Agent Focus in South Sulawesi

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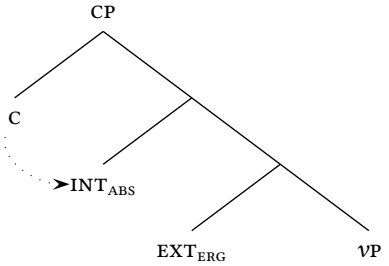
0.1 The Fundamental Question

- Many 'ERGATIVE' languages show restrictions on extraction.
  - The ERGATIVE EXTRACTION CONSTRAINT (Aissen 2017): no extracting the ERG.
  - The SUBJECTS-ONLY extraction constraint (Keenan 1976): no extracting anything but ABS.
- Fundamental question: **why**?
  - Extraction constraints reduce to problems with licensing.' Coon et al. 2014; Erlewine et al. 2017
  - Extraction constraints reduce to problems of CASE or CATEGORY' Deal 2016, Polinsky 2017
  - Extraction constraints involve *locality* Aldridge 2004 et seq; Coon et al. 2020
- The **Locality** Approach
  - Syntactic ergativity = locality of extraction.
    - Extraction targets only the highest DP.
    - Formally: the extraction probe relativized to D.
  - **Predicton**: SX.ERGATIVITY = being HIGH ABS
    - Transitive clause: ABS > ERG
    - This configuration: the INT is closer to C.

(1) *Syntactic Ergativity: INT Highest*



0.2 The Prediction

- 'ERGATIVE' languages should show a tension between extraction and argument structure alternations.
  - The HIGH ABS configuration: the INT typically moves to a position above the EXT.
  - Extraction of the EXT: requires the EXT to remain highest.
- The problem: **object shift.**
  - Many ERGATIVE languages allow the EXT to extract when the INT is an NP.
    - Extraction of the EXT frequently recruits antipassive morphology (Polinsky 2017)
    - Locality approach: extraction of EXT unproblematic when the INT remains low.
  - The problem scenario: extraction of the EXT when the INT is a DP.
    - The INT leaves the VP when definite: Diesing 1992, Rackowski 2002
    - This movement: plausibly connected to case-licensing: Vergnaud 1977, Legate 2008
    - **Problem**: in High Absolutive languages, this step places the INT over the EXT

0.3 The Observation

- The Austronesian-Mayan connection:
  - Both families contain High-Abs languages.
  - Mayan: famously funny syntax in this construction.
    - *Agent Focus*: EXT extracts; INT a DP.
  - Today's talk: **Agent Focus in South Sulawesi**.
    - Austronesian languages show *agent focus* too.
- The locality analysis: predicts a common problem.
- Here: a common solution.

0.4 Roadmap

1. Background: Voice and Extraction
2. The Problem: Quirky Extraction
3. The Resolution: Agent Focus
4. Analysis: licensing within the vP.
5. Extension: **control**.

1 Mandar: Voice and Object Shift

1.1 Background

- **Mandar**: Austronesian, South Sulawesi Subfamily; 400,000 speakers in West Sulawesi, Indonesia.[1][2]
  - **Word Order**: verb initial, VOS-VSO alternations — Friberg 1996
  - **Alignment**: ergative-absolutive agreement system[3] — Mills 1975
  - **Nominals**: *pro*-drop; no morphological case; no number marking

(2) *Typical Mandar Sentences*

a. **U**-ita=**o** leq!
1ERG-see=2ABS PRT
'I see you, obviously.'

b. **Na**-coroq=**i** eskrim-u iting manuq!
3ERG-steal=3ABS ice.cream-1.GEN that bird
'That bird stole my ice cream!'

