

# A' in the vP mirrors A' in the CP

Information Structure at the vP edge in Swahili and Tagalog

Johannes Mursell

[j.mursell@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de](mailto:j.mursell@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de)

01.06.2021

## Information structure – the CP

- ▶ information-structural projections in the CP often lead to left dislocation, i.e. movement into their specifiers

(1) *Italian* (Rizzi 1997: 291)

[A Gianni]<sub>TOP</sub>, [QUESTO]<sub>FOC</sub>, [domani]<sub>TOP</sub>, [gli]<sub>TOP</sub>

to Gianni      this                      tomorrow      to.him

dovrete    dire.

you.must say

‘To Gianni, THIS, tomorrow, you should tell him.’

(2) *Dagbani* (Issah 2020: 142)

Búkù kà páyà máá sà dá.

book FOC woman DEF PST buy.PFV

‘It was a book that she bought yesterday.’

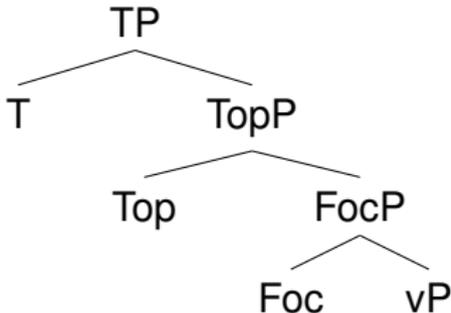
# Information structure – the CP

- ▶ increasing evidence that information-structural heads can be sensitive to  $\phi$ -features
- ▶ either in combination with dislocation as in Dinka (van Urk 2015) (3) or independent of it as in San Martín Peras Mixtec (Ostrove 2018) (4)

- (3) a. Miir à-càa <Miir> t̄iŋ.  
giraffe 3SG-PRF.1SG see.NF  
'A giraffe, I have seen.'
- b. Yè kɔɔc-kó [CP é-kè-cíi Áyèn ké gàam gàlám]?  
be people-which PST-3PL-PRF.OV Ayen.GEN 3PL give.NF pen  
'Which people had Ayen given a pen to?'
- (4) a. Rà<sub>1</sub> íxutsya míí mástro<sub>1</sub>.  
he swim.PRS the teacher  
'The teacher is swimming.'
- b. Rí<sub>1</sub> xa nùhmi rà lo'ò míí tsina<sub>1</sub>.  
it.ANIMAL PRF hug.PST he little the dog  
'The boy already hugged the dog.'

# Information structure – the vP

## (5) Low information-structural projections



Focus: Belletti (2004, 2005) (cont. *ita*), Poletto (2006) (old *ita*)

Topic: Paul (2002); Belletti (2004)

(and some more discussed later)

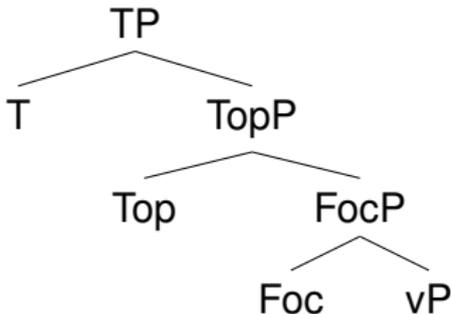
! low positions encode weaker types of foci and topics  
(cf. Torregrossa 2012, among many others)

▶ focus: **new information focus**

▶ topic: **Givenness** (complement of new information)

# Information structure – the vP

## (5) Low information-structural projections



**Focus:** Belletti (2004, 2005) (cont. *ita*), Poletto (2006) (old *ita*)

**Topic:** Paul (2002); Belletti (2004)

(and some more discussed later)

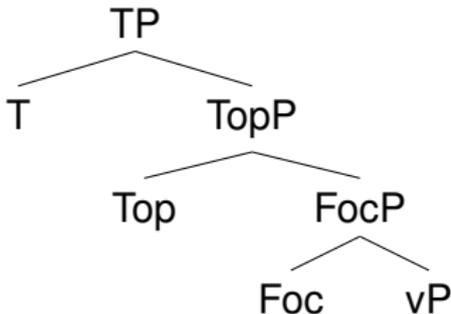
! low positions encode weaker types of foci and topics  
(cf. Torregrossa 2012, among many others)

▶ focus: **new information focus**

▶ topic: **Givenness** (complement of new information)

# Information structure – the vP

## (5) Low information-structural projections



**Focus:** Belletti (2004, 2005) (cont. *ita*), Poletto (2006) (old *ita*)

**Topic:** Paul (2002); Belletti (2004)

(and some more discussed later)

