Agent Focus in Austronesian
Dan Brodkin | SS Circle | January 29

1   Syntactic Ergativity: What, How, and Why?

## 1.1   The Ergative Extraction Constraint

- Many 'ERGATIVE' languages: asymmetry in the A'-domain.

    - For some A'-operations (WH-movement, relativization):
    - The internal argument (INT) is accessible, but,
    - The transitive external argument (EXT) is not.

- The *Ergative Extraction Constraint* (EEC; Aissen 2017).

    - Dixon (1979): Syntactic Ergativity = includes the EEC
    - Polinsky (2017): Syntactic Ergativity = the EEC
    - Yuan (2018): Syntactic Ergativity = INT > EXT .

(1)   *Mandar (South Sulawesi): The EEC*

    a. **Na**-ita=aq
       3.ERG-see=1.ABS
       'He saw me'

    b. **Innai na**-ita
       who   3.ERG-see
       'Who did he see?'

    c. *****Innai na**-ita=aq
       who   3.ERG-see-1.ABS
       IM: 'Who saw me?'

1.2   The Typology of EECs

- The EEC: **not a unitary thing** (Deal 2015a)

- The ecosystem of the EEC: substantial variation.

    - Sometimes: the EEC = a single constraint which blocks extraction of the EXT and does nothing else (Otsuka 2006)
    - Elsewhere: the EEC = one corner of a broader constraint which blocks extraction of many things: (Aldridge 2004)

- The **repair** to the EEC: even more variation.

(2)   *Repairs to the EEC*:

- Intransitive Morphology:
  W. Austronesian (Keenan 1976); Mayan (Smith-Stark 1978); Inuit (Bittner 1994)

- Resumption: Tongan (Otsuka 2006)

- Passive (+): Salishan (Davis et al. 1993); Nukuoro (Drummond 2021)

1.3   The Sources of EECs

- One view: **case-discrimination** (Otsuka 2006; Deal 2017)

    - Argument: the EEC iff ∃ overt case-marking (Dixon 1994)
    - Claim: the A'-extraction probe does not target ERG.

- Another view: **locality** (Campana 1992; Aldridge 2004)

    - Argument: the EEC iff ∃ evidence that (*i*) absolutive licensing is in T^0 or (*ii*) the absolutive c-commands the ergative.
    - Claim: A'-extraction sensitive to locality (Shlonsky 1992)

(3)   *Syntactic Ergativity: INT Highest*
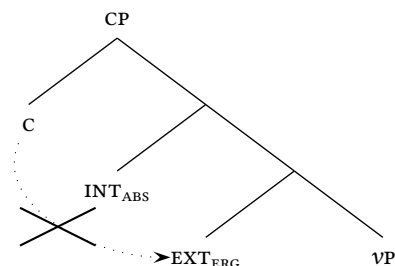
1.4   Today's Question: Why Be Intransitive?

- Pattern: extraction of EXT → 'intransitive' morphology.

    - Distribution: 'caseless' languages (Mayan; Austronesian)

- One view: this avoids a locality violation (Aldridge 2004)

- Another: reflex of A'-impoverishment (Deal 2017)

- **Claim**: for Mandar, the first analysis is required.

The Roadmap

1. Mandar Background

2. High Absolutive Syntax

3. The Intransitive Construction

4. Locality and the EEC

2   Mandar and the EEC

2.1   Mandar Background

- Mandar: South Sulawesi Subgroup; Austronesian
  - South Sulawesi = branch of Western Malayo-Polynesian
  - Mandar = in the Northern Branch of SSul (Mills 1975)

- Demographic Facts:
  - Speakers: 500,000 (Census; 2000)
  - EGIDS level: 6a (Ethnologue)

2.2   Data Collection

- Summer 2018-Present: ongoing work on Mandar + relatives.
  - Some data: from a written corpus; compiled in 2019.
  - The rest: elicited from winter 2018-present.

- Elicitation methodology:
  - Two speakers; university students from West Sulawesi
  - Began working with both in Indonesia; Winter 2018
  - Elicitation now via zoom; in Indonesian and Mandar

Previous work on South Sulawesi:

- Language-level descriptions: Campbell 1989; Jukes 2006; Laskowske 2016

- SIL descriptions of agreement: Strømme 1994; Matti 1994; Valkama 1995; Friberg 1996; Payne and Laskowske 1997

- Historical work: Mills 1975; Sirk 1989

- Generative work: Finer 1997, 1998

2.3   Mandar Alignment

- Head-marking morphological ergativity.
  - vso/vos order; *pro*-drop.
  - No morphological case-marking.
  - Ergative prefix on v ; absolutive enclitic in T^0

- Ergative Prefix/Absolutive Enclitic → Agreement.
  - Mark person; not number (Preminger 2014)
  - Forms vary with finiteness (Nevins 2011)
  - Track non-referential xps (Baker and Kramer 2018)

- Glossing: SET.A (ERG) vs. SET.B (ABS) (Zobel 2002)

(4)   *Head-Marking Ergativity*

   a. Mecawa=**i** [ₐᵦₛ **iKacoq**].
      laugh=3B   NAME
      'Kacoq is laughing.'

   b. **Na**-pecawai=**aq** [ₑᵣ𝓰 **iKacoq**].
      3A-laugh.at=1B   NAME
      'Kacoq is laughing at me.'

