

The syntax of Philippine-type alignment: Insights from case marking

Abstract

Despite the apparent hallmarks of syntactic ergativity found in Philippine-type Austronesian languages, a closer look at the distribution of three basic case markers reveals that the ergative characteristics are only illusory. Support for an accusative view firstly comes from the presence of the putative oblique case on ECM subjects, derived objects, and objects inside restructuring infinitives—a distribution that undermines the antipassive view of Philippine-type Actor Voice, indicating instead that the construction features accusative object without altering transitivity based on voice. Further evidence comes from the locality-constrained distribution of the alleged inherent ergative case, which shows hallmarks of structural nominative, suggesting that the extraction restriction found in these languages is distinct from the ban on ergative extraction. Finally, the non-local distribution of the so-called absolutive case reveals that it is a marker independent of case, in line with previous \bar{A} -topic approaches to this marker. Accordingly, ‘Philippine-type alignment’ reflects an ordinary nominative-accusative case system obscured by prominent topic-marking that overrides morphological case. This conclusion lends new support to the accusative view of Tagalog, Malagasy, and three Formosan languages (Puyuma, Amis, Seediq), and yields two implications: (i) highly constrained \bar{A} -extraction asymmetry may be independent of syntactic ergativity, and (ii) discourse-configurational languages may exhibit superficial traits of syntactic ergativity where topic-marking is imprecisely treated as part of their case system.

Keywords: ◦ Austronesian-type voice ◦ Philippine-type alignment ◦ syntactic ergativity ◦ antipassive ◦ discourse-configurational language

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1 Introduction

Despite investigations and debates since the 1970s, the question of whether Philippine-type Austronesian languages are ergative, accusative, or possess a typologically unique case alignment remains a point of contention in the literature (Blake 1925; Schachter 1976; Ramos 1974; Ramos & Bautista 1986; Gerds 1988; Shibatani 1988; Guilfoyle, Hung & Travis 1992; Aldridge 2004; Pearson 2005; Rackowski & Richards 2005; a.o.). At the center of the debate is a typologically rare four-way argument-marking alternation found across these languages, known in the literature as ‘Philippine-type alignment’.

In languages of this type, a change in verbal morphology (conventionally termed ‘voice’) correlates with a shift in the distribution of a special marker commonly labeled as ‘pivot’ in the literature, which flags \bar{A} -extraction eligibility. As seen in the Tagalog examples in (1), with the verbal morphology alternating between Actor Voice (AV), Patient Voice (PV), Locative Voice (LV), and Circumstantial Voice (CV), this marker (*si* for personal names; *ang* for common nouns) shifts among the external argument (1a), the internal argument (1b), and various types of adjunct-like phrases (1c–d), respectively.

(1) Tagalog

- a. B(um)ili si AJ ng keyk mula kay Lia para kay Joy.
 buy<AV> PN.PIVOT AJ INDF.CM₂ cake P₁ PN.CM₂ Lia P₂ PN.CM₂ Joy
 ‘AJ bought cake from Lia for Joy.’ (ACTOR VOICE)
- b. Bi-bilih-in ni AJ ang keyk mula kay Lia para kay Joy.
 CONT-buy-PV PN.CM₁ AJ CN.PIVOT cake P₁ PN.CM₂ Lia P₂ PN.CM₂ Joy
 ‘AJ will buy the cake from Lia for Joy.’ (PATIENT VOICE)
- c. Bi-bilih-an ni AJ ng keyk si Lia para kay Joy.
 CONT-buy-LV PN.CM₁ AJ INDF.CM₂ cake PN.PIVOT Lia P₂ PN.CM₂ Joy
 ‘AJ will buy cake from Lia for Joy.’ (LOCATIVE VOICE)
- d. I-bi-bili ni AJ ng keyk mula kay Lia si Joy.
 CV-CONT-buy PN.CM₁ AJ INDF.CM₂ cake P₁ PN.CM₂ Lia PN.PIVOT Joy
 ‘AJ will buy cake from Lia for Joy.’ (CIRCUMSTANTIAL VOICE)

To remain analysis-neutral, I use the abstract label CM₁ to denote the case marking of non-pivot external arguments (e.g. *ni* in (1b–d)); CM₂ represents the case marking of non-pivot internal arguments (e.g. *ng* in (1a–d)). Similarly, P₁ and P₂ denote two types of prepositions marking non-pivot adjuncts, such as *para* for locatives (1c) and *mula* for benefactives (1d).

This four-way system features a highly restricted \bar{A} -extraction constraint. As is well-known in the literature, for a phrase to undergo relativization, it must be indicated as the pivot through the use of appropriate voice morphology. This is seen in (2), where relativization of the agent (2a), theme (2b), locative (2c), or benefactive (2d) is obligatorily accompanied by the use of AV, PV, LV, or CV, respectively—analogueous to the mapping between voice and pivot selection observed in (1). Mismatch between voice type and the extracted phrase yields ungrammaticality.¹

¹This widely adopted generalization in the Austronesian literature sets aside several possible types of non-pivot extraction in Tagalog, which are beyond the scope of this paper and commonly assumed to be secondary innovations. See Bondoc (2020) and Hsieh (2020) for details.

(2) Tagalog

a. Actor Voice

Sino ang [RC b<um>ili/{*-in/*-an/*i-} ng keyk]?
 who PIVOT [RC buy<AV>/{*PV/*LV/*CV} INDF.CM₂ cake]
 ‘Who is the one that bought cake?’ (relativization of agent)

b. Patient Voice

Ano ang [RC bi-bilih-in/{*<um>/*-an/*i-} ni Aya]?
 what PIVOT [RC CONT-buy-PV/{*AV/*LV/*CV} PN.CM₁ Aya]
 ‘What is the thing that Aya will buy?’ (relativization of theme)

c. Locative Voice

Nasaan ang [RC bi-bilih-an/{*<um>/*-in/*i-} ni Aya ng keyk]?
 where PIVOT [RC CONT-buy-LV/{*AV/*PV/*CV} PN.CM₁ Aya INDF.CM₂ cake]
 ‘Where will be the place where Aya will buy cake?’ (relativization of locative)

d. Circumstantial Voice

Sino ang [RC i-bi-bili/{*<um>/*-in/*-an} ni Aya ng keyk]?
 who PIVOT [RC CV-buy/{*AV/*PV/*LV} PN.CM₁ Aya INDF.CM₂ cake]
 ‘Who is the one that Aya will buy cake for?’ (relativization of benefactive)

Over the past five decades, controversies concerning the case alignment of these languages have revolved around the exact nature of CM₁, CM₂, and the pivot marker—three basic markers that can be reconstructed to Proto-Austronesian or a stage immediately following its split.² The distribution of the three markers is defined in (3) and illustrated in (4).

(3) Three basic markers that form Philippine-type alignment

- a. Pivot: the morphological marking on the sole phrase in a clause eligible for \bar{A} -extraction
- b. CM₁: the morphological marking on non-pivot external arguments (e.g. *ni* in (1))
- c. CM₂: the morphological marking on non-pivot internal arguments (e.g. *ng* in (2))

(4) Philippine-type alignment: schematized case pattern³

	a. AV	b. PV	c. LV	d. CV
external argument	Pivot	CM ₁	CM ₁	CM ₁
internal argument	CM ₂	Pivot	CM ₂	CM ₂
locative	P ₁	P ₁	Pivot	P ₁
instrument/benefactor	P ₂	P ₂	P ₂	Pivot

The pivot marker in (4) is also commonly glossed as ‘nominative’ or ‘absolutive’, although a family of \bar{A} -approaches to these languages has analyzed it as a topic marker. The case marker CM₁ is often glossed as ‘ergative’ or ‘genitive,’ although an alternative nominative analysis has also been advocated. The marker CM₂ has also received two competing analyses: while the ergative approach to these languages treats it as lexical oblique case for antipassive objects, a number of researchers have put forward an accusative analysis for specific languages. A comprehensive overview is presented in section 2.

²See Blust (2015), Chen (2017), and works cited there for an overview of the reconstructability of Philippine-type alignment to Proto-Austronesian.

³Philippine-type languages typically employ a dedicated preposition for locative adjuncts, hence the distinction between P₁ and P₂. In some languages, P₂ may have more than one form, which differentiates different types of non-locative adjuncts. For the purpose of the paper, I schematize all these prepositions as P₂.

Due to a lack of in-depth investigations, the nature of these three markers has remained obscure. This has led to the use of analysis-neutral labels in recent works—NOM for pivot phrases, GEN for non-pivot agents, and ACC or OBL for non-pivot themes—which have increased obstacles for crosslinguistic comparisons and caused misunderstandings among non-Austronesianists. Consequently, although many have questioned the ergative view of Philippine-type alignment (Shibatani 1988; Richards 2000; Rackowski 2002; Rackowski and Richards 2005; Paul and Travis 2006; Foley 2008; O’Brien 2016; Chen 2017; Erlewine et al. 2017; a.o.), Philippine-type Austronesian languages have continually been cited as examples of syntactic ergativity in recent typological literature.

In this paper, I show that a closer examination of the distribution of CM₁, CM₂, and ‘pivot’ across these languages provides a new perspective on this debate. This new comparative evidence indicates that ‘Philippine-type alignment’ is neither ergative nor uniquely typological, but a run-of-the-mill accusative system obscured by prominent topic-marking (referred to as ‘pivot’) that overrides morphological case. Support for this claim comes from novel comparative data across four languages from different Austronesian primary branches: Puyuma (ISO 639-3 *pyu*), Amis (ISO 639-3 *ami*), Seediq (ISO 639-3 *trv*), and Tagalog (ISO 639-3 *tgl*). A systematic examination of previously overlooked syntactic environments across these languages reveals that CM₁ marks nominative, CM₂ marks accusative, and that pivot-marking is independent of case—a conclusion in line with existing accusative approaches to Philippine-type languages (Shibatani 1998; Richards 2000; Pearson 2005; Chen 2021).

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 reviews key assumptions of the competing analyses. Sections 3 and 4 present new evidence for the nature of CM₁ and CM₂, drawing on data from previously understudied syntactic environments. Section 5 discusses the non-local distribution of pivot-marking and presents new evidence that this marker is best analyzed as a topic marker. Section 6 summarizes and concludes. For clarity and simplicity, I set aside further formal distinctions within each marker in individual languages, such as inflections for definiteness or nominal type (e.g. common noun vs. personal name) and focus on the three-way case distinction observed in morphologically conservative Philippine-type languages. As will be shown in this paper, comparative data reveal surprising uniformity in the distribution of these three markers across Philippine-type languages, allowing for a unitary analysis of the nature of Philippine-type alignment.

Except where otherwise indicated, the data presented in the paper come from primary fieldwork on Manila Tagalog, Nanwang Puyuma, Central Amis, and Tgdaya Seediq, through elicitation and grammaticality judgement tests over the period of 2015 to 2023. Each of the four languages belongs to a different higher-order branch of Austronesian: Puyuma, Atayalic, East Formosan, and Malayo-Polynesian (Blust 1999; Ross 2009). Their shared syntax is therefore informative for understanding the prototypical design of Philippine-type alignment.

2 Philippine-type alignment: Four competing approaches

Philippine-type alignment, also known as ‘Austronesian-type alignment’ in earlier works, is found across morphosyntactically conservative Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan, the Philippines, northern Borneo, northern Sulawesi, and Madagascar. Key traits associated with this alignment are summarized in (5).⁴

⁴This definition expands on Erlewine et al.’s (2017) and Chen and McDonnell’s (2019) definitions of Philippine-type alignment.

(5) Key traits of Philippine-type alignment

- a. A syntactically pivotal phrase: In each finite clause, one phrase is designated the syntactic pivot and realized in a particular morphological form and/or structural position, regardless of its original grammatical function, case, or thematic role.
- b. Articulated verbal morphology: The four-way affixal morphology on the verb (known as ‘voice’) co-varies with the choice of the pivot, with the option of taking certain non-core phrases as pivots. The four voice types function generally like paraphrases. Common triggers of split alignment, such as TAM or DP type distinctions, do not exist among the four voice types.
- c. One-to-many mapping between voice and pivot selection: The voice-marking of a clause is not conditioned simply by the case or thematic role of the pivot but is subject to a complex mechanism reflecting both the grammatical relation and the relative structural height of the pivot (see (9)).
- d. Marking of non-pivot phrases: Non-pivot phrases carry a fixed case marking depending on their grammatical relation.
- e. Fluid extraction restriction: \bar{A} -extraction (relativization, including pseudo-clefting) is limited to the pivot phrase of a given clause (see (2)).

Despite controversies surrounding the actual mechanism that drives voice alternation, there is consensus that the mapping between voice choice and pivot selection is not conditioned by any single factor, such as the thematic role of the pivot. Instead, this mapping reflects a complex hierarchy sensitive to both the structural height of the pivot (relative to other arguments in the clause) and the thematic role of the pivot (when the pivot is not a core argument selected by the verb).

This non-thematic-based system is illustrated with examples below from Tagalog. As (6) shows, AV morphology can pick up either an agent (in unergatives/two-place constructions) or an unaccusative theme as the pivot.

(6) Tagalog

{ K<um>anta / d<um>ating } si **Aya.**
 { sing<AV> / arrive<AV> } PN.PIVOT **Aya**
 ‘Aya {sang / arrived}.’ (Actor Voice)

At the same time, unaccusative themes cannot constitute the pivot in PV morphology, as in (7). This differs from transitive themes (1b) and further reveals the absence of a one-to-one correlation between voice type and the thematic role of the pivot. See Rackowski (2002) and Chen (2017) for details. See also the summary of the mapping between voice and argument-marking in Appendix I.

(7) Tagalog

*D<in>ating si **Aya.**
 arrive<PV> PN.PIVOT **Aya**
 (intended: ‘Aya arrived.’) (Patient Voice)

I turn now to the case paradigms of the four target languages. Comparative evidence shows that morphologically conservative Philippine-type languages share a three-way case system, where CM₁, CM₂, and the pivot marker are each morphologically distinct (3)–(4). Amis features such a three-way distinction. Consider the case and pronominal paradigms in (8).

(8) Amis case and pronominal paradigm (Wu 2006)

	Common noun	Personal name	1SG	1PL (EXCL./INCL.)	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Pivot	<i>ku</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>kaku</i>	<i>kami/kita</i>	<i>kisu</i>	<i>kamo</i>	<i>cingra</i>	<i>caira, cangra</i>
CM ₁	<i>nu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>niyam/mita</i>	<i>isu</i>	<i>namo</i>	<i>nira</i>	<i>mira</i>
CM ₂	<i>tu</i>	<i>ci...-an</i>	<i>takuwanan</i>	<i>kaminan/kitanan</i>	<i>tisuwanan</i>	<i>tamoanan</i>	<i>cingranan</i>	<i>cairaan, cangraan</i>

Seediq also exhibits a prototypical three-way distinction, where CM₁, CM₂, and pivot-marking are formally distinct (9).

