
ConjP agreement external to vP: a case study of Zulu

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We investigate verbal agreement with conjoined DPs in the Bantu language Zulu, in which object-DPs optionally agree with the verb, (1); allowing for a direct comparison of agreement mismatches with conjoined subjects (S) and objects (O). Zulu has another interesting property that constrains the space of possible models of conjunct agreement: all agreeing DPs have to move out of their base position, (2); either to a low or a high right and left dislocated position, as in (1). Accordingly, we assume that S and O agreement are possible only when the agreeing ConjP-DP has moved out of vP. To model this property, we adopt the analysis of agreement and dislocation proposed in Pietraszko (2023) for Zimbabwean Ndebele.

- (1) Ba-wa-bon-a a-mafu ne-mithi engadini.
SM2-OM6-see-FV AUG-6.cloud and.AUG-4.tree LOC.9.garden
'They saw clouds and trees in the garden.'
- (2) *I/Ku-fund-a i-ngane e-ncane.
SM9/SM15-read-FV AUG-9.child ADJ9-young
Lit.: 'There reads a young child.'

We conducted an elicited production study (N=120, Native Zulu speakers) comprised of four experiments with a balanced design between S vs O agreement, and preverbal vs postverbal ConjP-DPs, which showed that Zulu S and O pattern in a highly parallel manner with respect to conjunct agreement as both allow a wider range of strategies (including FCA and LCA) in preverbal position, while restricting postverbal agreement to FCA only.

We discuss the implications of our results favoring the Distributed Agreement model of conjunct agreement, which allows for agreement to be partially established based on the linear relation between the agreement controller and the target at PF (Marušič, Nevins & Badecker 2015). Notably, the fact that agreeing Zulu DPs have moved away from their base position excludes a range of alternative 'syntax-only' models of conjunct agreement.

References: • Pietraszko, A. (2023). Timing-driven derivation of a NOM/ACC agreement pattern. *Glossa* 8(1), 1–55. • Marušič, L., Nevins A. & W. Badecker (2015). The Grammars of Conjunction Agreement in Slovenian. *Syntax* 18, 39–77.