Anti-agreement in Selayarese

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Introduction

Selayarese (Austronesian, Indonesia), displays an **ergative-absolutive agreement alignment**

(1) a. *Transitive verb*
   la$_i$-'alle=**i**$_k$ **doe'-iñjo**$_k$ **i Baso'**$_i$
   3ERG-take=3ABS money-DEF H Baso
   'Baso took the money.'   (Finer 1997:679)
   b. *Transitive verb*
   ku$_i$-alle=**i**$_i$ **doe'-iñjo**$_k$ ***pro**$_i$
   1SG.ERG-take=3ABS money-DEF 1SG
   'I took the money.'   (Finer 1997:679)
   c. *Intransitive verb*
   ak-kelo'-**i**$_i$ **i Baso'**$_i$
   INTR-sing-3 H Baso
   'Baso sang'   (Finer 1997:680)

⚠ **Absolutive** and **ergative** agreement behave differently under Ā-extraction of their controler

(2) *Absolutive* → *anti-agreement*
   a. **berasak-a**$_i$ na-pallu (*-**i**$_i$)   i Ali
   rice-DEF   3ERG-cooked(-3ABS) H Ali
   'Ali cooked THE RICE.'   (Finer 1997:690)
   b. **tedoŋ**$_i$ nu-ak-kelon (*-**i**$_i$)-na   ri sapo
   buffalo REL-INTR-sing(=3ABS)-3POSS in house
   'his buffalo that sang in a house'   (Finer 1998:297)
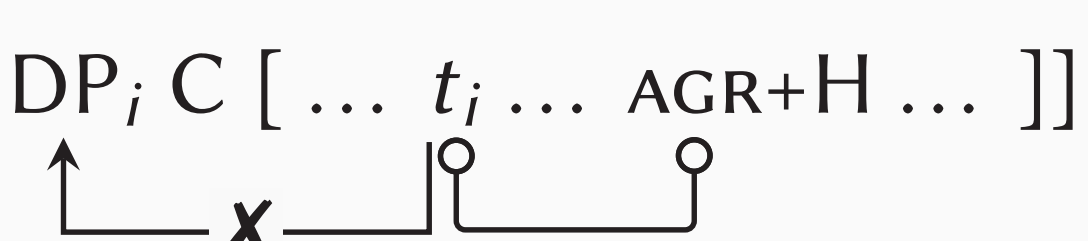
(3) *Ergative* → *no anti-agreement*
   i Baso'$_i$ *(**la**$_i$)-'alle=i   doe'-iñjo
   H Baso   3ERG-take-3ABS money-DEF
   'BASO took the money.'   (Finer 1997:688)

① What causes **absolutive anti-agreement**?

② What causes the ergative/absolutive asymmetry?

Two views of anti-agreement

① Ā-movement from a certain position targeted by agreement is restricted (Richards 1997; Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007; Schneider-Zioga 2007; Erlewine 2016, a.o.)

(4)   [$_{CP}$ DP$_i$ C [… t_i … AGR+H …]]

② Form of agreement reflects Ā-features on the goal (Chung and Georgopoulos 1988; Watanabe 1996; Baier 2018, a.o.)

(5)   [… DP$_{[\phi, \bar{A}]}$ … AGR+H …]]

More on agreement in Selayarese

⚠ The presence and nature of an object determines agreement pattern

(6) *Transitive, definite/*pro *object* → **ERG** + **ABS**
   la$_i$-keo'=**a**$_k$ ***pro**$_k$ **i Baso'**$_i$
   3ERG-call=1SG.ABS 1SG   H Baso
   'Baso called me'   (Finer 1997:679)

(7) *Intransitive* → **ABS** *only*
   ak-kelo'-**ko**$_i$ ***pro**$_i$
   INTR-call-2FAM 2FAM
   'You sang.'   (Finer 1997:680)

(8) *Transitive, indefinite object* → **ABS** *only*
   (a)ng-alle-**i**$_i$ doe'   **i Baso'**$_i$
   INTR-take-3ABS money H Baso
   'Baso took (some) money.'   (Finer 1997:680)

- Summarizing the pattern:
  ▷ **Absolutive** agreement indexes definite objects and subjects of clauses without definite objects
  ▷ **Ergative** agreement indexes transitive subjects of clauses with definite objects

