Nominative agreement below TAM and negation in Uab Meto

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1 Introduction

- Among the diversity of verbal agreement systems in the world's languages, two of the most common are nominative (i.e. subject) preference and absolutive (i.e. object) preference. In other words, agreement in a transitive clause is preferentially with the external argument (higher) or the internal argument (lower).

- These preferences are thought to arise either from case discrimination or variation in the location of ϕ-probes.

- External-argument preference arises from a probe on T (Woolford 2010, Legate 2014, Coon 2017).

- Internal-argument preference arises from a probe on v (Béjar & Rezac 2009) or from a probe on T with case discrimination that cannot agree with ergative arguments (Woolford 2010).

- The common principle is that a ϕ-probe agrees with the highest eligible argument in its c-command domain (Chomsky 2000).

- Notably, consistent agreement with the higher argument (i.e. nominative agreement) is almost always assumed to result from a probe on T. I argue that this need not be the case.

- **Main claim:** Nominative agreement may also arise from a low ϕ-probe on an Agr head immediately above Voice. The probe need not be on T.

- This talk argues that Uab Meto is an example of a language with nominative agreement in which the ϕ-probe is on an Agr head below TAM and negation and immediately above Voice.

2 Preview of the analysis

(1)
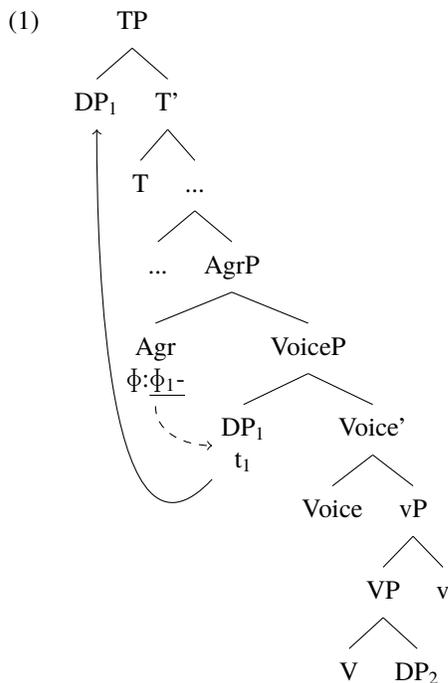
- This talk will show that agreement is lower than TAM and negation and higher than V, v, and Voice.

- It has been impossible to definitively locate the ϕ-probe on a particular head in the data available to me so far.

- Therefore, I propose that the ϕ-probe is located on an Agr head. Agr selects VoiceP as its complement and projects an AgrP.

- Just like a ϕ-probe on T, the ϕ probe on Agr probes into its c-command domain and agrees with the closest DP, yielding nominative agreement.

- A separate process then moves this DP to Spec,TP, to the left of negation and TAM markers. This talk will show that Uab Meto also has NOM-ACC alignment in its case marking. Speculatively, one could say that T assigns nominative case to the highest DP and moves it to Spec,TP.

- The location of the ϕ-probe on an Agr head immediately above Voice, how it probes, and the movement of the highest DP to Spec,TP are illustrated in the tree in (1).

- The hypothesized clause structure, including specific functional items, is illustrated more fully in (2).

(2)

```
                TopP
               /    \
          DP_TOP    Top'
                   /    \
                Top      FocP
                 ∅      /    \
                   DP_FOC    Foc'
                            /    \
                         Foc      TP
                         ees     /   \
                               DP     T'
                           (subject) /   \
                                    T      AspP
                              he/lo/lof/∅  /   \
                                        NegP    Asp
                                       /   \    =en
                                    Neg     NpiP
                                    ka=    /    \
                                      AuxP      Npi
                                     /   \      =f(a)
                                  Aux     AgrP
                                  bisa   /    \
                                      Agr      VoiceP
                                      φ-      /     \
                                            DP       Voice'
                                        (ext. arg.) /    \
                                               Voice      vP
                                             m(a)-/∅-    /   \
                                                       VP     v
                                                      /  \   -b/-'/-∅
                                                    DP     V'
                                              (recipient  /  \
                                               int. arg.) V    DP
                                                           (patient
                                                            int. arg.)
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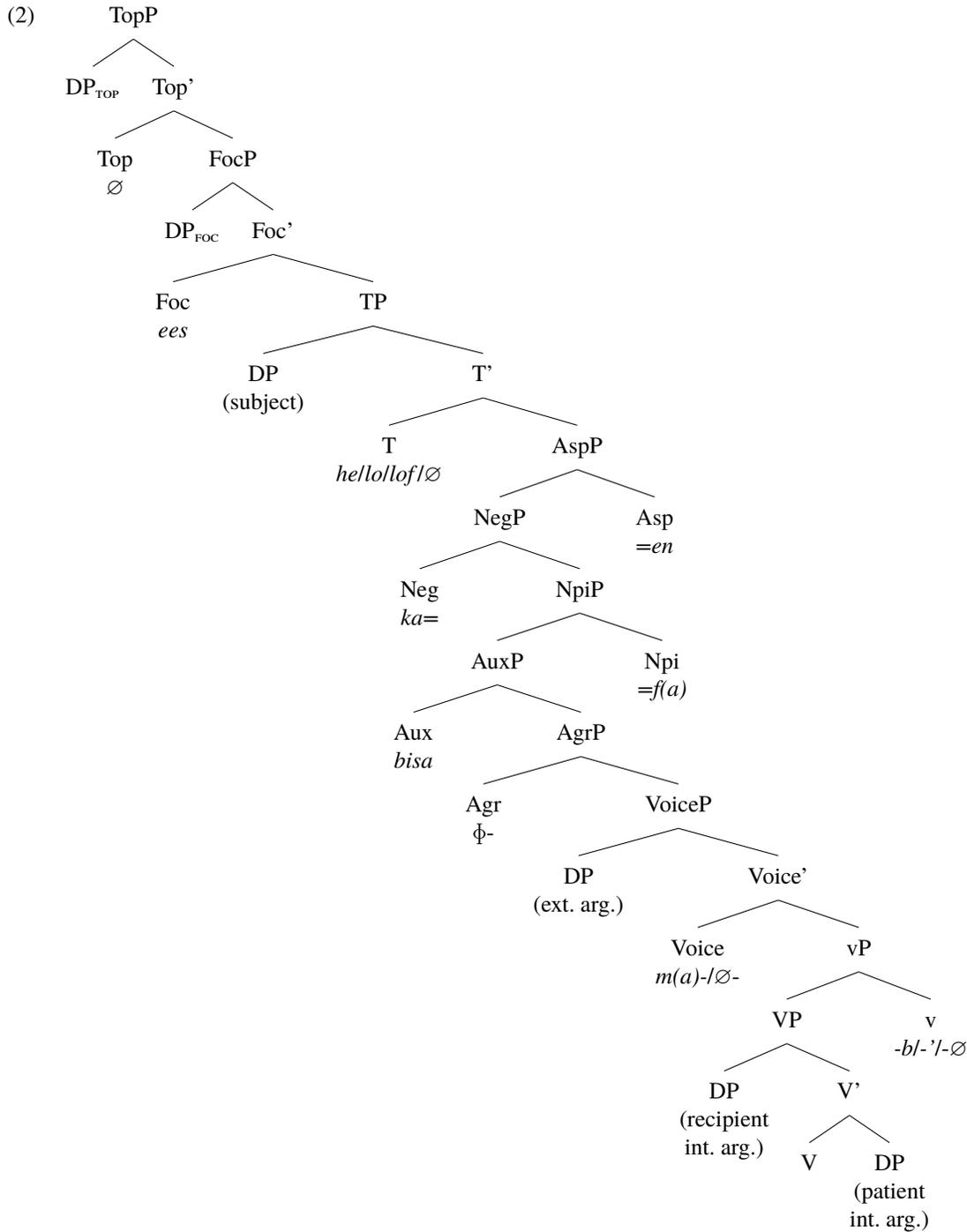
- The different TAM elements and negation markers that will be shown in this talk are: *ees/esa* (focus marker), *he* (irrealis marker), *lo* 'must', *lof* (future tense), *=en* (inceptive aspect), *ka=...=f(a)* (negation), and *bisa* 'can'.

- These are all above agreement, though among them *bisa* 'can' is the lowest, being the only one that occurs inside of negation.

- Below agreement are some affixes that attach to verb roots: *m(a)-* (stative) and *-b/-'* (transitivizer/causativizer).

- Data in the following sections will justify the placement of Agr in this structural hierarchy.

3   Language overview and orthographic conventions

- Before diving into the data, I will provide some background on Uab Meto, the different sources of data, and the transcription used.

- (Uab) Meto (/uaba mɛtɔʔ/ = [ʔwab mɛtɔʔ]), also know as (bahasa) Dawan, is a Malayo-Polynesian language in the Timoric branch spoken in the western third of the island of Timor in Indonesia and Timor-Leste.

- It has roughly 700,000 speakers (Ethnologue), though there appears to be growing language shift to Indonesian.

- There are many varieties of Uab Meto, as shown in Figure 1.

- Most data below come from primary fieldwork with speakers of the Miomafo variety[1] or from earlier work with speakers of the same variety (Arka 2001; Steinhauer 1993, 1996a, 1996b).

- Data from Edwards (2020) and other work by Edwards cited here come from the Kotos Amarasi variety. Edwards (2020) has also inspired the two-vowel analysis of many lexical roots and the glosses of many functional items.
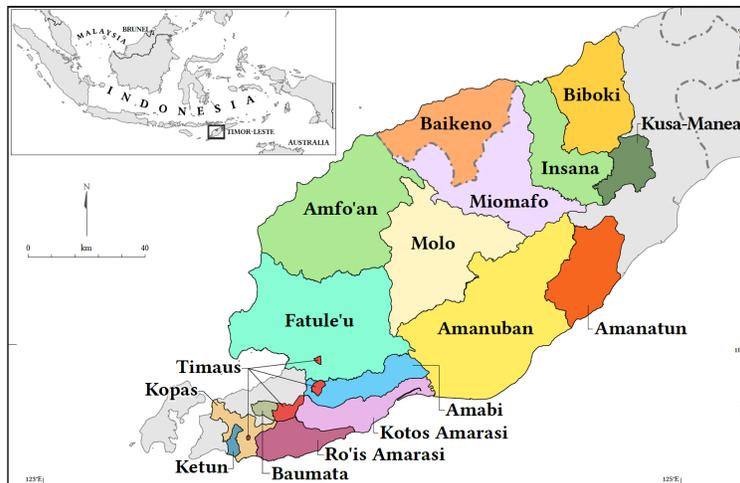

Figure 1: Self-identified varieties of Uab Meto (Edwards 2020: 6)

- The orthography used below is mostly what one would expect based on the IPA, with a few exceptions.

- Among consonants, [ʔ] is represented by <’>, and [dʒ]~[ʒ] is represented by <j>.

- Among vowels, <e> and <o> represent low-mid vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively, and <é> and <ó> represent high-mid vowels [e] and [o] respectively.

- Words from other sources are occasionally adjusted to maintain a consistent orthography and glossing.

- More information on Uab Meto phonology and my team's orthography can be found in the appendix.

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4 Case and verbal agreement: Morphology and alignment

4.1 Paradigms

- Uab Meto has two sets of subject agreement prefixes, an asyllabic set without vowels and a syllabic set with vowels (Table 1). The choice between the two sets is largely conditioned by phonology and morphology with some lexical variation (Edwards 2020: 440).

- Personal pronouns show a case distinction between nominative and accusative, and some pronouns (like many other words) have distinct metathesized and unmetathesized forms (Table 1). This is shown below in the relevant cells as metathesized/unmetathesized. In general, the unmethathesized forms are used before consonant clusters, and the metathesized forms are used elsewhere[2].

- The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are also used for possession (7f, 20b).

- Only personal pronouns have case distinctions.

		SG		PL				SG		PL	
		NOM	ACC	NOM	ACC			asyll.	syll.	asyll.	syll.
1ST	INC			hiit/hita	kiit/kita	1ST	INC			t-	ta-
1ST	EXC	au	kau	hai	kai	1ST	EXC	'-	'u-	m-	mi-
2ND		hoo	koo	hii	kii	2ND		m-	mu-	m-	mi-
3RD		iin/ina	=e	siin/sina		3RD		n-	na-	n-	na-

Table 1: Uab Meto pronouns and agreement prefixes

- The 3SG.ACC enclitic =e is subject to considerable allomorphy. It surfaces as =e when a stem underlyingly ends in /a/ or a consonant, =je after /i/, =le after /ɛ/, and =be after /ɔ/ and /u/.

4.2 Case and agreement alignment: Basic sentences

- Uab Meto agreement exhibits nominative-accusative alignment in its pronouns and its verbal agreement prefixes.

- I will illustrate this first with simple, 1-verb sentences.

- Intransitive verbs with patient (3a) and agent (3b) subjects agree with nominative subjects.

(3) a. **Ina** **n-**móóf.
3SG.NOM 3-fall
'He/she falls.' (Steinhauer 1993: 135)

b. **Iin** **n-**aen.
3SG.NOM 3-run
'He/she ran.' (Arka 2001: 1)

- Monotransitive verbs agree with nominative subjects (4), and so do ditransitive verbs (5).

(4) a. **Iin** **na-**tiik kau.
3SG.NOM 3-kick 1SG.ACC
'He/she kicked me.' (Arka 2001: 1)

b. **Au** **'u-**tiik=e.
1SG.NOM 1SG-kick=3SG.ACC
'I kicked him/her.' (Arka 2001: 1)

(5) a. **Hai** **m-**fee-n siin ume.
1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL.EXC-give-SFX 3PL house
'We give them a house.'
(YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 154)

b. **Sina n-**fee kau pena' bian.
3PL 3-give 1SG.ACC corn some
'They gave me some corn.'
(YEK; AOZ2019-WORDLIST001, line 268)

- The proposed structure of (5b) is provided in (6).

- In addition to movement of the highest DP to Spec,TP, I also assume head movement of V, v, and Voice to Agr to derive the verbal complex.

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[2]See Steinhauer (1993, 1996a, 1996b) and Edwards (2020) for much more thorough discussions of synchronic metathesis in Uab Meto.

(6)

