

On apparent pronominal feature contradictions: Shifty agreement in Telugu

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Abstract. This paper investigates so-called monstrous agreement in embedded clauses in Telugu where a non-first person pronoun can control first person agreement on the embedded verb. Empirically, it provides the most in depth description of monstrous agreement in Telugu to date. To account for monstrous agreement, I propose that embedded pronouns have morphosyntactic features that indicate roles for both the matrix and embedded speech act following previous proposals by Schlenker (2003a,b). This means an embedded pronoun can have both first person and third/second person features simultaneously. I then propose a precise set of morphosyntactic operations that allow for the first person feature to appear on the verbal agreement, but not the pronoun controlling the agreement. I also show that pronouns that have these contradictory features must be bound by an operator to be licensed and discuss the nature of these operators and the locality conditions on the binding relationship. Before concluding, the paper shows how the system presented here can account for agreement patterns with logophors and cases where first person pronouns appear to control third person agreement. The theoretical consequence of this paper is that apparently contradictory feature combinations on pronominal elements must be sanctioned by UG.

1. Introduction

This paper explores so-called monstrous agreement in Telugu (Dravidian, South Asia), where a non first person pronoun can control first person agreement morphology on the verb when embedded under speech and attitude verbs. An illustrative example is given in (1). The embedded

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subject *tanu*, which is a non indexical pronoun glossed here as 3sg, controls first person agreement morphology *-nu* on the embedded verb.

- (1) Raju [*tanu parigett-ææ-nu ani*] *cepp-ææ-Du*
Raju 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
'Raju said that he ran.'

Examples like (1) raise an immediate question for theories of agreement: how can a non-first person pronoun control first person agreement within a theory of agreement that treats it as a feature copying operation (e.g., Chomsky's 2000, 2001 AGREE)? In fact, in brief discussion of similar facts in Uyghur, Shklovsky & Sudo (2014) suggest, "an account of this phenomenon requires a theory of agreement that differs from the prevailing view," (Shklovsky & Sudo 2014: 400). Although Shklovsky & Sudo (2014) do not provide their own analysis of such agreement mismatches, I will argue that the quoted conclusion is premature, and that data such as (1) can be accounted for within an AGREE-based framework. I will instead argue that what constitutes a possible feature bundle is what needs to be rethought to account for data like (1).

The analysis builds off of previous work that ties monstrous agreement to a null pronoun/operator in the left periphery (Sundaresan 2012, 2018b, Deal 2018). There is some debate whether the null element controls monstrous agreement directly or whether the agreement is with the embedded subject; the null element only playing an indirect role. I will review old and new evidence that *tanu* (and in some cases, second and other third person pronouns) is actually the controller of monstrous agreement in examples like (1), hence providing evidence for the latter position. The analysis in this paper also does not rely on a specialized mechanism of "agreement reprogramming" as proposed in Deal (2018), but argues that monstrous agreement comes about from independently motivated morphological operations. As a simplified preview of the current analysis, I will argue that pronouns in embedded environments have a feature structure similar to one in (2). In other words, these pronouns are authors of a speech act, but are not authors of the matrix level speech act.

(2) [\langle -author, +C \rangle \langle +author, -C \rangle]

This allows us to account for the dual nature of such pronouns. They appear to both be third person (i.e., -author) and first person (i.e., +author) simultaneously. In some respects, this makes the analysis presented here similar to Deal (2020) who proposes a feature *author-i* that occurs on the element that controls monstrous agreement. In that work, it is suggested that the *author-i* feature allows for monstrous agreement to be syncretic with normal first person agreement morphology (Deal attributes this idea to personal communication with Mark Baker). This paper can be seen as a particular implementation of this idea.

I go on to show that pronouns that have the feature set in (2) have special licensing requirements such that they must be bound by an operator introduced in the specifier of the complementizer *ani* in Telugu. I will show that the operator itself has restrictions on its distribution and also discuss the locality of the binding relationship between the operator and the pronoun with the feature set in (2).

In terms of the big picture contribution of this paper, the analysis presented here suggests that possible feature combinations that might seem impossible when only looking at the behavior of features within a single clause, are actually possible in some languages when we look at cases of embedded clauses, hence feature bundles like (2) need to be allowed by UG. This finding fits well within the work on agreement with so-called hybrid nouns, which has come to a similar conclusion about contradictory features on a single nominal (Landau 2016; Pesetsky 2013; Smith 2015) and also work on ‘imposters’ (Collins & Postal 2012) where it is argued that some nominals can be simultaneously third person and first person. Hence, it provides another avenue for future research on how features may be combined and how those features affect agreement and reference.

I will first present the basic data of Telugu and introduce monstrous agreement in the language. I present new arguments that the embedded subject is the target of agreement for monstrous agreement. I then present my analysis and show how it can be extended to account for patterns found outside of South Asia. I then conclude.

1.1 *Background on some relevant properties of Telugu*

Telugu is a Dravidian language spoken mainly in the Indian states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. Grammatically, Telugu exhibits SOV as the canonical word order with a nominative-accusative case alignment, scrambling of noun phrases, *pro*-drop and agglutinative verbal morphology. See [Krishnamurti & Gwynn \(1985\)](#) for a descriptive grammar.¹

For our purposes we will dive deeper into the pronominal and agreement systems of the language. Telugu verbal agreement morphology typically matches that of the nominative subject. There is some syncretism in the agreement paradigm. In the singular, the third person feminine and third person neuter are syncretic. In the plural, only first person and third person neuter plural have distinct forms, all others surface as the form *-ru*. The agreement morphemes are summarized and organized into the table below.

	1	2	3m	3f	3nt
SG	-nu	-vu	-Du	-di	-di
PL	-mu	-ru	-ru	-ru	-yi

Table 1: Telugu verbal agreement morphology

In addition to verbal agreement morphology, there is also agreement found on predicate nouns and adjectives sometimes called a pronominal suffix (Subbarao & Murthy 2000:228). This type of agreement is only found for first singular and plural and second person singular. It is absent or null throughout the rest of the paradigm. Relevant examples are given in (3) (Subbarao & Murthy 2000:228 ex.19-20).

- (3) a. neenu vidyaardhi-ni
 1SG student-1SG
 ‘I am a student.’
- b. nuvvu vidyaardhi-wi
 2SG student-2SG
 ‘You are a student.’

¹Unless otherwise noted, the Telugu examples presented here were collected from my own ongoing field-work/consultations (starting in 2014) with a native Telugu speaker from Telangana. Additional judgments were collected from correspondence with native Telugu speaking linguists Sreekar Raghotham and Rahul Balusu (p.c.).

- c. meemu vidyaardhu-la-mu
 1PL student-PL-1PL
 ‘We are students.’

This is summarized in the table below.

	SG	PL
1st	-ni	-mu
2nd	-wi	∅

Table 2: Pronominal suffix for predicate nominals and adjectives

Let us now briefly discuss the pronominal system of Telugu (for more in depth discussion see [Subbarao & Murthy 2000](#)). Telugu has a complex system of pronouns in the third person consisting of three levels of formality (very informal, informal, and formal) in the singular and two way formality distinction in the plural. It also displays a masculine/non-masculine gender distinction in the singular and a human/non-human distinction in the plural. In the plural, the first person shows an inclusive/exclusive distinction. This is summarized in the table below. In the table, third person pronouns are organized from least to most formal.

	1	2	3m	3f	3nt
SG	neenu	nuvvu	vaaDu atanu aayana	adi aame aaviDa	adi
PL	meemu (excl) manamu (incl)	miiru	vaaLLu vaaru	vaaLLu vaaru	avi

Table 3: Pronouns of Telugu

Let us now turn to the anaphoric elements in Telugu. Telugu has both a simplex anaphoric element *tanu* and a complex anaphor which is a doubled version of the simplex element *tanu tanu*. The complex anaphor has roughly the same properties and distribution as English *self*-reflexives. It must be bound within its clause as shown in examples in (4). It cannot be bound from an NP outside its clause as shown in (5).²

²It is often reported that Telugu (like other Dravidian languages) allows for the simplex *tanu* to be bound in local cases like (4a) when the verbal reflexive is affixed to the verb (see e.g., [Subbarao & Murthy 2000](#)), however, the

- (4) a. vanaja tana-ni tanu poguDu-kon-di
vanja 3SG-ACC 3SG praise-REFLEX-3FSG
'Vanja praised herself.'
- b. Vibha-ki tana-miida tanaki koopam waccu-in-di
Vibha-DAT 3SG-on 3SG.DAT angry become-PST-3FSG
'Vibha got angry at herself.'
- (5) a. Raju [tanu (*tanu) parigett-ææ-nu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
Raju 3SG (*3SG) run-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
'Raju said that he ran.'
- b. Raaju_i [Raamu_j tana-ni tanu_{*i/j} poguDu-konn-aa-Du ani]
Raju Ramu 3SG-ACC 3SG.NOM praised-VR-PST-3MSG COMP
anu-konn-aa-Du
say-VR-PST-3MSG
'Raju thought that Ramu praised himself.'

As we have seen already in (1), *tanu* can take a long distance antecedent, but it can also be bound inside of PPs (6a) or as a possessor inside of NPs (6b). The complex reflexive is not possible in these positions.

- (6) a. Prabhu tana pakkana pustakam peTT-ææ-Du
Prabhu 3SG near book keep-PST-3MSG
'Prabhu kept the book near him.'
- b. vaaDu tana sneehitula-ni pilic-ææ-Du
3SG 3SG.GEN friend-ACC invite-PST-3MSG
'He invited his friend.' Subbarao & Murthy (2000: 229 ex. 27 & 28)

Evidence that *tanu* must be specified as third person comes from the fact it cannot take first or second person pronouns as antecedents. There are no special anaphoric items for first or second person, the plain pronouns are used in anaphoric environments.

- (7) a. *nuvvu [tanu parigett-ææ-nu] ani cepp-ææ-vu
2SG 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-2SG
Intended: 'you said that you ran.'

speakers I consulted strongly prefer the complex anaphor in such cases. In examples like (4b) where the verbal reflexive is not present, the complex reflexive must be used for the speakers I consulted. This also what is reported in the previous literature.

- b. *neenu [tanu parigett-ææ-nu ani] cepp-ææ-nu
 1SG 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-1SG
 Intended: 'I said that I ran.'

In Telugu, *tanu* can take antecedents in the discourse, as shown in the examples in (8) from Subbarao & Murthy (2000:224). Subbarao & Murthy note that this type of use of *tanu* has the pragmatic effect of indicating empathy towards the referent. So this use of *tanu* is sanctioned in (8) if the speaker is talking about a close friend or family member. Compare (8) to (9). In (9) the discourse antecedent is *neerastuD-ni* ('criminal-ACC'). In this case, *tanu* cannot be used only a third person *atanu* can refer back to the NP. This follows the empathy generalization as people typically (for better or worse) do not empathize with people they believe to be criminals.

- (8) a. tanu inkka raa-leedu
 3SG yet come-NEG.3SG
 'He has not come yet.'
- b. tana peLLi gurinci maaku cinta leedu
 3SG.GEN marriage about 1PL.DAT worry NEG.3SG
 'Her marriage does not worry us.' Subbarao & Murthy (2000:224 ex. 7 & 8)
- (9) pooliisuwaLLu neerastuD-ni_i areSTu ceesææ-ru. atanu_i/*tanu_i [tanaki eemii
 police criminal-ACC arrest did-PL. 3SG 3SG.DAT anything
 teliyadu ani] ann-aa-Du
 know.NEG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 'The police arrested the criminal_i. He_i said he did not know anything.'
- Subbarao & Murthy (2000:234 ex. 39)

With this background, now let us turn to embedded clauses where monstrous agreement rears its head.

1.2 The basics of Monstrous agreement

Telugu allows for monstrous agreement with pronouns embedded in attitude reports. When the report expresses an attitude about the attitude holder, the agreement on the embedded verb can be

either third person (10a) or first person (10b).³

- (10) a. Raju [tanu parigett-ææ-Du ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju 3SG run-PST-3MSG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that he ran.’
- b. Raju [tanu parigett-ææ-nu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that he ran.’

³ An anonymous reviewer wonders about the position of what I have been calling the embedded subject. Throughout the examples in the section, I have been assuming that *tanu/nuvvu* are part of the embedded clause when they control monstrous agreement. The reviewer suggests that perhaps what I gloss as the embedded subject is really a proleptic object in the matrix clause with a null pronoun as the true embedded subject. I present two arguments in favor of treating the pronoun in the embedded clause as the true subject of that clause: the distribution of case and complex reflexives. While it is unclear whether Telugu has proleptic objects, it does have a similar construction that has been analyzed as a type of hyper-raising to object/ECM out of a finite clause (Subbarao & Bhaskararao 2004; Ragotham 2019). This is shown in (i). Note that unlike the examples above where the embedded subject occurs in the nominative case, in (i), it occurs in the accusative case, which is what we find on human objects in Telugu. This suggests that in the examples above, the nominative pronoun originates and stays in the embedded clause, otherwise we would expect it to occur in the accusative case as in (i).

- (i) meemu tana-ni picci-vaaD-ani bhaav-is-taa-mu
 1PL 3SG-ACC mad-3MS-COMP consider-DO-HAB-1PL
 ‘We consider him mad.’

