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Feeding agreement: Anti-locality in Crow applicatives of unaccusatives*

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1. Introduction

Anti-locality effects, which bans "too close" movement, have been reported for Ā-movement, particularly subject-extraction asymmetries across a variety of languages (Erlewine 2014, 2016, 2020, Bošković 2016, Brillman and Hirsch 2016, Douglas 2017, Amaechi and Georgi 2019, Issah and Smith 2020). Although the discussion on anti-locality effects has focused on Ā-movement, anti-locality effects have also been observed for A-movement in applicatives of Nez Perce (Deal 2019). Therefore, anti-locality effects appear not to be restricted to Ā-movement (cf. Erlewine 2016:431, Ex.4).

In this paper, I will argue that anti-locality effects involving A-movement can also be observed in Crow. In plain unaccusatives in Crow, as in (1), the theme argument is referenced using the B-set marker (underlined), which references object-like arguments. In applicatives of unaccusatives, as in (2), the theme argument is now obligatorily referenced using the A-set marker (bolded), which instead indexes subject-like arguments. Therefore, in Crow applicatives of unaccusatives, how does the theme argument come to receive A-set and not B-set agreement, as in constructions with plain unaccusatives? More generally, what is the subject in applicatives of unaccusatives of Crow?[1]

(1) *Unaccusative*
bii-wíisshi-k
1B-tell.lie-DECL
'I lied'

(2) *Applicative of unaccusative*
dii-wíissa-a-**wa**-ku-k
2B-tell.lie-JUNCT-**1A**-APPL-DECL
'I lied for you'

*Thanks to all my friends in Crow country, especially Felice Big Day, Cyle Old Elk, Jack Real Bird, Alma Real Bird, Riley Singer, and Charles Yarlott Jr., for their patience and hospitality, and for sharing their language and culture with me. Thanks also to Amy Rose Deal, Line Mikkelsen, and Tyler Lemon for their insightful comments on various stages of this work. As always, all errors are my own.

[1]The abbreviations used in the glosses is as follows: 1: first person, 2: second person, 3: third person, A: active, APPL: applicative, B: stative, CAUS: causative, DECL: declarative, INDEF: indefinite, INTERR: interrogative, JUNCT: juncture, OBJ: object, SBJ: subject, and SS: same-subject

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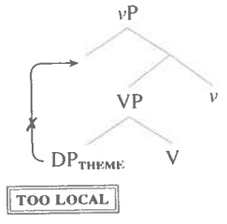
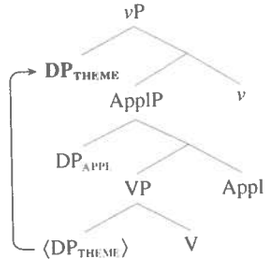
I will propose that in Crow applicatives of unaccusatives, the underlying theme moves over the applied object into Spec,*v*P thereby feeding A-set agreement. Movement occurs in (3) but not (4) due to an anti-locality constraint that bans movement considered to be "too local". Thus, when an applied argument is introduced in Spec,ApplP in applicatives of unaccusatives, the theme argument is able to move into Spec,*v*P without violating the anti-locality constraint. In this way, Crow represents another case in which A-movement may be sensitive to anti-locality effects.

(3) *Unaccusative*



(4) *Applicative of unaccusative*



2. Overview of Crow syntax

Crow is a endangered Siouan language spoken in Montana. Data used in this paper, unless otherwise indicated, come from my fieldwork with ten native speakers between the ages of 24 to 62 from 2017 to 2020 on the Crow Indian Reservation.[2] The orthography used in this paper follows the conventions employed by Graczyk (2007), which lists IPA correspondences.

2.1 Unaccusativity and active-stative agreement

Crow is a head-final, head-marking, highly polysynthetic language with an active-stative alignment expressed via its verb agreement system. In an active-stative language, verbs generally belong to one of two classes, ACTIVE and STATIVE.[3] In general, the two classes are predictable based on the semantics of the verbs. Active verbs tend to denote events with agentive subjects while stative verbs commonly denote states with non-agentive subjects. In active intransitives, subjects are referenced with so-called A-set morphemes, as in (5), whereas stative intransitives are marked using B-set markers, as in (6). In an active transitive, as in (7), A-set marks subjects and B-set marks objects. The A- and B-set morphemes are

[2]Some of the data collected between 2019-2020 come from elicitation sessions that were held virtually through video conferencing platforms with Crow speakers who reside on the Crow Indian Reservation.

