



**2.2.2 Agreeing adpositions**

(11) šī wo-b-nī centr-ē a-b  
 1PL be-I/II.PL-ESM center(IV)-INESS in-I/II.PL (ESM = epistemic status marker)  
 ‘we were in the center’ Tsakhur (Daghestan), cf. Corbett (2006: 46)

– usually, the P agrees with its complement, e.g. in Celtic and Caucasian languages:

(12) a-jàyas a-q’nò  
 the-river its-at  
 ‘at the river’ Abkhaz, cf. Nichols (1986: 61)

– More data can be found in Baker (2008: 191-196)

**2.2.3 The associative marker in Bantu**

- occurs when a N modifies another N; relationship can be possessive, but need not be
- the associative marker agrees with the head (and not with the modifying noun)

(13) a. kikombe cha (<ki+a) kahawa b. vikombe vya (<vi+a) kahawa  
 7cup 7of 7AGR+ASSOC 9coffee 8cup 8of 7AGR+ASSOC 9coffee  
 ‘a cup of coffee’ ‘cups of coffee’  
 c. picha ya (i+a) Mariamu d. picha za (<zi+a) Mariamu  
 9picture 9of 9agr-ASSOC Mariamu 10picture 10of Mariamu  
 ‘a picture of Mariamu’ ‘pictures of Mariamu’  
 Swahili, cf. Carstens (2000: 323)

– Similar markers are also found in Afro-asiatic languages

**2.2.4 Complementizer Agreement:**

(14) a. K=peinzen dan=k (ik) morgen gaon.  
 1SG=think that=1sg (I) tomorrow go  
 ‘I think that I’ll go tomorrow.’

b. K=peinzen da=j (gie) morgen goat.  
 1SG=think that=2SG you tomorrow go  
 ‘I think that you’ll go tomorrow.’

c. K=peinzen da=se (zie) morgen goat  
 1SG=think that=3SG.F she tomorrow goes  
 ‘I think she’ll go tomorrow.’

c. K=peinzen dan=ze (zunder) morgen goan  
 1SG=think that=3PL they tomorrow go  
 ‘I think they’ll go tomorrow.’ West Flemish, cf. Haegeman (1992: 48-51)

- the presence of clitics could be analyzed as a case of clitic doubling; the clitic does not occur with overt NPs (cf. Celtic languages)
- what is crucial is that the form of the complementizer covaries with the form of the verb
- CA in Dutch and German varieties: it is not always clear if one is dealing with agreement or clitic doubling (unlike in WF the C itself is usually invariable)
- More data, including complementizers agreeing with the matrix subject, can be found in Baker (2008: 178-184)

**2.2.5 Agreement on conjunctions**

(15) Ich zei det Hay in Venlo mot blieve en-s toow mós verhoetze.  
 I said that Hay in Venlo must stay and-2SG you.SG must move  
 ‘I said that Hay must stay in Venlo and that you must move.’

Tegelen Dutch, cf. van Koppen and Cremers (2008: 1071):

- For agreeing adverbs and focus particles, cf. Corbett (2006: 44f., 52f.)

**3 Agreement features**

- normal case: inherent features of the controller are copied onto the target (where they are called contextual features)
- inherent features or normally interpretable, contextual features are not
- There is no agreement in purely morphological features like declension class:
- Latin: noun in o-/a-declension, adjective in either o-/a- or consonantal declension:

(16) a. dominus bonus b. dominus celer  
 master.M.SG.NOM good.M.SG.NOM master.M.SG.NOM fast.M.SG.NOM  
 ‘a good master’ ‘a fast master’

a. domina bona d. domina celeris  
 mistress.F.SG.NOM good.F.SG.NOM mistress.F.SG.NOM fast.F.SG.NOM  
 ‘a good mistress’ ‘a fast mistress’

- for the need to posit agreement features in the absence of a unique marker for them, cf. Corbett (2006: 118ff.) on animacy

**3.1 Familiar agreement features**

- normally: inherent (+ interpretable) features of the controller are copied onto the target

- verbs: *person*, number, gender
- NP-internal determiners, numerals, adjectives: number, gender (case)<sup>1</sup>
- predicative adjectives/nouns: number, gender (case)
- prepositions: *person*, number, gender
- complementizers: *person*, number, gender
- on possessum when it agrees with possessor (10): *person*, number, gender
- on possessor when it agrees with possessum (9): number, gender

- how can we explain the distribution of person agreement?
- just ruled out NP-internally? – no: no person agreement on predicative adjectives:

(17) a. Ni-li-kuwa ni-ko-som-a. b. Ni-Ø m-refu  
 1SGS-PST-be 1SGS-CONT-read-FV 1SGS-be 1-tall  
 ‘I was reading.’ ‘I am tall.’ Swahili, cf. Baker (2008: 1)

→ person marking only under head-marking?

<sup>1</sup> For an exception where the adjective agrees with the possessor which depends on the possessum that the adjective modifies, cf. Corbett (2006: 47, 141f.) and ex. (38). In languages where attributive adjectives can modify 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns we do not find person agreement on the adjective, cf. Baker (2008: 24):  
 i. Itwe ba-kuhi mo-tu-a-gend-ire  
 we 2-short AFF-1PLSUB-T-go-EXT  
 ‘We short ones went.’

### 3.2 Features and their values

- gender (cf. Corbett (1991))
  - strict semantic systems: meaning of a noun is sufficient to determine its gender (e.g. Tamil)
  - semantic and formal assignment: nouns which cannot be categorized on the basis of semantic rules either belong to a single gender or are distributed over various genders according to formal rules (inflectional classes), e.g. German
  - some systems are based on sex, some on animacy
  - systems with 2, 3, 4 genders are common, there are also systems with up to 20 genders, common values are:
    - i. masculine/feminine (e.g. Spanish)
    - ii. masculine/feminine/neuter (e.g. German)
    - iii. common/neuter
    - iii. animate/inanimate
    - iv. human/non-human
    - v. human/animal/inanimate
- Number (cf. Corbett (2000))
  - most systems use a binary opposition: singular/plural
  - some languages additionally have a dual: singular/dual/plural
  - some languages have special forms for 3, *trial*, or for a small unspecified number of items: *paucal*
  - on so-called verbal number (where the stem varies according to the number of the subject and may differ from the agreement inflection), cf. Corbett (2006: 131)
- Person (cf. Siewierska (2004))
  - 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>
  - 1<sup>st</sup> inclusive/exclusive
  - 3<sup>rd</sup> proximative/obviative
- Not all features are equally likely to be used as agreement features: person > number > gender

### 3.3 Less familiar agreement features

#### 3.3.1 Case

- never an inherent feature of a noun
- within DP: case is assigned to the DP and then distributed over the various constituents (it is by no means clear how this is executed) → not asymmetric
- There are cases with copular constructions where the nominal/adjectival predicate agrees with the controller (semantic subject, with different grammatical relations)

(18) a. Ich nannte ihn einen Idioten  
 I called he.ACC a.ACC idiot.ACC  
 'I called him an idiot'

b. Magister puerum stupidum esse dixit.  
 teacher.M.SG.NOM boy.M.SG.ACC stupid.M.SG.ACC be.INF said.3SG  
 'Marco said that the boy was stupid.'

