

Question: Why only Pivots?

The Pivots-only Extraction Constraint (Keenan 1976):

- Western Austronesian Languages show voice systems that privilege one DP per clause—the pivot—through case-marking, agreement, linear position...
- WH-movement, focus-fronting, and relativization only target that one DP.

The Standard Analysis (Aldridge 2004):

- The pivot canonically raises above all other arguments in the clause, and
- WH-movement, focus-fronting, and relativization only target the highest DP.

Why should this constraint exist?

In Mandar (Austronesian; South Sulawesi), I argue:

- WH-movement usually targets a low position (\approx SPEC,TP).
- Strict locality emerges as a consequence of structural height.
- Strict locality vanishes as movement targets higher positions.

Background: Mandar

Mandar: 500,000 speakers; Indonesian province of West Sulawesi.
Verb-initial word order; no case-marking; pivot triggers ABS AGR.

- (1) Lamba **i** iAli dionging.
go 3ABS NAME yesterday
'Ali went yesterday.'

Voice alternations determine the identity of the pivot:

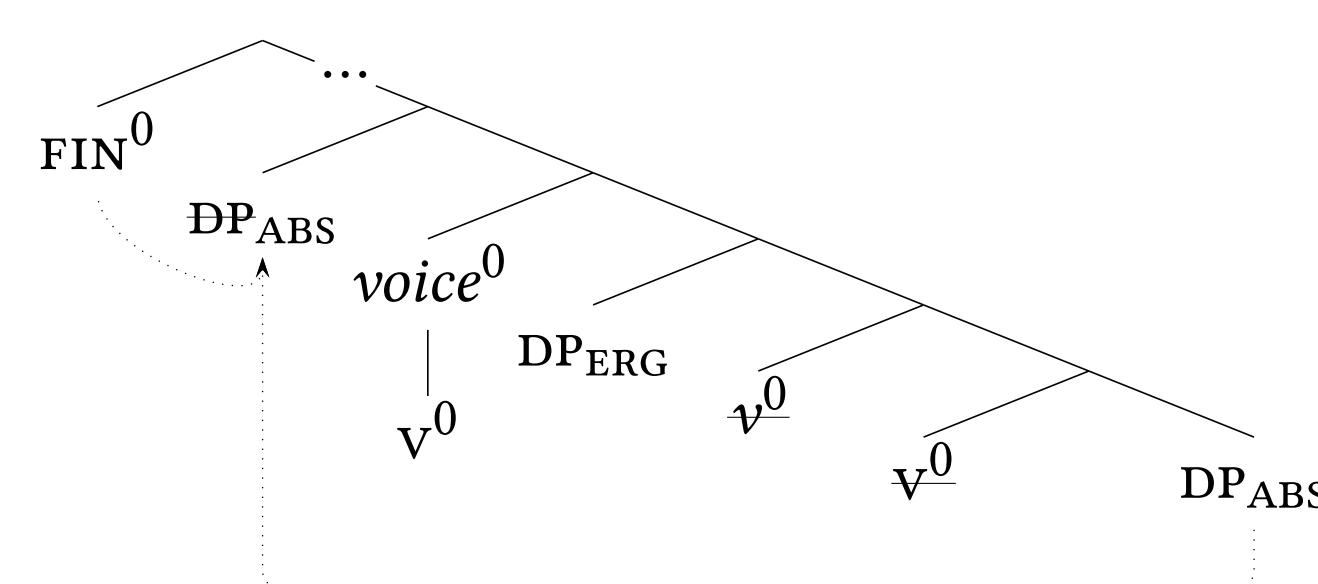
- AGENT VOICE: *man-* prefix; ABS AGR targets the external argument
- PATIENT VOICE: ERG prefix; ABS AGR targets the internal argument

- (2) **Mam**-baca a' yau buku. (3) U-baca i yau buku.
AV-read 1ABS 1SG book 1ERG-read 3ABS 1SG book
'I'm reading a book.' 'I read the book.'

Brodtkin (2022, in production) establishes:

- Voice morphology sits in v^0 /voice⁰; conditions assignment of ERG Case
- Pivots move covertly to the highest clause-internal A-position.
- Absolutive agreement sits in FIN⁰; assigns the pivot ABS Case

(4) Patient Voice: Syntax



Mandar Wh-Movement

Interrogative WH-words must move to the left periphery in Mandar.

- This movement triggers the disappearance of ABS AGR (compare Finer 1997)
- WH-questions = morphologically and syntactically distinct from pseudoclefts.

- (5) **Innai** lamba _____ dionging?
who go yesterday
'Who went yesterday?'

WH-movement → only the Pivot.

- (6) a. **Innai** na-pelambi'i iAli _____?
who 3ERG-visit NAME
'Who did Ali visit?' pv: Internal Argument
- b. ***Innai** na-pelambi'i _____ iAli?
who 3ERG-visit NAME
Intended: 'Who visited Ali?' pv: *External Argument

Pivot WH-Movement → Clause Reduction

WH-movement triggers more than Anti-Agreement:

- C-DELETION: WH-movement of the pivot forces the disappearance of *mua* "that" (c^0).

