

Adverbs and variability in Kaqchikel Agent Focus

A reply to Erlewine (2015)

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Abstract In many languages with ergative morphology, transitive subjects (i.e. ergatives) are unable to undergo A'-extraction. This extraction asymmetry is a common hallmark of "syntactic ergativity," and is found in a range of typologically diverse languages (see e.g. Deal 2016; Polinsky to appear, and works cited there). In Kaqchikel, the A'-extraction of transitive subjects requires a special verb form, known in Mayanist literature as *Agent Focus* (AF). In a recent paper, Erlewine (2015) argues the restriction on A'-extracting transitive subjects in Kaqchikel is the result of an Anti-Locality effect: transitive subjects are not permitted to extract because they are *too close* to C^0 . This analysis relies crucially on Erlewine's proposal that transitive subjects undergo movement to Spec,IP while intransitive subjects remain low. For Erlewine, this derives the fact that transitive (ergative) subjects, but not intransitive (absolutive) subjects are subject to extraction restrictions. Furthermore, it makes the strong prediction that phrasal material intervening between IP and CP should obviate the need for AF in clauses with subject extraction. In this paper, we argue against the Anti-Locality analysis of ergative A'-extraction restrictions along two lines. First, we raise concerns with the proposal that transitive, but not intransitive subjects, move to Spec,IP. Our second, and main focus, is to show that there is variation in whether AF is observed in configurations intervening phrasal material, with a primary focus on intervening adverbs. We propose an alternative account for the variation in whether AF is observed in the presence of adverbs and discuss consequences for accounts of ergative extraction asymmetries more generally.

Keywords Agent Focus · A'-extraction · ergativity · Anti-Locality · agreement · Kaqchikel · adverbs

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1 Introduction

Kaqchikel, like many Mayan languages, puts constraints on the A'-extraction of transitive subjects from a normal transitive clause. Consider, for instance, example (1), where A'-extraction of the transitive subject is simply banned.¹ To A'-extract the transitive subject—for focus, relativization, and *wh*-questions—the *Agent Focus* (AF) construction is required, as illustrated in (2). Here and throughout, we underline verb stems and indicate with subscripts whether the stem is in its regular transitive form ('TV'), or in the Agent Focus form ('AF'), each described in more detail below.

- (1) *Achike x-Ø-u-löq'_{TV} ri äk'?
 who CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-buy the chicken
 intended: 'Who bought the chicken?'
- (2) Achike x-Ø-log'_{-o_{AF}} ri äk'?
 who CPL-ABS3S-buy-AF the chicken
 'Who bought the chicken?'

While the alternation between transitive and AF forms raises a series of analytical puzzles, the question that hangs over all of them is: what is it about transitive (ergative) subjects that makes them difficult to extract? In recent work, Erlewine (2015) proposes that the restriction on transitive-subject extraction in Kaqchikel is the result of an *Anti-Locality* effect.² The core idea of the proposal is that A'-movement should not be too local, as in (3).

- (3) SPEC-TO-SPEC ANTI-LOCALITY (Erlewine 2015, 2):
 A'-movement of a phrase from the Specifier of XP must cross a maximal projection other than XP.

Erlewine proposes that transitive subjects in Kaqchikel must raise to Spec,IP, which he suggests is the locus of ergative agreement. This movement places transitive subjects in a position too close to undergo further A'-movement to Spec,CP, per (3). According to Erlewine, Agent Focus constructions like (2) permit A'-extraction because in these constructions the subject raises directly from its base position in Spec,vP; Anti-Locality is not violated, and since the subject does not move through IP, the lack of ergative agreement in AF forms is explained (compare (1) and (2)). The first part of this paper challenges the proposal that transitive subjects move to Spec,IP, a critical ingredient for the account in (3).

¹Abbreviations used in glosses are as follows: ABS – absolutive; AF – Agent Focus; AP – antipassive; CAUS – causative; COMP – complementizer; CPL – completive; DEIC – deictic; ERG – ergative; EXST – existential; FOC – focus; ICPL – incomplete; IRR – irrealis; MOV – movement particle; NML – nominal; P – plural; PART – particle; PASS – passive; PERF – perfect; POT – potential; PREP – preposition; PRON – pronoun; REL – relative clause marker; RN – relational noun; S – singular. In some cases we simplify glosses (e.g. not parsing out status suffixes), where not directly relevant to the discussion. Note that we have altered Erlewine's examples to be in accordance with standard Kaqchikel orthography. Unattributed examples are from direct elicitation.

²See also Murasugi and Saito 1995; Saito and Murasugi 1998; Bošković 1997; Pesetsky and Torrego 2001; Abels 2003 for related work on Anti-Locality.

While the evidence against subjects raising to Spec,IP already undermines the Anti-Locality account, we also aim to provide an alternative explanation of the types of sentences that Erlewine uses to motivate SPEC-TO-SPEC ANTI-LOCALITY in the first place. Empirical support for (3) in Erlewine 2015 comes from sentences like those in (4), in which a preverbal adverb appears to permit transitive subject extraction without the use of AF.³ Compare extraction of the transitive subject in (4) from a transitive stem form with the ungrammatical adverb-less form in (1) above.

- (4) Achike **kan qitzij** x-Ø-u-tij_{TV} ri wäy?
 who truly truth CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-eat the tortilla
 ‘Who truly ate the tortilla?’ (Erlewine 2015, 27)

If movement over adverbials truly obviated the need for AF, it would provide an argument that A'-movement in Kaqchikel is sensitive to the number of maximal projections between the origin and landing site of a movement. We will show, based on new data from both corpora and elicitation, that the generalization that adverbials obviate the need for AF is incorrect.

First, as Erlewine (fn. 11) notes, not all intervening adverbs have the effect seen in (4). While this is already troubling for Anti-Locality, our new data concerning the interaction of AF and adverbials provides a second, stronger challenge to the generalization that intervening adverbs obviate the need for AF. In particular, we show that even the same adverb may vary in whether or not it permits extraction without AF, shown in the corpus examples involving relativization in (5) and (6).⁴ While we make extensive use of naturally occurring data, it is important to point out here that every corpus example presented here has been confirmed as grammatical by native speakers.⁵

- (5) Ri **kan qitzij** y-e-ya'-on_{AF} ru-q'ij k'o chi e üt
 REL truly truth ICPL-ABS3P-give-AF ERG3S-day must ABS3P good
 chuqa'.
 also
 ‘Those who truly valorize his word must also be good.’ (WBT)
- (6) ... roma ri winäq ri **kan qitzij** n-Ø-u-ya'_{TV}
 because the person REL truly truth ICPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-give
 ru-q'ij ri Dios...
 ERG3S-day the God
 ‘... because the person who truly valorizes God...’ (WBT)

³Erlewine also discusses cases of multiple *wh*-movement, which we review in section 6.

⁴Note that ‘to valorize’ in Kaqchikel is an idiomatic construction that literally means ‘to give its day.’ We point this out because the construction occurs in many of the corpus examples we discuss.

⁵The source for many of the naturally occurring examples is a Kaqchikel bible whose text the first author has extracted and cleaned (Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc. 2012), abbreviated ‘WBT’. This particular bible was translated by a team of native speakers of Kaqchikel, and the translation is extremely loose. The result is that the text, while clearly biblical in content, is similar to other Kaqchikel texts concerning the range of constructions one finds. We include these corpus forms as evidence that even in non-elicited environments, these alternations can be found. As also noted in the text, every construction discussed here has also been replicated in elicitation.

