

Agreement and Antiagreement in Mandar*

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1. Introduction

The South Sulawesi languages (Austronesian; Indonesia) show an *Anti-Agreement* effect (Ouhalla 1993, Schneider-Zioga 1995). In verb-initial clauses, these languages index the absolutive argument with an enclitic (1). When this argument is extracted, the enclitic drops (2). The following examples illustrate in Mandar, a language of the Northern Subgroup.¹

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| (1) Pole= i iKaco '.
come= _{3B} NAME
'Kaco' came.'
Sikki et al. 1987, 134 | (2) iKaco ' memang pole= <input type="checkbox"/>
NAME indeed come
'It's indeed Kaco' who came.'
Sikki et al. 1987, 572 |
|---|---|

This paper investigates two aspects of this Anti-Agreement effect in Mandar. First, it shows that the enclitic in (1) is an agreement morpheme and not a doubled pronoun (Sections 2-3). Second, it connects the Anti-Agreement effect to a prohibition on extraction from the highest argument position in a finite clause (Brandi and Cordin 1989). This analysis contrasts with that of Baier (2018), who takes an analogous effect in a related language of the South Sulawesi subfamily to provide evidence against this view. Close examination of the facts in Mandar reveals that such an alternative interpretation is not necessary: as this language shows High-Absolutive syntax (Brodtkin 2021a,b), the absolutive Anti-Agreement effect invariably arises as a byproduct of extraction of the highest argument in the clause.

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¹DATA: this paper draws examples from two sources: (i) prior descriptive work and (ii) elicitation (2018-) with Jupri Talib and others, recently via video-calling platform. Elicitation is in Indonesian; examples are given in a discourse context and presented in spoken and typed form. The results reported below resemble those documented in other languages of the South Sulawesi subfamily (Campbell 1989, Matti 1994, Strømme 1994, Valkama 1995, Friberg 1996, Finer 1999, Jukes 2006). GLOSSING: A: ergative, B: absolutive, G: genitive, ANT: antipassive, APPL: applicative, CAUS: causative, IRR: irrealis, ITR: intransitive, SG: singular, PL: plural.

2. The agreement system

Mandar shows an ergative agreement system. Finite clauses contain an enclitic which tracks the absolutive argument: the internal argument of a transitive verb (3), the external argument of an antipassive (4), and the single argument of an intransitive (1). Transitive verbs also take an ergative prefix (3). Here, I gloss the ergative prefix *A* and the absolutive enclitic *B*.

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| <p>(3) Na-ita=i iKaco' iAli
 3_A-see=3_B NAME NAME
 'Kaco' saw Ali.'
 JT: 3.19.26</p> | <p>(4) Ma'-uang=i iKaco' ...
 ANT-say=3_B NAME
 'Kaco' said...'
 Sikki et al. 1987, 1087</p> |
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Both morphemes track nominal and pronominal arguments (5-6). As the language allows *pro*-drop, these can be null (6). There is no parallel case-marking on nouns or pronouns.

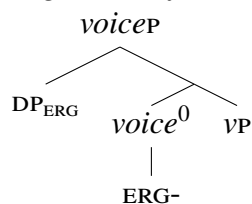
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| <p>(5) Salili=towando='o i'o.
 lonely=genuinely=2_B 2_{SG}
 'You'll really be lonely.'
 Muthalib and Sangi 1991, 183</p> | <p>(6) Indang=i u-ulle yau.
 not=3_B 1_A-can.do 1_{SG}
 'I can't do it.'
 Pelenkahu et al. 1983, 219</p> |
|---|--|

Previous work has established several generalizations about these two morphemes. First, the two show different phonological behavior. The ergative prefix sits at the left edge of the verb. It attaches inside the prosodic word and triggers word-level phonological processes (*ʔ*-deletion: 7; *b*-lenition: 8). The absolutive enclitic, in contrast, sits in second position. It attaches outside the word-level domain of penultimate stress (7-8; Brodtkin 2021c).