(9) Seediq case paradigm (Holmer 1996)⁵

	Common noun	Personal name	1SG	1PL (EXCL./INCL.)	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Pivot	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>=ku</i>	<i>=nami, miya/=ta</i>	<i>=su</i>	<i>=namu</i>	–	–
CM ₁	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>=mu</i>	<i>=nami, miyan/=ta</i>	<i>=su</i>	<i>=namu</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=daha</i>
CM ₂	∅	∅	<i>kenan, munan</i>	–	<i>sunan</i>	–	–	–

Like Amis and Seediq, Puyuma (Nanwang) also displays a three-way case system, despite partial case syncretism in its common noun and personal name series (10). Even though nonpivot agents may share the same case marking as nonpivot themes when they agree in definiteness, their case status (CM₁ versus CM₂) remains clear. This distinction is maintained by the presence of the proclitic *tu=* for CM₁ phrases.

(10) Puyuma case and pronominal paradigm (Teng 2008)

	Common noun	Personal name	1SG	1PL (EXCL./INCL.)	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Pivot	<i>a</i> (indf.), <i>na</i> (def.)	<i>i</i>	<i>=ku</i>	<i>=mi/ta</i>	<i>=yu</i>	<i>=mu</i>	–	–
CM ₁	<i>tu=... dra</i> (indf.), <i>tu=... kana</i> (def.)	<i>tu=... kan</i>	<i>ku=</i>	<i>niam/=ta=</i>	<i>nu=</i>	<i>mu=</i>	<i>tu=</i>	<i>tu=</i>
CM ₂	<i>dra</i> (indf.), <i>kana</i> (def.)	<i>kan</i>	<i>kanku</i>	<i>kaniem</i>	<i>kanu</i>	<i>kanemu</i>	<i>kantu</i>	<i>kantu</i>

Tagalog exhibits a paradigm similar to that of Puyuma: CM₁ and CM₂ are further distinguished by definiteness, and the language shows partial case syncretism between CM₁ and CM₂.

(11) Tagalog case and pronominal paradigm

	Common noun	Personal name	1SG	1PL (EXCL./INCL.)	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
Pivot	<i>ang</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>=ako</i>	<i>=kami/=tayo</i>	<i>=ikaw</i>	<i>=kayo</i>	<i>=siya</i>	<i>=sila</i>
CM ₁	<i>ng</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>=ko</i>	<i>=namin/natim</i>	<i>=mo</i>	<i>=ninyo</i>	<i>=niya</i>	<i>=nila</i>
CM ₂	<i>ng</i> (indf.), <i>sa</i> (def.)	<i>kay</i>	<i>sa akin</i>	<i>sa amin/sa atin</i>	<i>sa iyo</i>	<i>sa inyo</i>	<i>sa kanya</i>	<i>sa kanila</i>

As seen in (11), in Tagalog’s common noun series, the morphological distinction between CM₁ and CM₂ is partially lost where the internal argument is m indefinite. Such themes bear the marker *ng*, which is homophonous with CM₁-marking for common nouns.⁶ Nevertheless, the CM₁/CM₂ distinction remains intact in Tagalog’s personal name series (*ni* vs. *kay*) and pronouns. Further notes on Tagalog’s case markers are presented in Appendix II.

This three-way argument-marking pattern has received four competing analyses, the basic assumptions of which are summarized in example (12).

	CM ₁	CM ₂	Pivot-marking
(12) a. Ergative view	ergative case	oblique case	absolute case
b. Accusative view	nominative case	accusative case	topic-marking
c. Theory-neutral view	“genitive”	“accusative”	“nominative”
d. Symmetrical voice view	(not specified)	(not specified)	subject-marking

In sections 3–5, I present novel empirical evidence for the accusative view (12b). The remainder of this section outlines the core assumptions of the four competing approaches.

⁵The pivot/CM₁ homophony between Seediq’s first plural and its two second-person pronouns (singular and plural) is disambiguated by the case marking on the second argument within the same clause.

⁶Where ambiguity arises, speakers tend to use a different voice for clarity.

2.1 The ergative and split ergative approaches to Philippine-type alignment

2.1.1 The ergative view of Philippine-type alignment

The ergative approach to Philippine-type alignment draws on a key assumption—pivot-marking realizes absolutive case available to four types of argument: (a) intransitive subjects, (b) transitive objects, and (c) two types of applied objects.⁷ This proposed case system is outlined in (13).

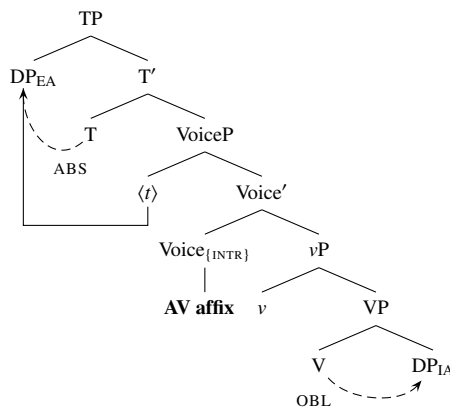
(13) The ergative approach to Philippine-type alignment

	a. AV	b. PV	c. LV	d. CV
external argument	Pivot: ABS	ERG	ERG	ERG
internal argument	OBL	Pivot: ABS	CM ₂ : OBL	OBL
locative	P ₁	P ₁	Pivot: ABS	P ₁
instrument/benefactor	P ₂	P ₂	P ₂	Pivot: ABS
	intransitive / antipassive	basic transitive	transitive applicative	transitive applicative

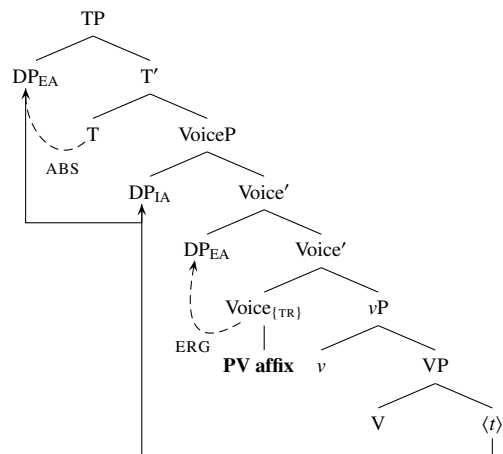
Under this approach, the AV is an antipassive construction (13a) with an oblique object; the PV (13b) is the basic transitive; the LV and the CV (13c–d) are two types of transitive applicatives where an applied object functions as the primary object. In this view, Philippine-type voice constitutes a type of valency-rearranging morphology, promoting different types of arguments to subject status, akin to Indo-European-type voice (Payne 1982; Mithun 1994; Aldridge 2011, 2012, 2016 et seq.; inter alia.).

Treating voice alternation as argument structure alternation, this approach positions voice alternation within the core verbal domain (VoiceP), attributing it to a change in the flavor of the Voice head: AV morphology realizes an intransitive Voice head, which contrasts with a transitive Voice head (realized as PV morphology) in two regards: (i) presence or absence of an EPP feature, and (ii) the ability to inherently case-license the external argument.⁸ The proposed case-licensing pattern in these two constructions is schematized in (14).

(14) a. Actor Voice



b. Patient Voice



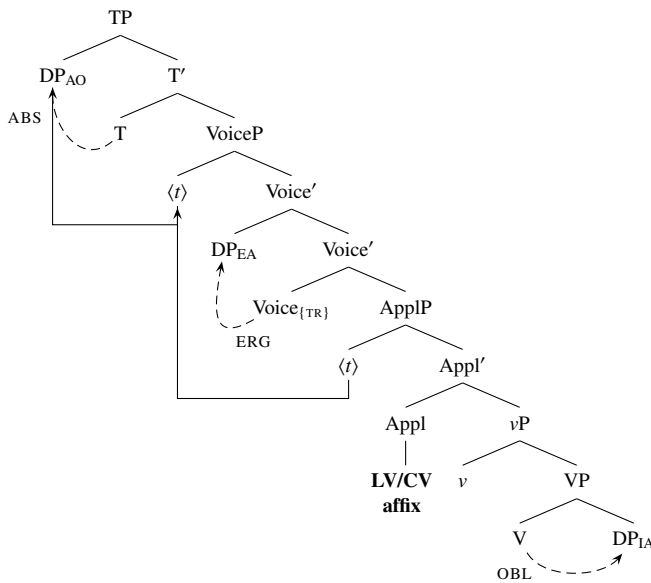
⁷Aldridge (2004) proposes two subtypes of ergativity within Philippine-type languages: T-type / high absolutive, where the source of pivot-marking (absolutive case) is unitarily T, and *v*-type / low absolutive, where the source of absolutive case splits between T and transitive Voice depending on the transitivity of the clause. This distinction was eliminated in her later works (2016, 2017) and will not be discussed in this paper.

⁸Aldridge does not distinguish between Voice and *v* in her series of work. For consistency, I implement this distinction (Pylkkänen 2002; Alexiadou et al. 2006; Harley 2013) throughout the paper and adjust the terminology used by Aldridge to reflect the Voice/*v* distinction, as this distinction enables a clearer discussion of the analysis of causatives (section 3).

With the absence of an EPP feature on Voice, the internal argument in AV constructions remains within VP and receives oblique case from V along with θ -assignment. The external argument checks absolutive case with T, as in (14a). In PV, the internal argument undergoes object shift to the outer specifier of VoiceP, where it further moves to Spec, TP and checks absolutive case. The external argument is inherently case-licensed by transitive Voice, as in (14b).

The LV/CV constructions are assumed to be two types of high applicative constructions.⁹ Accordingly, the adjunct-like pivot phrase (e.g. instrument, location, or benefactor) is an applied object introduced by an applicative phrase, base-generated in the highest internal argument position, eligible for object shift, and accessible to absolutive case (15)—similar to PV objects.

(15) Case-licensing in LV/CV constructions



An implicit assumption behind this approach is therefore that the transitive Voice head is overtly spelled out only in PV clauses and is phonologically null in LV/CV. Key assumptions of this analysis are summarized in (16).

(16) The ergative approach to Philippine-type alignment

Argument-marking		Voice morphology	
Pivot	ABS from T	AV affix	reflex of intransitive Voice (with no EPP)
CM1	ERG from transitive Voice	PV affix	reflex of transitive Voice (with EPP)
CM2	OBL from V	LV affix	reflex of High Appl head (with EPP on a null transitive Voice head)
		CV affix	reflex of High Appl head (with EPP on a null transitive Voice head)

2.1.2 The split ergative approach

A few researchers further argued that a subset of Philippine-type languages exhibit a split ergative system between the AV and the three non-AV constructions: the AV is accusative-aligned, whereas the non-AV constructions exhibit syntactic ergativity. Aldridge (2008), for example, contends that some Formosan languages have transitioned from a purely ergative system to a split ergative system, explaining why their AV constructions permit definite objects. See also Chang (1997) and Teng (2016) for a similar proposal for specific Formosan languages.

⁹It is unclear in the ergative literature how these two constructions differ in nature. Both are claimed to possess a high applicative phrase that introduces the pivot phrase.

A necessary assumption of this approach is that ‘pivot’ and CM₂ each realize two distinct cases in AV and non-AV environments. The former marks nominative case in AV and absolutive case in non-AV constructions; the latter, which consistently appears on non-pivot internal arguments, realizes accusative case in AV and oblique case in non-AV clauses, as in (17). An immediate implication under this approach is therefore that the ban on internal argument extraction in the accusative-aligned AV constructions (2a) is an additional constraint independent of syntactic ergativity.

(17) The split ergative view of Philippine-type alignment

	a. AV	b. PV	c. LV	d. CV
external argument	Pivot: NOM	CM ₁ : ERG	CM ₁ : ERG	CM ₁ : ERG
internal argument	CM ₂ : ACC	Pivot: ABS	CM ₂ : OBL	CM ₂ : OBL
locative	P ₁	P ₁	Pivot: ABS	P ₁
instrument/benefactive	P ₂	P ₂	P ₂	Pivot: ABS

2.2 The accusative approach to Philippine-type alignment

The accusative approach to Philippine-type alignment holds a distinct view—‘pivot’ is a marker of information structure status (topic). In this view, the extraction asymmetry found in these languages does not manifest an ‘absolutive-only’ constraint, but an agreement-like mechanism that indexes the grammatical role of the \bar{A} -extracted phrase that has either undergone topicalization or relativization (Chung 1994, 1998; Pearson 2005; Chen 2017; Erlewine et al. 2017). Despite minor differences among authors, the consensus is that CM₁ marks nominative case, and CM₂ marks accusative case. An immediate assumption is therefore that both are overridden by pivot/topic-marking, resulting in the apparently fluid case pattern observed in (3). In this view, Philippine-type voice is not valency-indicating morphology hosted within VoiceP, but \bar{A} -agreement or extraction morphology encoded in the left periphery. This analysis is illustrated in (18)–(19).

(18) The accusative approach to Philippine-type alignment

	a. AV	b. PV	c. LV	d. CV
external argument	NOM Topic	NOM	NOM	NOM
internal argument	ACC	ACC Topic	ACC	ACC
locative	P ₁	P ₁	P_T Topic	P ₁
instrument/benefactor	P ₂	P ₂	P ₂	P₂ Topic

(19) The core assumptions of the accusative approach to Philippine-type alignment

Argument-marking		Voice morphology	
Pivot	topic-marking	AV affix	topic agreement / extraction morphology with subject
CM1	NOM from T	PV affix	topic agreement / extraction morphology with DO
CM2	ACC from Voice	LV affix	topic agreement / extraction morphology with locative phrase
		CV affix	topic agreement / extraction morphology with none of the above

2.3 The symmetrical voice approach to Philippine-type alignment

Yet a third family of analyses maintains that Philippine-type alignment is typologically unique, allowing four distinct mappings between semantic roles and syntactic positions (Foley 2008:42). A key assumption of this approach is that none of the four voices is the default structure. Each is a non-derived construction featuring a subject with a different thematic role.

In this view, Philippine-type languages are non-configurational languages by default, the configurationality of which is determined by voice type—each of which allows a specific subject-predicate relation, in which adjunct-like phrases such as instrument and benefactor are allowed to be introduced as the subject. This analysis is summarized in (20).

(20) The symmetrical voice approach to Philippine-type alignment

Argument-marking		Voice morphology	
Pivot	subject-marking	AV affix	agent subject construction
CM ₁	(unaddressed)	PV affix	theme subject construction
CM ₂	(unaddressed)	LV affix	locative subject construction
		CV affix	instrumental/benefactive subject construction

Although developed within a non-generative framework, this approach can be evaluated based on two central predictions: if this approach is correct, the pivot phrases should exhibit subject-like behavior in various respects, and the binding relationship between the pivot phrase (the alleged subject) and other phrases in the clause should vary across the four voices.

