# Locating Agreement in Grammar
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There is an ongoing debate about the place of agreement in grammar. Some proposals (Bobaljik, 2008) locate it entirely within the postsyntactic component, while others (Chomsky, 1999; Bošković, 2009) locate it entirely in the syntactic component. Recently, closest conjunct agreement (CCA) has been brought to bear on this debate due to its apparent sensitivity to linear order (Marušič et al., 2007). We analyze a novel set of data from subject-object agreement asymmetries in Hindi-Urdu that show that a proper analysis of agreement requires reference to both syntactic and the post-syntactic processes.

In Hindi-Urdu, T can agree with subjects or objects, but these agreement relations differ in three respects: (i) subjects control agreement in number, gender and person, objects only in number and gender (Bhatt, 2005; Boeckx, 2008). (ii) conjoined subjects always trigger resolved agreement, (1), but conjoined objects trigger closest conjunct agreement; last conjunct agreement in OV-, (2), and first conjunct agreement in VO-order, (3). (iii) Right Node Raising (RNR) of verbs agreeing with subjects shows matching effects, (4), but right node raising of verbs agreeing with objects does not, (5). The CCA-facts resist a clausal reduction analysis like Aoun et al. (1994) (Benmamoun et al., 2009).

(1)  Ram   aur Sita  gaa {rahe        hẼ          / *rahii    hai}
     Ram.M and Sita.F sing {PROG.M.PL be.PRS.PL / *PROG.F be.PRS.SG}
          'Ram and Sita are singing.'

(2)  Ram-ne    ek thailii aur ek **peṭii**   (aaj)    uṭhaa-**yii** /???uṭhaa-ye}
     Ram-ERG a   bag.F  and a   box.M (today) lift-PFV.F /???lift-PFV.M.PL}
          'Ram lifted a small bag and a box.'

(3)  Ram-ne    khariid-**ii**  ek **kitaab** aur ek akhbaar
     Ram-ERG buy-PFV.F a   book.F and a   newspaper.M
          'Ram bought a book and a newspaper.'

(4)  [Ram   ek baksaa]    aur [Sita   ek thailaa]   uthaa{???-egii/ *-ẽge}
     Ram.M a   box.M.SG and Sita.F a   bag.F.SG lift{-FUT.F/     FUT.M.PL}
          'Ram was lifting a box and Sita a small bag.'

(5)  [Ram-ne   ek baksaa]    aur [Sitaa-ne ek **thailii**]  uThaa{-**ii** / *-ye}
     Ram-ERG a   box.M.SG and Sita-ERG a   bag.F.SG lift{-F.SG / -M.PL}
          'Ram lifted a box and Sita a bag.'

Bhatt (2005) relates the absence of person-agreement with objects to the fact that objects have already been assigned case when T agrees with them. This leaves unexplained why it is person, rather than number that is missing from object agreement. Our explanation adopts (i) the proposal that D is the origin of person features while gender and number originate lower in the projection of NP (Ritter, 1995), and (ii) a version of the Activity Condition (Chomsky, 1999), according to which XPs that have had their case-feature checked cannot enter into further (A-)syntactic relationships. When T agrees with a subject, it accesses the features in DP, including person. In object-agreement on the other hand, T agrees with a DP that has already been case-licensed by *v*. This case licensing deactivates the features in the DP-layer of the object, making them inaccessible to T, Table 1. Since DP contains the only instance of person features, T cannot access them on objects. A secondary process that delivers features for agreement with objects accesses the features inside NP, gender and number. Agreement with conjoined objects shows that this happens at PF. We assume that conjoined DPs have a set of resolved features on their root node. When T agrees with a conjoined subject, it accesses these resolved features. When the direct object is a coordinated DP, case
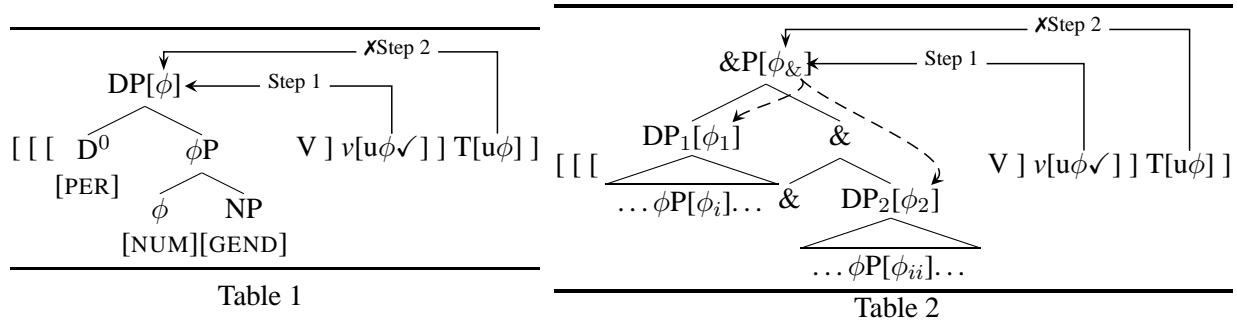
Table 1



Table 2

licensing by *v* makes the resolved features on &P inaccessible, Table 2. We assume that *v* licenses case on all the coordinated DPs, also deactivating their DP features (dashed arrows). When T agrees with a conjoined object resolved agreement and person agreement are impossible. The way in which agreement with conjoined objects is resolved indicates that the post-syntactic component is involved. The conjuncts closest to T controls agreement. That is the last conjunct in SOV-order, (2), and the first conjunct in SVO-order, (3). We take this to indicate that syntax component determines the search space for secondary agreement, but that a post-syntactic operation sensitive to linear proximity determines the features that value agreement.

The subject-object asymmetry in RNR, (4) vs. (5), follows from the general difference between agreement with subjects and objects: subject agreement is resolved entirely in the syntax, while the features of object agreement are only resolved at PF. We assume a multi-dominance treatment for RNR, where in examples like (4)/(5) the heads along the verbal spine a merged in two separate places. When a T node is merged in two places and agrees with the subjects in both conjuncts, it ends up with two sets of $\phi$-features that have to be realized morphologically. This leads to matching effects when the two sets differ. In agreement with objects, valuation is postponed until PF, and only the features of the closes object value T. Matching effects are absent. This pattern of facts follows only if agreement is distributed over syntax and PF.

Word count: 749

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