! low positions encode weaker types of foci and topics  
(cf. Torregrossa 2012, among many others)

▶ focus: **new information focus**

▶ topic: **Givenness** (complement of new information)

# The topic for today

- ▶ we have evidence for different combinations of IS heads in the CP
  - ▶ Top/Foc +  $\phi$  (van Urk 2015; Ostrove 2018; Mursell 2020)
  - ▶ Top/Foc + [EPP] (Rizzi 1997 and so much subsequent work)
- ▶ **Do we find the same combinations in the vP?**
- ▶ the expectations:
  - ▶ low Top +  $\phi$  should lead to the presence of a low agreement morpheme
  - ▶ low Top + [EPP] should impact higher agreement processes (due to additional structure on top of the vP area)

## Low information structure and its combinations

- ▶ Object marking (OM) in *Swahili* as Top +  $\phi$
- ▶ 'Subject' marking (SM) in *Tagalog* as Top + [EPP]

# The topic for today

- ▶ we have evidence for different combinations of IS heads in the CP
  - ▶ Top/Foc +  $\phi$  (van Urk 2015; Ostrove 2018; Mursell 2020)
  - ▶ Top/Foc + [EPP] (Rizzi 1997 and so much subsequent work)
- ▶ **Do we find the same combinations in the vP?**
- ▶ the expectations:
  - ▶ low Top +  $\phi$  should lead to the presence of a low agreement morpheme
  - ▶ low Top + [EPP] should impact higher agreement processes (due to additional structure on top of the vP area)

## Low information structure and its combinations

- ▶ Object marking (OM) in *Swahili* as Top +  $\phi$
- ▶ 'Subject' marking (SM) in *Tagalog* as Top + [EPP]

# The topic for today

- ▶ we have evidence for different combinations of IS heads in the CP
  - ▶ Top/Foc +  $\phi$  (van Urk 2015; Ostrove 2018; Mursell 2020)
  - ▶ Top/Foc + [EPP] (Rizzi 1997 and so much subsequent work)
- ▶ **Do we find the same combinations in the vP?**
- ▶ the expectations:
  - ▶ low Top +  $\phi$  should lead to the presence of a low agreement morpheme
  - ▶ low Top + [EPP] should impact higher agreement processes (due to additional structure on top of the vP area)

## Low information structure and its combinations

- ▶ Object marking (OM) in *Swahili* as Top +  $\phi$
- ▶ 'Subject' marking (SM) in *Tagalog* as Top + [EPP]

# Plan

1. Introduction
2. Object Marking in Swahili
3. Subject Marking in Tagalog
4. Predictions
  - 4.1 CP topicalization
  - 4.2 Relative Clauses
  - 4.3 Contrastive Context
5. Summary

# Object marking in Swahili

## (6) Basic *Swahili* pattern

a. Subject SM-TENSE-OM-Verb Object

b. Mwanamke a- li- zi- nunua **nguo** sana.  
 1.woman 3SG.S- PST- 10.o- buy 10.dress yesterday  
 'The woman bought the dresses yesterday.'

Key points (Mursell 2018):