- such cases are arguably asymmetric unless one assumes that both constituents start out within the same constituent (e.g. a small clause) and that this constituent is then assigned case, which then percolates down to the constituents, but the default assumption seems to be that the noun receives case independently and – somehow – shares this case with its nominal/adjectival predicate; cf. also Corbett (2006: 134)
  - Case stacking (frequent in Australian languages; INS = instrumental, ABL = ablative; PROP = proprietive [kind of instrumental/possessive])
- (19) a. [[dan-kinaba-nguni dangka-naba-nguni] mirra-nguni wangal-nguni]  
 this-ABL-INS man-ABL-INS good-INS boomerang-INS  
 'with this man's good boomerang' (Kayardild, cf. Corbett (2006: 80))
- b. Ngayu nhawu-lha [ngurnu tharnta-a [mirtily-marta-a [thara-ngka-marta-a]]]  
 1sg.NOM see-PST that[ACC] euro-ACC joey-PROP-ACC pouch-LOC-PROP-ACC  
 'I saw that euro (hill kangaroo) with a joey (young kangaroo) in (its) pouch.'  
 Martuthunira, cf. Corbett (2006: 135)
- DPs within the direct object not only bear the case that expresses their relationship with the head (PROP, LOC) but also the case assigned to the head; this can be done recursively

#### 3.3.2 Definiteness

- like case, it is not an inherent feature of a noun; rather, it is a feature assigned to the entire DP
  - in some languages, the definiteness marking can spread to other DP-internal constituents (like case in other languages) → not asymmetric
- (20) sepr gadol ('exxad) / ha-sepr ha-gadol  
 book big (one) DEF-book DEF-big  
 'a big book / the big book'
- often definiteness just functions as a condition (e.g. object agreement in Hungarian only with definite objects, cf. Corbett (2006: 90))

#### 3.3.3 Respect

- in some languages marked independently of number (which otherwise is frequently employed to mark respect, e.g. by means of plural for singular referents)

'you go'	singular	plural
neutral	o-kala	o-kala-amu
polite	to-kala	to-kala-amu

Muna (Austranesian), cf. Corbett (2006: 138)

### 3.3.4 Tense, aspect, mood, polarity

- Verbalizing cases in Kayardild
- originally verbs, now case markers which nominalize verbs
- they agree with the finite verb in tense, aspect, mood and polarity
- since these features are inherent features of verbs, the relationship can be taken to be asymmetric between controller and target

(21) a. ngada waa-jarra wangarr-ina ngijin-maru-tharra thabuju-maru-tharra  
 1sg.NOM sing-PST song-MOD\_ABL my-V-DAT-PST brother-V\_DAT-PST  
 'I sang a song for my brother.'

b. ngada waa-nangku wangarr-u ngijin-maru-nangku thabuju-maru-nangku  
 1sg.NOM sing-NEG.POT song-MOD\_PROP my-V\_DAT-NEG.POT brother-V\_DAT-NEG.POT  
 'I won't sing a song for my brother.' Kayardild, cf. Corbett (2006: 139)

## 4 Domains – syntactic relations between controller and target

- Basic idea: agreement only obtains between elements that are in a certain syntactic relationship with each other:
  - predicate-argument: usually head-marking
  - head-modifier: dependent-marking
- Thus, in a sentence like *The large cat chased the small mouse* we do not expect there to be agreement between *small* and *large cat* or *small mouse* and *large cat*
- Additionally: Minimality: one does not expect there to be agreement between a head and a subpart of its dependent, e.g.:
  - verb agrees with a constituent (argument/modifier) of an argument, but not with the argument itself
  - Note that there are also cases where a head can be marked in a way that indicates that it takes a dependent with it, e.g. status constructus in Hebrew; also on nouns taking adjectival modifiers, e.g. Shuswap, cf. Nichols (1986: 61); this is, however, not an instance of agreement as it does not involve feature copying.

### 4.1 Canonical syntactic relationships

- predicate-argument:
  - verbs head-marking
  - predicative adjectives/nouns, depictives
  - preposition head-marking (ex. (12))
  - possessum – possessor head-marking (ex. (10)) or dependent-marking (ex. (9))
- head-modifier:
  - noun-adjective dependent-marking
- With other NP-internal constituents, the dependency-relationships are less clear, both structurally as well as semantically:
  - There are structural arguments for assuming D to be the head of the noun phrase
  - semantically, quantifiers, numerals and determiners have scope over the noun

→ this would suggest that D, Num and Quant are heads and N is the dependent, but the agreement features (or: at least gender) would come from the noun so that we would be dealing with an instance of head-marking within the noun phrase.

- An even clearer example of head-marking are Russian numerals: they require the complement noun to be in the genitive case, but they agree with it in gender:

(22) a. dv-a žurnal-a b. dv-e gazet-y  
 two-M.NOM magazine(M)-SG.GEN two-F.NOM newspaper(F)-SG.GEN  
 'two magazines' 'two newspapers'  
 Russian, cf. Corbett (2006: 43, 85)

- Agreement is sometimes sensitive to the type of relationship:
  - German adjectives only agree in attributive, but not in predicate position:

(23) a. Er trinkt kalt-es Wasser. b. Das Wasser ist kalt(\*-es)  
 he drinks cold-N.SG.ACC water the water is cold-N.SG.NOM  
 'He drinks cold water.' 'The water is cold.'

### 4.2 Agreement on verbs

- Subject agreement is often restricted to finite/tensed clauses (but not e.g. in many Bantu languages where person agreement is also found on non-finite verbs, cf. Baker (2008: 208))

#### 4.2.1 Ergative vs. accusative alignment

- Accusative languages: A is encoded like S (nominative), both different from P (accusative)

(24) a. Dominus canta-t. b. Dominus puer-um lauda-t  
 master.M.SG.NOM sing-3SG master.M.SG.NOM boy-ACC praise-3SG  
 'The master sings.' 'The master praises the boy.'

