Specifier-to-Specifier Antilocality Also Constrains A-movement: Evidence from the (Anti-)Agreement Paradigm of the Distributive/Collective Ambiguity in the Dual Quantifier Phrases *kila/kilta* in Standard Arabic

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This paper provides an argument for the Specifier-to-Specifier antilocality constraint (Erlewine 2016, 2020) on movement from the collective/distributive interpretative ambiguity in the dual Quantifier Phrase (DQP) kila/kilta in Standard Arabic. The paper shows that the antiagreement effect in distributive kila/kilta is due to the fact that the QP, which occupies a high position in the agreement domain of articulation, may not undergo movement into the specifier of an immediately dominating agreeing head: it is too short a movement that is blocked by antilocality. On the other hand, subject-verb agreement in collective kila/kilta surfaces since collective kila/kilta occupies a lower position in the agreement domain, making movement into the specifier of the agreeing head long enough to avoid being blocked by antilocality. The paper shows that the asymmetry observed between the collective and distributive kila/kilta with respect to (anti-)agreement can be straightforwardly accounted for under the Specifier-to-Specifier antilocality approach of Erlewine (2016, 2020).

1 Introduction

In the syntax of many natural languages, regular φ-features (i.e., person, number, and gender) may disappear from an agreeing argument (i.e., typically, the subject) when it undergoes A̅-extraction. This phenomenon has been known as *antiagreement,* and it was well studied in a variety of languages, including Berber, Romance, and Bantu, among many others (See, for example, Ouhalla 1993; Ticio 2005; Cheng 2006; Baier 2017, 2018; Erlewine 2016, 2020). Recent syntactic investigations have correlated the phenomenon with a constraint on phrasal movement which bans the application of displacement that is too short, henceforth, *antilocality* (See Baier 2017 for an assessment). In one approach (Grohmann 2003), antilocality bans phrasal movement within the local domain of a clause. Assume the syntactic clause to have the three domains of the theta (vP/VP), agreement (TP and its clause), and discourse (CP and its clause) articulations; phrasal movement of an XP within the same domain is too short a movement that is blocked by antilocality. Therefore, a moving XP must cross at least one clausal domain so that movement can never be a local operation. This theory was successfully implemented by Cheng (2006) and Schneider-Ziagio (2007) to derive the antiagreement facts in Bantu in which a moving XP skips the relevant agreeing domain to avoid violating antilocality. As a result, an antiagreement effect arises (c.f., Branan 2022).

In another prominent approach Erlewine (2016, 2020), antilocality is defined as constraint on A̅- movement which bans movement from one specifier position into the next specifier position of an immediately dominating projection. Erlewine (2016, 2020) used this conception of antilocality to explain a variety of empirical facts, including complementizer-trace effects, subject anti-agreement effects, and bans on subject resumption (see also Saito & Murasugi 1999; Ishii 1999; Abels 2003; Jeong 2006; Bošković 2016).

This squib presents and analyzes novel data from different interpretive possibilities of the dual Quantifier Phrase *kila* and *kilta* in Standard Arabic (SA), which exhibit a paradigm of (anti-)agreement. Just as other QPs in SA, the dual *kila/kilta* is ambiguous between the collective and distributive interpretations. Quite interestingly, when the QP *kila/kilta* is interpreted collectively (i.e., when the predicate it takes is inferred to be jointly true of the two members of the quantificational domain of *kila/kilta*), it agrees in φ-features with its predicate. When QP *kila/kilta* is interpreted distributively (i.e., when the predicate is inferred to be individually true of each member of the dual subject), φ-agreement disappears, and the associate predicate is realized with default 3rd-person, masculine, singular features (Ibn Hisham al-Ansari 1985; Hasan 1986). The main observation here is that distributivity induces an antiagreement effect in the *kila/kilta* quantificational sentences.[1]

The (anti-)agreement paradigm of *kila/kilta* can be accounted for under two general assumptions: first, the collective and distributive readings of a quantifier (including *kila/kilta*) necessarily stand for distinct logical form structures in which the quantifier interacts differently with a null existential quantifier over events in scope-taking (e.g., Beghelli & Stowell 1997); and second, the Specifier-to-Specifier antilocality (Erlewine 2016, 2020) constrains not only Ā-movement, but also A-movement. Because distributive *kila/kilta* occupies a canonically higher scope position in the agreement domain, movement of distributive *kila/kilta* to the specifier of an immediately dominating agreeing head is now blocked by Specifier-to-Specifier antilocality. As a result, an anti-agreement effect is induced with one or more φ-features surfacing as default representation. Collective *kila/kilta*, on the other hand, occupies a lower scope position in the agreement domain. In this case, movement to the specifier of the destination phrase is now long enough to avoid antilocality, with the full φ-agreement arising in the syntactic computation.

