Mouse in Mandar[*]

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1 First Puzzle: Extraction Constraints in Austronesian and Beyond

1.1 Austronesian Basics

- AUSTRONESIAN: family of 1,200 languages spoken across Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and the Pacific (Blust 2013)

- TYPOLOGICAL FOCUS: 'Philippine-Type' languages (Ross 2002)

    - Geographically: the languages of Taiwan, the Philippines, certain parts of Indonesia
    - Not a genetic unit; various primary branches of both AN and WESTERN MALAYO-POLYNESIAN (Smith 2018)

- The VOICE system:

    - The syntactic 'subject' of the clause can originate in any core thematic position.
        * External argument, internal argument, benefactor, location, instrument (Chen 2017)
    - This argument shows various 'special' morphological properties:
        * Triggers distinct verbal morphology   (Across the family)
        * Special case-marking   (The Philippines, Taiwan; rare elsewhere)
        * Special agreement   (Sulawesi)

    (1) *Austronesian Voice Alternations*   *Tagalog*

    a. K-**um**-ain ng   daga sa   pinggan para sa   aso **ang pusa**.
       AV-eat   GEN rat OBL plate for PBL dog NOM cat

       '**The cat** ate a rat on a plate for the dog.   Kaufman 2009:2

    b. Kinain-Ø ng   pusa **ang daga** sa   pinggan para sa   aso.
       ate-PV   GEN cat NOM rat   OBL plate   for PBL dog

       'The rat was eaten by a cat on a plate for the dog.'

    c. Kinain-an ng   pusa ng   daga **ang pinggan** para sa   aso.
       ate-LV   GEN cat GEN rat NOM plate   for PBL dog

       'The plate was rat-eaten on by a cat for the dog.'

    d. **I**-kinain ng   pusa ng   daga sa   pinggan **ang** aso.
       CV-ate GEN cat GEN rat OBL plate   NOM dog

       'The dog was rat-eaten for on a plate by a cat.'

- Previous Approaches

    1. CASE-AGREEMENT   (Chung 1998, Rackowski & Richards 2005, Chen 2017)
        – Voice indexes case-features of the subject (not thematic roles: Rackowski 2002)
        – Spells out agreement located on: C (Chung), T (R&R), or *v, appl,* or a combination of all of these (Chen)

    2. NOMINALIZATION   (Starosta, Pawley & Reid 1982; Kaufman 2009)
        – The modern voice markers historically derive from nominalizing morphology used in embedded clauses.
        – Synchronically still true: 'voice markers' are really thematic nominalizers (cf. English *-er, -ee*)
        – Verbal clauses are really copular; 'it was stol-**en**' is really 'it was a steal-**ee**'.

    3. ERGATIVITY   (Payne 1982; Aldridge 2004 *et. seq*)
        – Austronesian languages really just ergative; additional voices involve applicatives (Aldridge 2004)
        – PATIENT VOICE: The apparent 'passive' is just the basic transitive; agent not demoted.
        – AGENT VOICE: The 'active' is really an antipassive; the object is demoted or incorporated.

- Universal agreement: the subject is the structurally 'highest' argument in the clause.

1.2   The Extraction Constraint

- FAMILY-LEVEL RESTRICTION: the subject *alone* can undergo A'-extraction.

    – Wh-movement, clefting, and relativization only available to the argument singled out by voice.

    – Non-subjects cannot undergo any of these processes.

    (2)   *The Austronesian Extraction Restriction*   *Tagalog*

a.	Sino ang b-**um**-ili ng tela?	c.	Ano ang b**in**ili-Ø ng babae?
	who ABS AV-buy GEN cloth		what ABS buy-PV GEN woman
	'Who bought the cloth?'		'What was bought by the woman?'
b.	*Sino ang b**in**ili-**Ø ang** tela?	d.	*Ano ang b-**um**-ili **ang** babae?
	who ABS buy-PV NOM cloth		what ABS AV-buy NOM woman
	INT: 'Who was it bought by?'		INT: 'What did the woman buy?'

- Mandar (South Sulawesi): fewer voices; same restriction

    – Mandar (South Sulawesi): two-way contrast between TRANSITIVE and ANTIPASSIVE voices.

    – Subject: identified by ABS agreement; no case-marking or special linear position.

    – Restriction: only the transitive object and antipassive subject can undergo extraction.