Alternations like these are unexpected under an Anti-Locality account. If the movement of the transitive subject over *kan qitzij* in (5) is long enough to permit a canonical transitive clause, then the movement of the transitive subject in (6) should also be sufficiently long.

These data not only challenge the core empirical generalization supporting (3) in Kaqchikel, but they also raise a puzzle of their own: What *does* account for the fact that adverbials appear to only sometimes obviate the need for AF in clauses that otherwise look as if they have subjects that have undergone A'-extraction? We argue that despite their surface similarity, the classes of examples exemplified by (5) and (6) have radically different structures, schematized for relative clauses in (7) and (8).

(7) **NP_i** [_{REL} OP_i **adverb** *t_i* **verb-AF object**] *extraction*

(8) **NP_i** [_{REL} ABS3S COP **adverb** [(COMP) *pro_i* **verb object**]] *no extraction*

We propose that the extraction examples without AF, like (4) and (6) above, are actually *biclausal*, as in (8). In these forms the adverb acts as a matrix predicate embedding a lower clause which contains a resumptive pronoun. These examples contain no actual movement of the subject, and AF morphology is therefore not predicted. In contrast, examples like (5), schematized in (7), are monoclausal with true A'-movement of the subject over the adverb. Here AF morphology appears because it is necessary in Kaqchikel for the extraction of ergative subjects, and for reasons that do not make reference to Anti-Locality (see e.g. Aissen 2011, to appear; Coon and Henderson 2011; Coon et al. 2014). Because the non-bold-faced items in (8) either are or may be unpronounced, the two constructions can appear very similar on the surface.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: section 2 presents background on the Agent Focus construction and the Anti-Locality account. Section 3 concerns the location of subjects in Mayan, and argues against Erlewine's proposal that transitive subjects move to Spec,IP. In section 4 we examine purported Anti-Locality effects with adverbs. Here we present new empirical evidence that adverbs do not uniformly obviate the need for AF in Kaqchikel. Section 5 presents our analysis of examples like (4) and (6) in terms of clausal embedding and resumption. In section 6 we review multiple *wh*-extraction.

Before turning to AF, we briefly clarify the intended scope of this paper. This article does not provide a full account of either (i) the exact mechanism by which transitive (ergative) subjects are restricted from extraction, or (ii) how Agent Focus obviates this restriction. While we discuss some alternatives to Anti-Locality from existing literature below, the main goal of this reply article is to demonstrate that an Anti-Locality account of ergative extraction restrictions is unsupported, both in terms of evidence about the nature of subjects and agreement in the language, as well as by the adverbial constructions discussed below. We conclude that some other analysis of syntactic ergativity is needed. With respect to the adverb alternations foreshadowed in (5) and (6) above, we provide an alternative, empirically-supported account of the adverb construction which appears to evade syntactic ergativity. Further work will be needed to fully understand the details of the choice of AF versus biclausal forms in (7) and (8), as well as which adverbs are subject to this variation. We discuss these issues further below.

2 AF AND THE ANTI-LOCALITY ACCOUNT

This section begins in section 2.1 with a brief review background on Kaqchikel, the extraction restriction on transitive subjects, and the Agent Focus construction found in a number of Mayan languages. In 2.2 we review the relevant details of Erlewine’s proposal.

2.1 Kaqchikel Agent Focus

Kaqchikel transitive and intransitive examples are shown in (9a) and (9b).

- (9) a. X-e-ru-pön wäy ri ixtän.
 CPL-ERG3P-ABS3S-make.tortilla tortilla the girl
 ‘The girl made tortillas.’
 b. X-e-b’iyin ri ixtän.
 CPL-ABS3P-walk the girl
 ‘The girls walked.’

As shown here, overt nominal arguments appear post-verbally in non-extraction contexts. Like other Mayan languages, Kaqchikel has two sets of person markers used to cross-reference core arguments on predicates, labelled “Set A” (ergative/possessive) and “Set B” (absolutive) in Mayan linguistics. Preconsonantal and prevocalic allomorphs of each series are shown in (10) and (11). The ergative morphemes in (10) cross-reference transitive subjects (9a), while Set B absolutive morphemes cross-reference transitive objects (9a) and intransitive subjects (9b). Note that third person singular absolutive is null, a fact which will be relevant below.⁶

(10) ERGATIVE (“SET A”)			(11) ABSOLUTIVE (“SET B”)		
	SG	PL		SG	PL
1st	<i>in-</i> / <i>inw-</i>	<i>qa-</i> / <i>q-</i>	1st	<i>i-</i> / <i>in-</i>	<i>oj-</i>
2nd	<i>a-</i> / <i>aw-</i>	<i>i-</i> / <i>iw-</i>	2nd	<i>a-</i> / <i>at-</i>	<i>ix-</i>
3rd	<i>(r)u-</i> / <i>r-</i>	<i>ki-</i> / <i>k-</i>	3rd	Ø	<i>e-</i> / <i>e’-</i>

Across the Mayan family, arguments appear in preverbal position for topic, focus, relativization and *wh*-questions (England 1991; Aissen 1992). While all Mayan languages show an ergative-absolutive system of morphological marking, only a subset of these languages restrict the A’-extraction of ergative subjects (Tada 1993; Stiebels 2006; Coon et al. 2014; Aissen to appear), a hallmark of what has been called “syntactic ergativity” (Polinsky to appear; Deal 2016).

As noted at the outset, this restriction is observed in Kaqchikel: transitive objects and intransitive subjects extract with no other change to the clause, as shown in the object-extraction example in (12a), but extraction of a transitive (ergative) subject is ungrammatical in, as in (12b).

⁶We parse out a null 3rd person singular absolutive morpheme in the examples in this paper for clarity, i.e. to make clear that the verb would show absolutive morphology here if the indexed argument were 1st or 2nd person. We do not make a theoretical commitment to the existence of a null morpheme (vs. the absence of a 3rd person pronoun).

- (12) a. Achike x-Ø-u-löq'_{TV} ri tijonel?
 what CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-buy the teacher
 ‘What did the teacher buy?’
 b. * Achike x-Ø-u-löq'_{TV} ri äk’?
 who CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-buy the chicken
 intended: ‘Who bought the chicken?’

Instead, in order to extract a transitive subject, the Agent Focus (AF) construction must be used, repeated in (13):

- (13) Achike x-Ø-log'-o_{AF} ri äk’?
 who CPL-ABS3S-buy-AF the chicken
 ‘Who bought the chicken?’

While Agent Focus constructions are common across the Mayan family, there is also variability in properties of these constructions; see Stiebels 2006; Aissen 2011, to appear; Henderson et al. 2013; Coon et al. 2014 and works cited there for discussion. As shown in (13), the AF verb in Kaqchikel bears the suffix *-o* or *-on* and has only one agreement morpheme, drawn from the set of absolutive markers in (11); ergative marking does not appear. Despite the fact that the verb takes only a single person/number marker, Agent Focus constructions are not antipassives. First, unlike antipassives, the AF form is *only* possible when the transitive subject undergoes A'-movement. Second, the object—*ri äk'* in (13)—remains a direct argument of the verb; it is not made oblique (i.e. this is not an antipassive). Either the subject or object argument can control agreement depending on a person/number hierarchy (see Preminger 2014).

2.2 Anti-locality

Any successful account of the ergative extraction restriction and Agent Focus construction should answer (at least) three questions, summarized in (14).