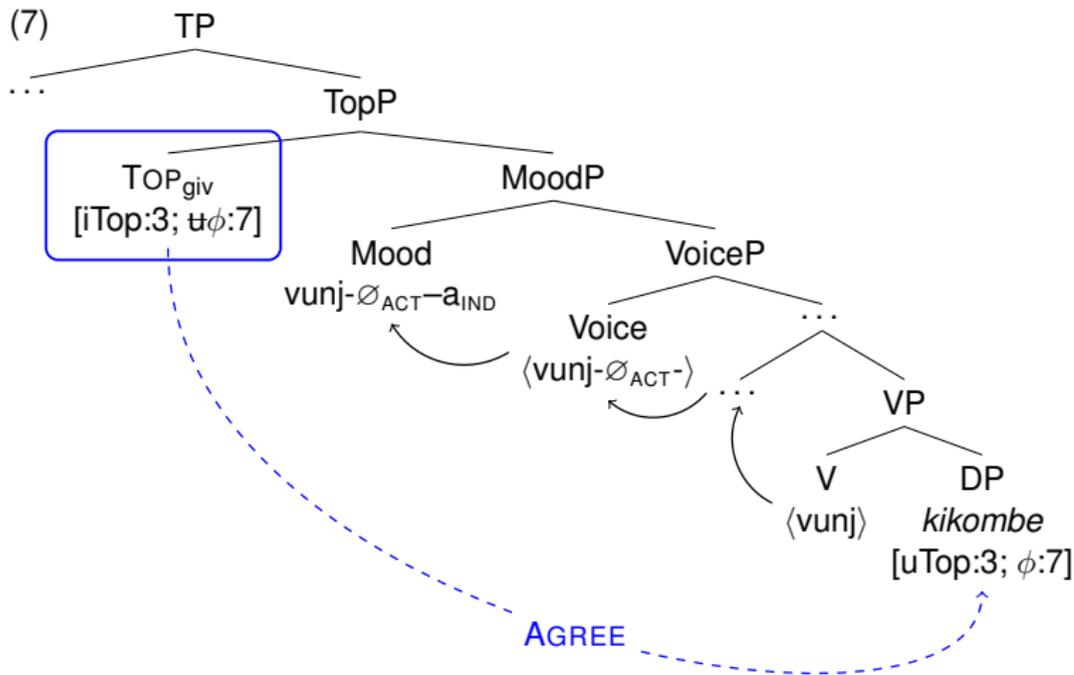
- ▶ Object agreement is triggered when the **object is interpreted as already part of the Common Ground (CG)**
- ▶ the agreement involves a **low topic head**
- ▶ this topic head is **bundled with a set of  $\phi$ -features**
- ▶ specificity, definiteness and/or animacy as trigger fail to capture the data (but are all strongly correlated with being part of the CG)

# The role of low topicality in object marking

<b>Name</b>	<b>Phenomenon</b>	<b>Author</b>
Secondary Topicality	cases of DOM	Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011)
Givenness	object clitics in <i>Romanian</i>	Kallulli (2016)
Anti-focus	<b>OM in <i>Zulu</i></b>	Zeller (2014, 2015)
Non-focus	<b>OM in <i>Manyika</i></b>	Bax and Diercks (2012)

Table 1: OM and low topics

# OM in Swahili – Analysis



# 'Subject' marking in Tagalog

## (8) Basic *Tagalog* pattern

- a. B⟨um⟩ili                    ang bata ng tela sa palengke.  
⟨PERF.ACTOR⟩buy SUBJ child GEN cloth OBL market.  
'The child bought cloth at the market.'
- b. B⟨in⟩ili-∅                    ng bata ang tela sa palengke.  
⟨PERF⟩buy-THEME GEN child SUBJ cloth OBL market.  
'The child bought the cloth at the market.'
- c. B⟨in⟩ilih-an                    ng bata ng tela ang palengke.  
⟨PERF⟩buy-LOC GEN child GEN cloth SUBJ market.  
'The child bought the cloth at the market.'

Key points (Mursell and Tan 2019):

- ▶ *ang*-marking is triggered when the argument is interpreted as already part of the CG
- ▶ this involves a low topic head
- ▶ this topic head is bundled with an [EPP] feature

# 'Subject' marking in Tagalog

## (8) Basic *Tagalog* pattern

- a. B⟨um⟩ili                      ang bata ng tela sa palengke.  
 ⟨PERF.ACTOR⟩buy SUBJ child GEN cloth OBL market.  
 'The child bought cloth at the market.'
- b. B⟨in⟩ili-∅                      ng bata **ang tela** sa palengke.  
 ⟨PERF⟩buy-**THEME** GEN child **SUBJ cloth** OBL market.  
 'The child bought **the cloth** at the market.'
- c. B⟨in⟩ilih-an                      ng bata ng tela ang palengke.  
 ⟨PERF⟩buy-LOC GEN child GEN cloth SUBJ market.  
 'The child bought the cloth at the market.'

Key points (Mursell and Tan 2019):

- ▶ *ang*-marking is triggered when the **argument is interpreted as already part of the CG**
- ▶ this involves **a low topic head**
- ▶ this topic head is **bundled with an [EPP] feature**

# 'Subject' marking in Tagalog

## (8) Basic *Tagalog* pattern

- a. B⟨um⟩ili                      ang bata ng tela sa palengke.  
⟨PERF.ACTOR⟩buy SUBJ child GEN cloth OBL market.  
'The child bought cloth at the market.'
- b. B⟨in⟩ili-∅                      ng bata ang tela sa palengke.  
⟨PERF⟩buy-THEME GEN child SUBJ cloth OBL market.  
'The child bought the cloth at the market.'
- c. B⟨in⟩ilih-**an**                      ng bata ng tela **ang palengke**.  
⟨PERF⟩buy-**LOC** GEN child GEN cloth **SUBJ market**.  
'The child bought the cloth **at the market**.'