- Agreement patterns with case-marking: S/A vs. P (O)

- Ergative languages: P (O) is encoded like S (absolutive), both different from A (ergative)

(25) a. Buwa d-arɣarʃi d-i b. dija w-arɣarʃi w-i  
 mother(II)[ABS] II-lie.down II-be father(I)[ABS] I-lie.down I-be  
 'Mother is lying down.' 'Father is lying down.'

c. Buwa-mu b-ez x<sup>n</sup>alli a<b>u  
 mother(II)-ERG III-1SG.DAT bread(III)[ABS] made<III>  
 'Mother made bread for me.'

d. dija-mu Ø-ez noL' a<Ø>w  
 father(I)-ERG IV-1.SG.DAT house(IV)[ABS] made<IV>  
 'Father made a house for me.' Archi, cf. Corbett (2006: 56f.)

- Here, agreement patterns with case-marking
- there are also languages where case-marking follows an ergative pattern and agreement an absolutive pattern; the reverse, i.e. accusative case-marking and ergative agreement does not exist!

- There exist further alignment systems: S vs. A vs. P; split S, cf. Palmer (1994)

#### 4.2.2 The role of grammatical relations

- 3 frequent claims
  - Agreement on verbs is limited to arguments (i.e. ‘terms’, cf. Johnson (1977: 157))
  - Agreement follows a hierarchy of grammatical relations: agreement with lower relations presupposes agreement with higher relations:
  - Johnson (1977): Relational hierarchy
- (26) subject > direct object > indirect object > other object
- Keenan and Comrie (1977): Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy:
- (27) subject > direct Object > indirect Object > oblique > genitive > object of comparison
- The position of ergative and absolutive arguments on the hierarchy is probably not universally fixed, i.e. in some languages, it is ABS > ERG (as in (25)), in others it is ERG > ABS, cf. e.g. Corbett (2006: 57f.)
  - In some languages, the order of direct object – indirect object is reversed: primary object > secondary object (Dryer (1986)), this also affects agreement possibilities, cf. e.g. Bresnan and Moshi (1990)

##### 4.2.2.1 Agreement with non-terms/adjuncts

- In most languages, local, beneficiary, instrumental and manner adjuncts cannot be marked on the verb
  - voice-operations like applicative, however, promote such adjuncts to argument/object status, in which case the verb can agree with them:
- (28) a. N-ǎ-ĩ-ly-à                      k-élyà.                      b. N-ǎ-ĩ-lyì-í-à                      ìm-kà      k-élyà  
 FOC-1SUB-PRS-eat-FV 7-food                      FOC-1SUB-PRS-eat-**APL**-FV 1-wife 7-food  
 ‘He/She is eating food.’                      ‘He is eating food for/on his wife.’
- c. N-ǎ-ĩ-ìm-lyì-í-à                      k-élyà.  
 FOC-1SUB-PRS-**1OBJ-APL**-FV 7-food  
 ‘He/She is eating food for/on him/her.’  
 Kichaga, cf. Bresnan and Moshi (1990: 148, 150)
- many Austronesian languages like Tagalog have an elaborate voice system that can promote just about any relation to a core term; the verb takes different forms depending on the relation that is promoted. This is, however, not really an instance of agreement (since no inherent properties of the noun are reflected on the verb), cf. e.g. Kroeger (1993)
  - However, the literature reports cases of agreeing adjuncts without prior promotion via applicative; we find adjuncts triggering object and subject agreement:
- (29) a. a-li-**mu**-isha                      mwaka jana kazi yake  
 1SUB-PST-18OBJ-finish year(3) last work(9) his  
 ‘He finished his work last year’
- b. Mwaka jana      **m**-li-fika      wa-geni  
 year(3) gestern 3-PST-arrive 2-stranger  
 ‘Last year foreigners arrived.’  
 Swahili, cf. Krifka (1995: 1407f.)

- c. **Pò**-ngàndá **pé**-térék-à                      òmú-kázéndú      ònyàmà.  
 16-9house 16.HAB-cook-FV 1-woman 9meat  
 Lit. ‘At home cooks a/the woman meat.’                      Herero, cf. Marten (2006: 117)
- These facts have led people to propose that (at least some instances of) subject-verb-agreement should be reanalyzed as topic agreement, cf. Salzmann (2011)

##### 4.2.2.2 Agreement with a non-subject in subject-agr languages

- In some Bantu languages, we find so-called subject-object-reversal, transitive sentences with the object preceding the verb and the subject in postverbal position; in this construction, it is the object that triggers “subject”-verb-agreement:
- (30) a. Umu-huũngu a-ra-som-a igi-tabo.      b. **Igi**-tabo **cyi**-ra-som-a umu-huũngu.  
 1-boy 1-PRS-read-ASP 7-book 7-book 7-PRS-read-ASP 1-boy  
 ‘The boy is reading the book.’                      ‘The book, the boy is reading.’  
 Kinyarwanda, cf. Kimenyi (1980: 141)
- Such examples have also received a topic-agreement analysis
  - *There*-insertion: Even though the expletive *there* is the syntactic subject (it undergoes raising to subject), it is the postverbal theme (object) that controls agreement:
- (31) There were many flowers in the garden.
- In Raising constructions, it is not the subject of the raised predicate that triggers agreement but the external argument of the embedded predicate:

(32) John seems to like Mary.

### 4.3 Agreement between a head and a subpart of its dependent

#### 4.3.1 First conjunct agreement

- The verb does not agree with its subject but with a subpart of the subject:
- (33) a. xaraj-at al-bintu wa ?al-waladu      b. xaraj-a ?al-waladu wa al-bintu  
 left-**3SG.F** [the-girl and the-boy]                      left-**3SG.M** [the-boy and the-girl]  
 ‘The girl and the boy left.’                      ‘The boy and the girl left.’  
 cf. Modern Standard Arabic: Koppen (2005: 45ff.)