This squib is structured as follows: Section One introduces and discusses the paradigm of (anti-)agreement in *kila/kilta* in SA based on the collective/distributive ambiguity it has; Section Two reviews Erlewine's (2016) account of antilocality that captures the antiagreement; Section Three analyzes the two logical form structures of *kila/kilta* that encode its collective and distributive interpretations based on syntactic scope; in Section Four, we show that Erlewine's account can be easily and straightforwardly extended to the *kila/kilta* paradigm of (anti-)agreement; and the final section concludes the squib.

2 Dual QRs KILA/KILTA: where distributivity induces antiagreement

Consider the following data involving the Dual QP in SA.

(1) **φ-agreement with collective reading**
  a. *kila*   *l-rajul-ien*   *saafər-a*
     Both.3DLM   the-man.3DLM   travelled.3DLM
   'Both men travelled.'

  b. *kilta*   *l-fatat-ien*   *saafər-ta*
     Both.3DLF   the-girl.3DLF   travelled.3DLF

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[1] In fact, distributivity induces an antiagreement effect in other quantifiers including the universal *kull* (See Hasan 1986; Ababneh et al. 2017; Fukara 2022; Zyoud & Zyoud 2022).

'Both girls travelled.'
a.' *kila*   *l-rajul-ien*   *Ɂadeeb-aan*
    Both.3DLM   the-man.3DLM   author.3DLM
'Both men are authors.'
b.' *kilta*   *l-fatat-ien*   *Ɂadeeb-taan*
    Both.3DLF   the-girl.3DLF   author.3DLF
'Both girls are authors.'

                                        (Hasan 1986: p 124-125)

(2) **Antiagreement effect with distributive reading**
a. *kila*   *l-rajul-ien*   *saafər*
    Both.3DLM   the-man.3DLM   travelled.3SGM
'Each of the two men travelled.'
b. *kilta*   *l-fatat-ien*   *saafər-t*
    Both.3DLF   the-girl.3DLF   travelled.3SGF
'Each of the two girls travelled.'
a.' *kila*   *l-rajul-ien*   *Ɂadeeb-un*
    Both.3DLM   the-man.3DLM   author.3SGM
'Each of the two men is an author.'
b.' *kilta*   *l-fatat-ien*   *Ɂadeeb-tun*
    Both.3DLF   the-girl.3DLF   author.3SGF
'Each of the two girls is an author.'
                                        (Hasan 1986: p 124-125)

In (1), the predicate *saafər* ('travelled') and *Ɂadeeb* ('author') agree with the Dual QP in the φ-features (i.e., person, number, and gender). The same structure (2) has no agreement between the dual QP subject and the predicate (e.g., with the predicate having default 3rd-person singular masculine features). In the surface syntax, there appears to be no difference in structure between (1) and (2); *kila/kilta* appears to induce both agreement and antiagreement effects in its surface syntax. *Prima facie*, it appears to be the case that agreement/antiagreement is a non-motivated, superfluous phenomenon that doesn't follow from conceptual necessity, at least as far as the surface syntax is concerned.

Despite the fact that no surface A̅-movement is involved in the (anti-)agreement paradigm in (1) and (2), there is indeed a subtle semantic difference between agreeing and non-agreeing *kila/kilta* in (1) and (2) (Hasan 1986; the major references therein). While the *kila/kilta* sentences in (1) have a collective reading in which the predicate is inferred to be jointly true of the members of the dual subject together, the *kila/kilta* sentences in (2) have a distributive reading in which the predicate is inferred to be individually true of each member of the dual subject. It is useful to re-formulate this observation into the following generalization:

(3)   In SA, a QP agrees in φ-agreement with its predicate unless the associate predicate is interpreted distributively, and in this case an antiagreement effect arises.