```
                              TP
                    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                  DP₁                     T'
                   △              ┌────────┴────────┐
                  sina            T              AgrP
                                  ∅        ┌────────┴────────┐
                                          Agr            VoiceP
                                    ┌──────┴╌╌╌╌╌╌┐    ┌─────┴─────┐
                                   Agr        Voice₂ DP₁        Voice'
                                   n-        ┌───┴───┐ t₁    ┌─────┴─────┐
                                          Voice    v₃     Voice        vP
                                           ∅-    ┌──┴──┐   t₂       ┌────┴────┐
                                                V₄    v           VP         v
                                                fee   -∅       ┌───┴───┐    t₃
                                                             DP      V'
                                                              △    ┌──┴──┐
                                                            kau   V     DP
                                                                  t₄    ┌──┴──┐
                                                                      pena' bian
```

5 Agreement is below TAM and negation

- The case and agreement patterns in (3)-(5) look quite typical of a language with NOM-ACC alignment.

- The data in (3)-(5) are consistent with an analysis where T assigns nominative case and is responsible for subject agreement, but additional data suggest that the agreement probe is on a head lower than T.

- In fact, agreement is lower than negation and TAM elements in general.

5.1 No agreement for negation, auxiliaries, and other functional elements

- Importantly, agreement only occurs on lexical verbs.

- This agreement occurs even in the presence of the various TAM markers and negation: tense markers like *lof* 'FUT' (7a), modals like *bisa* 'can' (7b) and *lo* 'must' (7c), the negator *ka=...=f(a)* (7d), and other auxiliaries like the irrealis marker *he* (7e) and inceptive aspect marker *=en* (7f). *=en* shows the same allomorphy as 3SG.ACC *=e*.

(7) a. Atóin'-ini ok~oke' **lof na-**tika-n bool.
        man-PL.DEF all.RED~all FUT 3-kick-SFX ball

        'All the boys will play soccer.' (YEK; AOZ2019-WORDLIST001, line 277)

     b. N-aka=m a hoo **bisa m-**éék oto? Au **bisa '-**éék oto.
        3-say=and Q 2SG.NOM can 2SG-bring car 1SG.NOM can 1SG-bring car

        'He said, "Can you drive a car?" (I replied) "I can drive car.".' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 188)

     c. Hai **lo m-**'urus na-'ko le' lóé pleent=e.
        1PL.EXC.NOM must 1PL.EXC-organize 3-from REL money government-DEF

        'We have to organize it from the government money.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, lines 173-174)

     d. Hai **ka= m-**lóóm=je **=fa**.
        1PL.EXC.NOM NEG= 1PL.EXC-like=3SG.ACC =NEG

        'We don't like him/her.' (YEK; AOZ2019-WORDLIST001, lines 271-272)

e. Nane au **he** '-mate-n|a '-bi-n nane=t.
   DEM.DIST 1SG.NOM IRR 1SG-die-SFX|EPEN 1SG-RLS.LOC-SFX DEM.DIST=SET
   'At that point I wanted to die there.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 102)

f. Mi-lali=te es∼esa=te **n-**faan**=jen** on iin ume.
   1PL.EXC-finish=SET one.RED∼one=SET 3-return=INCEP IRR.LOC 3SG.NOM house
   'When we finished, everyone returned home.' (YEK; AOZ2019-MON002, lines 85-86)

- This pattern is unlike English, where such elements block agreement from lowering from T onto lexical Vs (8).

(8) a. He will play(*s) soccer.   c. He must organize(*s) it.
     b. He can get(*s) birds.   d. He does not see(*s) an airplane.

- Perhaps not surprisingly, topic and focus also do not agree or interfere with agreement.

- Topicalized DPs are only marked by fronting (9a). Focused DPs are followed by the focus marker *ees/esa* (9b).

- In both cases, the verb agrees with the highest argument before Ā-movement.

(9) a. [Asu ii   ]$_1$ hii **mi-**tiik t$_1$.   b. Au **esa** '-naa' le' lóét Oelneke ok∼oke'.
     [dog DEM.PROX]$_1$ 2PL.NOM 2PL-kick t$_1$ 1SG.NOM FOC 1SG-hold REL money Oelneke all.RED∼all
     'This dog you (pl.) kick.'   'I kept all the money of (the village of) Oelneke.'
     (Steinhauer 1993: 144)   (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 31)

5.2   Auxiliaries are not adjuncts; they are in the clausal spine

- One might object that all these non-agreeing words are just adverbial elements or some other adjunct-like element that would not be expected to interfere with agreement, like English *quickly* (10a) or *still* (10b).

- One way to contrast adjuncts and clausal-spine auxiliaries in English is that adjuncts do not license VP ellipsis (10c), but auxiliaries do (10d).

(10) a. He quickly sing*(s).   c. * He quickly/still.
      b. He still sing*(s).   d. He can (sing).

- Uab Meto displays the same contrast; auxiliaries like *bisa* 'can' license ellipsis (11a), but adjuncts like *fe'* 'still' do not license ellipsis (11b).

(11) a. Iin **bisa** na-hana 'maka' ka?   - Iin **bisa**.
          3SG.NOM can 3-cook rice   NEG   - 3SG.NOM can
          'Can he cook rice? - He can.' (YEK; elicited Jan. 12, 2021)

      b. Iin **fe'** na-hana 'maka' ka?   - * Iin **fe'**.
          3SG.NOM still 3-cook rice   NEG   - 3SG.NOM still
          'Is he still cooking rice? - *He still.' (YEK; elicited Jan. 12, 2021)

- *bisa* 'can' and *fe'* 'still' also differ in their flexibility of placement. When *bisa* 'can' co-occurs with a verb, it always occurs immediately pre-verbally (12), but *fe'* 'still' is more flexible, occurring before or after verbs (13).

(12) a. Hoo **bisa** m-éék oto.   c. * Hoo m-éék oto **bisa**.
          2SG.NOM can 2SG-bring car   2SG.NOM 2SG-bring car can
          'You can drive a car.'   Intended: 'You can drive a car.'
          (YEK; elicited May 19, 2021)   (YEK; elicited May 19, 2021)[3]

      b. * Hoo m-éék **bisa** oto.
          2SG.NOM 2SG-bring can car
          Intended: 'You can drive a car.'
          (YEK; elicited May 19, 2021)

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[3]YEK reports that this ordering is grammatical as a question ('Can you drive a car?'), but not as a declarative.

(13) a. Toob=e   es   ii=je,   iin   **fe'|a**   n-ma-ma'mu'.
          people=DEF IPFV.LOC DEM.PROX=DEF 3SG.NOM still|EPEN 3-STAT-poor

          'The people here, they are still poor.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 152)

      b. Au   **fe'** ka= '-éék   desa   ...   c. Au   '-fee   '-mépu   '-tahan   **fe'**.
          1SG.NOM still NEG= 1SG-bring village ...   1SG.NOM 1SG-give 1SG-work 1SG-endure still

          'When I had not yet become the village head...'   'I continued working.'
          (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 13)   (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 161)

- The auxiliary *bisa* 'can' has been the focus of this subsection because, to my knowledge, it is the only one that occurs inside of negation (14a), rather than outside of negation like *he* (IRR) and *=en* (INCEP) (14b-c).

- I assume that the first negative marker *ka=* marks the left edge of NegP, so if agreement can be shown to be lower than *bisa* 'can', then it is also lower than negation and the other functional elements outside of negation.

(14) a. Au   **ka= bisa** '-korban   a|'-nési   **=f.**
          1SG.NOM NEG= can   1SG-sacrifice EPEN|1SG-more =NEG

          'I couldn't offer any more.' (Edwards 2020: 388)

      b. Ka= t-aak   =fa=m   t-aak   **he ka=** n-mu'i **=f.**
          NEG= 1PL.INC-say =NEG=and 1PL.INC-say IRR NEG= 3-have =NEG

          'We don't say that they have nothing.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 237)

      c. Au   **ka=** '-nao **=fa=ben**.
          1SG.NOM NEG= 1SG-go =NEG=INCEP

          'I didn't go.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 50)

- All of this shows that agreement is lower than TAM markers and negation in Uab Meto.

- To illustrate the analysis, a partial structure of (14a) is provided in (15).

- The crucial part of the structure in (15) is the placement of Agr relative to T, Neg, and Aux. The precise structure of the serial verb construction remains an open question.

(15)

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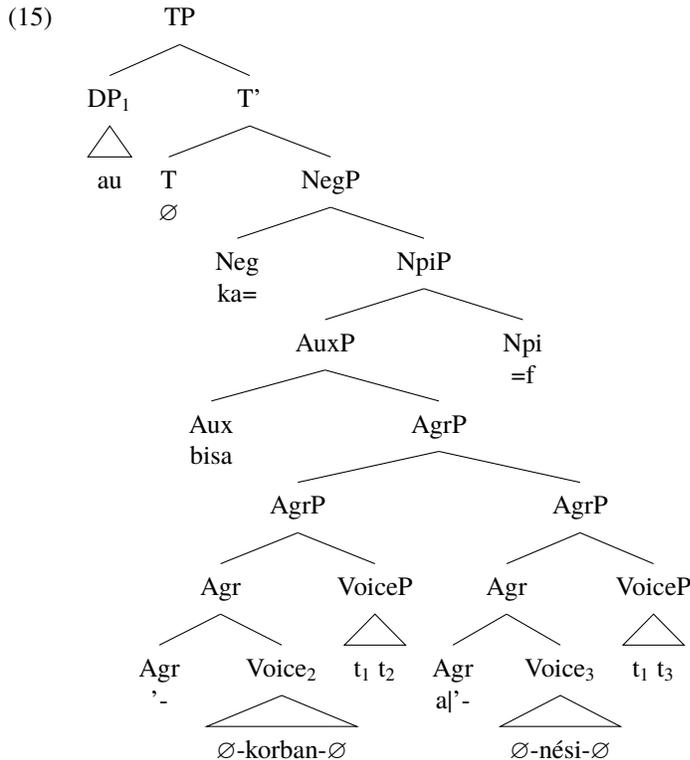
6 Agreement is above than V, v, and Voice

- So far we have seen that agreement is lower than TAM markers and negation.

- Though consistent subject agreement is usually thought to result from a φ-probe on T (Woolford 2010, Legate 2014, Coon 2017), absolutive (i.e. object) preference is often thought to arise from a φ-probe on v (Béjar & Rezac 2009).

- Could one somehow locate the φ-probe on v in Uab Meto? There are several arguments against this analysis.

6.1 Agreement is always with the verb's highest argument, regardless of where it comes from

- The fact that agreement is subject-aligned is an argument against the probe being on v or Voice. This subject preference holds for presumed unaccusative (3a), unergative (3b), monotransitive (4), and ditransitive verbs (5).

- I follow Harley (2013) and Legate (2014) in assuming that external arguments are introduced in Spec,VoiceP.

- Regardless of whether external arguments are introduced in Spec,VoiceP or Spec,vP, a probe on v or Voice would only c-command an object, so one would expect a preference for object agreement with a probe at this height (Béjar & Rezac 2009).

- As further evidence of a preference for agreement with the highest DP, I turn to transitivized/causativized verbs.

- **Evidence that agreement is higher than v:** Uab Meto has two suffixes, *-'* and *-b*, that transitivize/causativize verbs, allowing for the expression of an agent argument. When these suffixes are added, agreement is with the higher agent, not with the patient that is agreed with when the verb is intransitive.

- This is demonstrated below with the verbs *faen/fani* 'return' (16) and *sae* 'go up' (17). The (a) and (b) examples show a direct comparison, while the (c) examples are naturalistic.

(16) a. **Au '-faen**.
1SG.NOM 1SG-return

'I return.' (YEK; elicited July 30, 2019)

    b. **Au 'u-fani-'** koo.
1SG.NOM 1SG-return-TR 2SG.ACC

'I return you.' (YEK; elicited July 30, 2019)

    c. **Bapa' wakil bupati** neem n-aat kau, serahkan **na-fani-'** kau.
father vice regent come.3 3-deliver 1SG.ACC hand.over 3-return-TR 1SG.ACC

'The father of the vice-regent brought me back, took me back.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, lines 98-99)

(17) a. **Au '-sae**.
1SG.NOM 1SG-go.up

'I rise.' (YEK; elicited March 25, 2021)

    b. **Hoo mu-sae-b** kau.
2SG.NOM 2SG-go.up-TR 1SG.ACC

'You raise me.' (YEK; elicited March 25, 2021)

    c. **Hoo** m-ook oot=be m-nao he **mu-sae-b** kiit fatu.
2SG.NOM 2SG-with car-DEF 2SG-go IRR 2SG-climb-TR 1PL.INC.ACC stone

'You go with the car and load stones for us.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 94)

- I assume that *-'* and *-b* are causative v heads, in line with analyses of morphological causatives in languages like Hiaki (Harley 2013) and Acehnese (Legate 2014).

- Under this assumption, the agreement pattern in (16) and (17) follows if the φ-probe is higher than v, but it is surprising otherwise.

- How the analysis captures this agreement pattern is illustrated below in (18) and (19), which provide structures for (17a) and (17b) respectively.

(18)