(5)   *The Mandar Agreement System:*

π	ERG/A	ABS/B	PR.SG	PR.PL
1	**u-**	=**aq**	*yau*	*itaq*
2	**mu-**	=**o**	*iqo*	*mieq*
3	**na-**	=**i**	*ia*	*ia*

2.4   Ergative Extraction → Intransitive Prefix

- Extraction of the EXT → the *quirky intransitive* construction.
  1. Ergative prefix → Ø.
  2. Intransitive prefix *maN-*.
  3. ABS agreement → INT.

- The same construction: Mayan AGENT FOCUS
  - No SET.A; intransitive status suffix; AF suffix; SET.B → INT

- **Surface Form**: transitive clause + intransitive prefix.

- **Question**: does this implicate the EEC?

(6)   *The Quirky Intransitive*

   a. Na-bokko=aq [ₑₓₜ sarrang] .
      3A-bite=1B   ant
      'An ant bit me.'

   b. *****Apa** na-bokko=aq [ₑₓₜ *t*] ?
      what 3A-bite=1b
      IM: 'What just bit me?'

   c. **Apa mam**-bokko=aq [ₑₓₜ *t*] ?
      what QI-bite=1b
      'What just bit me?'
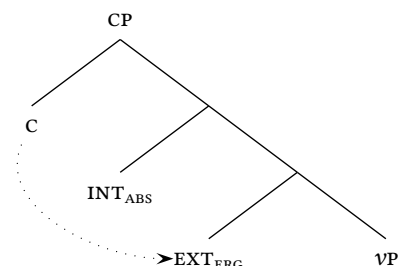
3 Why Intransitivity?

3.1 The Morphological Approach

- Extraction Morphology (Chung and Georgopoulos 1988)

    – Austronesian: 'special' intransitive morphology; WH-AGR

- Idea: intransitivity = derivational reflex of extraction.

    – A'-extraction triggers *impoverishment* (Baier 2016)

    – Impoverishment → 'default intransitive' (Newman 2020)

- **Result**: no special syntax to circumvent the EEC.

    – The EXT *can* extract in a transitive clause.

    – Clauses with 'extraction morphology' show the same syntax as those which lack it (Baier 2016, *pace* Erlewine 2016)

- **Prime candidates**: Mandar (and Mayan languages)

    – No morphological case (→ no EEC on some views)

    – ABS agreement → INT: **looks like transitive syntax.**

3.2 The Syntactic Approach

- Precedent: A'-extraction constrained by locality.

    – Ergative languages: the old story (Campana 1992)

    – Nominative-accusative languages: parallel subject-object asymmetries with resumption (McCloskey 1990; Shlonsky 1992); extractability (Erlewine and Branan 2020).

- Claim: EEC iff the transitive INT c-commands EXT.

- Common arguments: INT > EXT in:

    – Anaphor binding: Toba Batak (Cole and Hermon 2008)

    – Variable binding: Malagasy (Pearson 2005)

    – Condition C: Popti' (Craig 1977), Chuj (Royer 2020)

    – Quantifier float: Tsotsil (Aissen 1984), Salish (Gerdts 1988)

    – Scope: Kalaallisut (Bittner 1994), Tagalog (Aldridge 2012)

- **Result**: ergative extraction **iff** EXT > INT

- **Claim**: intransitive morphology allows this to occur.

3.3 Mandar: Locality

- The Quirky Intransitive: implicates distinct syntax.

- Provides a locality-compliant means to extract the EXT.

- Special v^0: shifts & licenses the INT in the vP.

- **Result**: allows the EXT to move to SPEC,TP; be extracted.

(7) *Impoverishment* (Baier 2018)

1. WH-moved EXT → A'-feature.

2. The ERG probe: copies A'-features from the EXT (Deal 2015b)

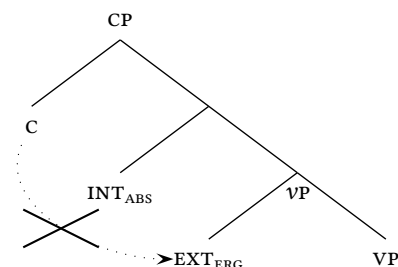3. A'-features cannot be spelled out → total impoverishment.

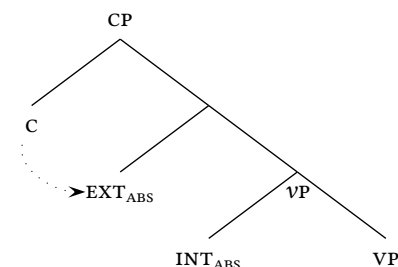(8) *Ergative Extraction: Impoverishment*

(9) *Ergative Extraction: Locality Problem*

(10) *The Intransitive Solution*

(11) *The Argument*

a. EEC via Locality: INT > EXT

b. Quirky intransitive: EXT > INT

c. This construction: last resort.

d. A'-extraction irrelevant: *control*

4 Regular Transitive → High Absolute

4.1 High Absolute Syntax

- Ergative languages show variation with regard to the position (12) of the absolute argument (Bittner and Hale 1996a,b)

    - High Abs languages: the ABS = highest in its clause
    - Low Abs languages: the ABS → no consistent position

- **Key Pattern**: High Abs → transitive INT > EXT

High Absolute Families:

a. Philippine-type langs (Philippines, Taiwan, Indonesia) (Aldridge 2004)

b. Mayan groups in Huehuetenango (Barrett 2002; Coon et al. 2014)

c. Inuit (Bittner 1994; Yuan 2018)

4.2 Binding Patterns → High Absolute Syntax

- Mandar: INT consistently binds into EXT.   (13)

    - Same patterns: many Philippine-type languages

- **Claim**: Mandar = High Absolute language

    - Result: locality a plausible source of the EEC

- **N.b.**: no one diagnostic is definitive. It's the sum total.