To test the generalization, Hasan (1986) used a smart diagnosis. Inherently distributive predicates, which denote distributive properties of individuals, always have non-agreeing QPs: they induce a default anti-agreement effect. Consider the following data from Hasan (1986):

(4) a. *kila-na   saʕiid-un   /# saʕiid-aan   bi-ʔaxi-h*
      both-us   happy.3SGF / #happy.3DLM   with-brother-his
      'Each of us both is happy with his brother.'
    ≈ I am happy with my brother and my brother is happy with me.'
  b. *kila-na   ħarisˤ-un   /# ħarisˤ-aan   ʕala maudati   ʔaxi-h*
      both-us   caring.3SGF /#caring.3DLM   on liking   brother-his
      'Each of us both cares for his brother's liking.'
    ≈ I care for my brother's liking, and he cares for my liking.'
  c. *kila-na   muħb-un   / #muħb-aan   l-xiar   ʔaxi-h*
      both-us   liking.3SGF /#liking.3DLM   for-the goodness of   brother-his
      'Each of us both like the goodness of his brother.'
   ≈ I like the goodness of my brother and my brother likes my goodness.'

The puzzling fact, then, is that distributivity induces antiagreement in Dual QPs in SA.

3 Spec-to-Spec Antilocality: Erlewine (2020)

Erlewine (2016, 2020) defined the specifier-to-specifier antilocality constraint as follows:

(5) Movement from position α to β crosses γ iff γ dominates α but does not dominate β.
                                                                (Erlewine 2020: 2)

The antilocality constraint in (5) explains an asymmetry between the Ā-extraction of subject and non-subject arguments. For example, the short movement of the subject argument from Spec-TP to Spec-CP in (6.a) is too short a movement that is ruled out by antilocality. The moving subject does not cross a maximal projection other than TP. Therefore, such movement should be banned under the specifier-to-specifier antilocality. In contrast, the movement of the non-subject argument in (6.b) from Spec-XP to Spec-CP crosses a maximal projection other than XP, which is the in-between TP. This movement is long enough such that it is not subject to the specifier-to-specifier antilocality.

(6)   a.   b.
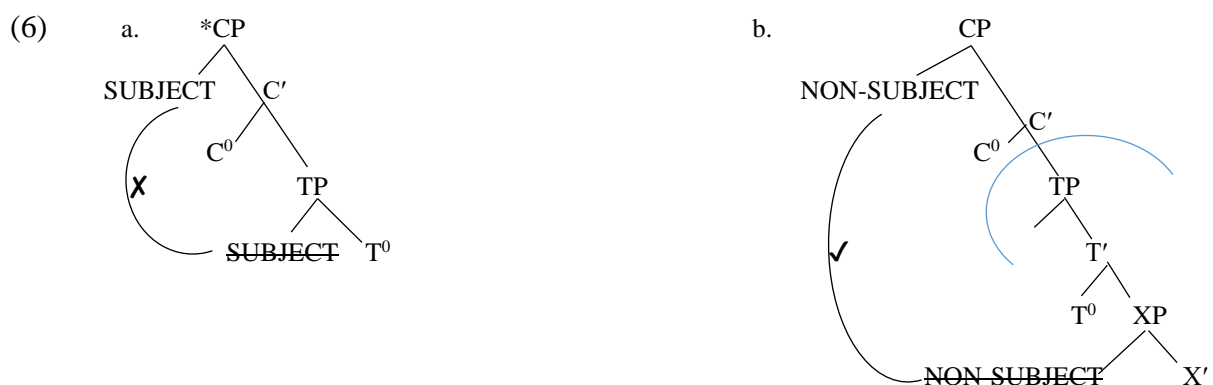
Erlewine (2020) successfully showed that the specifier-to-specifier antilocality accounts for a variety of empirical facts, including complementizer-trace effects, subject anti-agreement effects, and bans on subject resumption. For example, consider the following (anti-)agreement paradigm in the Northern Italian dialect of Fiorentino:

(7) a. **φ-agreement in preverbal subject**
    Le ragazze l'   hanno   telefonato.
    the girls   3PL has.3PL phoned
 'The girls called.'

<div align="right">(Campos 1997: 93)</div>

  b. **Antiagreement effect with wh-fronted subjects**
    Quante ragazze {*le hanno, ✓ gli ha}   parlato con te?
    How many girls {3PL has.3PL 3SGM has.3SG spoken with you
   'How many girls spoke with you?'

