

Object Shift and Agent Extraction in Mandar*

Dan Brodtkin; ddbrodki@ucsc.edu

August 21, 2020

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*

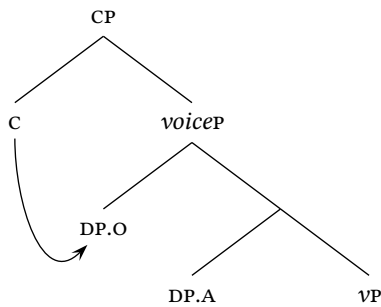
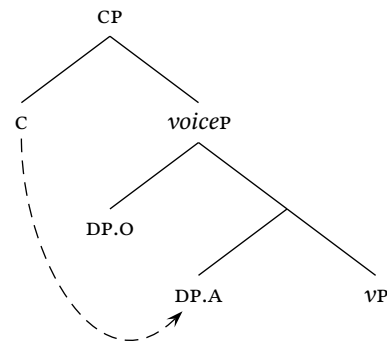
- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| a. U-tumae=i i=Cicciq.
1.PV-propose=3 PRS=N
'I proposed to Sita.'
(i) Proper names must shift. | b. *Mat-tumae=aq i=Cicciq.
AV-propose=1 PRS=N
INT: 'I'm proposing to Sita.'
(ii) No Proper names in AV. | c. Iqo mat-tumae=i i=Cicciq?
you AV-propose=3 PRS=N
'YOU proposed to Sita?'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

*Deep gratitude to Jupri Talib and Nabila Haruna for their friendship and generosity with their knowledge of Mandar. Special thanks to Sandy Chung and Maziar Toosarvandani for their guidance throughout this project. Thanks as well to Vishal Arvindam, Mitcho Erlewine, Dan Kaufman, Tyler Lemon, Jed Pizarro-Guevara, Justin Royer, Carly Sommerlot, Tamisha Tan, and Erik Zyman for productive discussion. All errors are mine.

¹**Abbreviations:** 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:** EXTRACTION ANTIPASSIVE head v_{EA} allows objects to undergo intermediate object shift.
 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 genaq.
 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 Mandarin 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*

- | | |
|--|--|
| <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 you 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> |
| <p>b. Na-sio=aq <i>pro</i>₁ lamba mang-alli-ang=i buku.
3.PV-tell=1 <i>pro</i> go AV-buy-APPL=3 book
'She made me go buy him a book.'
Friberg & Jerniati 2000: Ex.248</p> | |

- **Proposal:** these constructions involve intermediate object shift.

3.3 Distinct Voice triggers Object-Shift + Agent Extraction

- **The Extraction Antipassive Head.**

- The construction above permits object shift; regular AGENT VOICE morphology blocks it.
- This construction arises exclusively when agents extract; regular AGENT VOICE occurs without extraction.
- **Proposal:** this pattern involves a distinct v_{EA} .

- **Morphological Evidence**

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

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

- | | |
|--|---|
| <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> |
|--|---|

- **Agent Extraction over DP: Distinct Morphology**

- Regular AV morphology occurs when agents extract over nonspecific objects (17a).
- **Agent Extraction + DP Object:** a distinct prefix aN - which triggers no nasal substitution (17b).

(17) *EA 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 EA-eat=3 sweet.potato-2
 ‘ALI ate your sweet potato.’
 Coastal Konjo; Friberg 1996:143-146</p> |
|--|---|

- **Proposal:** aN - spells out a v_{EA} distinct from v_{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 Problem

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

4 The Extraction Antipassive and Intervention

4.1 Two Approaches to the Extraction Antipassive

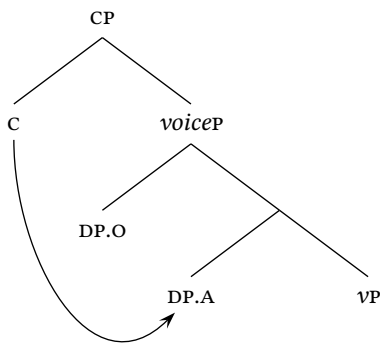
- **Patient Voice, Non-Highest Extraction**

- EA constructions might show PV syntax: the object shifts above the agent.
- Surface EA 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.

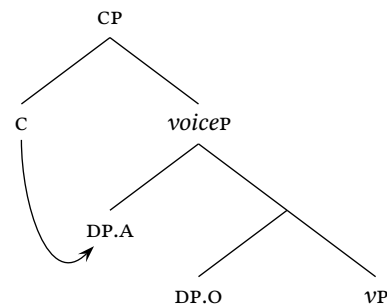
- **Extraction Voice, Highest-Only Extraction**

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

(18) *PV Approach: EA involves PV*



(19) *Alternative: EA distinct from PV*



4.2 EA Objects and the Middle Field

- **Pattern:** the EA 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> |
|---|--|

- EA context: *sangnging* cannot associate with the object (*cf.* PV; 20b).