- (14) AF DESIDERATA
1. What prevents a subject from undergoing A'-movement out of a canonical transitive clause?
 2. Why do objects and intransitive subjects fail to run into whatever problem transitive subjects do?
 3. How does the AF form fix this problem?

As foreshadowed above, Erlewine (2015) accounts for these properties as follows. First, transitive subjects in all regular Kaqchikel transitive clauses must move to Spec,IP. This position is too close to CP, per Spec-to-Spec Anti-Locality in (3) above, preventing the transitive subjects from undergoing A'-movement. Intransitive subjects and transitive objects, on the other hand, do *not* move to Spec,IP and are thus free to extract. The AF form is special in that it permits transitive subjects to extract directly from their base position in Spec,_vP.

For Erlewine, the lack of ergative morphology in the AF form reflects the fact that the subject does not move to Spec,IP. His account posits that the agreement probes responsible for the realization of the ergative and absolutive morphemes in (10) and (11) above are located on Infl^0 : the absolutive probe is obligatory (i.e. present in all clauses), accounting for the fact that absolutive is found in both transitive and intransitive clauses. The ergative probe is active only in transitive clauses; it triggers ergative agreement with the subject and also has an EPP feature which requires that the transitive subject move to Spec,IP. The presence of the additional ergative probe in transitives is required by a constraint which gives preference to derivations which realize as much agreement as possible (Woolford 2003). This is summarized in (15).

- (15) Two ϕ -probes on Infl^0 :
- a. **ABS probe:** ϕ -probe; realizes ABSOLUTIVE agreement; obligatory
 - b. **ERG probe:** ϕ -probe with EPP property; realizes ERGATIVE agreement; optional

In the following section we draw on existing Mayan literature to discuss first the lack of evidence that transitive subjects move to Spec,IP, and second problems with the proposal that ergative agreement originates in Infl^0 .

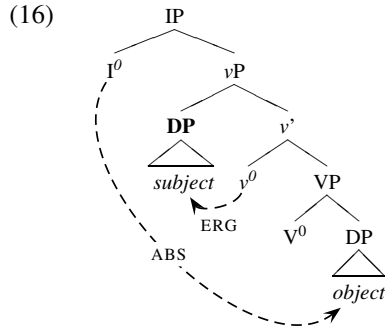
3 ERGATIVE AGREEMENT AND THE LOCATION OF SUBJECTS

Erlewine's (2015) account of Kaqchikel contrasts with work on Mayan languages which takes transitive subjects to remain, and trigger ergative agreement, in situ (e.g. Aissen 1992; Coon 2013, to appear-a; AnderBois and Armstrong 2014). In fact, a number of analyses of syntactic ergativity—both within and outside of the Mayan family—are based on the premise that ergative subjects are licensed *low* in the derivation (see Legate to appear). In section 3.1 we begin by briefly reviewing these case-based approaches to ergative A'-extraction restrictions. We show how case-based and Anti-Locality accounts make different predictions about the nature of ergative agreement, and in section 3.2 we raise concerns with the proposal that ergative subjects in Kaqchikel raise to a Spec,IP, a crucial ingredient of the Anti-Locality account.

3.1 A case-based account to extraction asymmetries

Recent analyses of Agent Focus in Mayan attribute the ban on extracting ergatives to a problem with how arguments are licensed or assigned abstract case in the derivation (Ordóñez 1995; Assmann, Georgi, Heck, Müller, and Weisser 2012; Coon, Mateo Pedro, and Preminger 2014). Though these *case-based* analyses differ from one another in the details, the core problem with extracting transitive subjects is argued to be the configuration of licensing: transitive subjects are licensed by a low functional head v^0 or Voice⁰, and finite Infl^0 must license the transitive object (see also Bok-Bennema 1991; Campana 1992; Johns 1992; Bittner and Hale 1996, and discussion in Deal 2016; on low licensing of ergative arguments see also Woolford 1997; Aldridge 2004;

Legate 2008, to appear). The proposed relationship between arguments and the heads which license them is schematized in (16).



The case-based accounts of Assmann et al. (2012) and Coon et al. (2014) propose that the licensing configuration in (16) is the cause of the ban on extracting ergative subjects in Mayan (see also Campana 1992; Bittner and Hale 1996 for work on unrelated languages). In Coon et al.’s approach, for example, the transitive object must raise above the subject in order to be licensed by Infl^0 (i.e. assigned abstract nominative case), trapping the subject in situ. In Assmann et al.’s account, an ergative moving through the left edge of the clause robs the available case from Infl^0 , leaving the object unlicensed. Though the implementations differ, the core idea is the transitive object must be licensed by a probe above the subject, creating a restriction on extracting the subject.⁷

Note that the case-based and Anti-Locality accounts make different predictions in two related domains: (i) the source of licensing/agreement for the *ergative* subject, and (ii) the nature of the extraction problem. In the Anti-Locality account, ergative comes from Infl^0 , while in case-based accounts the source of ergative is low. The extraction problem arises from the position of the ergative subject in the Anti-Locality account, but from a licensing configuration in the case-based account.

3.2 Licensing and ergative agreement

Following previous work on Mayan languages, we take clause-initial TAM (tense, aspect, mood) markers to instantiate Infl^0 (Aissen 1992). Under the configuration in (16) above, ergative licensing/agreement should be available so long as a vP layer is present. Under the Anti-Locality account, however, ergative should only be possible if finite Infl^0 is present—it should be unavailable in nonfinite (TAM-less) embedded clauses.

⁷Note that these case-based approaches are also compatible with existing analyses of VOS/VS word order in Mayan languages in which transitive subjects are taken to remain low. This is argued both in accounts in which the order of specifiers is parameterized (Aissen 1992), and in which a predicate fronts to a position *above* the subject (Coon 2010; Clemens and Coon 2016). Erlewine (2015, fn. 20) suggests that Spec,IP is ordered to the right in Kaqchikel. Though feasible, we do not know of independent support for this account.

While ergative is clearly available in nonfinite embedded clauses in some Mayan languages (see e.g. Vázquez Álvarez 2013, Coon to appear-a, and discussion in Coon et al. 2014), the Kaqchikel facts are complicated. In Kaqchikel, as in many other Mayan languages (see e.g. England 2013), transitives may not be embedded in non-finite contexts. In order to be embedded, a transitive verb must first be passivized, as in (17a), or antipassivized, as in (17b).

- (17) a. X-Ø-qa-k'is [a-tzijox-ik].
 CPL-ABS3S-ERG1P-finish ERG2S-talk.about-PASS-NML
 'We finished talking about you.'
- b. X-Ø-u-chäp [q'ete-n-ik r-ichin ri ak'wal].
 CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-start hug-AP-NML ERG3S-RN.for the child
 'He started hugging the child.' (García Matzar and Rodríguez Guaján 1997, p. 457–458)

These facts are discussed in detail by Imanishi (2014), who concludes that the source of absolutive is finite Infl^0 —compatible with both case-based and Anti-Locality accounts.

Note that in (17a) the remaining embedded argument is coindexed with *ergative* agreement.⁸ This initially appears problematic for an account in which ergative is assigned by finite Infl^0 . However, given the ergative~possessive morphological syncretism found throughout the Mayan family, and the nominal morphology on the embedded form, one might reasonably object that the ergative marking in (17a) is possessor agreement, and thus not a problem for the Anti-Locality account. Though the availability of ergative agreement in non-finite embedded contexts in other Mayan languages may lend support to the case-based account, the Kaqchikel facts are at best inconclusive.