(3) *The Mandar Verb*: ERG-V=ABS

(4) *The Agreement System:*

PRS	ERG	ABS
1π	*u-*	*=aq*
2π	*mu-*	*=o*
3π	*na-*	*=i*

1.2 High Absolutive

- Mandar is a **High Abs** language — Legate 2008; Coon et al. 2014

1. **Linear Position**
   - ABS: second-position
   - ERG: verb-adjacent
2. **Temporal Adjunct Clauses**: ERG, *ABS
   - *v*P nominalization; no aspectual modifiers
3. **Control Complement Clauses**: ERG, *ABS
   - Smaller than TP: no temporal modification

(5) *ABS Agreement on T*

a. Indang=**i** **u**-ita.
NEG=3ABS 1ERG-see.
'I don't see it.'

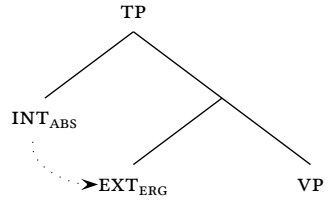
b. Na-tumae-**u/=*aq**, ...
3ERG-propose-1GEN/1ABS,
'When he proposed to me,'

c. Barani=aq na-ita=**Ø/*aq**
dare=1ABS 3ERG-see=1ABS
'I dared to be seen by him.'

1.3 Argument positions

- The absolutive C-commands the ergative.
  - **Condition A**:
    - Condition-A anaphor: *alawe*-GEN
    - Possible in both ERG and ABS positions.
  - **Condition B**:
    - Quantified ABS arguments bind into ERG.
    - Common pattern across WMP (Pearson 2001)
  - **Condition C**: precedence interferes.

(6) *Transitive Syntax*



[1] The data here comes from two sources: texts and elicitation with two speakers who I have worked with since 2018. <c> = /t͡ɕ/, <q> = /ʔ/.

[2] Abbreviations: ABS: absolutive, AF: agent focus, ANT: antipassive, D: determiner, ERG: ergative, EXT: external argument, GEN: genitive, IM: intended meaning, INT: internal argument INV: involuntary, ITR: intransitive, NEG: negation, PASS: passive, PL: plural, PRT: particle, REC: reciprocal, SG: singular, TR: transitive

[3] Four arguments that the ABS clitics represent agreement: (*i*) COARSENESS: they index person but not number (Preminger 2011); (*ii*) TENSE-VARIANCE: they show distinct irrealis forms (Nevins 2011); (*iii*) REFERENTIALITY: they index anaphors and quantified arguments (Baker & Kramer 2016); (*iv*) POSITION: they surface in 2P (Bošković 2016). Doubled clitics typically lack these properties. (*i*) & (*iii*) also hold for the ERG prefixes.

(7) *Condition A Anaphors: Absolutive or Ergative*

a. *Pole=i/aq **alawe-u**.
come=3/1ABS self-1GEN
INT: 'Myself arrived.'

b. **U**-ita=**i** alawe-u.
1ERG-see=3ABS self-1GEN
'I saw myself.'

c. **Na**-ita=**aq** alawe-u.
3ERG-see=1ABS self-1GEN
'Myself saw me.'

(8) *Condition B: The Absolutive C-Commands the Ergative*

a. Na-salili=i kindoq-**na**$_{\text{ERG}}$ **inggannana passikola**$_{\text{ABS}}$.
3ERG-miss=3ABS mother-3GEN every student
'His$_i$ mother misses every student$_i$.

1.4 The Voice Alternation

- Two "*voice*" frames: the *transitive* and *antipassive*.
  - The **Transitive**:
    - ERG prefix; ABS enclitic.
    - INT = ABS.
    - Required when the object is a DP.
  - The **Antipassive**
    - ANT prefix; ABS enclitic.
    - EXT = ABS.
    - Typical when the object is an NP.

(9) *The Voice Alternation*:

a. *Transitive*:
U-tappas=**i** diqe baju-mu.
1ERG-wash=3ABS this shirt-2GEN
'I washed this shirt of yours.'

b. *Antipassive*:
Mat-tappas=**aq** bajubaju.
ANT-wash=1ABS shirts
'I'm washing shirts.'