    (3)   *Mandar Transitive*

a.	*Transitive Frame*:	b.	o-*Extraction*:	c.	A-*Extraction*:
	Tattaq=**o** **na**-itai		**Iqo** tattaq **na**-itai		*****Kamaq** tattaq=**o**
	ASP=2.ABS 3.ERG-look.for		you ASP 3A-look.for		dad ASP=2.ABS
	kamaq.		kamaq.		**na**-itai.
	dad		dad		3.ERG-look.for
	'Dad's still looking for you.'		'Dad's still looking for you.'		'Dad's still looking for you.'

    (4)   *Mandar Antipassive*

a. *Antipassive Frame*:
Mat-tappas=**aq**
ANTIP-wash=1.ABS
carecare.
clothes

'I'm washing clothes.'

b. A-*Extraction*:

Yau **mat**-tappas carecare.
i   ANTIP-wash clothes

'I'm washing clothes.'

c. O-*Extraction*:

*Carecare
clothes
mat-tappas=**aq**.
ANTIP-wash-1.ABS

INT: 'I'm washing clothes.'

- The first half of this restriction parallels ergative extraction constraints cross-linguistically (Aissen 2017).

  – Many languages restrict the extraction of transitive agents (Dixon 1994, Manning 1996, Deal 2016)

  – Mayan: the ergative cannot undergo WH-movement, relativization, or clefting (Larsen & Norman 1979).

  – REPAIR: Ergative extraction requires special 'AGENT FOCUS' morphology on the verb

(5) *Q'anjob'al: Extraction ok for S, O; not A*   *Coon et al 2014:28-29*

  a. **Maktxel** max way-i?   'Who did she see?'   INT: 'Who saw you?'
     who   ASP sleep-ITV
                                c. ***Maktxel** max-ach
     'Who slept?'   who   ASP-2B
                                   y-il-a'?
  b. **Maktxel** max y-il-a'?   3A-see-TV
     who   ASP 3A-see-TV

(6) *Q'anjob'al: Ergative Extraction forces Agent Focus*   *Coon et al. 2014:30*

  a. Maktxel max-ach il-**on**-i?   b. **Ix ix**   max-ach   c. **A ix Malin** max-ach il**on**i.
     who   ASP-2B   see-AF-TV   D woman ASP-2B   F D NAME ASP-2B   see.AF
                                       il-**on**-i.
                                       see-AF-TV   'it was Maria that saw you.'

     'Who saw you?'   'The woman who saw you'

- QUESTION 1: Where does the extraction constraint come from?

1.3 Ergative Extraction: Previous Approaches

- The constraint against ergative extraction has been explained in three ways:

1. THE ACCESSIBILITY APPROACH

   - SUMMARY: ergative arguments cannot extract because they are invisible to the relevant probes.

     – Displacement parasitic on AGREE (Chomsky 2000); extraction possible *iff* a probe can target a DP.

     – Probes permit CASE-DISCRIMINATION; only agree with goals bearing certain cases (Bobaljik 2008).

     – ERGATIVE case frequently inaccessible (Otsuka 2006); ergatives invisible to key probes (Deal 2016).

     – RESULT: Extraction probes which discriminate for CASE cannot target ergative arguments.

(7) *The Accessibility Hierarchy*   *Moravcsik 1974, Bobaljik 2008*
     UNMARKED CASE > DEPENDENT CASE > LEXICAL/OBLIQUE CASE
     NOM, ABS   > ACC, ERG   > DAT, INST, COM

(8) *The Accessibility Approach*:
   EECs arise when A'-probes can only target unmarked cases.   *Otsuka 2006, Deal 2016*

   - ALTERNATIVE: ergative arguments embedded in (covert) prepositional phrases (Polinsky 2018)

     – RESULT: no ergative movement in constructions which ban PP-movement or P-stranding.

2. THE LICENSING APPROACH

- SUMMARY: Ergative extraction creates a fatal case-licensing problem.
    - STARTING POINT: Nominal arguments must interact with a probe to be licensed (Vergnaud 1977).
        * Typically: ERGATIVES licensed via AGREE with v^0; ABSOLUTIVES via AGREE with T (Ordonez 1995)
        * RESULT: the object has to undergo movement above the subject to be LICENSED.