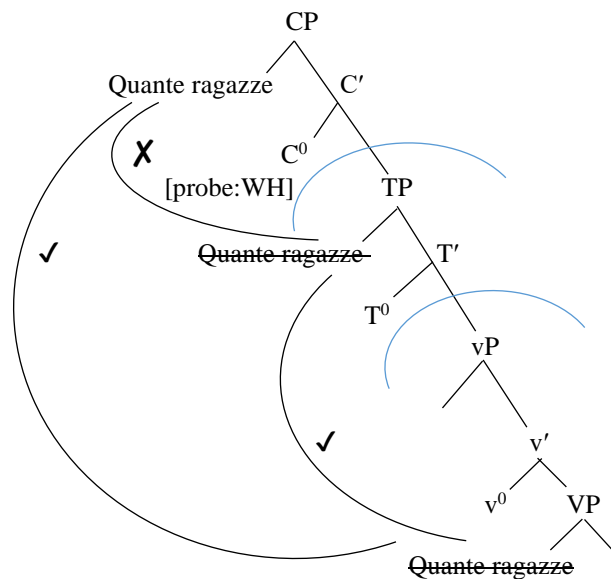<div align="right">(Brandi & Cordin 1989: 124–125)</div>

The Specifier-to-Specifier antilocality offers an elegant solution to the paradigm in (7). In (7.a), the subject moves into the Spec-TP where the [probe: φ, D] on T^0 are checked, resulting in φ-agreement between the subject and the verb. This movement meets the Spec-to-Spec antilocality constraint as shown in (8):

(8)
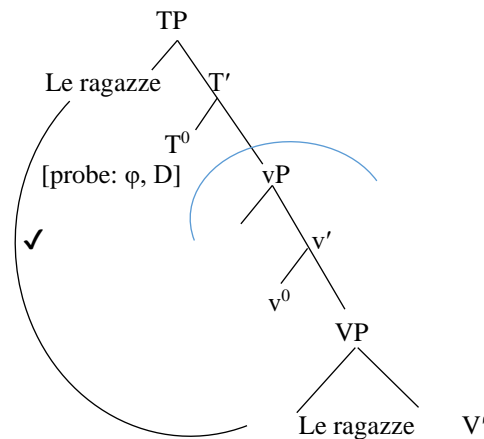
As for (7.b), subsequent movement from Spec.TP to Spec. CP violates antilocality. Therefore, the moving subject should skip the TP projection on its way up into Spec-CP to check [probe:WH]. Since the subject is banned from moving into Spec.TP, which is a position that correlates with subject-verb agreement in φ-features in Fiorentino, the antiagreement arises in (7.b) as shown in (9).

(9)

```
                              CP
                        _____|_____
              Quante ragazze           C′
                    ✗        _____|_____
                            C⁰                TP
                       [probe:WH]        _____|_____
                 ✓     Quante ragazze          T′
                                          _____|_____
                                        T⁰              vP
                                                    _____|_____
                                            ✓              v′
                                                       _____|_____
                                                     v⁰          VP
                                                            Quante ragazze
```
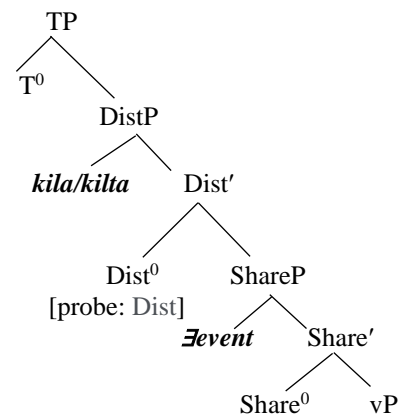
3 The Source of Syntactic Ambiguity in DQPs: A quantifier scope taking approach

In general, the ambiguity between the distributive and collective interpretations in quantifiers can be accounted for by having the quantifier DP interpreted at different scope positions in the functional structure of the clause (see, for example, Beghelli & Stowell 1994; Beghelli 1995). For the ambiguous *kila/kilta*, a theory of quantifier scope (Beghelli & Stowell 1997) is in order. Central to this theory are the following working assumptions: first, scope of quantifiers holds at the Logical Form level as determined by c-command relations; second, quantifiers undergo covert movement in the LF derived representation; and third, the LF derivation incorporates a null existential quantifier over events which interacts scopally with other quantifiers in the structure (see, for example, Davidson 1967; Kratzer 1988; Champollion 2016).