1.5 Object Shift

- Object definiteness determines voice. Schachter 1976
  - DP objects → transitive.
- The voice alternation = object shift.
  - The INT must leave VP if it is a DP.
  - This process requires a v^0 to attract it.
  - v_{TR} attracts the INT; v_{ANT} does not.
- Camp: the '**Ergativist**' Approach Aldridge 2004
  - One of many approaches to Austronesian voice.
  - Claim: voice alternations linked to **transitivity**.
    - The *agent voice* = a type of antipassive.
    - The *patient voice* = canonical transitive.
    - Austronesian: ergative syntax, HIGH ABS
- An Alternative: *Voice as Agreement* Chung 1998
  - Fundamental NOM/ACC alignment.
  - Voice morphemes spell out subject agreement.
  - The CASE of the subject → the shape of *voice*.
  - Voice in C (Chen 2017) or T (Rackowski 2002)
  - For Mayan: status suffix in C; *-i* if SUBJ is NOM…

(10) **No DP Object in the Antipassive*:

a. ***Mat**-tappas=**aq** diqe baju.
ANT-wash=1ABS this shirt
INT: 'I washed this shirt.'

b. ***Maq**-urung=**aq** i=Cicciq.
ANT-kiss=1ABS D=NAME
INT: 'I kissed Cicci.'

c. ***Mas**-sajang=tend=i **yau**.
ANT-love=too=3ABS 1SG
INT: 'He loves me too much.'

(11) *Antipassive objects in VP*

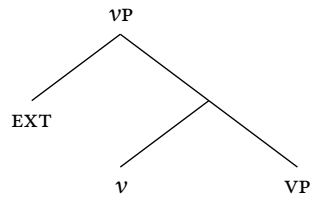
a. Man-dundu **kopi** dini=**o**?
ANT-drink coffee here=2ABS
'You're drinking coffee here?'

b. *Mam-meang **san-jang**=**aq**.
ANT-fish one-hour=1ABS
INT: 'I fished for an hour.'

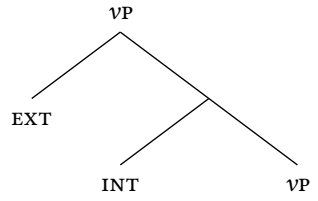
1.6 The Anatomy of Voice

- Mandar voice is bimorphemic.
  - The antipassive: *maN-*
    - *voice*^{0}: *-um-* 'ITR'
    - v^0: *paN-* 'ANT'
  - The transitive:
    - *voice*^{0}: ERG- $u\phi$
    - v^0: Ø uD
  - *voice*^{0} selects v^0; no mismatch.
- Transitive → object shift.
- The locus of ERG: *voice*^{0}
  - Not restricted to thematic agents: experiencers.
  - Cannot occur inside the causative like other *v*s

