**One probe to Agree with them all:**
**Kickapoo portmanteau agreement is syntactic**

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**PROPOSAL**

Portmanteau agreement in the Algonquian language Kickapoo arises from **Multiple Agree** in the syntax, not from contextual allomorphy.

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**CONTEXT**

- **Portmanteau agreement**: a single agreement marker indexes features of two arguments simultaneously.
- Does portmanteau agreement arise in the syntax or in the morphology?

**Syntax: Multiple Agree**

(Georgi 2013; Woolford 2016)

**Morphology: Contextual allomorphy**

(Trommer 2010; Fenger 2018)

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**ALGONQUIAN BACKGROUND**

In Kickapoo, the “Conjunct” inflection shows two agreement suffixes:

- **Voice** indexes the object (Coon & Bale 2014; Xu 2016; Oxford 2019)
- **Infl** indexes the subject, the object, or both arguments simultaneously:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>wapam-e-</th>
<th>ak-e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>3-Ø</td>
<td>-eh</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alternative analyses of portmanteau **-ament** '3>1pl' differ in what happens on Infl:

**Syntax**: Infl agrees with both arguments; **-ament** discharges features from both arguments.

**Morphology**: Infl agrees only with the subject; **-ament** is an allmorph of 3rd-person subject agreement conditioned by [1pl] on Voice.

- **-ament** ↔ [3], [1pl, ACC]
- **-ament** ↔ [3] / Voice [1pl]

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**ARGUMENTS FOR A SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS**

A Multiple Agree analysis makes the right predictions about the patterning of Kickapoo portmanteau agreement while an allomorphy analysis is either inelegant or impossible.

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**1 Portmanteaux on higher head**

- In Kickapoo, however, it is the higher agreement head, Infl, that has portmanteau realizations.
- Allomorphy analysis works only if we permit inward-sensitive allomorphy for morphosyntactic features.

**2 Distribution of portmanteaux**

- Fenger (2018): portmanteau suffixes only exist for a random subset of SUBJ-OBJ combinations, predicted by a shallow morphological analysis (accidental).
- Not the case in Kickapoo: portmanteau suffixes are systematically absent for 3-on-3 combinations.
- This systematic gap follows from a syntactic analysis if the “obviative” status of one of the 3rd persons makes it a less accessible goal (Oxford 2019).
- No obvious morphological explanation for the gap (obviative agreement morphology does exist).

**3 Portmanteaux w/ambiguous subject**

- Portmanteau **-akw** realizes Infl in three contexts:

  - **3, ANIMATE>2PL, INANIMATE>2PL, IMPERSONAL>2PL**
  - If the portmanteau **-akw** is analyzed as a contextual allomorph of subject agreement, we need three different VIs for the three different subjects:
    - **-akw** ↔ [INAN] / Voice [2pl]
    - **-akw** ↔ [IMPERSONAL] / Voice [2pl]
  - In a Multiple Agree analysis, only one VI is needed:
    - **-akw** ↔ [2PL, ACC]

**4 Bidirectional portmanteaux**

- Crosslinguistic difference in portmanteaux:
  - Kickapoo
    - **-akent** ↔ [1PL] ↔ [3] ↔ [1PL]
  - Ojibwe
    - **-angid** ↔ [1PL] ↔ [3]
  - Easy to capture under a Multiple Agree analysis of Infl:
    - **-akent** ↔ [1pl] ↔ [3], [1PL, ACC]
    - **-ament** ↔ [3], [1PL, ACC]
  - Under an allomorphy approach in which Infl agrees only with the subject, no unified analysis is possible for **-angid**:
    - allomorph of 1pl subject agreement in 1pl. 3 forms
    - allomorph of 3 subject agreement in 3-1pl forms

**5 Fission of object plurality (Ojibwe)**

- When **Infl** agrees with 3pl, its usual spellout is augmented by a 3pl marker—including with portmanteaux:

  - **-angid** ↔ [1PL] ↔ [3]

- Under a Multiple Agree analysis of Infl, it’s easy to handle the appearance of **-angid-wa** in 1pl-3pl forms:
  - Infl agrees with both 1pl and 3pl
  - **-angid** discharges [1pl] and [3]
  - **-wa** discharges the remaining [PL] feature (= fission)
  - Under an allomorphy analysis in which Infl agrees only with 3pl, it is difficult to explain why 3pl **-wa** appears.
  - If Infl only has the features [1pl], and these features are discharged fully by **-angid** 1pl-3 pl, there is no way to trigger the additional spellout of **-wa** (‘3pl’).

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For references and additional sources, please see handout.