

3/4 OF A MONSTER: ON MIXED
SHIFTY AGREEMENT IN TELUGU
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Abstract: Within the typology of embedded pronouns, there are languages that allow for non–first person pronouns to apparently control first person agreement morphology when in certain embedded contexts. This type of agreement displays some degree of optionality: it is also possible for the pronoun to control the expected agreement morphology given the pronoun’s own overt morphological features. This squib provides new data from the Dravidian language Telugu showing that when the embedded pronoun controls agreement on two separate targets, agreement may be uniform across the two targets or the two targets can mismatch in one direction, but crucially not the other. I show how this paradigm can be accounted for using the assumptions that the pronouns in question are similar to so-called hybrid nouns and that agreement features are restricted in principled ways.

Keywords: syntax, semantics, agreement, features, Dravidian, Telugu

1 Introduction

Languages differ in the behavior of person morphology embedded in speech and attitude reports. Some languages use specialized logophoric pronouns to refer to the attitude holder in such constructions (Adesola 2005, Clements 1975, Koopman and Sportiche 1989, Pearson 2015). Other languages display so-called indexical shift, where first person pronouns can refer to the attitude holder in embedded environments (Anand 2006, Anand and Nevins 2004, Anvari to appear, Deal 2020, Schlenker 2003, Shklovsky and Sudo 2014). A relatively new discovery in the typology of embedded pronouns is a set of languages that allow for non–first person pronouns to apparently control first person agreement morphology, so-called monstrous agreement. A representative example is given in (1) from the Dravidian language Telugu. The agreement on the embedded verb is first person singular *-nu*; however, the embedded subject, which is typically the controller of agreement in the language, is a third person simplex anaphor, *tanu*.

- (1) raju [tanu pariget-æ-æ-nu ani] čəpp-æ-æ-Du.
Raju 3SG run-PST-1SG COMP say-PST-3M.SG
‘Raju said that he ran.’
(Messick 2023:138, (1))

How to account for such a feature mismatch between the apparent agreement controller and the agreement morphology itself is still a matter of debate (see Deal 2020, Ganenkov 2022, Messick 2023, Sundaresan 2018). In the analysis presented in Sundaresan 2018 for Tamil, the agreement controller of monstrous agreement is not the overt subject, but a null shifted indexical in the left periphery. The other ac-

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counts argue that the overt subject is the agreement controller, but that the controller has a “hidden” feature. In Ganenkov’s (2022) analysis of monstrous agreement in Aqusha Dargwa, this feature, which Ganenkov calls ATTITUDE HOLDER, forces the agreement morphology to be homophonous with first person agreement via the language’s Vocabulary Insertion rules. Another line of analysis posits that the controller has a (special kind of) first person feature and that this feature is what allows the subject to control first person agreement (Deal 2020, Messick 2016, 2023). For Deal, this feature is called *author-i*; in Messick 2023, I call it ⟨+author, −C⟩. The idea behind these analyses is that these features allow the agreement to be syncretic with “normal” first person agreement. In this squib, I present a novel paradigm from Telugu that suggests that the “hidden” feature view is on the right track, and moreover, that the hidden feature that allows monstrous agreement in (1) is similar to hidden features found on so-called hybrid nouns crosslinguistically.

The phenomenon of monstrous agreement is at least superficially similar to agreement with hybrid nouns where the agreement controlled by an NP does not appear to match that NP’s own morphological features (Corbett 1979, 1983, 2006, Hahm 2010, Wechsler and Zlatić 2000, 2003) and instead seems influenced by the NP’s semantics in some way (hence the term *semantic agreement*). A common analysis for this type of semantic agreement is to posit that the NP has the features found on the agreement target, but that these features are not morphologically expressed on the controller itself. I have suggested in previous work that the hidden first person feature found in monstrous agreement is similar to hidden features found on hybrid nouns crosslinguistically (see Messick 2016:151–152, 2023:139). Similar to the example in (1), when a hybrid noun controls agreement morphology, the features of the controller can mismatch from the agreement morphology itself. Observe the Russian example in (2). The controller of agreement, *vrač* ‘doctor’, is overtly morphologically masculine but controls feminine agreement on the adjective and the verb.¹

¹ Another similar phenomenon involves agreement with polite plurals (Comrie 1975, Hahm 2010, Puškar 2018). Similar to the phenomena discussed here, polite plurals may control agreement that mismatches from the feature expressed on the pronoun itself, as shown in (i) for Czech, where the predicate adjective shows singular agreement with a morphologically plural second person pronoun.