(12) *The Antipassive: vP*



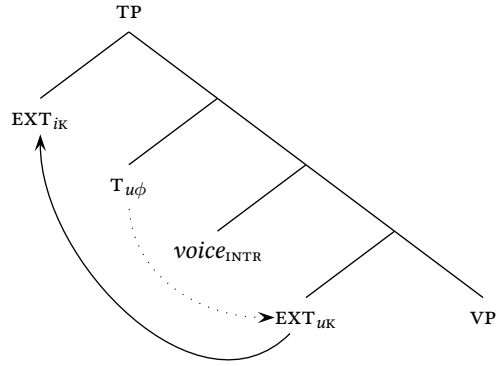
(13) *The Transitive: vP*



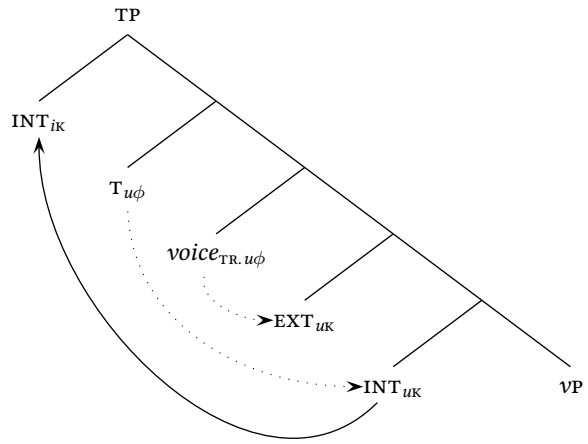
1.7 The Licensing Situation

- Functional heads → abstract licensing
  - Argument DPs need licensing Vergnaud 1977
  - **Link**: overt agreement.
    1. Finite T: hosts ABS
    2. *voice*$_{\text{TR}}$: hosts ERG
- The Licensing Schema:
  - The *antipassive*:
    - Only the EXT requires licensing.
    - *voice*$_{\text{INT}}$/v_{ANT}: no licensing.
    - **Result**: T licenses the EXT
  - The *transitive*:
    - Both the INT & EXT require licensing.
    - *voice*$_{\text{TR}}$ shows agreement; licenses EXT
    - **Result**: T licenses the INT
- **Structural Results**
  - INT > EXT when it interacts with T
    - **High Abs** agreement pattern
    - INT binds into EXT
  - *voice* determines which DP is HIGH.
    - Antipassive: EXT
    - Transitive: INT
  - AUSTRONESIAN = HIGH ABS MAYAN.

(14) *The Antipassive: TP*



(15) *The Transitive: TP*



2 The Extraction Problem

2.1 The Restriction

- Only the ABS argument can extract.
  - Mandar shows the EEC Aissen 2017.
  - … **but this is part of a broader picture.**
  - No extracting:
    - The antipassive object cf: Mayan
    - The reciprocal object.
    - The psych verb object.
- The problem is **not** the ergative.

(16) *The Ergative Extraction Constraint*

a. **Na**-itai=o Kamaq.
3ERG-look.for=2ABS dad
'Dad's looking for you.'

b. **Iqo na**-itai kamaq.
2SG 3ERG-look.for dad
'Dad's looking for you.'

c. ***Kamaq na**-itai=**o**.
dad 3ERG-look.for=2ABS
INT 'Dad's looking for you.'

(17) *The Antipassive: Objects not Extractable*

a. **Mas**-saka=i manuq.
ANT-catch=3ABS bird
'He's catching birds.'

b. **Ia mas**-saka manuq.
3SG ANT-catch bird
'HE is catching birds.'

c. ***Manuq mas**-saka=i.
bird ANT-catch=3ABS
INT: 'He's catching BIRDS

(18) *The Reciprocal: Objects not Extractable*

a. **Si**-issang=**aq** iting Kacoq.
REC-know=1ABS that NAME
'I'm acquianted with Kacoq.'

b. **Yau si**-issang iting Kacoq.
1SG REC-know that NAME
'I'm acquianted with Kacoq.'

c. ***Iting Kacoq si**-issang=aq.
that NAME REC-know=1ABS
INT: 'I know that KACOQ.'

(19) *Psych Predicates: Objects not Extractable*

a. Marakkeq=**aq** kamaq-na.
scared=1ABS dad-3.GEN
'I'm scared of her dad.'

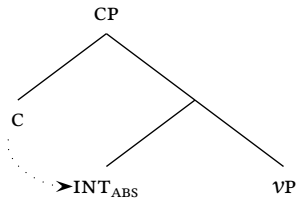
b. **Yau** marakkeq kamaq-na.
1SG scared dad-3.GEN
'I am scared of her dad.'

c. ***Kamaq-na** marakkeq=**aq**.
dad-3.GEN scared=1ABS
INT: 'I'm scared of her DAD.'

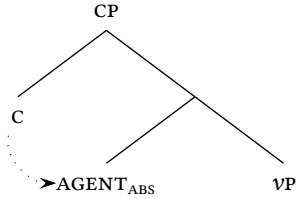
2.2 The Locality Analysis

- Only the highest argument can extract.
  - HIGH ABS language:
    - High linear position of ABS
    - Binding facts: ABS > ERG
  - Mandar: obeys Tada's (1993) generalization.
- The transitive frame:
  - The INT shifts out from the VP.
  - This puts it in a position above the ERG.
- The other voices:
  - No object shift; the external argument is highest.
  - RESULT: this is the only thing that can extract.
- **All HIGH ABS languages: EEC = locality.**
  - Austronesian + Mayan: same constraint.