Binding: INT > EXT
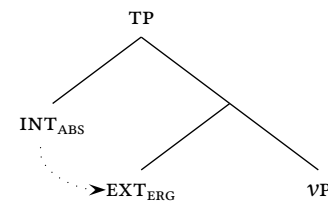
4.2.1 Condition A

- Claim: if ∃ ergative anaphor, then INT > EXT (Anderson 1976)   (14)

    - **N.b.**: this only works in one direction. Ergative anaphors may be independently ruled out for other reasons.

- The condition-A anaphor **alawe** 'self': OK as EXT.

- High-Abs Parallel: Toba Batak (Cole and Hermon 2008)

INT-into-EXT for Condition A

a. *Pole=**aq/i** **alawe**-u.
   come=1B/3B self-my
   IM: 'Myself came.'

b. **Na**-ita=**aq** [$_{EXT}$ **alawe**-u] [$_{INT}$*pro*].
   3A-see=1B   self-my
   'Myself saw me (in the mirror).'

4.2.2 Condition C

- Claim: if INT > EXT, then it should be impossible for an R- (15) expression in the EXT to be coindexed with a prominal INT.

- English: **no** 'Dan$_i$'s mother saw him$_i$.'

- Mandar: this constraint holds.

- High-Abs Parallel: Popti' (Craig 1977), Chuj (Royer 2020)

INT-into-EXT for Condition C

a. *Na-ita=**i** **ia** [kindoqna iNina]
   3A-see=3B her   the.mom NAME
   IM: 'Nina$_i$'s mom saw her$_i$.'

b. Na-ita=**i**   iNina [kindoqna].
   3A-see=3B NAME   her.mom
   'Her$_i$ mother saw Nina$_i$.'

4.2.3 Condition B

- Claim: if INT > EXT, then a quantifier in the INT should be able (16) to bind a variable in the EXT (Rackowski 2002)

- Mandar: possible; quantified INT > variable in EXT

    - **N.b.**: does **not** reflect the absence of weak crossover.

- High-Abs Parallel: Malagasy (Pearson 2005)

INT-into-EXT for BVA

a. **Sangnging** na-salili=i
   all   3A-miss=3B
   [$_{EXT}$ kindoq-na] [$_{INT}$ sanaeke]
   mother-her   child
   'Her$_i$ mother misses every child$_i$.'

5 Quirky Intransitive → Low Absolutive

5.1 Split Predictions

- Split predictions about quirky intransitive syntax.

1. The impoverishment approach: no special syntax.

    - The relative height of the INT & EXT: **not relevant**.
    - **Result**: this construction → no change in syntax.

2. The locality approach: special syntax required.

    - The relative height of the INT & EXT: **relevant**.
    - **Result**: this construction → EXT > INT syntax.

(17) *Locality Prediction: EXT > INT*
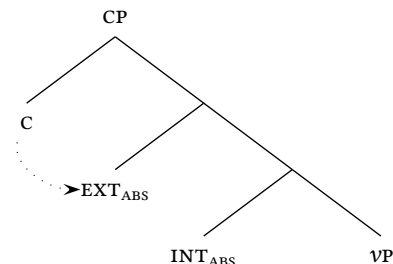
5.2 First Clue: Low Absolutive Licensing

- Quirky Intransitive: absolutive agreement → INT.

- **Question**: how high is this agreement?

    - If T^0: quirky intransitive → regular syntax.
    - If somewhere else: **no** regular syntax.

- Linear Position → agreement on v^0.

    - Transitive INT → agreement in 2P.
    - Quirky intransitive INT → agreement follows v

- **Claim**: this INT does not interact with T^0.

(18) *Quirky Intransitive: Low ABS*

  a. Innai **maq**-urung=**o** [$_{INT}$ *pro*] ?
     who QI-kiss=2B
     'Who kissed you?'

  b. Innai indang pura **maq**-urung=**o**?
     who not   ever QI-kiss=2B
     'Who never kissed you?'

  c. Indang=**o** pura **na**-urung?
     not=2B   ever 3A-kiss
     'She never kissed you?'

5.3 Second Clue: Binding Patterns

- Transitive: INT > EXT in binding.

    - INT binds anaphors in the position of EXT.
    - INT induces condition C violation inside EXT.

- Quirky intransitive: EXT > INT.

    - **No anaphor binding** from INT into EXT.
    - **No condition C** from INT into EXT.

(19) *Quirky Intransitive: EXT > INT*

  a. ***Alawe**-u **maq**-ita=aq [$_{INT}$ *pro*].
     self-my   QI-see=1B
     'Myself saw me.'

  b. [Kindoqna **iNina**] **maq**-ita=i **ia**.
      the.mom NAME   QI-see=3B her
     'Nina$_i$'s mom saw her$_i$.'

