1. Antiagreement. Languages often show a disruption in ϕ-agreement when a goal undergoes A'-movement (*Antiagreement*). The locus of this effect remains a matter of debate. Morphological approaches (Baier 2018) take *Antiagreement* to involve post-syntactic *impoverishment* which blocks the spell-out of canonical Agreement. Syntactic approaches (Erlewine 2016), in contrast, hold that Antiagreement arises when A'-moved arguments *skip* syntactic positions linked to agreement.

2. The Mandar Pattern Mandar (South Sulawesi, Austronesian) shows Antiagreement across all A'-contexts. This language indexes absolutive arguments with second-position enclitics (1). These morphemes represent agreement, not clitic doubling: they index only person, not number (1; Preminger 2011), show variant forms under different tenses (2; Nevins 2011), index non-referential arguments like anaphors (3; Baker & Kramer 2016), and surface in second position (Bošković 2016).

(1) Pole=**i**   (sola)-sola-u
     come=3.ABS RED-pal-my
     'My friend(s) came.'

(2) Annaq **na**=pole.
     CONJ 3.ABS.SUBJ=come.
     'And he might come.'

(3) U-ita=**i**   alawe-u.
     1.ERG-see=3.ABS self-my
     'I saw myself.'

A'-movement makes agreement impossible. Mandar has an absolutive-only extraction restriction: relativization and WH/focus-movement target only the transitive object (4) and antipassive agent (5). ABS agreement normally targets both types of argument; when they extract, it cannot (6).

(4) **Iqo** tattaq **u**-salili.
     you still   1.ERG-miss
     'I miss YOU.'

(5) **Yau mas**-saka   manuq.
     I   ANTIP-catch bird
     'I'm catching birds.'

(6) **Innai maq**-ande(***=i**)
     who   ANTIP-eat=3.ABS
     'Who's eating?'

3. The Impoverishment Approach Baier (2018) offers a morphological account of the antiagreement pattern above in Selayarese (South Sulawesi; closely related to Mandar). On this account (*i*) extracting arguments bear A'-features, (*ii*) they undergo agreement with T and move to the canonical subject position, (*iii*) the A'-features on the agent transfer to the agreement probe, and (*iv*) these features block spell-out of the copied ϕ-bundle. Antiagreement arises in the post-syntax. This approach predicts that clauses with A'-movement show typical syntax in other ways. If antiagreement arises outside the narrow syntax, then absolutive arguments should still show the canonical set of interactions with probes and positions linked to subjecthood when they extract.

4. Quantifier Float. Patterns of quantifier float suggest that this is not the case. Mandar contains a series of quantifiers which surface as proclitics directly before the verb (7). These elements strictly associate with the absolutive argument (8) and cannot surface in adnominal positions (9). I take these elements to be adverbs which merge above the *v*P; they associate with absolutive arguments when the latter move into the canonical subject position and C-command the former.

(7) Mane **para**=malai=i.
     then each=go.home=3.ABS
     'Then they each went home.'

(8) **Sangnging**=na-ita=o a?
     all=3.ERG-see=2.ABS PRT
     ONLY: 'Did he see all of you?'

(9) *Pole=i sangngip=posa.
     come=3 all=cat
     INT: 'All the cats came.'

A'-extraction disrupts this pattern. A'-moved WH-words and foci host adnominal quantifiers like *nasang* 'all' (10). However, they cannot associate with the adverbial quantifiers above (11)-(12).

(10) Innai=**nasang** pole?
      who=all   come
      'Who all came?'

(11) *Innai **sangnging**=pole?
      who   all=come
      INT: 'Who all came?'

(12) *Sola-qu **para**=lumamba.
      friend-my each=go
      INT: 'My friends each went.'

5. Skipping. The patterns above receive a unified explanation on the *Skipping* approach to anti-agreement (Erlewine 2016). On this view, A'-extraction requires arguments to skip the canonical subject position (13)-(14). Both canonical agreement and quantifier float target arguments exclusively in this position. As a result, neither should target arguments which undergo A'-movement.