Ragotham (2019: ex. 1)

The next piece of evidence that the element controlling monstrous agreement occurs in the embedded clause comes from the distribution of the complex reflexive. Recall that Telugu has a complex reflexive that is a reduplicated form of *tanu*. The complex reflexive must be locally bound in its clause in Telugu, similar to *self*-reflexives in English (Subbarao & Saxena 1987; Subbarao & Murthy 2000). In the ECM/hyper-raising cases where *tanu* receives accusative case, the complex reduplicated reflexive is possible, as shown in (ii).

- (ii) Madhuri tana-ni tanu andagatte-gaa bhaav-is-tun-di
 Madhuri 3SG-ACC 3SG pretty-PRED considers-DO-HAB-3FSG
 ‘Madhuri considers herself pretty.’

Subbarao & Bhaskararao (2004: 178 ex. 14)

In the examples above *tanu* is controlling monstrous agreement, a complex reflexive is impossible as shown in (iii). This suggests that *tanu* and its antecedent are separated by a clause boundary otherwise we would expect the complex form to be possible.

- (iii) Raju [tanu (*tanu) parigett-ææ-nu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju 3SG (*3SG) run-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that he ran.’

This discussion leads us to the conclusion that the element that appears to be controlling monstrous agreement is indeed in the embedded clause.

Monstrous agreement is only acceptable in embedded clauses. Mismatches are disallowed in matrix clauses, as in (11).

- (11) tanu parigett-ææ-Du/*nu
 3SG run-PST-3MSG/*1SG
 ‘He ran.’

1.2.1 Not Quotation

To rule out the possibility that the embedded clause is partially quoted, I provide two diagnostics from matrix questions and NPI licensing.⁴ As has been noted in the literature on indexical shift (e.g., Anand & Nevins 2004: 21), grammatical dependencies cannot cross quotation marks. This is shown for English in (12). In (12a), *what* is moved out of the quoted clause into the matrix clause and the resulting utterance is ungrammatical. Likewise, the ungrammaticality of (12b) is caused by matrix negation being unable to license the NPI in the quoted clause.

- (12) a. *What_{*i*} did Bob say, “I ate *t_i*”?
 b. *Bob didn’t say, “I ate any bananas.”

Similar restrictions can be shown to hold in Telugu. The example in (13) is ambiguous between direct and indirect speech.⁵ Under the direct speech reading the first person pronoun *neenu* refers to the matrix subject. Under the indirect speech reading *neenu* refers to the current speaker. When we have a grammatical dependency between the matrix and embedded clause, the sentence is no longer ambiguous and only the indirect speech reading is possible. In (14a) we have a embedded wh-phrase with matrix scope, which only allows for the indirect interpretation of the first person pronoun similar to (12a). In (14b) we see a NPI licensed by matrix negation likewise forces the indirect interpretation similar to (12b).

⁴It is impossible that the entire clause is a quotation due to the fact that in the initial utterance, the speaker would always use *neenu* and never *tanu* to refer to themselves. It is possible, however, that a smaller constituent (e.g., VP) is quoted.

⁵Unlike the English complementizer, *that*, which can only introduce indirect speech, the Telugu complementizer *ani* can introduce both direct and indirect speech.

- (13) Raju [neenu aratipanD-lu tinn-aa-nu ani] čepp-ææ-Du
 Raju_i 1SG_{i/s} banana-PL eat-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that I ate bananas’ or ‘Raju said, “I ate bananas” ’.
- (14) a. Raju [neenu eemi tinn-aa-nu ani] čepp-ææ-Du?
 Raju_i 1SG_{*i/s} what eat-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘What did Raju say that I ate?’
- b. Raju [neenu ee aratipanD-lu tinn-aa-nu ani] cepa-leeđu
 Raju 1SG any banana-PL eat-PST-1SG COMP say-NEG.3SG
 ‘Raju did not say that I ate any bananas.’

Telugu allows such dependencies between the embedded and matrix clauses in constructions with monstrous agreement, indicating that part of the embedded clause is not a quotation. This is shown in (15). In (15a), a *wh*-element *eemi* in the embedded clause can scope into the matrix clause and receive matrix question interpretation. In (15b), negation in the matrix clause can license the NPI in the embedded clause.

- (15) a. Raju [tanu eemi tinn-aa-nu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju 3SG what eat-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘What did Raju say he ate?’
- b. Raju [tanu ee aratipanD-lu tinn-aa-nu ani] cepa-leeđu
 Raju 3SG any banana-PL eat-PST-1SG COMP say-NEG.3SG
 ‘Raju did not say that he ate any bananas.’

1.2.2 *What elements control monstrous agreement and which morphemes shift?*

Monstrous agreement can also be found when the attitude holder is second person: the embedded verb can show second person (16a) or first person (16b) agreement. The embedded clauses in (16) are scrambled to sentence initial position.⁶

- (16) a. [nuvvu parigett-ææ-vu ani] nuvvu cepp-ææ-vu
 2SG run-PST-2SG COMP 2SG say-PST-2SG
 ‘You said that you ran.’
- b. [nuvvu parigett-ææ-nu ani] nuvvu cepp-ææ-vu
 2SG run-PST-1SG COMP 2SG say-PST-2SG

⁶This is done to avoid having redundant *nuvvu* pronouns directly adjacent to one another.

‘You said that you ran.’

Note that the embedded pronoun in (16) is also second person and not *tanu*, this is because, as noted previously, first and second person pronouns cannot act as the antecedent for *tanu* (see (7)).

Recall that Telugu is an argument drop language, when the embedded subject is null, it too can control monstrous agreement as noted by Subbarao & Murthy (2000: pg. 233 ex. 37). A slightly modified version of their example is given in (17). Note that the presence of an embedded wh-phrase with matrix scope controls for the possibility of quotation.

- (17) kamala siita too [____ ee pariikSa paasu awwagala-nu ani] cepp-in-di
 Kamala Sita with which test pass can-1SG COMP say-PST-3FSG
 ‘Which test did Kamala_i tell Sita that she_i could pass?’

Can other pronouns control monstrous agreement in Telugu? This appears to be a matter of variation among Telugu speakers. While the speakers I consulted only allowed for *nuvvu*, *tanu* or a null subject to control monstrous agreement, Balusu (2020) reports that *vaaDu* (3rd person masculine singular informal) can control monstrous agreement in the dialect he spoke. The same is true of *vaaLLu* (third person plural informal). His examples are given in (18). Balusu notes that for this dialect, monstrous agreement is possible for all third person pronouns (Balusu 2019:12).

- (18) a. Ravi [vaaDu ettu unnaa-nu] anukunnaa-Du
 Ravi he height be-1SG thought-3MSG
 ‘Ravi thought he was tall.’ Balusu (2020:6 ex. 36)
- b. pillalu [vaaLLu ettu unnaa-mu] anukunnaa-ru
 kids they height be-1PL thought-PL
 ‘The kids thought they were tall.’ Balusu (2019:ex. 11)

This is surprising because typically not only can *vaaDu/atanu* not control monstrous agreement, but the use of these pronouns in embedded attitudes results in disjoint reference/an obviation effect. They cannot be coreferent with the attitude holder, as shown in (19).

- (19) Prasad_i [atanu/vaaDu_{*i/j} caalaa telliwaina-vaaDu ani] ankonTaa-Du
 Prasad he very intelligent-3SG COMP think-3MSG
 ‘Prasad_i thinks that he_j is very intelligent.’ Subbarao & Murthy (2000:237 ex. 49)

For the time being, I will put aside dialectal differences, but the analysis presented below will be flexible enough to account for both dialects of Telugu.

The first person agreement morphology should also not been seen as some sort of frozen form as it is also sensitive to the number of the subject. As we see in (20) a plural embedded pronoun controls first person plural agreement morphology *-mu*.

- (20) peLLa-lu [taamu parigett-ææ-mu ani] cepp-ææ-ru
 wife-PL 3PL run-PST-1PL COMP say-PST-PL
 ‘The wives said that they ran.’

The plural *taamu* and plural agreement morphology are also possible with split antecedents (21) or non-exhaustive antecedents (22).

- (21) Kamala_i Sarita_j too [taamu_{i,j} tappaka pariikʃa paas awwaagalmu ani] cepp-in-di
 Kamala Sarita with 3PL certainly exam pass can.1PL COMP say-PST-FSG
 ‘Kamala told Sarita that they can certainly pass the exam.’

Subbarao & Murthy (2000:282)

- (22) Raju_i [taamu_{i+} bayaludeer-ææ-mu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju 3PL leave-PST-1PL COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that they (including Raju) left.’

We also see that the pronominal suffix found on predicative nouns and adjectives also takes part in monstrous agreement, as noted in [Raghotham 2019](#). Example provided in (23).⁷

- (23) Akhil [tanu manci-vaaDi-ni ani] bhaavinc-ææ-Du
 Akhil 3SG good-3SG-1SG COMP consider-PST-3MSG
 ‘Akhil thought himself a good chap.’ Raghotham (2019: ex. 5)

⁷Note that Telugu has few if any ‘true’ predicate adjectives. In order for an adjective to show up in predicative position, it must have a nominal host pronoun *vaaDi*.

1.2.3 Comparison of monstrous agreement to other phenomena

Let us now compare monstrous agreement in Telugu to languages with indexical shift. What sets monstrous agreement apart from languages with indexical shift is the fact that pronouns do not shift. In other words, first person pronouns must always refer to the current speaker and cannot refer to the attitude holder. This is shown in (24). The embedded first person pronoun, *neenu*, must refer to the current speaker.

- (24) Raju [neenu eemi tinn-aa-nu ani] čəpp-ææ-Du?
 Raju_i 1SG_{*i/s} what eat-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘What did Raju say that I ate?’

Compare this to a “true” indexical shift language such as Zazaki (Anand & Nevins 2004; Anand 2006). Unlike *neenu* in (24), the indexical pronoun *εz* in Zazaki can refer to the matrix subject when embedded in a speech report.

- (25) Həseni_j va kε εz_j dəwletia
 Hesen.OBL said that I rich.be-PRES
 ‘Hesen said that he was rich.’

A final note: monstrous agreement should also be seen as a separate phenomenon than conjunct/disjunct marking in languages like Newari (Zu 2018). In Newari, in declarative matrix clauses, a verbal marker glossed as conjunct is used when the subject is first person, but in embedded clauses the conjunct verbal marker is used on the embedded verb when the subject of the embedded clause is bound by the matrix subject. This is shown in (26) (Zu 2018: 68-70).

- (26) a. ji ana wan-ā
 1SG.ABS there go-PST.CONJ
 ‘I went there.’
 b. wõ: [wa ana wan-ā dhaka:] dhāla
 3SG.ERG 3SG there go-PST.CONJ that said
 ‘She_j said she_i went there.’

One might wonder whether what I have been glossing as first person agreement morphology *-nu* is actually a conjunct marker in Telugu. There is reason to believe that this not the case, however. In Newari, the conjunct marker is used in questions when the subject is second person as seen in (27) (Zu 2018: 69).

- (27) cha ana wan-ā lā
 2SG.ABS there go-PST.CONJ Q
 ‘Did you go there?’

If *-nu* was a conjunct marker in Telugu, we would likewise expect it to surface in matrix questions when the subject is second person. This is not what we find, however, as shown in (28). In such cases, the second person agreement morphology *-vu* must be used.

- (28) nuvvu parigett-ææ-v/*n-aa
 2SG run-PST-2SG/*1SG-Q
 ‘Did you run?’

This indicates that monstrous agreement in Telugu should be treated as separate phenomenon than conjunct/disjunct marking.

1.3 *Are tanu/nuvvu the real agreement controllers?*

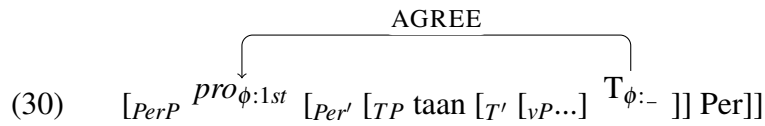
A way to account for the feature mismatch between *tanu/nuvvu* and the first person agreement that they appear to control is to argue that they are in fact not the agreement controllers. This is the line of analysis pursued by Sundaresan (2011, 2018b) for monstrous agreement in Tamil (a related Dravidian language). As shown in (29), just as in Telugu, Tamil shows monstrous agreement embedded under speech verbs.

- (29) Murukeesan taan var-r-eeen-nnũ so-nn-aarũ
 Murugesan ANAPH come.PRES-1SG-COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Murugesan said that he would come.’

Sundaresan assumes that the left periphery of complements of verbs of communication contains a

perspective phrase that contains a null pronoun in its specifier. This pronoun matches features with antecedent of *taan*. When *taan* looks like it is controlling agreement, it is in fact the null pronoun that matches features with *taan*'s antecedent that controls agreement.⁸ When monstrous agreement is controlled, this null pronoun undergoes indexical shift, hence it will be first person.

Sundaesan further assumes an UPWARD AGREE mechanism, hence when ϕ -probe on T undergoes upward search, it encounters *taan*; however, it cannot not agree with it due to it being defective because it is anaphoric (it has a unvalued DEP feature in Sundaesan's terms. It also has unvalued person, gender and maybe number features as well). It continues to probe upwards until it reaches the null pronoun in the specifier of the Perspective projection in the clausal periphery. This null pronoun values the ϕ -probe on T. This is shown schematically in (30).⁹



This differs from previous work where it is claimed that the probe on T agrees with the embedded subject (i.e., *taan*) and both *taan* and T's features are valued simultaneously by the null pronoun via binding (Sundaesan 2012). In Telugu, I present two arguments that the controller of monstrous agreement is in fact the nominal element that typically controls agreement on the verb, i.e., normally a non-case marked subject (but also objects in certain circumstances, see below). This hence provides evidence against a Sundaesan 2018b style analysis for Telugu. The first argument comes from agreement in coordinations. We see that when *tanu* or *nuvvu* are in a coordination, then agreement tracks the features of the coordination. The second argument comes from case and expands on discussion by Sundaesan (2012: Section 12.4) concerning the interaction of monstrous agreement with dative subjects. I will show that Telugu agreement tracks the unmarked case in the

⁸In this system, the matching between the perspectival *pro* and the antecedent of *taan* is not enforced in the syntax, but rather by the pragmatics/discourse.

