

Actor voice ≠ antipassive: against the syntactic ergative analysis for Formosan languages

I. Goal

In this talk, I re-examine the transitivity of Actor-voice (AV) clauses in Formosan languages (Philippine-type, Austronesian) by investigating the properties of the morphological marking on AV objects (1a).

- The shared case pattern in Philippine-type languages

	AV (1a)	PV (1b)	
Agent	Pivot	Y	
Theme	X	Pivot	<b>Question:</b> What are Pivot, X, and Y?
(1a) Actor voice (AV)		(1b) Patient voice (PV)	
mi-kalat ku wacu tu pusi.		ma-kalat nu wacu ku pusi.	
AV-bite Pivot dog X cat		PV-bite Y dog Pivot cat	
'The dog bit the cat.'		'The dog bit the cat.'	[Amis]

2. Main claims

- Formosan Actor voice ≠ Antipassive
  - Semantically transitive AV clauses are true transitives with structurally licensed internal arguments
- Evidence:** the case patterns in four constructions (a)-(d) shared by 9 Philippine-type Formosan languages
  - Productive causative
  - Restructuring
  - Raising-to-object
  - Ditransitive

☞ The distributions of “OBL”-marked phrases in (a)-(d) can be straightforwardly accounted for under the analysis that [X=structural Accusative], while the antipassive analysis [X=lexical OBL case from V] (e.g. Aldridge 2004 *et seq.*) fails to capture the observed case patterns.

• **Implication:**

Given the analysis that AV ≠ intransitive/antipassive, Philippine-type (PPT) Formosan languages are improperly analyzed as ergative (contra. Aldridge 2004 *et seq.*).

• **Target languages:**

- primary data from Puyuma, Amis, & Seediq
  - secondary data from Paiwan, Bunun, Atayal, Kavalan, Tsou, Saaroa, Saisiyat, Pazeh, Tagalog, Kimaragang Dusun, Cebuano
- ☞ evidence from 8 out of 10 Austronesian primary branches (Blust 1999)

• **The competing analyses:**

- [Hypothesis A]: AV = intransitive/antipassive
    - the morphological marking on AV objects (i.e. “OBL” in the following data) realizes lexical case from V (Aldridge 2004 *et seq.*)
    - this enables the ergative analysis of PPT languages (i.e. S = O)
  - ☞ (i) The distributions of “OBL”-marked phrases should be restricted to internal argument position
  - (ii) The presence or absence of “OBL”-marking should NOT be structurally conditioned
- [Hypothesis B]: AV = transitive (the present proposal)
    - the morphological marking (i.e. “OBL”) on AV objects realizes structural Accusative
  - ☞ (i) “OBL”-marked phrases can appear on both external and internal argument positions
  - (ii) The presence or absence of “OBL”-marking should be structurally conditioned, and disappears under the environments where structural ACC is unavailable

A. Productive causative

- The shared case pattern in Formosan productive causative

	Causer	Causee	Causum
simple AV clause	—	ABS	OBL
AV-causative	ABS	OBL	OBL

- Data

(2a) s<em>alem i Senten dra ladru. [Puyuma]  
 <AV>grow SG.ABS S. ID.OBL mango  
 'Senten grew mangos.'

(2b) Ø-pa-salem=ku kan Senten dra ladru.  
 AV-CAU-grow=1SG.ABS SG.OBL S ID.OBL mango  
 'I made Senten grow mangos.'

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(3a) mi-palu ci-Sawmah ci-Kulas-an. [Amis]  
 AV-beat PN-S.ABS PN-K-OBL  
 'Sawmah beat Kulas.'

(3b) Ø-pa-pi-palu kaku ci-Sawmah-an ci-Kulas-an.  
 AV-CAU-PI-beat ISG.ABS PN-S-OBL PN-K-OBL  
 'I made Sawmah beat Kulas.'

(4a) m-e'eguy pila ka Imin. [Seediq]  
 AV-steal money.OBL ABS I.  
 'Imin stole money.'