2.4 The theory-neutral view adopted in the recent literature

Existing controversies have motivated a fourth approach, which employs purportedly analysis-neutral labels for the three markers: ‘nominative’ for pivot-marking, ‘genitive’ for CM₁, and ‘accusative’ for CM₂ (e.g. Pizarro-Guevara 2020; Erlewine & Lim 2023; Hsieh 2023; among others). Despite its original intention to sidestep existing controversies in marker analysis, this approach still fundamentally assumes that the pivot phrase in a given clause functions as the subject or nominative, drawn to [uD] and located in a derived A-position. This leads to the prevailing view in the literature that the ‘pivot-only’ extraction restriction is equivalent to a ‘subject-only’ constraint. Therefore, this approach is not entirely neutral and actually bears similarities to the ergative analysis. Given its clear assumptions about the pivot phrases, it can be evaluated alongside three other competing analyses.

3 CM₂ as accusative: Insights from causatives, RTO, and infinitives

In this section, I present novel empirical evidence that CM₂—the marker defined earlier in (3) and reiterated in (21)—realizes structural accusative case.

(21) CM₂: the morphological marking on non-pivot internal arguments

Not only does this analysis undermine the lexical oblique case view of CM₂, but it also suggests that the AV constructions in these languages (which employ CM₂-marked internal arguments) are syntactically transitive, and not antipassive.

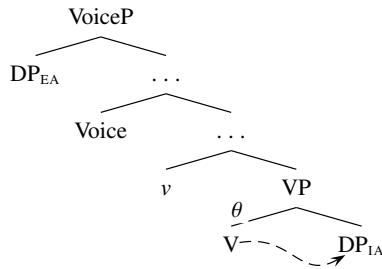
	a. Actor Voice	b. Patient Voice
(22)	external argument <i>Pivot</i>	CM ₁
	internal argument CM₂	<i>Pivot</i>

This observation thus undermines the ergative approach to Philippine-type alignment, which relies crucially on the assumption that the complementary distribution of CM₁ and CM₂ in (22) reflects a

transitivity contrast between the AV and the PV. This conclusion thus also warrants a reexamination of CM₁, which will be discussed in Section 4.

Oblique and accusative cases are distinguishable in specific environments. Although both mark internal arguments, only the former is licensed in a Head-Complement relation along with θ -assignment (23) (Aldridge 2004 et seq.; Woolford 2006; Bobaljik 2008). This suggests that the oblique case can appear only on internal arguments that are θ -licensed locally.

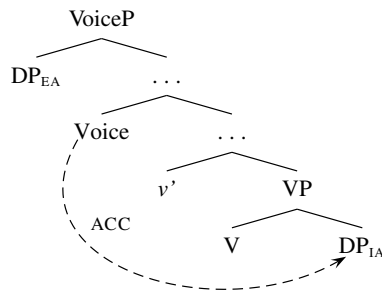
(23) Oblique case assignment



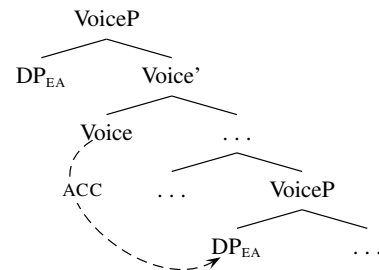
Accusative case, on the other hand, is assigned by Voice/*v*, and can be licensed either through the Head-Complement relation (24a) or via the Head-Specifier relation (24b) and appear on non-internal arguments. The latter is known as Exceptional Case Marking (ECM; Chomsky 1981, 1986), where accusative case is assigned across the VoiceP boundary to a nonfinite embedded external argument. Furthermore, since accusative licensing is not associated with θ -assignment, an accusative-marked argument need not be θ -licensed by the local verb.

(24) Two patterns of accusative case assignment

a. Head-Comp licensing



b. Head-Spec licensing (ECM)



In sections 3.1–3.3, I demonstrate that CM₂ exhibits typical characteristics of accusative case in three understudied constructions: productive causatives (ECM environments) in section 3.1, raising-to-object constructions (non-thematic argument positions) in section 3.2, and restructuring infinitives in section 3.3.

3.1 CM₂ on ECM subjects

Productive causatives provide an ideal ECM environment for examining the nature of CM₂. Across the four target languages, the Causee in AV-marked productive causatives exhibit obligatory CM₂-marking. Such Causees thus share the same case marking with the internal argument in AV-marked simple clauses, as shown in (25)–(28). See Schachter & Otnes (1972) and Latrouite (2011) for the same observation for Tagalog and descriptions of Puyuma, Amis, and Seediq in Teng (2008), Wu (2006), and Holmer (1999).

(25) Tagalog

- a. Nag-pa-habol si Aya **kay Maria** ng pusa.
 AV.PRF-CAU-chase PN.PIVOT Aya **PN.CM₂ Maria** INDF.CM₂ cat
 ‘Aya made *Maria* chase a cat.’ (AV-marked causative)
- b. H<um>abol si Aya { **kay Maria** / ng pusa }.
 AV-chase PN.PIVOT Aya { **PN.CM₂ Maria** / INDF.CM₂ cat }
 ‘Aya chased {*Maria* / a cat}.’ (Simple AV clause)

(26) Puyuma

- a. Ø-pa-dirus=ku **kan Senten** kanku=walak.
 AV-CAU-bath=1SG.PIVOT **SG.CM₂ Senten** 1SG.POSS.CM₂child
 ‘I made *Senten* wash my child.’ (AV-marked causative)
- b. Saletra’=ku { **kan Senten** / **kanku=walak** }.
 <AV>slap=1SG.PIVOT { **SG.CM₂ Senten** / **1SG.POSS.CM₂=child** }
 ‘I slapped {*Senten* / my child}.’ (Simple AV clause)

(27) Amis

- a. Ø-pa-pi-lawup kaku **ci-Sawmah-an** ci-Panay-an inacula.
 AV-CAU-PI-chase 1SG.PIVOT **PN-Sawmah-CM₂** PN-Panay-CM₂ yesterday
 ‘I made *Sawmah* chase Panay yesterday.’ (AV-marked causative)
- b. Mi-lawup kaku **ci-Sawmah-an** inacula.
 AV-chase 1SG.PIVOT **PN-Sawmah-CM₂** yesterday
 ‘I chased *Sawmah* yesterday.’ (Simple AV clause)

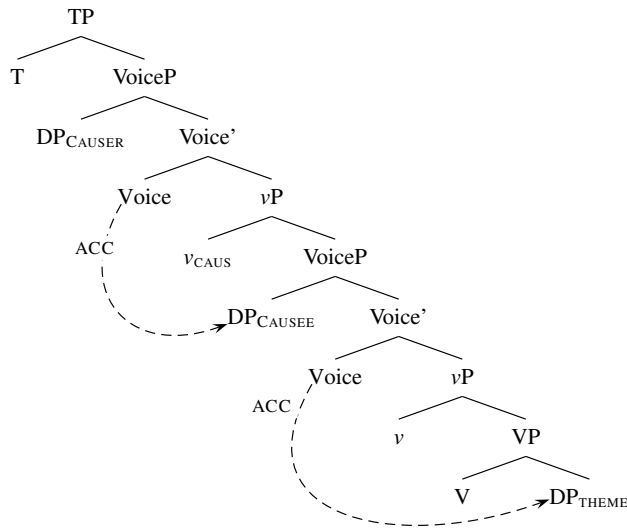
(28) Seediq

- a. Ø-p-hanguc=ku Ø **Iwan** Ø roduc nii.
 AV-CAU-cook=1SG.PIVOT **CM₂ Iwan** CM₂ chicken this
 ‘I made *Iwan* cook this chicken.’ (AV-marked causative)
- b. Q<m><n>ita { Ø **Iwan** / Ø **roduc nii** } ka Pawan.
 <AV><PRF>see { **CM₂ Iwan** / **CM₂ chicken this** } PIVOT Pawan
 ‘Pawan saw {*Iwan* / this chicken}.’ (Simple AV clause)

The presence of CM₂-marking on Causees directly challenges the oblique case view of this marker. Given that a Causee in any causative construction is neither introduced as an internal argument nor θ -licensed by the matrix verb, the presence of CM₂ on such arguments suggests a wider distribution than expected for oblique case, which should be restricted to internal arguments that are θ -licensed locally. Of course, the Causees may also be inherently case-licensed, for instance, by the dative (see Harley 2008 for an overview). I set aside this possibility for now and will present evidence against this analysis in the following discussion.

Three diagnostics confirm that such Causees are precisely located in an ECM environment within a bi-clausal causative, i.e. the specifier of an active embedded verb phrase (VoiceP), where accusative case from the matrix clause is available while lexical oblique case from V is not, as in (29). CM₂'s availability in this environment thus lends novel support for the accusative case view of this marker.

(29) Bi-clausal causatives (e.g. Folli and Harley 2007; Escamilla 2012; Legate 2014)

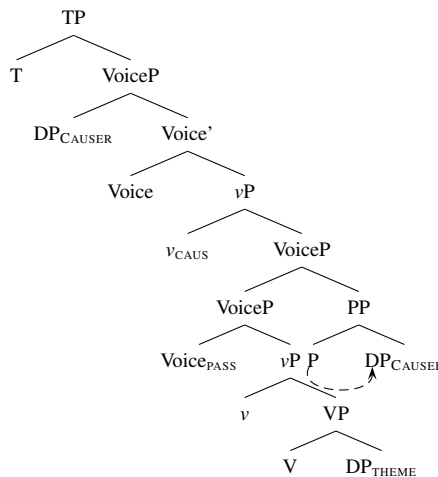


Below I present further evidence that the causative construction under discussion indeed exhibits a bi-clausal structure like (29).

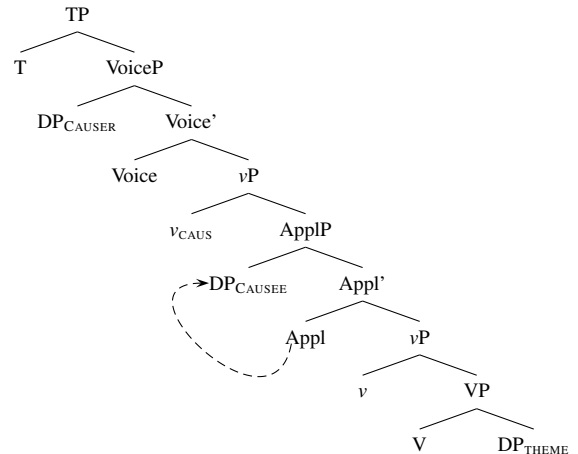
Causative constructions fall under three subtypes with regard to how the Causee is licensed. The first type (henceforth Type I) features one introduced as an ordinary external argument of an active embedded VoiceP, as shown in example (29). A second type (henceforth Type II) features one that is licensed by a *by*-phrase attached to a passive embedded VoiceP, as illustrated in (30a). A third type (henceforth Type III) involves one that is licensed by an applicative phrase in a ditransitive-like monoclausal construction, as seen in (30b) (e.g. Folli and Harley 2007; Legate 2014).

(30) Two types of causatives with a non-agentive Causee

a. Causee licensed as a *by*-phrase



b. Causee licensed as an ApplP



A Type II analysis can first be ruled out by binding diagnostics. Across the four target languages, both anaphor binding and quantifier-variable binding adhere to the standard theory of c-command, as previously demonstrated for Tagalog and Malagasy (Pearson 2001; Rackowski 2002). In these languages, the CM₂-marked Causee can freely bind a pronoun embedded within the theme (31a–b). This indicates that the Causee occupies a structural position that c-commands the theme, consistent with either a Type I or Type III analysis. Reflexive binding diagnostics yield similar results, showing that a CM₂-marked Causee can freely bind the theme, but not vice versa. For brevity, this data is not presented here. See Chen (2017) for similar observations.

- (31) Quantifier-variable binding between Causee and theme in AV-causatives
- a. Nag-pa-basa ako sa bawat estudyante ng kanyang=libro.
 AV.PRF-CAU-read 1SG.PIVOT DEF.CM₂ every student INDF.CM₂ 3PL.POSS=book
 ‘I asked every student_{<i>} to read his/her_{<i/j>} book.’ (Tagalog)
- b. Ø-pa-deru=ku kana taynaynayan driya kantu=kuraw.
 AV-CAU-cook=1SG.PIVOT SG.CM₂ mother.PL every 3.POSS.CM₂=fish
 ‘I asked every mother_{<i>} to cook her_{<i/j>} fish.’ (Puyuma)
- c. Ø-pa-pi-tangtang kaku tu cimacima a ina tu titi nangra.
 AV-CAU-PI-cook 1SG.PIVOT CM₂ every LK mother CM₂ pork 3PL.POSS
 ‘I will ask every mother_{<i>} to cook her_{<i/j>} pork.’ (Amis)
- d. Ø-p-hanguct=ku Ø knkingal bubu Ø sari=daha.
 AV-CAU-cook=1SG.PIVOT CM₂ every mother CM₂ taro=3PL.POSS
 ‘I asked every mother_{<i>} to cook her_{<i/j>} taro.’ (Seediq)

Type I and Type III causatives can be distinguished by their compatibility with agent-oriented adverbs. Type III causatives, which feature a monoclausal structure, feature a recipient-like, non-agentive Causee that is incompatible with agent-oriented adverbs (for a detailed discussion, see Folli & Harley (2007) and Legate (2014)). The AV-marked causatives under discussion, however, consistently allow the CM₂-marked Causee to be modified by agent-oriented adverbs such as ‘secretly,’ ‘severely,’ and ‘independently,’ as seen in (32a–d). This observation lends further support to the observation above that such Causees are agentive and behave like typical external arguments, thus supporting a Type I analysis.¹⁰

- (32) Compatibility of agent-oriented adverbs with the Causee in AV-marked causatives
- a. Nag-pa-nakaw=ako kay ivan nang palihim ng keyk.
 AV.PRF-CAU-steal=1SG.PIVOT PN.CM₂ Ivan CONJ secretly INDF.CM₂ cake
 ‘I asked Ivan to steal the cake secretly.’ (Ivan did so secretly) (Tagalog)
- b. Ø-pa-pukpuk=ku kan siber pakireb kana suwan.
 AV-CAU-hit=1SG.PIVOT SG.CM₂ Siber severely DEF.CM₂ dog
 ‘I asked Siber to hit the dog severely.’ (Siber did so severely) (Puyuma)
- c. Ø-pa-pi-tangtang kaku ci-panay-an t-una futing pina’un.
 AV-CAU-PI-cook 1SG.PIVOT PN.CM₂-Panay CM₂-that fish carefully
 ‘I will ask Panay to cook the fish carefully.’ (Panay did so carefully) (Amis)
- d. Ø-p-sais=ku Ø akin murux Ø lukus.
 AV-CAU-sew-1SG.PIVOT CM₂ Akin independently CM₂ clothes
 ‘I asked Akin to sew the clothes independently.’ (Akin did so independently) (Seediq)

The bi-clausal Type I analysis is further supported by the causative construction’s compatibility with the adverb of frequency ‘again,’ which can modify either the causing event or the caused event. The different readings are distinguished by the adverb’s linear order (sentence-initial vs. post-Causee

¹⁰The agent-oriented adverbs discussed here function as genuine adverbs. When not in sentence-initial position, these adverbs do not license voice alternation and must appear with a co-occurring lexical verb. Importantly, in constructions lacking an agent, the presence of such adverbs results in ungrammaticality. Therefore, we can assume that these adverbs are valid diagnostics for assessing the agentivity of the Causee in causatives. All four languages use distinctions in linear order to differentiate between adverbs modifying the Causer and those modifying the Causee. Typically, Causee-modifying adverbs are positioned right-adjacent to the Causee. In Amis and Tagalog, however, they may also appear in sentence-final position (see also Kroeger (1991:147) for a discussion on the flexibility of Tagalog adverbs). An anonymous reviewer inquired about the status of *nang*-marked adverbs in Tagalog (e.g. *nang palihim* ‘secretly’), which are commonly assumed to be structurally licensed. Both Kroeger (1991:140) and Latrouite (2011:21) note that *nang* is the obligatory linker for introducing verb-modifying adverbs, and the flexibility in linear order further demonstrates that *nang* does not introduce an embedded clause.

position). Examples (33a–d) demonstrate this compatibility, showing that the CM₂-marked Causee is requested by the Causer to perform the action again. This reinforces the view that the AV-marked construction under discussion exhibits a bi-clausal structure with an active embedded VoiceP and an agentive Causee as its external argument, exactly as suggested by a Type I analysis (29).