(20) *The Transitive: INT Highest*



(21) *Otherwise: EXT Highest*



2.3 The Prediction

- **No Agent Extraction over DP Objects**
  - Recap: *antipassive & transitive voice.*
  - Neither allows both extraction of EXT & DP INT.
    1. Antipassive: no DP object.
    2. Transitive: no agent extraction.
- TERMINOLOGY: *Quirky Extraction*

(22) *Neither Voice Works*

a. ***Mat**-tumae=aq i=Cicciq.
ANT-propose=1ABS D=NAME
INT: 'I proposed to Cicciq.'

b. ***Yau u**-tumae=i.
1SG 1ERG-propose=3ABS
INT: 'I proposed to her.'

2.4 This Problem Recurs

- Mayan: **High-Abs** langs have the same problem.
  - Transitive: the INT raises above the EXT.
  - Evidence: ABS height; binding patterns (Royer 2020)
  - Parallel: no extraction of the agent in the transitive.
    - **cf:** the antipassive; extraction of EXT ok.
- The **Q'anjob'alan** solution: AGENT FOCUS
  - Two-way Philippine voice system
    1. Incorporation Antipassive *Agent Voice*
    2. Transitive *Patient Voice*
  - Neither voice allows quirky extraction.
    - Inc.antipassive: INT cannot be a DP.
    - Transitive: no extraction of the EXT
  - **Result**: AGENT FOCUS
    - The verb: morphologically intransitive.
    - EXT looks like it should be ABS.
    - INT does something funny.

(23) *Chuj: Agent Voice*

a. Ix-in-xik-**w**-i k'atzitz
PFV-1B-chop-AP-ITV wood
'I wood-chopped'

b. *Ix-in-il-**w**-i **hach**
PFV-1BP-see-AP-ITV you.ABS
INT: 'I saw you.' (Coon 2018)

(24) *Q'anjob'al: Transitive*

a. Max-ach **y**-il-[a'] ix Malin
ASP=2ABS 3ERG-see-TR D Maria
'Maria saw you.'

b. *Maktxel max-ach **y**-il-**a'**?
who ASP=2ABS 3ERG-see-TR
INT: 'Who saw you?'

(25) *Q'anjob'al: Agent Focus*

a. Maktxel max-ach il-**on-i**?
who ASP-2ABS see-AF-INTR
'Who saw you?' (Coon et al. 2014)

2.5 A Subtle Austronesian Analogue

- **Tagalog**, **Atayal** Central Philippines, Formosan
  - Antipassive: object can't bear DAT / ABS.
  - Agent extraction → antipassive morphology.
  - Quirky extraction: the object can be DAT / ABS!
- **Agent Focus Checklist**:
  1. Morphologically intransitive V: ✓
  2. EXT should be ABS: ✓
  3. INT does something funny: ✓

(26) *Tagalog: DOM with Quirky Extraction*

a. B-um-ili **ang** babae **ng/*sa** kotse
ANT-buy ABS woman GEN/DAT car
'The woman bought a car.'

b. Sino ang b-**um**-ili **sa** kotse?
who REL ANT-buy DAT car
'Who bought the car?' (see: Kaufman 2020)

(27) *Atayal: ABS Object with Quirky Extraction*

a. Cyux **m**-aniq (***qu**) sehuy qasa **qu** Yuraw.
AUX ANT-eat ABS taro that ABS NAME
'Yuraw is eating taro.'

b. **Ima** wal **m**-aniq **qu** sehuy qasa?
who AUX ANT-cook ABS taro that
'who ate that taro?' (Erlewine 2016)

