

Anaphor agreement effect and agreement switch in Kutchi Gujarati

The anaphor agreement effect (AAE) was originally formulated by Rizzi (1990) which simply refers to the phenomenon that anaphors cannot trigger regular verbal agreement. Kutchi Gujarati (henceforth, KG), an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the western parts of India, displays AAE by undergoing an agreement switch. As discussed in Patel (2014), in the perfective aspect, it is usually the object that triggers the agreement (as in (1)) but whenever the object is an anaphor, then it is the subject that triggers the agreement (as in (2)). We would refer to the fact that agreement is switched from the object to subject as ‘Agreement switch’ and would account for this pattern in terms very similar to those of Deal’s (2010) analysis of Nez Perce but differing in certain crucial aspects.

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| <p>(1) a. Mary John-ne ad-y-o
 Mary John-ACC touch-PFV-M.SG
 ‘Mary touched John.’</p> | <p>b. John Mary-ne ad-y-i
 John Mary-ACC touch-PFV-F.SG
 ‘John touched Mary.’</p> |
| <p>(2) a. John e-na potha-ne jo-y-o
 John 3.SG-GEN self-ACC see-PFV-M.SG
 ‘John saw himself.’</p> | <p>b. Mary e-na potha-ne jo-i
 Mary 3.SG-GEN self-ACC see-PFV-F.SG
 ‘Mary saw herself.’ (Patel 2014)</p> |

Further evidence for the agreement switch pattern comes from the fact that in perfective aspect, when the object is an anaphor and the subject is a dative marked NP (which cannot control the agreement), the agreement morphology on the verb is a default marker as shown in (3). This clearly shows that it is the subject that controls the agreement rather than the anaphors in (2).

- (3) Raj-ne e-na potha-ne jo-vu/*vo par-y-u/*o
 Raj-DAT 3.SG-GEN self-ACC see-INF.DEFAULT/M.SG had-PFV- DEFAULT/*M.SG
 ‘Raj had to see himself.’ (Patel 2014)

Patel (2014), who discusses these facts in (1)-(3), also introduces further interesting facts showing first conjunct agreement (as in (4)), where the verb is in perfective aspect, the object is an anaphor and the subject is a conjoined DP. Since object is an anaphor, the agreement is switched to the subject and this case, where the subject is a conjoined DP, the subject agreement is with the first conjunct rather than the full subject DP.

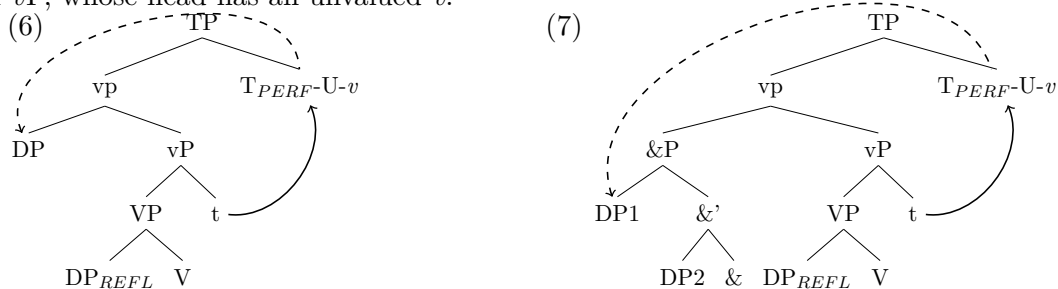
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| <p>(4) a. [John ane Mary] pot-potha-ne jo-y-o
 John and Mary themselves-ACC see-PFV-M.SG
 ‘John and Mary saw themselves.’</p> | <p>b. [Mary ane John] pot-potha-ne jo-y-i
 Mary and John themselves-ACC see-PFV-F.SG
 ‘Mary and John saw themselves.’ (Patel 2014)</p> |
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So Kutchi displays very clear manifestations of AAE. How are these facts to be accounted for? In Patel’s (2014) analysis, the derivation in syntax would proceed as follows: Once *v*P is built, the probe from *v* would search in its domain for agreement but the anaphor in the argument position cannot act as a suitable goal. In the next step in the derivation, the &P would merge. Both & and *v* would mark their complement for spell out but they would not actually get spelled out until the C head merges in the structure. Now once the C head merges in the structure, the complement of & and *v* would be spelled out. After the spell out of the complement, what remains in the derivation is the *v* head and the first conjunct. The agree relation between the two results in first conjunct agreement. For the simple DP subject, the derivation would work in the same way, where the *v* would agree with the subject. Though this analysis accounts for the agreement switch pattern, it is not without problems. There are at least two problems to begin with. The first problem has to do with the timing of the agree relation, where the probe from *v* has a potential goal to agree with in but it would not enter into agree relation until C gets merged in the structure. The second problem has to do with the subject agreement happening with *v* rather than T.