⁹Sundaesan suggests that the null pronoun reflects the ϕ -features of the agent of the speech predicate (Sundaesan 2018b:17). The data in (21) and (22) suggests that such a characterization is too strong. In those examples the agent of the speech predicate is singular, but the agreement morphology is plural. To accommodate these data, one must assume that the null pronoun is also plural (mismatching from the agent of the speech predicate) and takes split or non-exhaustive antecedents. See section 3.4.1 of Charnavel 2020 for relevant discussion.

clause rather closely. The correlation between case on *tanu* and monstrous agreement suggests that *tanu* is in fact the element controlling agreement.

1.3.1 *Coordinations*

Let us first investigate agreement with coordinated NPs in Telugu. As shown in the examples in (31), coordination of NPs in Telugu appears as two NPs adjacent to one another with the final vowel of the first NP undergoing an optional lengthening process (Krishnamurti & Gwynn 1985: 326). While there are many strategies for agreeing with conjunction cross-linguistically (see Nevins & Weisser 2019 for a recent overview), Telugu seems to only rely on resolved agreement: in the cases where two third person human NPs are coordinated, we find plural agreement on the verb (31a), the same agreement is found when a second person pronoun and third person human NP are coordinated (31b). When the coordination involves a first person pronoun, as in (31c-d), the verbal agreement is first person plural. Finally, when two non-human NPs are coordinated, we find the neuter plural marker as in (31e).

- (31) a. Ranii Raju bayaludeer-ææ-ru
 Rani Raju leave-PST-PL
 ‘Rani and Raju left.’
- b. Ranii nuvvu bayaludeer-ææ-ru
 Rani 2SG leave-PST-PL
 ‘Rani and you left.’
- c. Ranii neenu bayaludeer-ææ-mu
 Rani 1SG leave-PST-1PL
 ‘Rani and I left.’
- d. nuvvuu neenu bayaludeer-ææ-mu
 2SG 1SG leave-PST-1PL
 ‘you and I left.’
- e. Kukkaa pandi bayaludeer-ææ-yi
 dog pig leave-PST-3NPL
 ‘A dog and pig left.’

With this background in mind, let us now examine cases with agreement with embedded coordi-

nation. In these examples, the attitude holder will be singular, and will act as an antecedent of a singular *tanu*. This *tanu*, however will be coordinated with another human NP as shown in (32a). In such situations, monstrous agreement is still possible, but the number agreement tracks the embedded subject (i.e., the coordination). The same thing happens when the second person pronoun *nuvvu* is the attitude holder (32b). Recall that *nuvvu* cannot serve as an antecedent for *tanu*, instead we have another second person pronoun in the embedded clause that is once again coordinated with another third person NP. Just as in (32a), the agreement controlled by the embedded coordinated subject is first person plural.

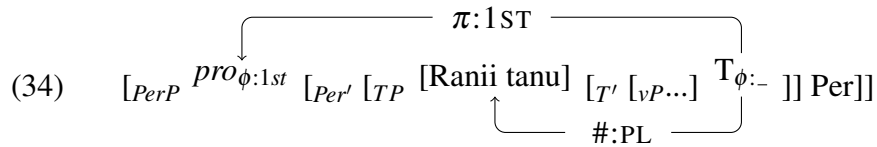
- (32) a. Raju [Ranii tanu bayaludeer-ææ-mu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju Rani 3SG leave-PST-1PL COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that Rani and him left.’
- b. nuvvu [Ranii nuvvu bayaludeer-ææ-mu ani] cepp-ææ-vu
 2SG Rani 2SG leave-PST-1PL COMP say-PST-2SG
 ‘You said that Rani and you left.’

Note that in such cases, we cannot say that Sundaresan’s null pronoun is plural and antecedes the singular *tanu* in the coordination (along the lines outlined in footnote 9), as we would not be able to explain why we cannot get plural agreement in (33).

- (33) Kamala_i Sarita_j too [tanu_i tappaka pariikja paas awwaagalnu/*mu ani]
 Kamala Sarita with 3SG certainly exam pass can.1SG/*1PL COMP
 cepp-in-di
 say-PST-3FSG
 ‘Kamala told Sarita that she can certainly pass the exam.’

Given this, we would need an alternative proposal if we wanted to preserve the null pronoun account. A reviewer offers such a proposal that may allow for person agreement to still be controlled by a null pronoun. They suggest that *tanu* (and anaphors in general) are person deficient. When an anaphor is placed into a coordination, the entire coordination becomes person deficient. If we make these assumptions plus the additional assumption that number and person probe separately, then the plural number feature will be valued by the coordination, but since the coordination is per-

son deficient, the person probes past the coordination to be valued first person by the null pronoun resulting in a composite first person plural feature. This is schematized in (34).



While this analysis works for the example in (32a) when part of the coordination is the anaphoric *tanu*, it is unclear if this type of analysis can be extended to examples in (32b), when the element in the coordination is not *tanu*, but the second person pronoun *nuvvu*, which is not person deficient. In fact in order to account for monstrous agreement in Tamil with second person pronouns, Sundaresan (2018b:20;22) states that second person *nii* has a valued person feature when it controls monstrous agreement, however it is not a suitable goal for an agreement probe because it has an unvalued DEP feature (this is how the Anaphor Agreement Effect is operationalized in this system). If second person pronouns are not person deficient when they control monstrous agreement, then we cannot say that the coordination, which contains the second person *nuvvu* in (32b) is person deficient, hence we cannot explain why a person probe would probe past the coordination to reach the null pronoun and get the first person value.¹⁰ If *tanu* or *nuvvu* are themselves the controllers of monstrous agreement, then we side step this issue entirely: a coordination with a first person singular conjunct and a third person singular conjunct gets resolved to first person plural just as it does in (31).

¹⁰Whether bound second person pronouns are deficient at all requires further research. As mentioned, Sundaresan 2018b takes deficiency to be the source of the Anaphor Agreement Effect. However in other languages that show an Anaphor Agreement Effect, such effects are not found with bound second person pronouns. For example, in Icelandic, the long-distance anaphor *sig* shows an Anaphor Agreement Effect (i.e., if *sig* is in a position that controls agreement, the sentence is ungrammatical) (Rizzi 1990). As shown in (i), however, a bound second person pronoun can control regular second person agreement and the sentence is perfectly grammatical.

- (i) Aðeins þú hélt að þú talaðir íslensku
 Only you thought.2SG that you talke.2SG.SUBJ Icelandic
 ‘Only you thought that you spoke Icelandic.’ (Wurmbrand 2017: 344)

If bound second person pronouns were deficient in the same way as anaphors, we would expect them to pattern together cross-linguistically. This is not what we find in Icelandic, but this should be looked at more systematically.

1.3.2 *Dative subjects and object agreement*

This section will now investigate how morphological case interacts with monstrous agreement. Telugu agreement appears to be case discriminate (Bobaljik 2008b; Baker 2008b; Preminger 2014), meaning that only NPs with certain cases may act as agreement controllers. As we have seen throughout the paper so far, agreement typically occurs with nominative (unmarked) subjects. As seen in (35), however, we see that when the subject is dative, the predicate does not show any agreement morphology (see Subbarao & Bhaskararao 2004 for discussion and evidence that the dative argument in such structures is in fact the subject).¹¹

- (35) a. Raju-ki annam iftam
 Raju-DAT rice like
 ‘Raju likes rice.’
- b. naaku annam iftam
 1SG.DAT rice like
 ‘I like rice.’
- c. niiku annam iftam
 2SG.DAT rice like
 ‘You like rice.’

The same is true in embedded clauses, as shown in (36). If we have an embedded subject that bears the dative case, the embedded verb does not show agreement morphology.

- (36) Raju [tanaku annam iftam ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju 3SG.DAT rice like COMP say-PST-3MSG
 Raju said he likes rice.

This could perhaps be seen as a quirk of verbs that assign dative case to the subject; they simply do not agree. An interesting thing happens when such verbs are negated however. In order to negate

¹¹As a reviewer notes, the predicate in (35), appears to be nominal as it ends in the nominalizer *-ftam*. It appears that many predicates with dative subjects are nominal in Telugu. Nominal predicates typically occur with a null copular in the simple present tense, but as I show below, when the clause is negated, the negative form of the copula is used, and this comes with a ϕ -agreement probe. When the subject is dative the probe targets the nominative object. If the subject is nominative, the probe will target the subject. See Raghotham 2020 for in-depth discussion of agreement in Telugu copular clauses.

a verb that takes a dative subject, the negative copular verb *-lee-* is used. The addition of *-lee-* introduces a new overt agreement probe, as agreement morphology now appears on the verb, but instead of agreeing with the subject, the agreement matches the features of the unmarked object, as shown in (37). In (37a) the the subject *Rani-ki* is in the dative case and the object *neenu* is in nominative, and the verb matches features with the first person object. The same is true for second and third person objects in (37b) and (37c) as well: the agreement always tracks the features of the object.

- (37) a. Rani-ki neenu iftam-lee-nu
 Rani-DAT 1SG like-NEG-1SG
 ‘Rani does not like me.’
- b. Rani-ki nuvvu iftam-lee-vu
 Rani-DAT 2SG like-NEG-2SG
 ‘Rani does not like you.’
- c. Rani-ki Raju iftam-leedu
 Rani-DAT Raju like-NEG.3SG
 ‘Rani does not like Raju.’

Even when we have an agreement probe on the verb, when such constructions are embedded with *tanaku* as the subject, monstrous agreement is not possible as shown in (38). Agreement must be with the nominative object.

- (38) Raju [tanaku Rani iftam-leedu/*-nu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju 3SG.DAT Rani like-NEG.3SG/*-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 Raju said he does not like Rani.

We do find monstrous agreement once again if *tanu* is the nominative marked object. In (39a), we have an embedded *tanu* object anteceded by the attitude holder Raju and monstrous agreement is possible. In (39b), we see monstrous agreement controlled by a second person embedded object.

- (39) a. Raju [Rani-ki tanu iftam-lee-nu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju Rani-DAT 3SG like-NEG-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that Rani does not like him.’

- b. *nuvvu* [*Rani-ki nuvvu iʃtam-lee-nu ani*] *cepp-ææ-vu*
 2SG Rani-DAT 2SG like-NEG-1SG COMP say-PST-2SG
 ‘You said that Rani does not like you.’

An anonymous reviewer suggests that the data presented in section can be accounted by the null pronoun theory if we assume that the dative argument creates a defective intervention configuration and blocks the agreement probe from being valued by the null pronoun, similar to what we find in languages like Icelandic. They suggest the reason (36) and (38) do not allow for monstrous agreement is because the *tanaku* is acting as a defective intervener and blocks the probe from reaching the null pronoun. This is schematized in (40).

$$(40) \quad [{}_{PerP} \text{ } \overset{PRO_{\phi:1st}}{\downarrow} [{}_{Per'} [{}_{TP} \text{ } \overset{*}{\text{tanaku}} [{}_{T'} [{}_{vP\dots}] \text{ } \overset{T_{\phi:-}}{\downarrow}]] \text{ Per}]]$$

This may be a way to not allow for monstrous agreement in (36) and (38), however it leaves the availability of monstrous agreement in (39) unexplained as there is still a dative subject argument (i.e., *Rani-ki*) intervening between the probe and the pronoun in the left periphery, but there is no intervention effect observed. This is schematized in the structure in (41).

$$(41) \quad [{}_{PerP} \text{ } \overset{PRO_{\phi:1st}}{\downarrow} [{}_{Per'} [{}_{TP} \text{ } \overset{\checkmark}{\text{Rani-ki}} [{}_{T'} [{}_{vP\dots}] \text{ } \overset{T_{\phi:-}}{\downarrow}]] \text{ Per}]]$$

So it appears that monstrous agreement is still possible even in the presence of a dative subject as long as that subject is not *tanaku*, counter the expectations of a defective intervention account of the data. The interactions we see here follow naturally, however, from the case discrimination account if monstrous agreement is agreement with *tanu* (or *nuvvu*), as they behave just as they normally would throughout the rest of the grammar, i.e., they only control agreement if they appear in the unmarked case.

1.3.3 Summary

In this section, I provided novel evidence that suggest *tanu* (or in some cases *nuvvu*) is in fact the controller of monstrous agreement. The crucial data comes from two types of sources. The first

source are coordinated subjects where the embedded subject differs in number features from the attitude holder. It was shown that agreement morphology always tracks the features of the coordination suggesting that it is in fact the controller of agreement. The second type of evidence came from case interactions with monstrous agreement, building off of initial observations in Sundaresan 2012: Section 12.4 for Tamil. It was shown that agreement tracks the NP with the unmarked case in Telugu, and monstrous agreement showed the same pattern, only when the embedded pronoun bore the unmarked case was monstrous agreement possible once again diagnosing the pronoun itself as the controller of monstrous agreement.¹²

2. An analysis of monstrous agreement

The conclusion of the last section is that monstrous agreement appears to be the result of agreement with the embedded pronoun *tanu* (or *nuvvu*). The question now becomes how can a pronoun that does not show any first person features control first person agreement on the verb? In this section, I will propose an analysis of monstrous agreement. The basic idea is that when a pronoun refers to the attitude holder in embedded speech and attitude reports, it is simultaneously an author of some speech/attitude event and not the author of the current speech act, in other words it is simultaneously first person and third person. There are post syntactic morphological processes that obscure the first person features on the pronoun, but these processes occur after agreement has taken place resulting in the verb having features that do not surface on the pronoun itself.