#### 4.3.2 Long-distance agreement

- In Tsez, the matrix verb taking a clausal complement can either show default agreement (gender IV) or agree with the absolutive argument of the dependent clause:
- (34) a. eni-r                      [už-ǎ      magalu      b-ǎc’-ru-li]                      r-iy-xo.  
 mother(III)-DAT boy(I)-ERG bread(III)[ABS] III-eat-PST\_PTCP-NMLZ[ABS] IV-know-PRS  
 ‘The mother knows that the boy ate the bread.’
- b. eni-r                      [už-ǎ      magalu      b-ǎc’-ru-li]                      b-iy-xo  
 mother(III)-DAT boy(I)-ERG bread(III)[ABS] III-eat-PST\_PTCP-NOMLZ[ABS] III-know-PRS  
 ‘The mother knows that the boy ate the bread.’ Tsez, Polinsky and Potsdam (2001: 584)

**4.3.3 Verb agreement with a possessor of its argument**

- In some languages, verbs can agree not only with their argument but also the possessor of the head of this argument:

- (35) a. tohar bāp aelthun  
your.MID\_HON father.HON came.3\_HON.2\_MID\_HON  
'Your (mid-honorific) father (honorific) came.'
- b. ham torā beṭā-ke dekhaliu  
I your.NON-HON son-OBJ saw.1>2\_NON-HON  
'I saw your (non-honorific) son.'  
Maithili, cf. Corbett (2006: 61)

**4.3.4 Predicative adjective agrees with a dependent of its subject**

- Polish numerals take genitival complements, they are not specified for number
- verb agreement is default 3SG.N, but the predicative adjective agrees with the genitival phrase in number and case:

- (36) Sześć kobiet by-l-o smutn-ych  
six[NOM] woman[PL.GEN] be-PST-N.SG sad-PL.GEN  
'Six women were sad.'  
Polish, cf. Corbett (2006: 134)

**4.4 Indirect agreement: target receives an agreement feature**

- There are cases where the target receives features that the controller has received from agreement with something else

**4.4.1 Case-stacking**

- We have already seen case-stacking (repeated from above) where the dependent noun *pouch* not only receives the case-feature from its immediate head indicating the type of dependency, it also receives the case-feature of the head of its head, i.e. an agreement feature of its head:

- (37) Ngayu nhawu-lha [ngurnu tharnta-a [mirtily-marta-a [thara-ngka-marta-a]]]  
1sg.NOM see-PST that[ACC] euro-ACC joey-PROP-ACC pouch-LOC-PROP-ACC  
'I saw that euro (hill kangaroo) with a joey (young kangaroo) in (its) pouch.'  
Martuthunira, cf. Corbett (2006: 135)

**4.4.2 Possessor agreement on adjectives**

- In Tundra Nenets (Samoyedic, Uralic), the possessum agrees with its possessor; additionally, the adjective depending on the possessum also bears these agreement features, i.e. the adjective agrees with a possessor with which it does not have a direct grammatical relationship, but an indirect one:

- (38) a. (møny) serako-(myi) te-myi b. (pidør<sup>o</sup>) serako-(r<sup>o</sup>) te-r<sup>o</sup>  
1SG white-(1SG) reindeer-1SG 2SG white-(2SG) reindeer-2SG  
'my white reindeer' 'your white reindeer'

- Note that this is a very rare case whether the adjective shows person agreement

**4.5 Agreement in the absence of a clear syntactic relationship****4.5.1 Complementizer agreement**

- cf. the data in (14): the complementizer may be the head of the CP and CP an extended projection of the verb, but there is no direct relationship (the equivalent in the noun phrase would be a determiner agreeing with the possessor of the noun phrase)

**4.5.2 Back-agreement: agreement of the copula with the predicate, not the subject**

- (39) a. jedna a dvě jsou tři b. jedna a tři jsou čtyři  
one and two be.3PL three one and three be.3PL four  
'one and two are three' 'one and three are four'
- c. dvě a tři je pět d. tři a tři je šest  
two and three be.3SG five three and three be.3SG six  
'two and three are five' 'three and three are six'  
Czech, cf. Corbett (2006: 63)

- numerals 1–4: plural, >5: singular

**4.5.3 Agreement between co-arguments**

- dative arguments have an agreement slot agreeing with the absolutive argument

- (40) a. b-ez dogi kʼan-ši b-i  
III-1SG.DAT donkey(III)[ABS] like-CVB III-is  
'I like the donkey.'
- b. ez motol kʼan-ši i  
[IV]1SG.DAT young.goat(IV)[ABS] like-CVB [IV]is  
'I like the kid.'
- c. w-ez dija kʼan-ši w-i  
I-1SG-DAT father(I)[ABS] like-CVB I-is  
'I like father.'
- d. d-ez buwa kʼan-ši d-i  
II-1SG.DAT mother(II)[ABS] like-CVB II-is  
'I like mother.'
- Archi, cf. Corbett (2006: 67)

- For a similar example in Dargi, cf. Corbett (2006: 49)

**4.5.4 Other cases**

- even more exotic cases are
- adverbs agreeing with the absolutive argument in Archi and Tsakhur, cf. Corbett (2006: 44)
- (focus) particles agreeing with the absolutive in Tsakhur, cf. Corbett (2006: 66)
- adpositions agreeing with the absolutive in Tsakhur, cf. Corbett (2006: 46)

## 5 Mismatches

### 5.1 Mismatches due to morphological restrictions

#### 5.1.1 No matching because controller is indeclinable

(41) a. U nee by-l-o pjat' nov-yx parto.  
 at 3SG.F.GEN be-PST-N.SG five new-PL.GEN coat  
 'She had five new coats.'

b. U nee by-l-o pjat' nov-yx pojao-ov.  
 at 3SG.F.GEN be-PST-N.SG five new-PL.GEN belt-PL.GEN  
 'She had five e new belts.'

- Consequences for morphology:
- pre-syntactic: underspecification – but how do we get the values on the verb? unification,
- post-syntactic: full features in syntax, morphological form is underspecified

#### 5.1.2 No matching because target fails to show full agreement

- Targets can fail to show full agreement if
- they are indeclinable (e.g. German *rosa*)
- they show syncretisms, e.g. German plural inflection in verbs:

(42) a. Wir spiel-en                      b. sie spiel-en                      c. ihr spiel-t  
 we play-PL                              they play-PL                              you(PL) play-2PL  
 'we play'                                      'they play'                                      'you play'

- morphology:
- *pre-syntactic*: verb/target is underspecified, unification of features in syntax
- *post-syntactic*: verb is fully specified in syntax, syncretism results from either a. impoverishment or b. underspecification of the lexical item form
- in all these cases, there is usually good reason to assume that all agreement features are used in the language but that in certain cases some features remain unrealized in morphology

### 5.2 Missing controllers

- In cases of *pro*-drop, there appears to be no controller:

(43) Gianni ha finalmente trovato la stazione. È molto contento.  
 John has finally found the station is very satisfied.MSC.SG  
 'John finally found the station. He is very satisfied.'