- (7) a. Mah-hara' a' **mua'** na-pelambi'i i 3ABS iAli iMina marondong.
AV-hope 1ABS that 3ERG-visit 3ABS NAME NAME tomorrow
'I hope that Ali visits Mina tomorrow.'
- b. **Innai** mu-hara' \emptyset /***mua'** na-pelambi'i iAli _____ marondong.
who 2ERG-hope that 3ERG-visit NAME
'Who do you hope (*that) Ali visits tomorrow?'

- NO TOPICALIZATION: WH-movement of the pivot forces the disappearance of an inner topic position.

- (8) a. Mah-hara' a' **mua'** **marondong** i na-pelambi'i iAli iMina _____
AV-hope 1ABS that tomorrow 3ABS 3ERG-visit NAME NAME
'I hope that tomorrow Ali visits Mina.'
- b. ***Innai** mu-hara' **marondong** na-pelambi'i iAli _____?
who 2ERG-hope tomorrow 3ERG-visit NAME
'Who do you hope tomorrow Ali visits?'

- JAILBREAK EFFECTS: WH-movement of the pivot forces clause-bound second-position clitics to escape.

- (9) a. U-sanga na-pelambi'i **bo** i 3ABS iAli iMina.
1ERG-think 3ERG-visit again 3ABS NAME NAME
'I think that Ali visited Mina again.'
- b. **Innai** **bo** mu-sanga na-pelambi'i _____ iAli _____?
who again 2ERG-think 3ERG-visit NAME
'Who do you think Ali visited again?'

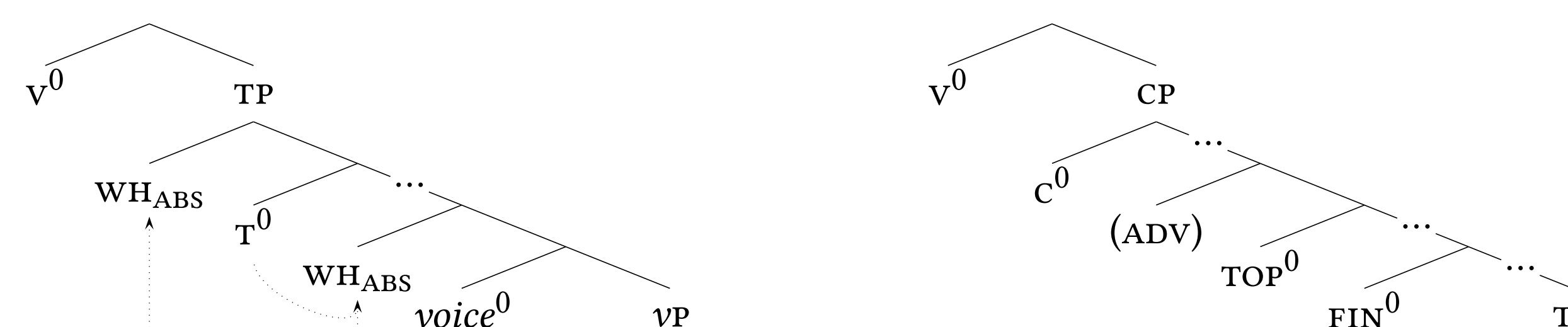
Wh-Movement Targets a Low Position

Brodtkin (in production):

- WH-Movement of the Pivot typically targets a low position in Mandar: SPEC,TP
- WH-Movement of the Pivot suspends all structure-building above its landing site = the Mandar clauses that launch pivot WH-movement are usually just TPs.

(10) Pivot Wh-Movement → Reduction

(11) Otherwise: More Structure-Building

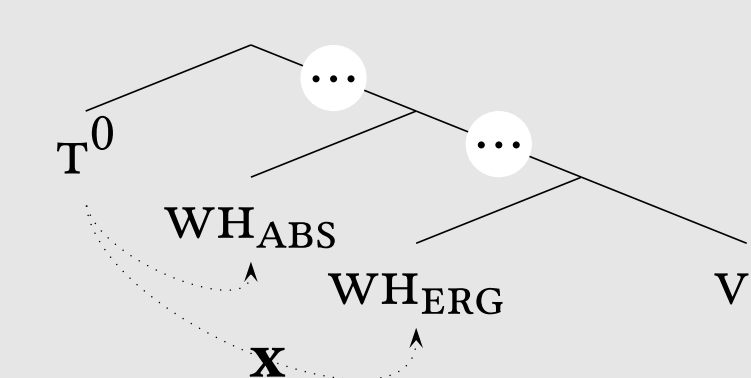


Low Wh-Movement → Strict Locality

Claim: WH-movement obeys A-locality when it targets low positions.