- (i) Vy jste čestný.
 you.PL be.PL honest.M.SG
 ‘You (one formal male addressee) are honest.’
 (Hahm 2010:118)

Unlike the phenomena discussed in the main text, however, whether a probe shows matching or mismatching agreement with a polite pronoun appears fixed in the languages that possess this phenomenon; hence, it does not show the optionality that we will find in languages like Telugu. See also Wechsler and Zlatić 2003:98–99 for discussion.

- (2) Nov-aja vrač-ъ prišl-a.
new-F.NOM.SG doctor-NOM.SG arrived-F.SG
'A new doctor arrived.'
(Pesetsky 2013:36)

A well-known fact about hybrid nouns is that they display a characteristic 3/4 pattern in such constructions. Using Russian as an exemplar once again, if the hybrid noun controls agreement on the verb and an adjective in the same sentence, only three of the four possible combinations are grammatical: both agreement targets can be feminine (2), both agreement targets can be masculine (3a), or the adjective can show masculine agreement and the verb feminine (3c); however, the other mismatch—feminine agreement on the adjective and masculine on the verb—is impossible (3b).

- (3) a. Nov-yj vrač-ъ prišél-ъ.
new-M.NOM.SG doctor-NOM.SG arrived-M.SG
'A new doctor arrived.'
b. *Nov-aja vrač-ъ prišél-ъ.
new-F.NOM.SG doctor-NOM.SG arrived-M.SG
'A new doctor arrived.'
c. Nov-yj vrač-ъ prišl-a.
new-M.NOM.SG doctor-NOM.SG arrived-F.SG
'A new doctor arrived.'
(Pesetsky 2013:36)

While the number of hybrid nouns can vary within a single language (e.g., a single noun in Hebrew to an apparently open class in Russian; see Corbett 2023 for a recent overview of the types of hybrid agreement controllers), this type of 3/4 paradigm is pervasive in hybrid agreement. Examples include Lebanese Arabic (Pesetsky 2013), Hebrew (Landau 2016), British English (Smith 2017), and Icelandic (Wood and Sigurðsson 2014), to name just a few.² I present a novel paradigm from Telugu showing that a similar 3/4 pattern emerges when the embedded *tanu* controls agreement on two separate elements. I sketch an analysis of this new paradigm by combining the idea that monstrous agreement involves a “hidden” feature on the agreement goal with recent approaches to capturing the 3/4 pattern that we find in Russian and other languages.

2 Agreement in Telugu and the 3/4 Pattern

Telugu is an SOV language and displays verbal agreement morphology with unmarked (nominative) arguments in person and number, as well as gender in the third person. Illustrative examples are given in (4)–(6).

² As a reviewer notes, 3/4 patterns are found in other areas of the syntax-semantics interface, such as in scope ambiguity in sentences with multiple quantificational elements (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2012). In this squib, I focus solely on 3/4 patterns that arise in agreement, leaving a potential unification of all observed 3/4 patterns (if possible) as a matter for future research.

- (4) neenu parigett-ææ-nu.
1SG run-PST-1SG
'I ran.'
- (5) nuvvu parigett-ææ-vu.
2SG run-PST-2SG
'You ran.'
- (6) vaaDu parigett-ææ-Du.
3M.SG run-PST-3M.SG
'He ran.'

A different set of agreement markers appears on predicate nouns and adjectives. This type of agreement is overtly realized only for first person singular and plural and second person singular. It is null throughout the rest of the paradigm. Relevant examples are given in (7)–(9).

- (7) neenu vidyaardhi-ni.
1SG student-1SG
'I am a student.'
- (8) nuvvu vidyaardhi-wi.
2SG student-2SG
'You are a student.'
- (9) vaaDu vidyaardhi-Ø.
3M.SG student-3SG
'He is a student.'

