

Object Shift and Agent Extraction in Mandar*

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1 An Intervention Puzzle

1.1 Specificity, Voice, and Extraction

- Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) languages often require specific objects to undergo shift.
 - Specific objects (pronouns, proper names) move above the agent to the *voice_P* edge (Rackowski 2002).
 - Shift forces patient voice (PV) morphology (1a); agent voice (AV) appears when no shift occurs (1b).¹

(1) *Specific Objects Shift; Trigger PV*

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. S- in -ampal ako ng mandurukot.
PV-slap 1.ABS GEN pickpocket
'The pickpocket slapped me.'
Rackowski & Richards 2005:367 | b. K- um -ain ng dagá ang pusa.
AV-eat GEN rat ABS cat
'The cat ate a rat.' |
|---|---|

- **Mandar** (South Sulawesi): agent extraction disrupts this pattern.
 - Specific objects (pronouns, names) shift; strictly require PV morphology (2a)-(2b).
 - Agent extraction forces these elements to surface as objects of morphologically AV verbs (2c).

(2) *Object Shift co-occurs with Agent Extraction*

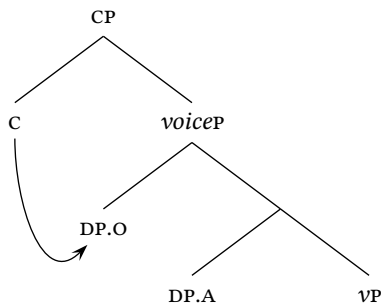
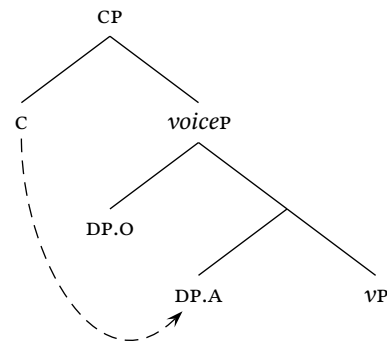
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|---|---|---|
| a. U-tumae=i i=Cicciq .
1.PV-propose=3 PRS=N
'I proposed to Sita.'
(i) Proper names must shift. | b. * Mat -tumae=aq i=Cicciq .
AV-propose=1 PRS=N
INT: 'I'm proposing to Sita.'
(ii) No Proper names in AV. | c. Iqo mat -tumae=i i=Cicciq ?
you AV-propose=3 PRS=N
'YOU proposed to Sita?'
(iii) Unless the agent extracts. |
|---|---|---|

1.2 Extraction and Intervention

- **Key Issue:** agent extraction should be impossible if object shift occurs.
 - **Subjects-Only Extraction:** non-highest arguments generally cannot extract (Keenan 1972).
 - **Intervention:** Extraction involves a probe on c relativized to D; targets the highest DP (Aldridge 2004).
 - **Prediction:** if object shift occurs, the agent should be (i) non-highest and (ii) unable to extract (4).
- **Question:** does the Mandar construction in (2c) instantiate the illegal (4)?

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¹**Abbreviations:** MOUSE: Movement of Objects Under Subject Extraction; 1/2/3: first/second/third person; ABS: absolutive; ASP: aspect; AUX: auxiliary; AV: agent voice; CV: conveyance voice; EMPH: emphasis; EQ.NEG: equative negation; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; L: linker; N: name; NOM: nominative; NEG: negation; PFV: perfective PL: plural; PRT: particle; PRS: person determiner; PV: patient voice.

(3) *Object Shift: Objects Extract Freely*(4) *Object Shift: Agents should not Extract*

- **Today's Proposal:**

- The construction in (2c) does involve object shift- but to a position beneath the agent.
- **Proposal:** this configuration involves a $voice^0$ distinct from $voice_{AV}$ which forces agent extraction.
- **Upshot:** the intervention-based approach survives; Mandar does not show structures like (4).