[3]Active-stative languages are also referred to as *split-intransitive*, *split-S*, *active-inactive*, and *agentive-patient*, among others. For a more comprehensive list of terms variously used in the literature for this type of morphosyntactic alignment system, see Mithun 1991.

listed in (8).[4,5,6] Note that overt A- and B-set agreement markers are restricted to local person; third person agreement markers are phonologically null.

(5) baa-lisshí-k
1A-dance-DECL
'I danced'

(6) bii-ámmichi-k
1B-fall-DECL
'I fell'

(7) dii-waa-láxpii-k
2B-1A-hug-DECL
'I hugged you'

(8) *A-set and B-set agreement prefixes in Crow*

	A-SET	B-SET
1SG	baa-	bii-
2SG	daa-	dii-
3SG	Ø-	Ø-

There is some evidence that active intransitives behave syntactially like unergatives and stative intransitives behave like unaccusatives. For example, noun incorporation is attested only for nouns that are objects of transitive verbs, as in (9a), and nouns that are subjects of stative intransitives, as in (9b). Active intransitives, on the other hand, do not allow incorporation of their subjects and attempts to elicit such constructions have been unsuccessful.

(9) *Noun incorporation*

a. *Active transitive*

Logan bishka-lúupia-k
Logan dog-dislike-DECL
'Logan dislikes dogs'

b. *Stative intransitive*

ilúk-hilahp-ak
meat-scarce-SS
'meat is scarce' (Graczyk 2007:282)

This test indicates that subjects of stative intransitives are in a similar syntactic position to those of objects of transitive verbs. Both types of arguments share a position that allows for incorporation into the verb. Based on the facts about noun incorporation in Crow, I analyze active intransitives as unergatives and stative intransitives as unaccusatives, and

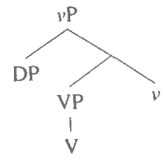
[4]In Crow, obstruents often undergo intervocalic laxing. Therefore, *b* and *d* may occur as *w* and *l* in environments where they occur between vowels.

[5]With exception of the first-person plural B-set morpheme, the plural is discontinuously marked as *-uu* that directly precedes the declarative marker. The first-personal plural B-set morpheme *balee-* is a portmanteau consisting not only of person features but also number. The plural forms are not mentioned in the rest of this paper as they are not relevant to the current discussion.

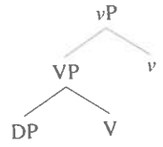
[6]The A-set morphemes exhibit rampant allomorphy that is conditioned by the phonological shape of the verbal root it attaches to, whereas B-set morphemes are generally invariant.

henceforth, I refer to them as such. The structures for unergatives and unaccusatives are given below in (10) and (11), respectively.

(10) *Unergative (= active intrans.)*

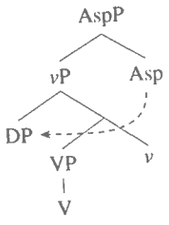


(11) *Unaccusative (= stative intrans.)*

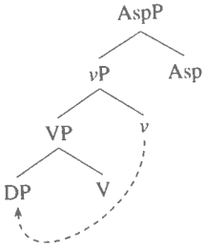


Following Wallace (1993), I assume that the basic clause structure of Crow includes an AspP that sits directly above *v*P, and I analyze A-set agreement in unergatives as the result of Agree between a φ-probe on Asp with the highest accessible goal. On the other hand, B-set agreement in unaccusatives is the result of Agree between a φ-probe on *v*.[7] These assumptions allow us to capture the agreement asymmetry between unergatives and unaccusatives, which are schematized in (12) and (13).[8]

(12) *A-set agreement in unergatives*



(13) *B-set agreement in unaccusatives*



In (12), Asp probes and agrees with the highest DP argument – the external argument. In (13), *v* agrees with the internal argument and copies its φ-features. But why is it the *v* and not Asp that enters into an Agree relation with the VP-internal DP? Following Legate (2003) and Deal (2009), I assume that unaccusative *v* is a phase head rendering the internal DP argument inaccessible to the Asp probe. By the time Asp is merged into the structure, the VP

[7]There is a small set of stative transitive verbs in Crow, which, unlike active transitives, mark both arguments with B-set morphemes. While they are not discussed in this paper, they provide some support for an analysis of *v* as an insatiable probe that interacts with all DP goals within its search domain (Clem 2019). I analyze stative transitives as consisting of two internal arguments within the VP domain. Under an account in which *v* targets only the highest accessible DP, one would expect only a single B-set morpheme in stative transitives. Thus, *v* must be able to probe and interact with both DPs within its search domain. However, since insatiability does not figure into the arguments in this paper, I will continue to analyze *v* under the standard approach.