5.4 Third Clue: Other Privileges

- Quantifier float: another asymmetry.

    - Transitive INT: can float a preverbal quantifier
    - Quirky intransitive INT: **cannot**

- **Conclusion: Special Syntax**

    - Transitive: INT > EXT.
    - Quirky intransitive: EXT > INT.
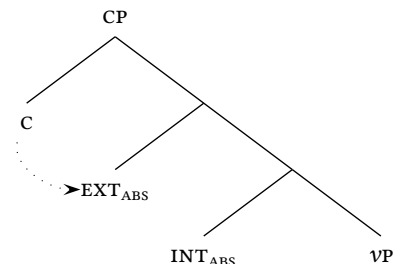
(20) *Quantifier Float: INT Low*

  a. **Sangnging** na-ita=**o** .
     all   3A-see2B.
     'He saw all of you.'

  b. *Innai **sangnging maq**-ita=**o**?
     who   all   QI-see2B
     IM: 'Who saw all of you?'

6 The EEC and Locality

6.1 Proposal: Intransitives + Locality

- Mandar: the EEC → Locality.

  - The transitive: INT > EXT
  - **Result**: EXT cannot be extracted.

- Quirky Intransitive → solution.

  - This construction: EXT > INT
  - **Result**: EXT free to undergo extraction.

- **Claim**: deeper than surface morphology.

(21) *Locality Prediction: EXT > INT*

```
                        CP
                       /  \
                      /    \
            C        /      \
                    /        \
          ┄┄┄➤EXT_ABS         \
                    /    \      \
                   /      \      \
               INT_ABS     vP
```

6.2 The Highest-Only Extraction Constraint

- The EEC → one corner of a broader constraint.

- Mandar: **only the absolutive XP can extract**.

- Example 1: **comitative verbs (si-)**

  - EXT → absolutive agreement; extraction
  - INT → no agreement; no extraction

- Example 2: **psych predicates**

  - EXP → absolutive agreement; extraction
  - SOURCE → no agreement; no extraction

- Example 3: **transitives**

  - INT → absolutive agreement; extraction
  - EXT → **ergative prefix; no extraction**

- **Claim**: ∃ locality constraint on extraction (Keenan 1976)

- **Mandar**: the quirky intransitive → **locality solution**.

(22) *Comitatives: Absolutives-Only*
  a. **Si**-ala=**aq** [EXT *pro*] [INT iNina].
     COM-take=1B   NAME
     'I married Nina.'
  b. **Innai si**-ala [EXT *t*] [INT iNina].
     WHO marry   NAME
     'Who married Nina?'
  c. ***Innai si**-ala=**o** [EXT *pro*] [INT *t*].
     who   marry=2B
     IM: 'Who did you marry?'

(23) *Psych Predicates: Absolutives-Only*
  a. Marakke=**aq** [EXP *pro*] [SR iNina].
     fear=1B   NAME
     'I fear Nina.'
  b. ***Innai** marakke=**o** [EXP *pro*] [SR*t*]?
     who   fear=2B
     IM: 'Who do you fear?'

6.3 Alternative Approaches: Prospectus

- These patterns have been analyzed elsewhere as:

  1. K-Discrimination for covert/abstract K (Drummond 2021)
  2. Covert embedding of non-ABS XPs in PPs (Polinsky 2017)
  3. Freezing effects linked to predicate fronting (Chung 2005)

- No alternative seems promising in Mandar.

  - 1: locality already works.
  - 2: no evidence for covert PP structure
  - 3: no evidence for PRED-fronting (Little 2020)

- **N.b.**: Locality required across W.Austronesian.

(24) *Mandar: zero evidence for PPs*
  a. *Na-saka=aq **di/sola/pole/**
     3A-catch=1B in/with/from
     kaneke.
     crocodile.
     IM: 'A crocodile caught me.'
  b. *Me-ita=**aq di/sola** sanaeke.
     ANT-see=1B in/with kid
     IM: 'I'm watching kids.'
  c. *Apa **me**-ita=**o**?
     what ANT-see=2B
     IM: 'What are you watching?'

7   Interlude: Transitive Syntax

7.1   Transitive Voice: Two Heads

- Two-way *voice* system: antipassive & transitive.
    - Antipassive voice → *me-, maN-...*
    - Transitive voice → SET.A prefix
- Both voices → *bimorphemic*
    - v^0: *pe-, Ø-, paN-...*
    - *voice*^{0}: *m-*, SET.A...

7.2   *voice*^{0}: introduces the EXT

- Verbs with an EXT → *-um-, m-*, or SET.A
    1. Unergative v → infix *-um-*
    2. Unaccusative v: **neither**
- **Claim**: *-um-*, SET.A → *voice*^{0}.
    - Introduce the EXT; selects v^0 (Harley 2013)
    - *-um-* → the **m-** in antipassive *me-* (De Guzman 1978)

7.3 v^0: shifts the INT

- Antipassive voice: *definiteness effect* (Schachter 1996)
    - OK: INT *w/* unique but discourse-new referent
    - BAD: INT *w/* established referential index
- **Claim**: definite INT → must leave vP (Diesing 1992)
    - Transitive v^0 (**Ø-**): triggers movement to SPEC,vP.
    - Antipassive v^0 (**pe-**): no movement (Aldridge 2004).