In the second half of this section, I propose that access to certain author features is only licensed when the pronoun carrying such features is bound by certain left peripheral operators, and explore the distribution and nature of such operators.

2.1 *The morphology and agreement*

I assume the basic inverted “Y-model” of grammar where the syntactic component creates legible interface objects through the use of the primitive operations Merge (both internal and external)

¹²This data hence provides further evidence that the Dravidian *ta(a)n(u)*, if treated as an anaphor, instantiates a counterexample to the Anaphor Agreement Effect (Rizzi 1990). I leave open why Dravidian seems to be exempt from such effects, though see Murugesan 2020 for a possible explanation for the absence of such effects in Tamil.

and AGREE. For the purposes of the proposed analysis, the operations that underlie morphological agreement are particularly important. I assume that agreement morphology on the verb is the result of the operation AGREE (Chomsky 2000, 2001). In this system, the locus of the agreement probe for subject agreement is on the T(ense) head, furthermore, ϕ -features on T are uninterpretable. I assume the locality of AGREE in (42) (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

- (42) AGREE is a relation that holds of a probe P and a goal G. To do so G must (at least) be in the domain D(P) of P and satisfy locality conditions. The simplest assumptions for the probe-goal system are shown below:
- a. Matching is feature identity.
 - b. D(P) is sister of P.
 - c. Locality reduces to “closest c-command”

Representations created by the syntax are sent to the LF and PF interfaces for interpretation. Following work in Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993; Embick & Noyer 2007; Arregi & Nevins 2012; Bobaljik 2017), I assume that the elements on which the syntax operates are abstract in that they lack phonological information. The abstract elements that will be important for the purposes of this analysis are person features. I assume an *author* feature and an *addressee* feature both of which can have either a positive (+) or negative (-) value.¹³ These features are manipulated in the syntax (i.e., they can be merged in, moved, and enter agree relations). In the mapping from the syntax to PF these feature bundles are given morphological form by rules of *vocabulary insertion* (VI). VI rules are guided by the following two principles (from Bobaljik 2017).

- (43) *Rules Apply*

A rule applies wherever its structural description is met.

¹³I assume following Heim (2008); Schlenker (2003b,a) among others that the meaning of +author and +addressee restrict the referent to *include* the speaker/hearer. These meanings allow for the plural pronouns with these features to refer to groups that include the speaker/hearer not solely to groups of speakers/hearers. See Bobaljik 2008a; Wechsler 2010 for further discussion on the limits of variation found with first and second person plural pronouns.

(44) *Elsewhere Condition*

Where more than one mutually exclusive rule may apply, only the most highly specified rule applies.

I also assume that the mapping from syntax to PF involves operations that allow the morphology to manipulate the output of the syntax. The analysis proposed below will make use of one such operation: feature deletion or *impoverishment* (Bonet 1991, 1995; Nevins 2011; Noyer 1997). Impoverishment takes the feature structures of the syntax and deletes certain features before Vocabulary Insertion. In such cases, the morphology expresses fewer features than are present in the syntax (importantly, as this deletion happens during the mapping to PF, the features are still present during the syntactic derivation and at LF). Take as an illustration gender agreement with first person pronouns in Serbo-Croatian, as shown in (45). In (45), we see gender agreement controlled on the verb; however the apparent controller of the agreement, *ja*, does not morphologically express any gender.

- (45) a. Ja sam otišla na posao
 I am gone.FEM.SG to work
 ‘I have gone to work’ (said by a woman)
- b. Ja sam otišao na posao
 I am gone.MASC.SG to work
 ‘I have gone to work’ (said by a man)

One way to capture this data is to have the gender feature of the controller be present in the syntax, and hence available for agreement operations, but have it later deleted from the representation via an impoverishment rule before vocabulary insertion takes place. This is schematized in (46). The features of the pronoun are fully specified for person and gender in the syntax (46a), hence the gender feature can enter into a syntactic agreement relation. In the mapping of the syntactic structure to PF, there is a rule of impoverishment that deletes the gender feature in the context of pronouns that have a +author feature (46b). With the gender feature removed, vocabulary insertion occurs, where the vocabulary item *ja* is inserted for the feature bundle in question.

- (46) a. *Features in the syntax*: [+author -addressee \pm masc]
 b. *Impovershiment rule*: \pm masc $\rightarrow \emptyset$ / [+author ___]_{pro}
 c. *Vocabulary insertion*: [+author -addressee] \leftrightarrow ja

2.1.1.1 *Features of embedded pronouns*

It has sometimes been argued that our feature sets must be enriched to account for the behavior of pronouns and agreement morphology in embedded clauses. For instance, Schlenker (2003b) suggests a feature, [\pm C], that marks whether or not the pronoun is referring to the matrix or embedded context. The feature bundle in (47a) would refer to the author of the current context, i.e., the speaker of the current speech act. The bundle in (47b), on the other hand, would refer to author of a context that is not the current speech act context. Schlenker suggests that (47b) could be used to account for logophors and shifted indexicals cross-linguistically.

- (47) a. [+author +C]
 b. [+author -C]

In other work, Schlenker (2003a) suggests that there may be two different types of author features: [author*] that must refer to the current speech act context, and [author] that can potentially refer to non-current contexts. More recently, Deal (2020) proposes that certain embedded pronouns in some languages can have a [+author] features that occurs when embedded under a special operator. She calls this feature *author-i*. I follow this line of research, but offer a new perspective on how to enrich our person system: I suggest that embedded pronouns, when referring to the author of an embedded speech or attitude context have the features in (48). Like Schlenker, I will use a [\pm C] feature to indicate whether the author feature is making reference to the current speech act context or an embedded one. I further assume that the person features are bundled with the [\pm C] feature and we can have complex person feature bundles that reference both the current speech act and the embedded speech act as well. The bundle below in (48), would indicate the referent for the pronoun below is not the author of the current speech act, but is an author of an embedded speech

act.

(48) [⟨-author, +C⟩ ⟨+author, -C⟩]

I will show that expanding our possible feature bundles to include something like (48) will have welcome consequences for not just explaining monstrous agreement in Telugu, but also for logophoric pronouns as well and other agreement shifts.

Let us now turn back to Telugu. For Telugu, I assume the following VI rules for nominative pronouns given in (49) and (50). I follow standard practice and allow for the rules to be underspecified and be governed by the *Elsewhere principle*. As the first person pronoun in Telugu only ever refers to the speaker of the current context, it is specified as +C (49a) and (50a-b). Similarly the second person pronoun also is specified as +C (49b) and (50c). For space reasons, I will not give VI rules for all of Telugu's third person pronouns. I will give the rules for the informal series. The formal variants would be nearly identical save for however one wishes to encode formality in the grammar.

(49) VI rules for Telugu pronouns

- a. [⟨+author, -addressee +C⟩, -plural] ↔ neenu
- b. [⟨-author +addressee +C⟩, -plural] ↔ nuvvu
- c. [⟨-author -addressee +C⟩, -plural, +Masc] ↔ vaaDu
- d. [⟨-author -addressee +C⟩, -plural, -Masc] ↔ adi

- (50)
- a. [⟨+author, -addressee, +C⟩, +plural] ↔ meemu
 - b. [⟨+author, +addressee, +C⟩, +plural] ↔ manam
 - c. [⟨-author, +addressee, +C⟩, +plural] ↔ miiru
 - d. [⟨-author -addressee +C⟩, +plural, -Neut] ↔ vaaLLu
 - e. [⟨-author -addressee +C⟩, +plural, +Neut] ↔ avi

Let us turn now turn to the anaphoric elements in Telugu. I follow the approach to bound elements

presented in [Safir 2014](#). Under such a theory, all anaphoric elements are a special form referred to as *D-bound*. A D-bound element in the derivation must ultimately be A-bound for the derivation to successfully converge. The morphological shape of the D-bound element depends on its ϕ -features and the locality of the element to its A-binder. If the A-binder is within the same phase as the D-bound element, it may be spelled out with specific morphology (for a formalization of this phase-based morphological shape condition see [Ikawa & Jardine 2021](#)). If the D-bound element does not find an A-binder within its phase, then it may be spelled out differently. Foreshadowing a bit of the discussion of the next section, such long-distance binding may be mediated by null operators such as logophoric operators ([Safir 2014:114](#)). In addition to the standard assumption that vP and CP are phases, I also assume that there is a phase within the extended projections of nouns ([Bošković 2012](#)) and adpositions ([Abels 2003](#)). As we have seen, when local binding happens in Telugu, we get the reduplicated form of *tanu*. This is the local form of the D-bound element, as shown in the VI rules in (51).

(51) *D-bound elements with local binder*

- a. [\langle -author -addressee +C \rangle -plural, D-bound] \leftrightarrow tanu tanu
- b. [\langle -author -addressee +C \rangle +plural, D-bound] \leftrightarrow taamu taamu

When the D-bound does not have an A-binder within its phase (i.e., CP, NP or PP), it surfaces as the simplex *tanu*.¹⁴

(52) *D-bound elements with non-local binder*

- a. [\langle -author -addressee +C \rangle -plural, D-bound] \leftrightarrow tanu
- b. [\langle -author -addressee +C \rangle +plural, D-bound] \leftrightarrow taamu

Before moving onto the agreement morphology, let us briefly discuss the nature of *pro*-drop in Tel-

¹⁴Two reviewers note that the cases where it appears *tanu* takes a discourse antecedent may be problematic for this view (cf. (8)). Though recall Subbarao & Murthy's observation that in such cases, the referent of *tanu* is empathized with by the speaker. Following a similar suggestion for Malayalam in [Charnavel 2020:40](#), I suggest in such cases, *tanu* is bound by the syntactic representation of the empathy loci.

ugu, and how it fits into the analysis given here. For concreteness, I follow [Simpson et al. \(2013\)](#)'s analysis of null arguments in the related language Malayalam, and treat Telugu null arguments as instances of Argument Ellipsis. Under this analysis, pronouns or full NPs are present in the syntax, but undergo ellipsis at PF. In examples where a null argument controls monstrous agreement, such as (53), I assume the relevant feature bundle is syntactically present, and agreed with, but is deleted in the PF component.

- (53) kamala siita too [____ ee pariikSa paasu awwagala-nu ani] cepp-in-di
 Kamala Sita with which test pass can-1SG COMP say-PST-3FSG
 'Which test did Kamala_i tell Sita that she_i could pass?'

Let us now turn to the agreement morphology. The following VI rules govern the form of the agreement morphology in Telugu. Note that unlike in the pronoun VI rules, the VI rule for the first agreement morphology is underspecified in regards to $[\pm C]$. This will be important in capturing the shifty behavior of this agreement morphology. In the plural paradigm there is large amounts or syncretism with only 1pl and plural neuter having distinct forms.

- (54) VI rules for Telugu agreement
- a. [+author -plural] \leftrightarrow nu / T
 - b. [-author +addressee -plural] \leftrightarrow vu / T
 - c. [-author, -addressee -plural, +Masc] \leftrightarrow Du / T
 - d. [-author, -addressee, -plural -Masc] \leftrightarrow di / T
- (55)
- a. [+author +plural] \leftrightarrow mu / T
 - b. [+Neut +plural] \leftrightarrow yi / T
 - c. [+plural] \leftrightarrow ru / T

Finally, recall that Telugu also has the personal suffix agreement marker that occurs in copula structures on predicate nouns and adjectives for first person singular and plural as well as second person singular.

- (56) a. [+author -plural] ↔ ni / N
 b. [-author +addressee -plural] ↔ wi / N
 c. [+author +plural] ↔ mu / N

Let us walk through (57) as an example. The embedded subject has both ⟨-author -addressee, +C⟩, but also has ⟨+author -C⟩ in the syntax (58a). These features indicate that it is both the author of the embedded context and not a speech act participant of the matrix context. As the VI rule in (49a) is specified for ⟨+author, +C⟩, a first person pronoun cannot be inserted. The structural description for the rule in (52a) is met, however, and since the D-bound element is separated from its A-binder via a phase, the features can surface as *tanu*.

- (57) Raju [tanu parigett-ææ-nu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that he ran.’

- (58) a. *Features in the syntax*: [⟨-author -addressee, +C⟩, ⟨+author -C⟩ -plural, D-bound]
 b. *Vocabulary Insertion*: [⟨-author -addressee +C⟩ -plural, D-bound] ↔ tanu

As ⟨+author -C⟩ is present in the syntax, it is available for syntactic agreement operations. This allows it to be copied onto the ϕ -probe on T. This is demonstrated below in (59). Agreement occurs in the exact same way as we have seen before, where the ϕ probe on T copies the features of the pronoun onto itself.