(9) Selayarese agreement morphemes (Finer 1997:679)

	1SG	2FAM	1PL.INC	1PL.EXCL	3
ERGATIVE	ku-	mu-	ri-	to-	la-
ABSOLUTIVE	=a	=ko	=ki	=kang	=i

- Verbs without ergative agreement take an 'intransitive' prefix – *ak-* and *(a)ng-* above.
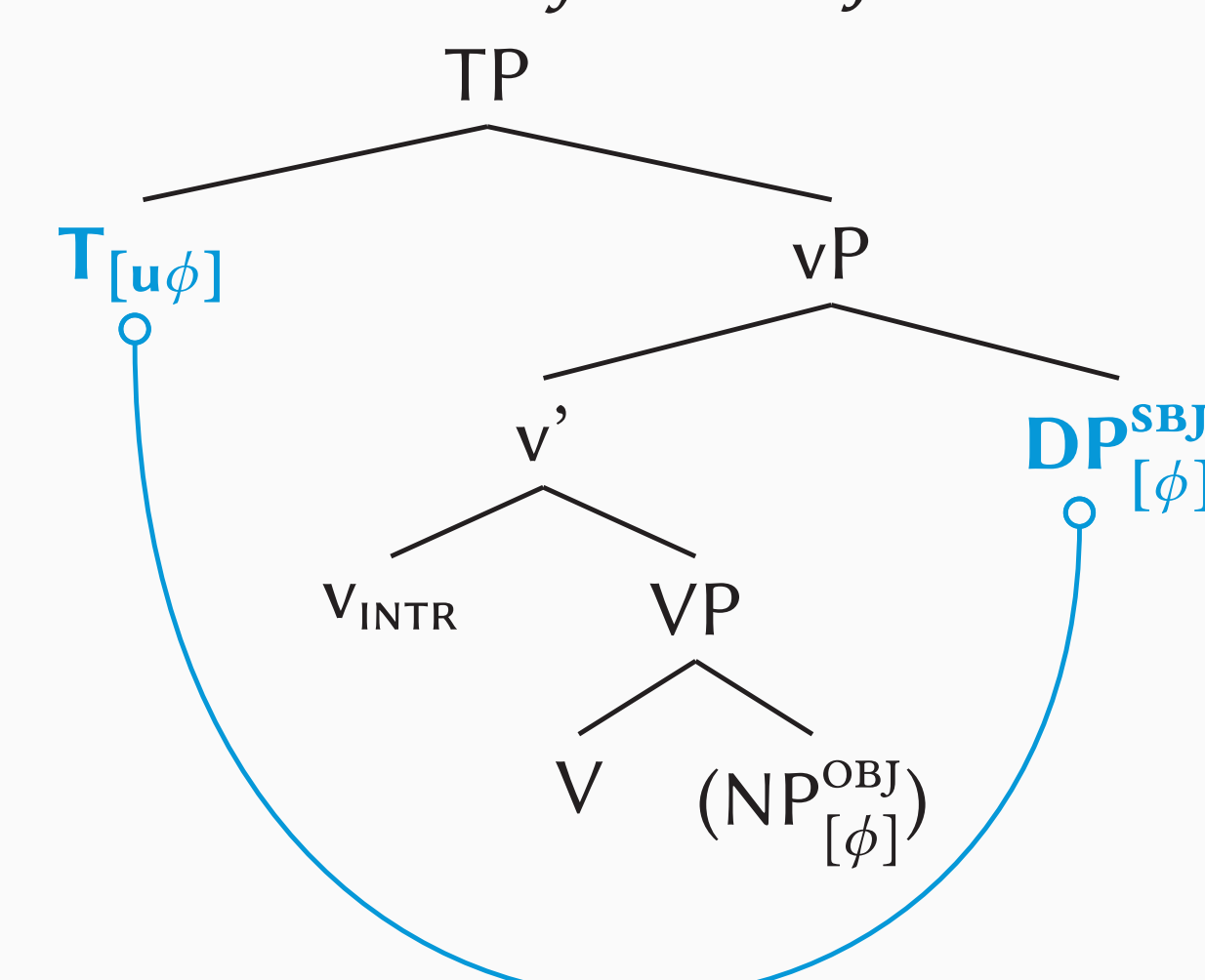
Agreement analysis