7.4   T^0: High-Absolutive Licensing

- The two voices: different *licensing* schemas.
    - Transitive: EXT licensed by *voice*^{0} (SET.A → agreement)
    - Intransitive: EXT not licensed by *voice*^{0} (*-um-*; no AGR)
    - **Result**: EXT licensed in *voice*P **iff** transitive.
- T^0: licenses the **Absolutive**.
    - Antipassive: EXT needs licensing → **EXT**
    - Transitive: EXT licensed → **INT**
- **Claim**: licensing → movement to SPEC,TP.
    - Absolutive XP: binds into other arguments, extracts...
    - Classical view: this XP is **high** (Campana 1992).
- Austronesian: unremarkable story (Guilfoyle et al. 1992)

(25)   *Voice Frames: Bimorphemic*
   a. **Me**-lullung=aq kaeng pute.
      ANT-wear=1B   cloth white
      'I'm wearing white cloth.'
   b. Apa **mu**-**pe**-lullung?
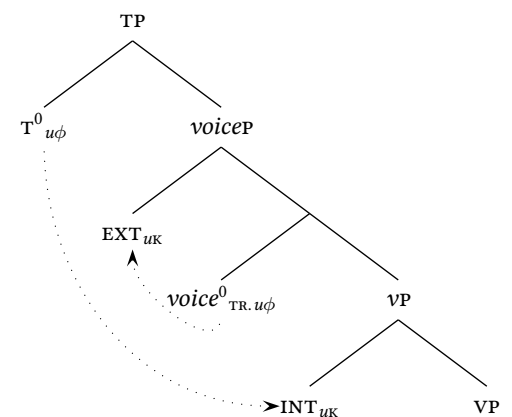   what 2A-ANT-wear
      'What are you wearing?'

(26)   *Voice and the EXT*
   a. T-**um**-etteq=aq.
      INT-weave=1B
      'I'm weaving.'
   b. **Bemme**=i
      fall=3B
      'It fell.'

(27)   *The Definiteness Effect*
   a. **Me**-ita=aq iting sanaeke.
      ANT-see=1B this kid
      'I'm watching these kids.'
   b. ***Me**-ita=aq iKacoq.
      ANT-see=1b NAME
      IM 'I'm watching Kacoq.'

(28)   *Transitive: High Abs via Licensing*

8   The Quirky Intransitive v^0

8.1   Morphological Decomposition

- The prefix *maN*: bimorphemic.

    1. The 'intransitve' *voice^0 -um-*; introduces EXT
    2. The 'quirky intransitive' v^0 *paN-*
        - Appears bare in imperatives; allomorph *paQ-*
        - The head which hosts low agreement (Brodkin 2021)
        - **Proposal**: triggers movement of INT to SPEC,*v*P

(29) *maN- = -um- + paN-*
  a. Innai **mam**-baca=**i**?
     who QI-read=3B
     'Who read it?'
  b. Iqo **pam**-baca=**i**!
     2SG QI-read=3B
     'Read it!'

8.2   INT → SPEC,*v*P

- Distribution: $v^0{}_{QI}$ **iff** INT = definite.

- **Incorporation Pattern**: QI INT → SPEC,*v*P

    - *v*P-internal material: pseudo-incorporation.
        * Prosodically grouped together with the verb
        * Enclitics follow the verb + PNI material.
        * Targets: NP objects; locative XPs.
    - Quirky intransitive: **no** pseudo-incorporation.

- **Result**: $v^0{}_{QI}$ → movement of INT.

    - **N.b.**: $v^0{}_{QI} \neq$ antipassive v^0.

(30) *Indefinite INT: no Quirky Intransitive*
  a. *Innai **mam**-baca=i **buku**?
     who QI-read=3B   book
     IM 'Who read books?'

(31) *Quirky Intransitive: No PNI*
  a. **Maq**-baluq **balenga**=i.
     ANT-sell   pot=3B
     'She's selling pots.'
  b. *Innai **mam**-baluq **iqo**=bomo?
     who QI-sell   2SG=again
     'Who sold you again?'

8.3   INT → Agreement on v^0

- Quirky intransitive v^0 *paN-* → $u\phi$

- Extraction of ABS + definite INT → **no AGR** *w/o paN-*.

    1. Other voice frames (comitative; psych v) → **no Agr**
    2. Extraction + other 'antipassive' prefixes → **no Agr**

- **Claim**: this agreement → v^0 (*paN-*).

(32) *Other Extraction Frames: No Agreement*
  a. Innai **si**-ala(=*i)   iNina?
     who COM-take=3B NAME
     'Who married Nina?'
  b. Innai **me**-ita(=*i) iNina?
     who ANT-see=3B NAME
     'Who is watching Nina?'

8.4   Claim: Low-Absolutive Licensing

- Quirky intransitive v^0: licenses INT in SPEC,*v*P.

    - Only occurs with definite INT → forces the shift.
    - Hosts agreement → licenses the INT (Raposo 1987)

- Elsewhere: **this pattern is impossible**.