1.3 Roadmap

1. **Mandar Basics:** specific objects shift; object shift conditions AV-PV alternations.
 2. **Proposal:** MOUSE (Movement of Objects Under Subject Extraction) and the $voice_{MOUSE}$ head.
 3. **Prospectus:** captures similar (and more surface-problematic) patterns across WMP and beyond.
- Mandar data come from primary fieldwork (OCT 18-PRES) and Indonesian documentary resources.

2 Agent Voice Objects

2.1 Mandar Agent Voice: an Antipassive

- **Indonesian-style voice:** basic AV-PV distinction; no LV, CV.

- Transitive AV verbs show a prefix $maN-$; PV verbs are bare stems with ergative prefixes (2).
 - * $maN-$ is complex: the AV infix $-um-$ in $voice^0$ + the antipassive $paN-$ in v^0 / μ^0 .
 - * $-Um-$ introduces the agent; $paN-$ case-licenses the object, forces low scope (9b).

(5) *paN- licenses AV objects; forces low scope.*

- a. Tattaq=aq **umm**-ande (***bau**).
still=1 AV-eat fish
'I'm still eating.'
- b. Tattaq=aq **maq**-ande **bau**.

- c. Indang=aq **mam**-baluq balenga gena.
NEG=1 AV-sell rice.cooker earlier
OK: 'I didn't sell any rice cookers earlier.'
NOT: 'There was one specific rice cooker...'

- **Agent Voice bans Object Shift**

- Specific objects (pronouns, names) strictly undergo object shift; force PV (*cf.* Rackowski 2002).
- **Pattern:** no specific objects for AV verbs (8); $voice_{AV}$ lacks an EPP feature.
- **Result:** AV objects 'trapped' within the $voiceP$ phase.

- (6) ?***Na-/Mas**-saka=pa=i bau. (7) **Na**-cinnoq=bando=o **iqo**? (8) ***Mac**-cinnoq=bandi=i **iqo**?
 3.PV/AV-catch=yet=3 fish 3.PV-kiss=REALLY=2 you AV-kiss=REALLY=3 you
 ‘He’s still catching fish.’ ‘Did he really kiss you?’ Int: ‘Did he really kiss you?’

2.2 Restrictions on AV Objects

- **Antispecificity:** no pronouns, proper names (2b).
- **Agreement:**
 - 2P agreement clitics index the subject: AV agent, PV patient (9).
 - Agreement cannot target the AV object.

(9) *Second-Position Subject Agreement*

- a. Indang=**aq**=tuq yau **m**-eloq! b. Iqda=**aq** **mu**-pessangi. c. ***Maq**-itai(=aq)=**i** yau posa.
 NEG=1=EMPH I AV-want NEG=1 2.PV-care.for AV-look.for=1=3 I cat
 ‘I don’t want to!’ ‘You don’t care for me.’ INT: ‘I’m looking for a cat.’
 Pelenkahu et al. 1987: 2.14 Muthalib & Sangi 1991: A362

- **Quantifier Association:**
 - The 2P floating quantifier *nasang* ‘all’ associates with the subject (10a).
 - Cannot associate with the AV object (10b).

(10) *The 2P Quantifier associates with the subject.*

- a. **Na**-oloqi=**nasang**=i iting k-drama. b. **Mat**-tinroq=**nasang**=i posa-u balao.
 3.PV-like=all=3 that k-drama AV-chase=all=3 cat-1 mouse
 ‘She likes all those k-dramas.’ PV:AGENT ‘My cats are all chasing mice.’ AV:AGENT
 Not: they all like that k-drama.’ *AGENT Not: ‘my cat chases all mice.’ *AGENT

3 Agent Extraction and Object Shift

3.1 The Key Pattern

- **When agents extract:**
 - AV objects can be specific, pronominal (11a).
 - AV objects can trigger agreement, associate with 2P quantifiers (11b).