Note that agreement markers on predicate nouns and adjectives must be seen as agreement probes distinct from the ones found on T. This is shown by the fact that when an overt auxiliary occurs, agreement is required on both the predicate and the auxiliary, as shown in (10) (see also Raghotham 2020).³

³ This distinguishes the Telugu nonverbal predicate agreement marker from the superficially similar pattern found in Sakha as described in Baker 2011. In Sakha, predicate nouns and adjectives appear to host person agreement affixes just as in Telugu. This is shown in (ia). Unlike in Telugu, when there is an overt auxiliary, as in (ib), agreement appears only on the auxiliary, not on the predicate. Baker analyzes the agreement morphemes in examples like (ia) as instances of T-agreement. The agreement appears only on the adjective as a result of a morphological-merger-like operation.

(i) *Sakha*

- a. bihigi bytaam-myt.
1PL.NOM slow-1PLS
'We are slow.'
(Baker 2011:881, (10))
- b. bihigi bytaam-(*myt) buol-a-byt.
1PL.NOM slow-(*1PLS) be-AOR-1PLS
'We are slow.'
(Vinokurova 2005:205)

- (10) neenu adhjaapakudi-*(ni) avu-taa-nu.
1SG teacher-*(1SG) be-FUT-1SG
'I will become a teacher.'

Following Balusu (2014), I place the probe for the Telugu predicate nouns and adjectives on the Pred head. One piece of evidence in favor of this analysis comes from the fact that this agreement morphology is in complementary distribution with the morpheme *-gaa*, which Balusu (2016) independently argues is an eventive Pred head (see also Abramovitz 2021, where it is argued that a similar agreement morpheme found in Koryak nonverbal predication is located on Pred).

- (11) a. neenu president-gaa-*(ni) unnaanu.
1SG president-GAA-*(1SG) be.PRES.1SG
'I am (temporarily) president.'
b. neenu president-*(gaa)-ni.
1SG president-*(GAA)-1SG
'I am the president.'
(Balusu 2016:206, (24)–(25))

In embedded clauses, Telugu displays what is sometimes called monstrous agreement when pronouns and anaphors that receive a *de se* interpretation control agreement (Messick 2016, 2023). The element *tanu* itself is third person, as shown by the fact that it cannot take first or second person elements as antecedents (12).⁴

- (12) *niiku/naaku, [tanu, parigett-ææ-Du ani] telusu.
2SG.DAT/1SG. DAT 3SG run-PAST-3M.SG COMP know
Intended: 'You/I know that you/I ran.'

Although third person, *tanu* can control first person agreement on the verb and predicate nouns/adjectives, as shown in (13). (13a) shows monstrous agreement with embedded verbal agreement morphology. (13b) shows monstrous agreement with a predicate noun.⁵

⁴ Outside of Dravidian, this type of monstrous agreement is found in Nakh-Dagestanian (Forcker 2019, Ganenkov 2022), Dogon (Culy 1994, Heath 2014), and Nilo-Saharan (Curnow 2002, Messick and Monich 2016) languages.

⁵ Though very similar, monstrous agreement is a distinct phenomenon from so-called indexical shift (see Deal 2020 for a recent overview of indexical shift). With monstrous agreement, it is possible for agreement morphology to shift and surface as first person. In languages with indexical shift, indexical pronouns themselves shift. In Telugu, pronouns never shift. This is shown in (i). The pronoun *neenu* must refer to the current speaker and cannot refer to the attitude holder Raju. Note that the embedded clause in (i) contains a negative polarity item, *ee* 'any', licensed by matrix negation. The example is constructed this way to rule out the possibility that the embedded clause is a quotation (cf. Anand and Nevins 2004:22–23).

- (i) raju [neenu ee aratipanD-lu tinn-aa-nu ani] čepa-leedu.
Raju 1SG any banana-PL eat-PST-1SG COMP say-NEG.3SG
'Raju did not say that I ate any bananas.'

