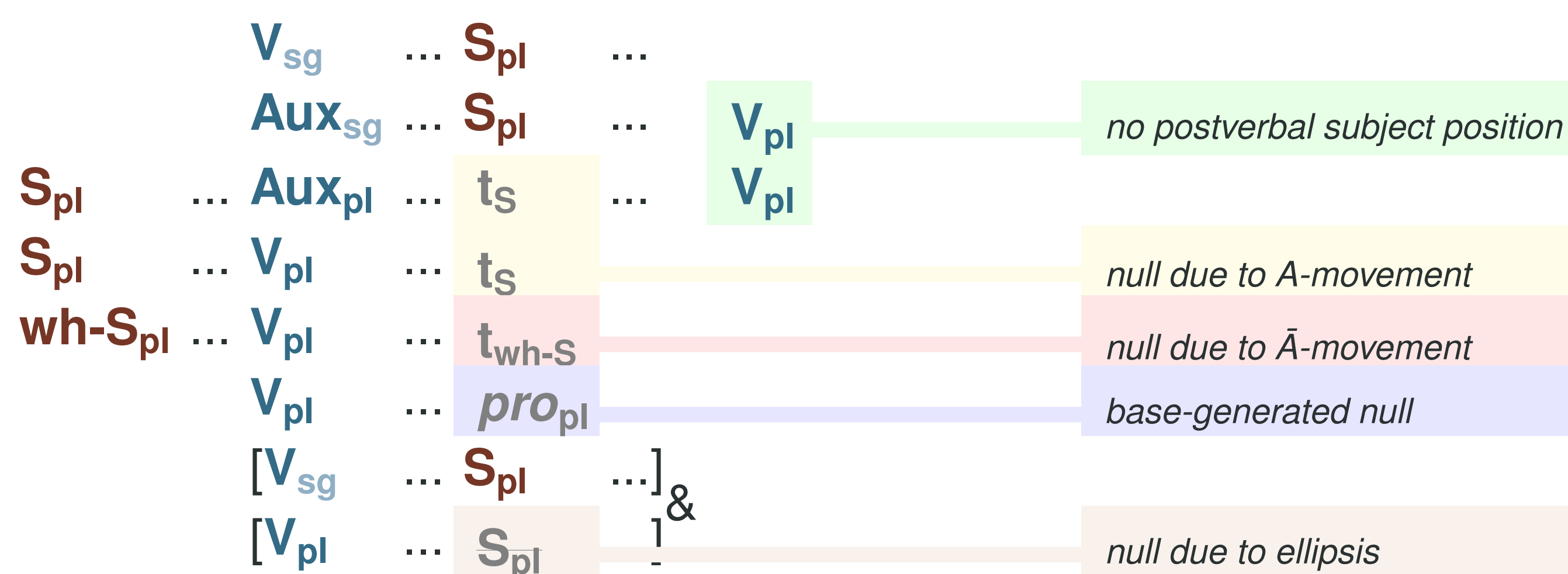


1. Agreement asymmetries: pattern



2. What to account for

The number suffix is obligatory whenever the postverbal subject position is phonologically null. (Benmamoun 2000):

So, number agreement is

- different from gender and person agreement.
- dependent on the linear order of subject and verb.
- not dependent on surface adjacency between subject and verb.
- dependent on the grammatical function: Only subjects can agree.
- dependent on whether the subject is a full nominal phrase or a pronoun.

3. Data

V-S orders: partial agreement

- (1) a. ?akal-a at-tuffaafiatu al-?awlaadu
ate-3M.SG the-apple the-children
'The children ate the apple.'
b. al-?awlaadu ra?-at bintu
the-boys saw-3F.SG girl
'The children, a girl saw them.'

S-V orders: full agreement

- (2) a. a?-taalibaatu ?akal-na
the-students.F.PL ate-3F.PL
'The fem. students ate.'
b. alty ?ullaab ?araf-u l-?ijaabata?
which students knew-3M.PL the-answer
'Which students knew the answer?'

