Topic Agreement in Jarawara

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Claim In Jarawara (Arawá, all data taken from Dixon 2004), both C and T show ϕ-agreement with the topic of the clause. Under certain circumstances, however, C and T may allow for agreement to be controlled by different arguments. Showing that agreement in Jarawara involves an interaction of ϕ-features and δ(topic)-features, I argue against the concept of *feature inheritance* (Chomsky 2008; Miyagawa 2010) by demonstrating that the typology that arises from *feature inheritance* does not include the topic agreement pattern in Jarawara. Instead, I propose that C and T bear distinct ϕ-probes in Jarawara, but only one δ-probe located on C that triggers A'-movement of the topic argument.

Data In Jarawara transitive clauses, verbal suffixes agree with the topic of the clause, which appears sentence-initially. The declarative marker agrees in number and gender, tense/modal/aspectual suffixes agree only in gender. 3rd person is zero-marked and usually pro-dropped. When both arguments are 3SG/PL, the verb bears a special prefix which I call *object topic marker (OT)*.

(1) a. Okomobi$_{\text{Topic}}$ [oko siraba]$_{\text{Obj}}$ kabe-hino-ka
         name(**m**) i1SG.POSS cangati(f) eat-PST1**m**-DECL**m**

  b. [oko siraba]$_{\text{Topic}}$ Okomobi$_{\text{Subj}}$ hi-kaba-hini-ke
         1SG.POSS cangati(**f**) name(m) OT-eat-PST**f**-DECL**f**
         both: 'Okomobi ate my cangati.'

Feminine functions as default gender: all plural arguments and 1st and 2nd person arguments trigger f-agreement; masculine agreement is only visible with 3SG.M arguments. The above generalization that topicalized objects trigger object agreement with both suffixes holds for all contexts except one: In 3m $\to$ 1/2 scenarios with an object topic(cf (2)) only, the agreement is split between subject and object, the declarative agreeing in person and gender with the object, whereas the tense suffix agrees in gender with the subject:

(2) owa iti-ma-re o-ke
         1SG.O take-BACK-PST**m** 1SG-DECL**f**
         'He took me$_{\text{Topic}}$ back.'   *3m$_S$ $\to$ 1$_O$ Topic: split agreement*

In the reverse 1/2 $\to$ 3m scenario, in contrast, we get transparent person/gender agreement of both suffixes with the object topic:

(3) otaa awa-re-ta-ka
         1PL.A see-NEG-PST**m**-DECL**m**
         'We didn't see him$_{\text{Topic}}$.'   *1$_S$ $\to$ 3m$_O$ Topic: m-agreement*

These topicality-driven agreement alternations do not involve a passive/antipassive-like demotion of the non-topic argument (eg. optionality or oblique marking). The table below summarizes the agreement patterns, the split agreement is shaded in grey.

| Topic | Scenario | Agreement on /with | | Topic | Scenario | Agreement on | |
		TAM	DECL			TAM	DECL
	Subj $\to$ Obj				Subj $\to$ Obj		
Subj	1/2$\to$3	Subj	Subj	Obj	1/2$\to$3	Obj	Obj
Subj	3 $\to$1/2	Subj	Subj	Obj	3$\to$1/2	Subj	Obj
Subj	3 $\to$3	Subj	Subj	Obj	3 $\to$3	Obj	Obj

Proposal Topic agreement has been described for other languages (Austronesian languages, e.g. Tagalog (Richards 2000); Dinka (van Urk 2015)), however, as opposed to Jarawara, most of those languages do not involve overt ϕ-agreement. According to *Strong Uniformity* (Miyagawa 2010), every language contains the same set of grammatical features, including ϕ-features and the discourse features of topic and focus, which start out on C and then may or may not be inherited by T. This predicts a typology of four language-categories, depending on where the different sets of features are hosted (cf. (4)).

(4) a. C$_\phi$, T$_\delta$ Japanese
     b. C$_\delta$, T$_\phi$ English
   c. C, T$_{\phi/\delta}$ Spanish
     d. C$_{\phi/\delta}$, T Dinka

Since Jarawara displays ϕ-agreement with the topic argument on C, it would be expected to fall into the same category as Dinka (4d), where both ϕ- and δ-features are hosted on C, resulting in A'-movement of the topic argument to above C accompanied by ϕ-agreement (cf. van Urk 2015).