[8]The CP layer is omitted for simplicity's sake.

complement of the phase head *v* has been sent to PF and LF (see Chomsky 2000, 2001 on the PHASE IMPENETRABILITY CONDITION). Therefore, the differences between agreement in unergatives and unaccusatives results from which probe is involved and where the subject DP is located within the clausal spine. In unergatives, Asp agrees with the subject, an external argument, which occupies Spec,*v*P. In unaccusatives, *v* agrees with the subject, an internal argument, which resides within the VP.

2.2 Applicative constructions

In this paper, I focus on applicatives involving the benefactive *-ku*.[9] Both unergatives and unaccusatives may combine with the applicative *-ku*, as shown in (14) and (15), respectively. Note that (1) and (2) are reproduced below as (15a) and (15b). Example (14a) displays a simple clause with the unergative verb *chiwakíi* 'pray'. In this construction, there is a single A-set morpheme referring to the first-person subject. However, in the applicative counterpart, given in (14b), there are two occurrences of A-set marking, one adjacent to the verbal stem and one adjacent to the applicative *-ku*, both referring to the first-person subject. In a plain unaccusative, as in (15a), B-set marker is used to refer to the first-person subject. However, in (15b), the same argument is now referenced via an A-set marker that occurs directly adjacent to the applicative marker *-ku*, and the B-set marker now references the applied object. Thus, for both applicative constructions, A-set marker references the subject while B-set marker references the applied object.

(14) a. *Unergative*
bah-chiwakíi-k
1A-pray-DECL
'I prayed'

b. *Applicative of unergative*
dii-**wah**-chiwaká-a-[wa]-ku-k
2B-1A-pray-JUNCT-1A-APPL-DECL
'I prayed for you'

(15) a. *Unaccusative*
bii-wíisshi-k
1B-tell.lie-DECL
'I lied'

b. *Applicative of unaccusative*
dii-wíissa-a-[wa]-ku-k
2B-tell.lie-JUNCT-1A-APPL-DECL
'I lied for you'

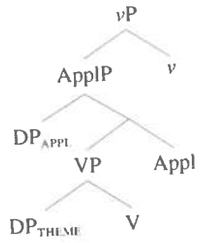
Since the applicative marker *-ku* may occur with both unergatives and unaccusatives, following the typology of Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), I assume that *-ku* is a high applicative heading an ApplP that sits between above VP but below *v*P. The structural configurations of applicatives of unaccusatives is schematized in (16).[10] Crucially, I also adopt the position

[9]Other applicatives in Crow include the instrumental *ii-* which behaves differently from the benefactive applicative.

[10]In the remainder of the paper, I focus on applicatives of unaccusatives. An analysis of applicatives of unergatives is beyond the scope of this paper and will no longer be discussed.

that distinct theta roles are configurationally determined (i.e. UTAH; Baker 1988, 1997). As such, the applied argument is introduced in Spec,ApplP and the theme argument is base-generated VP-internally.

(16) *Applicatives of unaccusatives*



Given the structure above, we expect the applied object to be structurally higher than the theme argument. However, as I will argue below, the lowest object in applicatives of unaccusatives is in fact the applicative argument and not the theme argument, suggesting that the theme argument moves into a landing site above the applied object.

3. Diagnosing the height of DPs in applicatives of unaccusatives

In this section, I present three pieces of evidence that demonstrate that the lowest argument in applicatives of unaccusatives is the applicative argument and not the theme argument. First, in applicatives of unaccusatives (and unergatives), overt DP subjects must precede applicative arguments suggesting that theme arguments are structurally higher than the applicative arguments. Second, the *wh*-words in Crow, *sapéen* and *sapée* 'who', have a nominative-accusative-like distribution; the former is must be used for the highest argument of the clause, whereas the latter is used for all other arguments. In applicatives of unaccusatives, *sapéen* can only be used to refer to the theme argument, but not the applicative argument. Finally, the indefinite object *baa* may attach to transitive verbs to demote the lowest argument and in applicatives of unaccusatives, only the applicative argument can be demoted.