Let us first discuss the LF structure of the distributive *kila/kilta*. Syntactically, the dual QP *kila/kilta* is a referentially independent element which functions as the logical subject of predication. Distributivity arises when *kila/kilta* serves as a distributor element which scopes over a distributed share, which is realized as a null existential quantifier of events. Following Beghelli and Stowell (1997), we assume the LF syntactic representation in (9) which involves the following: the quantifier *kila/kilta* merges into the specifier of the dedicated distributive phrase projection DistP, which is located below the TP projection, by virtue of agreement in distributive feature [probe: Dist]. The quantifier in Spec-DistP c-commands and scopes over another projection Share phrase (ShareP), whose specifier houses the relevant distributed share, and which is realized here as an existential quantifier over events as in (10).[2]

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(10)

```
                    TP
                   /  \
                 T⁰    DistP
                      /    \
                kila/kilta  Dist′
                           /    \
                        Dist⁰    ShareP
                     [probe: Dist]  /   \
                              ∃event   Share′
                                      /    \
                                  Share⁰    vP
```
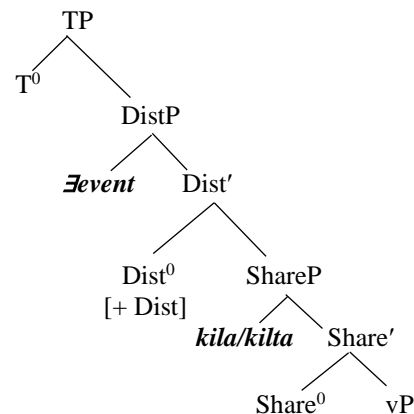
The interpretation of this structure is that the two members of *kila/kilta* are both agents of distinct events involving the predication in question.

The collective LF structure of QP *kila/kilta* is the same as the one in (10) except for one major difference. It is now the events existential quantifier that takes the broader scope as the distributor over the the QP *kila/kilta* so that it merges into the specifier of the DistP, and *kila/kilta* serves as the distributed share, which occupies the specifier of ShareP.

(11)

```
                         TP
                        /  \
       ′              T⁰    DistP
                           /    \
                      ∃event    Dist′
                               /    \
                            Dist⁰    ShareP
                           [+ Dist]  /   \
                               kila/kilta  Share′
                                          /    \
                                      Share⁰    vP
```

With the structure in (11), the two members of *kila/kilta* together are as joint agents of a single event describing the predication in question.

4 Antilocality Does Capture the (Anti-)agreement paradigm of KILA/KILTA

To see how Erdwine's (2016, 2020) theory captures the antiagreement effect in *kila/kilta* quantifiers, let us look closer into the syntax of agreement in the two logical forms of *kila/kilta.* Take the following sentences as a running example:

(12) a. *kila*   *l-rajul-ien*   *saafər-a*   (Collective Reading)
    Both.**M**   the-man-**3DUAL**   travelled-**3DUAL.M**
    'Both of the men travelled.'
    b. *kila*   *l-rajul-ien*   *saafər*   (Distributive Reading)
    Both.**M**   the-man-**3DUAL**   travelled-**3SG.M**
    'Both of the men travelled.'

Let us first analyze the distributive *kila* in (12.b). The sentence has two main features. First, the QP *kila/kilta* only agrees in person and gender. Second, the QP *kila/kilta* bears a default singular feature that does not follow from agreement in the syntax. This indicates that distributive *kila/kilta* should be prevented from moving into the specifier position where it checks the number feature leading to the default singular realization. Distributive *kila/kilta* should be able to move into the specifier position(s) where person and gender are checked.

To derive this structure, we will make use of the following assumption regarding the structure of the TP projection that dominates. Following Shlonsky (1989), we will assume the following Split-TP structure in which every φ- feature projects a distinct phrase with the modification that each projection is separated by a separate tense phrase.

(13)

PersP
Pers'
Per^0 TP
T'
T^0 GenP
Gen'
Gen^0 TP
T'
T^0 NumP
Num^0 Num'
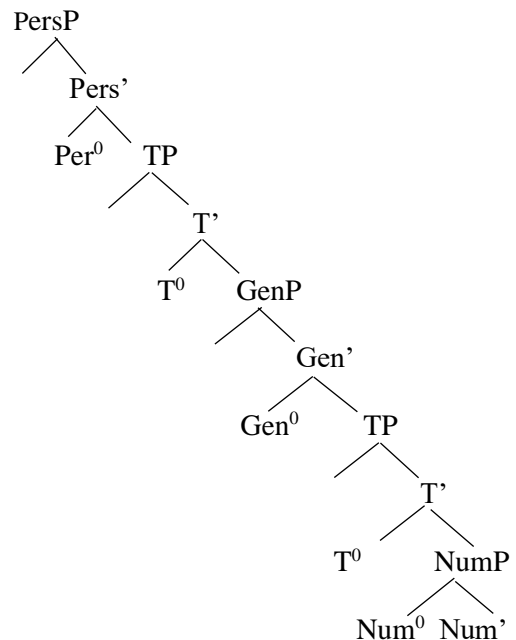
The full structure involving distributive *kila* is the following:

(14)

PersP
```
           PersP
          /      \
 kila/kilta-       P
 l-rajul-ien      / \
          [+ Pers]   TP
            ✓       /  \
                   T
                    \
                    GenP
                   /    \
        kila/kilta-     Gen'
        l-rajul-ien    /    \
               [+ Gen ]      TP
                 ✓          /  \
                           T
                            \
                            NumP
                           /    \
                          Num'
                         /    \
                    ✗  [+ Num ]  DistP
                                /    \
                     kila/kilta      Dist'
                     l-rajul-ien    /     \
                                Dist⁰     ShareP
                                         /     \
                                    ∃event     Share'
                                              /      \
                                          Share⁰      vP
```
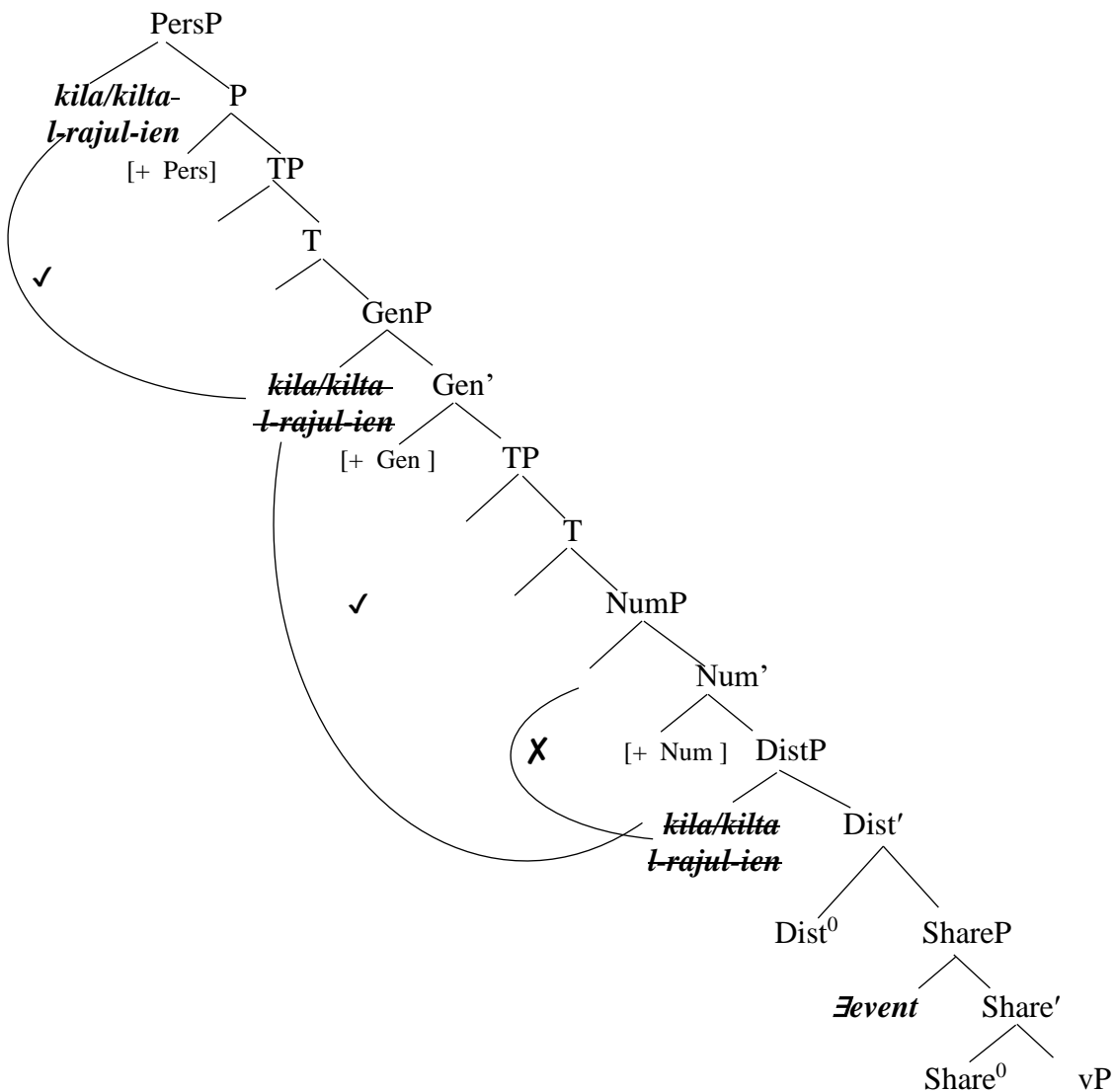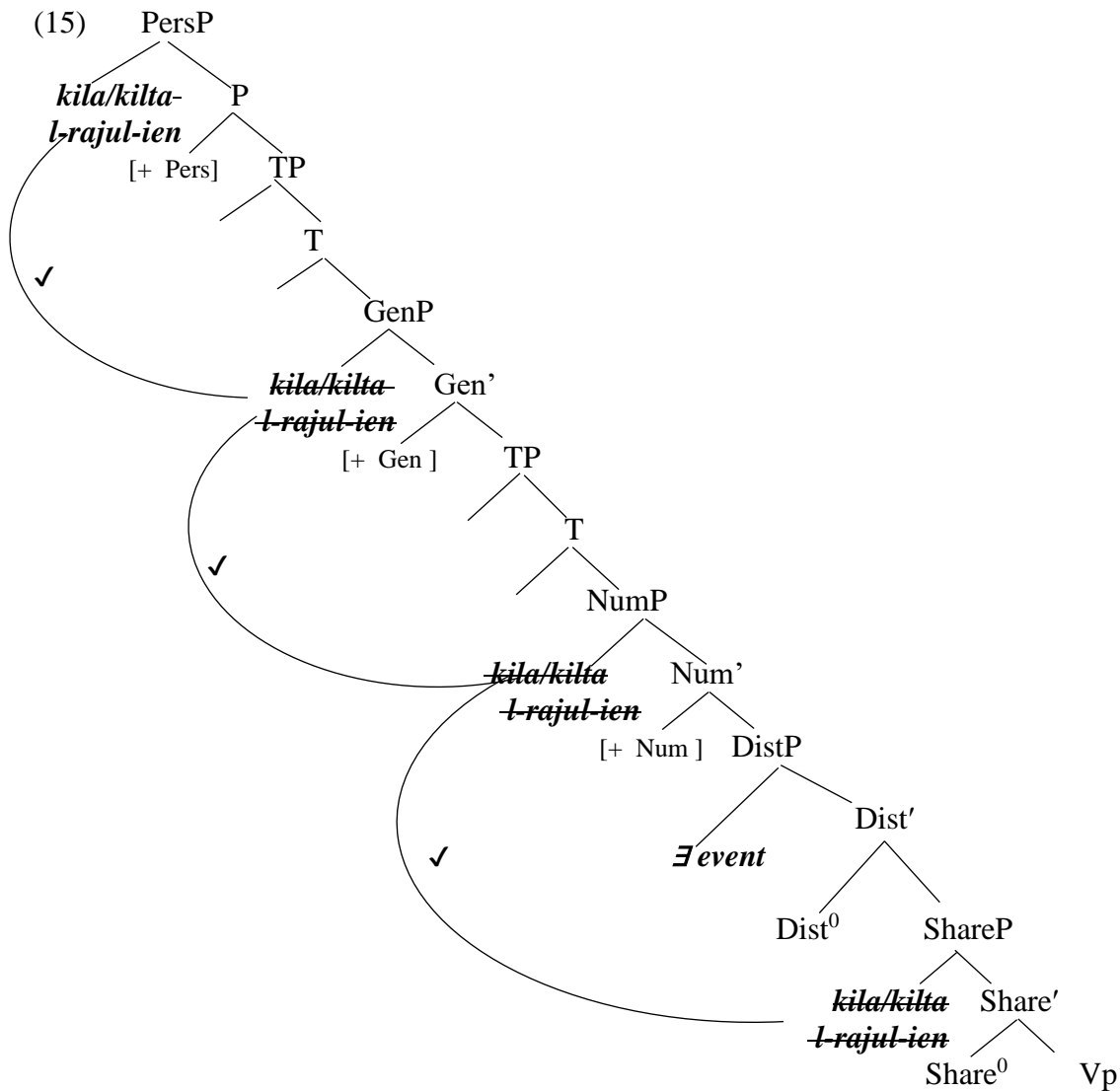
With these assumptions in place, Erlewine's theory makes a correct prediction. Clearly, movement of the DP *kila l-rajul-ien* from Spec-DistP into Spec-NumP does not cross a maximal projection other than NumP. It is thus too short a movement that violates antilocality. Because movement of *kila l-rajul-ien* is banned from targeting Spec-NumP, agreement in number is grammatically blocked, and the default realization of singular feature arises. On the other hand, movement of the DP *kila l-rajul-ien* from Spec-DistP into Spec-GenP respects antilocality: it is long enough that it crosses at least one projection. Therefore, it is licensed in the grammar, and, as a result, the grammatical agreement in gender is induced. The same holds true with agreement in number as shown in (14).