(9) *Licensing Schema: Object Moves to Interact with T*
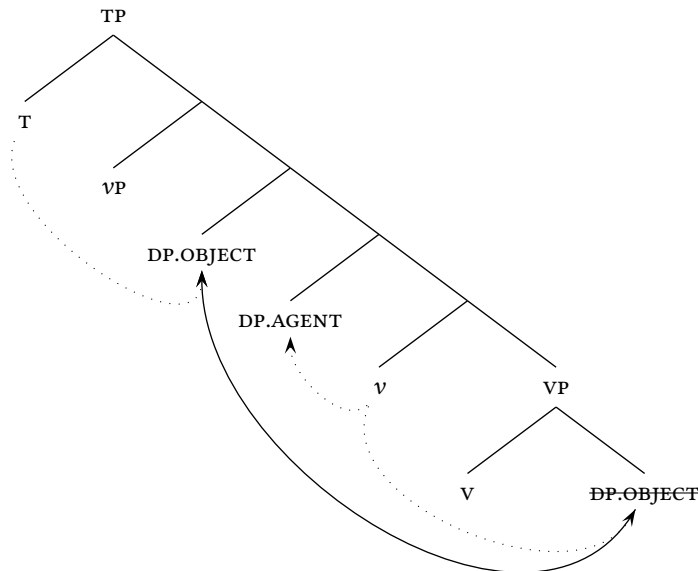
- EEC: object movement creates a LOCALITY problem which blocks ergative extraction.
    - A'-probes sensitive to intervention-based locality; attract only the closest thing (Rizzi 1990)
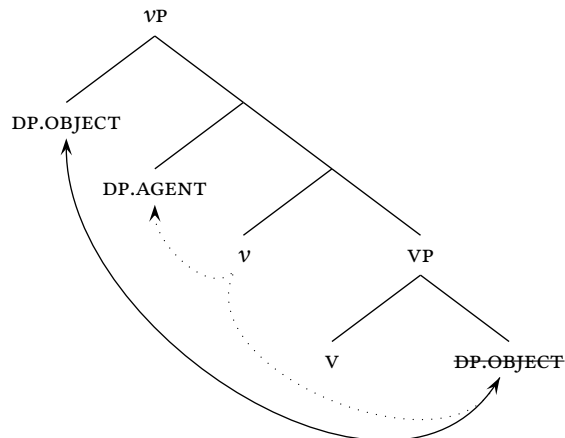   - Syntactic Ergativity: arises when A'-probes are 'relativized to D' (Aldridge 2004)

(10) *The Licensing Approach: Two Ingredients*
    a. RELATIVIZED MINIMALITY: the probe on C can only interact with the highest DP.   *Aldridge 2004*
    b. CASE-DRIVEN MOVEMENT: the object must shift to a position above the agent to be LICENSED.

- RESULT: Ergative extraction can only proceed in a configuration where the object remains low.
    - The ergative has to remain structurally above the object to be targeted by probes on C.
    - BUT: this configuration does not allow the object to receive CASE; cannot be licensed.
    - This licensing failure rules out the derivation entirely; impossible for the ergative to remain high.

3. The Intervention Approach

- SUMMARY: the EEC arises through intervention-based locality constraints alone.
    - Ergative extraction problematic for the same two reasons stated above:
        (a) RELATIVIZED MINIMALITY: the probe on C can only interact with the highest DP.   *Aldridge 2004*
        (b) OBJECT SHIFT: the object moves to a position above the agent.
- HOWEVER: The locality problem arises for reasons independent of case.
    - Ergative languages show diverse strategies for object-licensing (Legate 2002, 2008, Aldridge 2004).
    - Certain objects still move to a position above the agent- but this step has nothing to do with case.
    - INSTEAD: Object shift forced by a ban on definite objects within the VP (Diesing 1992)
    - RESULT: DP objects invariably stand above the agent in certain ergative languages.

(11)   *The Locality Approach: DP Objects generally Shift*

      a. *DP Objects; Shift, force EEC*   b. *NP Objects: No Shift, No EEC*
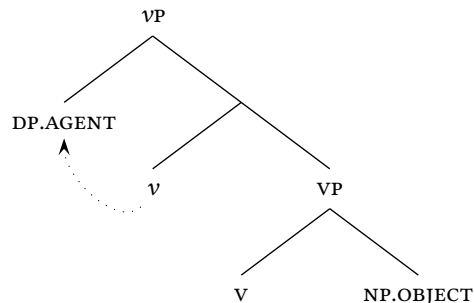
4. CRITICAL REVIEW:

    (a) The Accessiblity Approach:

- SUMMARY: The EEC reduces to some inherent problem with ergative arguments.
- No syntactic explanation; the ergative extraction constraint delinked from case and locality.
- RESULT: regardless of configuration, ergative arguments should *never* be able to extract.
- PROBLEM: obviously not true in e.g. Mayan languages; lacks explanatory insight.