- Feature Ordering: UG contains universal hierarchies of both category features ($c > T$) and derivational features ($[\bullet WH\bullet] > [\bullet D\bullet]$) (Giorgi & Pianesi 1996)
- Feature Bundling: contiguous spans of features can be bundled into single heads. $[\bullet WH\bullet]$ is preferentially bundled with the $[\bullet D\bullet]$ feature on T^0 . (cf. Erlewine 2018)
- Complex Probing: when $[\bullet WH\bullet]$ is bundled with $[\bullet D\bullet]$ on T^0 , the result is a complex probe $[\bullet WH+D\bullet]$ that obeys the locality profile of $[\bullet D\bullet]$. (Aldridge 2004).

(12) Low Wh-Movement → Strict Locality



- Higher Structure: for WH-movement to evade strict locality, the $[\bullet WH\bullet]$ feature must split from T^0 and surface on a higher x^0 that lacks $[\bullet D\bullet]$. (Martinović 2022).

Comparison: High Wh-Movement

There is a second type of WH-movement in Mandar:

one that escapes the complement clauses of verbs that rigidly select cps.

- This type of WH-movement does not affect the presence of ABS AGR + c^0 .
- Evidence for mvt: island-sensitivity, *exactly*-stranding, weak crossover, prosody.

- (13) a. Ma'-ua a' **mua'** na-pelambi'i i 3ABS iAli iMina marondong.
AV-say 1ABS that 3ERG-visit 3ABS NAME NAME tomorrow
'I said that Ali will visit Mina tomorrow.'
- b. **Innai** mu-ua **mua'** na-pelambi'i i 3ABS iAli _____ marondong?
who 2ERG-say that 3ERG-visit NAME
'Who did you say that Ali will visit tomorrow?'

This kind of WH-movement does not destroy topic positions or lead jailbreaks for 2PCS:

- (14) a. **Innai** mu-ua **mua'** **marondong** i na-pelambi'i iAli _____?
who 2ERG-say that tomorrow 3ABS 3ERG-visit NAME
'Who did you say that tomorrow Ali will visit?'
- b. **Innai** _____ mu-ua **mua'** na-pelambi'i **bo** i 3ABS iAli _____?
who 2ERG-say that 3ERG-visit again 3ABS NAME
'Who did you say that Ali will visit again?'

High Wh-Movement → No Strict Locality

This second type of WH-movement avoids the Pivots-Only Constraint.

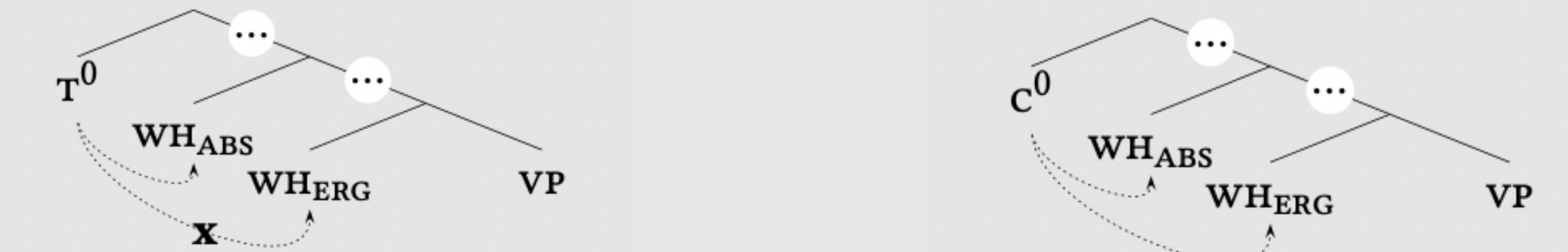
- (15) a. ***Apa** mu-sanga [TP _____ **mam**-baca (i) 3ABS iAli _____]?
what 2ERG-think AV-read 3ABS NAME
Intended: 'What do you think Ali is reading?' LOW WHM: *NON-PIVOT
- b. **Apa** mu-ua [CP _____ **mua'** **mam**-baca i 3ABS iAli _____]?
what 2ERG-say that AV-read 3ABS NAME
'What did you say that Ali is reading?' HIGH WHM: NON-PIVOT

Strict Locality disappears when WH-movement targets high positions.

- Higher structure-building forces unbundling of features that otherwise fall on T^0 .
- Building up to c^0 : $[\bullet WH\bullet]$ splits from $[\bullet D\bullet]$ and begins to probe alone.
- WH-movement acquires an \bar{A} -locality profile as it is launched from higher up.

(16) Low Wh-Movement

(17) High Wh-Movement



Looking Forward

Pivots-Only Extraction Constraint = Cross-Linguistic Default

- Low WH-movement always obeys strict locality, in Mandar + English.
- \bar{A} -locality emerges only as WH-movement begins to target higher positions.

(18) [TP Who [VP _____ read the book]]?

(19) [TP *What [VP you read _____]]?

(20) [CP What did [TP you [VP read _____]]]?

Parting Question:

- English resolves locality issues by derivationally building higher structure.
- What systems conspire to yield a different result—voice alternations—in Mandar?