Key points (Mursell and Tan 2019):

- ▶ *ang*-marking is triggered when the **argument is interpreted as already part of the CG**
- ▶ this involves **a low topic head**
- ▶ this topic head is **bundled with an [EPP] feature**

# 'Subject' marking in Tagalog

## (8) Basic *Tagalog* pattern

- a. B⟨um⟩ili                      **ang bata** ng tela sa palengke.  
 ⟨PERF.ACTOR⟩buy **SUBJ child** GEN cloth OBL market.  
 'The **child** bought cloth at the market.'
- b. B⟨in⟩ili-∅                      ng bata **ang tela** sa palengke.  
 ⟨PERF⟩buy-**THEME** GEN child **SUBJ cloth** OBL market.  
 'The child bought **the cloth** at the market.'
- c. B⟨in⟩ilih-**an**                      ng bata ng tela **ang** palengke.  
 ⟨PERF⟩buy-**LOC** GEN child GEN cloth **SUBJ market**.  
 'The child bought the cloth **at the market**.'

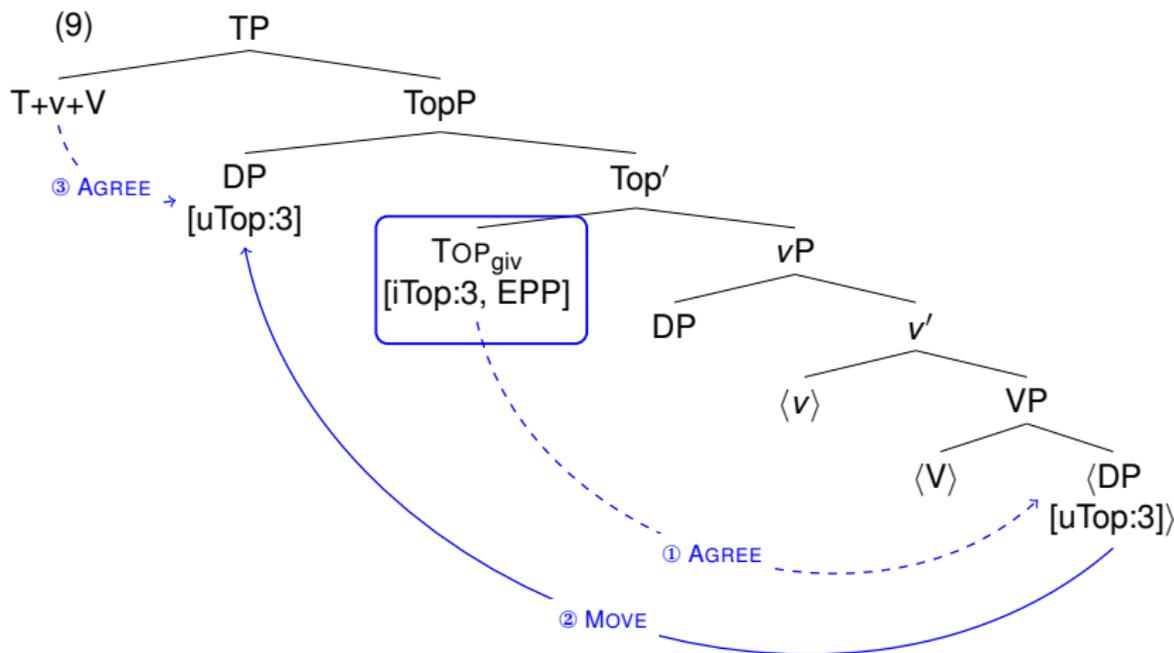
Key points (Mursell and Tan 2019):

- ▶ *ang*-marking is triggered when the **argument is interpreted as already part of the CG**
- ▶ this involves **a low topic head**
- ▶ this topic head is **bundled with an [EPP] feature**

## Tagalog – previous analyses

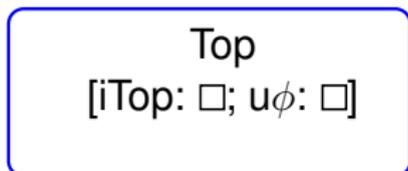
- ▶ without going into too much detail, several analyses for this have been proposed
  - ▶ case-base accounts, both NOM-ACC (Guilfoyle et al. 1992; Kroeger 1993) and ERG-ABS (Nakamura 1996; Aldridge 2004)
  - ▶ information-structure based accounts, both as aboutness-topic (Shibatani 1988; Richards 2000) and focus (Schachter and Otones 1972)
  - ▶ structural accounts based on specificity (Rackowski 2002; Rackowski and Richards 2005)
- ▶ all these accounts are problematic in one way or another
- ▶ an account based on a low topic position marking the argument as part of the CG seems to derive the data