More problematic for the Anti-Locality account are the environments in Mayan languages in which ergative agreement co-indexes the argument which has apparently been A'-extracted, even in the absence of intervening material. One such environment is shown in (18). In contexts in which the subject binds into the object—as in reflexive (18a) and so-called “extended reflexive” constructions (18b)—we find A'-extraction of the subject triggering ergative agreement and no AF-marking on the verb (see also Mondloch 1981 and Coon and Henderson 2011 on K'ichee'; Hou 2013 on Chuj; Coon et al. 2014 on Q'anjob'al).

- (18) a. [Ja ri ixoq]_i x-Ø-u_i-ch'ëy_{TV} r_i-i'.
 FOC the woman CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-hit ERG3S-self
 'It's the woman who hit herself.'
- b. [Achike]_i x-Ø-u_i-k'äm_{TV} pe r_i-ixayil pa nimaq'ij
 who CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-bring DIR ERG3S-wife PREP party
 'Who brought his (own) wife to the party?'

⁸More needs to be said about why the ergative cross-references the *theme* in the embedded form in (17a). Under the analysis in Imanishi 2014, this is taken as evidence that ergative is assigned as a default to the highest unlicensed argument in the lower phase. An alternative, compatible with the case-based account, would be that *a-* in (17a) is truly possessor agreement, and that the possessor controls a null subject internal to the nominalization, here the passive subject.

Second, in related K'ichee', the ergative-agreeing agent may extract from a construction in which the object is bare and non-referential (Aissen 2011), shown in (19).

- (19) [Jachiin]_i x-Ø-u_i-loq'_{TV} uuq?
 who CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-buy cloth
 'Who bought cloth?' (K'ichee'; Aissen 2011, 15)

These types of examples highlight the fact that there is no general ban on ergative agreement in agent extraction environments. Recall that in Erlewine's Anti-Locality account, it is the ergative probe on Infl⁰ which requires the transitive subject to move to Spec,IP; ergative agreement and the high position of the ergative subject are thus directly linked. The facts here show that any account which ties the inability for subjects to extract to ergative agreement will require modification. In contrast, proposals in which the object's need for case-licensing blocks the extraction of transitive subjects (e.g., Coon et al. 2014), have the potential to account for these exceptions because in every case the object is somehow special—reflexive (18a), extended reflexive (18b), or bare/non-referential (19)—and so might not be case-licensed through normal means.

4 ADVERBS AND ANTI-LOCALITY EFFECTS

Having reviewed problems with the proposal that ergative subjects raise to Spec,IP (a necessary ingredient of an Anti-Locality account), we now turn to one of the original empirical motivations behind Erlewine's proposal. Recall that an important argument in favor of the Anti-Locality analysis is that intervening adverbial elements appear to obviate the need for AF, as in (20).

- (20) Achike **kan qitzij** x-Ø-u-tij_{TV} ri wäy?
 who truly truth CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-eat the tortilla
 'Who truly ate the tortilla?' (Erlewine 2015, 27)

If the Agent Focus construction allows a transitive subject to move when its movement would otherwise be too short, then the adverbial *kan qitzij* in (20) appears to fix the locality problem by adding a maximal projection between IP and CP; movement of the ergative subject from Spec,IP to Spec,CP would thus not violate SPEC-TO-SPEC ANTI-LOCALITY in (3).⁹

⁹Though not discussed in Erlewine 2015, sentential negation does *not* obviate the need for Agent Focus in Kaqchikel, shown in (21)–(21), despite the fact that negation appears to sit high in the clause.

- (21) Achike chi-k-e man x-Ø-tij-Ø_{AF} ta ri takamal
 who PREP-ERG3P-RN NEG CPL-ABS3S-eat-AF IRR the tamale
 Who among them didn't eat the tamale?
- (22) * Achike chi-k-e man x-Ø-u-tij_{TV} ta ri takamal
 who PREP-ERG3P-RN NEG CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-eat IRR the tamale
 intended: Who among them didn't eat the tamale?

As noted above, however, the data are more complex: sometimes an intervening adverbial obviates the need for AF and sometimes it does not. Consider the following attested near-minimal pair in (23) and (24), repeated from above. Here we have the same relative clause complementizer, adverb, and verb, yet one verb bears AF morphology, while the other does not.

- (23) Ri **kan qitzij** y-e-ya'-on_{AF} ru-q'ij k'o chi e üt
 REL truly truth ICPL-ABS3P-give-AF ERG3S-day must ABS3P good
 chuqa'.
 also
 'Those who truly present his word must also be good.' (WBT)
- (24) ... roma ri winäq ri **kan qitzij** n-Ø-u-ya'_{TV}
 because the person REL truly truth ICPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-give
 ru-q'ij ri Dios...
 ERG3S-day the God
 '...because the person who truly presents God's valor...' (WBT)

This is not an isolated example. We similarly find variation in attested examples with the adverbial *kan* 'truly' appearing alone. In (25) and (26) we see transitive stem forms even though the transitive subject has been purportedly extracted, as predicted under the Anti-Locality analysis.

- (25) ... ri pastores ri **kan** x-Ø-ki-tzijoj_{TV} ri ru-ch'ab'äl ri
 the pastors REL **truly** CPL-ABS3S-ERG3P-preach the ERG3S-word the
 Dios ch-iw-e.
 God PREP-ERG2P-RN.to
 '...the pastors who truly preach the word of God to y'all.' (WBT)
- (26) Rija' kan jun achi ri **kan** x-Ø-u-q'alaj-saj_{TV} ri
 He truly a man REL **truly** CPL-ABS3S-ERG3P-visible-CAUS the
 nu-ch'ab'äl.
 ERG3S-word
 'He is truly a man that truly makes visible my word.' (WBT)

In contrast, the examples in (27) and (28) show AF-morphology appearing with a relativized ergative subject, even in the presence of the same intervening adverb, *kan*.

This contrasts with the behavior of negation in some languages which show *anti-agreement* effects, for example some varieties of Berber (Ouhalla 1993). We suggest that this casts further doubt on efforts to collapse ergative extraction restrictions and anti-agreement as the same type of effect (cf. Deal 2016), a point we return to below.

- (27) ... k-uma ri winäq ri **kan** x-e-tz'et-o_{AF} täq
 ERG3P-RN.by the people REL **truly** CPL-ABS3P-see-AF when
 x-e'-eles-äx ri itzel taq espíritu r-ik'in ri achi
 CPL-ABS3P-remove-PASS the evil PL spirit ERG3S-RN.with the man
 r-oma ri Jesús.
 ERG3S-RN.by the Jesus
 '...by the people that truly saw when the evil spirits were removed from the
 man by Jesus.' (WBT)
- (28) Ri **kan** xti-Ø-b'an-o_{AF} k'a ri nu-samäj, xti-Ø-ya'-ox
 REL **truly** POT-ABS3S-do-AF then ERG3S-work, POT-ABS3S-give-PASS
 k'a ru-q'ij r-oma ri Nata'.
 then ERG3S-day ERG3S-by the Father
 'Who truly does my work then, he will then be blessed by the Father.' (WBT)

Finally, we see the exact same pattern with other adverbials. For instance, consider the behavior of *k'a ri* 'then' or 'after'. The examples in (29) and (30) show that *k'a ri* can obviate the need of AF morphology, as expected under the Anti-Locality account.