(33) Compatibility of the adverb of frequency ‘again’ with the caused event in AV-marked causatives

- a. Nag-pa-kanta=ako kay Aya **ulit** ng kanta.
 AV-CAU=1SG.CM₁ PN.CM₂ Aya **again** INDF.CM₂ song
 ‘I asked Aya to sing a/the song again.’ (Aya did so again)
- b. Ø-pa-base=ku kan Senten **masal** kana kiping.
 AV-CAU-wash=1SG.PIVOT SG.CM₂ Senten **again** DEF.CM₂ clothes
 ‘I asked Senten to wash the clothes again.’ (Senten did so again) (Puyuma)
- c. Ø-pa-pi-tangtang kaku ci-Afan-an **heca** t-una tali.
 AV-CAU-PI-cook 1SG.PIVOT PN-Afan-CM₂ **again** CM₂-that taro
 ‘I will ask Afan to cook the taro again’ (Afan will do so again) (Amis)
- d. Ø-p-hanguc=ku Ø Temi **dungan** Ø rodux.
 AV-CAU-cook=1SG.PIVOT CM₂ Temi **again** CM₂ chicken
 ‘I asked Temi to cook the chicken again.’ (Temi did so again) (Seediq)

We may thus conclude that the CM₂-marked Causee is indeed associated with a Type I structure (29), introduced as an ordinary external argument in the embedded Spec, VoiceP.¹¹ As this position is one where only ECM licensing is available, not lexical oblique case, CM₂ is best analyzed as structural accusative case. See also Maclachlan (1996), Travis (2000), and Rackowski (2002) for a similar bi-clausal analysis of Tagalog causatives.

A systematic literature review reveals the same distribution of CM₂ across 16 other Philippine-type languages from various higher-order Austronesian branches, with no exceptions attested. This suggests that the accusative analysis of this marker may extend beyond the four target languages.¹²

3.2 CM₂ on derived objects

A second ideal environment for examining the nature of CM₂ is the raising-to-object construction. Many western Austronesian languages exhibit a raising phenomenon, where a phrase thematically linked to the embedded clause can optionally appear in the matrix object position in complex sentences introduced by a knowledge or perception verb (e.g. Davies 2005; Pearson 2001; Chen & Fukuda 2016). This is illustrated with the Madurese example (34). For simplicity, I refer to this construction as ‘raising-to-object’ (RTO) and to the apparently raised phrase as the ‘derived object,’ while remaining agnostic about its syntactic status.

¹¹This conclusion is supported by the results from another diagnostic: in Puyuma, Amis, and Seediq, such causatives allow two distinct temporal adverbs that can independently modify the causing and caused events. However, Tagalog causatives generally disfavor two temporal adverbs, although all other common diagnostics discussed in Section 3.1 indicate that they share a similar bi-clausal structure with those in Puyuma, Amis, and Seediq. Considering the length and complexity of the paper, I do not introduce a fourth test here, provided that the three diagnostics discussed in the text suffice to reach the conclusion. See Chen (2017:49–50) for the relevant data.

¹²Sources of data: Amis (Liu 2011; Chen & Fukuda 2016), Atayal (Huang 2005), Bikol (Mintz 1971), Botolan Sambal (Antworth 1979), Bunun (Zeitoun 2000), Cebuano (Tanankingsing 2009), Ida’an Begak (Goudswaard 2005), Ilocano (Silva-Corvalán 1978), Muna (van den Berg 1989), Thao (Jian 2018), Yami (Rau and Dong 2006), Itbayaten (Yamada 2014), Botolan Sambal (Antworth 1979), Puyuma (see also Kuo 2015), Kavalan (Don-yi Lin pers.c.), Seediq (see also Holmer 1999), Paiwan (Chang 2006), Saisiyat (Yeh 2000), Tagalog (see also Travis 2000 and Rackowski 2002), Tsou (Lin 2010).

(34) Madurese

- a. Siti ngera [ja' dokter juwa mareksa **Hasan**].
Siti AV.think [C doctor DEM AV.examine **Hasan**]
'Siti thinks that the doctor examined *Hasan*.'
- b. Siti ngera **Hasan** [ja' dokter juwa mareksa *aba'eng*].
Siti AV.think **Hasan** [C doctor DEM AV.examine *he*]
'Siti thinks about *Hasan_i* that the doctor examined him_i.' (Davies 2005:653)

Across RTOs found in Philippine-type languages, the case marking of the derived object (e.g. 'Hasan' in (34b)) is dependent on the matrix voice. Where the matrix clause is in AV, the derived object is marked with CM₂; where the matrix clause is in PV, the derived object is pivot-marked. This correlation mirrors the case marking on ordinary objects in simple clauses, illustrated in (35).

	internal argument in simple clause	derived object in RTO
(35) Matrix AV	CM ₂	CM ₂
Matrix PV	Pivot	Pivot

Across the four target languages, this case pattern is consistently observed. Consider examples below from Tagalog (36), Puyuma (37), Amis (38), and Seediq (39).¹³

(36) Tagalog

- a. **Um**-aasa ako [na mai-pasa **ni juan** ang exam].
AV-hope 1SG.PIVOT [C PV.SUBJ-pass PN.CM₁ **Juan** CN.PIVOT exam].
'I hope that *Juan* will pass the exam.'
- b. **Um**-aasa ako **kay juan_i** [na ma-i-pasa niya_i ang exam].
AV-hope 1SG.PIVOT PN.CM₂ **Juan_i** [C PV.SUBJ-pass 3SG.CM_{1i} CN.PIVOT exam].
'I hope that *Juan* will pass the exam.' (CM₂ on derived objects)
- c. **Um**-apak si Maria **kay juan**.
AV-step.on PN.PIVOT Maria PN.CM₂ **Juan**
'Maria stepped on *Juan*.' (CM₂ on AV objects in simple clauses)

(37) Puyuma

- a. **Ma**-lradram=ku [dra m-uka **i Isaw** i Balangaw adaman].
AV-know=1SG.PIVOT [C AV-go SG.PIVOT **Isaw_i** LOC Balangaw yesterday]
'I know that *Isaw* went to Balangaw yesterday.'
- b. **Ma**-lradram=ku **kan Isaw_i** [dra m-uka (*e.c.*)_i i Balangaw adaman].
AV-know=1SG.PIVOT SG.CM₂ **Isaw_i** [C AV-go (*e.c.*)_i LOC Balangaw yesterday]
'I know that *Isaw* went to Balangaw yesterday.' (CM₂ on derived objects)
- c. **Ma**-ladram=ku **kan Isaw**.
AV-know=1SG.PIVOT SG.CM₂ **Isaw**
'I know *Isaw*.' (CM₂ on AV objects in simple clauses)

(38) Amis

- a. **Ma**-fana' kaku [Ø mi-sakilif **ci-Sawmah** ci-Kulas-an].
AV-know 1SG.PIVOT [C AV-lie SG.PIVOT-**Sawmah** PN-Kulas-CM₂]
'I know that *Sawmah* lied to *Kulas*.'

¹³The embedded clauses in all these examples are finite CPs, evidenced by non-restricted voice-marking and aspect-marking unavailable in infinitives, as well as by an obligatory complementizer in languages like Puyuma.

- b. **Ma-fana'** kaku **ci-Sawmah-an**_i [∅ mi-sakilif (*e.c.*)_i ci-Kulas-an]
 AV-know 1SG.PIVOT **PN-Sawmah-CM₂** [C AV-lie (*e.c.*)_i PN-Kulas-CM₂]
 'I know that *Sawmah* lied to Kulas.' (CM₂ on derived objects)
- c. **Ma-fana'** kaku **ci-Sawmah-an**.
 AV-know 1SG.PIVOT **PN-Sawmah-CM₂**
 'I know *Sawmah*.' (CM₂ on AV objects in simple clauses)
- (39) Seediq (Truku)
- a. **Me-**'isug=ku [∅ s<m>ipaq ∅ huling=mu **ka Imi**].
 AV-fear=1SG.PIVOT [C <AV>hit CM₂ dog=1SG.POSS **PIVOT Imi**]
 'I fear that *Imi* will hit my dog.'
- b. **Me-**'isug=ku ∅ **Imi**_i [∅ s<m>ipaq ∅ huling=mu (*e.c.*)_i].
 AV-fear=1SG.PIVOT **CM₂ Imi**_i [C <AV>hit CM₂ dog=1SG.POSS (*e.c.*)_i]
 'I fear that *Imi* will hit my dog.' (CM₂ on derived objects)
- c. **Me-**'isug=ku ∅ **Imi**.
 AV-fear=1SG.PIVOT **CM₂ Imi**
 'I am afraid of *Imi*.' (CM₂ on AV objects in simple clauses)

The presence of CM₂ on derived objects presents further challenges to the lexical oblique case view of this marker. Lexical case is licensed alongside θ -assignment; thus, its presence implies that the derived object is θ -licensed by the matrix verb. This contradicts the fundamental assumption in all existing analyses of RTO in the literature, that the derived object has no thematic relation to the matrix verb. In genuine cases of RTO constructions that either involve raising to the edge of the embedded phase or into the matrix clause (40), the derived object is already θ -licensed by the embedded verb prior to raising. It is therefore infelicitous to assume this object bears θ -identity with the matrix V.

- (40) Type I RTO: the derived object undergoes (\bar{A}) movement from the embedded clause

$$C \dots V_{\text{knowledge/perception}} \dots \underbrace{\text{derived object}_i}_{\uparrow} [_{\text{CP}} C \dots V \dots \langle t_i \rangle]$$

In an alternative analysis where the derived object is base-generated in its spell-out position (41), this object is standardly analyzed as a non-thematic argument that lacks a thematic relationship with the matrix verb (see Higgins 1981; Potsdam and Runner 2001; Davies 2005; Salzmann 2017; Lohninger et al. 2022; among others), under the assumption that knowledge/perception verbs are assumed not to allow a three-place θ -grid: $\langle x_{\text{agent}}, y_{\text{theme}}, z_{\text{derived object}} \rangle$.

- (41) Type II RTO: the derived object is base-generated in its spell-out position

$$C \dots V_{\text{knowledge/perception}} \dots \text{derived object}_i [_{\text{CP}} C \dots V \dots \text{pronoun}_i]$$

Theoretical issues surrounding this θ -grid are as follows. First, it necessitates an independently motivated lexical entry that licenses three θ -roles. Second, the thematic role of the derived object is difficult to classify. Derived objects in RTO constructions are therefore fundamentally incompatible with lexical oblique case, regardless of whether the construction involves a genuine instance of raising. Their compatibility with CM₂ thus argues against the oblique case interpretation of this marker. On the other hand, the accusative case analysis of CM₂ offers a straightforward explanation for the consistent CM₂ marking across AV objects, agentive Causees, and derived objects in RTO. Since accusative case assignment is independent of θ -licensing, an accusative case analysis for CM₂ is compatible with either a base-generation or movement analysis in RTO, as demonstrated across various languages (see Salzmann 2017 for an overview). The obligatory presence of CM₂ on derived objects thus reinforces the accusative case view of CM₂.

An anonymous reviewer suggested that the apparent CM₂ marking might be a case assigned by a silent preposition to the derived objects, which is coincidentally homophonous with accusative case. Under this assumption, the RTO data here would not clarify the nature of CM₂ in simple AV clauses. However, there are two reasons to reject this possibility. First, since the actual morphological form of CM₂ varies across Philippine-type languages, it is unlikely that all these languages would have a prepositional case identical to the accusative. Second, if such objects were licensed by a prepositional case, we would expect to see an overt preposition in a language like Tagalog, which has a rich prepositional inventory. Furthermore, in Philippine-type languages, prepositional phrases usually cannot be selected as the pivot in PV, whereas derived objects freely bear pivot marking when the matrix voice is PV (see, for example, (35) and Law (2011) and Chen and Fukuda (2016) for specific examples). This suggests that the CM₂ marking on the derived objects is more likely to be ordinary case marking, similar to that in simple AV clauses.

Notably, all 13 Philippine-type languages reported to possess an RTO construction in the literature exhibit obligatory CM₂-marking on derived objects whenever the matrix verb is in AV.¹⁴ This suggests that the accusative analysis for CM₂ can extend beyond the four target languages.

3.3 Absence of CM₂ in restructuring infinitives

A third environment ideal for distinguishing between accusative and oblique cases is restructuring infinitives. As is well-known, accusative case is unavailable in infinitival complements that lack a fully functional Voice layer. This absence necessitates long-distance case licensing, leading to a special phenomenon where the embedded object's case marking depends on the matrix voice type (e.g. Aissen and Perlmutter 1976, 1983; Rizzi 1978, 1982; Wurmbrand 2001 et seq.; Cinque 2004).

This phenomenon is demonstrated in the following examples from Kannada. As shown in (42a–b), changing the matrix voice from active to passive results in obligatory nominative marking on the object within the restructuring infinitive. This indicates that the source of accusative case in the active example (42a) is the matrix Voice, and its absence when the matrix Voice is defective (42b).

(42) Kannada (Dravidian)

- a. Jaananu-∅ [**hosa mane-(y)annu** kaTT-al(u)] shurumaaDid-anu.
John-NOM [**new house-ACC** build-INF] started-3SG.M
'John started to build the house.'
- b. **Hosa mane(y)u**-∅ (jaanan-inda) [__ kaTT-al(u)] shurumaaD-alpaTT-itu.
new house-NOM (John-by) [__ build-INF] started-PASS-3SG.N
'A house was started to be built (by John).' (Agbayani & Shekar 2007:10)

Lexical oblique case should be consistently available in restructuring infinitives (RIs) because it is directly licensed by the lexical verb, which is always present within these infinitives. Consequently, long-distance case-licensing and matrix-dependent case marking of the object should not occur if the object is licensed with oblique case.