3.1 Evidence from word order

The first diagnostic involves word order. In general, applicative constructions are sensitive to differences in word order. In applicatives of unergatives, as in (17), the agent must precede the applied object. In (17a), *Logan* precedes *Taylor* and *Logan* is obligatorily understood as the agent. If the order of the DP arguments is interchanged, as in (17b), then *Taylor* is interpreted as the agent of the sentence with *Logan* as the benefactor. The same observations about word order can be made for applicatives of unaccusatives which are given in (18).

(17) *Applicatives of unergatives*

a. Logan Taylor chiwaká-a-ku-k
Logan Taylor pray-JUNCT-APPL-DECL
'Logan prayed for Taylor'
NOT 'Taylor prayed for Logan'

b. Taylor Logan chiwaká-a-ku-k
Taylor Logan pray-JUNCT-APPL-DECL
'Taylor prayed for Logan'
NOT 'Logan prayed for Taylor'

(18) *Applicatives of unaccusatives*

a. Logan Taylor bíiss-a-ku-k
Logan Taylor tell.lie-JUNCT-APPL-DECL
'Logan lied for Taylor'
NOT 'Taylor lied for Logan'

b. Taylor-sh Logan bíiss-a-ku-k
Taylor-DEF Logan tell.lie-JUNCT-APPL-DECL
'Taylor lied for Logan'
NOT 'Logan lied for Taylor'

Thus, what the structures in (17) and (18) suggest is that subjects of applicatives of unergatives and unaccusatives, which precede the applicative argument, are structurally higher than the applicative arguments.

3.2 Evidence from *wh*-words

In Crow, *wh*-words *sapéen* and *sapée* 'who' are used strictly to refer to humans. These words follow a nominative-accusative-like distribution. In (19), *sapéen* is employed for subjects of all verbs. For example, (19a) and (20a) contain an unergative and a transitive verb, respectively, with an external argument subject DP, whereas (19b) features an unaccusative with an VP-internal subject DP. (The question mark symbol <?> represents a glottal stop.) To refer to objects of transitive clauses, *sapée* must be used, as in (20b).

(19) a. *Unergative*
sapéen xalússhi-?
who.SBJ run-INTERR
'Who ran?'

b. *Unaccusative*
sapéen bíisshi-?
who.SBJ tell.lie-INTERR
'Who lied?'

(20) *Transitive*

a. sapéen Logan dichí-?
who.SBJ Logan hit-INTERR
'Who hit Logan?'

b. Logan sapée dichí-?
Logan who.OBJ hit-INTERR
'Who did Logan hit?'

The choice of *wh*-word in Crow appears determined not by the argument's position within the clause, but by its position in relation to other arguments (if any). In a plain intransitive with a single argument, *sapéen* is used to reference the subject. In a transitive clause which bears two arguments, *sapéen* refers to the subject and *sapée* refers to the object. In configurational terms, *sapéen* indexes the structurally highest DP while *sapée* is dependent on the presence of a structurally higher DP.[11]

In applicatives of unaccusatives, *sapéen* must refer to the theme argument, as in (21), and *sapée* can only be used to index the applicative argument, as in (22).[12] Therefore, the distribution of *sapéen* and *sapée* in applicatives of unaccusatives indicates that theme arguments are the structurally highest DPs and suggests that although they are generated below the applicative argument within VP, they somehow come to be in a position above the applied object.[13]

(21) *Wh-words as theme arguments*

a. sapéen Taylor-sh bíiss-a-ku-?
who.SBJ Taylor-DEF tell.lie-JUNCT-APPL-INTERR
'Who lied for Taylor?'

b. *sapée Taylor-sh bíiss-a-ku-?
who.OBJ Taylor-DEF tell.lie-JUNCT-APPL-INTERR
Intended: Who lied for Taylor?