These problems mentioned above are theoretical in nature and can be obviated if we follow the Deal's (2010) analysis of Nez Perce. Though Nez Perce doesn't have the agreement switch pattern, it has one significant property which is very similar to that of KG's agreement switch pattern, which is that of the object (dis)agreement. In Nez Perce, the subject can get its ergative case only when there is object agreement and only then there would be an objective case (as in (5b) in contrast to (5a)). In KG perfective, there would be subject agreement only when there is an object disagreement. The reliance on whether object agrees or not matters to the subject both in Nez Perce and KG. In Nez Perce, the object should agree in order for the subject to get its ergative case and in KG, the object should not agree in order for the subject to agree.

- (5) a. pit'íin hi-yáaâ-na pícpic b. pit'íin-im páa-yaâ-na picpíc-ne
 girl 3SUBJ-find-PERF cat girl-ERG 3/3-find-PERF cat-OBJ
 'The girl found her cat' 'The girl found the cat' (Deal 2010)

Deal (2010) proposes a condition called *Transitive subject condition on Nez Perce ergative* to account for the subject's dependence on object agreement, which states that *the ergative case is realized on the nominal agreeing with T just in case it originates in a vP whose head has fully valued phi features*. The fully valued ϕ feature of the v head indicates that object agreement has happened. In a similar way, following Deal (2010), we propose *Anaphor agreement condition on Kutchi subject*, which states that *the subject agreement is realized on T_{perf} just in case if the subject originates in a vP whose head has unvalued ϕ features*. The unvalued ϕ feature on the v head indicates that object agreement has not happened. Given this condition, the derivation (as in (6)) would proceed as follows: Firstly, the v head cannot agree with the anaphor because the anaphor is ϕ deficient in the sense of Kratzer (2009). So the v head would remain with its ϕ features unvalued. In the next step in the derivation, the subject DP would merge at the spec of vP , whose head has an unvalued v .



With the DP merged in the structure, we assume that the unvalued v head would move and adjoin to the T_{perf} head. The adjunction of v head with T_{perf} head would result in unification of their probe features. In the normal circumstances, we assume that probe features of T_{perf} are not active but when ever they are adjoined by another head, whose probe features are active, then T_{perf} probe features would then become active. This unification of probe features would result in probe features of T and probe features of v forming a single unit, which would then search in its domain for the suitable goal. When the goal is a singular DP (as in (6)), then the unified unvalued features of T and v would get valued. However, when the goal is a conjoined DP (as in (7)), the unified probe unit would not agree with the whole DP but probes inside the DP and agrees with the first instance of suitable goal, which is always the highest conjunct (i.e the first conjunct). We assume that it is an inherent property of the unified probe features to probe inside the DP to agree with the first conjunct rather than agreeing with the whole DP. This assumption is not a very strange one because in number of languages like Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Ndebele and Tsez, the agreement is always with the first conjunct. It is standardly assumed in these languages that probe would not agree with the whole DP but rather with the highest conjunct. In KG, we assume that this property is an inherent property of the unified probe feature but not that of simple probe feature that are not unified.

Selected Reference: Patel-Grosz, Pritty. (2014). First conjunct agreement as agreement displacement. In *Proceedings of the 46th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*.