    (b) The Licensing Approach:

- SUMMARY: The EEC comes down to a problem with case-licensing the object.
- RESULT: if the object can be licensed in some other way, ergatives should be able to extract.
- PROBLEM: looks wrong for Mayan; O-licensing available with ergative extraction (Coon et al. 2020)

    (c) The Pure Locality Approach:

- SUMMARY: The EEC comes down to the presence or absence of general object shift.
- RESULT: constructions where the object does not shift should permit ergative extraction.

1.4   Austronesian Extraction: A Critical Review

- The Austronesian lit. generally presupposes the locality approach to explain the restriction (Aldridge 2004).

    – Exception: Erlewine (2017); the Mitchoverse espouses the licensing approach; flirts with antilocality.

    – Cf. Chung (1998) & related approaches: voice is in C; voice selection triggered by extraction.

- General properties of Austronesian languages make other approaches difficult to maintain.

    – Licensing: objects regularly receive default (genitive) case alongside ergative arguments (1)

    – Discrimination: not just ergatives which can't extract; all obliques generally cannot.

- The transitive-antipassive split can be understood through object shift (Rackowski 2002)

    – Antipassive objects must be NPs; cannot be DPs or pronouns: 12

    – Antipassive objects take obligatory low scope; cannot bind floated quantifiers: 13-14

    – Antipassive objects cannot trigger agreement: 15.

    – This cluster of properties can be derived from a ban on object shift in the antipassive.

(12)   *Antipassive verbs take NP Objects; Transitive verbs take DP Objects*

a. **?*Na-/Mas**-saka=pa=i bau.
   3.PV/AV-catch=yet=3   fish

   'He's still catching fish.'

b. **Na**-cinnoq=bando=o **iqo**?
   3.PV-kiss=REALLY=2   you

   'Did he really kiss you?'

(13)   *Antipassive objects cannot be DPs; must scope low.*

a. 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...'

b. *****Mac**-cinnoq=bandi=i **iqo**?
   AV-kiss=REALLY=3   you

   Int: 'Did he really kiss you?'

(14)   *Antipassive objects cannot bind Quantifiers*

a. **Na**-oloqi=**nasang=i** iting k-drama.
   3.PV-like=all=3   that k-drama

   'She likes all those k-dramas.'   TRANS: O

   Not: they all like that k-drama.'   *AGENT

b. **Mat**-tinroq=**nasang**=i posa-u balao.
   AV-chase=all=3   cat-1   mouse

   'My cats are all chasing mice.'   ANTIP: A

   Not: 'my cat chases all mice.'   *OBJECT

(15)   *Antipassive objects cannot trigger Agreement*

a. Indang=**aq**=tuq yau **m**-eloq!
   NEG=1=EMPH   I   AV-want

   'I don't want to!'

   Pelenkahu et al. 1987: 2.14

b. Iqda=**aq mu**-pessangi.
   NEG=1   2.PV-care.for

   'You don't care for me.'

   Muthalib & Sangi 1991: A362

c. *****Maq**-itai(=aq)=**i** yau posa.
   AV-look.for=1=3 I   cat

   INT: 'I'm looking for a cat.'

- Binding patterns support the story.

  - The locality approach holds that transitive clauses require object shift to a position above the agent.

  - Mandar: the transitive object can bind into the agent; the agent behaves like an absolutive object.

  - Identical patterns reported across Indonesia (Balinese: Arka; Batak: Cole & Hermon 2008)

(16)   *Transitive objects bind ergative anaphors*

a. Na-ita   **alawe-na** i=Adi di=jaramming.
   3.ERG-see self-3.GEN PRS=N GP=mirror

   'Himself saw Adi in the mirror.'

b. I=Adi   na-ita   **alawe-na** di=jaramming.
   PRS=NAME 3.ERG-see self-3.GEN GP=mirror

   'Himself saw ADI in the mirror.'