Asymmetry with auxiliaries

- (3) a. kaanat a?-taalibaatu ya-?kulna
was.3F.SG the-students.F.PL 3-eat.F.PL
'The fem. students were eating.'
b. a?-taalibaatu kunna ya-?kulna
the-students.F.PL was.3F.PL 3-eat.F.PL
c. *kaanat ya-?kulat a?-taalibaatu
was.3SG.F 3-eat.SG.F the-students.F.PL

Agreement with (null) pronominal subjects

- (4) a. kunna ya-?kulna
was.3F.PL 3-eat.F.PL
'They were eating.'
b. (hum) qara?-u (hum-u) al-darsa
they read-3M.PL they-EV the-lesson
'They read the lesson.'

Agreement in verbal coordination

- (5) a. raka?-a wa-sabah-a al-?awlaadub. al-?awlaadu raka?-u wa-sabah-u
ran.3M.SG and-swam.3M.SG the-children the-children ran.3M.PL and-swam.3M.PL
'The children ran and swam.'
c. raka?-a al-?awlaadu wa-sabah-u
ran.3M.SG the-children and-swam.3M.PL

(1b): Mohammad (2000); (2b): Alotaibi and Borsley (2013); (3c): A. Al-Ghanem (p.c.); (4b): Soltan (2006); (5) A. Al-Ghanem, L. Naaman (p.c.); rest: Benmamoun (2000)

4. Previous accounts

Syntactic accounts

- Derivational relation between SV and VS:
– VS is derived from SV ([2],[7]) or SV is derived from VS ([6],[8],[9]).
– The distribution of number results from an interaction of movement and agreement.
- No derivational relation between SV and VS:
– One structure involves a null pro that is the actual target of agreement.
– If pro is preverbal ([1]), it is defective for number. If it is postverbal ([3],[4],[5]), only pros can fully agree.
- Problem: No explanation for agreement if there isn't a postverbal subject position ((3) requires a biclausal structure or a different clause structure than (1)/(2)).

[1] Mohammad (1990); [2] Aoun et al. (1994); [3] Soltan (2006); [4] Al-Horais (2009, 2012); [5] Alotaibi and Borsley (2013); [6] Bjorkman and Zeijlstra (2014); [7] Wurmbbrand and Haddad (2014); [8] Preminger and Polinsky (2015); [9] Fakih (2016)

Morphological accounts

- Number feature is deleted under adjacency in VS:
– After syntactic agreement, number is deleted in a VS order under adjacency ([10],[11]).
- Number agreement is not syntactic:
– Number agreement requires a postsyntactic matching process under adjacency ([12]).
- Problem: It is unclear how number agreement can be deleted/comes about if V and S are not adjacent.

[10] Benmamoun (2000), [11] Ackema and Neeleman (2003), [12] Walkow (2010)

5. Proposal: v schemes the subject

• Framework:

– Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995 et seq.) and standard version of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993)

• Agreement = Agree (cf. Chomsky 2000):

– A probe on a head H can find a goal in the m-command domain of H. Importantly, a valued probe does not delete and stays accessible to further operations.
– SV agreement in MSA: v bears a ϕ -probe that finds matching features on the subject. (The object is not accessible to this ϕ -probe.)

• Head movement (cf. Baker 1988, Chomsky 1995):

$$(6) [XP \dots X_{[X, H, Y_H, \dots]}] [YP \dots Y_{[Y, \dots]}] \Rightarrow [XP \dots [X_{[X, H, Y_H, \dots]}] Y_{[Y, \dots]}] [YP \dots]$$