3 Agent Focus in South Sulawesi

3.1 Covert Agent Focus

- Mandar: **Agreement Reversal**
  - Quirky extraction → antipassive prefix.
  - **But**: the INT triggers ABS agreement!
    - N.b.: impossible with the antipassive
- **Agent Focus Checklist**:
  1. Morphologically intransitive V: ✓
  2. EXT should be ABS: ✓
  3. INT does something funny: ✓

(28) *Mandar: Quirky Extraction*

a. ***Maq**-urung=i=(o) iqo?
ANT-kiss=3ABS=2ABS 2SG
INT: 'She kissed you?'

b. Innai **maq**-urung=**o iqo**?
who EX-kiss=2ABS 2SG
'Who kissed you?'

c. U-sosoqi **to maq**-urung=**o**.
1ERG-envy REL EX-kiss=2.ABS
'I envy the guy who kissed you.'

3.2 Overt Agent Focus

- Coastal Konjo: **Distinct Morphology**
  - Antipassive: *aN.N-*
    - Triggers nasal substitution
    - Possible without extraction.
  - Quirky Extraction: *aN-*
    - **No substitution.**
    - Exclusively with quirky extraction.

(29) *Konjo: Antipassive triggers Substitution*

a. **Ang-ng**anre=i Amir loka.
ANT-eat=3ABS NAME banana
'Amir is eating bananas.'

b. Apa **na-k**anre ri eleq-na?
what 3ERG-eat in morning-3GEN
'What does he eat in the AM?'
Friberg 1996: 143-146

(30) *Konjo: No Substitution with Quirky Extraction*

a. Amir **ang-ng**anre **loka**.
NAME ANT-eat banana
'AMIR is eating bananas.'

b. Innai **ang-k**anre=i **lamejaha-ku**?
who EX-eat=3ABS sweet.potato-2GEN
'Who ate my sweet potato?' Friberg 1996:143-146

3.3 The Agreement Reversal

- Key pattern: **Agreement Reversal.**
  - Extraction disrupts ABS agreement (**??**).
  - Regular extraction: **no agreement**
  - Quirky Extraction: **reversal**
    - **ABS indexes INT.**
- Plural agreement: same
  - Antipassive: PL tracks EXT
  - Quirky Extraction: PL tracks INT
- **Schema**:

	ANTIPASSIVE	EXT EXTRACTION	
INT	NP	NP	DP
ABS	EXT	Ø	INT
PLUR	EXT	Ø	INT

(31) *Mandar: Agreement Reversal*

a. **Yau** pole=(***aq**)
1SG come=1ABS
'I came.'

b. Innai **maq**-itai jamajamang?
who ANT-seek work
'Who's looking for a job?'

c. Innai **map**-polei=**o** iqo?
who EX-visit=2ABS 2SG
'Who visited you?'

d. Mas-sajang=**nasang**=i posa.
ANT-love=PL=3.ABS cat
'**They** love cats' (***he...**)

e. Innai **mas**-sajang=**nasang**=o?
who EX-love=PL=2ABS
'Who loves you guys?'

3.4 There is an AF Head

- The patterns above involve a v_{AF}.
  - Agreement reversal: only with paN_2-
  - Other extraction frames: **no reversal**
    - Ditransitives: GOAL extraction → NO
    - Reciprocals: EXT extraction → NO
    - Psych Verbs: EXP extraction → NO
- RESULT: requires v_{AF} *pace* Newman 2020
  - Reversal not the invariant result of A'-extraction.

(32) *Ditransitives: no Reversal*

a. Na-gattungang=**aq** sara-nna.
3ERG-hang.on=1ABS thing-DEF
'They'll hang the matter on me.'

b. **Yau** na-gattungang sara-nna
1SG 3ERG-hang.on thing-DEF
'They'll hang the matter on ME.'

c. **Yau** na-gattungang=***nasang**=***i**
1SG 3ERG-hang.on=PL=3ABS
INT: 'They'll hang it all on ME.'