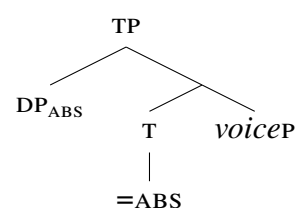
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(7) Mua' mélo'=i mu-íta,
 / muaʔ meloʔ=i mu-ʔita /
 if want=3_B 2_A-see
 'If you want to see it,'
 Muthalib and Sangi 1991, 27</p> | <p>(8) Púra=i na-walúang.
 / pura=i na-baluʔ-an /
 already=3_B 3_A-sell-APPL
 'He already sold it.'
 Sikki et al. 1987, 21</p> |
|--|---|

Second, the two occupy different syntactic positions. The ergative prefix sits in *voice*⁰: it appears in non-finite clauses, occurs only in the presence of an external argument (Harley 2013), and alternates with prefixes that suppress this argument (e.g., the passive prefix *di-*). The absolutive enclitic, in contrast, sits in *τ*⁰: it appears in all finite clauses, disappears in non-finite contexts, and tracks a High Absolutive argument in SPEC,TP (Brodtkin 2021a).

- (9) *Ergative Prefix: voice*⁰



- (10) *Absolutive Enclitic: τ*⁰



3. Clitic doubling and agreement

Generative work on the South Sulawesi languages has generally taken the morphemes above to reflect agreement (Béjar 1999). This pattern has led to an analysis of the effect in (2) in terms of *Anti-Agreement* (Baier 2018). This assumption, however, requires justification: many putative cases of agreement may reflect clitic doubling instead (Woolford 2003).

The following section shows that the traditional position is correct: the absolutive enclitic and the ergative prefix are agreement morphemes, not doubled clitics. Eight patterns suggest this view: both morphemes are (i) obligatory, (ii) unique, (iii) sensitive to intervention, (iv) index only person features, and (v) target non-referential goals, and the absolutive enclitic (vi) shows default forms, (vii) appears in second position, and (viii) shows finiteness-based allomorphy. Doubled clitics typically lack these properties (Corbett 2006, Preminger 2009, Nevins 2011, Kramer 2014, Baker and Kramer 2018). This fact suggests the view in (11).

- (11) *The Agreement Analysis* *Mandar, South Sulawesi*
The ergative prefix and absolutive enclitic reflect agreement, not clitic doubling.

3.1 Obligatoriness

The first argument for (11) comes from obligatoriness. Both the ergative prefix and absolutive enclitic are obligatory. Every finite clause contains one absolutive enclitic and every transitive verb bears an ergative prefix. This pattern holds even when the external argument is indefinite or nonspecific.² This reflects a typical property of agreement (Corbett 2006).

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| <p>(12) *(Na)-lambi=*(a') urang.
3_A-meet=1_B rain
'The rain caught me.'
Friberg and Jerniati 2000, 265</p> | <p>(13) *(Na)-anu=*(i) tau.
3_A-hit=3_B person
'People hit him.'
Sikki et al. 1987, 93</p> |
|---|--|

3.2 Uniqueness

The second argument for (11) involves uniqueness. There is no context in which a transitive verb takes two ergative prefixes (e.g., in a causative construction: 14). In the same vein, there is no context where a single clause hosts two absolutive enclitics (e.g., in a ditransitive construction: 15). This reflects another typical property of agreement (Corbett 2006).

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| <p>(14) Na-p-ande=i bau posa-nna.
3_A-CAUS-eat=3_B fish cat-3_G
'He made his cat eat fish.'
Sikki et al. 1987, 117</p> | <p>(15) U-be-ngan=o doi'.
1_A-give-APPL=2_B money
'I'll give you money.'
Sikki et al. 1987, 139</p> |
|---|--|

²Mandar does not allow indefinite arguments to occupy the absolutive (subject) position. As such, there is no context where the absolutive enclitic indexes an indefinite argument. Previous work has taken similar patterns to suggest that absolutive agreement is sensitive to the definiteness of its goal elsewhere (Yuan 2021). In Mandar, however, it is clear that this pattern does not reflect a property of the absolutive enclitic itself.

3.3 Locality

The third argument for (11) comes from intervention. In contexts where either the ergative prefix or absolutive enclitic could index one of two arguments, each must target the higher. In causatives, the ergative prefix tracks the causer, not the causee (16). In ditransitives, the absolutive enclitic tracks the goal, not the theme (17). This sensitivity to intervention reflects another property of agreement not shared by clitic doubling (Anagnostopoulou 2003).