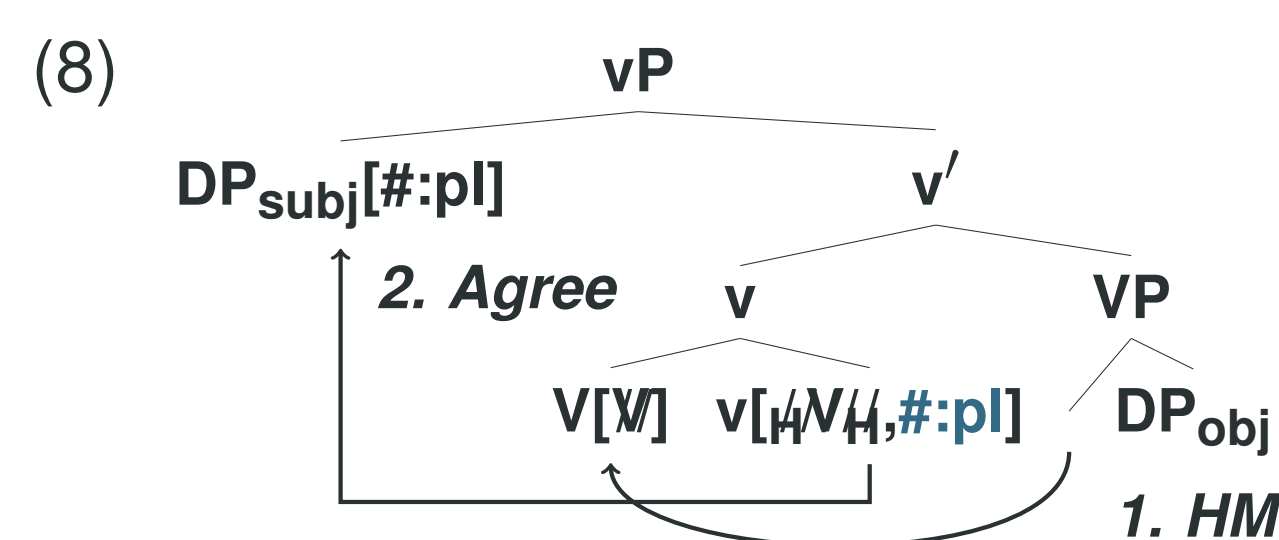
(7) Complex Head Feature Deletion (CoHFeD)

In a complex head [X Y], if X bears an operation-triggering feature [F] and Y bears a matching feature [F], delete [F] on both X and Y.

• EPP-Movement:

– SV in MSA is due to EPP-movement, which is a number feature ([#]) in MSA.
– Note: Case is not connected to EPP-movement. Surface case does not correlate with the grammatical function.