(11) *Agent Extraction allows AV objects to be specific, trigger agreement, associate with quantifiers.*

- a. Masa, **i=Cicciq** **mac**-cinnoq=**o** **iqo**? b. **Yau** **maq**-itai=**nasang**=**i** sola-u.
 no.way, PRS=N AV-kiss=2 you? I AV-look.for=all=3 friend-1.
 ‘No way, Sita kissed you?’ ‘I’m the one who’s looking for all my friends’

- **Surface Pattern:** object shift occurs and does not block agent extraction.

3.2 Three Arguments for Object Shift

- **Specificity Restrictions:**

- Specific objects shift; cannot occur with AV in Mandar unless agents extract (11a).
- Diesing’s (1992) MAPPING HYPOTHESIS: these elements should undergo object shift.

- **Agreement parasitic on Shift**

- Object agreement cannot occur with predicates that ban object shift.
- *Min-jari* ‘become’: forces objects to undergo pseudo-incorporation (12); bans movement.

(12) *Copular Verbs Ban Object Shift*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. Na=min-jari=guru=aq.
FUT=AV-become-teacher=1
‘I’ll become a teacher.’</p> | <p>b. *?Na=min-jari=aq to=Indonesia.
FUT=AV-become=1 PERSON=PLACE
‘I’ll become an Indonesian citizen.’</p> |
|--|---|

- **Extraction context:** this verb bans object agreement; other copular verbs follow suit (13).
- **Claim:** object agreement arises only when objects shift.

(13) *Copular Verbs Ban Object Agreement under Agent Extraction*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. Mang-ippi=aq yau min-jari(*=o) iqo.
AV-dream=1 I AV-become=2 you
‘I dreamt that I became you.’</p> | <p>b. Nah, yau tania(*=o) iqo, tapi...
PRT I EQ.NEG=2 you but
‘Well, I’m not you, but...’</p> |
|--|---|

- **Applicative Constructions force Shift**

- The applicative *-ang* cannot co-occur with regular AV (Pearson 2001, Rackowski & Richards 2005).
- This morphology can only surface when its object can shift: e.g. in PV (14a).

(14) *No Applicatives with Regular AV*

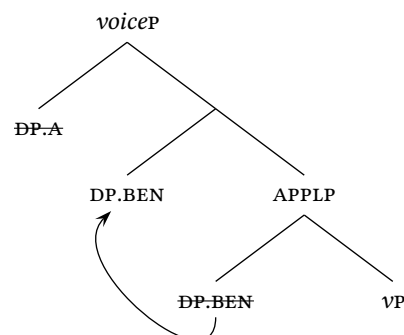
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|--|--|
| <p>a. *Mam-be-ngang=aq sola-u doiq.
AV-give-APPL=1 friend-1 money
Intended: ‘I gave my friend money.’</p> | <p>b. Mane na-be-ngang=aq yau doiq.
just.now 3.PV-give-APPL=1 I money
‘He just gave me some money.’</p> |
|--|--|

- **Extraction context:** the applicative can co-occur with AV morphology (15).

(15) *Agent Extraction allows AV Applicatives*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. Yau mas-sola-ngang=i dio di=ramasakiq.
I AV-accompany-APPL=3 there in=hospital
‘I went with him to the hospital.’
Friberg & Jerniati 2000: Ex.170</p> | <p>c. <i>Applicatives Shift when Agents Extract</i></p> |
|--|---|

- b. Na-sio=aq *pro*₁ lamba **mang-alli-ang=i** buku.
3.PV-tell=1 *pro* go AV-buy-APPL=3 book
‘She made me go buy him a book.’
Friberg & Jerniati 2000: Ex.248



- **Proposal:** these constructions involve *MOUSE: Movement of Objects Under Subject Extraction*.

3.3 Distinct Voice triggers Object-Shift + Agent Extraction

- **The Mouse Head.**

- The *MOUSE* construction permits object shift; regular *voice_{AV}* blocks it.
- The *MOUSE* construction arises exclusively when agents extract; regular *AV* does not.
- **Proposal:** the *MOUSE* pattern involves a distinct *voice_{MOUSE}*.