(13) *Subjects: Shift to Spec,TP*
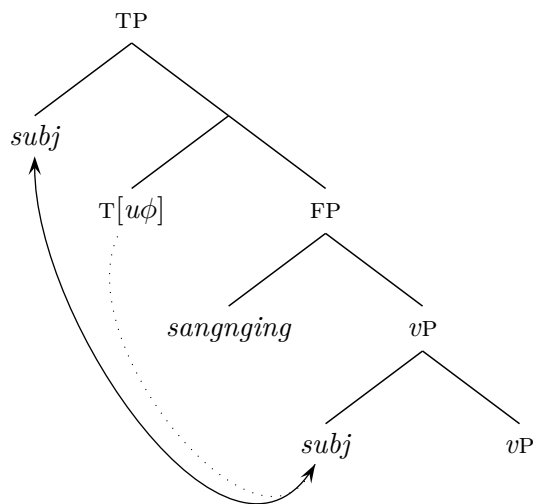
(14) *Extraction forces Skipping*
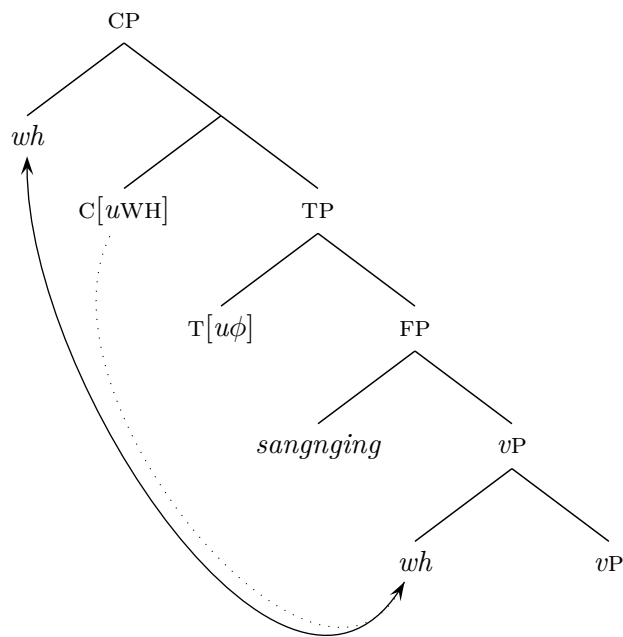
The *Skipping* pattern plausibly arises through SPEC-TO-SPEC antilocality (Deal 2019). WH-movement has been shown to force arguments to skip canonical subject positions cross-linguistically (Mc-Closkey 2000 on West Ulster English). This pattern can be derived from a ban on direct movement from SPEC,TP to SPEC,CP- forcing the *skipping* configuration shown above in (14).

6. Against an Alternative. Many Austronesian languages require canonical A'-configurations to take the form of pseudoclefts (Kaufman 2018). A plausible analysis treats the Mandar clauses analyzed here with WH/FOCUS-movement to involve covert biclausal structure. If so, antiagreement is illusory: apparently A'-moved arguments trigger no agreement because they originate in a clause separate from the material which follows (cf: It is I who is/*am here.)

Two patterns suggest that Mandar A'-constructions do not involve biclausal structure. Second-position clitics cannot climb across clausal boundaries but freely surface on clause-initial WH-words and foci while semantically associated with the lower predicate (15). Some dialects even permit absolutive agreement targeting the goal of a ditransitive to surface on a WH-moved theme (16). Moreover, Mandar verbs show distinct imperative morphology which cannot occur outside of matrix clauses; this morphology can surface on verbs which follow clause-initial foci (17). These patterns suggest that the relevant A'-configurations involve canonical displacement within a single clause.

(15) Innai=**boi** maqellong? (16) Apa=**o**   na-bengan?(17) Boyang=doloq **papia**!
      who=again sing   what=2.ABS 3-give   house=first   IMP.build

      'Who is singing again?'   'What did he give you?'   'Build a house first!'

7. Selected References. • Baier, N. (2018). Anti-agreement. • Erlewine, M. Y. (2016). Anti-locality and optimality in Kaqchikel Agent Focus.