```
              TP
         ┌─────┴─────┐
        DP₁          T'
         △       ┌───┴────┐
         au      T        AgrP
                 ∅    ┌────┴─────┐
                     Agr        VoiceP
                ┌─────┴─────┐  ┌──┴───┐
               Agr       Voice₂ Voice  vP
               '-      ┌───┴──┐  t₂  ┌─┴─┐
                     Voice   v₃      VP   v
                      ∅-   ┌──┴─┐  ┌─┴─┐  t₃
                          V₄   v   V   DP₁
                         sae  -∅   t₄   t₁
```

(19)

```
              TP
         ┌─────┴─────┐
        DP₁          T'
         △       ┌───┴────┐
        hoo      T        AgrP
                 ∅    ┌────┴─────┐
                     Agr        VoiceP
                ┌─────┴─────┐  ┌──┴───┐
               Agr       Voice₂ DP₁   Voice'
               mu-     ┌───┴──┐  t₁  ┌──┴──┐
                     Voice   v₃     Voice  vP
                      ∅-   ┌──┴─┐    t₂  ┌─┴─┐
                          V₄   v        VP   v
                         sae  -b      ┌─┴─┐  t₃
                                      V   DP
                                      t₄   △
                                          kau
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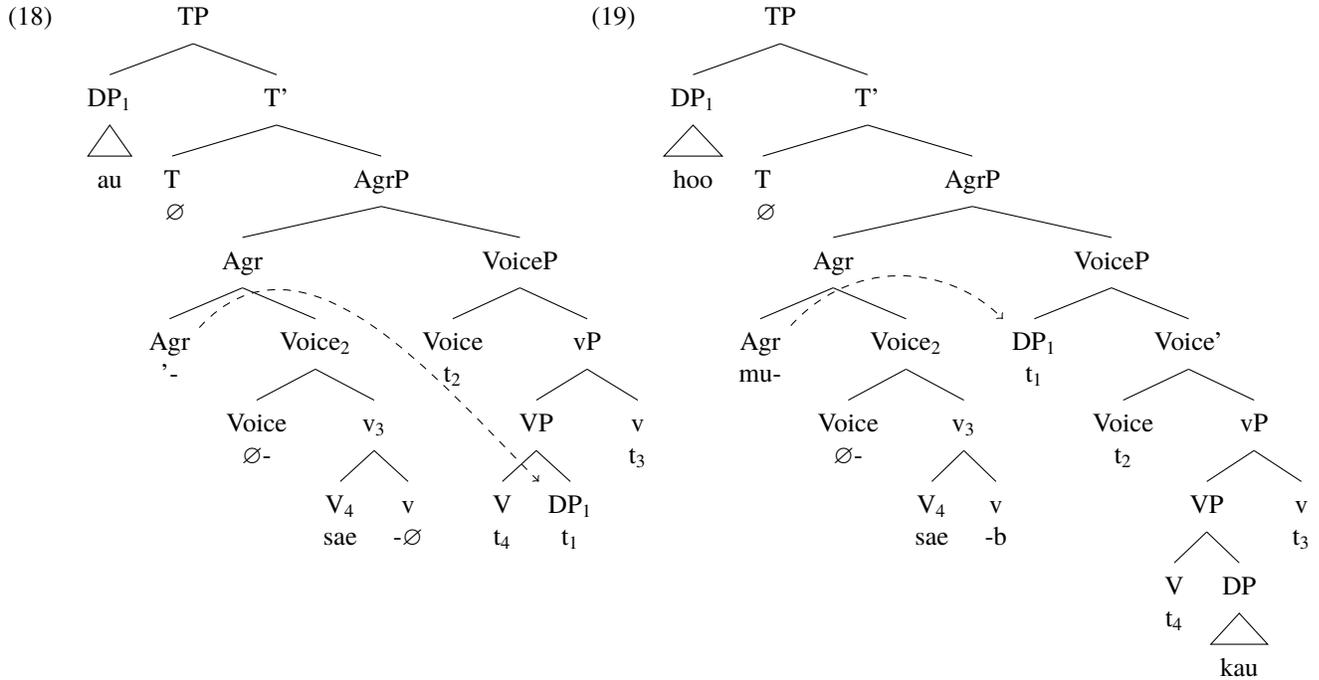
6.2 Morphological evidence that agreement is higher than V, v, and Voice

- Evidence from the stative prefix *m(a)-* and nominalization suggest that agreement is higher than V, v, and Voice.