- *pre-syntactic*: verb provides the information for a possibly underspecified subject in the lexical structure
- *post-syntactic*: there is a small *pro* with the necessary features
- A more complex example where the 1st dual subject (*mej*) has been dropped:

(44) Smej z nan-om šach gra-l-ej  
 aux.1DU with father-SG.INS chess[SG.ACC] play-PST-DU  
 'Father and I played chess.' Lower Sorbian, cf. Corbett (2006: 172)

### 5.3 Feature structures of controller and target do not match

#### 5.3.1 More features on the controller than on the target: Hebrew number

	3 features		2 features	
<b>Controller (N)</b>	singular	↔	singular	<b>Target (V)</b>
	dual	↔	plural	
	plural	↔		

- morphology
- *pre-syntactic*: features have to be decomposed, verb would be underspecified (e.g. [+pl]), which may then be compatible with [+pl, +dual] and [+pl, -dual]
- *post-syntactic*: a. impoverishment on V: dual feature is deleted  
 b. lexical item is underspecified for dual feature

#### 5.3.2 More features on the target than on the controller

##### 5.3.2.1 Inari Sami number

	2 features		3 features	
<b>Controller (N)</b>	singular	↔	singular	<b>Target</b>
	plural	↔	dual	
		↔	plural	

(45) a. Almai kuá'láást onne.  
 man.SG.NOM fish(3.SG) today  
 'The man is fishing today.' Inari Sami, cf. Corbett (2006: 146)

b. Alma-h kuá'láást-ava onne.                      c. Alma-h kuá'láást-eh onne.  
 man-PL.NOM fish-3DU today                      man-PL.NOM fish-3PL today  
 'The two men are fishing today.'                      'The men are fishing today.'

- morphology
- *pre-syntactic*: decomposition of features + underspecification of the noun → unification
- *post-syntactic*: a. impoverishment on N: dual feature is deleted  
 b. lexical item is underspecified for dual feature

##### 5.3.2.2 Number agreement in Walman (Torricelli, Papua New Guinea)

- a more extreme case is found in in Walman where nouns are not marked for number, but the verb shows number inflection (Corbett (2006: 171))

(46) a. Pelen n-aikiri                      b. Pelen w-aikiri                      c. Pelen y-aikiri  
 dog M.SG-barked                      dog F.SG-barked                      dog PL-barked  
 'The male dog barked.'                      'The female dog barked.'                      'The dogs barked.'

- morphology
- *pre-syntactic*: noun is underspecified → unification unproblematic
- *post-syntactic*: number features in syntax that receive no exponence at PF (impoverishment deletes features on N or underspecification of vocabulary items)

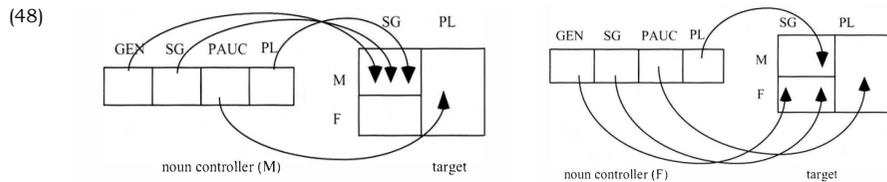
- This comparable to the French case where the ending on the adjective provides information about the controller *Je suis content-e* 'I am satisfied-FEM.SG'

**5.3.3 A more complex mapping: number in Bayso (Cushitic)**

- 2 genders (masc/fem) and 4 numbers on nouns: general (unspecified number), singular (one), paucal (2-6), plural (more than 6)
- verb can be inflected for singular or plural

- (47) a. lúbán hudure lion[GENERAL] slept.M.SG 'Lion(s) slept.'
- b. kimbír hundurte bird[GENERAL] slept.F.SG 'Bird(s) slept.'
- c. lubán-titi hudure lion-SG slept.M.SG 'A single/particular lion slept.'
- d. bimbír-titi hundurte bird-SG slept.F.SG 'A single/particular bird slept.'
- e. luban-jaa hudureene lion-PAUCAL slept.PL 'A few lions slept.'
- f. kimbir-jaa hudureene bird-PAUCAL slept.PL 'A few birds slept.'
- g. luban-jool hudure lion-PL slept.M.SG 'Lions slept.'
- g. kimbir-jool hudure bird-PL slept.M.SG 'Birds slept.'
- Bayso (Cushitic), cf. Corbett (2006: 173)

- the mapping is rather complex/bewildering



- decomposition + underspecification + impoverishment is needed, unclear how this can be done with pre-syntactic morphology
- decomposition:
  - general: [-pauc, -pl, -sg]
  - singular: [-pauc, -pl, +sg]
  - plural: [-pauc, +pl]
  - paucal: [+pauc]
- impoverishment: [+fem] → ∅ / \_ [+pl]
- vocabulary items:
  - /hudureene/ ↔ [+pauc]
  - /hudure/ ↔ [-pauc, +msc]
  - /hudurte/ ↔ [-pauc, +fem]

**5.4 Partial agreement in subfeatures**

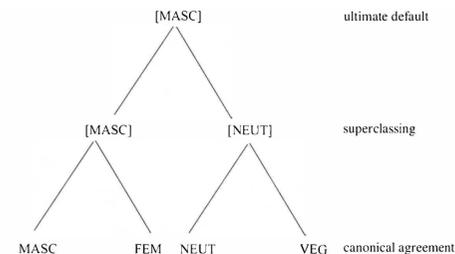
- Feature structures on controller and target are the same
- Features are usually assumed to be hierarchically structured
- evidence for the structure can be found in cases where one value can act as a default for other values:
  - Jingulu (Australia): 4 genders (masculine, feminine, neuter, vegetable)
  - adjectives normally agree in gender:

- (49) a. Wijbirri-rni jalyamingk-irni white.person-F new-F 'The white girl is new-born.'
- b. Lalija darra-nga-ju jamurriyak-a tea(M) eat-1SG-do cooled-M 'I'm drinking cold tea'
- c. Miringmi-rni darra-nga-yi bardakurr-imi gum(VEG)-FOC eat-1SG-FUT good-VEG 'I'll eat the sweet gum.'
- Jingulu, cf. Corbett (2006: 151)

- However, there can be mismatches whereby masculine can be used for feminine, neuter for vegetable and masculine for both the latter genders:

- (50) a. Ngamulirni jalyamungk-a binyiya-ju birnmirin girl(F) young-M grow-do prepubescent-girl 'That little girl is growing up into a big girl.'
- b. Jama-rni nyanyalu-ngkujku darranku kirdkilyaku that(M)-FOC leaf-having.N tree.N bent.N 'That bent tree is leafy.'
- c. nginiki barndumi / ngimaniki barndumi this(N) lower.back(VEG) this(VEG) lower.back(VEG) 'this lower back' 'this lower back' Jingulu, cf. Corbett (2006: 151)