(22) *Wh-words as applicative arguments*

a. Logan sapée bíiss-a-ku-?
Logan who.OBJ tell.lie-JUNCT-APPL-INTERR
'Who did Logan lied for?'

b. *Logan sapéen bíiss-a-ku-?
Logan who.SBJ tell.lie-JUNCT-APPL-INTERR
Intended: 'Who did Logan lie for?'

3.3 Evidence from incorporation of *baa* 'indefinite object'

The last piece of evidence comes from the indefinite object *baa* in Crow, which is found across other languages in the Siouan family. In descriptive terms, when this morpheme attaches to a transitive verb, it demotes or suppresses the object and the object is interpreted as an indefinite. Example (23a) consists of a transitive verb *baluushí* 'I eat' inflected for

[11]In causative constructions of transitive verbs, *sapéen* must also be used to refer to the subject (i.e. the causer). However, in describing the causee, either *sapéen* or *sapée* may be used. Nonetheless, the fact that *sapéen* must be used for the highest DP of the clause is still in line with the overall generalization about *sapéen*/*sapée*.

[12]Constructions with *sapéen* appear to have a more flexible word order in Crow. In scenarios where *sapéen* unambiguously refers to a single DP, its placement in the sentence is relatively free.

[13]The same generalization about *sapéen* and *sapée* holds for applicatives of unergatives. In these constructions, *sapéen* can only mark the external argument, whereas *sapée* is only used for the applicative argument.

first-person singular subject alongside an overt object DP *xóoxaashe* 'corn'. In (23b), *baa* attaches to the transitive verb and the object is demoted and receives an indefinite reading (i.e. 'something'). Note that overt object DPs cannot occur with the indefinite object *baa*, as in (23c).

(23) a. xóoxaashe baluushí-k
corn 1.eat-DECL
'I'm eating corn'

b. baa-waluushí-k
INDEF.OBJ-1.eat-DECL
'I'm eating (something)'

c. *xóoxaashe baa-waluushí-k
corn INDEF.OBJ-1.eat-DECL

In applicatives of transitives, *baa* can only demote the theme argument, as in (24a). Attempting to suppress the applicative argument and imbuing it with indefinite reading renders the sentence ill-formed, as shown in (24b). Accordingly, in constructions that bear more than one object, *baa-* demotes the lowest one – in (24a), this argument is the theme suggesting that themes in applicatives of active transitives do not undergo raising.

(24) a. Logan baa-óossh-b-aa-wa-ku-k
Logan INDEF.OBJ-cooked-1A-CAUS-1A-APPL-DECL
'I'm cooking (something) for Logan'

b. *xóoxaashe baa-óossh-b-aa-wa-ku-k
corn INDEF.OBJ-cooked-1A-CAUS-1A-APPL-DECL
Intended: I'm cooking corn for people

By contrast, when *baa* attaches to applicatives of unergatives and unaccusatives, the applicative argument, not the theme argument, must be suppressed, as in (25a) and (25b), respectively. Thus, the results of this diagnostic suggest that in applicative constructions with intransitive verbs, the lowest argument is the applied object.

(25) a. baa-waa-waláxx-ba-ku-k
INDEF.OBJ-1A-sing-1A-APPL-DECL
'I sing for people (e.g. a crowd)'

b. baa-wíiss-a-wa-ku-k
INDEF.OBJ-tell.lie-JUNCT-1A-APPL-DECL
'I lie for people'

3.4 Summary

The three diagnostics suggest that in applicatives of unaccusatives, the theme DP is the structurally highest argument and the applied DP is the structurally lowest argument. The results of these tests are given in (26).

(26) *Summary of diagnostics for applicatives of unaccusatives*

DIAGNOSTIC	OBSERVATION
Word order	theme DPs must precede applied DPs
sapée(n) 'who'	*sapéen* = theme DPs, *sapée* = applied DPs
Incorporated *baa*	*baa* may only refer to applied DPs

4. Feeding agreement: An anti-locality-based account

The results of the diagnostics raise two questions about the structural relations between theme and applicative arguments in applicatives of unaccusatives. First, what is the mechanism by which the theme argument comes to be situated above the applicative argument? Second, what is the syntactic position in which the theme resides? To address these questions, I propose an analysis in which the theme raises to Spec,*v*P, crossing over ApplP as a response to constraints on ANTI-LOCALITY, which is formulated in (27a) and illustrated in (28) with local and non-local A-movement.[14] Movement of the theme argument from its VP-internal base position to Spec,*v*P is motivated by an EPP feature on *v*.