- (13) a. raju [tanu parigett-ææ-nu/-Du ani] čəpp-ææ-Du.
Raju 3SG run-PST-1SG/-3M.SG COMP say-PST-3M.SG
'Raju said that he ran.'
(Messick 2023:138, (1))
- b. akhil [tanu vidyaardhi-ni/-θ ani] čəpp-ææ-Du.
Akhil 3SG student-1SG/-3SG COMP say-PST-3M.SG
'Akhil said that he is a student.'

Note that monstrous agreement is optional in both cases; the same examples with third person agreement are also grammatical.

Similarly, when the second person pronoun *nuvvu* is construed *de se* in an embedded speech or attitude report, it can control first or second person agreement morphology on verbs (14a) and predicate nouns (14b).

- (14) a. nuvvu rani too [nuvvu parigett-ææ-nu/-vu ani]
2SG Rani with 2SG run-PST-1SG/-2SG COMP
čəpp-ææ-vu.
say-PST-2SG
'You told Rani that you ran.'
- b. nuvvu rani too [nuvvu vidyaardhi-ni/-wi ani]
2SG Rani with 2SG student-1SG/-2SG COMP
čəpp-ææ-vu.
say-PST-2SG
'You told Rani that you are a student.'

We have seen individually that the agreement markers on both verbs and predicate nouns and adjectives can optionally shift and surface as first person in Telugu. We have also seen in (10) that both agreement markers can cooccur in the same clause. When we embed a clause that has agreement morphology both on the copular verb and on the predicate noun, a 3/4 pattern emerges. It is possible that both elements shift (15a) or that neither shifts (15b). Of the two potential cases where only one agreement marker shifts, only one case is grammatical. It is possible that the agreement marker on the copular verb shifts and surfaces as first person while the agreement marker on the predicate noun does not shift and surfaces as third person (i.e., null). The inverse, where the predicate noun agreement marker shifts and surfaces as first person while the agreement marker on the copular verb does not shift and surfaces as third person, is ungrammatical.

- (15) a. raju [tanu adhjaapakudi-ni ava-taa-nu ani]
Raju 3SG teacher-1SG be-FUT-1SG COMP
čəpp-ææ-Du.
say-PST-3M.SG
'Raju said that he will become a teacher.'
- b. raju [tanu adhjaapakudi-θ ava-taa-Du ani]
Raju 3SG teacher-3SG be-FUT-3M.SG COMP
čəpp-ææ-Du.
say-PST-3M.SG
'Raju said that he will become a teacher.'

- c. raju [tanu adhjaapakudi- \emptyset ava-taa-nu ani]
Raju 3SG teacher-3SG be-FUT-1SG COMP
čəpp-ææ-Du.
say-PST-3M.SG
'Raju said that he will become a teacher.'
- d. *raju [tanu adhjaapakudi-ni ava-taa-Du ani]
Raju 3SG teacher-1SG be-FUT-3M.SG COMP
čəpp-ææ-Du.
say-PST-3M.SG
'Raju said that he will become a teacher.'

The same pattern occurs when the controller of agreement is second person.

- (16) a. nuvvu rani too [nuvvu adhjaapakudi-ni
2SG Rani with 2SG teacher-1SG
ava-taa-nu/*-vu ani] čəpp-ææ-vu.
be-FUT-1SG/*-2SG COMP say-PST-2SG
'You told Rani that you will become a teacher.'
- b. nuvvu rani too [nuvvu adhjaapakudi-wi
2SG Rani with 2SG teacher-2SG
ava-taa-nu/-vu ani] čəpp-ææ-vu.
be-FUT-1SG/-2SG COMP say-PST-2SG
'You told Rani that you will become a teacher.'

Agreement in Telugu only allows for three out of four possible combinations of monstrous and regular agreement in embedded clauses, making it similar to the 3/4 pattern for agreement with hybrid nouns discussed in section 1. The utterances ruled out in (15d) and (16a) also follow a pattern found with hybrid nouns: if the probe that agrees first mismatches from the morphological features of the goal, then the utterance is ungrammatical if the subsequent probe matches the morphological features of the goal. Assuming bottom-up structure building, the probe on Pred is merged first and undergoes Agree. If that agreement relation results in a mismatch with the goal's morphological features (first person agreement), then when T is merged and undergoes Agree, the result of that agreement relation cannot be a match with the morphological features of the goal (second or third person agreement). Compare this with the ungrammatical Russian example (2). If the agreement relation between the probe on the DP-internal adjective and the goal results in mismatching agreement (feminine), then the subsequent probe on T cannot result in morphological matching agreement with the goal (masculine).