# Tagalog – Analysis

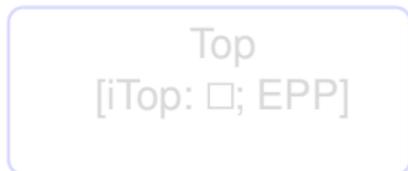


# Low IS behaves like high IS

(10)  $\delta$  **bundled with**  $\phi$



(11)  $\delta$  **bundled with** [EPP]



**in CP:**

- ▶ San Martín Peras Mixtec
- ▶ Dinka

**in vP:**

- ▶ Swahili OM

**in CP:**

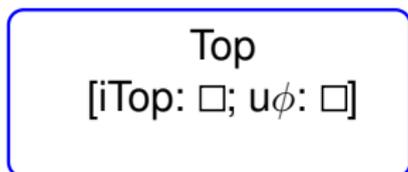
- ▶ dislocation to CP  
*Italian, German, Dagbani, etc.*

**in vP:**

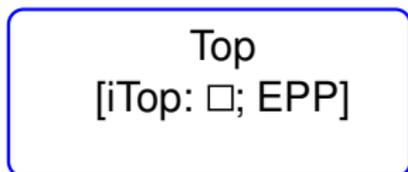
- ▶ 'subject' marking in Tagalog

# Low IS behaves like high IS

(10)  $\delta$  **bundled with**  $\phi$



(11)  $\delta$  **bundled with** [EPP]



**in CP:**

- ▶ San Martín Peras Mixtec
- ▶ Dinka

**in vP:**

- ▶ Swahili OM

**in CP:**

- ▶ dislocation to CP  
*Italian, German, Dagbani, etc.*

**in vP:**

- ▶ ‘subject’ marking in Tagalog

# Predictions

- ▶ we see what we expect
  - ▶ **Low Top +  $\phi$** : an additional agreement morpheme surfaces low in the clause
  - ▶ **Low Top + [EPP]**: agreement of T impacted
- ▶ for both cases, a low topic head plays a central role
- ▶ this predicts interactions with higher information-structural processes targeting the CP
  - ▶ due to the low head encoding topicality
  - ▶ due to the low head being the phase edge of the vP
- ▶ I will present data from three different phenomena that seem to support this
  - ▶ topicalization to the CP
  - ▶ relative clauses
  - ▶ contrastive contexts

# CP topicalization

**Swahili** left-topicalization of object makes OM obligatory

**Tagalog** only *ang*-marked (vP-)constituent can be left-topicalized

(12) *Swahili* (Seidl and Dimitriadis 1997: 376)

Maneo haya a-li-\*(ya)-sema kwa sauti kubwa.

6.words these 1.S-PST-6.O-say with 9.voice 9.big

‘He said the words loudly.’

(13) *Tagalog*

a. Ang babae ay k⟨um⟩ain ng talong.

SUBJ woman TOP ⟨PERF.ACTOR⟩eat GEN eggplant

‘As for the woman, she ate eggplant.’

b. \*Ng talong ay k⟨um⟩ain ang babae.

GEN eggplant TOP ⟨PERF.ACTOR⟩eat SUBJ woman

int.: ‘As for the eggplant, the woman ate it.’

# CP topicalization

**Swahili** left-topicalization of object makes OM obligatory

**Tagalog** only *ang*-marked (vP-)constituent can be left-topicalized

(12) *Swahili* (Seidl and Dimitriadis 1997: 376)

**Maneo haya** a-li-\*(**ya**)-sema kwa sauti kubwa.

**6.words these** 1.S-PST-**6.O**-say with 9.voice 9.big

‘He said the words loudly.’

(13) *Tagalog*

a. Ang babae ay k⟨um⟩ain ng talong.

SUBJ woman TOP ⟨PERF.ACTOR⟩eat GEN eggplant

‘As for the woman, she ate eggplant.’

b. \*Ng talong ay k⟨um⟩ain ang babae.

GEN eggplant TOP ⟨PERF.ACTOR⟩eat SUBJ woman

int.: ‘As for the eggplant, the woman ate it.’

# CP topicalization

**Swahili** left-topicalization of object makes OM obligatory

**Tagalog** **only *ang*-marked (vP-)constituent can be left-topicalized**

(12) *Swahili* (Seidl and Dimitriadis 1997: 376)

Maneo haya a-li-\*(ya)-sema kwa sauti kubwa.