Once copied onto T, another set of morphological operations will take place to map those features to the surface agreement morphology. The features that are present in (59a) have been copied from the pronoun. In mapping of these features to vocabulary items, I assume that any and all person features bundled with the +C features are deleted via a rule of impoverishment leaving only the ⟨+author -C⟩ features. This rule captures the generalization in Telugu and cross-linguistically (see sections 3.2 and 3.4) that if agreement morphology appears to mismatch from its controller and only expresses one of the +C or -C features in embedded clauses, it is always the -C features that appear to surface. Once the features have been removed, the first person singular

morpheme *-nu* may be inserted because the VI rule for first person agreement morphology is unspecified for [\pm C].¹⁵

- (59) a. *Features in the syntax*: [\langle -author -addressee, +C \rangle , \langle +author -C \rangle , -plural]
 b. *Impoverishment*: $\langle \alpha, +C \rangle \rightarrow \emptyset / [_ _ \langle +author -C \rangle]_T$
 c. *Vocabulary Insertion*: [+author -plural] \leftrightarrow nu / T

Let us now look at the case where there is a second person attitude holder. Recall that when the agent of a speech predicate is second person, the embedded pronoun is also second person, but it can control monstrous agreement. Example repeated in (60).

- (60) [nuvvu parigett-ææ-nu ani] nuvvu cepp-ææ-vu
 2SG run-PST-1SG COMP 2SG say-PST-2SG
 ‘You said that you ran.’

Unlike the previous examples, the feature bundle of the embedded subject contains a +addressee feature. Once again, the VI rule in (49a) cannot apply, but unlike the previous example, the feature bundle is specified as +addressee, so the rule in (52a) also cannot be used. The description for the rule in (49b) is met, so the pronoun surfaces as *nuvvu*.

- (61) a. *Features in the syntax*: [\langle -author +addressee, +C \rangle , \langle +author -C \rangle -plural]
 b. *Vocabulary Insertion*: [\langle -author +addressee +C \rangle , -plural] \leftrightarrow nuvvu

Just as before, the features are copied onto T via AGREE and the features will be mapped to the morphology by the following operations.

- (62) a. *Features in the syntax*: [\langle -author +addressee, +C \rangle , \langle +author -C \rangle -plural]

¹⁵Following previous work, Impoverishment is triggered in marked environments. A head that has two conflicting person specifications appears to qualify as a marked environment, however there is a question of why +C features delete and not the -C features. More work needs to be done to understand which of the +C and -C features should be seen as the unmarked. This deserves closer study not only with regards to monstrous agreement but other areas where markedness may play a role such as Direct-Inverse systems and the Person Case Constraint.

- b. *Impoverishment*; $\langle \alpha, +C \rangle \rightarrow \emptyset / [_ \langle +\text{author} -C \rangle]_T$
 c. *Vocabulary Insertion*: $[+\text{author} -\text{plural}] \leftrightarrow \text{nu} / T$

Now let us discuss dialectal variation. Recall that in one dialect of Telugu it is impossible for other third person elements to control monstrous agreement. Not only this, but the use of the non-D-bound elements induces an obviation effect (cf. (19)). Following a number of proposals (Grodzinsky & Reinhart 1993; Reinhart 1983; Safir 2004, 2014), I suggest that in this dialect the use of a non-D-bound element, induces obviation via the principle in (63). This particular implementation is from Safir (2014:102).

(63) *Syntax-Induced Obviation*

If X can be a binder for D-bound in position Y and Y is not D-bound, then X and Y are not expected to be coconstrued (i.e., they are obviative). Safir (2014:102).

This means within this dialect of Telugu, not using *tanu* in the embedded attitude reports, will create obviation between the pronoun and the attitude holder. If the pronoun is obviative to the attitude holder, and the attitude holder is the author of the embedded context, it follows that the pronoun cannot be the author of the embedded context, hence it will not have the $\langle +\text{author} -C \rangle$ and it cannot control monstrous agreement.

Let us now turn to the dialect of Telugu discussed by Balusu (2018, 2019, 2020) where other third person elements can control monstrous agreement. How is this possible given the principle in (63)? It has been long noted that *tanu* for some speakers of Telugu has been undergoing a shift in usage. Krishnamurti & Gwynn 1985:73 noted that for some “young men and women”, *tanu* was used as a third person pronoun. Kissock 1995 and Kissock 2014 note that *tanu* can be used with a pointing gesture and should be analyzed as a pronoun and not an anaphor for the speakers she consulted. Balusu himself also claims that *tanu* is not anaphoric, but it is a pronoun for the dialect he is analyzing (Balusu 2018:25). What I suggest this means, in the terminology of the current analysis, is that *tanu* is no longer the designated morphological realization of D-bound for

such speakers. It is a plain pronoun like *vaaDu* or *adi*. Additional evidence for such a shift in this dialect comes from the fact pronouns other than (reduplicated) *tanu* can be locally bound as well, as shown in (64). This once again seems to indicate that *tanu* is not the privileged D-bound morpheme in this dialect.

- (64) *vaaDu_i vaaDini_i koTTu-kun-aa-Du*
he_i him_i hit-VR-PST-3MSG
 ‘He hit himself.’ Balusu (2019:ex. 23)

As there are no longer any VI rules that specify a particular exponent as D-bound in this dialect, the determination is made based other features such a gender and formality. This means vocabulary items other than *tanu* can be inserted for the feature bundle [\langle -author -addressee, +C \rangle , \langle +author -C \rangle -plural, D-bound], hence these items have the ability to control monstrous agreement in this dialect.

The system laid out here allows for us to account for why a pronoun that does not display any first person features can control first person agreement. The analysis, in a nutshell, is that the pronoun does in fact have (a type of) first person feature but this feature is obscured by later morphological operations. This system overcomes the shortcomings of the previous analysis that relies on a null element controlling monstrous agreement, as it is the pronoun itself that is controlling the agreement morphology. This in turn explains why if there is a mismatch between the number features of the pronoun and the agent of the speech predicate (like in coordinations), agreement unfailingly shows the features of the pronoun. Likewise, as the pronoun itself is the controller of agreement, this also explains why the morphological case of the pronoun influences whether agreement happens because as we have seen, agreement in Telugu is case discriminate. This analysis is also flexible enough to account for two different dialects of Telugu. In one dialect, only the element *tanu* control monstrous agreement with third person antecedents, while in another dialect, other third person pronouns can control monstrous agreement.

In the next section, I will explore restrictions on the current system. Particularly, I will argue that there are restrictions on where \langle +author, -C \rangle features can appear. I will show that pronouns

with these features must be bound by a local operator introduced by the complementizer *ani* in Telugu. I will also present novel data that show the subject-hood properties and morphological case in the matrix clause influence the distribution of monstrous agreement.

2.2 *Restricting the $\langle +author, -C \rangle$ features*

The analysis presented in the last section relies on the availability of a feature $\langle +author, -C \rangle$ that can be present on a pronoun in the syntax, but obscured by later morphological operations. A question that now arises is what governs the availability of the $\langle +author, -C \rangle$ feature. In this section, I present evidence that pronouns that bear this feature must be licensed via binding by a clausal peripheral operator. This restricts the distribution of the feature, and hence also the distribution of monstrous agreement.

2.2.1 *The presence of a peripheral operator*

As we saw previously, monstrous agreement is possible in embedded speech reports, but not in matrix clauses (cf. (11) above), but where else is monstrous agreement possible in Telugu? Selectional properties of embedded verbs appear to put restrictions on monstrous agreement (Balusu 2020; Sundaresan 2012, 2018a), indexical shift (Deal 2020) and logophors (Culy 1994). Such selectional restrictions for monstrous agreement/indexical shift/logophors are thought to fall on the implicational hierarchy in (65). If monstrous agreement occurs in a given verb class, this entails that it must also occur in every verb class to its left on the hierarchy.

(65) SPEECH > THOUGHT > KNOWLEDGE > DIRECT PERCEPTION

So far we have seen that monstrous agreement occurs under verbs of speech, however it occurs in many other attitude environments as well, as shown in (66). This includes verbs of belief (66a), thought (66b-c), discover/found out (66d) (lit. ‘know’ + verbal reflexive), direct perception (66e-f) as well as emotive factive predicates like surprise and happy (66g-h). This seems to suggest that Telugu falls on the far right of the implicational hierarchy at the least for the speakers I have consulted.

- (66) a. Raju [tanu parigett-aa-nu ani] nammut-aa-Du
 Raju 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP believe-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju believed that he ran.’
- b. Raju [tanu parigett-ææ-nu ani] anu-kon-aa-Du
 Raju 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP say-REFL-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju thought that he ran.’ (Lit: Raju said to himself that he ran.)
- c. Raju [tanu parigett-ææ-nu ani] aločinč-ææ-Du
 Raju 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP think-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju thought that he ran.’
- d. Ravi [tanu parigett-ææ-nu ani] telusu-kon-aa-Du
 Ravi 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP know-REFL-PST-3MSG
 ‘Ravi found out that he ran.’ (Lit. Ravi knew for himself that he ran)
- e. Raju [tanu parigett-ææ-nu ani] vinn-aa-Du
 Raju 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP hear-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju heard that he ran.’
- f. Raju [tanu exam pass ajj-aa-nu ani] cuis-ææ-Du
 Raju 3SG exam pass happen-PST-1SG COMP saw-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju saw that he passed the exam.’
- g. Raju [tanu exam pass ajj-aa-nu ani] aasčarjapaDD-ææ-Du
 Raju 3SG exam pass happen-PST-1SG COMP surprise-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju was surprised that he passed the exam.’
- h. Rani [tanu exam pass ajj-aa-nu ani] santoSa paDindi
 Rani 3SG exam pass happen-PST-1SG COMP happy FALL.3FS
 ‘Rani feels happy that she passed the exam.’

We also find monstrous agreement in causal clauses as shown in (67) (Balusu 2020).

- (67) Rao [tanu paDDaa-nu ani] raa-leedu
 Rao 3SG fell-1SG COMP come-NEG.3SG
 ‘Rao did not come because/as he fell.’ (Balusu 2020:8 ex. 48)

Not all causal clauses allow for monstrous agreement. Compare (67) to (68). The only difference between the two is the element introducing the causal clause. In (67), this element is *ani*, the complementizer we have seen introduce the clause complements in (66) as well. In (68), it is *kaabati* (‘because’). As seen in (68), monstrous agreement is no longer possible. Note that (68)

is completely grammatical as long as monstrous agreement does not take place in the embedded clause.

- (68) Ravi [tanu paDDaa-Du/*nu kaabati] raa-leedu
 Ravi 3SG fell-3MSG/*1SG because come-NEG.3SG
 ‘Ravi did not come because/as he fell.’

One final note on the distribution of monstrous agreement. It appears to be sensitive to locality. Take for example, the sentence in (69). In this example, there are two clausal embeddings, with monstrous agreement occurring in the lowest clause. In such cases, *tanu* can only refer to the intermediate (more local) subject, it cannot refer to the more distant matrix subject. Similar locality conditions are found in Tamil (Sundaresan 2018b).

- (69) Ravi_i [Rani_j [tanu_{j/*i} bayaludeer-ææ-nu ani] cepp-in-di ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Ravi Rani 3SG leave-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3FSG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Ravi said that Rani said that she left.’

To account for this distribution, I propose that the $\langle +\text{author } -C \rangle$ is licensed only when it occurs on a pronoun bound by a clausal peripheral operator in the specifier of the CP headed by the complementizer *ani*. Such a restriction is inspired by previous works on embedded pronouns such as logophors and shifted indexicals that treat them as bound by clausal peripheral operators (Adesola 2005; Alok & Baker 2018; Anand 2006; Baker 2008b, 2018; Charnavel 2019a,b; Kinyalolo 1993; Koopman & Sportiche 1989; Pearson 2012). Concretely, I assume the operator in Telugu is the type of operator discussed by Anand (2006) and Deal (2018) to account for certain cases of apparent indexical shift in Amharic. The constraint for Telugu $\langle +\text{author } -C \rangle$ is given in (70). For the time being, I will leave the exact nature of the locality condition on the binding of the pronoun vague, but it will be sharpened following further discussion to come in the next section.

- (70) $*[\langle +\text{author}, -C \rangle]$ if occurs on a pronoun X such that X is not locally bound by Op_{ani} .

I will provide two arguments that the embedded pronoun that controls monstrous agreement is

bound by an operator. The first comes from the interpretation of such pronouns. Binding by clausal peripheral operators is one mechanism that languages use to give rise to *de se* readings (see e.g., Anand 2006).¹⁶ See Chierchia 1989; Anand 2006; Pearson 2012 among many others on how to derive a *de se* LF from the syntax proposed here. A *de se* reading is one where the attitude holder is consciously aware that the expressed attitude is about his or herself. A prediction of the present analysis is that if the pronoun controlling monstrous agreement is bound by a clausal peripheral operator, then it should only result in a *de se* reading. As (71) shows, this prediction is correct. In the scenario in (71), Rani is not aware that she has an attitude about herself; the sentence with monstrous agreement cannot be used to accurately describe the situation while the sentence without monstrous agreement is judged to be acceptable.

(71) SCENARIO: Rani took an exam, and later saw the top 10 scores with the scorer’s student ID numbers. She forgot her own ID number, so did not know who was who. Looking to the top score, she thinks: ”This student definitely passed!” But it turned out she was that student.

- a. #Rani [tanu exam pass ajj-aa-n-ani] nammu-tun-di
 Rani 3SG exam pass happen-PST-1SG-COMP believe-NPST-3FSG
 ‘Rani believes that she passed the exam.’
- b. Rani [tanu exam pass ajj-in-d-ani] nammu-tun-di
 Rani 3SG exam pass happen-PST-3FSG-COMP believe-NPST-3FSG
 ‘Rani believes that she passed the exam.’