3.5 The Anatomy of Agent Focus

- The AF prefix: $v_{\text{af}} + voice_{\text{itr}}$
- The v_{af}: paN_2-
  - Mandar: antipassive v^0 paN_1-
    - Obligatory when v_{ITR} takes an INT.
    - Never surfaces in other voice frames.
    - Visible in imperatives, nominalizations.
  - Agent Focus: $v_{\text{AF}} = paN_2$-
    - Appears exclusively with quirky extraction.
    - Konjo: surface-distinct from ANT.
    - Mandar: opaque morphophonemics
- The $voice_{\text{ITR}}$: <um>
  - Infixes into the ANT and AF prefixes.
    1. $voice_{\text{ITR}} + v_{\text{ANT}} \rightarrow maN_1$- ANT
    2. $voice_{\text{ITR}} + v_{\text{AF}} \rightarrow maN_2$- AF
- RESULT: AF verbs are intransitive.

(33) *Anatomy of AF*:

	MANDAR	KONJO	CHUJ
v_{ANT}	*paN_1-*	*N-*	*-w*
v_{AF}	*paN_2-*	*Ø-*	*-on*
$voice_{\text{ITR}}$	*-um-*	*aN-*	*-i*

(34) *<Um> and paN_1-*

a. **Umm**-ande=**aq** (*NP)
ITR-eat=1ABS INT
'I'm eating (*something).'

b. **M-aq-ande=aq** bau
ITR-ANT-eat=1ABS fish
'I'm eating fish.'

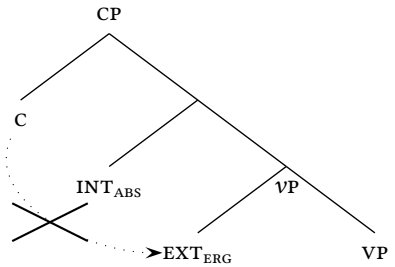
(35) *Bare paN_1-: Imperatives*

a. Naung mai, **paq**-ita=o!
down to.here, ANT-look=2.ABS
'C'mere, look!'

3.6 Interim Summary

- **High Abs** → Quirky extraction problem.
  - Austronesian: on the *ergativist* analysis.
  - Mayan: the HIGH ABS languages.

(36) *Quirky Extraction: The Problem*



- The solution: AGENT FOCUS
  1. *voice*: intransitive.
  2. EXT would be ABS; not indexed
  3. ABS indexes the INT
  4. v_{af} replaces ERG prefixes.

(37) *Comparative Table*:

	MANDAR	CHUJ
v_{AF}	*paN_2-*	*-on*
$voice_{\text{ITR}}$	*-um-*	*-i*
ABS	INT	INT

4 Analysis: Low Licensing

4.1 Argument Licensing

- No agreement → no 1/2π
  - Psych predicates:
    - No agreement with INT
    - The INT cannot be 1/2π
- **Challenge**: licensing the INT.
  1. Transitive: the INT licensed by T.
  2. Elsewhere: no T → INT in a PP, etc.
     - Antipassive, Psych verb: T licenses the EXT

(38) *Psych Predicates: no 1/2π INT*

a. *Mongeq=**aq iqo**.
sick=1ABS 2SG
INT: 'I love you.'

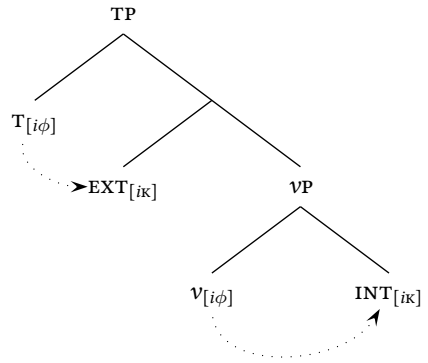
b. **U**-po-mongeq=**o** **iqo**.
1ERG-VBLZ-sick=2ABS 2SG
'I love you.'

c. Mongeq=**aq mating**
sick=1ABS to.there
'I love you.'

4.2 The Licensing Problem

- Licensing the INT on T → EEC
  - Transitive: INT to SPEC,TP; C-commands EXT.
  - **Problem**: this makes it impossible to extract EXT.
- **Prediction**: AF licenses INT below T.
  - The AF construction allows EXT to extract.
  - Locality approach: EXT must be above INT.
- RESULT: the INT cannot interact with T.
  - **Goal**: prove this point.

