion clause. On the contrary, she cannot explain why “object agreement” with a 3rd person *agent* is realized as *ew*, whereas 3rd person object agreement is otherwise *fi*. My treatment of the agent in inversion clauses as an ergative Case subject does more justice to the morphological details of the language, I believe. (And, of course, Chomskyan theories hold it to be impossible for a thematic subject to move into the object position—a restriction I believe to be well-justified.)

6. Implications for the Theory of Nonconfigurationality

So what? So far I have followed the Halian legacy of getting lost in the details of a local language, trying to tease out its exact structure, including which aspects are universal and which are language particular. I have arrived at the conclusion that, contrary to first impressions, the agreement system in Mapudungun is not so different from that of other languages. In particular, the obligatory agreement in finite clauses is housed in T and is related to Case and the A-movement system; it is not in C and related to the A-bar movement system. Mapudungun is different from more familiar Indo-European languages not in where it puts agreement, but rather in its voice system, which contains a third *v* head, with a different packaging of the usual theta- and Case-theoretic features. While this is a relatively small-scale result, I believe that it does have implications for one of the big issues that Ken Hale did much to advance—the nature of nonconfigurationality. I discuss this briefly here.

First, there is an interesting convergence between my results and Bruening's (2001) study of the Algonquian language Passamaquoddy. The Algonquian languages also have an inversion system, which is pragmatically similar to Mapudungun's in many respects (see Grimes (1985) and Arnold (1996) for a comparison). The Algonquian system has been analyzed in many ways, including as a grammatical function changing phenomenon and as a purely morphological phenomenon. Yet Bruening arrives at exactly the same syntactic analysis for Passamaquoddy as the one I presented here for Mapudungun, even though the particular phenomena he investigates are quite different, in keeping with the somewhat different resources of an Algonquian languages. (His argument is based largely on scope and pronominal binding in quantifier structures. I'm not sure the same kind of true quantifiers exist at all in Mapudungun.) If the so-called non-demotion passive analysis is correct for both of these languages, it suggests that this might be the only possible analysis of this kind of inverse agreement system that is permitted by Universal Grammar. If so, then the principal agreement in the clause must always be associated with a T-like head, and cannot appear on a C-like head instead. In other words, there may well not be any "Locus of Agreement Parameter".

This has implications for the theory of nonconfigurationality for the following reasons. Mapudungun is a nonconfigurational language in the sense of Hale (1983): it allows rampant *pro*-drop, free word order, and (limited) discontinuous constituents. These properties are illustrated unsystematically in many of the examples in this paper, and more systematically in Baker (to appear b). Mapudungun is also a head-marking language, with a rich agreement system but no morphological case. A tradition has grown out of Hale (1983) via Jelinek (1984) and Baker (1996) of relating these two properties, of saying that languages like Mapudungun are nonconfigurational *because of* the presence of the agreements on the verb. Those agreements are somehow related to the arguments of the verb, and prevent overt NPs from being generated in the normal A-positions. Overt NPs, if present at all, can only be in dislocated positions, adjoined to the clause as a whole. More specifically, in my version the agreements cause NPs to be dislocated because they absorb the Case features of the heads they attach to (transitive *v*

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or finite T)—Case features that could otherwise license overt nouns in argument positions. I claimed that this explained why overt NPs cannot appear in argument positions in nonconfigurational languages but CPs and empty category NPs can.

Now suppose that the agreement system in Mapudungun were different from that of other languages in a parametrically significant way. Then the type of nonconfigurationality found in the language should by rights also be different. In particular, suppose that “subject” agreement were really on C, not on T. C is not a Case-bearing head. Therefore an agreement housed in C should not absorb nominative Case. Nominative Case could potentially still be assigned/checked by T. As a result, the language should not be nonconfigurational, at least with respect to the subject argument. This reasoning is partly validated by Bantu languages like Kinande. Kinande has agreement on *both* T and C, as shown in (43).

- (43) Eri-tunda *ry*-o Kambale *a*-gul-a.
5-fruit 5-foc Kambale.1 1S/T-buy-fv.
'It's fruit that Kambale bought.'

But the syntactic ramifications of these two kinds of agreement are quite different. The agreement on T licenses *pro*-drop and dislocation of the subject (see Baker (to appear-a); also Kinyalolo (1991) for Kilega). The agreement on C, in contrast, does not:

- (44) a. *Ry-o Kambale a-gul-a.
5-foc Kambale 1S/T-buy-fv.
'It's it (a fruit already discussed) that Kambale bought.'
- b. *Eritunda, mo-n-a-bw-ire Kambale nyi-ti -- ry-o n-a-gul-a.
fruit aff-1sS-T-tell-fv Kambale 1s-that 5-foc 1sS-T-buy-fv
'The fruit, I told Kambale that it's it that I bought.'

This confirms that it is not agreement per se that induces nonconfigurational effects, but only agreement that absorbs a Case feature. Now if the “true topicalization” account of Mapudungun were correct, it would threaten this attractive picture. Mapudungun would have agreement on C, not T. Such agreement shouldn't induce nonconfigurationality—yet Mapudungun is fully nonconfigurational. So something would be seriously wrong with this approach. Either agreement on T is not the cause of nonconfigurationality after all, or at least Case-absorption is not the right way to connect the two.

But what we have learned is that this analysis is not threatened after all, because the conditionals of the last paragraph are counterfactual. Agreement in Mapudungun is generated on T, rather than C, first impressions notwithstanding. It is thus in the right place to absorb Case and induce nonconfigurational effects. And nonconfigurational effects are observed, as expected. The syntax of nonconfigurationality as it is found in head marking languages turns out to be relatively invariant (the same in Mapudungun as in (say) Mohawk—see Baker (to appear b)), and the syntax of agreement also turns out to be relatively invariant (the same in Mapudungun as in (say) Mohawk). This material is

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thus consistent with Baker's (1996) general approach to nonconfigurationality in head marking languages after all.

At the highest level, then, we have learned that agreement-rich nonconfigurational languages are all the same after all. But not boringly so, given the existence of wrinkles such as a less-common voice system. I hope Ken Hale would be pleased with this result.

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