The next argument for a binding approach to the pronoun that controls monstrous agreement is the fact that it shows blocking effects in the sense of Anand (2006) and Deal (2018). In Anand’s typology of *de se* elements, pronouns that are bound by left peripheral operators are subject to blocking effects. Observe the example in (72). We have previously seen that objects have the ability to control monstrous agreement. This example is repeated in (72a). Compare this to the example in (72b), which is minimally different: the embedded subject has been replaced by the

¹⁶Though see Pearson 2015 for evidence that the logophoric pronoun in Ewe, which is often analyzed as operator bound, does not need to be read *de se*.

first person pronoun *naaku*. This change results in the example becoming ungrammatical.

- (72) a. Raju [Rani-ki tanu iftam-lee-nu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju Rani-DAT 3SG like-NEG-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that Rani does not like him.’
- b. *Raju [naaku tanu iftam-lee-nu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju 1SG.DAT 3SG like-NEG-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that I do not like him.’

It is not merely the presence of first person element that causes the ungrammaticality. The intervention is sensitive to c-command. Compare (72b) to (73) which is again minimally different. This time the subject is the phrase *naa kukka-ku* (‘my dog-DAT’). In such cases, the genitive first person embedded in the larger NP does not trigger the blocking effect. This suggests that the intervention is sensitive to c-command.

- (73) Raju [naa kukka-ku tanu iftam-lee-nu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju 1SG.GEN dog-DAT 3SG like-NEG-1SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that my dog does not like him.’

This is similar to what we find in Amharic first person clitics/agreement morphology that can only get the shifted interpretation if it is not c-commanded by another first person element (Anand 2006: 101-103). This explains why the following sentence is unambiguous in Amharic. In (74), as evidenced by the agreement morphology, there are two first person pronouns. In principle, as Amharic is an indexical shift language, we might expect that either of the two pronouns receive the “shifted” reading such that it refers to the matrix subject *John*. This is not the case, however. As indicated by the judgments, it appears only the reading where the embedded subject has the shifted interpretation is possible. The reading where the object receives the shifted interpretation is not available.

- (74) John al-ittazzəzəññ alə
 John NEG.1S-obey.MKIMPERF.1SO say.PERF.3SM
 ‘John said he won’t obey me.’

‘*John said that I won’t obey him.’

For Anand, the second reading of the sentence is ruled out, because the indexical subject of the embedded clause intervenes and blocks the binding by the operator needed to achieve the shifted interpretation of the object, similar to our Telugu example in (72b). Just as in Telugu (73), the effect goes away if the higher first person element is embedded in a larger phrase and no longer c-commands the object.

(75) John lij-e ay-ittazzəzəññ alə
 John son-my NEG.3S-obey.MKIMPERF.1SO say.PERF.3SM
 ‘John said the my son won’t obey him.’

‘John said that his son won’t obey me.’

These examples suggest a unification of the Amharic and Telugu data, and such a unification is possible if we take both *tanu* in Telugu and the controller of clitics/agreement morphology in Amharic to be bound by an operator that is sensitive to intervention by first person indexical pronouns.

The above discussion also sheds light on the optionality of monstrous agreement in Telugu. Note that (72b) becomes grammatical when the embedded pronoun controls regular third person agreement, as shown in (76).

(76) Raju [naaku tanu iŋtam-leedu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Raju 1SG.DAT 3SG like-NEG.3SG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju said that I do not like him.’

What the lack of the intervention in (76) indicates is that when the pronoun does not control monstrous agreement, it is not bound by the operator and hence would not be able to license ⟨+author, -C⟩. Although not bound by the operator, the element still meets the criteria of being D-bound because it will ultimately be bound by an A-binder outside of its phase (i.e., the attitude holder Raju in an example like (76)). This also explains why it is compatible with non-*de se*

construals as seen in (71b).

2.2.2 A restriction on Op_{ani} and the nature of the locality condition

So far we have seen that monstrous agreement is possible in the complements of many verbs in Telugu. In this section, I will explore a novel restriction that limits the distribution of monstrous agreement. I will present evidence that complements of nouns do not allow for monstrous agreement.¹⁷

Let us begin with discussion of *telusu* ('know') when it appears to take a dative subject. As shown in (77), monstrous agreement is not possible embedded under this predicate. Normal third person agreement is still possible

- (77) Ravi-ki [tanu parigett-ææ-Du/*nu ani] telusu
 Ravi-DAT 3SG run-PST-3MSG/*1SG COMP know
 'Ravi knew that he ran.'

This is surprising as we have seen that monstrous agreement is possible under this root when it combines with the verbal reflexive (66d).¹⁸

A similar point can be made with *happy* predicates. We have seen that monstrous agreement is possible when the root combines with the light verb *paD* ('fall') (66h). In a minimally different example with a dative subject, monstrous agreement is once again not possible, as shown in (78).

- (78) Rani-ki [tanu exam pass ajj-indi/*aanu ani] santofam
 Rani-DAT 3SG exam pass happen-PST.3FSG/*PST.1SG COMP happiness
 'Rani is happy that she passed the exam.'

¹⁷This is slightly different from what has been found for indexical shift/monstrous agreement in the Turkic languages e.g., Uyghur and Mishar Tatar (Podobryaev 2014; Shklovsky & Sudo 2014). In these languages, indexical shift/monstrous agreement is impossible in nominalized clauses. In the data presented here, the clause itself is not nominalized, it is the complement of a nominal.

¹⁸Note that both (77) and (66d) are factive, as demonstrated by the fact that the continuation in (i) leads to a contradiction if uttered after either example.

- (i) #kaani Ravi parigetta-leedu
 but Ravi run-NEG.3SG
 'but Ravi did not run.'

I propose that the embedding elements in (77) and (78) are actually nominals and not verbs. These examples are actually a species of existential copular construction and would be better translated as *There is knowledge in Rani that she ran* or *There is happiness in Rani that she passed the exam*. Notice that in the (77) and (78), *telusu* and *santofam* do not behave like verbs in that they do not host tense or agreement morphology. They are behaving like nouns in a copula construction with a null copula verb. Further evidence that these are nouns comes from the fact that *santofam* ends in *-Cam* which is the nominal marker in the language. Note also in Telugu, the copula verb is typically null as shown in (79).

- (79) adi kiTikii
 that window
 ‘That is a window.’

We also see the effect of the embedding element in examples involving *hear*. Recall that monstrous agreement is possible embedded under the verb in (66e). Now if the verb takes a noun complement and that noun takes a clausal complement, monstrous is no longer possible. This is shown in (80).

- (80) Raju [tanu gelic-aa-Du/*-nu anee] pukaaru vinn-aa-Du
 Raju 3SG win-PST-3MSG/*1SG COMP.COND rumor hear-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju heard the rumor that he won.’

These data suggest that monstrous agreement does not occur in the complements of nouns. Why would this be? It is common to account for the implicational hierarchy presented in the previous section in terms of selection (see footnote 19). I will propose a similar analysis here. It appears that verbs select for complements that contain *Op_{ani}*, while nouns do not. This suggests that categorical information along with the root plays a role in selection, not just the root itself Merchant (2019). As *tanu* can only control monstrous agreement if bound by *Op_{ani}*, if complements of nouns do not contain *Op_{ani}*, then it follows that monstrous agreement is impossible in the complements of nouns.

The fact that complements of nouns do not host *Op_{ani}* allows us to probe the nature of the local-

ity condition on monstrous agreement. Recall from the previous section, that only the most local attitude holder can act as an antecedent to *tanu* when it controls monstrous agreement, example repeated below.

- (81) Ravi_i [Rani_j [tanu_{j/*i} bayaludeer-ææ-nu ani] cepp-in-di ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Ravi Rani 3SG leave-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3FSG COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Ravi said that Rani said that she left.’

This indicates that *tanu* cannot be bound by the higher operator. There are at least two ways to block such binding: we could restrict the binding to the most local CP phase or we could block it via relativized minimality where binding by an operator is only possible if there is not a more local operator intervening. With these two options in mind, observe the example in (82). This example is minimally different from (81). All that has changed is the second embedding root has been changed to *telusu* and Rani now bears the dative case. With these changes, it is now possible for *tanu* to refer to the matrix subject while controlling monstrous agreement, indicating that it can be bound by the high operator immediately embedded under the matrix verb.

- (82) Ravi_i [Rani-ki_j [tanu_{*j/i} bayaludeer-ææ-nu ani] telusu ani] cepp-ææ-Du
 Ravi Rani-DAT 3SG leave-PST-1SG COMP know COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Ravi said that Rani knew that he left.’

The contrast in judgments between (81) and (82) seems to provide evidence for a relativized minimality approach to the locality of binding. The binding by the higher operator is in principle possible across an intervening CP phase, but the difference between in (81) and (82) is that the intermediate predicate in (81) can host Op_{ani} as it is verbal. In (82), on the other hand, the embedding element is a noun and hence cannot host the presence of Op_{ani} . As Op_{ani} is not present in the lowest clause, the Op_{ani} embedded under the matrix verb can bind the pronoun in the most embedded clause without crossing another operator. With this discussion, let us now modify our licensing condition on $\langle +author, -C \rangle$.

- (83) *[(+author, -C)] if occurs on a pronoun X such that X is not locally bound by Op_{ani} .
- a. Local binding between Op_{ani} and a pronoun occurs iff Op_{ani} c-commands the pronoun and there is no other Op_{ani} that intervenes between the operator and the pronoun
 - b. An element X intervenes between elements Y and Z iff X c-commands Y and does not c-command Z.

2.2.3 *Determining the value of Op_{ani}*

This paper argued that the controller of monstrous agreement must be bound by a null operator. In the examples discussed so far, the value of the null operator appears to be tied to the attitude holder/subject of the matrix clause. While this captures a large majority of the data, before I conclude this section, I want to discuss some preliminary data that show that in addition to subjecthood/attitude holder status, other factors go into determining the value of the null operator. Let us begin our discussion by closer examination of monstrous agreement under *hear*. We saw previously that monstrous agreement is possible embedded under such verbs.

- (84) Raju [tanu parigett-ææ-nu ani] vinn-aa-Du
 Raju 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP hear-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju heard that he ran.’

Interestingly, monstrous agreement is not possible in such constructions when the source of the utterance is syntactically present as in (85), where Rani is the source and surfaces as the matrix object with ablative case *nunDi*.

- (85) Raju Rani-nunDi [tanu gelic-aa-Du/*-nu ani] vinn-aa-Du
 Raju Rani-ABL 3SG won-PST-3MSG/*1SG COMP hear-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju heard from Rani that he won.’

If Rani is the antecedent of *tanu*, monstrous agreement is still not possible as shown in (86).

- (86) Raju Rani-nunDi [tanu gelic-indi/*-aanu/ ani] vinn-aa-Du
 Raju Rani-ABL 3SG won-PST.3MSG/*PST.1SG COMP hear-PST-3MSG

‘Raju heard from Rani that she won.’

I suggest that this data follows from the fact that the antecedent of the null operator is determined by both semantic and syntactic mechanisms. The default is to allow for the subject to be antecedent of operator, however in the cases where the semantic SOURCE is syntactically expressed as in (85) and (86), then the antecedent must be both subject and the SOURCE. In (85) and (86), neither NP satisfy both conditions so neither can provide the value of the null operator. Now this approach makes a prediction. Although neither NP in the *hear* examples can be both the subject and the SOURCE simultaneously, if they were taken together then both conditions would be met: *Raju* acting as the subject and *Rani-nunDi* as the SOURCE. We would then expect together they could antecede the null operator and monstrous agreement would once again be possible. This prediction is surprisingly correct, if the plural *taamu* takes *Raju* and *Rani* as split antecedents, monstrous agreement is grammatical.

- (87) Raju_i Rani-nunDi_j [taamu_{i+j} gelic-aa-mu ani] vinn-aa-Du
 Raju Rani-ABL 3PL won-PST-1PL COMP hear-PST-3MSG
 ‘Raju_i heard from Rani_j that they_{i+j} won.’

The above discussion implicates both the syntactic notion of subject and the semantic notion of SOURCE in determining the value Op_{ani} .

An interesting comparison to the *hear* examples comes from morphological causatives. Examine the example in (88). Ravi is the grammatical subject of the matrix clause and Raju is an object bearing instrumental case. The matrix verb now appears with the causative morpheme. As Raju is the person who uttered content of the embedded clause, we may expect him to be the SOURCE and perhaps block monstrous agreement if Ravi acts as the antecedent of *tanu* similar to *Rani-nunDi* blocks monstrous agreement in (85), but as the judgments indicate monstrous agreement is only possible if Ravi is the antecedent of *tanu*.

- (88) Ravi_i Raju-to_j [tanu_{i/*j} parigett-ææ-nu ani] cepp-inc-ææ-Du
 Ravi Raju-INSTR 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP say-CAUSE-PST-3MSG

‘Ravi_i made Raju_j say that he_{i/*j} ran.’