(16) ***Na**-p-ande=i posa-nna **yau**.
 3_A-CAUS-eat=3_B cat-3_{GEN} 1_{SG}
 IM: ‘I made the cat eat fish.’
 JT: 4.1.78

(17) ***U**-bengan=**i i'o**.
 1_A-give=3_B 2_{SG}
 IM: ‘I’ll give it to you.’
 JT: 4.1.79

3.4 Granularity

The fourth argument for (11) comes from the lack of number distinctions. In Mandar, the ergative prefix and absolutive enclitic track only the person features of their goals. They do not track number. The 2_A prefix *mu-* and the 2_B enclitic =*o*, for instance, are used with both the second-person singular pronoun *i'o* (18, 20) and the plural pronoun *mie'* (19, 21).³

(18) Apa i'o **mu**-pecawai?
 what 2_{SG} 2_A-laugh.at

(20) Mangapa=**o** i'o?
 do.what=2_B 2_{SG}

(19) Apa mie' **mu**-pecawai?
 what 2_{PL} 2_A-laugh.at
 ‘What are you (guys) laughing at?’
 JT: 11.5.363, 11.5.364

(21) Mangapa=**o** mie'?
 do.what=2_B 2_{PL}
 ‘What are you (guys) doing?’
 JT: 7.7.411, 11.5.357

This pattern reflects a characteristic property of agreement: the ability to index only a subset of the features on a given goal (Béjar and Rezac 2003). Doubled pronominal clitics do not show the same behavior: rather, they typically index all features of their associates (Preminger 2011). This pattern thus suggests that both morphemes reflect agreement.

3.5 Non-Referentiality

The fifth argument for (11) comes from the fact that both morphemes track non-referential arguments. Both the ergative prefix and absolutive enclitic can track bound and quantified arguments (22). In the same vein, the absolutive enclitic can track a bound anaphor (23).⁴

³The South Sulawesi languages vary in this respect: some retain number and clusitivity distinctions in either paradigm for the first or second person. Two politeness shifts have leveled these distinctions in Mandar. Many languages recruit separate clitics to mark plurality of both arguments (Matti 1994, Strømme 1994).

⁴This pattern also holds of indefinites. It cannot be checked with *wh*-words, as a separate constraint rules out agreement with *A'*-moved elements. The anaphor pattern seems general to the subfamily (Jukes 2006).

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- (22) Na-ita=nasang_i=i sola-nna_i ana'_i.
3_A-see=every=3_B pal-3_G kid
'Her_i friend saw every_i kid.'
JT: 3.11.90
- (23) U-issang=i alawe-u.
1_A-know=3_B self-1_G
'I know myself.'
JT: 11.20.746

This pattern reflects a second property of agreement: its insensitivity to the referentiality of its target. Clitic doubling differs in this respect: in many languages, non-referential arguments resist clitic doubling (Suñer 1988, Baker and Kramer 2018). The patterns above, then, suggests that both the ergative prefix and absolutive enclitic represent agreement.

3.6 Defaults

Three additional arguments support (11) for the absolutive enclitic. The first concerns the existence of a morphological default form in contexts where agreement 'fails.' There are clauses where agreement lacks a referential goal: those with cps or expletives in argument positions. In these cases, the absolutive enclitic surfaces in a default third-person form.

- (24) Pura=i na-pipissang [_{CP} mua'...]
Once=3_B 3_A-reveal that
'Once he had revealed that...'
Sikki et al. 1987, 291
- (25) Tongang, urang=i.
true rain=3_B
'True, it's raining.'
Friberg and Jerniati 2000, 47

This pattern reflects another typical property of agreement: the tendency to surface in a default form when agreement fails. Doubled clitics do not do the same (Preminger 2009).

3.7 Second Position

The second argument concerns the position of the absolutive enclitic. It sits in second position (7-8). It has been claimed, however, that doubled clitics are always verb-adjacent (Franks and King 2000). If true, this pattern suggests that this morpheme reflects agreement.