- **Evidence that agreement is higher than V:** Stative *m(a)-* intervenes linearly between the agreement prefix and the verb root (20-21). If the ɸ-probe were on V, this linear intervention would be unexpected.

(20) a. Au   '-iup   pena' ii.
        1SG.NOM 1SG-break corn DEM.PROX
        'I break off this corn.'
        (Steinhauer 1996a: 224)

     b. Iin   ase na-**m**-iup   haef nub.
        3SG.NOM axle 3-STAT-break time two
        'Its axle was broken twice.'
        (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 428)

(21) a. Au   '-haep   koo.
        1SG.NOM 1SG-close 2SG.ACC
        'I (want to be) close with you.'
        (YEK; elicited July 30, 2019)

     b. Au   '-**ma**-haep   '-ook   koo.
        1SG.NOM 1SG-STAT-close 1SG-with 2SG.ACC
        'I'm close with you.'
        (YEK; elicited July 30, 2019)

- We can also show that agreement is higher than V, v, and Voice through nominalizations. Voice is above V and v in the clausal spine (Harley 2013, Legate 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015).

- **Evidence that agreement is higher than V:** Verb roots do not show agreement when they are nominalized.

- The simplest nominalizations suffix *-t* to the verb root. These indicate the result or instrument associated with the verb.

- As an example, the verb root *keen/kena* 'shoot' shows agreement when it is not nominalized (22a), but there is no such agreement with nominalization (22b). This suggests that agreement is higher than V.

(22) a. Ina   **n-keen** faaf=jes.
        3SG.NOM 3-shoot pig=one
        'He shot a pig.'
        (YEK; AOZ2019-WORDLIST001, line 265)

     b. T-aem   fua-f   n-eu **kena-t**.
        1PL.INC-look.for fruit-INAL 3-for shoot-NMLZ
        'We were looking for bullets for the guns.'
        (YEK; AOZ2019-MON002, line 34)

- **Evidence that agreement is higher than v:** Verb roots with causative suffixes do not show agreement when they are nominalized.

- Nominalizations can be more complex than those just consisting of a verb root and *-t*.

- The prefix *a-* can be added to indicate the agent of the action described by a verb. This usually occurs with roots that have already been nominalized with *-t* (23).

(23) Iin   ees he na-toon a|n-fee   molok neem on   hai   **a-kena-t**.
     3SG.NOM FOC IRR 3-tell   EPEN|3-give talk   come.3 IRR.LOC 1PL.EXC.NOM er-shoot-NMLZ
     'He wanted to give us instructions as the shooters.' (YEK; AOZ2019-MON002, line 30)

- If a verb stem ends in a consonant, which includes roots causativized with *-'* or *-b* (24a vs. 24b), then the suffix *-t* does not appear overtly in the corresponding nominalization, but agentive *a-* still shows up (24c vs. 24d).

- Assuming, as above, that *-'* and *-b* are v heads, then the fact that nominalizations can include these suffixes without agreement suggests that agreement is higher than v.

(24) a. Ina   **n-tuup** es   haal'=e tuun.   'sleep' = /tupa/
        3SG.NOM 3-sleep IPFV.LOC bed=DEF top
        'She is sleeping on the bed.' (YEK; AOZ2019-WORDLIST001, line 261)
    b. Au   **'u-tupa-b**   koo.
        1SG.NOM 1SG-sleep-TR 2SG.NOM
        'I put you to sleep.' (YEK; elicited May 19, 2021, based on Steinhauer 1993: 154)
    c. **a-tupa-s**   d. **a-tupa-b**
        er-sleep-NMLZ   er-sleep-TR
        'someone who sleeps' (Steinhauer 1993: 154)[4]   'someone who puts to sleep' (Steinhauer 1996a: 228)

- **Evidence that agreement is higher than Voice:** Verb roots that include stative *m(a)-* do not show agreement when they are nominalized.

- The highest verbal element that I have found in nominalizations is the stative prefix *m(a)-*. Even with this prefix present in a nominalization, there is no agreement (25a vs. 25b-25d).

- Assuming that *ma-* is a stative Voice head (in line with Harley (2013)'s proposal for the Hiaki passive suffix), this suggests that agreement is higher than Voice.

(25) a. Ii   nitu   mese' ees **na-hóin** kai   m-bi-n   le' bale ii
        DEM.PROX ancestor one   FOC 3-birth 1PL.EXC.ACC 3-RLS.LOC-SFX REL place DEM.PROX
        'Here one ancestor birthed us at this place.' (KSF; AOZ2019-MON003, line 41)[5]
    b. iin   neon **ma-hóin-t**=e
        3SG.NOM day   STAT-birth-NMLZ=DEF
        'his birthday' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 141)
    c. Are' **a-ma-hóni-t**,   a-na'a-prenat,   too mfaun=ein, neem na-bua=n=am   ...
        every er-STAT-birth-NMLZ er-hold-government people many=PL   3.come 3-gather=PL=and ...
        'All the parents/clan elders, (local) government officials, and many of the populace came and gathered and ...' (Edwards 2020: 478)
    d. hoo   'nima-m   **a-ma-neka-b**
        2SG.NOM hand-2SG.INAL er-STAT-love-TR
        'your loving hand' (Edwards 2020: 383)

---

[4]Nominalizer /-t/ has the allomorph [-s] after stems that contain a /t/ Steinhauer (1996a: 228).

[5]The 3rd-person prefix /n-/ usually becomes [m-] before stems that begin with /p/ or /b/ (Steinhauer 1993: 134).

- My tentative analysis of nominalizations in Uab Meto is that they are formed via head movement of V, v, and Voice to attach to the nominalizing head /-t/, which has the allomorphs [-t] (default), [-s] (/ #...t...V_), and [-∅] (/ C_). The agentive prefix *a-* attaches to these nominalizations.

- This head-adjunction analysis is motivated by the apparent lack of argument structure (and DPs in general) in nominalizations, though nothing crucial about the analysis of agreement depends on it.

- A full DP structure for (25b) and nominalization structures for (24d) and (25) are provided below in (26)-(28).

(26)
```
                 DP
            ┌─────┴─────┐
         DP_POSS        D'
          △         ┌───┴───┐
         iin       NP       D
                   │       =e
                   N'
              ┌────┴────┐
             N'         NP
             │          │
             N          N
           neon      ┌──┴──┐
                   Voice    N
                    │      -t
               ┌────┴────┐
             Voice       v
             ma-      ┌──┴──┐
                     V      v
                   hóin    -∅
```

(27)
```
            N
       ┌────┴────┐
       N         N
       a-     ┌──┴──┐
            Voice   N
             │     -∅
        ┌────┴────┐
      Voice       v
       ∅-      ┌──┴──┐
              V      v
            tupa    -b
```

(28)
```
            N
       ┌────┴────┐
       N         N
       a-     ┌──┴──┐
            Voice   N
             │     -∅
        ┌────┴────┐
      Voice       v
      ma-      ┌──┴──┐
              V      v
            neka    -b
```
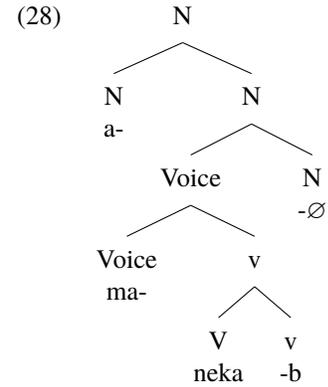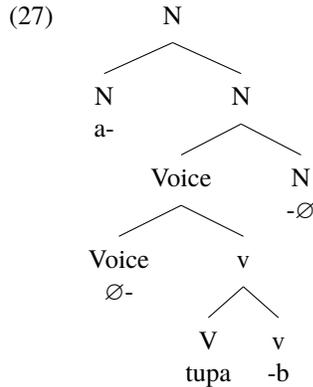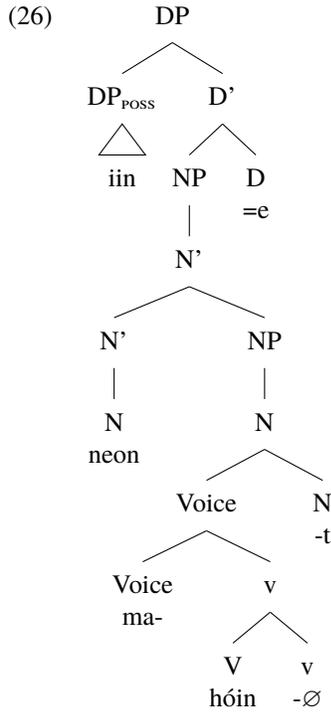
- Under this analysis, the presence of agreement in verbal complexes and the lack of it in nominalizations comes down to the lack of AgrP in nominalizations. V, v, and Voice can be present overtly without agreement.

- Agreement is obligatory on unnominalized verbs[6] (29), and default 3rd-person agreement occurs when there is no controller, both in dictionary entries (30a) and wordlist elicitation contexts (30b). Therefore, the lack of agreement in nominalizations is informative of missing structure.

(29) a. Hoo   *(**mu**)-sae-b   kau.
      2SG.NOM *(2SG)-go.up-TR 1SG.ACC

      'You raise me.' (YEK; elicited May 19, 2021)

     b. Ina   *(**n**)-móóf.   *Iin móóf.
       3SG.NOM *(3)-fall

       'He fell.' (YEK; elicited May 20, 2021)[7]

(30) a. n-hae
      3-tired

      'tired, exhausted' (Manhitu 2007: 6)

     b. na-baak
       3-steal

       'steal' (YEK; AOZ2019-WORDLIST001, line 72)

- Only when there is an AgrP does agreement occur. This is demonstrated below in (31). This tree shows the structure of (20b), which has the verb *iup* 'break' stativized with *m(a)-* and dominated by AgrP rather than nominalization.