- **Morphological Evidence**

- *voice_{MOUSE}* distinct from *voice_{AV}* in the Makassar subgroup (South Sulawesi; Friberg 1996, Jukes 2006).
- **Coastal Konjo:** The regular *AV* morpheme *aN(N)*- triggers nasal suppletion (16).

(16) *Konjo: Agent Voice triggers Nasal Suppletion*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. Apa na-kanre ri eleq-na?
 what 3.PV-eat in morning-3
 ‘What does he eat in the mornings?’</p> | <p>b. Ang-nganre=i Amir loka.
 AV-eat=3 N banana
 ‘Amir is eating bananas.’
 Coastal Konjo; Friberg 1996:143-146</p> |
|--|---|

- **Mouse Contexts: Distinct Morphology**

- Regular *AV* morphology occurs when agents extract over nonspecific objects (17a).
- **Mouse Context:** a distinct prefix *aN-* which triggers no nasal suppletion (17b).

(17) *Mouse Constructions shows Distinct Morphology*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. Amir ang-nganre loka.
 N AV-eat banana
 ‘AMIR is eating bananas.’</p> | <p>b. Ali ang-kanre=i lamejaha-ta.
 N <i>MOUSE</i>-eat=3 sweet.potato-2
 ‘ALI ate your sweet potato.’
 Coastal Konjo; Friberg 1996:143-146</p> |
|--|---|

- **Proposal:** *aN-* spells out a *voice_{MOUSE}* distinct from *voice_{AV}*.

- Appears exclusively when agents extract over specific objects.
- These objects can be pronominal, trigger agreement.
- The same head gets spelled out as *AV* on the surface in Mandar- but it’s syntactically distinct.

3.4 Interim Summary: the Mouse Problem

- **Prediction:** object shift should bleed agent extraction on the intervention-based approach.
- **Problem:** Mandar, Konjo: permit object shift with agent extraction (*MOUSE*); show distinct morphology.
- **Question:** how can we reconcile this pattern with our theory of extraction restrictions?

4 Mouse meets Intervention

4.1 Two Approaches to the Mouse Pattern

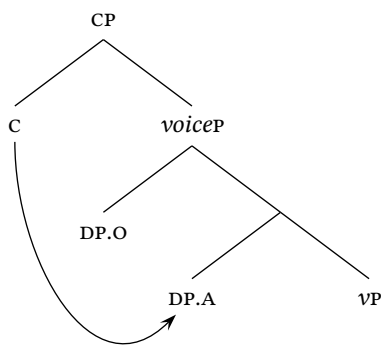
- **Patient Voice, Non-Highest Extraction**

- MOUSE constructions might show PV syntax: the object shifts above the agent.
- Surface MOUSE morphemes would be surface allomorphs of PV triggered by non-highest extraction.
- **Result:** c would attract the agent non-locally; the intervention account would be abandoned.

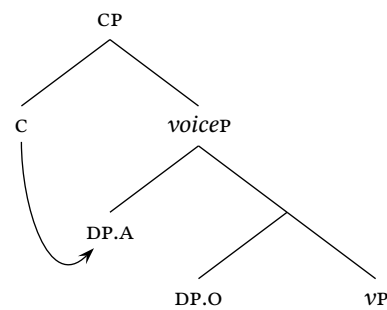
- **Extraction Voice, Highest-Only Extraction**

- **Alternative:** the MOUSE morpheme $voice_{MOUSE}$ is neither AV nor PV.
- $voice_{MOUSE}$ triggers object shift to a position beneath the agent, unlike $voice_{AV}$ and $voice_{PV}$.
- **Result:** intervention-based account of extraction restrictions can be preserved.

(18) *PV Approach: Mouse involves PV*



(19) *Alternative: Mouse distinct from PV*



4.2 Mouse Objects and the Middle Field

- **Pattern:** the MOUSE object stops showing subject properties above *voiceP*.