1.5   Interim Conclusions

- Mandar/Austronesian shows an extraction restriction like the ERGATIVE EXTRACTION CONSTRAINT (Aissen 2017)

- Locality seems like the right way to explain it: only the structurally highest argument can extract.

- Open question: what about transitive clauses where object shift should apply?

2   Agent Extraction: the Repair

2.1   Mayan: Agent Focus

- Mayan languages have a special way to circumvent the extraction constraint (6).

- AGENT FOCUS: lets the transitive agent extract over the object in WH-questions, clefts...

- PREVIOUS APPROACHES:

    - LICENSING WORLD: the AF suffix allows the object to be case-licensed low (Coon et al. 2014)

    - FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVE: AF morpheme disambiguates alignment (Stiebels 2006)

- AGENT FOCUS AND INTERVENTION:

    - Only one way to circumvent the EEC in the intervention world: keep the agent highest.

    - RESULT: the AF construction *must* allow the object to remain beneath the agent.

- MAYAN TYPOLOGY:

    - The various forms of AF across Mayan basically accomplish this goal.

    - The ANTIPASSIVE strategy:

        * Some languages use an object-demoting antipassive to get around the EEC: Q'eqchi', Mam (Aissen 2017:10)

        * Others permit object-demotion alongside a dedicated agent focus: Tzutujil (Dayley 1985);... Tsotsil...

        * And some (i think) permit agent extraction from NP-incorporating antipassives, but contrast this with an agent focus construction for agent extraction with fully-transitive predicates (Q'anjob'alan?)

    - The AGENT FOCUS strategy:

        * The interesting construction involves ergative extraction over non-demoted DP objects.

        * Here: AF morphology allows agent extraction alongside DP objects which should shift.

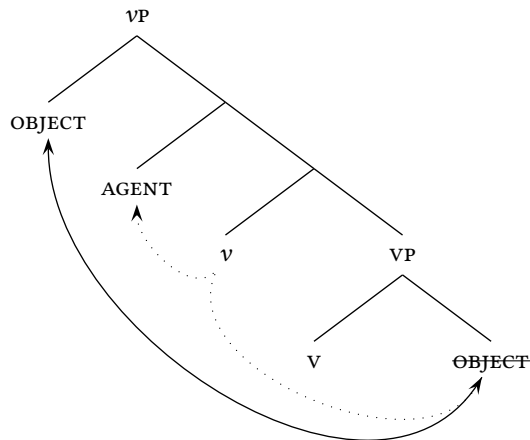(17)   *Agent Focus Constructions in Q'anjob'alan; K'ichean*

   a. Maktxel max-**ach** il-**on**-i?
       who   ASP-2B   see-AF-TV
       'Who saw you?'
       Q'anjob'al; Coon et al. 2014:10

   b. In x-**in**-il-**ow**   le achi.
       1 PFV-1B-see-AF D man
       '*I* saw the man.'
       K'iche; Davies & Sam-Colop 1990:523

(18)   *The AF Solution: Two Logical Possibilities*
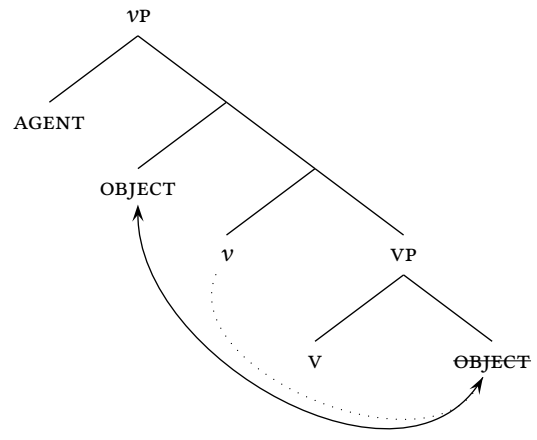   a. The AF construction systematically lacks object shift (Q'anjob'alan: Coon et al. 2020:34-37)
   b. The AF construction allows object shift but allows it to target a position beneath the agent (K'ichean: *ibid*;37-40)

(19)   *Special Object Shift with Agent Focus*

   a. *Transitive: Object Shift above the Agent*   b. *Agent Focus: Object Shift below the Agent*

2.2   The Austronesian Analogue

- Mandar recruits the antipassive for transitive agent extraction; the general Austronesian pattern.

- Nevertheless: clauses with agent extraction do NOT look like typical antipassives.

