



This is predicted by a Local Dislocation analysis. In (4), since the plural subject agreement suffix and the auxiliary are not adjacent, Local Dislocation is not triggered and the plural subject agreement suffix surfaces next to the verb.

The paper concludes with some discussion of alternative approaches. For example, (2)b could be explained by contextual allomorphy, i.e., plural subject agreement having a null allomorph in the context of a following auxiliary. However, a contextual allomorphy approach would struggle to explain the “disappearance” of *-u* from the auxiliary in (4). Additionally, the analysis in this paper points towards treating discontinuous agreement as morphological, not syntactic (pace Halefom 1994 on Amharic, Banksira 2000 on Chaha); I show how previously-discussed evidence in favor of a syntactic approach is no longer problematic assuming Distributed Morphology.