3.8 TAM Allomorphy

The final argument involves finiteness-based allomorphy. In Mandar, the absolutive enclitic disappears in most non-finite contexts. The absolutive argument cannot be indexed by an absolutive enclitic in the complement clauses of control verbs (26) or in non-finite temporal nominalizations (27). The ergative prefix remains in both of these contexts (Brodkin 2021a).

- (26) Melo'=ad=i [umm-ande=□].
want=may=3_B ITR-eat
'Maybe he wants to eat.'
Sikki et al. 1987, 37
- (27) [Ururu u-ita-mmu=□],
first 1_A-see-2_G
'At my first seeing you,'
Muthalib and Sangi 1991, 3

Nevertheless, there is one non-finite construction where absolutive agreement takes on a distinct form. Mandar has a subordinator *anna'* which can embed irrealis clauses. These clauses index the absolutive argument not with an enclitic but with a suffix on this c^0 (29).

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| <p>(28) Mamba=mo='o!
go=already=2B
'Go!'
Muthalib and Sangi 1991, 400</p> | <p>(29) ... Anna'-mu mamba.
so.that-2B.IRR go
'So that you might go.'
Muthalib and Sangi 1991, 31</p> |
|---|--|

The same agreement pattern holds with all types of absolutive argument. Beneath *anna'*, the irrealis suffix tracks the antipassive external argument (30), transitive object, and ditransitive goal (31). The resultant clauses systematically lack the absolutive enclitic.

- (30) Bulang, indoi=a' mai **anna'-'u** mala **ma'**-issang alawe-u.
Moon, shine!=1B to.me so.that-1B.IRR can ANT-know self-my
'Moon, shine on me so that I might know myself.'
Song Lyric: *Bulang* (Sulkep Liaco; 2008)
- (31) Mua' diang pole pa'balu' do'ayu **anna'-mu** mamanya u-alli-**ang**,
if exist come seller vegetable so.that-2B.IRR currently 1A-buy-APPL
'If there is a vegetable seller come by and I am out buying things for you,'
JT: 4.2.229

The irrealis suffix resembles the genitive suffix in some languages of the South Sulawesi subfamily, but the resultant clauses are not nominalized in any way (Valkama 1995, Friberg 1996). As such, I take this suffix to reflect an irrealis allomorph of absolutive agreement.

This conclusion provides a final argument for (11): if the absolutive enclitic shows TAM-based allomorphy, it is likely a marker of agreement (Nevins 2011, cf. Yuan 2021).

4. The Anti-Agreement effect

These conclusions open up the following investigation. Like its relatives, Mandar does not allow the absolutive enclitic to target extracted absolutive arguments. Focused nominals, for instance, sit in a left-peripheral position. They cannot be indexed by agreement (32)-(33).

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| <p>(32) iKaco' mas-saka=□ manu'.
NAME ANT-catch chicken
'Kaco' is catching chickens.'
Sikki et al. 1987, 52</p> | <p>(33) I'o u-salili=□.
2SG 1A-miss
'I miss you.'
Muthalib and Sangi 1991, 13</p> |
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This pattern holds across the \bar{A} -system. Fronted w_H -words sit in the same position and cannot trigger agreement (34). The heads of relative clauses behave in the same way (35).

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| <p>(34) Innai lao ma'-issang=<input type="checkbox"/>?
 who will ANT-know
 'Who will know?'
 Muthalib and Sangi 1991, 247</p> | <p>(35) Tau mu-papa'jama=<input type="checkbox"/>.
 person 2A-employ
 'The people you employ'
 Sikki et al. 1987, 691</p> |
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This pattern is restated in (36). The same effect holds across the South Sulawesi subgroup and in several other Austronesian subgroups nearby (Martens 1988, Finer 1997, Mead 1998).

- (36) *The Absolute Anti-Agreement Effect* *Mandar; South Sulawesi*
 Extracted absolutive arguments cannot trigger absolutive agreement.

5. The status of absolutive Anti-Agreement

At first blush, the pattern in (36) appears to contradict the generalization in (37):

- (37) *The Highest-Argument Generalization* Ouhalla 1993
 Anti-Agreement effects arise exclusively as the result of extraction of the highest argument in the clause. They strictly implicate agreement with this argument.