- I assume that ergative and absolutive morphemes realize ϕ-probes in the clausal spine (Béjar 1999; Finer 1997, 1999).
- The number of ϕ-probes merged in a clause is determined by the licensing requirements (following Kalin to appear)

(10) *Clauses w/ definite object*
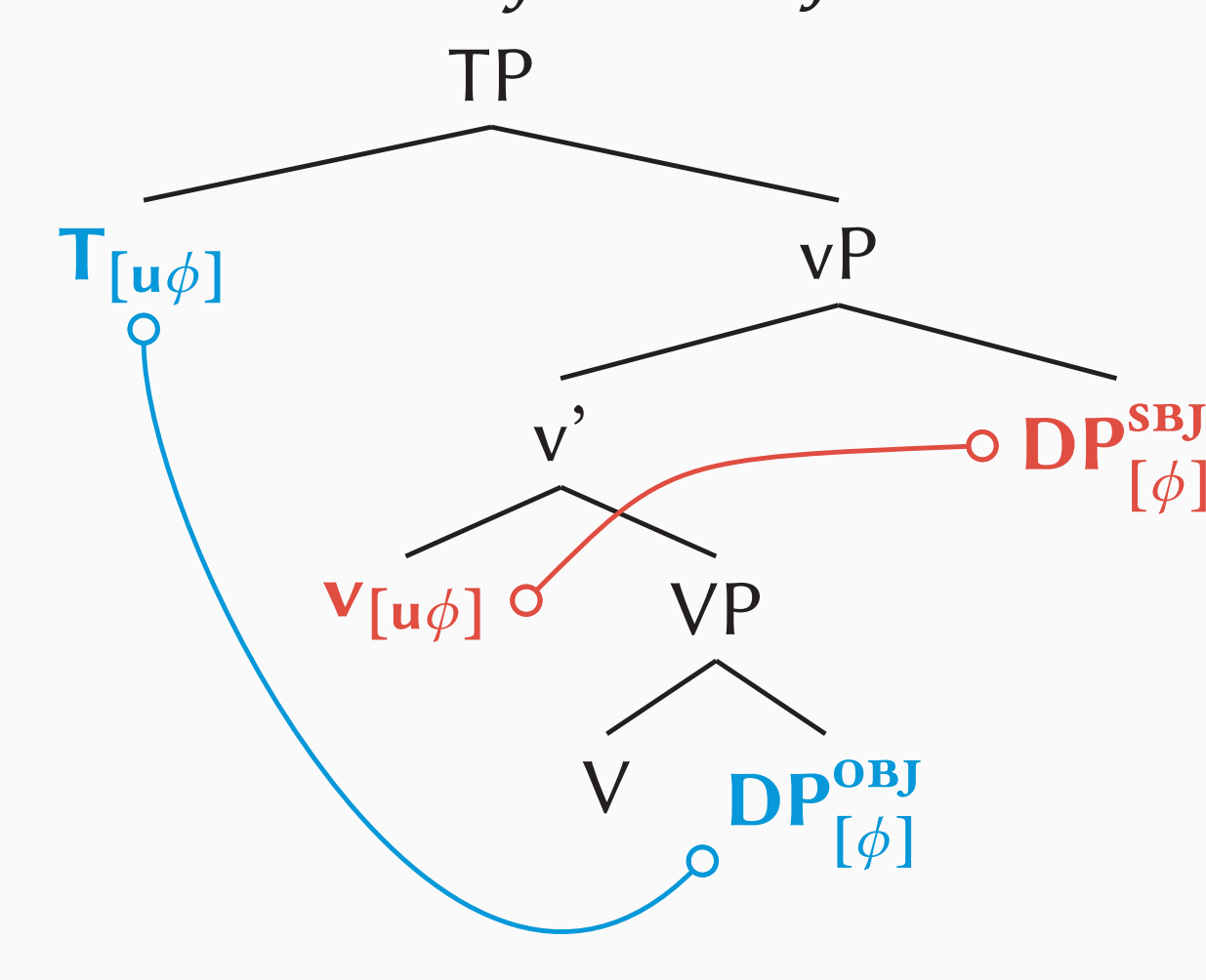
(11) *Clauses w/o definite object*