- The feature hierarchy will look as follows:



- feature decomposition:
  - masculine: [-neuter, -fem]
  - feminine: [-neuter, +fem]
  - neuter: [+neuter, -veg]
  - vegetable: [+neuter, +veg]

- morphology
  - pre-syntactic: underspecified adjectives (with decomposed feature values) are unified with fully specified verbs → no clash
  - post-syntactic: gender feature is decomposed, full agreement on the adjective in syntax; optional impoverishment rules delete marked values on the adjective, the less marked markers can then be inserted

## 5.5 Partial Agreement in phi-features

- Agreement not with all phi-features but just with a subset of them
- (51) a. xaraj-a            l-ʔawlaad-u    (not: \*xaraj-uu)  
 went.out-3SG.M   DEF-boys-NOM            went.out-3PL.M  
 ‘the boys went out’
- b. xaraj-at            l-banaat-u    (not: \*xaraj-na)  
 went.out-3SG.F   DEF-girls-NOM            went.out-3PL.F  
 ‘the girls went out’                            Modern Standard Arabic, cf. Corbett (2006: 154)
- morphology:
    - *pre-syntactic*: perhaps no unification of number features → verb appears in default; or: decomposition + underspecification of the verb features ([–pl] → [ ])
    - *post-syntactic*: perhaps no copying/unification of number features in syntax → default form; or: impoverishment deletes the marked number value so that an underspecified form can be inserted

## 5.6 Semantic agreement

- Normally, form and meaning coincide in a controller: a singular entity with singular inflection or a plural entity with plural inflection; a female noun with female inflection, a masculine noun with masculine inflection
- In some cases, however, form and meaning do not coincide, and this is where we often find mismatches instantiating semantic agreement, i.e. agreement with the meaning of the controller P

### 5.6.1 Sources of mismatches

#### 5.6.1.1 Different conceptualizations: meaning–meaning mismatches

- Certain nouns can be conceptualized in different ways
  - English committee-type nouns
    - can be conceptualized as a unit or as several individuals
  - Latin collective nouns

(52) a. turba            seniorum    adventum hostium    expecta-ba-nt  
 crowd[F.SG.NOM] elderly.PL.GEN arrival.ACC enemy.PL.GEN expect-PST-3PL  
 ‘The crowd of the elderly expected the arrival of the enemies.’

b. Magna    pars            occusi            sunt.  
 big.F.SG.NOM part[F.SG.NOM] killed.M.PL.NOM be.3PL  
 ‘A big part was killed.’

- German:

(53) Der ganze Haufen stürzte auf ihn zu. Sie warfen ihn in heißen Teer und ...  
 the entire crowd[SG] darted at him PRT **They** threw him into hot tar and  
 ‘The entire crowd darted at him. They threw him into hot tar ...’

- Russian nouns denoting professions: *vrač* ‘doctor’: masculine morphology, can denote female as well as male doctors; female agreement is semantic agreement in the following:

(54) a. Ivanov-a            xoroš-ij            /    xoroš-aja    vrač  
 Ivanov(F)-SG.NOM good-M.SG.NOM    good-F.SG.NOM doctor[SG.NOM]  
 ‘Ivanova is a good doctor.’

b. Vrač            priše-l            /    priše-l-a  
 doctor[SG.NOM] come-PST[M.SG]    come-PST-F.SG  
 ‘The (woman) doctor came.’                            Russian, cf. Corbett (2006: 158)

- German Mädchen ‘girl’

(55) Das Mädchen legt ihren/seinen Mantel ab. Sie/es trägt ein rotes Kleid.  
 The girl[NTR] take her.FEM/her.NTR coat off. **She/it** wears a red dress  
 ‘The girl takes off her coat. She is wearing a red dress.’

#### 5.6.1.2 Form-meaning mismatches

- Russian numerals are formally singular (despite their meaning), take a genitive of quantification
- The predicate can be singular (default) or plural (semantic agreement) → since only nominative nouns can control agreement in Russian plural agreement must be semantic agreement (cf. also Corbett (2006: 131) for more examples)

(56) a. Voš-l-o            pjat’            devušek  
 come.in-PST-N.SG five[NOM] girl[PL.GEN]  
 ‘Five girls came in.’

b. Voš-l-i            pjat’            devušek  
 come.in-PST-PL five[NOM] girl[PL.GEN]  
 ‘Five girls came in.’                            Russian, cf. Corbett (2006: 163, cf. also p. 195ff.)

- Semantic agreement is not always associated with plural, we also find semantic agreement in singular:
  - In polite address to a single addressee, Bulgarian uses the 2<sup>nd</sup> plural pronoun *vie*, which takes grammatical (= plural) agreement on the verb, but semantic (=singular) agreements on other targets:

(57) Vie ste            ljuboznatelen / ljuboznateln-a  
 you cop.2PL inquisitive[M.SG]    inquisitive-F.SG  
 ‘You are inquisitive.’                            Bulgarian, cf. Corbett (2006: 231)

#### 5.6.1.3 Form-meaning mismatches without choices

- Certain nouns in certain languages belong to an inflection class that clashes with their gender, e.g. Latin *poeta*, *agricola*, which belongs to the a-declension that predominantly hosts feminine nouns. But it always takes masculine agreement (here there is no choice):

(58) a. Cicero poeta doctus            erat.            b. domina            docta  
 C.(M) poet(M) educated.M.SG.NOM be.PST.3SG    mistress(F)SG.NOM educated.F.SG.NOM  
 ‘Horatius was an educated poet.’                            ‘an educated mistress’

- this is not a case of semantic agreement proper, the term is usually restricted to nouns where there is a choice between formal or semantic agreement

## 5.6.1.4 Syntactic vs. semantic headedness

- In certain noun phrases consisting of head and dependent DP, the dependent DP carries most of the semantic content while the head expresses more modifier-like or quantificational semantics (as in English *a number of*)

(59) ton phénomène de fille est bien distrait-e  
your.M.SG phenomenon(M) of daughter(F) cop.3SG quite absent-minded-FEM  
'That amazing daughter of yours is quite absent-minded.'

(60) Mehr als ein Drittel der Beschäftigten leg-te-n die Arbeit nieder.  
more than a third[SG] the.PL.GEN employee.PL lay-PST-PL the work down  
'More than a third of the employees laid down tools.'

