

Antiagreement is Syntactic: Evidence from South Sulawesi

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1 Two Approaches to Antiagreement

• DEFINITION: Antiagreement

- "In some languages, (local) extraction of the subject requires a special form of the verb whose main characteristic is that its ... inflection **does not agree** with that of the extracted subject." Ouhalla 1993
- CENTRAL QUESTION: does antiagreement implicate syntactic subject positions?

1. The Syntactic Approach: **Extraction Skips Subject Position**

Brandi & Cordin 1989

- Observation: antiagreement typically arises with SUBJECT agreement. Ouhalla 1993
- Connection: cross-linguistic constraints on subject extraction. Chomsky 1981, Rizzi 2006
- Proposal: antiagreement arises when extracting arguments *skip* canonical subject position.
 - Movement constraints block direct extraction from the projection linked to subject agreement.
 - Formally: ECP, criterial freezing, antilocality Ouhalla 1993, Shlonsky 2014, Erlewine 2020
- **Claim: antiagreement references subject position; arises only with subjects.**

2. The Morphological Approach: **Subject Position Irrelevant**

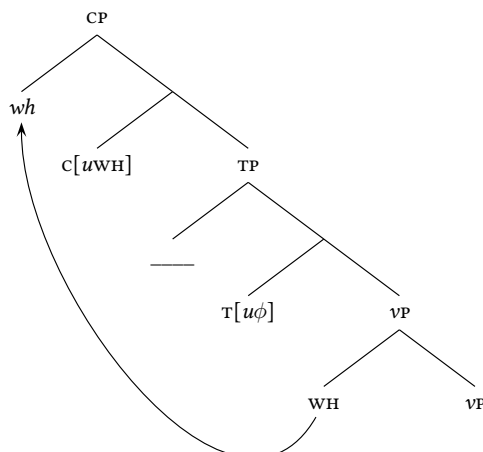
Baier 2018

- Antiagreement **not** linked to constraints on subject extraction; purely morphological.
 - ISSUE: Probes copy both ϕ - and WH, FOC, REL-features; cannot spell out both.
- **Key evidence: object antiagreement in Selayarese (South Sulawesi, Austronesian)**
 - Baier (2018): this **does not** involve extraction through a subject position.
 - RESULT: antiagreement formally delinked from constraints on subject extraction.

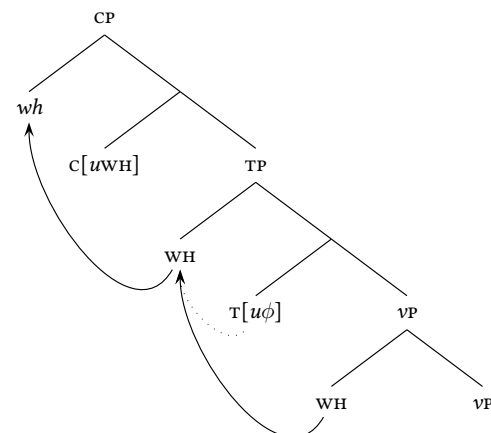
3. **Today's Claim:** Antiagreement **does** make reference to subject position (elsewhere) in South Sulawesi.

- **Mandar** (South Sulawesi, Austronesian): identical agreement and antiagreement effect.
- HIGH ABS language: absolutive objects move into a subject position above the ergative agent.
- **Antiagreement arises because extracting arguments skip the subject position.**

(1) **Antiagreement is Syntactic: Skipping**



(2) *Vs: Morphological Approach: no Skipping*



2 Mandar Agreement: Linked to Subject Position

- **Mandar**: South Sulawesi, Indonesia; 400,000 speakers; closely related to **Selayarese**. Grimes & Grimes 1987
- Verb-initial; no morphological case; ERG-ABS agreement; WH-words & FOCI in the left periphery.
- ANTIAGREEMENT: **ABS agreement cannot index A'-moved elements**. (3c)¹

(3) Mandar: Agreement and Antiagreement

- a. Maq-ellong=**i** *pro* diong. b. **Mu**-ita=**i** iting a? c. Innai mu-ita(=***i**)?
 INTR-sing=3.ABS 3 there 2.ERG-see=3.ABS that Q who 2.ERG-see=3.ABS
 'He's singing there.' 'You saw that guy, huh?' 'Who did you see?'