(27) a. *Generalized Spec-to-Spec Anti-locality*: Movement of a phrase from SpecXP must cross a maximal projection other than XP Deal (2019:408).

b. Movement from position A to position B *crosses* C if and only if C dominates A but does not dominate B.

In (28a), movement of the element X does not cross over an intervening projection. Since movement is considered local, it violates the constraints on anti-locality. In contrast, movement of X in (28b) is permitted since it crosses over an ApplP.

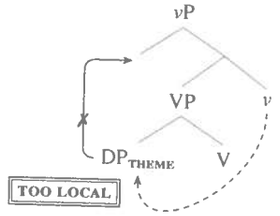
(28) a. *Local A-movement*: *[$_{vP}$ X_i [$_{VP}$ t_i]]
b. *Non-local A-movement*: ✓ [$_{vP}$ X_i [$_{ApplP}$ Y [$_{VP}$ t_i]]]

The claim is that (28a) corresponds to plain unaccusatives whereas (28b) corresponds to applicatives of unaccusatives. In unaccusatives, the theme must remain in its base position since raising to Spec,*v*P would violate the constraint on local movement. In this way, the *v*

[14] Until recently, work on anti-locality effects has primarily focused on Ā-movement (e.g. Bošković 2016, Brillman and Hirsch 2016, Erlewine 2016, 2020). The Generalized Spec-to-Spec Anti-locality from Deal (2019:408) in (27a) is a revision of the original formulation by Erlewine (2016:431), which specifically addresses constraints on Ā-movement, to include A-movement.

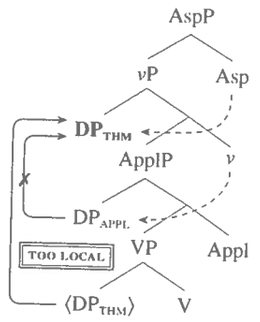
probes and agrees with the theme argument – the closest DP argument – resulting in B-set marking to reference the theme argument. The calculus of agreement in unaccusatives is illustrated in (29).

(29)



In contrast, (28b) represents the type of non-local movement found in applicatives of unaccusatives in Crow; that is, the theme moves over ApplP into Spec,*v*P. Because the theme DP argument crosses ApplP, it does not violate the constraint on anti-locality. By occupying Spec,*v*P, the theme in applicatives of unaccusatives can become the target of the probe on Asp, the source of A-set agreement. Moreover, the applicative argument, which remains in-situ in Spec,ApplP, is within the search domain of *v* resulting in B-set marking to cross-reference the applied object.[15]

(30)



The fact that the theme argument moves in favor of the applicative argument can be adequately accounted for by the anti-locality constraint. Although the applicative argument

[15] As Baier (2017), Deal (2019) and Erlewine (2020) note, a solution based on anti-locality is inherently 'fragile' as a change in the number of intervening projections can determine whether movement can or cannot take place. That said, I am not aware of any projections between ApplP and *v*P in Crow, although a logical next step would be to investigate the class of so-called aspectual auxiliaries in Crow (see Travis 2010).

is closer to the Spec,*v*P landing site than the theme, movement from Spec,ApplP to Spec,*v*P is 'too close' – it fails to cross over an intervening maximal projection. Thus, the applicative argument must remain in-situ. Thus, movement of the theme into Spec,*v*P brings about A-set agreement in applicatives of unaccusatives since movement allows the DP argument to become accessible within Asp's search domain.

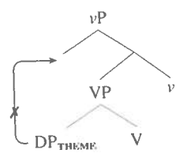
The anti-locality account therefore provides an explanation for the agreement asymmetry observed between simple, plain unaccusative constructions, which reference the theme argument via B-set marking, and applicatives of unaccusatives, which reference the theme via A-set marking. In the former, the theme remains in-situ and is the target of the *v* probe. In the latter, the theme moves over ApplP into Spec,*v*P and into the search domain of Asp.

