

## **Subject extraction and anti-agreement effects in Bukusu: A Criterial Freezing approach**

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Bukusu (Bantu, Kenya) displays an anti-agreement effect (AAE) in subject extraction only with 3rd singular (animate) subjects. This paper links the presences of AAEs to the mechanism for movement out of a dedicated structural subject position (Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007: Criterial Freezing). In the subject-extraction configuration, agreement between the subject and the verb is mediated by an expletive in subject position, restricting the featural content of subject agreement inflection and yielding the AAE. Evidence includes the absence of AAEs in *wh*-in-situ, compound tense constructions, and locative inversion, as well as by the presence of AAEs in subject-to-subject raising constructions.