Why should (88) and (85) differ in this way? It appears that we must define SOURCE in a fine grained way. Sells (1987) defines SOURCE as “one who is the intentional agent of the communication” (Sells 1987:457). This appears to make the right cut. While Rani is intentional in examples like (85), Raju is not in (88); he is being coerced by Ravi. Under this definition, then Raju would not qualify as a SOURCE and hence does not block the subject Ravi from acting as the antecedent of the null operator. The question now becomes how does Ravi qualify as an attitude holder in (88) as he is not the author of the embedded utterance. One way suggested by a reviewer is that the morphological causative has a meaning similar to a verb like *convince* in English, where both the convincer and convincee qualify as attitude holders. Another possible avenue to explore is the *sociative* use of causatives found in many languages (Lyutikova & Tatvosov 2018; Myler & Mali 2021; Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002; Schneider-Zioga & Mutaka 2019). The meaning of a sociative causative construction involves the causer accompanying the causee in the execution of the caused event. While going into the precise semantics of the Telugu causative would take us too far afield, I assume that examples like (88) involve some sort of sociative meaning where Ravi has a more direct role in bringing about the event of saying than the English paraphrase suggests.

A final piece of evidence that subjecthood matters comes from possessives. While subjects can act as antecedents for the operator, possessors of subjects cannot, as shown by the inability to control monstrous agreement in (89). Although Raju is still the author/source of the embedded clause, he is not the subject of the matrix clause and hence cannot act as antecedent to the operator. Compare this to (90) where Raju is the subject of the matrix communication verb *raas-ee-Du* (‘wrote’) and monstrous agreement is once again possible even though the meaning conveyed by (89) and (90) is very similar.

- (89) *Raju-(yokka) uttaram [tanu/vaaDu gelic-ææ-nu ani] cepp-in-di
 Raju-(POSS) letter 3SG win-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3NSG
 ‘Raju’s letter says that he won.’

- (90) Raju [tanu gelic-ææ-nu ani] raas-ee-Du
 Raju 3SG won-PST-1SG COMP write-PST-MSG
 ‘Raju wrote that he won.’

To conclude this section, the value of Op_{ani} is determined by the semantic notions of attitude holder and SOURCE, but it is also sensitive to the syntactic notion of subjecthood, hence both syntactic and semantic factors are needed to correctly characterize the value of this operator in Telugu. Future research on other languages with monstrous agreement is needed to see how general these constraints are what types of variation are permitted.

2.3 Summary

The analysis presented in this section accounts for the possibility and distribution of monstrous agreement in Telugu. There are two components: a syntactic component and a morphological component.

In the syntax, the pronoun that controls monstrous agreement is bound by a left peripheral operator, this is in fact similar to Sundaresan (2018b) who has *taan* in Tamil bound by a null pronoun in the left periphery. Where our analyses diverge is in the locus of the agreement controller. In the current system, the embedded pronoun controls agreement, but Sundaresan (2018b) treats a null pronoun as the agreement controller. The data in section 1.3 showed that a derivation where the embedded subject controlled agreement fared better in accounting for agreement with coordinations and the relation between monstrous agreement and case. The syntax proposed here has more similarities to the earlier analysis of Sundaresan (2012), where the embedded subject mediates agreement between the null pronoun and T. This analysis builds on Sundaresan (2012) and allows for second and (other) third person pronouns to control monstrous agreement and also allows for monstrous agreement with long-distance antecedents (these data points were unknown at the time of Sundaresan 2012).

I proposed that binding by the operator licensed a special feature which I called $\langle +\text{author}, -C \rangle$. The binding was subject to a locality condition repeated in (91). This locality condition made it so that only the most local operator could bind the pronoun, but does allow for apparent long distance

binding in certain defined circumstances (cf. (81) and (82) in the previous section)

- (91) * $\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$ if occurs on a pronoun X such that X is not locally bound by Op_{ani} .
- a. Local binding between Op_{ani} and a pronoun occurs iff Op_{ani} c-commands the pronoun and there is no other Op_{ani} that intervenes between the operator and the pronoun
 - b. An element X intervenes between elements Y and Z iff X c-commands Y and does not c-command Z.

I also discussed restrictions on determining the value of Op_{ani} , showing that both the syntactic notion of subjecthood and the semantic notion of SOURCE interact to determine the antecedent of the operator.

Once the $\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$ feature is licensed and agreed with in the syntax, the structure is mapped to PF via a set of defined morphological rules. In this analysis, $\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$ does not surface on the pronoun due to the rules of vocabulary insertion in Telugu.

- (92) a. *Features in the syntax*: [$\langle -\text{author} -\text{addressee}, +\text{C} \rangle$, $\langle +\text{author} -\text{C} \rangle$ -plural, D-bound]
- b. *Vocabulary Insertion*: [$\langle -\text{author} -\text{addressee} +\text{C} \rangle$ -plural, D-bound] \leftrightarrow tanu

The features on the agreement probe on T on the other hand, delete the features that are bundled with +C, and since the VI rules for Telugu agreement morphology are underspecified in regards to $[\pm\text{C}]$, the first person agreement morpheme *-nu* may be inserted (93).

- (93) a. *Features in the syntax*: [$\langle -\text{author} -\text{addressee}, +\text{C} \rangle$, $\langle +\text{author} -\text{C} \rangle$, -plural]
- b. *Impoverishment*; $\langle \alpha, +\text{C} \rangle \rightarrow \emptyset / [_ \langle +\text{author} -\text{C} \rangle]_T$
- c. *Vocabulary Insertion*: [$\langle +\text{author} -\text{plural} \rangle$] \leftrightarrow nu / T

The result of these PF mappings is the appearance of a mismatch between the features of the pronoun and the features of the agreement probe on T. This analysis argues, however, that underlyingly, these two elements do share the same features in the syntax, but it is later obscured by

post-syntactic morphological operations. I showed that this system was flexible enough to account for two separate dialects of Telugu. In one dialect, only the the specified D-bound form *tanu* can control monstrous agreement, but in another dialect all third person pronouns can control it. I suggested this variation was tied to an independent change in usage for some speakers: namely, that *tanu* has lost its D-bound status and it is treated as a regular pronoun.

The combination of the syntactic constraints and morphological operations, allows to account for the observed distribution of monstrous agreement in Telugu. Before concluding, I explore potential extensions to this analysis: shifty 2nd person agreement, logophoric pronouns and other agreement shifts.

3. Extensions

The last section presented an analysis of monstrous agreement in two dialects of Telugu. I would like now to consider the cross-linguistic implications of the proposal. In one dialect, only a simplex anaphoric element can control monstrous agreement. This is also the pattern found in the related Tamil (94a), but also Sanzhi Dargwa (Nakh-Daghestanian) (Forker 2019) (94b).

- (94) a. Murukeesan taan var-r-een-nnũ so-nn-aarũ
 Murugesan ANAPH come.PRES-1SG-COMP say-PST-3MSG
 ‘Murugesan said that he would come.’
- b. Sajgibat-li Razijat-li-c:e haʔ-ib [cin-ni at buš:ukala
 Sajgibat-ERG Razijat-obl-in say.PFV-PRET REFL.SG-ERG 2SG.DAT broom
 luk:-an=da
 give.IPFV-PTCP=1
 ‘Saigibat said to Razijat that she will give you a broom.’

The other dialect allows for monstrous agreement to be controlled by non-anaphoric pronouns. This pattern has been noted before in several African languages. Noveli (1985), for example, notes the same pattern in Karimonjong (95a) and Curnow (2002) also cites this phenomenon in Lotuko (95b), as well as Nuer (Messick & Monich 2016) (95c).

- (95) a. àbù papà tlim ebè àlózi iṅèz morotó.
 AUX father say that 1SG-go-NPST 3SG Moroto
 ‘The father said that he was going to Moroto.’
- b. aati ’daṅ xul ojori ’tò jojo era isi a xobwok.
 people all REL say PRT COMP 1PL.be they PRT kings
 ‘Those who say that they are kings.’
- c. John c-ε wee jɛn c-a Mary
 John.NOM AUX.PERF-3SG say.PERF.PART he.NOM AUX.PERF-1SG Mary.OBJ
 nɛɛn
 see.PERF.PART
 ‘John said he saw Mary.’

The analysis presented here has the flexibility to account for both types of languages. In the next three sections, I will show this analysis can also account for shifty second person agreement, logophors that control monstrous agreement as well as a special logophoric agreement marker and also cases of agreement shifts where a first person pronoun controls third person agreement.¹⁹

3.1 *Shifty 2nd person agreement*

In this paper, I have mostly focused on first person agreement. A question now arises whether second person agreement can shift if controlled by a pronoun that would be the addressee of the embedded context. In Telugu, shifty agreement is limited to the first person agreement morphology. Second person agreement morphology does not shift even when it appears to be controlled by the addressee of an embedded context. Only third person agreement is possible. This is shown in

¹⁹One area of cross-linguistic variation I cannot discuss in detail due to space limitations is the variation we see concerning the implicational hierarchy given in (65). While Telugu is very permissive in allowing monstrous agreement in a large variety of environments; e.g., Tamil is much more restrictive allowing monstrous agreement only in the complements of *say*-predicates and potentially *think*-predicates for some speakers. In analyzing similar variation in indexical shift Sundaresan (2018a) and Deal (in press) suggest a structural analysis. Following Speas (2004), they assume that complements of *say*-predicates involve more functional structure than complements of *think*-predicates, and complements of *think*-predicates involve more structure than *know*-predicates, and so on. Variation is tied to where the operator that induces indexical shift is merged, if it is merged high in the functional structure, it would only be present in complements that are selected for by predicates that select for larger amounts of functional structure like *say*. If it is merged lower, it can appear in complements of predicates that select for less functional structure. I tentatively assume a similar analysis is compatible with what I say here. The operator that licenses the ⟨ +author -C ⟩ feature is merged low in the structure in Telugu, hence monstrous agreement is possible under direct perception predicates like *see*, *hear*, etc. and all predicates to left of it in the hierarchy in (65). In Tamil, it is merged higher in the functional sequence and hence only occurs in *say* predicates and *think* predicates (for some speakers).

(96).²⁰

- (96) Rani Raju_i too [tanu_i gelic-aa-Du/*vu ani] cepp-in-di
 Rani Raju with 3SG win-PST-3MSG/*2SG COMP say-PST-3FSG
 ‘Rani told Raju that he won.’

Compare this to Mishar Tatar as described in Podobryaev (2014). Like Telugu, only agreement morphology shifts in Mishar Tatar (97a); overt indexical pronouns do not (97b).

- (97) a. Alsu [*pro* kaja kit-te-m diep] at'-tʃ
 Alsu *pro* where go.PST-1SG COMP say-PST
 ‘Which place did Alsu say she went?’
- b. Alsu [min kaja kit-te-m diep] at'-tʃ
 Alsu 1SG where go.PST-1SG COMP say-PST
 ‘Which place did Alsu say I went?’
- Podobryaev (2014:84 ex. 202-203)

Podobryaev (2014) analyzes this data as indexical shift, but limited to covert pronouns. There are reasons to think that examples like (97a) should be treated more similarly to monstrous agreement of the type we find in Telugu. First overt second person pronouns can control first person agreement if we have a second person attitude holder (98), exactly like what we find in Telugu (see (60)).

- (98) sin Marat-ka [sin Alsu-nʃ sü-ä-m diep] at'-tʃ-ŋ
 2SG Marat-DAT 2SG Alsu-ACC love-ST.IPFV-1SG COMP say-PST-2SG
 ‘You told Marat that you love Alsu.’
- Podobryaev (2014:108 ex. 271)

We also find the same intervention effect discussed in 2.2.1 for Telugu and Amharic in Mishar Tatar (for more discussion of this data see Deal 2018).

- (99) Marat [*pro* [*pro* sestra-m]-nʃ sü-ä-m diep] at'-tʃ
 Marat *pro pro* sister-1SG -ACC love-ST.IPFV-1SG COMP say--PST
 ‘Marat said that he loves my sister.’
- # ‘Marat said that I love his sister.’
- Podobryaev (2014:105 ex. 262)

²⁰Note that *tanu* is not subject oriented in Telugu (see e.g., Subbarao & Murthy 2000:232).

These data points suggests that the shifty agreement in Telugu and Mishar Tatar are a unified phenomenon. Unlike Telugu, however, Mishar Tatar does have agreement shift for the second person as well, as shown in (100) (cf. (96)).

- (100) Marat üzenej malaj-γ-n-nan [*pro* kit-te-η-me diep] syra-dγ
 Marat REFL.GEN boy-3SG-OBL-ABL *pro* leave-PST-2SG-Q COMP ask-PST
 ‘Marat asked his son if he left.’ Podobryaev (2014:88 ex. 217)

How do we account for this variation in the current system? I suggest that this difference is accounted for via the lexical inventories of the two languages: Telugu has a null operator that licenses $\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$, but lacks an operator that licenses a $\langle +\text{addressee}, -\text{C} \rangle$. As Telugu lacks the second operator, a pronoun, even when it co-refers with what we might expect to be the addressee of an embedded context, could not be licensed with $\langle +\text{addressee}, -\text{C} \rangle$, hence second person agreement shifting is not possible. Mishar Tatar, on the other hand, has a set of two operators that licenses both $\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$ and $\langle +\text{addressee}, -\text{C} \rangle$, hence both first person and second person agreement shift is possible in the language.

This appears to follow the same pattern found for operators that bind logophoric pronouns found in many West African languages. While many of those languages have specialized logophoric pronouns that appear to refer to author of embedded contexts, there are some languages such as Mupun (Frajzyngier 1985, 1993) that appear to have specialized pronouns that refer to the addressee of an embedded context. Following the tradition of Koopman & Sportiche (1989) in treating logophoric pronouns as operator bound, an analysis that mirrors the analysis given for shifty first and second person agreement presents itself. A language like Ibibio (see further discussion in the next section) has an operator that may bind and license author logophors, but lacks an operator that licenses addressee logophors (similar to Telugu). Mupun on the other hand has an operator that licenses an author logophor and one that licenses an addressee logophor (similar to Mishar Tatar).