Across Puyuma, Amis, and Seediq, the object within RIs exhibits matrix-dependent case marking—similar to the derived objects in RTO. This supports the conclusion that such objects are accusative-licensed.¹⁵ Before discussing the core data, a brief overview of restructuring infinitives is necessary. In

¹⁴Sources of data: Amis (Liu 2011; Chen and Fukuda 2016), Atayal (Liu 2011), Bunun (Zeitoun 2000a), Cebuano (Davies 2005), Kavalan (Chang 2000), Malagasy (Paul and Rabaovololona 1998; Pearson 2001), Paiwan (Chang 2006; Wu 2012), Pazeh (primary data), Puyuma/Seediq (Chen and Fukuda 2016), Saisiyat (Yeh 2000), Tagalog (Law 2011), Tsou (Liu 2011).

¹⁵Tagalog exhibits no infinitive of this type. Nevertheless, its CM₂-marking shows the hallmarks of structural accusative case in the two environments discussed in sections 3.1 and 3.2.

Philippine-type languages, RIs are characterized by clitic climbing, the absence of an embedded complementizer, and TAM-deficiency (see T. Chen 2010; C. Wu 2012; I. Wu 2011; Kroeger 2014; Wurmbrand 2014; Chang 2017; V. Chen 2017 for details). These features are illustrated with the Puyuma examples in (44). As shown in (44a), the embedded object *yu* is obligatorily attached to the matrix verb as a pronominal clitic, indicating the absence of clause-boundedness effects. The embedded verb cannot take aspect or mood inflections, and the infinitive is incompatible with the complementizer *dra*, which is mandatory in finite CP complements (see section 3.2 for relevant examples).

- (43) Puyuma¹⁶
- a. Tu_i=talam-ay=*(yu) kan Isaw [(*dra) sabana(=*yu)].
 3.CM₁=try-LV[PV]=*(2SG.PIVOT) SG.CM₁ Isaw_i [(*C) <AV>cheat/(*=2SG.PIVOT)]
 ‘Isaw tried to cheat you.’ (obligatory clitic climbing)
- b. Talam i Isaw [(*dra) deru/*da-deru dra patraka].
 try<AV> SG.PIVOT Isaw [(*C) <AV>cook/*<AV>RED-cook INDF.CM₂ meat]
 ‘Isaw tried to cook/*was cooking the meat.’ (TAM deficiency)

Infinitives of this type feature a special voice-marking constraint known as ‘AV-only,’ where Actor Voice is the only permissible voice-marking on the embedded verb. This constraint has been shown to be associated with a VoiceP complement containing a defective Voice head, which is incapable of accusative licensing (see, e.g. T. Chen 2010; H. Wu 2011; Kroeger 2014; Wurmbrand 2014; Chang 2017; V. Chen 2017).¹⁷ Consider the examples in (44a–b), which demonstrate that this constraint operates independently of the matrix voice-marking (PV vs. AV).

- (44) Puyuma: the ‘AV-only’ constraint on restructuring infinitives
- a. Tu_i=talam-ay kan senten_i [_{INF} sabana/*tu=sabana-aw i
 3.CM₁_i=try-LV[PV] SG.CM₁ Senten_i [_{INF} <AV>cheat/*3.CM₁=cheat-PV] SG.PIVOT
 sawagu].
 Sawagu]
 ‘Senten tried to cheat Sawagu.’
- b. Talam i senten [_{INF} sabana/*tu=sabana-aw kan sawagu].
 try<AV> SG.PIVOT Senten [_{INF} <AV>cheat/*3.CM₁=cheat-PV] SG.CM₂ Sawagu]
 ‘Senten tried to cheat Sawagu.’

Like the Kannada examples (42), the case marking of the embedded object is determined by the matrix voice type. Where the matrix verb is in AV, the embedded object must carry CM₂-marking; where the matrix verb is in PV, the object must bear pivot-marking. This alternation is schematized in (45) and illustrated in (46).

(45)

	internal argument in simple clause	object inside a restructuring infinitive
matrix AV	CM ₂	CM ₂
matrix PV	Pivot	Pivot

¹⁶In Puyuma, a number of verbs that use a PV case frame also exhibit LV morphology, a phenomenon known as PV-LV syncretism (Blust and Chen 2017). To avoid unnecessary confusion, these verbs are glossed as LV[PV].

¹⁷An anonymous reviewer asked if there is a way to determine whether the Voice layer in these languages is simply absent. Given these RIs’ compatibility with an independent negator (in examples such as ‘I tried *not*’ to smoke a cigarette’), it is evident that they do possess a defective Voice head. See Wurmbrand (2014 et seq.) for details on this diagnostic.

(46) Absence of CM₂ in restructuring infinitives

a. Puyuma

Ku=talam-**ay** [INF (*dra) sabana' { **i/*kan** } **Apeng**].
 1SG.CM₁=try-LV[PV] [INF (*C) <AV>cheat] { **SG.PIVOT/*SG.CM₂** } **Apeng**].
 'I tried to cheat Apeng.'

b. Amis

Tanam-**en** aku [INF mi-tangtang { **k-una/*t-una** } **titi**].
 try-PV 1SG.CM₁ [INF <AV-COOK] { **PIVOT-that/*CM₂-that** } **pork**]
 'I will try to cook that pork.'

c. Seediq

Ququ-**un**=mu [INF m-imah { **ka/*∅** } **sino nii**].
 try-PV=1SG.CM₁ [INF <AV-drink] { **PIVOT/*CM₂** } **alcohol this**]
 'I will try to drink this alcohol.'

Since V (i.e. the licenser of lexical case) is present within RIs, the fact that CM₂ is absent in this environment (47a–c) further undermines the lexical oblique case view of CM₂. Under that approach, the internal argument would have been locally case-licensed and remained in the embedded clause. Consider examples below from Turinese and Italian, which reinforces the view that where lexically case-licensed objects (e.g. the dative recipient 'Mario' in (48a–b)) cannot participate in long passive (Ledgeway 2021).

(47) a. Turinese

*marjo a vøł ese mand la.
 Mario SCL want.PRS.3SG be.INF send.PTCP.FSG/MSG the.FSG letter.F
 (intended: 'Mario wants to be sent the letter.')

b. Italian

*Mario vuole essere mandata/-o la lettera.
 Mario SCL want.PRS.3SG be.INF send.PTCP.FSG/MSG the.FSG letter.F
 (intended: 'Mario wants to be sent the letter.') (Ledgeway 2021:142)

At the same time, the absence of CM₂ within infinitives featuring a deficient Voice head also indicates that the licensing of CM₂ is dependent on that of Voice. This offers direct support that CM₂ realizes accusative case.¹⁸

A preliminary survey shows that the same type of matrix-dependent case marking is found across in RIs in 15 Philippine-type Austronesian languages (Wurmbrand 2014). The accusative case analysis for CM₂ may thus extend beyond the target languages.

¹⁸An anonymous reviewer posited that the ungrammaticality of the CM₂-marked object in (46) might be due to the requirement of a pivot in the language; since pivot marking can override case marking, it is unclear whether CM₂ is structural or lexical. There are two reasons against this analysis: First, complement clauses in Philippine-type languages may covertly bear pivot status without overt pivot-marking, in which case the pivot status of the clause is inferred by \bar{A} -extraction eligibility of clause-internal phrases (see Rackowski and Richards 2005; Chen and Fukuda 2016 for details). Thus, complex sentences like (46a–c) can be grammatical without overt pivot-marking: the infinitive itself may be the pivot if the embedded object does not lack a local case-licensor. Second, even if pivot-marking overrides case marking, the matrix voice-marking would still indicate the grammatical role of the pivot phrase. As is widely agreed, only structurally case-licensed direct objects in these languages trigger PV morphology; other types of internal arguments and adjuncts usually require CV morphology (see Rackowski, 2002; Chen, 2017). Therefore, the matrix voice would not be in PV if these examples indeed contained oblique case-licensed objects.

3.4 Interim conclusion

To conclude, the previously overlooked presence of CM₂ in three specific syntactic environments (3.1–3.3) indicates that CM₂ is not solely confined to internal arguments, but instead available in several environments where structural accusative case is expected to be present.

This conclusion indicates that two-place AV constructions (which feature a CM₂-marked object) are genuine transitives with accusative objects. Consequently, the proposed ergative alignment of antipassive subjects (S) and transitive objects (O) cannot be maintained, as antipassive subjects are fundamentally distinct from transitive subjects (A).

(48) Case alternation between AV and PV
 a. Actor Voice b. Patient Voice

external argument	Pivot	CM ₁
internal argument	CM₂: ACC	Pivot
<i>transitivity</i>	transitive	transitive

This conclusion follows consistently from various recent critiques of the antipassive approach against Philippine-type Actor Voice. See Rackowski (2002), Paul and Travis (2006), O’Brien (2015), Chen (2017) and works cited there for a detailed overview of empirical issues for that analysis.

Crucially, the accusative behavior of CM₂ is not specific to the four target languages. The table below presents a sample list of Philippine-type languages attested with the aforementioned accusative behavior of CM₂. Since each of the three environments (50a–c) provides independent evidence for the accusative case view of CM₂, it is unnecessary for a language to exhibit all three to support this conclusion.

(49) Summary: Evidence for the CM₂ as structural accusative case¹⁹

	Subgrouping affiliation	Causatives	RTO	Restructuring infinitives
		a. CM ₂ on ECM subjects	b. CM ₂ on derived objects	c. CM ₂ absent in RIs where the matrix voice is in NAV
Atayal	Atayalic	✓	✓	✓
Seediq	Atayalic	✓	✓	✓
Puyuma	Puyuma	✓	✓	✓
Amis	East Formosan	✓	✓	✓
Kavalan	East Formosan	✓	✓	✓
Tsou	Tsouic	✓	✓	✓
Thao	Western Plains	✓	✓	?
Bunun	Bunun	✓	✓	✓
Saisiyat	NW Formosan	✓	✓	✓
Paiwan	Paiwan	✓	✓	✓
Tagalog	Malayo-Polynesian	✓	✓	N/A
Ilocano	Malayo-Polynesian	✓	✓	N/A
Cebuano	Malayo-Polynesian	✓	✓	N/A
Botolan Sambal	Malayo-Polynesian	✓	✓	N/A
Subanon	Malayo-Polynesian	✓	✓	N/A

¹⁹Sources of data: Atayal (Huang 2005), Seediq (Holmer 1999), Puyuma (Kuo 2015), Amis (Chen 2017), Kavalan (Don-yi Lin p.c.), Tsou (Lin 2010), Thao (Jian 2018), Bunun (Zeitoun 2000), Saisiyat (Yeh 2000), Paiwan (Chang 2006), Tagalog (Travis 2000; Rackowski 2002), Ilocano (Silva-Corvalán 1978), Cebuano (Tanankingsing 2009), Botolan Sambal (Antworth 1979), Subanon (Estioca 2020).

4 CM₁ as nominative: Insights from causatives and unaccusatives

I turn now to the distribution of CM₁, the marker defined earlier in (3) and repeated in (51).

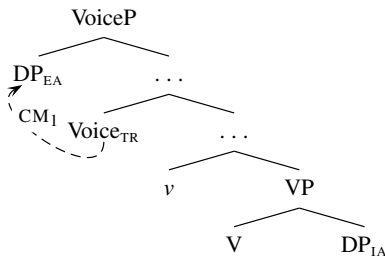
(50) CM₁: the morphological marking on non-pivot external arguments.

Recall that this marker is consistently present on the external argument in non-AV clauses but absent in Actor Voice (51). Under the long-standing assumption that AV clauses are syntactically intransitive, this marker is traditionally analyzed as inherent ergative case assigned by transitive Voice/*v* (Aldridge 2004 et seq.), illustrated in (51).

(51) Philippine-type alignment: schematized case pattern

	a. AV	b. PV	c. LV	d. CV
external argument	Pivot	CM ₁	CM ₁	CM ₁
internal argument	CM ₂	Pivot	CM ₂	CM ₂
locative	P ₁	P ₁	Pivot	P ₁
instrument/benefactor	P ₂	P ₂	P ₂	Pivot

(52) CM₁-assignment under the ergative case view



If CM₁ indeed marks inherent ergative case from transitive Voice, it should exclusively mark external arguments within transitive clauses. Moreover, given that Voice/*v* is the licenser of this case, multiple instances of CM₁ marking could occur within a single transitive clause if it contains multiple Voice/*v* heads.

If, however, CM₁ exhibits a broader distribution beyond external argument positions, yet remains unique per clause and confined to the highest argument within each clause, this suggests that CM₁ might be better understood as a type of structural case assigned to the highest caseless DP per clause—namely, the nominative. The anticipated distributional disparities between ergative and nominative cases are delineated in (53).

(53) Distribution of CM₁ under two competing hypotheses

	CM ₁ as ergative	CM ₁ as nominative
a. CM ₁ restricted to external arguments	Yes	No
b. CM ₁ restricted to transitive clauses	Yes	No
c. CM ₁ unique per clause	No	Yes
d. CM ₁ present only on the highest caseless DP	No	Yes

In the discussion below, I demonstrate that CM₁ shows common hallmarks of the nominative in two specific environments: causative of transitives (4.1) and unaccusatives with an adjunct phrase (4.2).

4.1 CM₁ as locality-constrained and unique per CP

It is well-documented that the ergative case can appear in infinitives or occur multiple times within a single finite clause. This distribution is expected given that the licenser of this case (i.e. Voice) is not unique per CP nor restricted to finite environments. Consider the examples below from Trumai (isolate), Kabardian (Caucasian), and Macushi (Carib), all of which employ double ergative marking on both the Causer and the Causee in causative constructions.

- (54) Ergative Causee in morphologically ergative languages
- a. **Alaweru-k hai-ts** axos disi-ka.
Alaweru-ERG 1SG-ERG child.ABS hit-CAU
 ‘Alaweru made me hit the child.’ (Guirardello 1999:353) (Trumai)
- b. **L’eze-m s’ala-m** d’abz-r y-r-y-ga-h-a-s.
old.man-ERG boy-ERG girl-ABS 3SG-3SG-3SG-CAU-carry-RET-AFF
 ‘The old man made the boy carry the girl.’ (Matasovic 2010:50) (Kabardian)
- c. Imakiupi kupi **jesus-ya** emaputi yonpa-pi **makiu-ya** teuren.
 bad do **Jesus-ERG** CAU try-PST **Satan-ERG** FRUST
 ‘Satan unsuccessfully tried to make Jesus do bad.’ (Abbott 1991:40) (Macushi)

However, CM₁—the alleged ergative case in Philippine-type languages—exhibits a distinct distribution—it is unique per CP and available only to the highest argument per clause. This distribution is transparent in bi-clausal productive causatives, where CM₁ is available only to the Causer, and can never appear on the agentive Causee. Consider (55).

- (55) Case pattern in productive causatives

	a. AV	b. PV	c. CV
Causer	Pivot	CM₁	CM₁
Causee	CM ₂ /* CM₁	Pivot/* CM₁	CM ₂ /* CM₁
Theme	CM ₂	CM ₂	Pivot

This locality-based distribution is exemplified in the examples below from Tagalog, Puyuma, Amis, and Seediq (56)–(57). Examples of PV-marked causatives are omitted here, as the absence of CM₁ in PV-causatives is due to the Causee’s pivot status.