3 Accounting for 3/4 Patterns with Monstrous Agreement

3.1 Monstrous Agreement as Hybrid Agreement

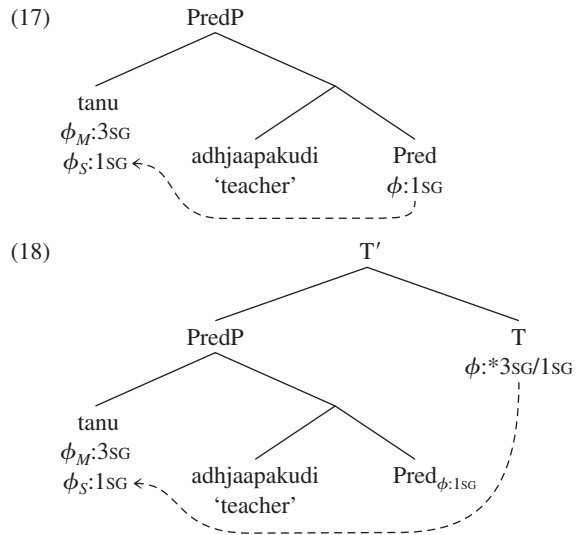
A common first step in accounting for 3/4 patterns with hybrid nouns is to posit that the goal in such constructions has two distinct feature values: one expressed by the morphology of the goal and one that

goes unexpressed by the morphology but is nonetheless available for syntactic operations such as agreement. In the Russian example in section 1, for instance, the agreement controller has a morphologically expressed masculine feature, and also a morphologically unexpressed but syntactically active feminine feature. Similarly, the goal that controls monstrous agreement has a kind of first person feature that goes unexpressed by the morphology in addition to a person feature that is morphologically expressed on the pronoun.

Broadly, there are two ways that researchers have treated the features that are not morphologically expressed. The *lexical* view argues that a lexical item comes with two sets of features, one set corresponding to the item's morphology and the other to its semantics (Bruening 2020, Smith 2017, Wechsler and Zlatic 2000, 2003). What makes hybrid nouns special is that their morphological and semantic features mismatch from one another. On this view, when the agreement morphology appears to mismatch from the goal's morphological feature, it is because the probe targeted the semantic features of the goal. The other, *structuralist* view posits that the two features are merged into the derivation at different points in the nominal structure (Kučerová 2018, Landau 2016, Pesetsky 2013, Puškar 2018). Both accounts then restrict access to certain features in principled ways that result in the observed 3/4 pattern.⁶ Below, I outline how the Telugu data may be integrated into these two types of theories.

Under a lexical analysis of monstrous agreement, there must be variants of third person *tanu* and second person *nuvvu* that come with a semantic first person feature. Following Bruening (2020), we can assume that both the morphological features and the semantic features are possible targets for an agreement probe; however, when a probe targets the semantic features, those features must be targeted by subsequent probes (see Bruening 2020:9). This is what Norris (to appear) calls the Principle of Semantic Preference. This system correctly predicts the Telugu pattern. Using the example with *tanu*, the pronoun would be merged into the structure with both a grammatical and a morphological third person feature ($\phi_M:3sG$), but a semantic first person feature ($\phi_S:1sG$). Assuming bottom-up structure building, the probe on Pred would be merged and undergo search. If this probe targets the semantic first person feature (17), then via the Principle of Semantic Preference, the later probe on T must also target the semantic feature (18). Hence, the ungrammatical mismatch in (15d) is correctly ruled out while the derivation where both probes are valued first person is ruled in (15a).