- **Significance:** the PV approach predicts that it should behave as a typical subject; it does not.

- **Preverbal Quantifiers**

- The preverbal quantifier *sangnging* ‘all’ strictly associates with the subject (20a).
- This quantifier cannot associate with non-subjects in either AV or PV (20b).

(20) *Preverbal Quantifiers associate with the Subject*

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Sangnging me-cawa=i maq-ita kedo-na.
 all AV-laugh=3 AV-see act-3
 ‘They all laughed seeing what he did.’
 Sikki et al. 1987;B17</p> | <p>b. Sangnging na-ita=o kanneq-mu?
 all 3.PV-see=2 grandparent-2
 ‘Did your grandfather see all of you?’
 NOT: ‘Did you see all of your grandparents?’</p> |
|---|--|

- MOUSE context: *sangnging* strictly associates with the extracted agent, NOT the object (cf. PV; 20b).

(21) *Preverbal Quantifiers cannot associate with the Mouse Object*

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Innai sangnging maq-ita=o?
 who all AV-see=2
 ‘Who.PLUR saw you.SG?’
 NOT: ‘Who saw you guys?’</p> | <p>b. Sola-u sangnging map-pecawai=aq.
 friend-1 all AV-laugh.at=1
 ‘My friends all laughed at me.’
 NOT: ‘My friend laughed at all of us.’</p> |
|---|--|

- **Second-Position Agreement**

- The regular subject agreement probe sits in FIN^0 ; agreement clitics strictly move to 2P.
- The clitics form a cluster with other 2P elements after the highest AUX (22b),

(22) *Subject clitics move to 2P; form a clitic cluster*

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. Indang=aq meloq daiq maq-ellong ae!
 NEG=1 want go.up AV-sing PRT
 ‘Hey, I don’t want to go up and sing!’</p> | <p>b. Pura=tongang=i u-tumae i=Cicciq e!
 already=truly=3 1.PV-propose PRS=N PRT
 ‘Hey, I really already proposed to Sita!’</p> |
|--|--|

- MOUSE CONTEXT: object agreement is verb-adjacent, not 2P (*cf.* PV; 22b).
- **Proposal:** the probe behind the MOUSE agreement is on voice^0 , NOT FIN^0 .

(23) *Mouse Clitics are verb-adjacent; cannot move to 2P*

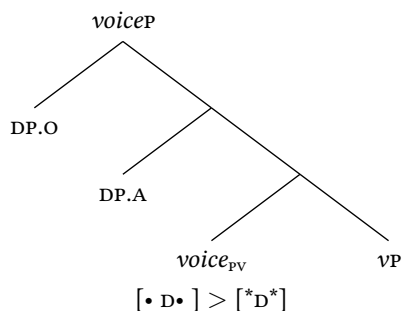
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|--|---|
| <p>a. Yau indang meloq mat-tuyuq=o e!
 I NEG want AV-tie=2 PRT
 ‘Ok, I don’t want to marry you!’</p> | <p>c. Yau pura=tongang mat-tumae=i e!
 I already=truly AV-propose=3 PRT
 ‘Hey, I really already proposed to her!’</p> |
| <p>b. *Yau indang=o meloq mat-tuyuq e!</p> | <p>d. *Yau pura=tongang=i mat-tumae e!</p> |

4.3 Analysis: Low Object Shift

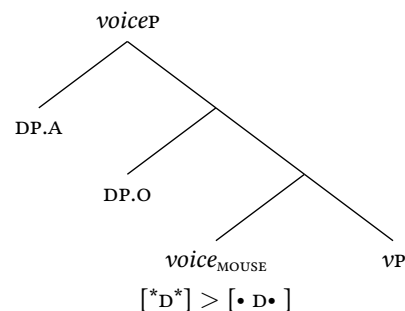
- **Proposal:** the MOUSE construction involves a $\text{voice}_{\text{MOUSE}}$ which triggers low object shift (25).
 - Like voice_{AV} : $\text{voice}_{\text{MOUSE}}$ keeps the external argument highest in the voiceP phase.
 - But: ν_{MOUSE} forces the agent to extract and bears an EPP feature which triggers object shift.
- **Implementation**