- (29) Achike **k'a ri** n-Ø-u-k'üt_{TV} re tzij re'
 who **then** ICP-ABS3S-ERG3P-show this word DEIC
 ch-qa-wäch?
 PREP-ERG1P-RN.front
 'Who then showed this word here to us?' (WBT)
- (30) Ri achike **k'a ri** n-Ø-r-ak'axaj_{TV} ri ru-ch'ab'al ri Nata' Dios
 REL who **then** ICP-ABS3S-ERG3S-hear the ERG3S-word the father god
 y n-Ø-r-etamaj...
 and ICP-ABS3S-ERG3S-learn
 'He who then hears the word of God the Father and learns it...' (WBT)

Once again, though, it is equally possible to find examples where AF is present when a transitive subject appears to have A'-extracted over *k'a ri*, which should not be possible under an Anti-Locality account.

- (31) Achike **k'a ri** x-a-ch'ey-o_{AF}?
 who **then** CPL-ABS2S-fight-AF
 'Who then hit you?' (WBT)
- (32) Xab'achike **k'a ri** xti-Ø-nima-n_{AF} ri Jesús kan
 whoever **then** POT-ABS3S-believe-AF the Jesus truly
 xt-Ø-r-il wi k'a jun k'aslen ri...
 POT-ABS3S-ERG3S-find FOC then a life REL
 'Whoever then will believe in Jesus will truly find then a life that...' (WBT)

The same facts can be generated for other adverbials, but even these raise concerns for Anti-Locality. The Anti-Locality account predicts that Agent Focus should

not appear when a maximal projection intervenes between the verb and a subject's A'-landing site. While Erlewine (2015, fn. 11) acknowledges that some adverbs consistently do not obviate the need for AF, here we have shown that the problem is more severe: even the same adverb shows variability in whether or not AF is present in contexts of ergative A'-extraction.

5 ADVERBS AND EMBEDDING

Given that (i) interveners do not uniformly block AF (§4), and (ii) there are independent problems with the crucial ingredients of an Anti-Locality account (§3), we propose a retreat to one of the previously-defended accounts of Mayan Agent Focus which do not rely on Anti-Locality (e.g., Ordóñez 1995; Aissen 2011; Coon and Henderson 2011; Assmann et al. 2012; Coon et al. 2014, discussed in §3.1 above). We do not review the details of these proposals here, nor do we endorse any particular account (see Aissen to appear for discussion), but instead focus on explaining the examples raised by Erlewine (2015) and enumerated above in which adverbs appear to obviate the need for AF (e.g. (23), (25), (26), (29), (30)).

In our proposal, these examples do not involve A'-extraction and are thus not predicted to invoke the need for Agent Focus. We are then left with a picture in which the A'-extraction of ergative subjects from regular transitive clauses is indeed restricted in Kaqchikel, regardless of the presence or absence of intervening material. We suggest, contra proposals in Erlewine 2015 and Deal 2016 that syntactic ergativity should not be subsumed as a type of anti-agreement effect, but instead requires further investigation.

We propose that the AF-less adverbial constructions—in which an ergative argument appears to A'-extract from a transitive clause—are characterized by the following properties: (i) the adverb is the predicate of a copular clause, (ii) the adverb embeds a CP complement, and (iii) the purported subject trace is actually a bound (resumptive) null pronoun, *pro*. We call this the Adverbial Predication (APred) construction. The core goal of this section is to establish the existence of the APred construction and to compare it to the AF construction. The two structures are summarized in (33) and (34), repeated from (7) and (8) above, for the case of subject relatives (though it is generalizable to other A'-constructions, discussed briefly below).

(33) **NP_i** [_{REL} OP_i **adverb** *t_i* **verb-AF object**] *extraction = AF*

(34) **NP_i** [_{REL} ABS3S COP **adverb** [(COMP) *pro_i* **verb object**]] *no extraction = APred*

With no A'-movement, the APred construction is correctly predicted to not show AF. Moreover, because Kaqchikel has a null copula, null 3rd person singular absolutive agreement, null *pro*, and null complementizers, the APred construction is predicted to be potentially string-equivalent to a mono-clausal structure with A'-movement over an intervening adverb. This can be seen by focusing on the bold-faced expressions in (33) and (34), which are those that are necessarily overt.

The analysis makes three testable predictions. First, while often unpronounced, some of the null elements in (34) also have an overt form. Specifically, while the copula is null across the Mayan family (Armstrong 2009; Coon to appear-b), Kaqchikel also has overt complementizers and pronouns. We might thus expect to find clauses with overt complementizers or *wh*-expressions embedded under adverbs in the APred constructions represented in (34). Similarly, because (34) has a resumptive *pro* in the lower clause, we should find evidence of resumption, but crucially only with transitive (non-AF) verb forms. Finally, under our analysis variation in AF-marking is correlated with an adverb's ability to embed a complement clause. This predicts that those adverbs that cannot embed clauses should uniformly occur in AF-marked clauses when the standard conditions on AF are met. We show below that all three of these predictions are borne out.

5.1 Overt complementizers

First, note that we find naturally-occurring examples of the adverbs discussed embedding a full CP, as evidenced by *wh*-words and the complementizer *chi*. This establishes that Kaqchikel does in fact allow adverbs to embed CPs, exactly as the APred analysis in (34) requires.¹⁰

- (36) Rin kan qitzij [_{CP} **chi** y-ix-inw-ajo'].
 PRON1S truly true COMP ICPL-ABS2P-ERG1S-love
 'As for me it's true that I love y'all.' (WBT)

- (37) K'a ri [_{CP} **chi** xi-Ø-k'achoj r-uma].
 then COMP CPL-ABS3S-cure ERG3S-RN.by
 'It was then that it was cured by him.' (WBT)

As predicted under the APred analysis, we find examples in which these adverbials embed CPs under relative clauses. This is exactly the configuration studied in §4 where we observed variation in the presence of Agent Focus marking.

- (38) ... achike q-ach'alal [_{REL} ri **kan qitzij** [_{CP} **chi**
 which ERG1PL-friend REL truly truth COMP
 ki-nima-n ri kristo]]...
 ERG3PL-obey-PERF the Christ
 '... whichever of our friends that it's true that they have obeyed Christ...' (WBT)

¹⁰Note that complementizers are not just optional in the APred construction, but generally optional with embedded CPs, as illustrated here for the verb *-etamaj* 'know'.

- (35) a. ... r-oma rin Ø w-etama-n **chi** kan y-a-kowin wi...
 E3S-because PRON1S A3S ERG1S-know-PERF COMP truly ICPL-A2S-endure EMPH
 '... because I know that you will truly endure, ...' (WBT)
 b. ... w-etama-n y-i-k'ase' r-ik'in b'eyomäl.
 ERG1S-know-PERF ICPL-ERG2S-marry ERG3S-with rich
 '... I know I marry a rich person.' (WBT)

- (39) ... ma x-Ø-in-kusaj ta chuqa' ch'ab'el [_{REL} ri **kan** [_{CP}
 NEG CPL-ABS3S-ERG1S-use IRR also speech REL truly
janipe' na ru-b'an-ik]]...
 how.much PART ERG3S-do-NML
 '...neither did I use language that truly (who knows) what (lit. how) its form
 is...' (WBT)
- (40) ... ri nimalaj q'aq', [_{REL} ri **k'a** [_{CP} **akuchi** xk-e-b'e-qa
 the great fire REL then where POT-ABS3P-MOV-down
 wi ri y-e'-etzelan r-ichin ri dios]].
 FOC REL ICPL-ABS3P-hate ERG3S-RN.for the god.
 '...the great fire, that (place) where those who hate God will then go down.'
 (WBT)

We have found no examples of overt complementizers in constructions with Agent Focus verb forms in our corpus of over 400,000 words. This is what we predict if AF is a marker of A'-extraction and involves a monoclausal structure, as we claim in (33) above.