- Key assumptions
  ▷ **ABS** → ϕ-probe on T (Bittner and Hale 1996)
  ▷ **ERG** → inherent ϕ-agreement on v (Coon 2017)
  ▷ **Licensing** → DPs must be licensed; NPs not obligatory licensed. Licensing via ϕ-agree in Selayarese

- Previous analyses of Selayarese → absolutive agreement requires raising (Béjar 1999; Finer 1994, 1997, 1999).
  ▷ In such anlyses, object agreement requires shift across the subject
  ▷ In the present, **no object shift is necessary**

Against a syntactic account

💡 Anti-agreement in Selayarese does not result from a constraint on movement from a specific position

💡 Lack of absolutive agreement results from a probe targeting a DP bearing an Ā-feature (**Ā-sensitive ϕ-agreement**, Baier 2018)

- Key data come from:
  ① Weak crossover
  ② Subject extraction from clauses with indefinite objects

☞ These show that anti-agreement can be triggered by extraction of DPs in distinct positions

Weak Crossover

💡 Ā-movement of an absolutive object triggers Weak Crossover (WCO)

(12) a. **la**-jañjang=i$_i$ **i Ali**$_i$ **ando'-na**$_{\checkmark i/\checkmark k}$
   3-see-3   H Ali   mother-3POSS
   'His$_{i/j}$ mother saw Ali$_i$.'   (Finer 1997:695)
   b. **i Ali**$_i$ **la**-jañjang (*-**i**$_i$) —$_i$ **ando'-na**$_{*i/\checkmark k}$
   H Ali   3-see(-3)   mother-3POSS
   'His$_{*i/j}$ mother saw ALI$_{iFOC}$.'   (Finer 1997:695)

→ Extraction must be from below subject to trigger WCO

☞ **Extraction from *below* Spec-vP is able to trigger absolutive anti-agreement**

Subject extraction w/ indef. object

💡 Extraction of external arguments triggers absolutive anti-agreement

(13) *External argument extraction with indefinite object*
   a. **i Baso'**$_i$ (a)ng-alle (*-**i**$_i$)   doe'
   H Baso   INTR-take-(3ABS) money
   'BASO took (some) money.'   (Finer 1997:689)
   b. **inai**$_i$ ng-erang (*-**i**$_i$)   loka
   who   INTR-bring-(3ABS) banana
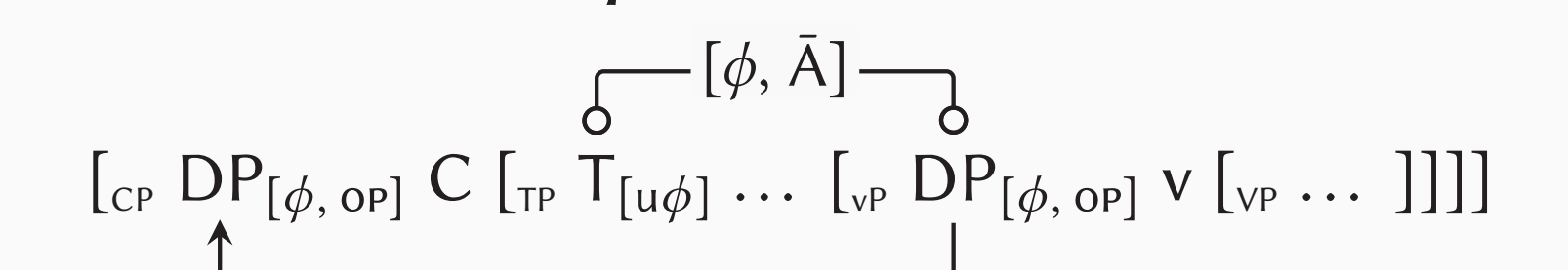   'Who brought (some) bananas?'   (Finer 1997:689)