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

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. *Innai sangnging maq-ita=o?
 who all AV-see=2
 INT: ‘Who saw you guys?’</p> | <p>b. *Sola-u sangnging map-pecawai=aq.
 friend-1 all AV-laugh.at=1
 INT: ‘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> |
|--|--|

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

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

- | | |
|--|---|
| <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> |

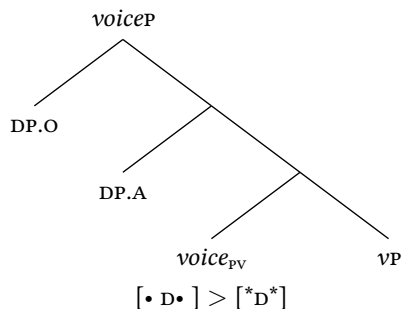
4.3 Analysis: Low Object Shift

- **Proposal:** the EA construction involves a v_{EA} which triggers low object shift (25).
 - Like v_{AV} : v_{EA} keeps the external argument highest in the VP phase.
 - But: v_{EA} forces the agent to extract and bears an EPP feature which triggers object shift.

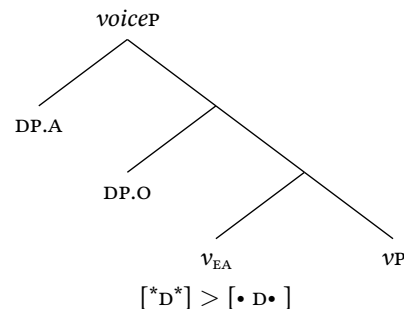
- **Implementation**

- **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}
 - * v_{PV} : [\bullet D \bullet]^{EPP} > [\bullet D \bullet]
 - * v_{EA} : [\bullet D \bullet] > [\bullet D \bullet]^{EPP}
- **Result:** v_{PV} triggers shift above the agent; v_{EA} trigger shift below it.

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



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



5 Conclusion

5.1 Summary: The Extraction Antipassive in Mandar

- **Pattern:** Mandar provides evidence that 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:** EA involves a distinct v_{EA} which triggers low object shift and forces agent extraction.
 - Mandar: EA 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: v_{EA} morphologically distinct from v_{AV} .
- **Key Point:** this analysis saves the intervention approach to extraction restrictions.

5.2 The Family Picture

- **Generality:** many WMP languages appear to show EA patterns.
 - Tagalog: specificity constraints on AV objects lift when agents extract (Mcfarland 1978).
 - Sqliq 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): EA 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?'
 Sqliq Atayal; Erlewine 2016: 2-3</p> |
|---|---|

(27) *Padoe (Bungku-Tolaki): EA 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?'
 Pamona: Vuorinen 1995:105-110</p> |
|--|--|

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.*

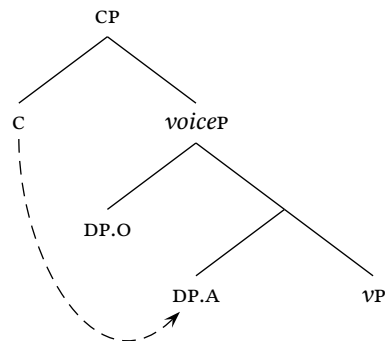
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. Ang-alle=i doiq i=Basoq.
 AV-take=3 money PRS=N
 ‘Baso’ took (some) money.’</p> | <p>b. i=Basoq la-alle=i doiq-injo.
 PRS=N 3.PV-take=3 money-the
 ‘Baso’ took the money.’
 Finer & Basri 1987: 142-143</p> |
|--|---|

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

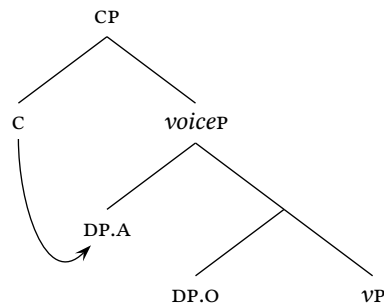
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Hotshots g-in-ulpi ang Picanto.
 TEAM PV-beat ABS TEAM
 ‘The Hotshots beat Picanto in a landslide.’
 Pizarro-Guevara (2020); cited from the online sports magazine Philstar.</p> | <p>pa=ng mga servings ng prutas kada araw.
 too=L PL servings GEN fruit each day.
 ‘As for 7% of the younger people, they eat the recommended 2+ servings of fruit each day.’
 Pizarro-Guevara (2020); cited from <i>Prutas: Ang bagong cookie</i> (‘fruits: the new cookie’) on the website ‘Just Be Beauty.’</p> |
| <p>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</p> | |

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

(30) *Impossible: Non-Local Extraction*



(31) *EA: 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:** regular AV morphology in e.g. Mam
 - **Transitive:** regular PV morphology in e.g. Chol
 - **Agent Focus:** distinct EA morphology in K'iche, Q'anjob'al.
- **Suggestion:** agent focus resembles the Austronesian case: allows low object shift.
 - **Prediction:** Mayan languages should show evidence for the EA pattern.
 - **Pattern:** subject agreement targets the object when agents extract in e.g. Q'anjob'al.
- **Morphology:** Austronesian and Mayan show the same surface variation in the spell-out of v_{EA} .

v_{EA} AS:	THE ANTIPASSIVE (AV)	THE TRANSITIVE (PV)	DISTINCT V.EXTR
SOUTH SULAWESI	Mandar	Selayarese	Konjo
AUSTRONESIAN	Most WMP	Tagalog Idiolects	??
MAYAN	Ch'ol	Mam	Q'anjob'al.