Ideally, we would like evidence that Agent Focus morphology is not just unattested but actually banned in the biclausal APred construction schematized in (34). Looking at the monoclausal (33), we might think it should be ungrammatical to have Agent Focus morphology in the presence of an overt complementizer. There is a wrinkle here, though it is one that is in fact predicted by our account. Note that in the APred construction we find a standard CP with a *pro*-subject in the lower clause. This means that we could still have AF in an APred construction if the *pro* in the *lower clause* is focused locally (i.e. below the adverb), leaving a subject trace. We return to this in the following section.

In sum, we have shown here that the adverbials that appear to obviate the need for AF may embed clauses, exactly as predicted by the APred account. Moreover, we have a refined prediction that AF should be impossible in the APred construction *unless* there is local A'-movement within the embedded clause. It is easiest to show that this prediction is borne out by considering cases of overt resumption in the lower clause, which is what we turn to next.

5.2 Resumptive pronouns

We now review evidence for the presence of null resumption in the APred constructions in (34). Kaqchikel, like other Mayan languages, allows all core arguments and possessors to be realized by null pronominals. For instance, in the example (41) a covert *pro* controls ergative agreement on the relational noun *-ik'in*. Though it would be pragmatically unusual, the *pro* in (41) could be replaced by the overt third person plural pronoun *rije'*.

- (41) ... ri e ka'i' winäq ri k'o itzel taq espíritu [**k-ik'in**
 the ABS3P two people REL EXST even PL spirits ERG3P-RN.with
pro].
 pro

‘...the two people_i that there were evil spirits with them_i.’ (WBT)

This contrasts with a *wh*-relative like (42); here the *wh*-expression, *achoj*, controls agreement on the relational noun. A gap is left after the relational noun and, as expected, replacing the gap in (42) with a pronoun is ungrammatical.

- (42) ... y ri achi'-a' [**achoj_i** k-ik'in { *t_i* / *rije' }]
 and the man-PL WH ERG3P-RN.with / PRON3S
 x-Ø-ch'o wi ri Jesús.
 CPL-ABS3S-speak FOC the Jesus
 ‘...and the men with whom Jesus spoke.’ (WBT)

The fact that Kaqchikel allows null resumption in some environments lends plausibility to the proposal that the APred construction involves a null resumptive pronoun. We can go further, though, and show directly that the APred construction involves resumption. Though pragmatically marked, it is possible to elicit overt resumptive pronouns in APred structures like those in (38)–(40) above. Consider example (43), which is unambiguously an APred construction in virtue of the overt complementizer *chi*. The fact that it is possible to have an overt pronoun here establishes that the APred construction does not involve a gap (as would be expected in true A'-extraction), but instead has either overt resumption, as in (43), or null *pro* resumption, as in the attested example (38) above.

- (43) ... q-ach'alal_i ri **kan qitzij** [*chi* **rije'**_i ki-nima-n_{TV}
 ERG1PL-friend REL truly truth COMP PRON3P ERG3PL-obey-PERF
 ri kristo...]
 the Christ
 ‘...our friends that it's true that they have obeyed Christ...’

Given that Kaqchikel allows a null complementizer and the presence of null resumptive pronouns, it is unsurprising that the adverb constructions with and without Agent Focus in (33) and (34) are difficult to distinguish. Recall from (33), however, that we only predict AF to appear in the construction which involves A'-extraction with a gap, *not* a resumptive pronoun. Examples (44)–(45) with an overt resumptive pronoun and an Agent Focus verb form are judged ungrammatical, as predicted under our account.

- (44) *K'o q-ach'alal ri kan qitzij [*chi* **rije'**
 EXST ERG1P-family REL truly truth COMP PRON3P
y-e-ya'-o_{AF} ru-q'ij].
 ICPL-ABS3P-give-AF ERG3S-day
 ‘We have family that truly they valorize it.’
- (45) *K'o q-ach'alal ri kan qitzij [*chi* **rije'**
 EXST ERG1P-family REL truly truth COMP PRON3P
y-e-log'-o_{AF} ru-wäy].
 ICPL-ABS3P-buy-AF ERG3S-food
 ‘We have family that truly they bought him food.’

In contrast, the minimally different examples in (48) and (49) overt resumptive pronouns and transitive verb forms are grammatical, which is expected in a gapless construction like the APred construction.¹¹

- (48) K'o q-ach'alal ri kan qitzij [chi **rije'**
 EXST ERG1P-family REL truly truth COMP PRON3P
n-Ø-ki-ya'_{TV} ru-q'ij].
 ICPL-ABS3S-ERG3P-give ERG3S-day
 'We have family that truly they valorize it.'

- (49) K'o q-ach'alal ri kan qitzij [chi **rije'**
 EXST ERG1P-family REL truly truth COMP PRON3P
n-Ø-ki-loq'_{TV} ru-wäy].
 ICPL-ABS3S-ERG3P-buy ERG3S-food
 'We have family that truly they bought him food.'

As alluded to at the end of section 5.1, however, there should be one way to get AF morphology in the embedded clause of the APred construction. Since the APred construction involves an embedded CP, it should be possible to A'-move the resumptive pronoun *internally* to the embedded clause. Now, since the resumptive pronoun has undergone A'-movement (indicated in (50) with the focus marker *ja*), AF is correctly predicted.

- (50) K'o q-ach'alal ri kan qitzij [chi **ja** ri je'
 EXST ERG1P-family REL truly truth COMP FOC PRON3P
y-e-ya-o_{AF} ru-q'ij].
 CPL-ABS3P-give-AF ERG3S-day

¹¹Having established that the APred construction involves resumption, and not A'-movement, the question of islands immediately arises. If resumption rescues island violations, then we would predict the APred construction should appear inside of islands with its *pro* subject bound by some higher A'-element, in contrast to the AF construction which requires a gap.

The problem is that resumptive pronouns in Kaqchikel do not obviate island violations in general, and so we cannot differentiate the AF and APred constructions in such contexts. That is, the fact that (46) is ungrammatical means that we do not expect (47) with the APred construction to be better than an AF construction in the same context, even though it has a resumptive pronoun.

- (46) * **Achike**_i w-etama-n wi **rije'**_i x-Ø-ki-ya'_{TV} ru-qij?
 who ERG1S-know-PERF if PRON3P CPL-ABS3S-ERG3P-give ERG3S-day
 'Who do I know if they valorize him?'
- (47) * **Achike**_i w-etama-n wi kan qitzij chi **rije'**_i x-Ø-ki-ya'_{TV}
 who ERG1S-know-PERF if truly true COMP PRON3P CPL-ABS3S-ERG3P-give
 ru-qij?
 ERG3S-day
 'Who do I know if it's true that they valorize him?'

The situation we find ourselves in is that we know that the APred construction involves a resumptive pronoun, but the precise distribution of resumptive pronouns elsewhere in Kaqchikel still requires further work. Note, though, that there are other cases where a resumptive pronoun construction alternates with a bona fide A'-construction (e.g. (41)–(42) above). We leave investigating the distribution of resumptive pronouns in Kaqchikel to future work.

‘We have family that truly they valorize it.’

To this point, this section has focused on relative clauses, though the same example can be extended to cases of focus and *wh*-questions, like in (51).