(4b) Ø-p-e'eguy=ku pila emi-an.  
 AV-CAU-steal=ISG.ABS money.OBL I-OBL  
 'I made Imin steal money.'

- 3 possible analyses for the "OBL"-marked Causee in AV-causatives:

- the Causee as inherently licensed by a *by*-phrase
- the Causee as inherently licensed by an ApplP
- an ECM-like configuration: "OBL"=Acc;  
the Causee receives Accusative from the higher Voice

- Against the *by*-phrase analysis:

- ☞ Quantifier-variable binding: in all three languages, a quantifier Causee can bind into a pronominal Causum (5a-c)

(5a) Ø-pa-base=ku kana temakesi driya kantu=kiping. [Puyuma]  
 AV-CAU-wash=ISG.ABS DF.OBL student every 3.POSS.OBL=clothes  
 'I made every student wash his clothes.' (✓ bound variable reading)

(5b) Ø-pa-pi-tangtang kaku tu cimacima a ina tu futing nira. [Amis]  
 AV-CAU-cook ISG.ABS OBL every LK mother OBL fish 3SG.POSS  
 'I made every mother cook her fish.'

(5c) Ø-p-hanguc=ku knkingal laqi sari=deha. [Seediq]  
 AV-CAU-cook=ISG.ABS every child.OBL taro=3PL.POSS.OBL  
 'I made every child cook his taro.'

- Against the *AppIP* analysis:

- assumption: causatives that involve a Causee-introducing ApplP are mono-eventive rather than bi-eventive (e.g. Legate 2014)

- ☞ In all three languages, the caused event can be licensed by (i) distinct temporal adjunct, (ii) Agent-oriented adverbs, and (iii) frequency adverbs (6)-(8)

(6a) adaman Ø-pa-trima=ku kan Sawagu dra padraka andaman. [Puyuma]  
 yesterday AV-CAU-buy=ISG.ABS SG.OBL S ID.OBL meat tomorrow  
 'Yesterday I asked Sawagu to buy meat tomorrow.'

(6b) Ø-pa-pukpuk=ku kan Sawagu (masal) (pakirep) kana suwan.  
 AV-CAU-grow=ISG.ABS SG.OBL S (again) (strongly) DF.OBL dog  
 'I asked Sawagu to beat the dog (strongly) (again).'

(7a) inacila Ø-pa-pi-tangtang kaku ci-Panay-an tuna futing anucila. [Amis]  
 yesterday AV-CAU-PI-cook ISG.ABS PN-P-OBL that.OBL fish tomorrow  
 'Yesterday I asked Panay to cook that fish tomorrow.'

(7b) Ø-pa-pi-tangtang (heca) kaku ci-Panay-an tuna futing (pina'ong).  
 AV-CAU-cook (again) ISG.ABS PN-P-OBL that.OBL fish (carefully)  
 'I asked Panay to cook that fish (carefully) (again).'

(8a) ciga Ø-p-hanguc=ku sama Robo saya. [Seediq]  
 yesterday AV-CAU-cook=ISG.ABS vegetable.OBL R.OBL today  
 'Yesterday I asked Sawagu to buy meat today.'

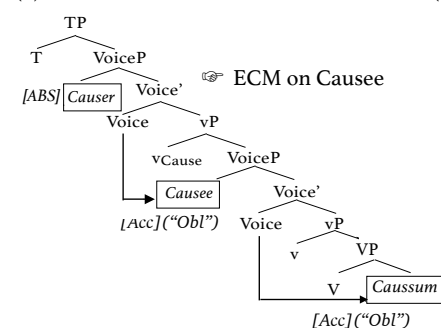
(8b) Ø-p-hanguc=ku (qmlahang) (duri) sama Hubi.  
 AV-CAU-cook=ISG.ABS (carefully) (again) vegetable.OBL H.OBL  
 'I asked Hubi to cook the vegetable (carefully) (again).'