- (56) AV-causatives: Unavailability of CM₁ to the Causee
- a. Nag-pa-nakaw=ako {**kay/*ni**} Juan ng kotse.
 AV.PRF-CAU-steal=1SG.PIVOT **CM₂/***CM₁**** Juan INDF.**CM₁** car
 ‘I asked Juan to steal the car.’ (Tagalog)
- b. (***Tu=**)∅-pa-karatr=ku **kana suwan** kan Senten.
 (***3.CM₁**)=AV-CAU-bite=1SG.PIVOT **DEF.CM₂ dog_i** PN.CM₂ Senten
 ‘I made the dog bite Senten.’ (Puyuma)
- c. ∅-pa-pi-kalat kaku {**tu/*nu**} wacu ci-Afan-an.
 AV-CAU-TR-bite 1SG.PIVOT **CM₂/***CM₁**** dog PN-Afan-**CM₂**
 ‘I will make the dog bite Afan.’ (Amis)
- d. ∅-p-tinun=ku {∅/***na**} Robo ∅ lukus.
 AV-CAU-weave=1SG.PIVOT **CM₂/***CM₁**** Robo **CM₂** clothes
 ‘I asked Robo to sew the clothes.’ (Seediq)

- (57) CV-causatives: Unavailability of CM₁ to the Causee
- a. I-p<in>a-nakaw=ko {**kay/*ni**} Juan ang kotse.
CV-CAU<PRF>-steal=1SG.CM₁ {PN.CM₂/*PN.CM₁} Juan CN.PIVOT car
'I asked Juan to steal the car.' (Tagalog)
- b. (***Tu**=)ku=pa-saletra'-anay **kan Sawagu i** Senten.
(***3.CM₁**=)1SG₁=CAU-slap-CV **SG.CM₂ Sawagu** PN.PIVOT Senten
'I asked Sawagu to slap Senten.' (Puyuma)
- c. Sa-pa-pi-nengneng aku {**tu/*nu**} ising k-una pusi.
CV-CAU-TR-see 1SG.CM₁ **CM₂/*CM₁** doctor PIVOT-that cat
'I will ask the doctor to look at the cat.' (Amis)
- d. S-p-tinun=mu {**∅/*na**} robo ka lukus.
CV-CAU-weave=1SG.CM₁ **CM₂/*CM₁** Robo PIVOT clothes
'I asked Robo to sew the clothes.' (Seediq)

This distribution lends strong support to the nominative case view of CM₁, suggesting that that CM₁ is consistently restricted to the highest DP and not any external argument positions.²⁰

4.2 CM₁ on unaccusative themes

Alongside its structural-case behavior noted above, CM₁ exhibits one other hallmark of the nominative case: it is available to internal arguments where an external argument is absent.

Across the four target languages, in LV/CV-marked constructions formed with a semantically intransitive verb, the sole argument of the verb is obligatorily marked with CM₁, whether the verb is unergative or unaccusative. Consider the examples below from Tagalog (58), Puyuma (59), Amis (60), and Seediq (61).

- (58) Tagalog
- a. K<in>urot { **ni/*kay** } **AJ** si Lily.
pinch<PV.PRF> { **PN.CM₁/*PN.CM₂** } **AJ** PN.PIVOT Lily
'AJ pinched Lily'. (CM₁ on initiator)
- b. I-k<in>amatay { **ni/*kay** } **AJ** ang sakit.
CV-die-<PFV> { **PN.CM₁/*PN.CM₂** } **AJ** CN.PIVOT sickness
'AJ died of illness.' (CM₁ on unaccusative theme)
- (59) Puyuma²¹
- a. { **Tu_i/*∅** } =trakaw-aw na paysu kan Senten_i.
{ **3.CM_{1i}/*CM₂** } =steal-PV DEF.PIVOT money PN.CM₁ Senten_i
'Senten stole the money.' (CM₁ on initiator)
- b. { **Tu_i*∅** } =utrerag-ay kana ladru_i ku-tranguru.
{ **3.CM_{1i}/*CM₂** } =fall.down-LV DEF.CM₂ mango_i 1SG.POSS-head
'The mango fell on my head.' (CM₁ on unaccusative theme)

²⁰There is clear evidence that the Causee in CV-marked causatives (57) is also an external argument, evidenced by such as the Causee's ability to bind the theme and its compatibility with agent-oriented adverbs and the adverb of frequency 'again.' This suggests that CV-marked causatives share the same structure with the AV-causatives (section 3.1) and possess an agentive Causee introduced as an external argument of the embedded VoiceP. See section 5 for a further discussion of this claim with actual data.

²¹As introduced in (10), non-pivot agents (and non-pivot themes in unaccusatives) in Puyuma are obligatorily realized as proclitics. The proclitic can be optionally cross-referenced by a full DP, which appears as an adjunct-like phrase. In (59a), the third-person proclitic *tu* is cross-referenced by the non-pivot agent 'Senten'; in (66b), it is crossreferenced by the unaccusative theme 'mango.' See footnote 13 for the complete case paradigm of Puyuma.

(60) Amis²²

- a. Pi-qaca'-an { **aku/*takuwanan** } tu pawli ku lumaq ni sawmah.
 buy-LV { **1SG.CM₁/*CM₁** } CM₂ banana PIVOT house POSS Sawmah
 'I bought bananas at Sawmah's house.' (CM₁ on initiator)
- b. Ka-tulu'-an { **aku/*takuwanan** } kuna lalan.
 slip-LV { **1SG.CM₁/*CM₂** } PIVOT.that road
 'I slipped on that road.' (CM₁ on unaccusative theme)

(61) Seediq

- a. S-seeliq-un { **na/*∅** } **walis** ka babuy.
 RED-butcher-PV { **CM₁/CM₂** } **Walis** PIVOT boar
 'Walis will butcher the boar.' (CM₁ on initiator)
- b. S-k<n>arux { **na/*∅** } **Temi** ka knrudan-na.
 CV-PRV-be.sick { **CM₁/CM₂** } **Temi** PIVOT age-3SG.POSS
 'Temi got sick because of her age.' (CM₁ on unaccusative theme)

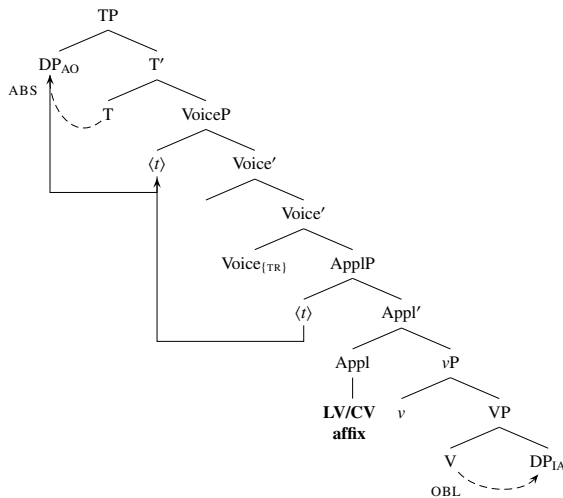
The presence of CM₁ on unaccusative themes further undermines the ergative case view of this marker. To support such an analysis, one must contend that the CM₁-marked themes are introduced as external arguments in [Spec, VoiceP] and that unaccusative verbs such as 'fall,' 'slip,' 'be tired,' and 'die' possess a transitive Voice head capable of ergative case assignment. Neither assumption aligns with the standard understanding of unaccusativity (Perlmutter 1978; Burzio 1986), as all four languages present clear independent evidence for an unergative/unaccusative distinction.

Evidence supporting an unergative/unaccusative distinction in these languages is multifaceted. Firstly, typical unaccusative verbs in all four languages exhibit an AV morpheme distinct from that of unergative/transitive verbs. Secondly, they differ from unergative verbs in their compatibility with cause-denoting adjuncts, a pattern observed in typologically distinct languages (DeLancey 1984; Kallulli 2005; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005; Alexiadou et al. 2006). Finally, canonical unergative verbs contrast with unaccusative verbs in their compatibility with cognate objects across all four languages. Foley (2005:425) and Kaufman (2009:32) similarly assume an unergative/unaccusative distinction in Tagalog, while Chen and Fukuda (2017) provide specific data supporting these generalizations.

We may then conclude that the CM₁-marked themes in (58)–(61) are genuine internal arguments. The occurrence of CM₁ on such themes thus lends further support for the nominative case view of this marker. Before finalizing this analysis, it is crucial to note that the discussed construction presents a case pattern that further contradicts the expected ergative alignment in Philippine-type languages. According to the ergative view, the internal argument in the LV examples above should receive oblique case from the lexical verb, while the pivot-marked locative phrase is introduced by a high applicative phrase above the theme. This hypothesized case-licensing pattern is shown in (62).

²²In Amis, LV morphology appears as a circumfix with two possible forms conditioned by the inner valency of the stem: *pi-...-an* and *ka-...-an*. See Wu (2006) for details.

(62) The ergative/applicative approach to LV/CV constructions



However, marking the theme with CM₂ in (58)–(61) results in ungrammaticality, highlighting CM₁ as the only possible case marking. This further strengthens the conclusion drawn from the various constructions discussed earlier, suggesting that the case-licensing mechanism proposed under the ergative approach is incorrect. Additionally, the consistent unavailability of CM₂ marking aligns with the accusative analysis of this marker, which predicts its absence in unaccusative contexts.

4.3 Interim conclusion

To conclude, CM₁'s distribution in two understudied environments (4.1–4.2) undermines the inherent ergative case view of this marker, and indicates an alternative nominative case analysis.²³

This conclusion yields two implications. Firstly, ‘Philippine-type alignment’ cannot be classified as either ergative-aligned or a split ergative system, as both analyses rely crucially on the ergative case analysis of CM₁. Second, the ‘pivot-only’ extraction constraint observed in these languages does not stem from a ban on ergative extraction, as the purported ergative agents are indeed structurally case-licensed nominative arguments. Both implications point to the conclusion that the Philippine-type extraction asymmetry is distinct from syntactic ergativity and likely relates more to pivothood—a generalization warranting further investigation in the next section.

5 ‘Pivot’ ≠ absolute: Insights from binding and beyond

We have seen in sections 3 and 4 that CM₁ exhibits common hallmarks of the nominative case and CM₂ shows distribution typical of the accusative case. This conclusion raises a subsequent question concerning the true case value of pivot-marking. Recall that this marker displays a fluid distribution sensitive to voice alternation and is compatible with both core arguments and adjunct-like phrases (63).

²³An anonymous reviewer asked whether CM₁-marked phrases are freely omissible in the target languages and whether the answer would have an impact on the nominative case analysis. According to primary fieldwork, such phrases may indeed be omitted in Tagalog and Amis given sufficient context. However, I believe that their omissibility has no direct impact on this analysis, as there are no established theoretical restrictions against the omission of nominative arguments.

(63) Philippine-type alignment: schematized case pattern

	a. AV	b. PV	c. LV	d. CV
external argument	Pivot	CM ₁ : NOM	CM ₁ : NOM	CM ₁ : NOM
internal argument	CM ₂ : ACC	Pivot	CM ₂ : ACC	CM ₂ : ACC
locative	P ₁	P ₁	Pivot	P ₁
instrument/benefactor	P ₂	P ₂	P ₂	Pivot

Given that CM₁ marks nominative case, it follows that the 'pivot' should not realize the same case. This challenges the traditional view in the literature that pivot-marking is a subject marker, indicating absolutive/nominative case assigned to a derived A-position.

In this section, I present new evidence that the 'pivot' does not, in fact, realize any type of structural case. Instead, it is a marker independent of case, associated with a specific information structure status (topic). This observation reinforces the conclusions above that Philippine-type alignment does not manifest ergativity at either the morphological or syntactic level. Furthermore, it suggests that Philippine-type voice is a topic-indexing mechanism akin to the voice system of Dinka (van Urk 2015) and distinct from Indo-European-type voice.

5.1 The competing analyses: Subject, topic, or both?

The association between pivothood and topichood in Philippine-type languages is not a novel claim. Previous work has highlighted that pivot phrases in Malagasy consistently exhibit greater 'referential prominence' compared with subjects in other languages (Keenan 1976 et seq.). Pearson (2001, 2005) extensively investigated Malagasy, concluding that pivot phrases function as topics. Similar proposals have been made for Tagalog, where Richards (2000) and Rackowski (2002), building on Schachter & Otnes's (1972) framework, explicitly argued that pivots occupy an \bar{A} -position, akin to topics in Icelandic and German. Comparable treatments exist for Atayal (Erlewine 2014), Tagalog (Schachter 1976, 1977; Foley and Van Valin 1984; Carrier-Duncan 1985; Shibatani 1988; Naylor 1995; Katagiri 2006), Cebuano (Shibatani 1988), and Malagasy (Pearson 2005; Paul & Massam 2021).

This approach contrasts with the absolutive case view of pivot-marking (Payne 1982; De Guzman 1988; Gerdts 1988; Maclachlan and Nakamura 1993, 1997; Mithun 1994; Aldridge 2004, 2008, 2011, 2017; Liao 2004). Among these works, Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis (1992) proposed that the pivot in Malagasy occupies the subject position and checks nominative case with T. This proposal was further developed in Aldridge (2004, 2008, 2011) as a fundamental assumption of the ergative approach to Philippine-type languages. This assumption is commonly adopted in reference grammars and descriptive works on Formosan and Philippine languages, where pivot-marked phrases are frequently glossed as 'nominative' or 'absolutive' and treated as the subject of the clause.²⁴

A third view in the literature holds that pivots bear the status of both subject and topic (Erlewine, Levin, and van Urk 2017). This view is built upon the proposal that Philippine-type languages lack Feature Inheritance (Richards 2007; Chomsky 2008), hosting both the φ -feature and the \bar{A} -feature on C. According to this analysis, [Spec, CP] in these languages is both an \bar{A} - and an A-position, leading to the prediction that pivots exhibit properties of both A- and \bar{A} -elements.

²⁴See, for example, McKaughan 1973, Payne 1982, Starosta, Pawley, and Reid 1982, De Wolf 1988 and Gerdts 1988 for Tagalog; Keenan 1976 for Malagasy; : Chang 1997 for Seediq; J. Wu 2006 for Amis; Teng 2008 for Puyuma; Chang 2006 and C. Wu 2012 for for Paiwan; Zeitoun 2007 for Rukai; Ross 2002, Liao 2004, and Aldridge 2004, 2008, 2016, 2017 for Philippine-type languages in general.

Below, I present novel evidence that the status of the pivot across Tagalog, Puyuma, Amis, and Seediq is independent of case and linked to topichood, in line with the existing view for Malagasy and Tagalog.