- (51) Achike **kan qitzij** x-Ø-u-tij ri wäy?
 who truly truth CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-eat the tortilla
 ‘Who truly ate the tortilla?’ (Erlewine 2015, 27)

Kaqchikel allows *wh*-expressions to embed relative clauses, as shown in the attested examples in (52) and (53).

- (52) Achike **ri** x-Ø-b’e-i-tz’eta’ rix pa desierto?
 Who REL CPL-ABS3S-MOV-ERG2P-see PRON2P PREP desert
 ‘Who is it that y’all went to see in the desert.’ (WBT)
- (53) Achike **ri** n-Ø-a-tzijoj r-ik’in?
 What REL ICPL-ABS3S-ERG2S-say ERG3S-RN.with
 ‘What is it that you spoke about with him?’ (WBT)

Once again, though, the relative clause marker *ri* can be null. This means that a monoclausal *wh*-construction can be indistinguishable from a biclausal *wh*-question with a relative clause (i.e. an APred construction). In the latter case, the overt *wh*-expression does not move out of the lower clause. We propose, then, that examples like (54) have exactly the kind of relative clause structure we’ve seen above, where there is no movement out of the lower clause, and thus no AF.

- (54) Achike [_{REL} (ri) **kan qitzij** [(chi) *pro* x-Ø-u-tij]_{TV} ri
 who (REL) truly truth (COMP) PRO CPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-eat the
 wäy]]?
 tortilla
 ‘Who truly ate the tortilla?’ (lit.: ‘Who is it that truly he ate the tortilla?’)

Example (54) would then covary with string-equivalent monoclausal construction with A’-movement over the adverbial, as in (55), triggering AF. Similar facts can be shown for focus constructions, which we do not review here in the interest of space.

- (55) Achike_i **kan qitzij** t_i x-Ø-tij-o_{AF} ri wäy?
 who truly truth CPL-ABS3S-eat-AF the tortilla
 ‘Who truly ate the tortilla?’

5.3 Non-embedding adverbials

Biclausality plays a critical role in the proposed account of variation in AF-marking. Specifically, we propose that constructions in which the transitive subject of a non-AF verb appears to have A’-extracted across an intervening adverb are in fact biclausal resumptive constructions in which no movement of the subject has taken place. The

clear prediction then is that those adverbials that cannot embed a complement clause should fail to precipitate variation in AF-marking of the kind seen with adverbs like (*kan*) *qitzij* ‘truly’. While fully exploring the syntax of adverbials must wait for future work, preliminary work suggests that this prediction is correct. While adverbials like *kan qitzij* embed full CP complements, as in (56), other adverbs, like *jantäq* and *jumul* in (57) and (58) do not.

- (56) **Kan qitzij** chi x-a-samäj.
truly truth COMP CPL-ABS2S-work
‘It’s true that you worked.’
- (57) * **Jantäq** chi x-a-samäj.
sometimes COMP CPL-ABS2S-work
‘It’s sometimes that you worked.’
- (58) * **Jumul** chi x-a-samäj.
always COMP CPL-ABS2S-work
‘It’s always that you worked.’

Our account correctly predicts the fact that speakers strongly prefer AF marking when *jantäq* and *jumul* appear in a clause with a preverbal *wh*-element. Grammatical AF forms with subject extraction are shown in (59a) and (60a). The forms in (59b) and (60b) are only acceptable under an interpretation in which the preverbal element is interpreted as the object; in other words, the APred construction is judged impossible.

- (59) a. Achike **jantäq** n-Ø-tij-O_{AF} ri äk’.
who/what sometimes ICPL-ABS3S-eat-AF the chicken
‘Who sometimes eats the chicken?’
- b. Achike **jantäq** n-Ø-u-tij_{AF} ri äk’.
who/what sometimes ICPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-eat-TV the chicken
*‘Who sometimes eats the chicken?’
‘What did the chicken sometimes eat?’
- (60) a. Achike **jumul** n-Ø-tij-O_{AF} ri äk’.
who/what always ICPL-ABS3S-eat-AF the chicken
‘Who always eats the chicken?’
- b. Achike **jumul** n-Ø-u-tij_{TV} ri äk’.
who/what always ICPL-ABS3S-ERG3S-eat-AF the chicken
*‘Who always eats the chicken?’
‘What did the chicken always eat?’

While facts like these need to be more deeply explored, they are predicted by our account which ties variation in AF-marking with certain adverbials to their availability to embed clauses. What we have noticed in our preliminary investigation is that there is significant variation across speakers concerning which adverbials embed clauses, as well as how strictly ungrammatical certain constructions are. That said, there are those adverbials, like (*kan*) *qitzij*, which robustly embed clauses and which trigger

free variation in the appearance of AF and those adverbials, like *jumul*, which always co-occur with AF-marking in the relevant contexts, and which resist taking clausal complements, as our account would predict.

5.4 Summary

The data from overt complementizers and resumptive pronouns in this section show that Kaqchikel has exactly the morphological and syntactic resources to support the analysis proposed in (33) and (34) above. First, we saw that certain adverbs in Kaqchikel—namely, the ones that appear to allow extraction without AF—can embed clauses. Moreover, these adverbs can occur in relative clauses, intervening between the NP host of the relative clause and a resumptive pronoun it binds. But, because Kaqchikel has null complementizers, a null copula, and null resumptive pronouns, this resumptive construction can appear string-equivalent to a relative clause in which an A'-operator moves over an adverb. It is this equivalence that accounts for minimal pairs §4 where adverbs only sometimes appear to block AF.¹²

Crucially, in clauses which lack AF, we argue that there is no A'-movement of the ergative subject. Instead, these involve a biclausal construction in which an adverb embeds a CP with a resumptive pronoun, which we call the APred construction. The absence of AF in certain constructions with adverbs thus has nothing to do with the *locality* of extraction; the lack of AF indicates the *absence* of extraction. The facts are thus compatible with any account of AF which connects Agent Focus to the A'-extraction of transitive subjects (e.g., Aissen 2011; Coon and Henderson 2011; Assmann et al. 2012; Coon et al. 2014).

Finally, this section established an important correct prediction of the analysis. In the presence of overt material disambiguating the APred construction and the canonical A'-movement construction (e.g. an overt complementizer or resumptive pronoun), we no longer see variation in AF-marking. Unambiguous APred constructions do not show AF unless there is A'-movement internal to the clause embedded under the adverbial.¹³

¹²An anonymous reviewer asks whether additional tests for biclausality can be found to support the analysis presented here, for example, from the distribution of NPIs. At this point, we are unaware of other tests which would be applicable in the case of Kaqchikel. No NPIs have been described for Kaqchikel, and to the best of our knowledge, none exist. Similarly, Mayan languages generally lack A-movement, which might be expected to be clause-bound. Finally, as noted in section 3.2, reflexives never appear in Agent Focus constructions, so we do not predict variation here.

¹³While we can syntactically disambiguate the two constructions—the A'-movement construction and the gapless APred construction—our proposal makes predictions about how they might be semantically disambiguated. In particular, the APred construction is predicted to have the semantic properties of a cleft construction that a string-equivalent A'-movement construction would not. We cannot currently test this prediction because the properties of clefts in Kaqchikel, and Mayan more broadly, are not well understood, but evaluating the semantic properties of the APred construction is the next direction to extend this work.