- **Feature Ordering** (Heck & Müller 2007) to derive a tucking-in pattern (Richards 1997).
 - * Two relevant features: trigger MERGE [\bullet F \bullet] and PROBE [\bullet F \bullet]^{EPP}
 - * voice_{PV} : [\bullet D \bullet]^{EPP} > [\bullet D \bullet]
 - * $\text{voice}_{\text{MOUSE}}$: [\bullet D \bullet] > [\bullet D \bullet]^{EPP}
- **Result:** voice_{PV} triggers shift above the agent; $\text{voice}_{\text{MOUSE}}$ trigger shift below it.

(24) *Patient Voice: Merge A, then Probe O*



(25) *Mouse: Probe O, then Merge A*



5 Conclusion

5.1 Summary: Mice in Mandar

- **Pattern:** Mandar provides evidence that AV clauses with agent extraction allow object shift.
 - Subject Agreement (2) parasitic on object shift (13)
 - Obviation of Specificity Restrictions (11)
 - Constructions which force object shift permitted (15)
- **Significance:** Intervention-based accounts of the extraction restriction cannot allow regular object shift.
 - Object shift targets a position above the agent in regular PV clauses (Rackowski 2002).
 - The extraction probe should only be able to target the highest element (Aldridge 2004).
 - Thus clauses with object shift should not allow agents to extract.
- **Solution:** MOUSE involves a distinct *voice*_{MOUSE} which triggers low object shift and forces agent extraction.
 - Mandar: MOUSE objects don't look like AV or PV objects:
 - * **Unlike AV Objects:** no antispecificity, control agreement, undergo some movement.
 - * **Unlike PV Objects:** no preverbal quantifiers (21), no 2P agreement (23).
 - * They trigger agreement on *voice*; clitics surface on the verb, not in 2P (23).
 - Makassar, Konjo: *voice*_{MOUSE} morphologically distinct from *voice*_{AV}.
- **Key Point:** this analysis saves the intervention approach to extraction restrictions.

5.2 The Family Picture

- **Generality:** many WMP languages appear to show MOUSE patterns.
 - Tagalog: specificity constraints on AV objects lift when agents extract (Mcfarland 1978).
 - Squaliq Atayal: AV objects can surface with absolutive marking when agents displace (Erlewine 2016).
 - South Sulawesi: the Mandar agreement pattern recurs across the subfamily (Kaufman 2008).
 - Pamona (Pamona-Kaili, Central Sulawesi), Padoe (Bungku-Tolaki; Southeast Sulawesi): object pronouns surface in the absolutive case when agents extract (Vuorinen 1995, Mead 2002).

(26) *Atayal (Atayalic): Mouse Objects can take ABS case*

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. Cyux m-aniq sehuy qu Yuraw.
 AUX AV-eat taro ABS Yuraw
 'Yuraw is eating taro.'</p> | <p>b. Ima wal m-aniq qu sehuy qasa?
 who AUX AV-eat ABS taro that
 'Who ate that taro?'</p> |
|---|---|
- Squaliq Atayal; Erlewine 2016: 2-3

(27) *Padoe (Bungku-Tolaki): Mouse Pronominal Objects require ABS Case.*

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. Mo-nahu=aku=to inehu.
 UM-cook=1.ABS=PFV vegetable
 'I cooked vegetables.'</p> | <p>b. Iiko kaa t-um-o'ori=aku kee?
 2.ABS EMPH UM-know=1.ABS Q
 'Do YOU know me?'</p> |
|--|---|
- Pamona: Vuorinen 1995:105-110

5.3 Key Result: Explains Quirky Extraction

- Some languages permit agents to extract across surface PV morphology.
 - Selayarese (South Sulawesi): Finer & Basri 1987; (28).
 - Tagalog: certain idiolects permit agents to extract over PV morphology (Pizarro-Guevara 2020).
- **Problem:** this looks even worse for the intervention-based account of extraction restrictions!