6.words these 1.S-PST-6.O-say with 9.voice 9.big

‘He said the words loudly.’

(13) *Tagalog*

a. **Ang babae ay** k⟨um⟩ain ng talong.

**SUBJ woman TOP** ⟨**PERF.ACTOR**⟩eat GEN eggplant

‘As for the woman, she ate eggplant.’

b. \*Ng talong ay k⟨um⟩ain ang babae.

GEN eggplant TOP ⟨**PERF.ACTOR**⟩eat SUBJ woman

int.: ‘As for the eggplant, the woman ate it.’

# Relative clauses

- ▶ both Swahili and Tagalog have head-external relative clauses
- ▶ relativized objects move to the left periphery through vP, so we expect the low topic head to play a role
- ▶ Note: I focus on the tensed RelC strategy in Swahili (the others also show OM but are more complex to discuss)

## Object relative clauses – Swahili

**Swahili** verb agrees with the object twice

- ▶ a relative clause agreement marker
- ▶ obligatory object agreement for object RelCs

(14) *Swahili* (Keach 1980: 27)

kitabu ni-li-cho-ki-soma

7.book 1SG.S-PST-7.REL-7.O-read

‘the book that I will read’

(15) *Swahili*

Peter a-li-ye-soma                      kitabu

Peter 1.S-PST-1.REL-read book

‘Peter who read a book’

# Object relative clauses – Swahili

**Swahili** verb agrees with the object twice

- ▶ a relative clause agreement marker
- ▶ obligatory object agreement for object RelCs

(14) *Swahili* (Keach 1980: 27)  
 kitabu ni-li-**cho**-ki-soma  
 7.book 1SG.S-PST-7.REL-7.O-read  
 ‘the book that I will read’

(15) *Swahili*  
 Peter a-li-ye-soma                      kitabu  
 Peter 1.S-PST-1.REL-read book  
 ‘Peter who read a book’

# Object relative clauses – Swahili

**Swahili** verb agrees with the object twice

- ▶ a relative clause agreement marker
- ▶ **obligatory object agreement for object RelCs**

(14) *Swahili* (Keach 1980: 27)

**kitabu** ni-li-cho-**ki**-soma

**7.book** 1SG.S-PST-7.REL-**7.O**-read

‘the book that I will read’

(15) *Swahili*

Peter a-li-ye-soma                      kitabu

Peter 1.S-PST-1.REL-read book

‘Peter who read a book’

# Object relative clauses – Swahili

**Swahili** verb agrees with the object twice

- ▶ a relative clause agreement marker
- ▶ obligatory object agreement for object RelCs

(14) *Swahili* (Keach 1980: 27)  
 kitabu ni-li-cho-ki-soma  
 7.book 1SG.S-PST-7.REL-7.O-read  
 ‘the book that I will read’

(15) *Swahili*  
 Peter a-li-ye-soma                      kitabu  
 Peter 1.S-PST-1.REL-read book  
 ‘Peter who read a book’

## Relative clauses – Tagalog

**Tagalog** only the *ang*-marked constituent can be relativized

(16) *Tagalog*

- a. [ Ang babae na p⟨in⟩ili-ng presidente]  
 SUBJ woman COMP ⟨PERF.OV⟩buy-LNK president  
 ay si Jenny.  
 TOP SUBJ.PERS Jenny  
 ‘The girl who was chosen as president is Jenny.’
- b. [ Ang babae na p⟨um⟩ili ng presidente]  
 SUBJ woman COMP ⟨PERF.AV⟩buy LNK president  
 ay si Jenny.  
 TOP SUBJ.PERS Jenny  
 ‘The girl who chose the president is Jenny.’
- c. \*Ng babae na piniling/pumili president ay si Jenny.

# Relative clauses – Tagalog

Tagalog **only the *ang*-marked constituent can be relativized**

(16) *Tagalog*

- a. [ **Ang babae** na p⟨in⟩ili-ng presidente]  
 SUBJ woman COMP ⟨PERF.OV⟩buy-LNK president  
 ay si Jenny.  
 TOP SUBJ.PERS Jenny  
 ‘The girl who was chosen as president is Jenny.’
- b. [ Ang babae na p⟨um⟩ili ng presidente]  
 SUBJ woman COMP ⟨PERF.AV⟩buy LNK president  
 ay si Jenny.  
 TOP SUBJ.PERS Jenny  
 ‘The girl who chose the president is Jenny.’
- c. \*Ng babae na piniling/pumili president ay si Jenny.