- Analysis: Causee as a normal external argument

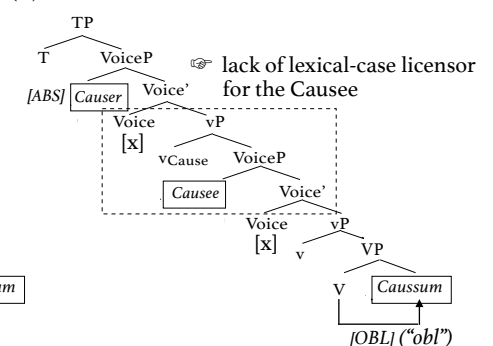
- ☞ Productive causatives in all three languages involve two independent VoicePs.

- The competing analyses: the case pattern in AV-marked causatives can be straightforwardly accounted for if "OBL"=ACC (a), while the antipassive analysis fails to capture the presence of "OBL"-marking at external argument position (b).

(a) "OBL" = ACC ✓



(b) "OBL" = OBL ✗



- Evidence from causatives: "OBL" = ACC

## B. Restructuring

- Restructuring in Puyuma, Amis, & Seediq: shared traits
  - RI as TAM-deficient
  - obligatory clitic climbing
  - long-distance case-licensing
  - restricted voice type inside the RI: AV-only
  - environment: matrix aspectual/purposive verbs, SVCs

<sup>1</sup> The Seediq data (8a-b) were provided by a younger native speaker and to be double-checked with fluent speakers over age 50 in future fieldwork.



- ☞ Either a base-generated or a movement analysis of XP is incompatible with the antipassive analysis of AV, as the “OBL”-marking on the XP cannot be analyzed as a lexical case under both analyses.  
(a more detailed analysis of Formosan RTO can be found in Chen & Fukuda 2016)

3. AV≠AP: implications

- Summary: AV clauses in the three languages are better analyzed as transitive with structurally licensed internal arguments
- Implication: both AV and PV clauses are transitive
- Back to the original question: how can we analyze the observed case patterns?

	AV	PV	• proposal:	AV	PV
Agent	Pivot	Y	→	Agent	Nom [Pivot]
Theme	Acc	Pivot		Theme	Acc Acc [Pivot]

- Proposal:
  - (i) Philippine-type voice system is Nom-Acc in terms of Case-licensing i.e., “ERG” = Nom; “OBL” = Acc (e.g. Richards 2000; Pearson 2005)
  - (ii) “Pivot”-marking does not realize Case, but a topic/focus marker (i.e. a marker of information-structure status of the phrase), which overrides morphological case
- Supporting evidence for Pivot ≠ ABS: non-locality in “Pivot”-licensing (D)

D. Ditransitive

- The shared case patterns in Formosan ditransitives

	AV-ditransitive	PV/LV-ditransitive	CV-ditransitive
Agent	ABS	ERG	ERG
Recipient	OBL	ABS	OBL
Theme	OBL	OBL	ABS

- Question: different case patterns = different ditransitive structures?
- ☞ No, the structural relations among arguments are fixed regardless of voice alternation and case pattern
  - ☞ Diagnostics: quantifier-variable binding

- Data set I: Recipient c-commands Transported theme regardless of voice type

- (18a) Ø-beray=ku [kantu=lribun] [kana kiakarun driya]. [Puyuma]  
AV-give=ISG.ABS [3.POSS.OBL=wages] [DF.OBL labor every]  
‘I gave every labor<sub><i></sub> his wages<sub><i></sub>.’ (✓ bound variable reading)
- (18b) ku=beray-ay [kantu=lribun] [na kiakarun driya].  
ISG.ERG=give-LV [3.POSS.OBL=wages] [DF.ABS labor every]  
‘I gave every labor<sub><i></sub> his wages<sub><i></sub>.’ (✓ bound variable reading)
- (18c) ku=beray-anay [tu=lribun] [kana kiakarun driya].  
ISG.ERG=give-CV [3.POSS.ABS=wages] [DF.OBL labor every]  
‘I gave every labor<sub><i></sub> his wages<sub><i></sub>.’ (✓ bound variable reading)