(28) *Selayarese: Agent Extraction over Specific Patients forces PV morphology.*

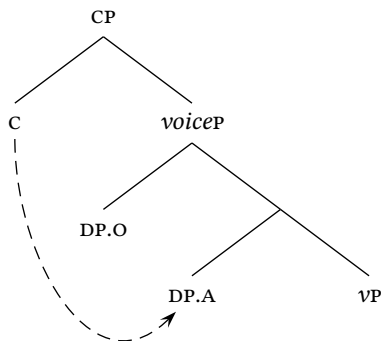
- a. **Ang**-alle=i doiq i=Basoq.
AV-take=3 money PRS=N
'Baso' took (some) money.'
- b. **i=Basoq la**-alle=i doiq-**injo**.
PRS=N 3.PV-take=3 money-the
'Baso' took the money.'
Finer & Basri 1987: 142-143

(29) *Tagalog Idiolects allow Agent Extraction with PV.*

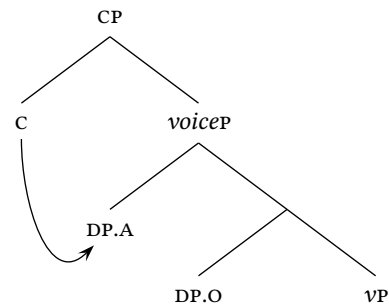
- a. **Hotshots g-in-ulpi ang** Picanto.
TEAM PV-beat ABS TEAM
'The Hotshots beat Picanto in a landslide.'
Pizarro-Guevara (2020); cited from the online sports magazine Philstar.
- b. Ang 7% ng mga kabataan **ay k-in-ain ang**
ABS NUM GEN PL youth AY PV-EAT ABS
i-ni-re-rekomenda=ng dalawa o higit
CV-ASP-ASP-recommend=L two or more
- pa=ng mga servings ng prutas kada araw.
too=L PL servings GEN fruit each day.
'As for 7% of the younger people, they eat the recommended 2+ servings of fruit each day.'
Pizarro-Guevara (2020); cited from *Prutas: Ang bagong cookie* ('fruits: the new cookie') on the website 'Just Be Beauty.'

- **Solution:** These constructions involve $voice_{MOUSE}$ spelled out as morphologically indistinct from PV.
 - **Prediction:** the objects in these constructions should behave like their Mandar analogues.
- **Upshot:** the $voice_{MOUSE}$ analysis defuses threats to the intervention approach to extraction restrictions.
 - The $MOUSE$ analysis allows us to rule out constructions like (30).
 - Agent extraction contexts with specific objects involve the structure in (31) in Mandar; likely elsewhere.
 - Surface voice puzzles (e.g. Tagalog) reduce entirely to morphological puzzles in spelling out $voice_{MOUSE}$.

(30) *Impossible: Non-Local Extraction*



(31) *Mouse Construction: Low Object Shift*



6 Appendix A: Mayan Parallel

- **The Same Problem**
 - Mayan transitive = Austronesian PV: the object shifts above the agent.
- **Agent Extraction: Three Surface Solutions:** Coon et al. 2020
 - **Antipassive:** verbs take antipassive morphology in MAMEAN.
 - **Transitive:** verbs take regular transitive morphology in GREATER TSELTALAN
 - **Agent Focus:** verbs take distinct ‘agent extraction’ morphology in K’ICHEAN, GREATER Q’ANJOBALAN.
- **Suggestion:** these patterns represent surface-level variation in the spell-out of *voice*_{MOUSE}.
 - **Prediction:** Mayan languages should show evidence for the MOUSE pattern.
 - **Key Point:** subject agreement targets the object when agents extract in Q’ANJOBAL’AN, MAMEAN.
- **Morphology:** Austronesian and Mayan show the same surface variation in the spell-out of *voice*_{MOUSE}.