# Relative clauses – Tagalog

Tagalog **only the *ang*-marked constituent can be relativized**

(16) *Tagalog*

- a. [ Ang babae na p⟨in⟩ili-ng presidente]  
 SUBJ woman COMP ⟨PERF.OV⟩buy-LNK president  
 ay si Jenny.  
 TOP SUBJ.PERS Jenny  
 ‘The girl who was chosen as president is Jenny.’
- b. [ **Ang babae** na p⟨um⟩ili ng presidente]  
**SUBJ woman** COMP ⟨PERF.AV⟩buy LNK president  
 ay si Jenny.  
 TOP SUBJ.PERS Jenny  
 ‘The girl who chose the president is Jenny.’
- c. \*Ng babae na piniling/pumili president ay si Jenny.

# Relative clauses – Tagalog

Tagalog **only the *ang*-marked constituent can be relativized**

(16) *Tagalog*

- a. [ Ang babae na p⟨in⟩ili-ng presidente]  
 SUBJ woman COMP ⟨PERF.OV⟩buy-LNK president  
 ay si Jenny.  
 TOP SUBJ.PERS Jenny  
 ‘The girl who was chosen as president is Jenny.’
- b. [ Ang babae na p⟨um⟩ili ng presidente]  
 SUBJ woman COMP ⟨PERF.AV⟩buy LNK president  
 ay si Jenny.  
 TOP SUBJ.PERS Jenny  
 ‘The girl who chose the president is Jenny.’
- c. \***Ng babae** na piniling/pumili president ay si Jenny.



## Contrastive context – Tagalog

- ▶ something similar holds in Tagalog
- ▶ wh-elements cannot be marked with *ang*
- ▶ note how the wh-element nevertheless determines verbal agreement and blocks *ang*-marking of other constituents

- (18) a. Ano-ng k⟨in⟩ain ng babae?  
 what-CLEFT ⟨PERF.THEME⟩eat GEN woman  
 ‘What did the woman eat?’
- b. Sino-ng k⟨um⟩ain ng talong?  
 who-CLEFT ⟨PERF.ACTOR⟩eat GEN eggplant  
 ‘Who ate eggplant?’

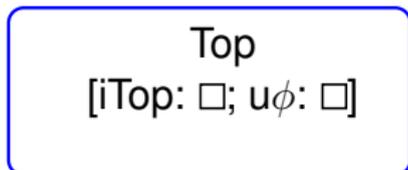
## Contrastive context – Tagalog

- ▶ clefted constituents other than wh-elements can be *ang*-marked
- ▶ they cannot receive any other ‘case’ marking than *ang*
- ▶ even if not marked they determine verbal agreement and block *ang*-marking of other constituents
- ▶ marking a clefted constituent with *ang* leads to a contrastive interpretation

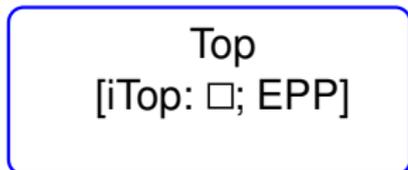
- (19) a. **Ang** talong ang b⟨in⟩ili ng babae.  
**SUBJ** eggplant CLEFT ⟨PERF.THEME⟩eat GEN woman  
 ‘It is (the) eggplant that the woman bought.’
- b. Hindi naman si Juan ang nakita ko, kundi **ang**  
 not NAMAN SUBJ Juan CLEFT saw I but **SUBJ**  
 kanya-ng asawa.  
 his-LNK wife  
 ‘It is not Juan that I saw but his wife.’

# Low IS behaves like high IS

(20)  $\delta$  **bundled with**  $\phi$



(21)  $\delta$  **bundled with** [EPP]



**in CP:**

- ▶ San Martín Peras Mixtec
- ▶ Dinka

**in vP:**

- ▶ Swahili OM

**in CP:**

- ▶ dislocation to CP  
*Italian, German, English, etc.*

**in vP:**

- ▶ 'subject' marking in Tagalog

- ▶ topic + [EPP]
  - ▶ in the CP: left dislocation to sentence initial position
  - ▶ in the vP: movement and feeding higher agreement (for example in T)
- ▶ topic +  $\phi$ 
  - ▶ in the CP: high agreement marker
  - ▶ in the vP: low agreement marker
- ▶ evidence via similar interactions of high and low information-structural projections in two unrelated languages, Swahili and Tagalog
  - ▶ left dislocation
  - ▶ relative clauses
  - ▶ contrast marking
- ▶ **the behavior of low information-structural heads in the vP mirrors the behavior of the higher heads in the CP**

