Structural condition on [Ā]-probe: A movement based account of Ā-agree

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Introduction: Movement and agreement have been dissociated since Chomsky (2001). Here, based on original fieldwork with data from Surati Gujarati (an aspect based split-ergative language of the Indo-Aryan family), I will show that agreement w.r.t Ā-features (Ā-agreement) is contingent on overt/covert movement. I call this condition *Structural condition hypothesis on [Ā]-probe (SCHĀ)*. To examine SCHĀ, I use data from agreement on negation in the Surati Gujarati (SG). Moreover, I will show that this agreement, tracks contrastive focus (This pattern is visible only in the NOM-ACC domain). Next, with data from negation in SG, extending Baier (2018), I will argue that an [Ā]-probe can copy both Ā-features and φ-features from a goal. And finally, based on *SCHĀ*, I classify languages into three types and provide a cross-linguistic typology to present a cohesive picture of the relationship between movement & Ā-agreement.

Phenomenon: Agreement on negation in Surati Gujarati (SG) tracks a contrastively focused argument. This can lead to a pattern in which the negative marker (*nho-*) can agree independently of the main verb (1). Here, if the direct object is contrastively focused, the negation agrees with the direct object (1), and if the subject is contrastively focused, it agrees with the subject (2). The canonical position of the direct object is to the right of the adverb *varamvaar* ('frequently') (2). But a contrastively focused object must move to the left of the adverb (1).

CONTEXT: Shahrukh was asked to get a goat and a cow but he could not get the goat.

(1) shahrukh [**bakri-ne**]_CF varamvaar **nho-ti**/??nho-to laav-yo
     Shahrukh.M.SG.NOM goat.F.SG-ACC frequently NEG-F.SG/M.SG bring-PFV.M.SG
     Inference: 'Shahrukh did not bring the [GOAT]_CF frequently, but something else.'

CONTEXT: Shahrukh and Raj were asked to get a goat each. But Shahrukh did not get the goat.

(2) [**shahrukh**]_CF varamvaar bakri **nho-to**/ ??nho-ti laav-yo
     Shahrukh.M.SG.NOM frequently goat.F.SG NEG-M.SG/F.SG bring-PFV.M.SG
     Inference: '[SHAHRUKH]_CF did not bring a goat frequently, but someone else did.'

Movement and agreement correlation: Based on the above data, I propose *Structural condition hypothesis on [Ā]-probe (SCHĀ)*, given in (3).

(3) *Structural condition hypothesis on [Ā]-probe*: An Ā-probe can copy features off their goals *iff* their goals move overtly or covertly into a designated specifier position, Spec,XP on the clausal spine.

In SG, the movement is of a *mixed* type, having both A-properties (case, agreement WCO, & only nominals undergo this focus movement) and A′-properties (locality & contrastive focus).
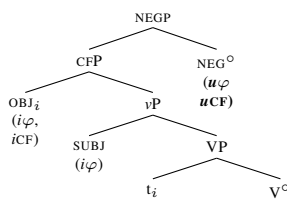
A-properties: In SG, the movement for contrastive focus interpretation has effects on both case and agreement with the object receiving overt accusative case and controlling agreement on negation (1). Next, only nominals undergo this focus movement. In (4), the PP *bus-thi* ('quickly') is contrastively focused still the adverb cannot appear in a higher position on the clausal spine. It must stay to the right of *varamvaar* ('frequently'). Compare (1) *vs* (4), where in (1) a nominal was allowed to move higher and appear to the left of *varamvaar* ('frequently').

(4) Rita (*bus-thi) varamvaar (**bus-thi**) nho-ti aavi pan gaadi-thi aavi
     Rita bus-INST frequently bus-INST NEG come.PFV but car-INST come.PFV
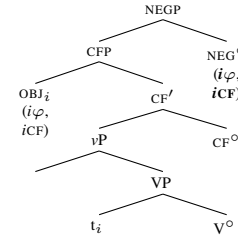   'Rita frequently did not come by bus but came in a car.'

A'-properties: I argue that this focus movement is a result of *SCHĀ* and it also displays A'-properties, in both its effects on information structure and its locality profile. For the given context, only object agreement on negation is permitted because the object is contrastively focused (1). Since the agreement on negation is sensitive to contrastive focus, the movement displays the locality profile of A'-movement and not A-movement: A'-movement unlike A-movement can *skip* a DP in favor of a lower DP with the required features (1 *vs* 2).

Analysis: For (1), I propose the following: First, the subject starts as the specifier *v* position and then moves to the specifier of T. Since in (1) the subject does not have an Ā-feature it cannot move to the specifier of CFP (contrastive focus position). Second, the T°, locus of φ-agreement values it's uninterpretable features with the highest accessible argument, i.e., subject. Hence, we see subject agreement on the main verb *laav-* ('bring'). Third, NEG° hosts the *u*CF feature. Because the object *bakri* ('goat') has the *i*CF feature, I argue that the object movement is a direct consequence of *SCHĀ*. And as a result, the object, overtly moves to the specifier of CFP. The NEG° which hosts the *u*CF probe will only search for arguments with an *i*CF feature. The object in (1) has an *i*CF feature. Thus, when the probe on the NEG° initiates its search operation, it first looks at the subject but since the subject does not have the *i*CF feature, it continues probing and finds the object. Here, it finds the Ā-feature on the object and the [Ā]-probe on the NEG° (*u*CF, in this case) copies both Ā and φ-features from the object. Thus, we see object agreement on negation. These steps are illustrated in (5) & (6).

(5) **Step 1:object movement to cfP**

(6) **Step 2: φ & Ā feature copying**

Cross-linguistic impact: After presenting my account for (1), I discuss the cross-linguistic evidence for the striking correlation between movement and agreement, in cases of Ā-agreement. Further, I classify languages into three types: ***T-type*** languages or Topic prominent, ***F-type*** languages or Focus prominent and ***T/F-type*** languages or Topic/Focus prominent.

To illustrate a *T-type* language, consider *subject-object-reversal* (SOR) constructions in Luguru (7).SOR behaves like A-movement. In (7), the verb only agrees with a preverbal topic of the construction. The verb *broke* must agree with *Imwana*('child'). It cannot agree with the post verbal argument *ici-ya*('pot').

(7) **Imw-ana ka**-tula/***ci**-tula   ici-ya
    1-child   SM1-broke/*SM7 7-pot
    'The child broke the pot.' (Luguru)

SG is an example of an *F-type* language (from 1 & 2) and I will show that Sinhala is a *T/F-type* language. I summarize the cross-linguistic impact of *SCHĀ* in Table 1.

Selected References:Chomsky, N.,   Kenstowicz, M. (2001). Derivation by phase. An Annotated Syntax Reader, 482.

Language	Language Type	Topic Movement	Focus Movement	Agreement
Khanty	*T-type*	✓	*	with topics
Tundra nenets	*T-type*	✓	*	with topics
Tuscan Italian	*T-type*	✓	*	with topics
Standard Italian	*T-type*	✓	*	with topics
Dinka	*T-type*	✓	*	with topics
Northern sotho	*T-type*	✓	*	with topics
Luguru	*T-type*	✓	*	with topics
Surati Gujarati	*F-type*	*	✓	with Focus
Maithili	*F-type*	*	✓	with Focus
Sinhala	*T/F-type*	✓	✓	Topic/Focus

Table 1: Crosslinguistic generalizations