---

[6]See the appendix for discussion of a couple of lexical exceptions and the optional elision of agreement at the beginning of an utterance when it would lead to a tautosyllabic consonant cluster.

[7]The grammatical version of this sentence requires the unmetathesized form of the 3SG.NOM pronoun (*ina*), as well as the agreement prefix. Both the unmetathesized form *ina* and metathesized form *iin* are ungrammatical without the agreement prefix.

(31)

```
                              TP
                 ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
               DP₁                           T'
              ╱╲                  ┌───────────┴───────────┐
            iin ase               T                      AgrP
                                  ∅        ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
                                         Agr                           VoiceP
                              ┌───────────┴───────────┐        ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                            Agr                    Voice₂    VoiceP              AdvP
                            na-                ┌─────┴─────┐  ┌───┴───┐          ╱╲
                                             Voice       v₃ Voice   vP        haef nub
                                             m-          ╱╲ t₂    ┌──┴──┐
                                                      V₄    v           VP     v
                                                     iup   -∅        ┌──┴──┐  t₃
                                                                     V    DP₁
                                                                     t₄   t₁
```
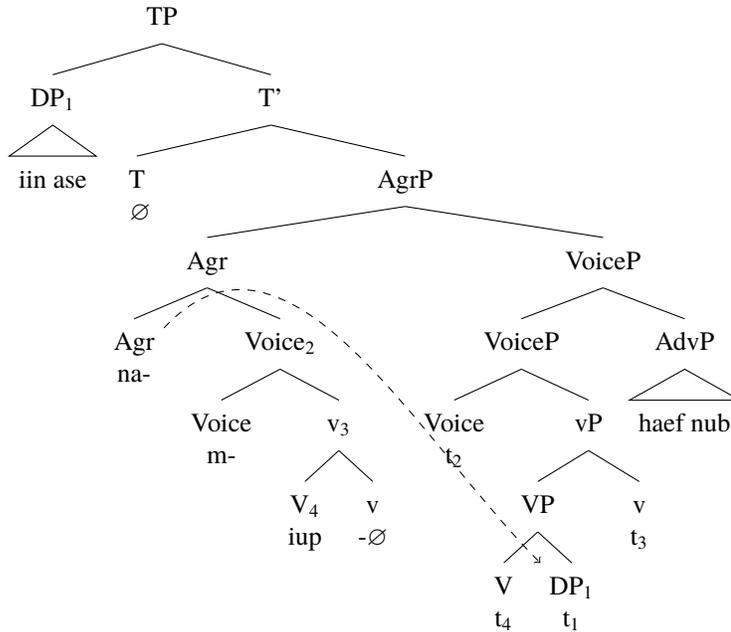
7 Alternative analytical possibilities and why they don't work for Uab Meto

- In the analysis above, I am assuming, following Chomsky (2000) and other work on agreement, that φ-probes look down into their c-command domain to find a goal to agree with. I have not found evidence for domain expansion via a mechanism like cyclic Agree (Béjar & Rezac 2009).

- The c-command domain analysis is quite typical for agreement where the agreeing head is assumed to have not introduced the argument that it agrees with, like when T agrees with an argument.

- There are other analytical possibilities, including 1. spec-head agreement between the subject and the head that introduces it and 2. feature sharing from a head that directly agrees with a DP to other heads that also expone φ-features, rather than independent agreement for each head.

- In this section I will show that neither of these possibilities apply to Uab Meto.

7.1 This is not inherent agreement with a specifier that c-commands the φ-probe

- Analyses where a head agrees with its specifier have been invoked for phenomena like inherent ergative agreement in the Mayan language Ch'ol (Coon 2017), and external-argument-aligned agreement in the western Malayo-Polynesian language Acehnese (Legate 2014).

- These patterns are notably different from the Uab Meto pattern, where verbs agree with the highest argument, regardless of where it originates.

- In Ch'ol, the ergative agreement probe is on transitive v, and it agrees with its specifier, yielding ergative (set A) agreement (32a-b). There is also clitic-doubling (set B) of (1st and 2nd person) absolutive objects (Coon 2017).

- Crucially, when the verb is intransitive (32c), intransitive v does not assign ergative case to a specifier, and there is no ergative agreement. Ergative agreement is a relationship between transitive v and its specifier (Coon 2017).

(32) a. Tyi **k**-mek'-e jiñi ñeñe'.
         PFV A1-hug-TV DET baby
         'I hugged the baby.'
         (Coon 2017: 101)

      b. Tyi **y**-il-ä-y=**ety**.
         PFV A3-see-TV-EPEN=B2
         'She saw you.'
         (Coon 2017: 102)

      c. Tyi ts'äm-i-y=**ety**.
         PFV bathe-ITV-EPEN=B2
         'You bathed.'
         (Coon 2017: 102)

- For Acehnese, Legate (2014) argues that Voice is the location of agreement based on the fact that agreement surfaces below negation (33a) and TAM markers (33b-c). Agreement is higher than V though, because the causative prefix can intervene (33d).

(33) a. Gopnyan **hana geu**-poh asèe nyan baroe.
   3POL   NEG   3.POL-hit dog DEM yesterday
   'He didn't hit the dog yesterday.' (Legate 2014: 28)

   b. Gopnyan **jeuet geu**-pajôh boh mamplam nyan.
   3POL   may 3.POL-eat CL mango   DEM
   'He may eat the mango.' (Legate 2014: 28)

   c. Gopnyan **teungoh geu**-pleung jinoe.
   3POL   PROG   3.POL-run now
   'He is running now.' (Legate 2014: 28)

   d. Hasan **geu-peu**-reubah aneuk miet nyan.
   Hasan 3.POL-CAUS-fall child small DEM
   'Hasan caused the child to fall.' (Legate 2014: 29)

- Agreement in Acehnese is closely associated with the initiator of an action (i.e. the external argument) (Legate 2014: 29).

- Unergative (34a) and transitive (34b) subjects and even oblique initiators (34c) agree, but unaccusative subjects do not (34d). The Acehnese Voice head reflects the ϕ-features of its specifier, not the grammatical subject.

(34) a. **Ureung agam nyan geu**-pleung.
   person male DEM 3.POL-run
   'The man is running.' (Legate 2014: 30)

   b. **Uleue nyan di**-kap   lôn.
   snake DEM 3.FAM-bite 1SG
   'The snake bit me.' (Legate 2014: 9)

   c. Lôn **di**-kap   lé **uleue nyan**.
   1SG 3.FAM-bite LE snake DEM
   'I was bitten by the snake.' (Legate 2014: 9)

   d. **Lôn** ka **(*lôn)**-reubah.
   1SG PFV (*1SG)-fall
   'I fell.' (Legate 2014: 30)

- Like Coon (2017) with Ch'ol, Legate (2014) analyses this Acehnese agreement as resulting from a sort of inherent agreement between Voice and its specifier. External arguments, including oblique agents that are eventually demoted, trigger agreement because they are generated in Spec,VoiceP, and they are directly selected for by the agreeing head.

- This is not how Uab Meto agreement works. As shown above, verbs agree with the highest argument (i.e. the subject), regardless of its thematic role or where it originated.

- Agreement is also not associated with a particular case assignment. Though agreement is usually with nominative DPs, in some cases embedded verbs agree with accusative DPs (35). This accusative DP can be interpreted as the highest argument associated with the embedded verb, even if it is not the highest argument in the entire clause.

(35) a. Pleent=e   n-'utus **kau**   **'-nao** on   paha 'naek.
   government=DEF 3-dispatch 1SG.ACC 1SG-go IRR.LOC land big
   'The government sent me to the big city.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, lines 73-74)

   b. Au   '-moe' **koo**   **m-tuup**.
   1SG.NOM 1SG-do 2SG.ACC 2SG-sleep
   'I make you sleep.' (YEK; elicited May 19, 2021)

- All of this suggests that the Uab Meto ϕ-probe looks down into its c-command domain to find an argument to agree with, which means that the ϕ-probe must be high enough to exhibit its preference for external arguments.

- If we assume that external arguments are generated in Spec,VoiceP, then the ϕ-probe must be higher than VoiceP.

7.2   Every verb needs an AgrP above it: Against feature sharing

- This talk has mostly focused on the location of agreement within the clausal spine, but equally important to a full analysis of agreement in Uab Meto is an account for the observation that multiple verbs in a single clause can agree. In fact, this is quite common (7c, 7e, 13c, 14a, 16c, 17c, 21b, 22b, 23, 25a, 25c).

- The analysis presented above links agreement to the presence of an AgrP. This implies that every agreeing verb must have an Agr head above it that agrees independently. I believe that this is the case, though I am still unsure of the precise structural relation of the different AgrPs. (15) illustrates one hypothesis.

- A potential alternative analysis would posit one head that agrees directly with the subject and shares the φ-features with the other heads that show agreement. Though this may be appropriate for other languages, it is not appropriate for Uab Meto.

- Baker & Willie (2010) present an analysis of the multiple exponence of subject agreement in Ibibio (Niger-Congo) based on feature sharing.

- In this language, nearly every element in the verbal complex shows agreement with the subject (36). The agreeing elements always match each other in φ-features.

(36) a. Okok **a**-sɔsɔp **a**-dɔk ekpat.
   Okon 3SG.SUB-do.quickly 3SG.SUB-make bag
   'Okon quickly/easily made a bag.' (Baker & Willie 2010: 100)

   b. **U**-kp-**u**-k-**u**-s-**u**-mana-ke **u**-nam.
   2SG.SUB-COND-2SG.SUB-PERF-2SG.SUB-IPFV-2SG.SUB-do.again-NEG 2SG.SUB-do
   'You should not have been doing it again.' (Baker & Willie 2010: 110)

- Baker & WIllie (2010) propose that Mood agrees with the highest DP and passes the φ-features to other functional heads like T and Asp. T and Asp do not agree with the DP directly.

- Feature sharing accounts well for the fact that the different heads match each other in φ-features.