    - Mandar = High Abs language; ABS licensing in T^0.
    - Typical case: definite INT not licensed in *v*P (Bok-Bennema 1991)
    - **Result**: transitive INT → SPEC,TP.

- **N.b.**: typical licensing schema → **locality problem**.

(33) *Quirky Intransitive: Low Abs*
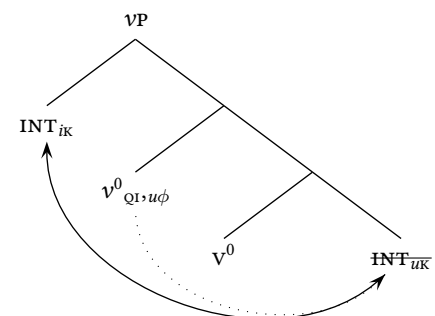
9   The Quirky Intransitive and Locality of Extraction

## 9.1   Recap: The Locality-and-Licensing Model

- Transitive clause: INT > EXT

    1. INT binds an anaphor in the position of the EXT
    2. INT induces condition-C violatons in the EXT
    3. Quantified INT can bind a variable in the EXT
    4. Absolutive arguments → float quantifiers
    5. Absolutive agreement: sits in T^0

- The EEC: locality constraint in the A'-domain (Campana 1992)

    - **Cf.** S-O asymmetries in resumption (McCloskey 1990; Shlonsky 1992), extractability (Erlewine and Branan 2020)

- **Claim**: INT > EXT for reasons of licensing.

    - Definite INT → must escape vP
    - Transitive v^0: cannot license the INT.
    - **Result**: INT → SPEC,TP.

(34)   *Transitive: INT > EXT for Licensing*
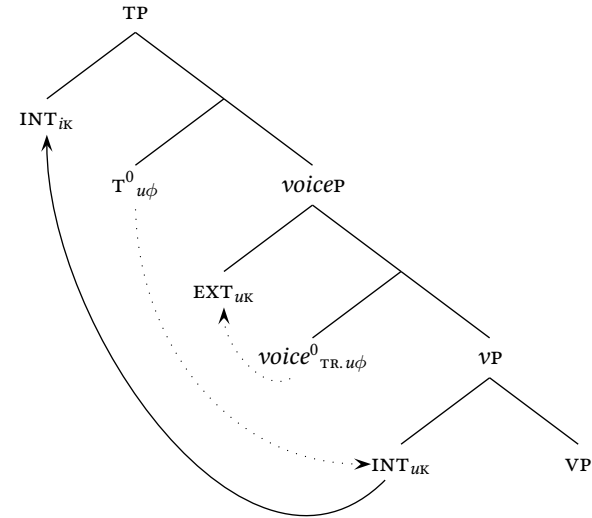
9.2   The Quirky Intransitive: Circumventing the Constraint

- The Quirky Intransitive: EXT > INT

    1. INT cannot bind an anaphor in the position of the EXT.
    2. INT cannot induce condition-C violation in the EXT.
    3. INT cannot float a quantifier.

- **Proposal**: this construction → **locality-compliant**

    - The INT remains beneath the EXT.
    - **Result**: extraction of the EXT → respects locality.

- **Derivational Mechanics**:

    - Quirky intransitive v^0: licenses the INT in SPEC,vP.
    - Intransitive $voice^0$: does not license the EXT.
    - **Therefore**: EXT → SPEC,TP; INT remains low.

- This pattern: **not** predicted on non-locality accounts.

(35)   *INT licensed Low → EXT can Extract*
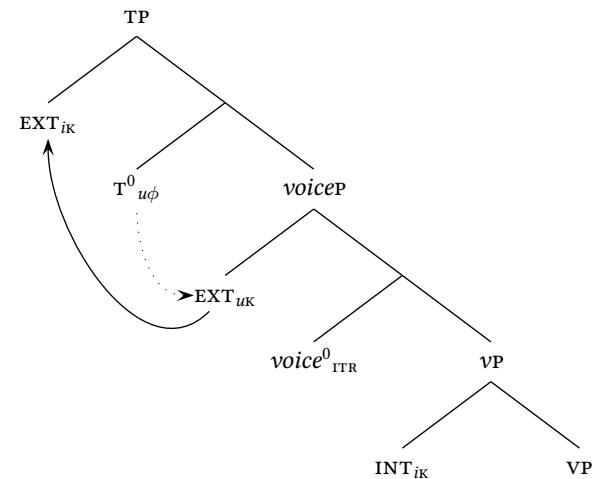
9.3   Summary: The Quirky Intransitive Recipe

- Extraction of the EXT + definite INT:

    1. No ergative prefix (SET.A)
    2. Intransitive $voice^0$ + special v^0
    3. Absolutive agreement → INT.
    4. Ban on pseudo-incorporation of the INT

- **Mandar**: quirky intransitive v^0 *paN-*.

(36)   *The Mandar Summary*   (Friberg 1996)

   a. Innai **maq**-baluq balenga?
     who ANT-sell   pot
     'Who is selling pots?'

   b. Innai **mam**-baluq=**o** iqo?
     who QI-sell=2B   2SG
     'Who sold you?'

10   Intransitivity: A Prospectus

10.1   Mandar: Intransitive → Locality

- Mandar shows a locality constraint on A'-extraction.