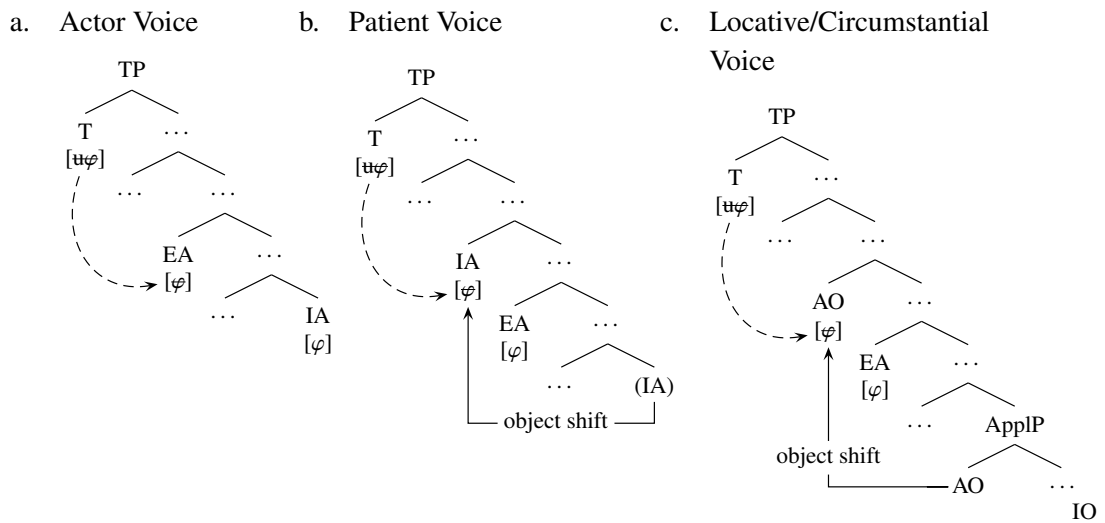
5.2 Testable predictions

The subject/absolute analysis for the pivot marker rests on two fundamental assumptions (64a–b).

- (64) a. A pivot is the highest DP within a TP.
 b. In LV and CV clauses, it is an applied object introduced by a High Applicative head in the highest internal argument position, where it is eligible for object shift.

This analysis predicts that voice alternation yields changes in argument structure. Specifically, among PV, LV, and CV clauses, the highest internal argument of the clause should shift from the theme to whatever phrase receives pivot-marking. This prediction is easily testable: in LV/CV, the applied object pivot should c-command the theme, as demonstrated in (65c). An alternative Low Applicative analysis for LV (as proposed by Rackowski 2002) would yield the same prediction: the pivot should asymmetrically bind the theme, given that the applied object introduced by a Low Applicative head is also base-generated in a position that c-commands the theme. See Rackowski (2002:122) for details.

- (65) Alleged argument structure alternations among non-AV clauses



The topic analysis of pivot-marking makes a distinct prediction: voice alternation should yield no argument structure alternation—as it simply flags a change in topic selection. This allows for two testable predictions. First, the pivot should behave like an \bar{A} -element (topic), displaying reconstruction effects and being interpreted in its θ -position. It may also exhibit typical \bar{A} -properties such as weak crossover (Postal 1993) and/or weakest crossover effects (Lasnik & Stowell 1991). Second, as a topic need not be a DP, a pivot in an LV or CV clause may remain as a locative or instrumental/benefactive adjunct PP. Accordingly, the binding relations of a PV clause and its LV/CV counterpart may remain identical (unless affected by weakest crossover).

The key predictions of these competing analyses are summarized in (66). In section 5.3, I present new evidence from the four languages for the topic approach to pivohood.

(66) Expected behaviors of the pivot phrase under the competing hypotheses

	'pivot' as the ABS	'pivot' as a TOP marker	'pivot' with the status of both
a. A pivot phrase must be the highest DP	Yes	No	Yes
b. A pivot in LV/CV must be an applied object	Yes	No	Yes
c. Argument structure alternation among PV/LV/CV	Yes	No	Yes
d. A separate NOM position in the system	No	Yes	No

5.3 Pivot ≠ absolutive: Insights from binding

5.3.1 Productive causatives

Productive causatives offer an ideal testing ground for examining the essence of pivothood. Philippine-type voice alternation allows each of the three arguments in a causative of transitive (Causer, Causee, theme) to be promoted to pivot: AV for the Causer, PV for the Causee, and CV for the theme (67). This pattern is exemplified with Seediq examples in (68).

(67) Productive causatives: mapping between voice and case

	a. AV	b. PV	c. CV
Causer	Pivot	CM ₁	CM ₁
Causee	CM ₂	Pivot	CM ₂
Theme	CM ₂	CM ₂	Pivot

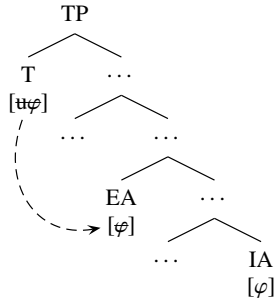
(68) Seediq

- a. \emptyset -p-trima=**ku** \emptyset laqi gaga \emptyset papak=na.
 AV-CAU-wash=**1SG.PIVOT** CM₂ child that CM₂ leg=3SG.POSS
 'I made that child wash his legs.' (Actor Voice)
- b. P-trima-un=mu \emptyset papak=na **ka** **laqi gaga**.
 CAU-wash-PV=1SG.CM₁ CM₂ leg=3SG.POSS **PIVOT child that**
 'I made *the child* wash his legs.' (Patient Voice)
- c. \underline{S} -p-trima=mu \emptyset laqi gaga **ka** **papak=na**.
 CV-CAU-wash=1SG.CM₁ CM₂ child that **PIVOT leg=3SG.POSS**
 'I made that child wash *his legs*.' (Circumstantial Voice)

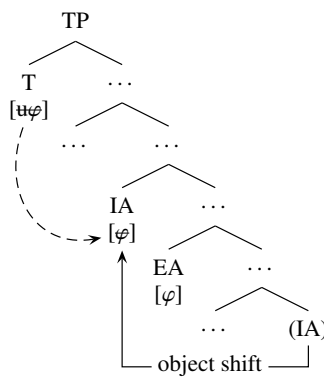
Let us begin by examining the case pattern of CV-marked causatives. In this construction (68c), the pivot marker falls on the theme, bypassing the CM₁-marked Causer and the CM₂-marked Causee. If 'pivot' indeed marks absolutive case, then the pivot-marked theme must be an applied object base-generated above the Causee. This aligns precisely with the ergative view of Philippine-type alignment, which posits that CV morphology realizes a high applicative head. Subsequently, this applied object is presumed to undergo object shift, rising across the Causer to Spec, TP, and acquiring absolutive case, as schematized below in (69).

(69) Alleged argument structure alternations among non-AV clauses

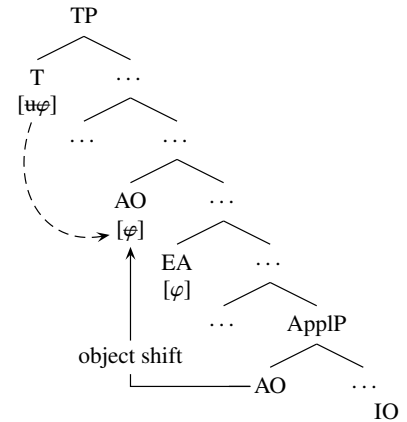
a. Actor Voice



b. Patient Voice



c. Locative/Circumstantial Voice



Binding diagnostics indicate that this potential analysis is incorrect. Several Philippine-type languages, including Tagalog, have been shown to adhere to standard binding principles (Chomsky 1981, 1986), where the agent can bind the theme in a simple AV construction but not vice versa (Malagasy: Pearson 2001; Tagalog: Rackowski 2002). This pattern also holds true for Puyuma, Amis, and Seediq (Chen 2017). Across the four languages, a CM₂-marked Causee can freely bind the pivot-marked theme, as illustrated in (70). For clarity, the pivot-marked theme is boldfaced in the original text and gloss, and italicized in the translation. Due to space constraints, I omit parallel results from quantifier-variable binding, which similarly align with c-command (Pearson 2001; Rackowski 2002; Chen 2017).

(70) CV causatives: Causee binds theme pivot

a. Tagalog

I-p<in>a-li-linis=ko kay juan **ang kanya-ng sarili**.
 CV-CAU<PRF>RED-clean=1SG.CM₁ PN.CM₂ Juan CN.PIVOT 3SG-POSS REFL
 ‘I asked Juan_i to clean *himself*_i.’

b. Puyuma

Ku=pa-saletra'-anay kan sawagu **tayta'aw**.
 1SG.CM₁=CAU-slap-CV SG.CM₂ Sawagu 3SG.REFL.PIVOT
 ‘I asked Sawagu_i to slap *himself*_i.’

c. Amis

Sa-pa-pi-nengneng aku ci-afan-an **cingra tu** i dadingu.
 CV-CAU-TR-see 1SG.CM₁ PN-Afan-CM₂ 3SG.PIVOT REFL LOC mirror
 ‘I asked Afan_i to look at *herself*_i in the mirror.’

d. Seediq

S-p-tabak=mu ∅ heya **ka heya nanaq**.
 CV-CAU-slap=1SG.CM₁ CM₂ 3SG PIVOT 3SG REFL
 ‘I asked him/her_i to slap *himself/herself*_i.’

The same binding pattern has been reported in previous work on Tagalog. Consider example (71) from Rackowski (2002:67–68), where the theme pivot (*kanyang sarili*) is bound by the non-pivot Causee

(‘Carlos’) in CV-causatives.²⁵

(71) Tagalog: Causee binds theme pivot in CV-causatives

I-p<in>a-ayos=ko kay carlos **ang kanyang sarili-ng kotse.**
 CV-CAU<PRF>-repair=1SG.CM₁ PN.CM₂ Carlos CN.PIVOT 3SG.POSS self-LK car
 ‘I asked Carlos to repair *his own car* (lit. *the car of himself*).’ (Rackowski 2002:67–68)

The binding pattern observed here provides no evidence for the alleged argument structure alternation assumed by the ergative analysis, wherein the pivot-marked theme would be base-generated above the Causee (69). Instead, it suggests that the Causee c-commands the theme, akin to AV-causatives (as discussed in section 3.1). This contradicts the key assumption of the ergative analysis and indicates that voice alternation has no impact on argument structure.

One might argue that the current binding patterns result from the CM₂-marked Causee being potentially inherently case-licensed, allowing for absolutive case (pivot-marking) to be assigned to a lower argument (i.e. the theme). This account faces two challenges. First, it assumes that the CM₁-marked Causer is also inherently case-licensed, granting access to absolutive case. However, as demonstrated in section 4, CM₁ does not behave like an inherent case, and this suggests that the Causer should have priority in accessing absolutive case over both the Causee and the theme. Second, there is clear evidence that the CM₂-marked Causee is an agentive argument licensed in the embedded Spec, VoiceP—a position where only structural case is available. This refutes the possibility of these arguments being inherently case-licensed. Examples (72)–(73) illustrate that the Causee in CV-causatives behaves like a typical agentive external argument, similar to AV-causatives (section 3.1).

(72) Compatibility of the Causee with agent-oriented adverbs

a. Tagalog

I-p<in>a-ayos=ko nang **palihim** kay ivan ang kotse.
 CV-CAU<PRF>-repair=1SG.CM₁ CONJ **secretly** PN.CM₂ Ivan PN.PIVOT car
 ‘I asked Ivan to repair the car secretly.’ (Ivan did so secretly)

b. Puyuma

Ku=pa-pukpuk-anay kan sawagu **pakirep** na suwan.
 1SG.CM₁=CAU-hit-CV SG.CM₂ Sawagu **severely** DEF.PIVOT dog
 ‘I asked Sawagu to hit the dog severely.’ (Sawagu did so severely)

c. Amis

Sa-pa-pi-tangtang aku cingranan k-una futing **pina’un.**
 CV-CAU-PI-cook 1SG.CM₁ 3SG.CM₂ PIVOT-that fish **carefully**
 ‘I asked her to cook the fish carefully.’ (She did so carefully)

d. Seediq

S-p-sais=mu ∅ temi **murux** ka lukus.
 CV-CAU-sew=1SG.CM₁ CM₂ Temi **alone** PIVOT clothes

²⁵The phrase *kanyang sarili-ng kotse* (72) behaves like a picture NP. The embedded reflexive must be bound by an antecedent in the same clause. Lack of an antecedent results in ungrammaticality, as seen below in (i).

(i) Picture NP reflexive embedded inside an AV subject

*P<um>atay kay Juan **ang sarili niya-ng anak.**
 <AV>kill PN.ACC Juan CN.PIVOT self 3S.POSS-POSS child
 (intended: ‘The child of himself killed Juan)

'I asked Temi to sew the clothes independently.' (Temi did so without help)

(73) Compatibility of the Causee with the adverb of frequency 'again'

a. Tagalog

I-p<in>a-sulat=ko **ulit** kay aya ang liham.
 CV-CAU<PRF>-write=1SG.CM₁ **again** PN.CM₂ AyaCN.PIVOT letter
 'I asked Aya to write the letter again.' (Aya did so again)

b. Puyuma

Ku=pa-pukpuk-anay kan senten **masal** na suwan.
 1SG.CM₁=CAU-hit-CV SG.CM₂ Senten **again** DEF.PIVOT dog
 'I asked Senten to hit the dog again.' (Senten did so again)

c. Amis

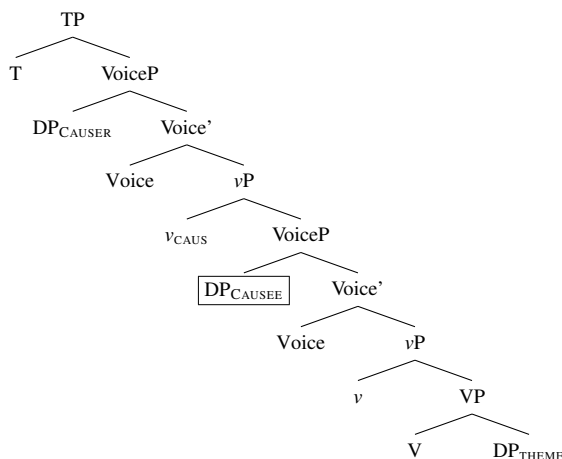
Una maeded-ay a wacu, sa-pa-pi-palu **heca** aku ci-kulas-an.
 that bad-NMZ LK dog CV-CAU-PI-hit **again** 1SG.CM₂ PN-Kulas-CM₂
 'That bad dog, I asked Kulas to hit (it) again.' (Kulas did so again)

d. Seediq

S-p-pahu=mu ∅ dakis **dungan** ka lukus nii.
 CV-CAU-wash=1SG.CM₁ CM₂ Dakis **again** PIVOT clothes this
 'I asked Dakis to wash the clothes again.' (Dakis did so again)

As these observations demonstrate, CV-marked causatives exhibit a bi-clausal structure, parallel to their AV-marked counterparts. They contain an active, independent embedded VoiceP, with the Causee c-commanding the theme, as schematized in (74) (see also the discussion in section 3.1).

(74) Bi-eventive structure of CV causatives



The fact that pivot-marking may bypass the Causee and mark the theme thus reveals that the licensing of this marker is insensitive to locality (of [uD]). This suggests that 'pivot' does not realize any type of structural case. An examination of PV-marked causatives reinforces this conclusion with the same binding pattern (75).