5. Alternative proposals

Before concluding, I briefly consider alternative proposals to account for the agreement asymmetries observed between simple unaccusatives and applicatives of unaccusatives. Specifically, I sketch out two proposals that place restrictions on allowing applicative arguments to move to Spec,*v*P without relying on constraints on anti-locality. The first proposal involves inherent Case. Under this analysis, the applied object receives inherent Case and is ineligible for A-movement (see McGinnis 1998a,b, 2004, Cuervo 2003, McFadden 2004, 2006, Woolford 2006, and among others). The second proposal involves an analysis in which applicative arguments are PPs and not DPs. Following Baker (2014:367), applicative arguments that are PPs are unable to move and are therefore unable to satisfy the EPP feature on *v*; the PP-internal DP itself is also unable to move into Spec,*v*P.

The inherent Case and PP analyses provide an explanation for why the the *v* probe targets the theme argument to satisfy its EPP feature and not the applicative argument even though the latter is closer. Since the applicative argument is ineligible for A-movement, the next closest accessible DP within the domain of *v* is the theme. As such, the theme raises to Spec,*v*P and receives A-set agreement. Although these proposals bring into question the need for constraints on anti-locality, they face at least one challenge: simple unaccusatives. In simple unaccusatives, the theme does not move to Spec,*v*P. Instead, it remains in-situ and receives B-set agreement. The two alternative proposals considered here make the incorrect prediction that the theme argument of unaccusatives not only raises to Spec,*v*P in applicative constructions but also when there is no applicative, as illustrated in (31). Thus, an anti-locality account provides an explanation for why themes move to Spec,*v*P in applicatives of unaccusatives, but not in simple unaccusatives.

(31)



6. Conclusion

In simple unaccusatives, the theme argument in applicatives of unaccusatives is cross-referenced via the A-set, and not B-set marking. Moreover, in applicatives of unaccusatives, the theme is structurally higher than the applied object. By adopting a general ban on "too close" movement, we are able to account for two syntactic puzzles. First, it provides an account for why the applied object does not undergo movement. Instead, it is the theme that undergoes A-movement into Spec,*v*P thereby feeding A-set marking. Second, it explains why in simple unaccusatives the theme argument remains in-situ and receives B-set marking.

Despite the fact that discussions on anti-locality have focused on Ā-movement, Crow represents a case in which A-movement also exhibits anti-locality effects. One implication of this study therefore relates to the lower bounds of A/Ā-movement across different languages. In particular, if the lower bounds of A/Ā-movement are constrained in a similar way, then the number of properties that distinguish between A/Ā-movement is further reduced (see van Urk 2015). However, intervening projections between *v*P and ApplP that display the 'fragility' of anti-locality-based accounts of A-movement remain to be seen.

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Low (in)transitivity: Evidence from Kipsigis*

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1. Introduction

Recent syntactic approaches to the causative alternation (e.g., *The cup broke* vs. *Mary broke the cup* in English), treat it as a Voice alternation (e.g., Marantz 2013, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Wood 2015, Wood and Marantz 2017, Kastner 2020, Nie 2020, Tyler 2020). These theories adopt an architecture in which little *v* and Voice are two separate heads; little *v* verbalizes the root and introduces event semantics, while Voice introduces the external argument (e.g., Pylkkänen 2008, Harley 2013, Legate 2014). What they argue, then, is that the causative and anticausative variant have the same *v*P (event) layer, but differ in the type of Voice head (e.g., transitive or intransitive) that they merge with.

In this paper, I present a detailed investigation of the causative alternation in Kipsigis (Nilotic; Kenya), based on data from original fieldwork. I show that the causative alternation in the language cannot be just a Voice alternation: (in)transitivity in the language is calculated at the little *v* level for most verbs. I therefore conclude that while Voice theories of the alternation have many advantages (and are most likely correct) for some languages (e.g., Greek), they are not able to account for all cross-linguistic variation in the phenomenon, at least not without further modifications.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows: in Section 2, I give a brief overview of previous theories of the causative alternation; in Section 3, I provide a description of the alternation in Kipsigis; in Section 4, I outline the challenges that the Kipsigis data pose to Voice theories of the alternation; in Section 5, I conclude by briefly discussing the implications of the Kipsigis data for theories of the causative alternation.

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Abbreviations follow the Leipzig glossing rules, with the addition of CL2 = class II, N = nominalizer, NACT = non-active, MID = middle, RED = reduplication, V = verbalizer. Tone is transcribed whenever possible, but some transcriptions are incomplete due to sound difficulties over certain Skype elicitations.

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