    - Transitive clause: INT > EXT → EEC

- Quirky intransitive construction: **locality solution**.

    - Visible difference in the position of the INT.

    - **Result**: distinct locality-compliant syntax.

- This construction does **not** involve:

    1. Non-local extraction of the EXT (*pace* me, 2019)
    2. Antiagreement and nothing else (Erlewine 2016)
    3. The reassociation of agreement on T^0 (Newman 2020)

- **Conclusion**: intransitivity → locality-compliance in Mandar.

- **Open Question**: what about intransitivity elsewhere?

10.2   Central Indonesia: Parallel Facts

- Subgroups: South Sulawesi, Kaili-Wolio, Bungku-Tolaki

    - Roughly 40 languages; neighbors to Mandar

- Four shared patterns:

    1. No morphological case
    2. Head-marking ergative alignment (SET.A/SET.B)
    3. Convergent evidence for INT > EXT in transitive.
    4. Extraction of EXT + definite INT → **QI**

- **Suspicion**: the locality-based account is required.

10.3   Mayan: Same Thing

- High-Abs Mayan (Q'anjob'alan, K'ichean, etc)

    1. No morphological case
    2. Head-marking ergative alignment (SET.A/SET.B)
    3. Convergent evidence for INT > EXT in transitive.
    4. Extraction of EXT + definite INT → **QI**

- The Quirky Intransitive "Agent Focus":

    1. No ergative prefix (SET.A)
    2. Intransitive $voice^0$ + special v^0
    3. Absolutive agreement → INT.

- **Suspicion**: this is the same thing.

- Intuition: locality-based EECs are likely real.

(37)   *The Mandar EEC: Locality*
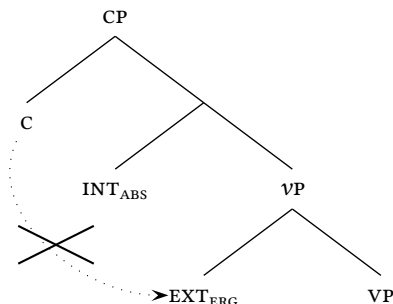
(38)   *Quirky Intransitive: Recap*
   a. Apa **mam**-bokko=**o**?
      what QI-bite=2B
      'What bit you?'

(39)   *South Sulawesi: Parallels* (Friberg 1996)
   a. Na-beta=i [INT iAli] [EXT iAmir]
      3A-beat=3B   NAME   NAME
      'Amir beat Ali.'   *Konjo*

   b. iAmir **ang-ng**anre loka.
      NAME ANT-eat   banana
      'Amir is eating bananas.'   *Konjo*

   c. iAli   **ang-k**anre=**i** lamejaha-ta.
      NAME QI-eat=3B   fruit-your
      'Ali ate your sweet potato.'   *Konjo*

(40)   *Chuj (Q'anjob'alan): High-Abs Syntax*
   a. Ol=**ach w**-il-a'
      will=2B 1A-see-TR
      'I'll see you.'   Coon 2018:10
   b. *Ix-y-il [**pro**] [s-mam **waj Xun**].
      T-3A-see   3-dad   CLF NAME
      IM: 'X$_1$'s dad saw him$_1$' (Royer p.c.)

(41)   *Chuj: Quirky Intransitive*
   a. *Mach ix=ach **y**-il-**a'**?
      who   PFV=2B 3A-see-TR
      IM: 'Who saw you?' (Royer '20)

   b. Mach ix=**ach** mak'-**an**-**i**?
      who   PFV=2B hit-AF-ITR
      'Who hit you?' (Hou 2011:13)

11 Conclusion: How Many EECs?

11.1 Locality Exists

- Many languages: **like Mandar**.

    1. Transitive clause: INT > EXT
    2. Locality constraint: only extract the highest thing.

- Sometimes: visible 'ergative' case-system.

    – Tagalog (Aldridge 2004), Tongan (Otsuka 2006)
    – Inuit (Bittner 1994; Yuan 2018)

- Other times: no morphological case.

    – Mayan (Coon et al. 2014; Royer 2020)
    – W.Indonesia (Guilfoyle et al. 1992)

- These languages → ∃ locality constraint.

    – "Is this the EEC" → terminological question
    – **cf**: the 'are Philippine languages ergative' lit.

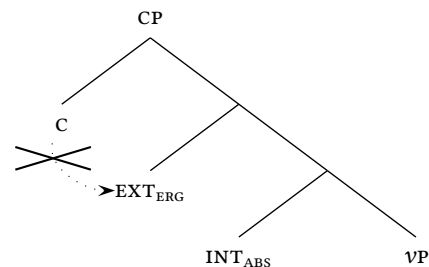### 11.2 Ergative Languages → Extremely Diverse

- Other languages → **not** Mandar (Deal 2015a)

    1. ∃ languages *w/o* locality constraints on extraction.
    2. ∃ EEC + no INT > EXT (Legate 2012)
    3. ∃ EEC + no INT > EXT + **no** M-case (Drummond 2021)

- Expectation: the EEC ≠ one thing (**cf**: diversity of repairs!)

11.3 Open Question: What are all of these EECs?

- Alternative paths to the EEC exist.