- Data set II: Transported theme does NOT c-command Recipient regardless of voice type

- (19a) Ø-beray=ku [kantu=walak] [kantu=lribun kana kiakarun driya]. [Puyuma]  
AV-give=ISG.ABS [3.POSS.OBL=child] [3.POSS.OBL=wages df.obl labor every]  
‘I gave his child<sub><i></sub> every labor<sub><\*/i></sub>’s wages.’ (✗ bound variable reading)
- (19b) ku=beray-ay [tu=walak] [kantu=lribun kana kiakarun driya].  
ISG.ERG=give-LV [3.POSS.ABS=child] [3.POSS.OBL=wages DF.OBL labor every]  
‘I gave his child<sub><i></sub> every labor<sub><\*/i></sub>’s wages.’ (✗ bound variable reading)
- (19c) ku=beray-anay [kantu=walak] [tu=lribun kana kiakarun driya].  
ISG.ERG=give-CV [3.POSS.OBL=child] [3.POSS.OBL=wages DF.OBL labor every]  
‘I gave his child<sub><i></sub> every labor<sub><\*/i></sub>’s wages.’ (✗ bound variable reading)

- Observation:  
Recipient always **asymmetrically c-commands** Transported theme regardless of voice type and case pattern.

☞ The invariable structural relation: Agent > Recipient > Theme (i.e. DOC)

- Implications

- ☞ No argument structure alternation between PV- and CV-ditransitive
- ☞ Given the invariable structural relations, Pivot-licensing does not respect locality

☞ Analysis:

	AV-ditransitive	PV-ditransitive	CV-ditransitive
Agent	Pivot	[NOM]	[NOM]
Recipient	[ACC]	Pivot	[ACC]
Theme	[ACC]	[ACC]	Pivot

- ☞ Pivot ≠ structural case from T (ABS) (contra. the ergative analysis)

#### 4. Conclusion

- Summary:
  - (i) Actor-voice clauses in Puyuma, Amis, and Seediq are better analyzed as transitive with structurally licensed internal arguments.
- In all three languages, the Case assigned to Actor-voice objects is properly analyzed as structural Accusative.
  - [all three languages exhibit a typical PPT voice system and a “Pivot-only” constraint in A'-extractions]
- **Cross-linguistic & diachronic implications:**

The case patterns in the four constructions under discussion are found in 10 Philippine-type languages that belong to 8 out of 10 Austronesian primary branches, suggesting that (i) the same analysis may apply to these languages as well, and (ii) AV = transitive could be considered as the prototype of Philippine-type voice systems.

  - (a) Productive causative:
    - Puyuma, Paiwan, Bunun, Seediq, Amis, Tsou, Saisiyat, Tagalog
  - (b) Restructuring:
    - Puyuma, Paiwan, Atayal, Seediq, Amis, Kavalan, Bunun, Saisiyat, Tsou, Saaroa, Kimerakang Dusun
  - (c) Raising-to-object:
    - Puyuma, Paiwan, Atayal, Seediq, Amis, Bunun, Pazeh, Saisiyat, Tsou, Cebuano
  - (d) Ditransitive:
    - Puyuma, Paiwan, Atayal, Seediq, Amis, Tsou

(cf. Liu 2011; Lin 2014; Wu 2013; Shi 2014; Chang 2014; Li 2009; Yeh 2000; Zeitoun 2015; Kroger 2012; Davies 2005; Kurniawan 2011)
- **Conclusion:**
  - (i) Philippine-type Formosan languages exhibit no transitivity distinction between AV and PV clauses.
  - (ii) Pivot-marking in these languages should be separated from Case
  - (iii) A'-extraction asymmetry in a given language can be independent of syntactic ergativity

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