  - Typical antipassive objects must be NP; cannot bind floated quantifiers; control agreement.
  - EXTRACTED-OVER antipassive objects:
    1. can be DPs; can even be pronouns!
    2. bind floating quantifiers OBLIGATORILY.
    3. control agreement.
  - Observation: these 'antipassive' objects can undergo object shift.

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

    a. Masa,   **i=Cicciq mac**-cinnoq=**o iqo**?
       no.way, PRS=N   AV-kiss=2   you?
       'No way, Sita kissed you?'

    b. **Yau maq**-itai=**nasang=i** sola-u.
       I   AV-look.for=all=3   friend-1.
       'I'm the one who's looking for all my friends'

- Object Agreement requires Shift

  - Object agreement cannot occur with predicates that ban object shift.
  - *Min-jari* 'become': forces objects to undergo pseudo-incorporation (21); bans movement.

(21)   *Copular Verbs Ban Object Shift*

    a. Na=min-jari=**guru**=aq.
       FUT=AV-become-teacher=1
       'I'll became a teacher.'

    b. *?Na=min-jari=aq **to=Indonesia**.
       FUT=AV-become=1 PERSON=PLACE
       'I'll become an Indonesian citizen.'

  - **Extraction context**: this verb bans object agreement; other copular verbs follow suit (22).
  - **Claim**: object agreement arises only when objects shift.

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

    a. Mang-ippi=aq **yau** min-jari(*=**o**) **iqo**.
       AV-dream=1 I   AV-become=2 you
       'I dreamt that I became you.'

    b. Nah, **yau** tania(*=**o**) **iqo**, tapi...
       PRT I   EQ.NEG=2 you but
       'Well, I'm not you, but...'

- Applicative constructions: another argument for Shift.

  - The applicative *-ang* cannot cannot co-occur with the regular ANTIPASSIVE (Pearson 2001)
  - This morphology can only surface when its object can shift: e.g. in PV (23a).

(23)   *No Applicatives with Regular AV*

    a. ***Mam**-be-**ngang=aq** sola-u   doiq.
       AV-give-APPL=1   friend-1 money
       Intended: 'I gave my friend money.

    b. Mane   **na**-be-**ngang=aq** yau doiq.
       just.now 3.PV-give-APPL=1 I   money
       'He just gave me some money.'

  - **Extraction**: the applicative can co-occur with the extraction antipassive (24).

(24)   *Agent Extraction allows AV Applicatives*
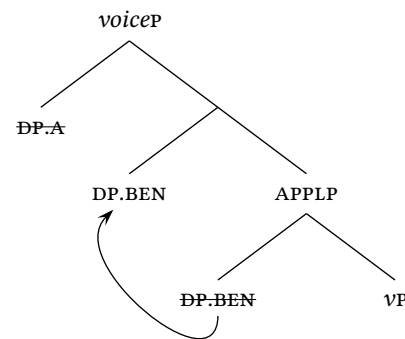
a. Yau **mas**-sola-**ngang=i**   dio
   I   AV-accompany-APPL=3 there
   di=ramasakiq.
   in=hospital

   'I went with him to the hospital.'

   Friberg & Jerniati 2000: Ex.170

b. Na-sio=aq *pro*₁ lamba **mang**-alli-**ang**=i
   3.PV-tell=1 *pro* go   AV-buy-APPL=3
   buku.
   book

   'She made me go buy him a book.'

Friberg & Jerniati 2000: Ex.248

c. *Applicatives Shift when Agents Extract*

- **Proposal**: these constructions involve MOUSE: **M**ovement of **O**bjects **U**nder **S**ubject **E**xtraction.

- The MOUSE construction involves a head syntactically distinct from the regular antipassive.

   – The Makassar Subgroup (South Sulawesi; close relatives): distinct MOUSE prefix (Friberg 1996).

   – **Coastal Konjo**: The regular AV morpheme *aN(N)-* triggers nasal suppletion (25).

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

a. Apa **na-k**anre ri eleq-na?
   what 3.PV-eat   in morning-3

   'What does he eat in the mornings?'

b. **Ang-ng**anre=i Amir loka.
   AV-eat=3   N   banana

   'Amir is eating bananas.'

   Coastal Konjo; Friberg 1996:143-146

- **Mouse Contexts: Distinct Morphology**

   – Regular AV morphology occurs when agents extract over nonspecific objects (26a).