**5.6.2 For-meaning mismatches without semantic agreement**

- Semantic agreement does not always occur: even if there is a form meaning mismatch, the agreement may still be according to the form, as optionally so above in Russian. In some languages, only grammatical agreement is possible: Hungarian numerals require the noun to be in the singular → predicate must also be singular

(61) a. Tíz mókus szalad. b. Mókus-ok szalad-nak Hungarian, cf.  
ten squirrel[SG] run[3SG] squirrel-PL run-3PL Corbett (2006: 166)  
'Ten squirrels are running.' '(Some) squirrels are running'

→ One cannot predict when semantic agreement will occur, one can only describe constellations where it is likely to occur, but there is massive cross-linguistic variation in this respect

**5.6.3 How the agreement hierarchy constraints semantic agreement**

- the likelihood of semantic agreement increases from left to right:

(62) attributive > predicate > relative pronoun > personal pronoun

- see the following examples for illustration (for more examples cf. Corbett (2006: 207-226))

## 5.6.3.1 The agreement hierarchy with meaning-meaning mismatches (hybrid nouns)

- English collectives

(63) a. This/\*These committee  
b. The committee has/have decided.  
c. The committee, which has/who have decided  
d. The committee ... It/They

- Serbian *djevojčice* 'girl', cf. Corbett (2006: 214)

(64) T-o djevojč-e koj-e plač-e je doš-l-o juče,  
that-N.SG girl-SG who-N.SG cry-3SG aux.3SG come-PST-N.SG yesterday  
ali sam ga/je već zavoli-o  
but aux.1SG 3sg.N.ACC/3SG.F.ACC already like-PST-M.SG  
'That girl who is crying arrived yesterday, and yet I already like (have started to like) her.'

- titles in Bulgarian

(65) Negov-o Veličestv-o e došal  
his-N.SG Majesty(N)-SG AUX.3SG come.PST[M.SG]  
'His Majesty has come.'  
Bulgarian, cf. Corbett (2006: 12)

- on Latin, cf. ex. (52b) above

## 5.6.3.2 The agreement hierarchy with form-meaning mismatches

(66) moj brat tam toža žy-l'-i  
my[M.SG] brother(M)[SG] there also live-PST-PL  
'My brother and his family also live there.'  
Talitsk Russian, cf. Corbett (2006: 155)

- There is an additional hierarchy for predicates (that is orthogonal to the agreement hierarchy): the likelihood of semantic agreement increases from left to right:

(67) verb > participle > adjective > noun

**5.7 Conjoined phrases**

- A mismatch is usually unavoidable, especially with singular conjuncts: singular form, but the meaning of a plurality
- often agreement with just one conjunct or
- agreement with both conjoined phrases usually leads to (at least partial) semantic agreement in number (two singular conjuncts triggering plural agreement); conflicting gender and person features are resolved according to language-specific resolution rules (cf. Corbett (2006: chapter 8))

(68) a. xaraj-at al-bintu wa ?al-waladu b. xaraj-a ?al-waladu wa al-bintu  
left-3SG.F [the-girl and the-boy] left-3SG.M [the-boy and the-girl]  
'The girl and the boy left.'  
'The boy and the girl left.'

c. al-waladu wa ?al bintu xaraj-aa d. al-bintu wa ?al-waladu xaraj-aa  
[the-boy and the-girl] left-M.DU [the-girl and the-boy] left-M.DU  
'The boy and the girl left.'  
'The girl and the boy left.'

- Resolution can imply that none of the gender values of a conjunct survives:

(69) [Milk-a in njen-o tele ] sta bi-l-a zunaj  
Milka(F)-SG and her-N.SG calf(N)[SG] aux.3DU be-PST-M.DU outside  
'Milka and her calf were outside.'  
Slovene, cf. Corbett (2006: 24)

- The possibility of semantic agreement with conjoined noun phrases also follows the agreement hierarchy, cf. Corbett (2006: 220f.)

## 6 Conditions

- absolute vs. relative conditions
- absolute conditions: condition requires a certain agreement
- relative condition: condition makes a certain agreement more likely

### 6.1 Controller-related conditions

#### 6.1.1 Semantic/pragmatic properties

- animacy
- Miya (West Chadic): 2 genders (masc/fem), 2 numbers (sg/pl)
- number marking is subject to animacy: plural *marking* obligatory for animates, optional for inanimates; plural *agreement* is obligatory for animates but impossible for inanimates (animacy is thus an absolute condition):

(70) a. tɔ̀vám tsɔ̀r b. \*ʔám tsɔ̀r c. zàkiy-áyàw vaatlə d. zàkiy vaatlə  
 woman.PL two woman.SG two stone-PL five stone[SG] five  
 ‘two women’ ‘two women’ ‘five stones’ ‘five stones’

(71) a. niykin dzáfə b. niykin tɔ̀makwiy  
 this.PL man.PL this.PL sheep.PL  
 ‘these men’ ‘these sheep’

c. nákən víyayúw-awàw d. tákən tlɔ̀rkáy-ayàw  
 this.M.SG fireplace(M)-PL this.F.SG calabash(F)-PL  
 ‘these fireplaces.’ ‘these calabashes’

- for animacy as a relative condition favoring plural agreement with coordinated NPs in Russian, cf. Corbett (2006: 179)
- for the role of animacy in plural verb agreement in Turkish, cf. Corbett (2006: 190f.)
- person
- Dargi: agreement (in the right slot) is only with 1st/2nd person (if both are 1st/2nd, agreement is with the subject/external argument)

(72) a. diče ʔu r-iqan-da b. diče it r-iqan-da  
 1SG.ERG 2SG.II.ABS II.SG-lead-1 1.SG.ERG 3SG.II.ABS II.SG-lead-1  
 ‘I lead you.’ ‘I lead her.’

c. ʃiče du r-iqan-de d. ʃiče it r-iqan-de  
 2SG.ERG 1SG.II.ABS II.SG-lead-2SG 2SG.ERG 3SG.II.ABS II.SG-lead-2SG  
 ‘You lead me.’ ‘You lead her.’

e. it-e du r-iqan-da f. it-e ʔu r-iqan-de  
 3SG-ERG 1SG.II.ABS II.SG-lead-1 3SG-ERG 2SG.II.ABS II.SG-lead-2SG  
 ‘he/she leads me (woman).’ ‘he/she leads you (woman).’

g. it-e ruše r-iqle  
 3SG-ERG girl.SG.II.ABS II.SG-lead  
 ‘he/she leads the girl.’

Dargi, cf. Corbett (2006: 188)

- definiteness/specificity
- Hungarian verbs agree with definite objects (the agreement marker is then a portmanteau encoding subject and object agreement) but not with indefinite ones:

(73) a. Egy könyv-et olvas-nak. b. A könyv-et olvas-sák  
 a book-ACC read-3PL the book-ACC read-3PL  
 ‘They are reading a book.’ ‘They are reading the book.’