<i>voice</i> _{MOUSE} as:	THE ANTIPASSIVE (AV)	THE TRANSITIVE (PV)	DISTINCT V.EXTR
SOUTH SULAWESI	Mandar	Selayarese	Konjo
AUSTRONESIAN	Most WMP	Tagalog Idiolects	??
MAYAN	Greater Tseltalan	Mamean	K’ichean; Greater Q’anjobal’an.

7 Appendix B: whence Push?

7.1 Mouse Without Extraction

- The MOUSE morpheme *voice*_{MOUSE} surfaces when agents extract- **why?**
 - Coon et al. (2020): parallel *voice*_{AGENT.FOCUS} in Mayan subcategorizes for an agent with A’-features.
- **Speculation:** the MOUSE pattern might not be linked to extraction in all cases.
 - **Observation:** MOUSE patterns occasionally show up when subjects move to 2P.
- **Sa’dan Toraja** (South Sulawesi, Northern Subgroup)
 - **Agreement:** 2P clitics index the subject: AV agent, not AV patient (32a).
 - **Subject Positions:** pronominal subjects, agreement clitics move to 2P in SSUL.
 - **Mouse.2:** When AV subject pronouns move to an AUX, the object can trigger MOUSE agreement (32b).

(32) *Sa’dan Toraja: Mouse without Extraction.*

a. **Un-tiro=ko** burung.
 AV-see=2 bird
 ‘You see a bird.’

b. **Mangka=na’** *pro*_{1SG} **un-tiro=i.**
 already=1 *pro* MOUSE-see=3
 ‘I’ve already seen him.’ Kaufman 2009:23

- **Squliq Atayal: A Similar Pattern?** Erlewine 2016
 - **Subject** arguments marked with *qu* ‘ABS’ (26a).
 - Agent extraction allows MOUSE objects to surface with absolutive marking (26b).
 - When the AV subject is a 2P pronominal clitic which moves to follow an AUX,
 - The object can take *qu*, show ABS case-marking (33).

(33) *Squliq Atayal: Subject Movement to 2P licenses Mouse ABS.*

- a. Cyux **m**-aniq (***qu**) sehuy qasa **qu** Yuraw. b. Nyux=**saku m**-aniq **qu** yutak qani.
 AUX AV-eat ABS taro that ABS N AUX=1.NOM MOUSE-eat ABS orange this
 ‘Yuraw is eating that taro.’ ‘I’m eating this orange.’
 Erlewine 2016:2 Erlewine 2016:4
- c. **Qu** can mark an argument which is not the subject as determined by voice morphology. This can happen **when the real subject is not in final position, either through extraction or cliticization.** E16:3

7.2 The future of the Mouse Problem

- If these cases represent instances of the same general schema, then:
- **Two Perspectives:**
 - The MOUSE construction might involve a *voice_{MOUSE}* head which ‘pushes’ the agent out.
 - * Parallels: *Wager* verbs (Postal 1974), French ECM (Kayne 1989), WMP applicatives (Pearson 2001)
 - * Formal impementation: dynamic antisymmetry (Moro 2004, Barrie 2006), parameterized EPP (Baker & Kramer 2016), subcategorization for A'-marked arguments (Coon et al. 2020)...
 - Or: MOUSE could be an epiphenomenal reflex of cyclic linearization (Fox & Pesetsky 2005)
 - * Apparent MOUSE constructions may involve the regular *voice_{AV}* which triggers no object shift.
 - * Spell-out of the (AV) *voice_P* phase would fix the hierarchical ordering of AGENT > OBJECT.
 - * The object would only be able to undergo shift if the agent were to cross over it again.
 - * **Result:** surface MOUSE pattern; no appeal to push-movement or *voice_{MOUSE}*.
- Further discussion: see Brodtkin (forthcoming).

8 References

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