7 Appendix B: whence Push?

7.1 Extraction Antipassives Without Extraction

- The EA morpheme v_{EA} surfaces when agents extract- **why?**
 - Coon et al. (2020): parallel $v_{AGENT.FOCUS}$ in Mayan subcategorizes for an agent with A'-features.
- **Speculation:** the EA pattern might not be linked to extraction in all cases.
 - **Observation:** EA 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.
 - **EA:** When AV subject pronouns move to an AUX, the object can trigger EA agreement (32b).

(32) *Sa'dan Toraja: EA 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* EA-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 EA 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 object 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 EA-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 Problem

- If these cases represent instances of the same general schema, then:
- **Two Perspectives:**
 - The EA construction might involve a v_{EA} head which ‘pushes’ the agent out.
 - * Parallels: *Wager* verbs (Postal 1974), French ECM (Kayne 1989), WMP applicatives (Pearson 2001)
 - * Formal implementation: dynamic antisymmetry (Moro 2004, Barrie 2006), parameterized EPP (Baker & Kramer 2016), subcategorization for A'-marked arguments (Coon et al. 2020)...
 - Or: EA could be an reflex of cyclic linearization (Fox & Pesetsky 2005)
 - * Apparent EA constructions may involve the regular v_{AV} which triggers no object shift.
 - * Spell-out of the (AV) *voiceP* 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 EA pattern; no appeal to push-movement or v_{EA} .
- Further discussion: see Brodtkin (forthcoming).

8 References

- Aldridge, E. C. (2004). Ergativity and word order in Austronesian languages.
- Baker, M., & Kramer, R. (2016). Doubling clitics are pronouns: Reduce and interpret. Ms, Rutgers University and Georgetown University.
- Barrie, M. J. M. (2006). Dynamic antisymmetry and the syntax of noun incorporation (pp. 2136-2136). University of Toronto.
- Basri, H., & Finer, D. L. (1987). The definiteness of trace. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 141-147.
- Coon, J., Baier, N., & Levin, T. (2020). Mayan agent focus and the ergative extraction constraint: Facts and fictions revisited. Ms., McGill.
- Diesing, M. (1992). *Indefinites*. MIT press.
- Erlewine, M. (2016). Subject marking on non-subjects in Sqliq Atayal. In *Proceedings of AFLA (Vol. 20)*.
- Friberg, B. (1996). Konjo's peripatetic person markers. *Pacific Linguistics. Series A. Occasional Papers*, 84, 137-171.
- Friberg, T., & Laskowske, T. V. (1989). South Sulawesi languages. *Studies in Sulawesi linguistics part*, 1, 1-17.
- Fox, D., & Pesetsky, D. (2005). Cyclic linearization of syntactic structure. *Theoretical linguistics*, 31(1-2), 1-45.
- Heck, F., & Müller, G. (2007). Extremely local optimization. *Proceedings of the 26th WECOL*, 170-183.
- Jukes, A. (2006). *Makassarese (basa Mangkasara') A description of an Austronesian language of South Sulawesi (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Melbourne)*.
- Kaufman, D. (2008). S.Sulawesi pronominal clitics: Form, function and position. *Studies in Philippine languages and cultures*, 17, 13-65.
- Kayne, R. S. (1989). Null subjects and clitic climbing. In *The null subject parameter* (pp. 239-261). Springer, Dordrecht.
- McFarland, C. D. (1978). Definite objects and subject selection in Philippine languages. *Studies in Philippine linguistics*, 2(1), 139-182.
- Mead, D. (2002). Proto-Celebic focus revisited. *The history and typology of Western Austronesian voice systems*, 143, 177.
- Moro, A. (2004). Linear compression as a trigger for movement. *Triggers*, 387-430.
- Muthalib, A., & Sangi, M. Z. (1991). *Puisi Kalindaqdaq Mandar*. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Pearson, J. M. (2000). *The clause structure of Malagasy: A minimalist approach (Doctoral dissertation, UCLA)*
- Pelenkahu, R. A., Muthalib, A., & Sangi, M. Z. (1983). *Struktur Bahasa Mandar*. Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Pizarro-Guevara, J.S. (2020). *When human universal meets language specific (Doctoral dissertation)*. UC Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, CA.
- Postal, P. M. (1974). *On raising: One rule of English and its theoretical implications*. Cambridge, Mass.
- Rackowski, A. (2002). *The structure of Tagalog: Specificity, voice, and the distribution of arguments (Doctoral dissertation, MIT)*.
- Rackowski, A., & Richards, N. (2005). Phase edge and extraction: A Tagalog case study. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 36(4), 565-599.
- Vuorinen, P. (1995). Person marking in Padoe. *Studies in Sulawesi linguistics*, 4, 97-121.