6 MULTIPLE WH AND ANTI-LOCALITY

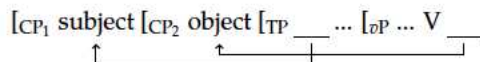
Above we presented evidence against some of Erlewine's arguments in favor of an Anti-Locality approach to Kaqchikel extraction restrictions. First, we showed that an Anti-Locality account must make non-standard assumptions about the location of ergative subjects and the nature of ergative agreement. Second, we argued that adverbials do not, in fact, block AF morphology. Examples that appear to show A'-movement of an ergative subject over an adverb are actually biclausal APred constructions with no A'-movement at all.

While the data from adverbials provided one important impetus for the Anti-Locality account, there is one other class of data that we want to consider briefly. In particular, Erlewine (2015) considers a variety of constructions that involve multiple A'-movement, as in the pair of examples shown below in (61) and (62). When the subject is A'-moved across the A'-moved object, the transitive form is used (61). In the reverse configuration, the Agent Focus form is used, as in (62).

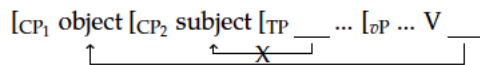
- (61) Ja ri utiwa', ja ri aq x-e-ki-tij_{TV}.
 FOC the coyotes FOC the pigs CPL-ABS3P-ERG3P-eat
 '(in contrast) the coyotes, it's the pigs they eat.'
- (62) Ja ri aq, ja ri utiwa' x-e-tij-o_{AF}.
 FOC the pigs FOC the coyotes CPL-ABS3P-eat-AF
 '(in contrast) the pigs, it's the coyotes that eat them.' (García Matzar and Rodríguez Guaján 1997, p. 405)

Erlewine argues that this pattern is predicted by an Anti-Locality analysis of AF. If AF is mandatory only when movement is too local, per (3) above, then the intervening object should obviate the need for AF, as schematized in (63). With no intervening object, as in (62), subject movement would once again be too short, mandating AF (64).

(63)



(64)



(Erlewine 2015, 14)

While we do not provide a full account of multiple A'-movement in Kaqchikel, we note here that the contrast between (61) and (62) is analogous to a common pattern seen across languages in constructions involving multiple A'-movement. In particular, in languages with multiple *wh*-movement, it is often the case that if the first A'-movement is licit, then the second is able to violate subjacency. Consider the follow case from Bulgarian (Richards 1998). Example (65) shows that A'-movement out of

a relative clause is usually banned in Bulgarian, but it becomes possible if another *wh*-expression makes a licit A'-movement, as shown (66).¹⁴

- (65) * Koj kniga_i razprostranjavase zurnalista [malvta ce senatorat
which book spread the.journalist the.rumor that the.senator
iska da zabrani *t_i*].
wanted to ban
'Which book did the journalist spread the rumor that the senator wanted to ban.'
- (66) ? Koj zurnalista Koj kniga_i *t_j* razprostranjavase [malvta ce
which book which journalist spread the.rumor that
senatorat iska da zabrani *t_i*].
the.senator wanted to ban
'Which journalist spread the rumor that the senator wanted to ban which book?'

Richards (1998) subsumes this pattern under the more general Principle of Minimal Compliance, given in (67), where here *D* is an A'-dependency and *C* is subadjacency.

- (67) PRINCIPLE OF MINIMAL COMPLIANCE (PMC, Richards 1998)
For any dependency *D* that obeys constraint *C*, any elements that are relevant for determining whether *D* obeys *C* can be ignored for the rest of the derivation for purposes of determining whether any other dependency *D'* obeys *C*.

Returning to Kaqchikel, we see that the pattern in (61) and (62) has the same structure as that in the Bulgarian (65) and (66). While the PMC is one way to explain the pattern in (61)–(62), we do not require the PMC to be correct to make our larger point. What matters most to us is the generalization that when there is multiple A'-movement, movements that are otherwise illicit may sometimes be grammatical. We propose that whatever explains the contrast in languages like Bulgarian between (65) and (66) is what should explain the difference between (61) and (62) in Kaqchikel. Crucially, we do not need an Anti-Locality analysis of AF to explain this difference, and in fact, we do not want one if we aim to unify the Kaqchikel data with what we see in multiple-*wh* constructions in other languages. This is a welcome outcome given the conclusions of the previous sections.

7 CONCLUSION

In this paper, we argued that SPEC-TO-SPEC ANTI-LOCALITY is not responsible for ergative extraction asymmetries in Kaqchikel. We began by reviewing problems with the proposal that ergative subjects move to Spec,IP in Kaqchikel, a necessary ingredient of Erlewine's account. Independently of these problems, we showed that

¹⁴Note that while Richards 1998 requires the subject *wh*-expression to move first, while the embedded object moves second, tucking in, we do not require tucking in for account of the contrast in (61)–(62).

the adverbial facts which initially appeared to lend support to an Anti-Locality account are in fact more complicated: not only is there variation in *which* adverbs appear to permit A'-extraction of ergative subjects without the use of the Agent Focus construction, but even the *same* adverbial element shows variation as to whether it appears with a transitive or AF verb form in extraction environments. We argued that constructions which appear to allow ergative agent extraction from a transitive are in fact biclausal. Because the copula, embedded complementizer, and resumptive pronoun may all be null, this biclausality is not always readily apparent. However, our account was shown to make correct predictions about where possibly-overt elements (complementizers and pronouns) may surface.

This result is important because variation in the appearance of AF in agent-extraction contexts has been noted not just with adverbial interveners, but across a variety of constructions in Mayan languages. In some cases it has been proposed that the AF construction is being gradually lost (e.g. Heaton 2015). In doing elicitation for this work we encountered younger speakers who had non-standard AF marking even in clauses without adverbials, in line with Heaton's observations. That said, our work suggests that some cases of *prima facie* missing AF marking might be more complicated, and so attrition should be investigated on a construction by construction basis.

Importantly, note that we have not argued against the general existence of a restriction like SPEC-TO-SPEC ANTI-LOCALITY in (3). Rather, we have argued that it is not responsible for the ergative extraction restriction in Kaqchikel. This type of Anti-Locality may indeed play a role in subject/non-subject asymmetries, as argued for example in Brillman and Hirsch to appear for English, or in anti-agreement contexts in other languages, as discussed in Erlewine 2015. For Mayan, however, we are left with the result that the extraction of an ergative subject requires a special construction—Agent Focus—regardless of the presence of intervening material. The results in section 3 suggest that this ban is due neither to height of the transitive subject, nor to a problem with ergative agreement.

These results are important for accounts of syntactic ergativity more broadly. An Anti-Locality-based account of Kaqchikel is initially appealing because of the potential to connect the restriction on extracting transitive subjects to *Anti-Agreement* effects or other subject/non-subject asymmetries in nominative-accusative languages (see e.g. Ouhalla 1993, discussed in Erlewine 2015; see also Bošković 2015). Though tempting, this type of unification does not seem to be right for Mayan. We suggest that this should lead us to question whether such an extension is generally warranted for ergative extraction restrictions (cf. Deal 2016).

We suggest that, in the absence of strong language-internal evidence, ergative extraction restrictions should not be grouped together with Anti-Agreement or other subject effects in nominative-accusative languages. Indeed, work on ergativity increasingly converges on the idea that while there is considerable variation among ergative languages, ergative subjects are *low* (see Legate to appear). This is consistent with the possibility that it is the low licensing of ergative subjects—and thus the need in some ergative languages for finite Infl⁰ to license transitive objects at a distance—that creates the restriction on ergative extraction (Campana 1992; Ordóñez 1995; Bittner and Hale 1996; Coon et al. 2014; Assmann et al. 2012).

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