- Feature sharing also accounts well for the fact that agreeing elements can affect each other. For example, if one verb is negated, it takes a special agreement prefix, and this spreads to other agreeing elements (37a).

- In addition, if one verb in an embedded clause has an infinitival T in lieu of agreement, then other verbs in that clause also have a non-agreeing marker (37b).

(37) a. Okon **i**-sɔsɔp-pɔ **i**-dɔk ekpat.
   Okon I-do.quickly-NEG I-make bag
   'Okon did not make the bag quickly.' (Baker & Willie 2010: 102)

   b. Okon a-yem **adi**-si-mana **n**-nam.
   Okon 3SG.SUB-want INF-IPFV-do.again N-do
   'Okon wants to be doing it again.' (Baker & Willie 2010: 102)

- Uab Meto differs in a few key ways. First, as has been shown, TAM elements do not agree. Agreement only occurs on verb stems that consist of V, v, and Voice.

- Second, there is no apparent way that the different agreeing elements can affect each other in Uab Meto. Each verb agrees independently. In fact, while it is often the case that all verbs match each other in φ-features (17c, 21b), mismatches are also possible (38).

(38) a. Au **'-fee** tabe' **n-óé** kiit ok~oke'.
   1SG.NOM 1SG-give greeting 3-to 1PL.INC.ACC all.RED~all
   'I give thanks to all of us.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 355)

   b. Na-sae-b n-éék kau=m **n-éék** kau=ben **'-óé** uim meen-s=e=m...
   3-go.up-TR 3-bring 1SG.ACC=and 3-bring 1SG.ACC=INCEP 1SG-to house sick-NMLZ=DEF=and
   'They drove me to the hospital and...' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 103)

   c. Hai lo **m-'urus** **na-'ko** le' lóé pleent=e.
   1PL.EXC.NOM must 1PL.EXC-organize 3-from REL money government-DEF
   'We have to organize it from the government money.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, lines 173-174)

- These properties suggest that each Uab Meto verb has an Agr head above it that probes independently.

8 Conclusion

- Uab Meto broadens our understanding of the typology of agreement.

- While previous work has shown that absolutive-preference agreement can arise from a low ɸ-probe on v (Béjar & Rezac 2009) or a high ɸ-probe on T with case discrimination (Woolford 2010), nominative-preference agreement has been linked to a high ɸ-probe on T.

- Uab Meto shows that nominative-preference agreement can also be low.

- More broadly, Uab Meto affirms the prediction of Minimalism (Chomsky 2000) and Distributed Morphology (Choi & Harley 2019) that a ɸ-probe does not need to be on a particular head at a particular height in the clause.

- Nominative preference can be obtained with a ɸ-probe anywhere above the Merge site of external arguments.

- Nothing requires that ɸ-probes be located on particular heads; what matters is DP eligibility and closest c-command.

- Relatedly, Uab Meto also shows that subject agreement and case assignment do not necessarily go hand in hand.

- Uab Meto verbs can agree with with nominative or accusative DPs, suggesting Agr does not assign case to the DP it agrees with.

- To account for the distribution of agreement, the ɸ-probe needs to be below T, but to derive the correct surface word order, the highest DP must move to the left of negation and TAM markers, presumably to Spec,TP. Perhaps T drives this movement and assigns nominative case to this DP, but it does not simultaneously agree with the DP.

- Is this decoupling of case assignment, movement, and agreement common cross-linguistically, or is Uab Meto unusual in this respect?

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10 Glossing abbreviations

1 = first person	FAM = familiar	PL = plural
2 = second person	FOC = focus	POL = polite
3 = third person	IPFV = imperfective aspect	PROG = progressive aspect
A = A-set (ergative) agreement	INAL = inalienable	PROX = proximate
ACC = accusative	INC = inclusive	Q = question
B = B-set (absolutive) agreement	INCEP = inceptive aspect	RLS = realis mood
CAUS = causative	INF = infinitive	RED = reduplicant
CL = classifier	IRR = irrealis mood	REL = relativizer
COND = conditional mood	ITV = intransitive verb	SET = setting
DEF = definite	LOC = locative	SG = singular
DEM = demonstrative	NEG = negative	SFX = suffix
DET = determiner	NMLZ = nominalizer	STAT = stative
DIS = distal	NOM = nominative	SUB = subject
EPEN = epenthetic segment	PERF = perfect	TR = transitivizer
EXC = exclusive	PFV = perfective	TV = transitive verb

11 Appendix

11.1 Uab Meto phonology and orthography

- The phonemes of Uab Meto are provided in Table 2. My team's orthography is also indicated in places where it differs from the IPA symbol.

	Labial	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b	t		k	ʔ <'>
Affricate			dʒ ∼ ʒ <j>		
Fricative	f	s			h
Nasal	m	n			
Lateral		l			

	Front	Back
Close	i	u
Close-mid	e <é>	o <ó>
Open-mid	ɛ <e>	ɔ <o>
Open	a	

Table 2: Uab Meto phonemes and orthography

- The Kotos Amarasi variety differs from the Miomafo variety in that it replaces /l/ with /r/ in native words (Edwards 2016: 113). Miomafo speakers often use /r/ in loanwords.

- The close-mid vowels [e] and [o] appear to be allophones of the open-mid /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ respectively (Edwards 2020: 92), but minimal pairs sometimes result from metathesis and vowel assimilation (39).

- These contrasts are perhaps a derived environment effect. It seems that such contrasts are only available for root-final vowels formed by metathesis and vowel assimilation (Steinhauer 1996a: 223). Otherwise the language appears to have a five vowel system of /i ɛ a ɔ u/, but this remains an open question.

- Open-mid vowels become close-mid vowels before high vowels, and the second vowel in a two-vowel sequence fully assimilates with the preceding vowel under circumstances that remain unclear to me.

(39) a. Au   '-héél.
        1sg.nom 1sg-slice

        'I am slicing.' (Steinhauer 1996a: 223)
        'slice' = /hɛli/ → [hɛil] (metathesis) → [heil] (mid-vowel assim.) → [heːl] (2nd-vowel assim.)

     b. Au   '-heel.
        1sg.nom 1sg-pull

        'I am pulling.' (Steinhauer 1996a: 223)
        'pull' = /hɛla/ → [hɛal] (metathesis) → [hɛːl] (2nd-vowel assim.)

     c. Au   '-óót.
        1sg.nom 1sg-burn

        'I am burning.' (Steinhauer 1996a: 223)
        'burn' = /ɔtu/ → [ɔut] (metathesis) → [out] (mid-vowel assim.) → [oːt] (2nd-vowel assim.)

     d. Au   '-oot.
        1sg.nom 1sg-cut

        'I am cutting.' (Steinhauer 1996a: 223)
        'cut' = /ʔɔtɛ/ → [ʔɔɛt] (metathesis) → [ʔɔːt] (2nd-vowel assim.)

11.2 More on the placement of TAM and negation in the clausal spine

- As noted in subsection 5.2, the auxiliary *bisa* 'can' is the lowest one. It is the only one that occurs inside of negation (40a), rather than outside of it like *he* (IRR) and *=en* (INCEP) (40b-c).

- I assume that the first negative marker *ka=* is a Neg head that marks the left edge of NegP, and it licenses the NPI *=fa*. *bisa* is lower than NegP, while the other auxiliaries are higher than NegP.

(40) a. Au   **ka= bisa** ’-korban   a|’-nési   **=f**.
          1SG.NOM NEG= can 1SG-sacrifice EPEN|1SG-more =NEG
          ‘I couldn’t offer any more.’ (Edwards 2020: 388)

     b. Ka= t-aak   =fa=m   t-aak   **he ka=** n-mu’i **=f**.
          NEG= 1PL.INC-say =NEG=and 1PL.INC-say IRR NEG= 3-have =NEG
          ‘We don’t say that they have nothing.’ (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 237)

     c. Au   **ka=** ’-nao **=fa=ben**.
          1SG.NOM NEG= 1SG-go =NEG=INCEP
          ‘I didn’t go.’ (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 50)

- Additional evidence for the relative lowness of *bisa* ‘can’ comes from the possibility of its co-occurence to the right of *he* (IRR) (41).

- (41) is also interesting because the presumed subject *bees=je* ‘the machine’ occurs after the auxiliaries, seemingly in its base-generated position. It is unclear to me at this time why this DP has not moved to Spec,TP.

(41) T-sambung   peo-t=e,   **he bisa** bees=je   na-taah =kiit.
          1PL.INC-continue talk-NMLZ=DEF IRR can machine=3DET 3-answer =1PL.INC.ACC
          ‘(If) we keep talking, the machine will be able to answer us.’ (Edwards 2020: 395)

- Among the higher functional elements, evidence for their relative hierarchy is somewhat limited at this point, but there is enough to distinguish Top, Foc, T, and Asp.

- (42) shows the Kotos Amarasi version of *lo* ‘must’, *ro*, co-occuring with inceptive *=en*, demonstrating the need for separate T and Asp projections.

(42) N-aka n-manini mes na-see=joo-n   re’ ia   **ro** n-tuup**=en**.
          3-say 3-fever   but 3-excuse=REFL-3SG.INAL REL DEM.PROX must 3-sleep=INCEP
   ‘He said he had fever but excused himself to sleep.’ (Edwards 2020: 357)

- (43) presents an example of *ees* (FOC) and *he* (IRR) co-occuring, with focus to the left of the irrealis marker.

- Importantly, the focused subject *iin* ‘he’ occurs at the left periphery, suggesting that it has undergone Ā-movement to a focus position, namely Spec,FocP in the trees in (2) and (45).

(43) Iin   **ees he** na-toon a|n-fee   molok neem   on   hai   a-kena-t.
          3SG.NOM FOC IRR 3-tell   EPEN|3-give talk   come.3 IRR.LOC 1PL.EXC.NOM er-shoot-NMLZ
          ‘He wanted to give us instructions as the shooters.’ (YEK; AOZ2019-MON002, line 30)

- Lastly, the need for separate topic and focus positions, with topic being the higher of the two, is demonstrated by examples like (44), which features a topicalized object *le’ fafi nae* ‘the pig’ and a focused subject *iin* ‘he’.