3.2 Logophors

Another implication for this analysis I would like to explore further is the extension of this analysis to logophoric pronouns. In many languages a special logophoric pronoun is used in structures to refer back to a speech or attitude holder. This is shown for Ewe in (101) (Clements 1975; Pearson 2015). When the logophor *yè* is used, as in (101), it must obligatorily refer to the attitude holder.

- (101) kofi be *yè*-dzo
 Kofi say LOG-leave
 ‘Kofi_i said that he_i left’

Logophors can only occur in embedded environments. Thus, they are disallowed in out-of-the-blue matrix positions, as shown in (102).

- (102) **yè* dzo
 LOG leave
 Intended: ‘He left’

Following a similar idea put forth by Schlenker (2003a,b), the analysis presented here allows us to treat so-called logophoric pronouns as the spell out of the a feature combination $\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$ and $\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$.

- (103) [$\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$, $\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$] \leftrightarrow LOG

The intuition behind the analysis is that logophoric pronouns mark the author of an embedded speech context, but a non-author of the current speech act context. This can be done by a simple parameter in this system. Languages with logophors have a relevant vocabulary item that can be the spell out of the features in (103).

This allows for an extension to languages with logophors that appear to control first person agreement. This is shown for Donno So (Culy 1994) in (104).

- (104) Oumar inyemε jembə paza bolum miñ tagi
 Oumar LOG sack.DF drop left.1SG 1SG.OBJ informed
 ‘Oumar told me that he had left without the sack’

Below I give a sample derivation of how the present system can account for such a construction. In the syntax, the logophor is bound by a clausal operator hence licensing the $\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$ features, and the ϕ probe on T searches within its c-command and finds the logophor. The logophor’s features are copied onto the probe.

Once the structure is sent to the morphological component, an impoverishment rule will delete the $\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$ feature from the representation on the probe leaving only the $\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$ remaining to be spelled out by the vocabulary insertion rules.

- (105) *Impoverishment*; $\langle \alpha, +\text{C} \rangle \rightarrow \emptyset / [_ \langle +\text{author} -\text{C} \rangle]_T$

After the impoverishment operation, vocabulary insertion occurs. The relevant VI rules for Donno So are given in (107). Unlike Telugu, Donno So has a vocabulary item that is fully specified for $\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$, $\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$, namely the logophor *inyemε*, so that pronoun is inserted via the VI rule in (106a). Similar to Telugu, however, I assume the first person agreement morphology is underspecified in regards to $[\pm\text{C}]$, so the agreement morphology can be inserted via the rule in (106b).

- (106) a. $[\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle, \langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle] \leftrightarrow \text{inyem}\epsilon$
 b. $[\text{+author}] \leftrightarrow \text{-um} / \text{T}$

Compare this to languages like Ewe and Ibibio. As we have seen previously, Ewe has a logophoric pronoun; however, it completely lacks agreement morphology. The relevant example is repeated in (107).

- (107) kofi be yè-dzo
 Kofi say LOG-leave
 ‘Kofi_i said that he_j left’

The analysis presented here accounts for Ewe by once again having the logophor be the spellout of the [$\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$, $\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$]; however as there is no agreement morphology in Ewe, there is no ϕ -probe on T.

Ibibio on the other hand does have both logophors and verbal agreement morphology. In the case where a logophor controls agreement, a special logophoric agreement morphology is used (Baker 2008a; Newkirk 2014). Relevant examples are provided in (108).

- (108) a. álé bò ké ènyé á-mà kòt ñgwèt
 3SG-PST say C 3SG 3SG-PST read book
 ‘He_i said that he/she_j read the book.’
- b. álé bò ké ímO ì-mà kòt ñgwèt
 3SG-PST say C LOG LOG-PST read book
 ‘He_i said that he_i read a book’

The difference between Donno So and Ibibio is Ibibio lacks the impoverishment rule that we have previously seen and instead, has the relevant logophoric vocabulary items to insert for the feature bundles on the pronoun and T. In Ibibio, I assume that the logophoric pronoun and agreement morphology is spelled out via the VI rules in (109).

- (109) a. [$\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$, $\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$] \leftrightarrow ímO
 b. [$\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$, $\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$] \leftrightarrow ì / T

3.3 Morphological transparency

Under the above analysis, the abstract feature bundle that is morphologically realized as a logophor is [$\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$, $\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$]. We might then expect that the morphological realization of a pronoun will sometimes express both first and third person exponence. In other words, we may expect some language to have a logophoric pronoun look something like *he-me*, where this is a combination of [-author] pronoun and [+author] pronoun. This is surprisingly indeed found in the language Fongbe.²¹ The personal pronoun system of Fongbe is given in the table below Lefebvre

²¹Thanks to Chris Collins (p.c.) for bringing this data to my attention.

& Brousseau (2002).

Features	Personal Pronouns	Clitics (+NOM)	Clitics (-NOM)
1sg	nyè	ùn	mì
2sg	hwè	à	wè
3sg	é(yè)	é	è
1/2pl	mí	mí	mí
3pl	yé	yé	yé

Table 4: Pronouns of Fongbe

Fongbe also has a logophoric pronoun that behaves in a similar manner to the other logophors described above: it is only found in embedded environments, obligatorily refers to the attitude holder, and cannot be anteceded by a first person pronoun (Kinyalolo 1993). An example from Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002) is given in (110).

- (110) É ɖ̀ɔ é-mì m̀ɔ é-mì-ɖéè
 3SG say LOG see LOG-ANA
 ‘She said that she saw herself.’

The logophoric pronoun in (110) is *é-mì*, which contains both the third person personal pronoun *é(yè)* and the first person clitic *mì*. I assume that the feature bundle in Fongbe has undergone fission and both the features are spelled out via the rules in (111).

- (111) a. *Fission*: [$\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$, $\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$] \rightarrow [$\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$] and [$\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$]
 b. *Vocabulary Insertion*: [$\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$] \leftrightarrow *é(yè)*
 c. *Vocabulary Insertion*: [$\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$] \leftrightarrow *mì*

This is expected under the analysis proposed here as logophors are abstractly made up of [+author] features and [-author] features, hence it is unsurprising that some languages wear these abstract features on their sleeve. Fongbe thus provides strong evidence for the analysis adopted here.

3.4 Other agreement shifts

One of the core proposals of the analysis presented was that pronouns in certain languages in attitude environments have complex person feature values: [$\langle +\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$, $\langle -\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$]. The intuition behind this analysis is that the pronoun denotes the author of the embedded attitude/speech act, but is not the author of the current speech act. With this in mind, let us now examine (112). In (112), a speaker is reporting an attitude John has about him or her. Since the pronoun refers to the author of the current speech act, a first person form is used.

(112) John believes that I am rich.

In our system, however, the embedded pronoun could also have complex person features in some languages. As the pronoun is referring to the author of the current speech act context, it does not refer to the author of the embedded attitude context, so we expect it to have [$\langle -\text{author}, -\text{C} \rangle$, $\langle +\text{author}, +\text{C} \rangle$] person features. A question then arises whether languages ever morphologically indicate that this pronoun has such a feature set.²² Surprisingly, there are languages that do morphologically mark this feature combination. Although not commonly reported, there are languages where the first person pronoun can optionally control third person (i.e., -author) agreement in such cases. The Golin (Papuan) example in (113) and the Mishar Tatar example in (114) illustrate this.

(113) yal i na na si-m-u-a di-n-g-w-e
 man TOP 1SG 1SG strike-3-REP-DIST say-3-AS-3-PROX
 ‘He_i said I hit him_i’ (Lounghnane 2005: 147)

(114) Roza min kit-te diep bel-ä
 Roza 1SG leave-PST C know-ST.IPFV
 ‘Roza knows that I left.’ (Podobryaev 2014: 106)

In (113) we see two embedded first person pronouns. The one in subject position (i.e., agreement controlling position) refers to the current speaker. The other first person pronoun is shifted and refers to the attitude holder. The agreement controlled by the non-shifted first person pronoun,

²²Schlenker (2003a) briefly acknowledges that such languages are predicted by his system as well.

however, is third person. Likewise, in (114), the embedded pronoun does not control first person agreement, but rather controls (null) third person agreement.

This type of data can be integrated into the current system. The pronouns in (113) and (114) have the feature bundle [\langle -author, -C \rangle , \langle +author, +C \rangle], which is the mirror image of the feature bundle we used for pronouns in Telugu and logophors ([\langle +author, -C \rangle , \langle -author, +C \rangle]). This feature bundle indicates that the pronoun refers to the author of the current speech act, but not the author of the embedded speech act. Following the analysis from the previous section, we can model this apparent mismatch in agreement as follows. Let us use Mishar Tatar as our exemplar. First, agreement in the syntax copies the feature bundle of the pronoun onto the ϕ -probe on T. As in Telugu, pronouns are underspecified for [-C] features and hence the first person pronoun can surface via a VI rule like the one in (115b).

- (115) a. *Features in the syntax*: [\langle -author, -C \rangle , \langle +author, +C \rangle]
 b. *Vocabulary Insertion*: [\langle +author, +C \rangle] \leftrightarrow min

Again, similar to Telugu, in mapping the agreement morphology to PF, there is an impoverishment rule that will remove the features bundled with +C, leaving only the person features bundled with [-C] behind (116b). The features are then spelled out via the VI rule in (116).

- (116) a. *Features in the syntax*: [\langle -author, -C \rangle , \langle +author, +C \rangle]
 b. *Impoverishment*: \langle α , +C \rangle \rightarrow \emptyset / [___ \langle -author -C \rangle]_T
 c. *Vocabulary Insertion*: [-author] \leftrightarrow \emptyset

This analysis also accounts for why the third person agreement option disappears when the attitude holder is a first person pronoun, as shown in (117).

- (117) *Min Maratka [min kit-te diep] at'x
 1SG Marat.DAT 1SG leave-PST C tell-PST
 Intended: 'I told Marat that I left.'

Since the attitude holder is both the author of the embedded attitude and the matrix speech act, the embedded pronoun is not [\langle -author, -C \rangle , \langle +author, +C \rangle], but rather [\langle +author, -C \rangle , \langle +author, +C \rangle]. Since the pronoun does not have a [-author] feature, the impoverishment rule in (116b) is not active and cannot delete the [\langle +author, +C \rangle] feature, hence the pronoun in (117) can never control third person agreement.²³

Note that when the agreement shift data from languages like Mishar Tatar and monstrous agreement data in languages like Telugu are taken together, a pattern begins to emerge. In the languages sampled here, the generalization in (118) appears to hold.

- (118) If a pronoun and agreement morphology mismatch in embedded environments, the [+C] features are expressed on the pronoun, while the [-C] features are expressed on the agreement morphology.

I am currently unaware of any language where this generalization does not hold, but more cross-linguistic work should be done on a larger sample of languages. I leave such an endeavor for future research.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have analyzed monstrous agreement in Telugu. I argued that the embedded subject itself is the controller of monstrous agreement. I provided two novel tests that provide evidence for that conclusion. The analysis presented here also did not rely on any new mechanisms such as agreement reprogramming. I instead argued that pronouns that control monstrous agreement have a feature structure in (119).

- (119) [\langle -author, +C \rangle \langle +author, -C \rangle]

²³Podobryaev (2014) offers an alternative analysis of the Mishar Tatar facts presented here. He suggests that the overt pronouns are not the embedded subjects, but instead hanging topics, with null shifted counterparts as the true agreement controllers. As the data in footnote 3 show such an analysis does not work for Telugu monstrous agreement, as it is clear *tanu* is in the embedded clause. The available data for Mishar Tatar does not clearly delineate between the two analyses, but the predictions are clear: my analysis expects third person agreement to still be possible if we control for a hanging topic parse, but it is predicted to not be possible if we control for such a parse by Podobryaev (2014). I leave creating and testing such controls as a matter of future research.

While feature combinations like the one in (119) have been proposed before (e.g., Schlenker 2003a,b), the analysis presented here goes a step further and gives a precise characterization of the morphological operations that go into having the feature bundle in (119) surface as monstrous agreement. I then showed that elements that have the feature bundle in (119) have a limited distribution in Telugu: they can occur in a number of different embedded clauses including under verbs of speech, thought, knowledge, direct perception as well causal clauses. I argued that they must be bound by an operator introduced by the complementizer *ani* (Op_{ani}). This operator binding was motivated by the *de se* interpretation of monstrous agreement and the blocking effects found with c-commanding first person indexicals.

I also presented novel data regarding long-distance licensing of monstrous agreement that showed that monstrous agreement typically can only refer to the most local attitude holder, however if the intermediate embedding element is unable to host Op_{ani} , then monstrous agreement is possible with a non-local attitude holder. I used this facts to motivate a relativized minimality approach to the locality conditions on monstrous agreement.

The theory put forth here was then extended to account for a number of other cross-linguistic phenomena: (i) shifty second person agreement, (ii) logophors —both cases where they control first person agreement, as in Donno So, or a special logophoric agreement, as in Ibibio, and (iii) another type of agreement shift where first person pronouns can control third person agreement in languages like Golin and Mishar Tatar.

Zooming out, the big picture take away of this analysis is that UG makes use of more complex feature combinations than it is commonly thought from analyzing familiar language like English. Expanding the possible feature combinations to include a feature bundle like (119), accounts for a number of agreement patterns found in embedded clauses in several unrelated languages.

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