(39) *AF: Low Licensing*



4.3 Quantifier Float: Not in Spec,TP

- Mandar: ABS can float Q.
  - Connection: elements in SPEC,TP.
  - INT interacts with T → QF OK.
- AF: INT cannot float Q.
- **result**: INT not in SPEC,TP.

(40) *ABS floats Quantifiers; AF INT Cannot*

a. **Sanging na**-ita=**o** sola-mu?
all 3ERG-see=2ABS friend-2
'Did your friend see all of you?'

b. *Innai **sangnging maq**-ita=**o**?
who all AF-see=2ABS
INT: 'Who saw all of you?'

4.4 Agreement: No Interaction with T

- Normal ABS: follows the first AUX.
- AF ABS: **verb-adjacent**.
  - Movement to 2P: **impossible**.
  - Claim: ABS located on v_{AF}
- RESULT: INT does not Agree with T.

(41) *AF: ABS agreement on v*

a. Indappa=**aq** na-ita.
not.yet=1ABS 3ERG-see
'He doesn't see me yet.'

b. Innai indang maq-ita=**aq**?
who NEG AF-see=1ABS
'Who doesn't see me?'

5 Agent Focus is not about Extraction

5.1 The Connection

- Mayan literature: AF linked to extraction.
  - Coon et al. 2020: v_{AF} subcats for A'-EXT.
  - Newman 2020: v_{AF} the result of A'-movement.
- South Sulawesi: AF does appear with extraction.
  - Makassar subgroup: distinct morphology
  - The whole family: agreement reversal.

(42) *AF: ABS agreement on v*

a. **Maktxel** max-**ach** il-**on**-i?
who ASP-2ABS see-AF-INTR
'Who saw you?' (Coon et al. 2014)

b. **Innai m-aq**-ita=**o**?
who ITR-AF-see=2ABS
'Who saw you?' (Mandar)

5.2 The Separation

- South Sulawesi: AF with **complement control**.
  - Mandar: complement clauses show reversal.
    - The INT = NP → no reversal; antipassive
    - The INT = DP → reversal; agent focus.
- Makassar Subgroup: **distinct AF morphology**

(43) *Complement Control: Reversal*

a. Marakkeq=**i maq**-itai jamang.
scared=3ABS ANT-seek work
'He's scared to find a job'

b. Meloq=aq **maq**-urung=**o iqo**!
want=1ABS AF-kiss=2ABS 2SG
'I want to kiss you!'!

(44) *Makassar: Agent Focus Morphology with Control*

a. ... Punna taena na=**ero'** **am**-pinawang=**i** ero'-na Arumpone?
if NEG 3.ABS=want AF-follow=3.ABS desire-3.GEN Arumpone
'How long will it be until the people of Maros are killed,
if I do not want to follow the wish of the Arumpone?' Jukes 2006:357.

b. ... **Ero'**=j=aq **an**-ruppa=**i** kana-ngku kasa'ba janji-ngku.
want=FOC=1ABS AF-follow=3ABS word-1GEN because promise-1GEN
He said to his son: 'We promised each other that our kids would get married. Now, even though her daughter is a goat, **I want to follow my word** because I made a promise.' Jukes 2006:402.

5.3 The Proposal

- AF licenses the INT when T is unavailable.
  - Extraction of EXT: INT must remain below EXT.
    - HIGH ABS: interacting with T → INT > EXT
    - Locality: INT > EXT rules out extraction of EXT
  - Control: complement clauses lack T.
    - The complement clause: a *voice*P (i think)
    - The INT cannot be licensed by T.
    - Must be licensed within the *v*P → AF.
- Extraction of EXT: not fundamental.
  - Control: not movement (*especially* not A'-).
  - AF: *not* a derivation result of extraction.
- **For next time**: constraining its distribution.

(45) *AF: Low Licensing*