PHONOLOGICAL AGREEMENT IN GUÉBIE
Hannah Sande
University of California, Berkeley

PHONOLOGICAL AGREEMENT IN GUÉBIE
Claim: Pronoun/antecedent agreement in Guébie is phonological.

Loan word/loan agreement
- Pronouns also show phonological agreement with loan words.

Loan words
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement words</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Origin language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suku[2.2]</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>'school'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bara[2.2]</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>'dam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kase[ɛ][2.2]</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>'cassette'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagi[ɛ][1.1]</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>'ring'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Final V of adjective agrees with final V of its nominal antecedent.

What agrees?
- The V of a pronoun clitic agrees with the final V of its nominal antecedent.

In what feature?
- The corresponding vowels agree in backness.

Why not syntactic?
- A syntactic analysis can only account for the agreement by assigning nouns arbitrary classes and saying that pronouns agree in class with their antecedent.
- The fact that agreement is consistently phonologically dependent is then merely a coincidence.
- Why not just a noun class system?

By this account the phonological agreement would be arbitrary and unpredictable. Perhaps the analysis here could be extended to analyses of other noun class systems crosslinguistically.

Could the final vowel on the noun be a determiner suffix?
- This would require phonological features of roots to be present in the output string?

Evidence for phonological agreement
- Not only established lexical items undergo this agreement. Loan words and nonwords follow the same phonological agreement pattern, predictably.
- It is ungrammatical and incomprehensible to use any pronoun vowel other than the one which agrees in order to refer to a given noun.
- The group of nouns that corresponds to a given pronoun vowel does not correspond to any coherent semantic class.
- A non-phonological analysis miss the generalization that the agreement is so consistently (always) phonologically determined.

As far as I know, this pattern is unattested outside of Kru.
- For descriptions of similar phonological agreement patterns across Kru, see also Bing (1987), Koopman (1984), and Marchese Zogbo (2012).

CONCLUSION
Summary: We have seen an ABC account of phonological agreement between pronouns and their antecedents in Guébie.

Question: Do we want ABC to extend to syntactic and semantic domains in order to account for phonological phenomena?

For future research:
- Account for height of the pronoun vowels
- How to account for correspondence when antecedent is not present in the output string?
- Unique DP internal agreement and pronoun-antecedent agreement under a single ABC account
- Explore the consequences for allowing ABC to access semantic and syntactic domains.