Collective *kila,* on the other hand, agrees in person, gender, and number. In our analysis, collective *kila* should be allowed to move into the specifiers of the three features leading to full grammatical agreement in person, gender, and number. Our analysis makes such a configuration available for collective *kila*; because collective *kila* occupies the specifier of the ShareP, which is lower in position, it can undergo movement which is long enough to move

into the specifier of NumP to check the number feature, leading to the grammatical agreement in number. Collective *kila* also undergoes movements in the specifiers of the GenP and PersP which are long enough to be licensed in grammar as schematized in (15).

(15)

                PersP
               /   \
    kila/kilta-   P
    l-rajul-ien   / \
            [+ Pers]   TP
                      / \
                     T
                    / \
                 GenP
                /   \
    kila/kilta   Gen'
    l-rajul-ien /   \
         [+ Gen]   TP
                    / \
                   T
                  / \
               NumP
              /   \
    kila/kilta Num'
    l-rajul-ien / \
        [+ Num]   DistP
                  /   \
                 ∃ *event*   Dist'
                           /   \
                        Dist⁰   ShareP
                                 /   \
                    kila/kilta   Share'
                    l-rajul-ien /   \
                              Share⁰   Vp

✓ (appear at PersP level)
✓ (appear at GenP level)
✓ (appear at NumP level)

5 Conclusion

The main theoretical implication of the squib is that the Specifier-to-Specifier antilocality (Erlewine 2016, 2020) appears to be not only a constraint on Ā-movement, but it also constrains Ā-movement as well. In all the antiagreement cases discussed by Erlewine (2016, 2020), it was shown that an antiagreement effect arises not because the moving XP is in principle prohibited from moving into the A-position of the Spec-TP, but it is obviously due to the fact that the moving XP may not land in the Spec-TP in its way up into the next highest Spec-position of the immediately dominating projection, which is a short movement that violates antilocality. With a ban on such short Specifier-to-Specifier movement under antilocality, the moving XP

should skip the Spec-TP, which is the locus of φ-agreement, in a sufficiently long movement that meets antilocality. This results in an antiagreement effect.

Our case study exhibits a different scenario. In distributive *kila/kilta*, the quantifier originated in the Spec-DistP, which is immediately dominated by NumP. Movement into Spec-NumP is now short enough to be ruled out under Specifier-to-Specifier antilocality. The quantifier, then, should skip NumP into a higher position in a movement that is long enough to avoid violating antilocality (i.e., A-movement into Spec-GenP and subsequently into Spec-PersP). The antiagreement this time arises because of the ban on the short movement into the Spec-NumP, which results in the blocking of the number agreement in distributive *kila* with a default singular feature surfacing in the phonology.

When it comes to collective *kila*, because the DP *kila* originated in a lower place in the structure, there is enough room for collective *kila* to undergo long movements in the respective specifiers of the three phrases of number, gender, and person. As a consequence, full grammatical agreement takes place in φ-features, leading to a full agreement effect. Ā-movement is typically a local operation in a way that it may operate within the transfer boundary of the syntactic phase in which it occurs (Takahashi 2006; Takahashi & Hulsey 2009; Miyagawa 2010). If this local movement is to take place, it is further constrained by Spec-to-Spec antilocality.

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