   – **Mouse Context**: a distinct prefix *aN-* which triggers no nasal suppletion (26b).

(26)   *Mouse Constructions shows Distinct Morphology*

a. Amir **ang-ng**anre **loka**.
   N   AV-eat   banana

   'AMIR is eating bananas.'

b. Ali **ang-k**anre=i **lamejaha-ta**.
   N   MOUSE-eat=3 sweet.potato-2

   'ALI ate your sweet potato.'

   Coastal Konjo; Friberg 1996:143-146
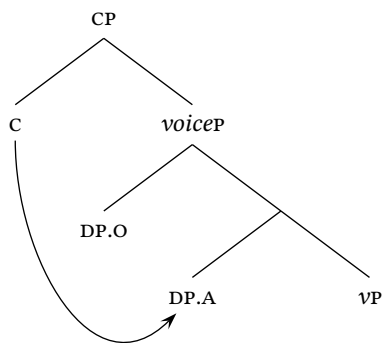
2.3   Modeling Mouse

- MOUSE poses a problem for the intervention-based approach to extraction restrictions.

   – LOCALITY CONSTRAINT: only the highest argument can undergo A'-extraction (in Austronesian, Mayan…)

   – OBJECT SHIFT: places the object above the transitive agent; should ban agent extraction.

   – PUZZLE: what's going on?

- One approach: **Non-Highest Extraction**

   – MOUSE involves transitive syntax; the object shifts above the agent.

   – MOUSE morphemes would be surface allomorphs of regular transitive.

   – **Result**: C would attract the agent non-locally; the intervention account would be abandoned.

– Example: Newman (2020) proposes this schema for Mayan; Boskovic (2011) could also do it.

• The alternative: SPECIAL OBJECT SHIFT

   – MOUSE involves a special kind of object shift which puts the object below the agent.

   – RESULT: intervention-based account of extraction restrictions can be preserved.

   – PUZZLE: formal implementation remains mysterious; send help.

(27)   *PV Approach: Mouse involves PV*   (28)   *Alternative: Mouse distinct from PV*
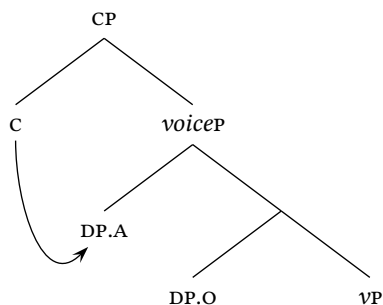
• MANDAR-INTERNAL EVIDENCE: we want approach 2.

   – **Pattern**: the MOUSE object stops showing subject properties above *voice*P.

      * **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 (29a).

      * This quantifier cannot associate with non-subjects in either AV or PV (29b).

(29)   *Preverbal Quantifiers associate with the Subject*

   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

   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 grandpar-
      ents?'

      * MOUSE context: *sangnging* strictly associates with the extracted agent, NOT the object (*cf.* PV; 29b).

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

   a. Innai **sangnging maq**-ita=**o**?
      who   all   AV-see=2

      'Who.PLUR saw you.SG?'

      NOT: 'Who saw you guys?'

   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.'

• **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 (31b),

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

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!'

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!'

– MOUSE CONTEXT: object agreement is verb-adjacent, not 2P (*cf.* PV; 31b).
– **Proposal**: the probe behind the MOUSE agreement is on *voice*^{0}, NOT Fin^0.

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

a. **Yau** indang meloq **mat**-tuyuq=**o** e!
   I   NEG   want AV-tie=2   PRT
   'Ok, I don't want to marry you!'

b. *****Yau** indang=**o** meloq **mat**-tuyuq e!

c. **Yau** pura=**tongang mat**-tumae=**i** e!
   I   already=truly AV-propose=3 PRT
   'Hey, I really already proposed to her!'

d. *****Yau** pura=**tongang=i mat**-tumae e!

2.4   Analysis: Low Object Shift

- **Proposal**: the MOUSE construction involves a *voice*$_{\text{MOUSE}}$ which triggers low object shift (34).

  – Like *voice*$_{\text{AV}}$: *voice*$_{\text{MOUSE}}$ keeps the external argument highest in the *voice*P phase.
  – But: v_{MOUSE} forces the agent to extract and bears an EPP feature which triggers object shift.