2.1 Absolutive Enclitics = Agreement

Table 1: Mandar ABS is Agreement

TEST	CD	AGR	ABS	SOURCE	IN SOUTH SULAWESI
INDEXES ALL FEATURES ON GOAL?	✓	✗	✗	Preminger 2011	Kaufman 2008
TARGETS ONLY REFERENTIAL GOALS?	✓	✗	✗	Baker & Kramer 2016	Finer 1997
SHOWS TENSE-VARIANT FORMS?	✗	✓	✓	Nevins 2011	Sirk 1996
CAN SURFACE IN SECOND-POSITION?	✗	✓	✓	Bošković 2016	Campbell 1989

2.2 Agreement on T

1. DISTRIBUTION: **finite clauses only**.
2. POSITION: follows first element in TP: NEG > ASP > MODAL > MOTION > V; **no climbing to C**.

(4) ABS second-position in TP; finite clauses only

- a. Mau tulu indang=**o** u-ita,
 Although always NEG=2.ABS 1.ERG-see
 'Although I always don't see you.'
- b. Na-tumae-**mu**/***o**, sumangiq=o?
 3.ERG-propose-2.GEN/2.ABS cry=2.ABS
 'When he proposed to you, you cried?'

2.3 Absolutives in Subject Position

- **The ABS argument = the structural subject** Schachter 1996
- 1. A'-extraction: ABS only; 'highest-only restriction' Keenan 1972; Aldridge 2004

(5) Only Absolutives Extract

- a. Na-ita=aq kamaq *pro*. b. **Innai** na-ita kamaq? c. ***Innai** na-ita=aq?
 3.ERG-see=1.ABS dad who 3.ERG-see dad who 3.ERG-see=1.ABS
 'Dad saw me.' 'Who did dad see?' INT: 'Who saw me?'

¹Mandar data presented here have been collected over 2 years of fieldwork and ten months in Indonesia. All judgments checked with two long-term (2018-) consultants. Abbreviations: ABS: absolutive, ERG: ergative, GEN: genitive, NEG: negation, INTR: intransitive, PFV: perfective

2. Binding: ABS > ERG.

- Condition-A anaphors can be ERG; bound by ABS Cole & Hermon 2008
- Quantified ABS object can bind possessor of ERG; no WCO even with extraction
- CF: Tagalog (Richards 2000), Malagasy (Pearson 2001), Atayal (Huang & Lin 2012), Malay (Kaufman 2018),
- Analysis: o shifts above A, then moves to subject position Rackowski 2002

(6) *Absolutive O binds into Agent; no WCO*

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| a. *Maq-ellong=i alawe-na .
INTR-sing=3.ABS self-3.GEN
INT: 'Himself is singing.' | b. Na-ita=i alawe-na i=Adi.
3-see=3 self-3 NAME
'Himself _i saw Adi _i .' | c. Innai_i na-salili kindo'- na_i ?
who 3-miss mom-3
'Who _i does his _i mom miss?' |
|--|--|---|

2.4 Antiagreement Implicates the Subject Position

- ABS objects occupy a subject position above ERG: extraction, binding, quantifier float.
- CLAIM: **Mandar absolutive agreement tied to subject position**: SPEC,TP
- RESULT: **Antiagreement makes reference to subject position** *pace* Baier 2018 on Selayarese

3 Antiagreement via Skipping

3.1 Quantifier Float

- Mandar quantifiers: DP-internal or preverbal.

(7) *Mandar Quantifiers: DP-Internal or Preverbal*

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. Mambaca=i inggana-na sola-u.
read=3.ABS all-3.GEN friend-1.GEN
'All my friends are reading.' | b. Inggana-na pole=i sola-u.
all-3.GEN come=3.ABS friend-1.GEN
'All my friends came.' |
|--|--|

- **Preverbal quantifiers occupy subject position.**
 - LINEAR POSITION: identical to ABS agreement: follows C, precedes NEG, ASP, MODALS, V
 - ASSOCIATION: Strictly associates with the ABS argument; cannot associate with ERG.