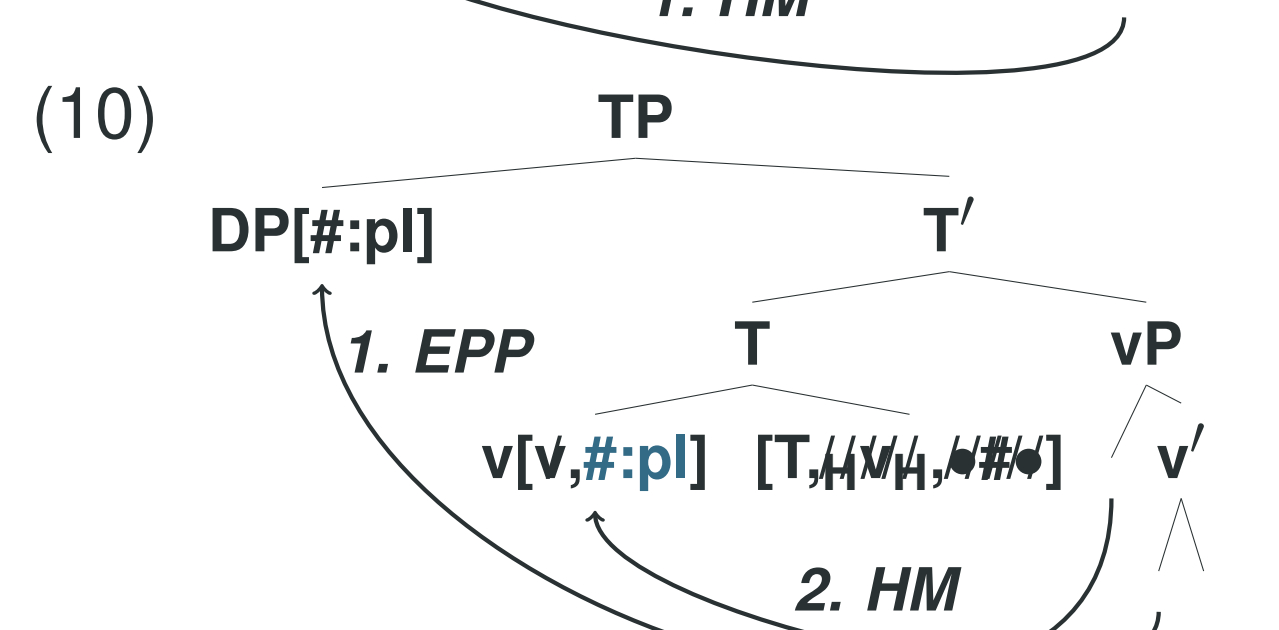
6. New account



Agree in the vP
– After S and v Agree in the vP, both v and S have a valued number feature.
– T is merged with features [$_{HvH}$] and [$\bullet\#\bullet$].



Head Movement first \Rightarrow VS+no#
– CoHFeD deletes not only [$_{HvH}$]/[v] on T/v, but also [$\bullet\#\bullet$]/[#].
– S can no longer move to Spec-TP and v loses its number feature.
– In morphology, the sg marker is chosen.



EPP-Movement first \Rightarrow SV+#:
– S moves to Spec-TP and [$\bullet\#\bullet$] on T is deleted.
– Head movement applies, but only the [$_{HvH}$]/[v] on T/v are deleted.
– In morphology, the plural marker is chosen.

7. Data derived

No postverbal subject position: V moves to v; Prog moves to T (cf. Bjorkman 2011)

$$(11) [_{TP} [_{Prog} [_{Prog, \#}]] T [T, (EPP), \#]] [_{ProgP} DP[\#:pl] t_{Prog} [_{VP} t_{DP} V+V[\#:pl]]]$$

1. HM (Delete [Prog], [#])

Null due to A-movement: see (10) (cf. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998)

Null due to \bar{A} -movement: TP is a phase; EF movement must precede head movement (cf. Müller 2010, 2011); elements in Spec-H check as many features as possible on H.

$$1. HM (Del. [v], [\#]; no EFM)/2. HM (Del. [v])$$

$$(12) [_{TP} (DP[\#:pl]) [V+v[\#:pl]/[\#:pl]] T [T, (EF), \#]] [_{VP} DP/(t_{DP}) t_v \dots]$$

1. EFM (Del. [EF], [#])

Base-generated null: null/overt pronouns have to move to be licensed by a high aboutness topic/focus operator (McFadden and Sundaesan 2016):

– overt pronouns consist of a null element and an overt element (cf. Ackema and Neeleman 2003). Either the null element or the complex moves.

8. Outlook

Null due to ellipsis: If finite verbs are in T, (5) should involve TP-coordination (cf. also (13)). If correct, ellipsis of S must be a late process that does not affect agreement.

– Filters: *[#P [SV] & ...] and *[#P ... & [VS]].

– Possible structures: [SV&SV], [SV&VS], [VS&SV], [VS&VS].

- (13) raka?-a al-?awlaadu bsur?atin wa-sabah-u bibu?in?
ran.3M.SG the-children quickly and-swam.3M.PL slowly

Position of subject: Alotaibi and Borsley (2013): In SV, S is a topic in the C-Domain since only definite S can be preverbal. This is incorrect (Mohammad 2000:12):

- (14) waladun wa-rajulun jaa?aa
boy and-man came.3M.DU
'A (unspecific) boy and a (unspecific) man came.'

Typology of EPP: The possibility of a number EPP-features implies a typology of EPP:

- [D], [#], [gen], [pers], [case]. Agreement asymmetries (AA) are expected to occur with ...
- [#] and [gen], not necessarily with [pers] (pronouns might not show AAs) (cf. Samek-Lodovici 2002)