    1. K-Discrimination for covert/abstract K (Drummond 2021)
    2. Covert embedding of non-ABS XPs in PPs (Polinsky 2017)
    3. Freezing effects linked to predicate fronting (Chung 2005)

- Beyond the pale: some funny correlations

    – High Absolutive syntax → Locality Constraint?
    – Verb-initial order → ergativity? (Mahajan 1994)

- **Conclusion**: there is a lot to be understood.

(42) *The EEC without case: W.Indonesia*:

   a. *Balinese* (Wechsler and Arka 1998)
   b. *Malagasy* (Paul and Travis 2006)
   c. *Batak* (Cole and Hermon 2008)

(43) *Malagasy: no case; EEC*

   a. Vono-**in'** [$_{\text{EXT}}$ iSoa   ] [$_{\text{INT}}$ ahoko]
      kill-TR   NAME   chicken
      'Soa is killing chickens.'

   b. *Ny mpamboly vono-**ina** ahoko
      the farmer   kill-TR   chicken
      IM: 'the farmer killing chickens.'

   c. Ny mpamboly **mam**-ono ahoko
      the farmer   ANT-kill chicken
      'The farmer killing chickens.'
      Malagasy: Pearson 2005: 393,412/3

(44) *Salishan: the EEC Repair*

   1. The verb → passive morphology
   2. The transitive EXT → extracted
   3. The EXT: resumed *as an adjunct*.

(45) *This also exists:*

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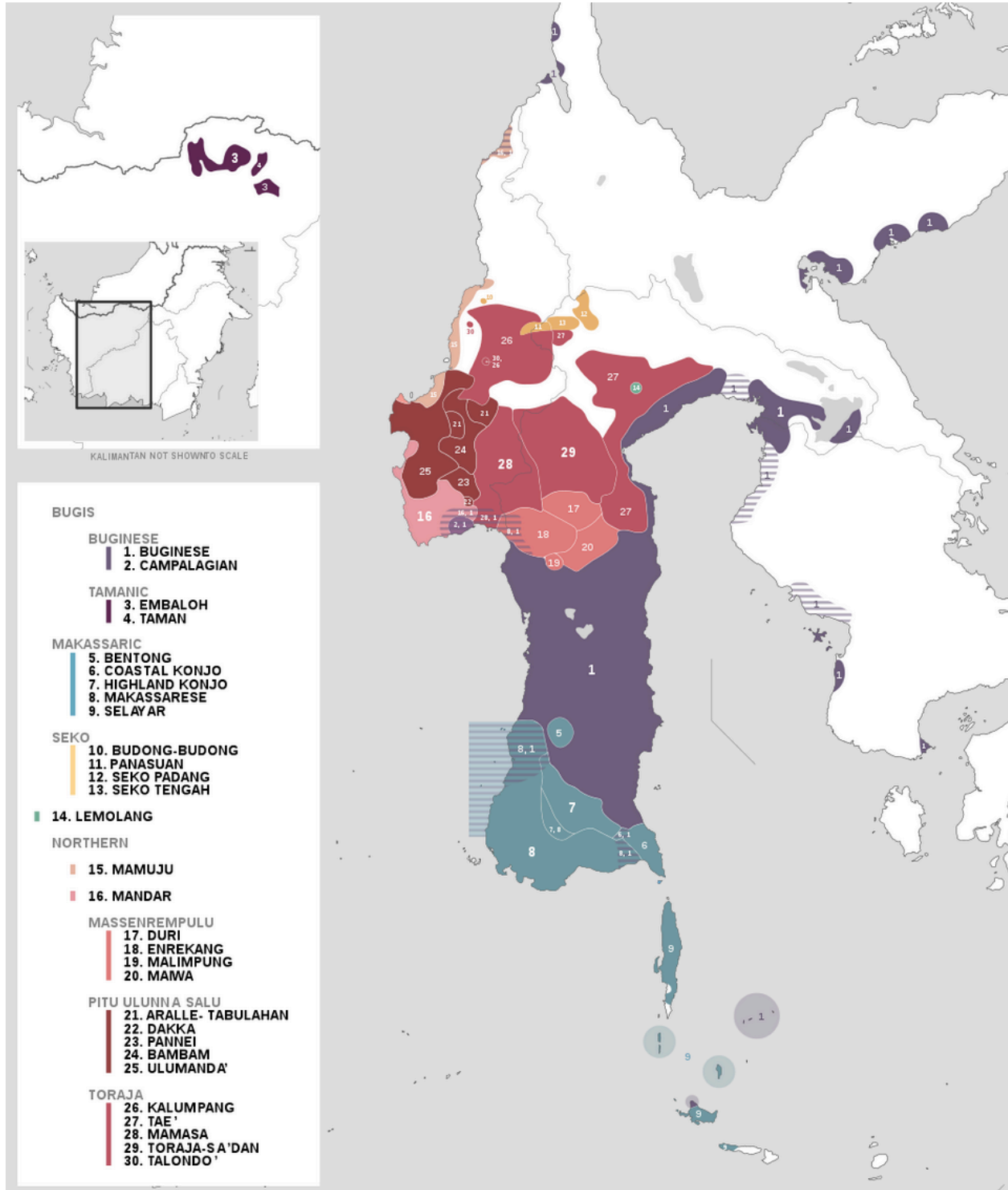
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