# References I

- Aldridge, E. (2004). *Ergativity and word order in Austronesian languages*. Ph. D. thesis, Cornell University.
- Bax, A. and M. Diercks (2012). Information structure constraints on object marking in Manyika. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 30(2), 185–202.
- Belletti, A. (2004). Aspects of the low IP area. In L. Rizzi (Ed.), *The Structure of CP and IP*, pp. 16–51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Belletti, A. (2005). Past–participle agreement. In M. Everaert and H. Van Riemsdijk (Eds.), *Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, pp. 493–521. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dalrymple, M. and I. Nikolaeva (2011). *Objects and information structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guilfoyle, E., H. Hung, and L. Travis (1992). Spec of IP and Spec of VP: Two subjects in Austronesian languages. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 10, 375–414.
- Issah, S. A. (2020). *On the structure of A-bar constructions in Dagbani: Perspectives of wh-questions and fragment answers*. Berlin: Peter Lang.

# References II

- Kallulli, D. (2016). Clitic doubling as differential object marking. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 38, 161–171.
- Keach, C. N. B. (1980). *The syntax and interpretation of the relative clause in Swahili*. Ph. D. thesis, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.
- Kroeger, P. (1993). *Phrase structure and grammatical relations in Tagalog*. Stanford: CSLI.
- Mursell, J. (2018). Object marking in Swahili is topic agreement. *Jezikoslovlje* 19(3), 427–455.
- Mursell, J. (2020). Long distance agreement and information structure. In P. W. Smith, J. Mursell, and K. Hartmann (Eds.), *Agree to Agree: Agreement in the Minimalist Programme*, pp. 251–281. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Mursell, J. and S. Repp (2019). Encoding varieties of topic and focus: The role of contrast and information status. Talk given at the annual meeting of the German Linguistic Society (DGfS) in Bremen.

## References III

- Mursell, J. and J. Tan (2019). Ang-marking and Givenness in Tagalog. In A. van Alem, M. D. Sisto, E. J. Kerr, and J. Wall (Eds.), *ConSOLE XXVII: Proceedings of the 27th Conference of the Student Organization of Linguistics in Europe*, pp. 150–174. Leiden: Leiden University Centre for Linguistics.
- Nakamura, M. (1996). *Economy of chain formation*. Ph. D. thesis, McGill University.
- Ostrove, J. (2018). *When phi-agreement targets topics: the view from San Martin Peras Mixtec*. Ph. D. thesis, University of California Santa Cruz.
- Paul, W. (2002). Sentence-internal topics in Mandarin Chinese: The case of object preposing. *Language and Linguistics* 3(4), 695–714.
- Poletto, C. (2006). Old Italian scrambling: the low left periphery of the clause. In P. Brandt and E. Fuß (Eds.), *From, Structure, and Grammar: A Festschrift Presented to Günther Grewendorf on Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, pp. 209–229. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Rackowski, A. (2002). *The structure of Tagalog: Specificity, voice, and the distribution of arguments*. Ph. D. thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

## References IV

- Rackowski, A. and N. Richards (2005). Phase edge and extraction: A Tagalog case study. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36(4), 565–599.
- Richards, N. (2000). Another look at Tagalog subjects. In I. Paul, V. Phillips, and L. Travis (Eds.), *Formal issues in Austronesian linguistics*, Volume 49, pp. 105–115. Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (Ed.), *Elements of Grammar. A Handbook in Generative Syntax*, pp. 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Schachter, P. and F. Otanes (1972). *Tagalog Reference Grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Seidl, A. and A. Dimitriadis (1997). The discourse function of object marking in Swahili. In K. Singer, R. Eggert, and G. Anderson (Eds.), *CLS 33: Papers from the Main Session, April 17-19, 1997*, pp. 373–389.
- Shibatani, M. (1988). Voice in Philippine languages. In M. Shibatani (Ed.), *Passive and voice*, pp. 85–142. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Torregrossa, J. (2012). Towards a taxonomy of focus types. The case of information foci and contrastive foci in Italian. *UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics* 16, 151–172.

# References V

- van Urk, C. (2015). *A uniform syntax for phrasal movement: A Dinka Bor case study*. Ph. D. thesis, MIT.
- Zeller, J. (2014). Three types of object marking in Bantu. *Linguistische Berichte* 239, 347–367.
- Zeller, J. (2015). Argument prominence and agreement: explaining an unexpected object asymmetry in Zulu. *Lingua* 156, 17–39.