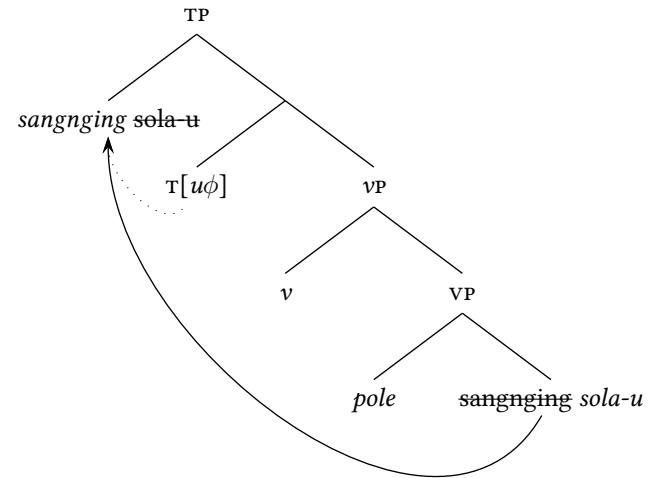
(8) *Preverbal Quantifiers at the left edge of the middle field*

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. Sangnging indang =i mecawa tomeqoro.
all NEG=3 laugh attendant
'All of the people attending didn't laugh.' | b. Mau tulu sangnging mecawa=i,
although always all laugh=3
'Although they all always laugh,' |
|--|--|

- **Proposal**: preverbal quantifiers reach their surface position via stranding.
 - **The subject moves to SPEC,TP; triggers ABS agreement; Q pied-piped into this position.**
 - The subject and quantifier get spelled out discontinuously. Fanselow and Ćavar 2001; Doliana 2020
 - * CF: subjects undergo postsyntactic postposing in Austronesian. Chung 1990, Sabbagh 2014

(9) *Two Quantifier Positions*

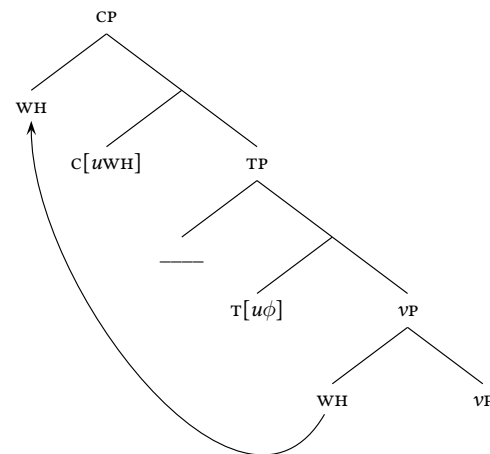
- a. **Sangnging** pole=m=i sola-u.
all-3.GEN come=PFV=3 friend-1.GEN
'My friends all came.'
- b. **Para** maqalli=m=i bau sola-u
each buy=PFV=3 fish friend-1.GEN
'My friends each bought a fish.'
- c. **Siccoq** u-alli barras
some 1-buy=3 raw.rice
'I bought some raw rice.'
- d. **Duam-bua** na-ande tomessang.
two-CLF 3-eat mango
'He ate two mangos'

(10) *Quantifier Float via Scattered Deletion*3.2 **Quantifier Float and Extraction**

- A'-extracted arguments cannot float quantifiers to this position.
 - Parallel: arguments which don't trigger ABS (ERG agent, ANTIP o) cannot float Q.
- **Claim:** A'-extracted arguments never pass through the subject position.

(11) *A'-Moved Subjects cannot float Q*

- a. *Innai **sangnging** maqalli bau?
who all buy fish
INT: 'Who all bought fish?'
- b. *Sola-u **sangnging** mecawa.
friend-1.GEN all laugh
INT: 'My friends all laughed.'
- c. *Ia iting tauq **sangnging** mongeq.
those.are person all sick
INT: 'Those are the ones who are all sick.'
- d. Sola-u ***para**/***tatallu**/*... pole.
friend-my each/three/Q come
INT: 'Each/three/... of my friends came.'

(12) **A'-Arguments cannot float Quantifiers; Extraction Skips Subject Position**4 **Conclusions**

1. **Mandar anti-agreement makes strict reference to subject position** (pace Baier 2018).
 - Antiagreement arises only with absolutive arguments which move to SPEC,TP.
 - The objects which trigger this pattern occupy subject position; they are NOT in-situ.
 - **Result:** no evidence for a non-syntactic approach to antiagreement from this pattern.
2. **A'-extraction show independent evidence of Skipping.**
 - ABS arguments float quantifiers to the preverbal position linked to subjecthood.
 - A'-extracted arguments generally cannot float quantifiers to this position.
 - **CLAIM:** both antiagreement and the ban on quantifier float arise from a skipping derivation.

5 References

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