- **Implementation** (Complete stipulation; explanation in progress)

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

(33) *Patient Voice: Merge A, then Probe O*
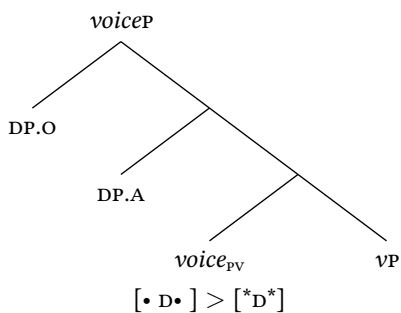
(34) *Mouse: Probe O, then Merge A*
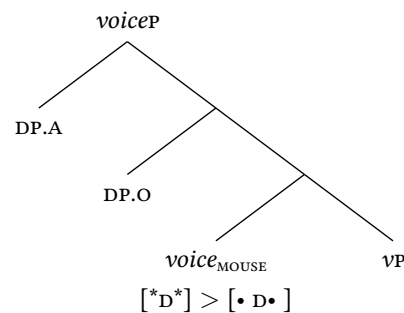
3   Conclusion

3.1   Summary: Mice in Mandar

- **Pattern**: Mandar provides evidence that AV clauses with agent extraction allow object shift.

  – The extraction antipassive takes DP objects; enforces no specificity restrictions
  – The extraction antipassive lets objects trigger agreement parasitic on object shift (22)
  – The extraction antipassive can take morphology which forces object shift, etc.

- **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 antipassive or transitive objects:
    * **Unlike AP Objects**: no antispecificity, control agreement, undergo some movement.
    * **Unlike Tr Objects**: no preverbal quantifiers (30), no 2P agreement (32).
    * They trigger agreement on *voice*; clitics surface on the verb, not in 2P (32).
  - Makassar, Konjo: *voice*_{MOUSE} morphologically distinct from *voice*_{AV}.

- **Key Point**: this analysis saves the intervention approach to extraction restrictions.

- Looking Forward: **Desiderata**

  - Really need a theory of specifier ordering; constraints on movement paths.
  - Mouse Schema: object shift can't tuck in, UNLESS it's under an argument which will A'-move.
  - Reformulation: external merge has to be (before/after) internal merge unless A'-features get involved?

3.2   The Family Picture

- **Generality**: many WMP languages appear to show MOUSE patterns.

  - Tagalog: specificity constraints on AV objects lift when agents extract (Mcfarland 1978).
  - Squliq 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).

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

    a. Cyux **m**-aniq sehuy **qu** Yuraw.
        AUX AV-eat taro ABS Yuraw

        'Yuraw is eating taro.'

    b. Ima wal **m**-aniq **qu** sehuy qasa?
        who AUX AV-eat ABS taro that

        'Who ate that taro?'

        Squliq Atayal; Erlewine 2016: 2-3

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

    a. **Mo**-nahu=**aku**=to inehu.
        UM-cook=1.ABS=PFV vegetable

        'I cooked vegetables.'

    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

3.3   Key Result: Explains Quirky Extraction

- Some languages permit agents to extract across surface PV morphology.

  - Selayarese (South Sulawesi): Finer & Basri 1987; (37).
  - 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!

(37)   *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

(38) *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*$_{\text{MOUSE}}$ spelled out as morphologically indistinct from PV.

    - **Prediction**: the objects in these constructions should behave like their Mandar analogues.

- **Upshot**: the *voice*$_{\text{MOUSE}}$ analysis defuses threats to the intervention approach to extraction restrictions.

    - The MOUSE analysis allows us to rule out constructions like (39).
    - Agent extraction contexts with specific objects involve the structure in (40) in Mandar; likely elsewhere.
    - Surface voice puzzles (e.g. Tagalog) reduce entirely to morphological puzzles in spelling out *voice*$_{\text{MOUSE}}$.

(39) *Impossible: Non-Local Extraction*
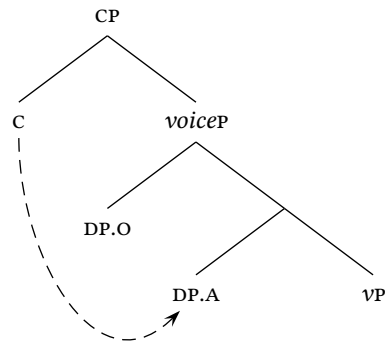
(40) *Mouse Construction: Low Object Shift*