☞ **Extraction from Spec-vP can trigger absolutive anti-agreement**
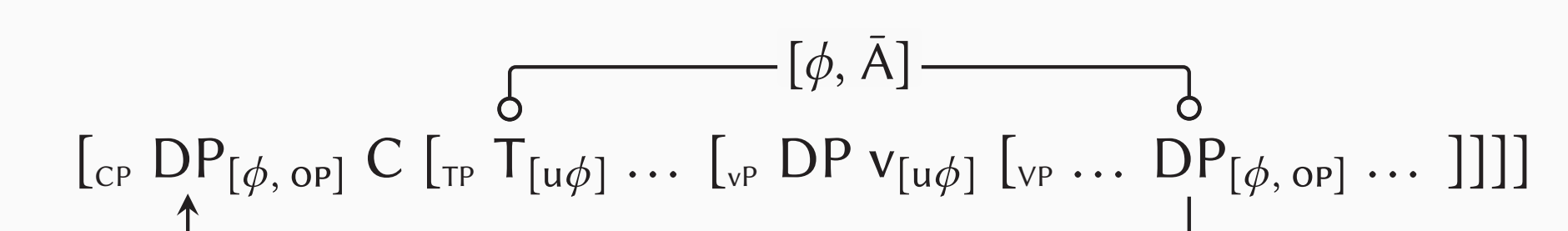
The proposal

① **Ā-sensitivity of ϕ-probes (Baier 2018)**
   ϕ-probes copy [ϕ] *and* [$\bar{A}$] from their goals

(14) *Absolutive in Spec-vP*
   [$_{CP}$ DP$_{[\phi, OP]}$ C [$_{TP}$ T$_{[u\phi]}$ … [$_{vP}$ DP$_{[\phi, OP]}$ v [$_{VP}$ …]]]]

(15) *Absolutive inside VP*
   [$_{CP}$ DP$_{[\phi, OP]}$ C [$_{TP}$ T$_{[u\phi]}$ … [$_{vP}$ DP v$_{[u\phi]}$ [$_{VP}$ … DP$_{[\phi, OP]}$ …]]]]

(16) *Ergative in spec-vP*
   [$_{CP}$ DP$_{[\phi, OP]}$ C [$_{TP}$ T$_{[u\phi]}$ … [$_{vP}$ DP$_{[\phi, OP]}$ v$_{[u\phi]}$ [$_{VP}$ …]]]]
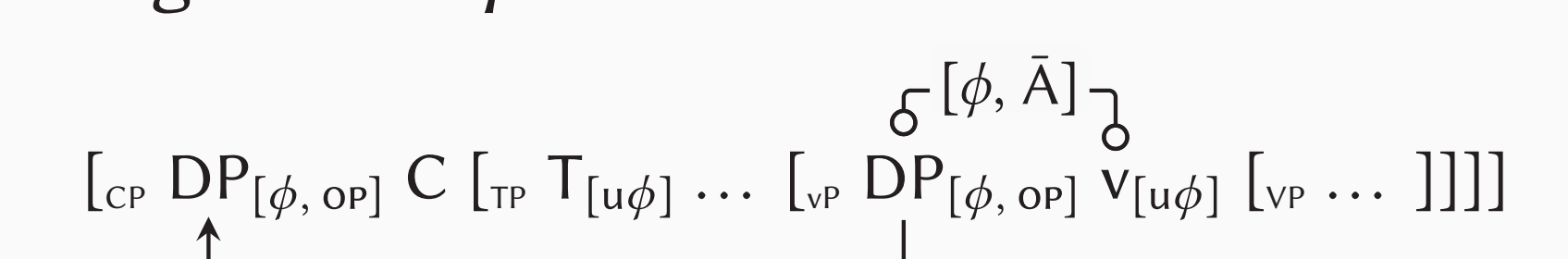
☞ Unifies extracted arguments in terms of **feature content** as opposed to **position**

① **Ā-triggered impoverishment (Baier 2018)**
   After agree with an Ā-marked DP in (14)–(16), T/v have both [ϕ] and [$\bar{A}$]. Ā-features trigger impoverishment of ϕ-features on the same probe, (18).

(17) *Features on T/v in morphology*

	DP w/o [$\bar{A}$]	DP w/ [$\bar{A}$]
T	[T, ϕ]	[T, ϕ, $\bar{A}$]
v	[v, ϕ]	[v, ϕ, $\bar{A}$]

(18) *Selayarese ϕ-feature impoverishment*
   [ϕ] → Ø / [__, $\bar{A}$, T]

☞ No ϕ-impoverishment rule targeting v → no ergative anti-agreement