(44) [Le’ fafi nae   ]$_{DP-TOP}$ [iin   ]$_{DP-FOC}$ esa t$_{DP-FOC}$ n-keen t$_{DP-TOP}$.
          [REL pig DEM.DIST]$_{DP-TOP}$ [3SG.NOM]$_{DP-FOC}$ FOC t$_{DP-FOC}$ 3-shoot t$_{DP-TOP}$
          ‘The pig was shot by him.’ (More literally: ‘The one which is that pig, he shot.’) (YEK; AOZ2019-WORDLIST001, line 266)

- Putting all of this together yields the hierarchy Top > Foc > T > Asp > Neg > Aux, as shown in the tree in (45).

(45)

TopP
├─ DP_TOP
└─ Top'
   ├─ Top
   │ ∅
   └─ FocP
      ├─ DP_FOC
      └─ Foc'
         ├─ Foc
         │ *ees*
         └─ TP
            ├─ DP
            │ (subject)
            └─ T'
               ├─ T
               │ *he/lo/lof/∅*
               └─ AspP
                  ├─ NegP
                  │ ├─ Neg
                  │ │ *ka=*
                  │ └─ NpiP
                  │   ├─ AuxP
                  │   │ ├─ Aux
                  │   │ │ *bisa*
                  │   │ └─ AgrP
                  │   │   *...*
                  │   └─ Npi
                  │   *=fa*
                  └─ Asp
                     =en
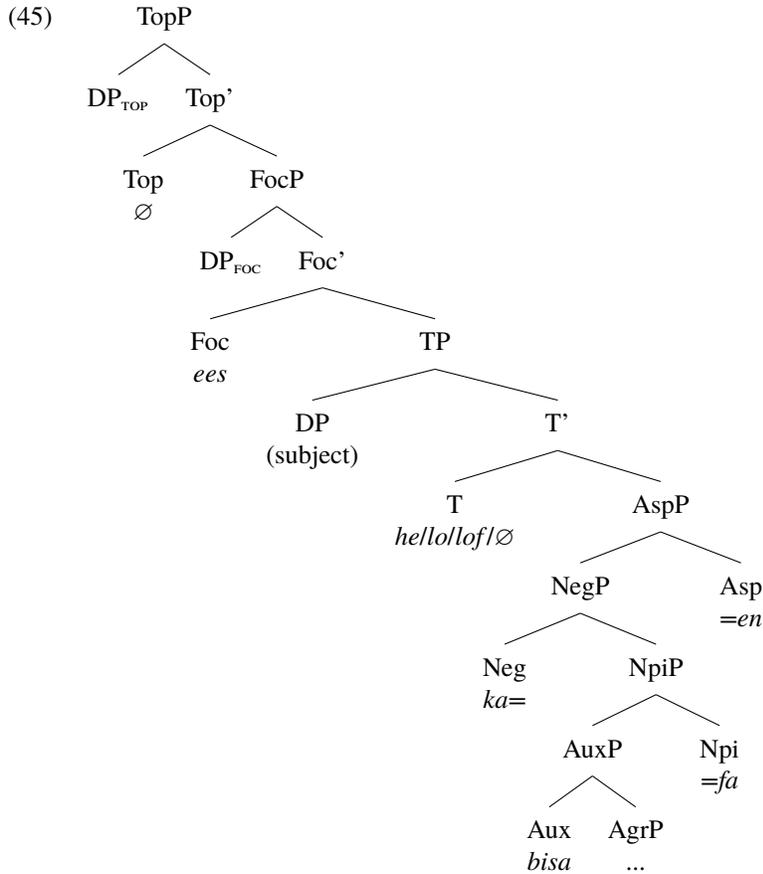
11.3 This is agreement, not clitic doubling

- Here I will show that Uab Meto has agreement and not something like clitic doubling, which could warrant a different analysis from the typical probe-goal analysis of agreement.

- There are several attributes that show that Uab Meto has true agreement.

- **The first piece of evidence for true agreement:** Agreement is obligatory (46). It must occur on almost every verb stem.

(46) a. Hoo *(**mu**)-sae-b kau.
     2SG.NOM *(2SG)-go.up-TR 1SG.ACC
     'You raise me.' (YEK; elicited May 19, 2021)

  b. Ina *(**n**)-móóf. *Iin móóf.
     3SG.NOM *(3)-fall
     'He fell.' (YEK; elicited May 20, 2021)

- Default 3rd-person agreement occurs when there is no controller, both in dictionary entries (47a-b) and wordlist elicitation contexts (47c-d).

- The obligatoriness of agreement and the appearance of default ɸ-features when an agreement relationship cannot be established are characteristic of true agreement, not clitic doubling (Preminger 2009, Kramer 2014).

(47) a. n-hae
     3-tired
     'tired, exhausted' (Manhitu 2007: 6)

  b. n-tahan
     3-endure
     'durable, lasting' (Manhitu 2007: 2)

  c. na-baak
     3-steal
     'steal' (YEK; AOZ2019-WORDLIST001, line 72)

  d. na-leok
     3-good
     'good' (YEK; AOZ2019-WORDLIST001, line 165)

- There are two caveats. The first is that there are two verbs, the locatives *es* (48) and *on* (49), which do not agree. The reason for their lack of agreement remains mysterious. They may simply be lexical exceptions.

(48) Au 'u-tae '-aak a hoo **es** mee? N-aak au **es**|a bnapa-f.
  1SG.NOM 1SG-answer 1SG-say Q 2SG.NOM IPFV.LOC which 3-say 1SG.NOM IPFV.LOC|EPEN rib-INAL

  'I answered, "Where are you?" He said, "I'm on a cliff."' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 174)

(49) a. Hai   m-nao **on** nasi.   b. Au   '-nao **on** Jakarta le' nane.
    1PL.NOM.EXC 1PL.EXC-go IRR.LOC forest   1SG.NOM 1SG-go IRR.LOC Jakarta REL DEM.DIST

    'We went to the forest.'   'I went to Jakarta there.'
    (YEK; AOZ2019-MON002, line 40)   (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 60)

- As another caveat, agreement prefixes are sometimes elided at the beginning of an utterance due to a general prohibition on tautosyllabic consonant clusters, despite what one might expect based on word boundaries.

- Speakers may either pronounce initial CC clusters as they are (50a), epenthesize a vowel to resyllabify the prefix (50b), or delete the prefix (50c). Consultant YAF does all three with the same lexical item in the same recording.

(50) a. M-bi   ii   hai   on t-aka   m-bi   Oelneke.
    3-RLS.LOC DEM.PROX 1PL.EXC.NOM IRR.LOC 1PL.INC-say 1PL.EXC-RLS.LOC Oelneke

    'Here (we say that) we are in Oelneke.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, lines 136-137)

  b. a|m-bi   ii=je   msa' ...
    EPEN|3-RLS.LOC DEM.PROX=3.DEF also ...

    'Here there is also...' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 191)

  c. ∅-bi Oelneke ii=je   msa' ...
    3-RLS.LOC Oelneke DEM.PROX=3.DEF also ...

    'In Oelneke here there is also...' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 178)

- **The second piece of evidence for true agreement:** Multiple verbs in a sequence can show agreement with the same argument (51). If this were clitic doubling, one might expect there to only be one clitic per argument.

(51) a. **Hai**   **m**-nao **m**-fani   **m**-tee   laaln=e tnaan-n=e.
    1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL.EXC-go 1PL.EXC-return 1PL.EXC-arrive road=3.DEF middle-3SG.INAL=DEF

    'We returned and stopped in the middle of our trip.' (YEK; AOZ2019-MON002, line 75)

  b. **Au** **kaes**=le **neem** **na**-poi-n kau.
    1SG.NOM boss=DEF come.3 3-exit-SFX 1SG.ACC

    'My boss came to take me out.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 133)

- **The third piece of evidence for true agreement:** The agreement prefixes are subject to lexical and morphological allomorphy conditioned by the verb stem. As noted in section 3, there are two sets of agreement prefixes in Uab Meto: the asyllabic set without vowels and the syllabic set with vowels.

- The choice of allomorph is partially phonologically conditioned. All underlyingly V-initial verb roots take the asyllabic prefixes (52), while all CC-initial verb roots take the syllabic prefixes (53).

(52) a. Iin   **n**-o'en kau, **n**-aak Lamber?   b. Au   neon unu' le' au   **'**-ita bnao kolo.
    3SG.NOM 3-call 1SG.ACC 3-say Lamber   1SG.NOM day first REL 1SG.NOM 1SG-see boat bird

    'He called me, said "Lamber"?'   '(That was) my first time that I saw an airplane.'
    (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 173)   (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 61)

(53) a. Iin   **na**-snaas.   b. Au   **'u**-'ko desa Oelneke.
    3SG.NOM 3-breathe   1SG.NOM 1SG-from village Oelneke

    'He stopped.'   'I am from the village of Oelneke.'
    (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 313)   (YEK; AOZ2019-MON002, line 3)

- Among CV-initial verb roots, the majority take the asyllabic prefixes, about 75% in the Kotos Amarasi dialect corpus of Edwards (2020: 440). Here the choice between the two sets is affected by lexical idiosyncrasy and sometimes by additional morphology.

- As an example of lexical conditioning, in (54), two transitive verbs that differ only in that one has a coda [n] nevertheless take prefixes from different sets.

(54) a. Au **'-tui** au kaan-k=e.
  1SG.NOM 1SG-write 1SG.NOM name-1SG.INAL=DEF
  'I wrote my name.'
  (YEK; elicited Nov. 24, 2019)

b. Au **'u-tuin** lomba '-bi Jakarta.
  1SG.NOM 1SG-follow compeition 1SG-LOC Jakarta
  'I joined the competition in Jakarta.'
  (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 78)

- There is also one very irregular verb in the language, 'come', which dispels with many of the usual prefixes, showing agreement primarily through vowel changes (55).

(55) a. Au óóm.
  1SG.NOM 1SG.come
  'I come.' (YEK; elicited July 15, 2019)

b. Hoo óóm.
  2SG.NOM 2SG.come
  'You (sg.) come.' (YEK; elicited July 15, 2019)

c. Iin neem/nema.
  2SG.NOM 3.come
  'He/she/it comes.' (YEK; elicited July 15, 2019)

d. Hiit teem.
  1PL.INC.NOM 1PL.INC.come
  'We (inc.) come.' (YEK; elicited July 15, 2019)

e. Hai éém.
  1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL.EXC.come
  'We (exc.) come.' (YEK; elicited July 15, 2019)

f. Hii éém.
  2PL.NOM 2PL.come
  'You (pl.) come.' (YEK; elicited July 15, 2019)

g. Siin nema-n.
  3PL 3.come-SFX
  'They come.' (YEK; elicited July 15, 2019)

- As for morphological conditioning, verbs that take asyllabic prefixes when intransitive take syllabic prefixes when transitivized/causativized. This may also involve the addition of a causativizing suffix *-b* or *-'* (56), or it may involve no overt morphology other than the change in prefix type (57).