This generalization has motivated an approach which links Anti-Agreement to constraints on extraction from subject positions. On this view, the effect arises as a byproduct of the syntactic manipulations required to extract the highest argument in the clause, on a par with the *that-trace* effect (Brandi and Cordin 1989, Schneider-Zioga 2007, Erlewine 2016).

The literature has taken the pattern in (36) as evidence against the generalization in (37). Baier (2018) suggests that the absolutive argument does not occupy the highest argument position in Selayarese, another language of the South Sulawesi subgroup. On this analysis, the Anti-Agreement effect above would run against (37): absolutive agreement would disappear with the extraction of an object from a low position. As such, Baier (2018) takes this pattern of Anti-Agreement- common to the subfamily- as evidence for a theory of Anti-Agreement that makes no reference to extraction from the highest argument position.

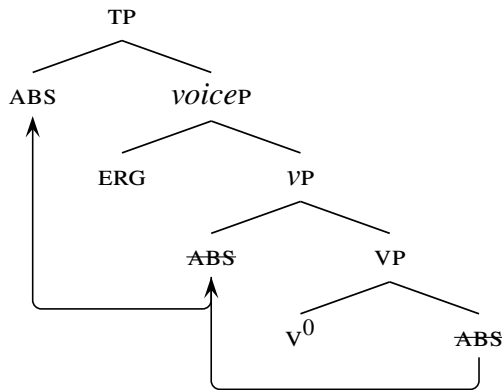
This analysis, however, falls short in two respects. First, Mandar and its relatives show High Absolutive syntax: they require the absolutive argument to raise to the highest argument position in the clause (Bittner and Hale 1996, Coon et al. 2014). The same view has been advanced for related languages across the region (Keenan 1976, Guilfoyle et al. 1992).

In South Sulawesi, four patterns provide evidence for this view. First, the absolutive argument triggers agreement on τ^0 (Béjar 1999, Brodtkin 2021a). Second, the ergative argument typically cannot undergo \bar{A} -extraction (Friberg 1996, Jukes 2006). Third, quantified absolutive arguments can bind variables in the ergative (22). Fourth, pronominal absolutive arguments triggers condition-c violations over R-expressions inside of the ergative (38).

- (38) *Na-ita=i [_{ERG} kindo'-na **iNina_i** anna' **iKaco'**] [_{ABS} *pro_i*].
 3A-see=3B mom-3G NAME and NAME her
 ('Nina_i and Kaco's mom saw her_i.')
- JT: 4.16, 127

These facts suggest that the absolutive argument moves to the highest argument position in this clause. I show the path which I assume for an absolutive object below (Brodtkin 2021a).

(39) *High Absolutive Syntax*



Given this understanding of Mandar clause structure, the pattern in (36) falls into conformity with the generalization in (37). As the Anti-Agreement effect involves agreement with the highest argument in the clause, it can be linked to constraints on highest-argument extraction.

Second, there is independent reason to believe that the South Sulawesi languages ban extraction from finite clauses. This lies in a pattern which was first noted in Selayarese (Finer 1997) but which holds equally in Mandar: extraction cannot cross an overt complementizer. In this language, the extraction of an absolutive argument from a complement clause forces (alongside the Anti-Agreement effect) the disappearance of the complementizer *mua'* (41).

(40) U-issang=i [CP **mua'** ma'botor=i iKaco'].
 1A-know=3B that gamble=3B NAME
 'I know that Kaco' gambles.' JT: 7.26, 157

(41) Innai mu-issang [ma'botor __]?
 who 2A-know gamble
 'Who do you know gambles?' JT: 7.26, 168

This is a type of *that-trace* effect, and like the Anti-Agreement effect above, it could naturally be interpreted in several ways. What I would like to suggest, however, is that these patterns receive a natural and unified explanation on the original view of the Anti-Agreement effect: namely, that Mandar bans extraction from the highest argument position of a finite clause.

6. Conclusion

Mandar shows an absolutive Anti-Agreement effect which implicates agreement with the highest argument of the clause and correlates with a *that-trace* effect. These facts suggest a link between this Anti-Agreement effect and constraints on highest-argument extraction.

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