- on specificity in favoring subject agr in rural Palestinian Arabic, cf. Corbett (2006: 201)

- topicality
- Long-distance agreement in Tsez is only possible with topical targets
- In the following pair, when the absolutive argument is overtly focus marked, agreement is impossible, but when it is topic-marked, agreement is required:

(74) a. eni-r [už-ā magalu-kin b-āc'-ru-li] r-/\*b-iy-xo  
 mother(II)-DAT boy(I)-ERG bread(III)[ABS]-FOC III-eat-PST\_PTCP-NOM[ABS] IV/III-know-PRS  
 ‘The mother knows that the boy ate BREAD.’

b. eni-r [už-ā t'ek'-gon t'et'r-āsi yāl-ru-li] y-/\*r-iy-xo  
 mother(II)-DAT boy(I)-ERG BOOK(II)[ABS]-TOP read-RES BE-PST\_PTCP-NOM II-/IV-know-PRS  
 ‘The mother knows that, as for the book, the boy is reading it.’

- for the role of individuation/agency favoring semantic agreement with quantified NPs in Russian, cf. Corbett (2006: 191ff.)

#### 6.1.2 Formal properties: morphological case

- In many cases, it is the grammatical function of an argument that determines whether it can trigger agreement on the verb, but often this is restricted to controllers bearing a certain morphological case:
- in Russian, the controller of subject-verb agreement must be nominative; quirky subject cannot control agreement (the possessor in the following example does have subject properties like being able to control reflexives)

(75) kogda u menja bud-et sv-oj milliard dollar-ov  
 when at 1SG.GEN be.FUT-3SG REFL-M.SG.NOM billion(M)[SG.NOM] dollar-PL.GEN  
 ‘when I have my (own) milliard dollars ...’

- A similar constraint holds in Hindi, cf. Corbett (2006: 195)

## 6.2 Structural/linear conditions

### 6.2.1 Linear precedence

- First conjunct agreement only if verb precedes the coordination

(76) a. xaraj-at al-bintu wa ʔal-waladu b. xaraj-a ʔal-waladu wa al-bintu  
 left-3SG.F [the-girl and the-boy] left-3SG.M [the-boy and the-girl]  
 ‘The girl and the boy left.’ ‘The boy and the girl left.’

c. al-waladu wa ʔal bintu xaraj-aa d. al-bintu wa ʔal-waladu xaraj-aa  
 [the-boy and the-girl] left-M.DU [the-girl and the-boy] left-M.DU  
 ‘The boy and the girl left.’ ‘The girl and the boy left.’

- precedence also functions as a relative condition in Russian, cf. Corbett (2006: 180)
  - partial agreement in Arabic: only if the verb precedes subject: absolute
- (77) a. l-ʔawlaad-u    xaraj-uu                    (not: \*xaraj-a)  
 DEF-boys-NOM    went.out-3PL.M                    went.out-3SG.M  
 ‘the boys went out’
- b. l-banaat-u    xaraj-na                    (not: \*xaraj-at)  
 DEF-girls-NOM    went.out-3PL-F                    went.out-3SG.F  
 ‘the girls went out’
- c. xaraj-a                    l-ʔawlaad-u    (not: \*xaraj-uu)  
 went.out-3SG.M    DEF-boys-NOM                    went.out-3PL.M  
 ‘the boys went out’
- d. xaraj-at                    l-banaat-u    (not: \*xaraj-na)  
 went.out-3SG.F    DEF-girls-NOM                    went.out-3PL.F  
 ‘the girls went out’                    Modern Standard Arabic, cf. Corbett (2006: 154)

### 6.2.2 Closeness in conjunct agreement

- In conjunct agreement with coordinated NPs, agreement is not always with the first conjunct, in some languages it is with the closest conjunct:
- (78) a. [ki-ti            na    **m**-guu    w-a    meza]                    **u**-me-vunjika  
 7-chair(7/8) and 3-leg(3/4) 3-of table(9/10) 3-PRF-broken  
 ‘The chair and the leg of the table are broken.’
- b. [M-guu    w-a    meza            na    **ki**-ti]                    **ki**-me-vunjika.  
 3-leg(3/4) 3-of table(9/10) and 7-chair(7/8) 7-PRF-broken  
 ‘the leg of the table and the chair are broken.’                    Swahili, cf. Corbett (2006: 169)
- In rare cases, one finds distant first conjunct agreement:
- (79) knjig-e    in    peres-a    so            se    podražil-e  
 book(F)-PL and pen(N)-PL aux.PL REFL good.dear-F-PL  
 ‘Books and pens have become more expensive.’                    Slovene, cf. Corbett (2006: 62)

### 6.3 Where factors conspire/interact

- Quite often, the factors cannot be separated very easily:
  - Bantu: subjects that are part of the focus occur post-verbally, in which case agreement is no longer possible (instead, we get default locative agreement) – agreement is only possible with preverbal subjects (word order and information structure thus run in parallel):
- (80) a. [aba-shyitsi]    **ba**-ra-ririmbir-a    mu    gi-sagára  
 2-guest(1/2) 2-PRS-SING-IPFV in 7-village(7/8)  
 ‘The guests are singing in the village.’
- b. **ha**-ra-ririmbir-a [aba-shyitsi]    mu    gi-sagára  
 16-PRS-SING-IPFV 2-guest(1/2) in 7-village(7/8)  
 ‘There are guests singing in the village.’                    Kinyarwanda, Corbett (2006: 202)

- Tuscan Italian: precedence is not sufficient, topicality is required as well:
- (81) a. Mi            manc-a    [cinque bollin-i]            per arriv-are a venti.  
 1sg.DAT lack-3SG five coupon(M)-PL to arrive-INF to twenty  
 ‘I need five coupons to get to twenty.’
- b. [Quant-i            bollin-i]            ti            manc-a per arriv-are a venti.  
 how.many-M.PL coupon-(M)-PL 2SG.DAT lack-3SG to arrive-INF to twenty  
 ‘How many coupons do you need to get to twenty?’
- c. [I            bollin-i]            manc-ano ancora.  
 DEF.M.PL coupon(M)-PL lack-3PL still  
 ‘The coupons are still missing.’                    Tuscan Italian, cf. Corbett (2006: 186f.)

### 6.4 Hierarchies that play a role in agreement

- 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> > 3<sup>rd</sup>: proximative > obviative
- human > other animate > inanimate
- definite > specific > non-specific
- subject > direct object > indirect object

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