Jarawara, however, displays disctinct agreement slots for C (declarative) and T (TAM-markers), which can be controlled by distinct arguments. This clearly indicates that the agreement on T is not inherited by C. Instead, there must be two phi-probes involved, one hosted on C, the other one on T. I therefore propose to extend the typopogy in (4), proposed by Miyagawa (2010), by a fifth category of languages, to which Jarawara belongs:

(5)   a. $C_{\delta/\phi}$, T_ϕ Jarawara

Implementation I assume the TAM markers to be located on T and the declarative on C. Since the verbal prefix is not sensitive to topicality but always agrees with the subject, I assume this agreement to be vP-internal, located on v, agreeing upwards with the subject in its specifier. Only 3SG arguments may bear a gender feature m; all other arguments do not have a gender specification. If a gender probe is not valued, default feminine agreement is inserted (Preminger 2014). All arguments are specified for a 1, 2 or 3 person feature. T bears a gender probe, since the TAM markers only agree in gender. For C, I adopt the concept of a *fused probe* (Coon & Bale 2014) [uTop, uπ, uG] that searches for topic, person and gender simultaneously. The fused probe agrees with the argument that can value as many of the sub-probes as possible; if two arguments are able to value the same amount of probes, the closest goal is agreed with. Valuation of the sub-probes by different arguments is ruled out.
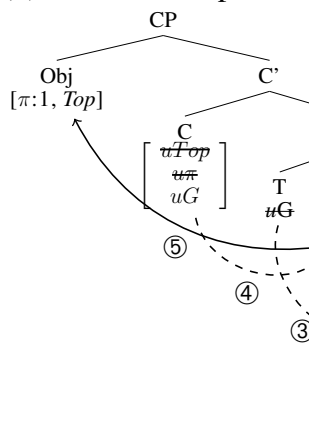
(9) a. 3m→ 1 Topic   b. 1→3m Topic
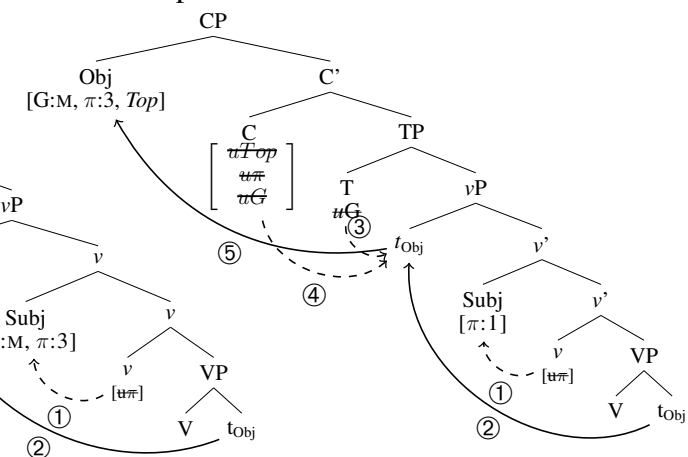
After the object has been raised over the subject to an outer vP specifier by means of an edge feature on v, T is merged, probes for gender and is valued by the m feature on the subject. C is merged and the fused probe starts search. Both arguments can value an equal amount of sub-probes, but the object is the closer to C and is thus chosen as the agreement target. The object values [$uTop$] and [$u\pi$], leaving the gender probe unvalued. Since the probe is fused, uG cannot agree with the lower subject bearing an m feature. This failure to agree leads to default feminine insertion. In the reverse scenario (9b) in contrast, all probes on both C and T, including the fused probe, can be valued by features on the object, resulting in object agreement of C and T. In the case of a topicalized subject, the object stays in its base position inside the vP phase, not accessible for agreement with C and T, which yields agreement with the subject. The agreement split in (2) thus arises from the fact that when T is merged, the masculine gender feature is available for agreement on the subject, at the edge of vP. This is unique to the scenario *3m→ 1 Topic* since in all other scenarios, the argument bearing the gender feature is either the topic itsself, or too low embedded in the vP phase for the T-head to carry out agreement.

Conclusion Based on the interaction of ϕ-features and δ-features in Jarawara, I have argued agains the idea of *feature inheritance* by showing that T and C can agree with different arguments in Jarawara. I have accounted for the data by positing a ϕ-probe on both C and T, and a δ-probe on C. This expands the typology of language categories argued for in Miyagawa (2010, 2017). Furthermore, Jarawara provides evidence for the concept of *fused probes* (Coon & Bale 2014) as part of the system of Agree, which may contain ϕ- and δ-probes in Jarawara.