⁶ An anonymous reviewer wonders whether such analyses can account for Sauerland and Elbourne's (2002) observation that semantic agreement is only possible with wide scope in raising constructions. Smith (2017, 2021) attempts to account for this fact (along with several other pieces of data) with his "LF visibility" condition on semantic agreement in British English, which restricts access to semantic features in a principled way. Hence, approaches that argue for dual features are compatible with these facts as well.



If the probe on Pred instead targeted the morphological features of *tanu*, then the probe on T could target either the morphological or the semantic features; hence, both (15b) and (15c) are correctly predicted to be grammatical.

Under a structural account of hybrid agreement, both the first person and third person features would be syntactic features, but they would be merged at different points in the nominal structure. It is typically the case that the hidden feature is merged into a position higher than the morphologically expressed feature (see, e.g., Landau 2016:996, Pesetsky 2013:40). In the case at hand, that would mean the first person feature is merged into a higher position that c-commands the third person feature.⁷ In order to capture the mixed pattern within this type of system, one might assume that the first person feature is added to the pronoun *countercyclically* after the Pred head has agreed with the pronoun (resulting in third person agreement) but before the probe on T has been merged and initiated search for a goal (see Kučerová 2019 for a proposal that hidden features can be added countercyclically).⁸ When T undertakes search, it encounters the first person feature and agrees with that feature; it can then no longer access the third person feature due to minimality. These assumptions have the same effect as the Principle of Semantic Preference.

While deciding between lexical and structural approaches lies beyond the scope of this squib, it should be noted that most structural

⁷ An anonymous reviewer wonders about the exact structural locus of the two person features on the structural account. At the moment, it is unclear what the locus would be save for the fact that the first person feature must be higher than the third person feature. One may view this as recursive embeddings of a ϕP .

⁸ Of course, countercyclic Merge is a controversial mechanism (see Sportiche 2019).

approaches were first created to account for the 3/4 patterns where either one or both of the agreement probes occur inside the DP. This differs from the data discussed here, where the probes on both T and Pred occur outside the DP. Hence, structural approaches do not account for these facts as straightforwardly as lexical ones, which were created to account for 3/4 patterns with two DP-external agreement probes (see Smith 2021:sec. 4.4.1 for discussion).

3.2 Licensing Shifty Agreement

Monstrous agreement does differ from other semantic agreement phenomena in that it has a more limited distribution. In Telugu, monstrous agreement is only possible in embedded clauses; it is not possible in matrix clauses. *Nuvvu* and *tanu* cannot control first person agreement in matrix clauses.

- (19) a. **nuvvu parigett-ææ-nu*.
2SG run-PST-1SG
Intended: ‘You ran.’
b. **tanu parigett-ææ-nu*.
3SG run-PST-1SG
Intended: ‘He ran.’

To account for this fact, we must restrict access to the “hidden” first person feature in some way. A number of works have concluded that first and second person features require special additional licensing when compared with other ϕ -features (see, e.g., Baker 2008, Béjar and Rezac 2003, Portner, Pak, and Zanuttini 2019). Following these works, I previously argued (Messick 2023) that the hidden first person feature also requires special licensing. In this vein, I put forth the following condition on the hidden first person feature (cf. Deal 2020: sec. 5.4 on the distribution/requirements of the *author-i* feature in Deal’s theory):⁹

⁹ As an anonymous reviewer notes, the licensing condition in Messick 2023 is more syntactically oriented than is commonly assumed in the literature on embedded pronouns/indexical shift. It should be noted that the licensing condition can be implemented with the person features being inherent to the pronoun (Anand 2006:102, Baker 2008) or by treating pronouns as minimal (or featureless) and acquiring the features through agreement with their binders (as in, e.g., Portner, Pak, and Zanuttini 2019). This relates to a second issue raised by a reviewer, which concerns timing of valuation or licensing. Given that the operator that licenses the feature is not introduced until the left periphery of the embedded clause, after T and Pred have undergone Agree, it appears to be the case that features can enter into agreement relations before they are licensed. One way to implement this in a valuation framework is to treat agreement as feature sharing (Frampton and Gutmann 2000, Pesetsky and Torrego 2007). Under this view, the pronoun has an unlicensed or unvalued feature. When T or Pred agrees with it, the pronoun shares that unlicensed/unvalued feature with the probe. Once the null operator is introduced and licenses/values the feature on the pronoun, it licenses/values all occurrences of the feature.