(56) a. Au **'-faen**.
  1SG.NOM 1SG-return
  'I return.' (YEK; elicited July 30, 2019)

b. Au **'u-fani-'** koo.
  1SG.NOM 1SG-return-TR 2SG.ACC
  'I return you.' (YEK; elicited July 30, 2019)

(57) a. Au '-aak kaha', au ka= **'-móóf** =fa=t.
  1SG.NOM 1SG-say NEG 1SG.NOM NEG= 1SG-fall =NEG=SET
  'I said no, I did not fall.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 175)

b. **Na-móóf** n-aen iik'=e=t, n-oba aas=be fefa-n.
  3-fall 3-finish fish=DEF=SET 3-to dog=3.DEF mouth-3SG.INAL
  'It dropped the fish, right into the dog's mouth.' (AMF; AOZ2019-INS001; lines 30-31)

- Lexical and morphological conditioning is something that one expects with agreement affixes, but not with cliticization (Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Kramer 2014).

11.4 Future steps: Extending the account to serial verb constructions?

- The generalization that verbs always agree with the highest argument in the clause only applies to the first verb.

- Non-initial verbs may agree with the matrix subject, an object, or just show default (3rd person) agreement. This provides evidence that each verb has an independent ɸ-probe associated with it.

- The rules governing the choice of agreement controller for non-initial verbs remain somewhat mysterious. A working generalization for serial verb constructions is that every verb agrees with *its own* highest argument.

- First, to limit what is defined as a "serial verb construction", I follow Edwards (2020: 313-314) in excluding 1. examples with overt coordination (58) and 2. examples where the irrealis marker *he* intervenes between the relevant verbs, since *he* often introduces subordinate clauses (59).

(58) a. Lansun n-léól kau**=ma** '-faen óóm.
   directly 3-order 1SG.ACC=and 1SG-return come.1SG

   'He promptly ordered me to go back.' (LTK: AOZ2019-MON011, line 156)

  b. he m-pao=be**=ma** m-tiit=be
   IRR 2SG-guard=3SG.ACC=and 2SG-protect=3SG.ACC

   'in order that you guard it and protect it' (KSF; AOZ2019-MON003, line 19)

(59) a. Au '-lóim **he** '-méép.
   1SG.NOM 1SG-like IRR 1SG-work

   'I want to work.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 58)

  b. Toob=e m-palsai kau m-béét kau **he** '-éék desa.
   people=DEF 3-choose 1SG.ACC 3-vote 1SG.ACC IRR 1SG-bring village

   'The people chose and voted for me to be the head of the village.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 106)

- Focusing on examples where there is no clear subordination or coordination, a few patterns emerge.

- Non-initial verbs usually agree with the subject when there is no object intervening between the verbs (60).

(60) a. **Au '-nao '-méup**.
   1SG.NOM 1SG-go 1SG-work.

   'I go work.' (YEK; AOZ2019-MON001, line 8)

  b. **Au kaes=le neem na-poi-n** kau.
   1SG.NOM boss=DEF come.3 3-exit-SFX 1SG.ACC

   'My boss came to take me out.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 133)

  c. Oka=t neon unu' **au '-sae '-óé** bnao kolo.
   then=SET day first 1SG.NOM 1SG-go.up 1SG-to boat bird

   'That was the first time that I took a plane. (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 62)

  d. **Hai m-nao m-fani m-tee** laaln=e tnaan-n=e.
   1PL.EXC.NOM 1PL.EXC-go 1PL.EXC-return 1PL.EXC-arrive road=3.DEF middle-3SG.INAL=DEF

   'We returned and stopped in the middle of our trip.' (YEK; AOZ2019-MON002, line 75)

  e. **Au '-poo**=jen ka= **'-méup** =fa **'-ook** le' kase nane=ben.
   1SG.NOM 1SG-exit=INCEP NEG= 1SG-work =NEG 1SG-with REL boss DEM.DIST=INCEP

   'I went out and no longer worked for the boss.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 136)

  f. **Au '-fee '-mépu '-tahan** fe'.
   1SG.NOM 1SG-give 1SG-work 1SG-endure still

   'I continued working.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 161)

- However, non-initial verbs often agree with intervening objects (35, 38, 61).

(61) a. Pleent=e n-'utus **kau '-nao** on paha 'naek.
   government-DEF 3-dispatch 1SG.ACC 1SG-go IRR.LOC land big

   'The government sent me to the big city.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 73)

  b. Au '-moe' **koo m-tuup**.
   1SG.NOM 1SG-do 2SG.ACC 2SG-sleep

   'I make you sleep.' (YEK; elicited May 19, 2021)

  c. Hoo m-putal oot=be he m-éék**=je n-óé** mee?
   2SG.NOM 2SG-turn car=DEF IRR 2SG-bring=3SG.ACC 3-to which

   'You're turning the car in order to bring it where?' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 322)

d. Hai   lo   m-'urus   ***pro*_{3SG} na-'ko** le' lóé   pleent=e.
1PL.EXC.NOM must 1PL.EXC-organize *pro*   3-from REL money government-DEF

'We have to organize it from the government money.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, lines 173-174)

e. Au   '-iit   ***pro*_{3SG} n-ook** au   mata-k.
1SG.NOM 1SG-see *pro*   3-with 1SG.NOM eye-1SG.INAL

'I've seen it with my (own) eyes.' (aaz-20120923-1-MelkiasMnao-Nekmese-biku (from Owen Edwards))

- *óé* 'to' is a common example of a second verb in a serial verb construction that agrees with the object of the first verb (62). The first verb is *éék* 'bring' in both cases here, and *óé* agrees with the object of *éék*.

(62) a. **Na-sae-b** n-éék **kau=m**   n-éék **kau=ben**   **'-óé** uim meen-s=e=m...
3-go.up-TR 3-bring 1SG.ACC=and 3-bring 1SG.ACC=INCEP 1SG-to house sick-NMLZ=DEF=and

'They drove me to the hospital and...' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 103)

b. '-éék   **siin n-óé** le' a-méup-t-ini=ma   n-mépu-n.
1SG-bring 3PL 3-to REL er-work-NMLZ-PL.DEF=and 3-work-SFX

'I drove them to the workers, and they (the workers) worked.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 88)

- Interestingly, in other cases with intervening objects, non-initial verbs agree with the matrix subject (63).

(63) a. **Oot=be baan=e** n-toom kau   **n-óé** boko-k.
car=DEF tire=DEF 3-true 1SG.ACC 3-to back-1SG.INAL

'The car's tire hit me on my back.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 98)

b. **Bapa** m-nao he m-éék   oot=be **m-óé** Kefa.
father 2SG-go IRR 2SG-bring car=DEF 2SG-to Kefa

'Father (you) go bring the car to Kefa.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 420)

c. **Au** 'u-tuin lomba **'-bi**   Jakarta
1SG.NOM 1SG-follow compeition 1SG-RLS.LOC Jakarta

'I joined the competition in Jakarta.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 78)

d. A|n-fuut kau   **n-óé** tnaan-k=e=m   ni' a|n-heel na-poi-n kau   **na-'ko** le'
EPEN|3-tie 1SG.ACC 3-to middle-1SG.INAL=DEF=and then EPEN|3-pull 3-exit-SFX 1SG.ACC 3-from REL
oeprigje naan.
well   DEM.DIST

'They tied me at the waist and then pulled me out of the well.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, lines 150-151)

- In the last kind of case, it is unclear what controls agreement on the non-initial verb (64).

- One theory is that the second verb *óé* 'to' does not agree with the subject because *méup* 'work' is unergative, and its external argument is not an argument of the second verb. Perhaps there is an implied internal argument, or this could just be default agreement.

(64) Au   '-méup **n-óé** toob.
1SG.NOM 1SG-work 3-to people

'I work for people.' (YAF; AOZ2019-MON004, line 133)

- Notably, it is possible to have the same two verbs and have a different agreement pattern.

- One example is the interesting contrast between (64) and (65). Both examples have *méup* 'work' as the first verb and *óé* 'to' as the second verb, but in (64) *óé* shows unclear agreement, and in (65) it shows agreement with the matrix subject.

- The fact that *óé* has a benefactive interpretation in (64) and a motion interpretation in (65) could be important here. This difference likely corresponds to distinct syntactic structures.

(65) **Hai**   he m-nao   he m-méup   **m-óé**   Bokin nae.
1PL.EXC.NOM IRR 1PL.EXC-go IRR 1PL.EXC-work 1PL.EXC-to Boking DEM.DIST

'We wanted to go work in Boking there.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 218)

- Another interesting example is the contrast between (66a) and (66b). Here we have the same first verb *éék* 'bring' and the same object of this verb (a full DP in one case, a pronoun referring to the same full DP *oot=be* 'the car' in the other), but *óé* 'to' agrees with the subject in (66a) and the object in (66b).

- This contrast is difficult to explain.

(66) a. **Bapa** m-nao he m-éék   oot=be **m-óé** Kefa.
father 2SG-go IRR 2SG-bring car=DEF 2SG-to Kefa

'Father (you) go bring the car to Kefa.' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 420)

b. Hoo   m-putal oot=be he m-éék**=je**   **n-óé** mee?
2SG.NOM 2SG-turn car=DEF IRR 2SG-bring=3SG.ACC 3-to which

'You're turning the car in order to bring it where?' (LTK; AOZ2019-MON011, line 322)

- While the precise facts surrounding agreement in serial verb constructions remain mysterious, it is clear that each verb needs to be able to probe independently for agreement. Each verb is associated with its own Agr ϕ-probe.

- If we assume that every verb has an AgrP and associated ϕ-probe above it, then we can also say that every verb has a VoiceP associated with it, implying that each verbal complex can introduce its own internal and external arguments.

- This type of analysis allows for a generalization such that every verb agrees with its own highest argument.

- Open question: If every verb has its own argument structure, how do you derive serial verb constructions and obtain coindexation of the shared argument?