

Multiple agree with clitics: person complementarity vs. omnivorous number

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Abstract This paper capitalizes on the difference between person complementarity (e.g. PCC effects) and omnivorous number (e.g. the fact that a single plural marker can be used to cross-reference more than one plural argument) by proposing that the same syntactic mechanism of Multiple Agree is responsible for both. The widely divergent surface difference results from the fact that person features are fully binary, whereas number features are syntactically privative. Additionally, arguments drawn from a variety of verbal cross-referencing morphemes implicating phi-interactions between subject and object support the claim that these elements are clitics, necessitating a principled morphosyntactic difference between clitics and other DPs undergoing object shift, and revisitation of the clitic-affix distinction.

Keywords Multiple agree · Omnivorous number · Person complementarity · Syntactic rebracketing · Clitic/affix distinction · Tense-invariance

1 Multiple-argument exponence

While the focus of much research on agreement has focused on object agreement by participles and subject agreement by tense (e.g. Kayne 1989; Chomsky 2000), in more recent years there has been increasing attention on the syntactic mechanisms responsible for patterns of *multiple-argument exponence*, in which the features of both subject and object (or object and indirect object) are expounded on a single prosodic word—either as distinct agreement morphemes, as pronominal clitics corresponding to each argument, or as a portmanteau morpheme incorporating the features of both.

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