- (20) *[(+author, -C)] if the feature occurs on a pronoun X such that X is not locally bound by Op_{ani} .
 (Messick 2023:166, (83))

The element Op_{ani} can occur in clauses introduced by the complementizer-like element *ani*, which can occur under nearly all attitude verbs.¹⁰ Note that the attitude verb itself is not a necessary component, as shifted agreement is possible in purpose clauses introduced by *ani*, as shown in (21).

- (21) rao [tanu paDD-aa-nu ani] raa-leedu.
 Rao 3SG fall-PST.1SG COMP come-NEG.3SG
 ‘Rao did not come because/as he fell.’
 (Balusu 2020:9, (48))

This suggests that the hidden feature that underlies shifted agreement has a more restrictive distribution because it has more stringent licensing requirements than other hidden features previously studied. For reasons of space, I do not delve deeper into the details of the licensing condition here; for more on this, see Messick 2023.

4 Discussion and Conclusion

Finally, let us consider whether previous approaches to monstrous agreement can potentially account for the 3/4 pattern. One prominent approach is proposed by Sundaresan (2018) for the Dravidian language Tamil. Under this analysis, the goal of the embedded agreement probe is ultimately a null pronoun in the left periphery that represents the perspective holder of the clause and has undergone indexical shift.¹¹ This is schematized in (22).

- Agree
- ↓
- (22) [_{PerP} *pro*_{φ:1st} [_{Per'} [_{TP} *taan/nii* [_{T'} [_{vP} . . .] $T_{φ:}$]] Per]]

Under this analysis, the embedded subjects *taan* (for third person) and *nii* (for second person) cannot control agreement due to the anaphor agreement effect; hence, the only accessible potential goal for a $φ$ -probe is the *pro*. Whether or not a clause exhibits indexical shift is thought to be due to the presence of a shift operator in the left periphery

¹⁰ As an anonymous reviewer notes, in order to ensure coreference between the pronoun and the matrix subject, we must assume there is some relation between the matrix subject and the null Op_{ani} . This is similar to the issue found with operator theories of logophoric pronouns (Koopman and Sportiche 1989). One recent approach to this issue treats the relationship between the null operator and the matrix subject as a form of control (Baker and Ikawa 2022). Such an analysis seems applicable to Telugu since monstrous agreement is sensitive to syntactic locality and c-command (see Messick 2023:sec. 3.3.3).

¹¹ While null pronouns have also been used to account for agreement with hybrid nouns (e.g., Den Dikken 2001), further research is required to deduce whether such approaches can account for the 3/4 pattern generally (Smith 2017: 852).

of the embedded clause. Since the operator can either be present in the structure or not, we can account for cases of agreement where either agreement is entirely first person (shifted) or entirely third person (nonshifted), but it is unclear how to generate the mixed agreement example since it requires both first person features and second/third person features to be accessible to the ϕ -probes.

Ganenkov (2022) analyzes monstrous agreement in the Nakh-Daghestanian language Aqusha Dargwa. Under his approach, the embedded pronoun has a special ATTITUDE HOLDER feature that allows it to control first person agreement morphology. Both Deal (2020) and I (Messick 2023) also allow for a “hidden” feature on the controller and treat monstrous agreement as syncretic with normal first person agreement (Deal does not hash out the morphological details). Both Ganenkov (2022) and I give morphological analyses for shifted agreement such that the ATTITUDE HOLDER feature or (+author, –C) feature must be morphologically expounded on every agreement target (though the two analyses ensure this in different ways). What this squib has shown is that (at least for Telugu), the “hidden” feature can be selectively accessed so that one probe can target it, while another does not, resulting in mixed shifty agreement. Hence, the previous morphological accounts do not straightforwardly account for the novel paradigm. Since the mixed agreement behavior is restricted in ways found with hybrid nouns crosslinguistically, this suggests that the “hidden” feature found on monstrous agreement controllers can be analyzed similarly to “hidden” features found on hybrid nouns.

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