(75) PV causatives: Causee binds theme

a. Tagalog

P<in>a-pa-ligo=ko **si** **ivan** ng sarili niya.
 CAU<PV.PRF>-RED-bathe=1SG.CM₁ PN.PIVOT **Ivan** CM₂ REFL 3SG
 'I am making *Ivan* bathe himself.'

b. Puyuma

Ku=pa-saletra’-aw i sawagu kanta’aw.
 1SG.CM₁=CAU-slap-PV SG.PIVOT Sawagu 3SG.REFL.CM₂
 ‘I asked *Sawagu* to slap himself.’

c. Amis

Pa-pi-nengneng-en aku ci-afan cingran-an tu i dadingu.
 CAU-TR-see-PV 1SG.CM₁ PN.PIVOT-Afan 3SG.CM₂ REFL LOC mirror
 ‘I made *Afan* look at herself in the mirror.’

d. Seediq

Wada=mu p-tabak-un ∅ heya nanaq ka heya.
 PRF=1SG.CM₁ CAU-slap-PV CM₂ 3SG REFL PIVOT 3SG
 ‘I made *him/her* slap himself/herself.’

As this invariable binding pattern indicates, Philippine-type voice alternation is not a valency-rearranging operation, contrary to traditional views (e.g. Payne 1982; Mithun 1994; Aldridge 2004 et seq.). It also highlights the non-local distribution of the pivot marker, suggesting that it is a marker independent of case. This conclusion follows from the implication from section 4 that ‘pivot’ should not realize the same case as CM₁ (nominative).

5.3.2 Ditransitives

Ditransitive constructions provide further evidence against the absolutive case view of the pivot marker. As in causatives, voice alternation enables each of its three arguments to be promoted to pivot, as exemplified in (76) and (77).²⁶

(76) Ditransitives: mapping between voice and case

	a. AV	b. PV/LV	c. CV
Agent	Pivot	CM ₁	CM ₁
Recipient	CM ₂	Pivot	CM ₂
Theme	CM ₂	CM ₂	Pivot

(77) Amis

- a. ∅-pafeli **kaku** t-una wawa t-una paysu.
 AV-give 1SG.PIVOT CM₂-that child CM₂-that money
 ‘I gave the child that money.’
- b. Pafeli-en aku **k-una** wawa t-una paysu.
 give-PV 1SG.CM₁ PIVOT-that child CM₂ money
 ‘I gave the child that money.’
- c. Sa-pi-pafeli aku t-una wawa **k-una** paysu.
 CV-PI-give 1SG.CM₁ CM₂-that child PIVOT-that money
 ‘I gave the child that money.’

Like the causatives, ditransitives in the four languages also exhibit invariable binding relations irrespective of voice. In the three Formosan languages, the ditransitive constructions unitarily exhibit

²⁶Philippine-type languages vary in the corresponding voice-marking for ditransitives with a pivot-marked recipient. Some employ PV morphology, while others adopt LV morphology. However, this variation does not impact the main argument here.

a recipient phrase that asymmetrically c-commands the theme. Regardless of the voice type of the ditransitive, this binding relation is consistently attested. Consider firstly examples below from Amis (78)–(79) and Seediq (80)–(81). Here, I adopt quantificational binding to prime the binding relation between the recipient and the theme. Similar to English (Higginbotham 1980; Reinhart 1983; Barker 2012), all four target languages allow a quantificational possessor (e.g. ‘every girl’s mother’) to bind a pronoun outside its possessive hosts—provided the pronoun is c-commanded by the host, as in ‘*Every girl’s mother braided her hair*’. I assume, following Reinhart (1983), that this is the outcome of the pronoun being c-commanded by the quantified DP. As the ditransitive examples below show, the universal quantifier ‘every’ embedded inside a recipient phrase (e.g. (78), (80), and (82)) can bind into a pronoun embedded inside the theme argument, resulting in its interpretation as a variable. Conversely, when the same quantifier is embedded inside the theme, the pronoun embedded inside the recipient fails to be interpreted as a bound variable ((79), (81), and (83)). This structural relation suggests that the recipient consistently occupies a c-commanding position above the theme, regardless of the voice.

(78) Amis: R(ecipient) binds T(heme) regardless of voice type

a. **Actor Voice: Recipient > Theme**

∅-paefer kaku [ci-ina-an nu cimaxima a wawa] [tu wuhung
AV-send 1SG.PIVOT [PN-mother-CM₂ POSS every LK child] [CM₂ book
nira].
3PL.POSS]
‘I sent every child’s_{<i>} mother his/her_{<i/j>} book.’

b. **Patient Voice: Recipient > Theme**

paefer-en aku [ci-ina nu cimaxima a wawa] [tu wuhung
send-PV 1SG.CM₁ [PN.PIVOT-mother POSS every LK child] [CM₂ book
nira].
3SG.POSS]
‘I will send every child’s mother_{<i>} his/her_{<i/j>} book.’

c. **Circumstantial Voice: Recipient > Theme**

Sa-paefer aku [ci-ina-an nu cimaxima a wawa] [ku wuhung
CV-send 1SG.CM₁ [PN-mother-CM₂ POSS every LK child] [PIVOT book
nira].
3SG.POSS]
‘I sent every child’s mother_{<i>} his/her_{<i/j>} book.’

(79) Amis: T fails to bind R regardless of voice type

a. **Actor Voice: Theme ≠ Recipient**

∅-pafeli kaku [tu wawa nira] [tu paysu nu cimaxima a
AV-give 1SG.PIVOT [CM₂ child 3SG.POSS] [CM₂ money POSS every LK
tamdaw].
person]
‘I gave his_{<i>} child every person’s_{<j/*i>} money.’ (bound variable reading unavailable)

b. **Patient Voice: Theme ≠ Recipient**

Pafeli-en aku [ku wawa nira] [tu paysu nu cimaxima a
give-PV 1SG.CM₁ [PIVOT child 3SG.POSS] [CM₂ money POSS every LK
tamdaw].
person]

'I will give his/her_{<i>} child every person's_{<j/*i>} money.' (bound variable reading unavailable)

c. **Circumstantial Voice: Theme ≠ Recipient**

Sa-pafeli aku [tu wawa nira] [ku paysu nu cimacima a
CV-give 1SG.CM₁ [CM₂ child 3SG.POSS] [PIVOT money POSS every LK
tamdaw].
person]

'I gave his/her_{<i>} child every person's_{<j/*i>} money.' (bound variable reading unavailable)

(80) Seediq: R binds T regardless of voice type

a. **Actor Voice: Recipient > Theme**

Wada=ku Ø-paadis [Ø bubu=na knkingal laqi] [Ø
PRF=1SG.PIVOT AV-send [CM₂ mother=3SG.POSS every child] [CM₂
patis=daha].
book=3PL.POSS]

'I sent every child's mother_{<i>} his/her_{<i/j>} book.'

b. **Patient Voice: Recipient > Theme**

Wada=mu pdes-**un** [Ø patis=daha] [ka bubu=na knkingal
PRF=1SG.CM₁ send-PV [CM₂ book=3PL.POSS] [PIVOT mother=3SG.POSS every
laqi].
child]

child]

'I sent every child's_{<i>} mother his/her_{<i/j>} book.'

c. **Circumstantial Voice: Recipient > Theme**

Wada=mu s-paadis [Ø bubu=na knkingal laqi] [ka
PRF=1SG.CM₁ CV-send [CM₂ mother=3SG.POSS every child] [PIVOT
patis=daha].
book=3PL.POSS]

book=3PL.POSS]

'I sent every child's mother_{<i>} his/her_{<i/j>} book.'

(81) Seediq: T fails to bind R regardless of voice type²⁷

a. **Actor Voice: Theme ≠ Recipient**

Wada=ku Ø-paadis [Ø bubu=daha] [Ø patis knkingal laqi].
PRF=1SG.PIVOT AV-send [Y mother=3PL.POSS] [CM₂ book every child]

'I sent his/her_{<j>} mother every child's_{<k/*j>} book.'

b. **Patient Voice: Theme ≠ Recipient**

Wada=mu pdes-**un** [Ø patis knkingal laqi] [ka bubu=daha].
PRF=1SG.CM₁ send-PV [CM₂ book every child] [PIVOT mother=3PL.POSS]

'I sent his/her_{<j>} mother every child's_{<k/*j>} book.'

c. **Circumstantial Voice: Theme ≠ Recipient**

Wada=mu s-paadis [Ø bubu=daha] [ka patis knkingal laqi].
PRF=1SG.CM₁ CV-send [CM₂ mother=3PL.POSS] [PIVOT book every child]

'I sent his/her_{<j>} mother every child's_{<k/?j>} book.' (bound variable reading marginal)

²⁷My Seediq consultants reported that a bound variable reading between the quantificational theme 'every child's book' and the recipient 'his/her mother' is marginally available. This interpretation is not always available in CV ditransitives. Changing the verb or the event participants affects the availability of this reading. I assume that this potential reading manifests the weakest crossover effect (Lasnik and Stowell 1991).

Puyuma ditransitives warrant special attention. With the language’s word order flexibility, it is possible to eliminate the potential confounding factor of linear order in the interpretation of binding relations. New data from primary fieldwork demonstrate that a quantificational recipient can consistently bind the theme regardless of voice—even if the pronoun precedes its quantificational binder in linear order, as shown in (82a–c). Thus, a bound variable reading of the theme remains consistently available, even when the theme is pivot-marked (82c). This indicates that Puyuma speakers’ interpretations are unaffected by linear order but determined by the underlying asymmetrical c-commanding relation between the recipient and the theme.

(82) Puyuma: R binds T regardless of voice type

a. **Actor Voice: Recipient > Theme**

∅-beray=ku [kantu=lribun] [kan tinataw kana kiakarun
 AV-give=1SG.PIVOT [3.POSS.CM₂=wages] [SG.CM₂ 3S.POSS.mother LK laborer
 driya].
 every]
 ‘I gave every laborer’s_{<i>} mother his_{<i/*j>} wages.’

b. **Patient Voice: Recipient > Theme**

ku=beray-ay [kantu=lribun] [i tinataw kana kiakarun
 1SG.CM₁=give-LV [3.POSS.CM₂=wages] [SG.PIVOT 3S.POSS.mother LK laborer
 driya].
 every]
 ‘I gave every laborer’s_{<i>} mother his_{<i/*j>} wages.’

c. **Circumstantial Voice: Recipient > Theme**

Ku=beray-anay [tu=lribun] [kan tinataw kana kiakarun
 1SG.CM₁=give-CV [3.POSS.PIVOT=wages] [SG.CM₂ 3S.POSS.mother LK laborer
 driya].
 every]
 ‘I gave every laborer’s_{<i>} mother his_{<i/*j>} wages.’

When the pronoun is embedded in the recipient, the availability of a quantifier-variable reading becomes restricted (83). The observed Puyuma facts therefore provide compelling evidence against the proposed argument structure alternation approach to Philippine-type voice alternation.

(83) Puyuma: T fails to bind R regardless of voice type

a. **Actor Voice: Theme ≠ Recipient**

∅-beray=ku [kantu=walak] [kantu=lribun kana kiakarun driya].
 AV-give=1SG.PIVOT [3.POSS.CM₂=child] [3.POSS.CM₂=wages LK laborer every]
 ‘I gave his_{<i>} child every laborer’s_{<j/*i>} wages.’

b. **Patient Voice: Theme ≠ Recipient**

Ku=beray-ay [tu=walak] [kantu=lribun kana kiakarun driya].
 1SG.CM₁=give-LV [3.POSS.PIVOT=child] [3.POSS.CM₂=wages LK laborer every]
 ‘I gave his_{<i>} child every laborer’s_{<j/*i>} wages.’

c. **Circumstantial Voice: Theme ≠ Recipient**

Ku=beray-anay [kantu=walak] [tu=lribun kana kiakarun driya].
 1SG.CM₁=give-CV [3.POSS.CM₂=child] [3.POSS.PIVOT=wages LK laborer every]
 ‘I gave his_{<i>} child every laborer’s_{<j/*i>} wages.’

Tagalog ditransitives also demonstrate a binding pattern that remains unchanged across different voices—although this pattern differs from that observed in the three Formosan languages. As examples (84) and (85) show, the recipient and the theme in Tagalog ditransitives can reciprocally bind each other irrespective of voice. Here, I choose to present data on reflexive binding to illustrate the relationship in example (84) (R > T), as such examples are more pragmatically natural and appropriate than those in the quantifier-variable binding example. The same result is attested with quantifier-variable binding diagnostics. See Chen (2017:124) for the relevant data.

(84) Tagalog: R binds T regardless of voice type

a. **Actor Voice (AV): Recipient > Theme**

Nag-bigay si Joy kay Lia ng sarili niyang larawan.
 AV.PRF-give PN.PIVOT Joy PN.CM₂ Lia ID.CM₂ self 3S.POSS picture
 ‘Joy_{<k>} gave Lia_{<j>} a picture of herself_{<k/j>}.’

b. **Locative Voice (PV); Recipient > Theme**

B<in>igy-an ni Joy si Lia ng sarili niyang larawan.
 give-PRF-LV PN.CM₁ Joy PN.PIVOT Lia ID.CM₂ self 3S.POSS picture
 ‘Joy_{<k>} gave Lia_{<j>} a picture of herself_{<k/j>}.’

c. **Circumstantial Voice (CV): Recipient > Theme**

I-b-in-igay ni Joy kay Lia ang sarili niyang larawan.
 CV-give-PRF PN.CM₁ Joy PN.CM₂ Lia PIVOT self 3S.POSS picture
 ‘Joy_{<k>} gave Lia_{<j>} a picture of herself_{<k/j>}.’

(85) Tagalog: T binds R regardless of voice type²⁸

a. **Actor Voice (AV): Theme > Recipient**

Nag-bigay=ako [sa kanilang nanay] [ng sweldo ng
 AV.PRF-give=1SG.PIVOT [DEF.CM₂ 3PL.POSS mother] [INDF.CM₂ wages POSS
 bawat manggagawa].
 every laborer]
 ‘I gave their_{<j>} mother every laborer’s_{<j/k>} wages.’ (bound variable reading available)

b. **Locative Voice (LV): Theme > Recipient**

B<in>igy-an=ko [ang kanilang nanay] [ng sweldo ng bawat
 give-PRF-LV=1SG.CM₁ [CN.PIVOT 3PL.POSS mother] [INDF.CM₂ wages POSS every
 manggagawa].
 laborer]
 ‘I gave their_{<j>} mother every laborer’s_{<j/k>} wages.’ (bound variable reading available)

c. **Circumstantial Voice (CV): Theme > Recipient**

I-b-in-igay=ko [sa kanilang nanay] [ang sweldo ng bawat
 CV-give-PRF=1SG.CM₁ [DEF.CM₂ 3PL.POSS mother] [PIVOT wages POSS every
 manggagawa].
 laborer]
 ‘I gave their_{<j>} mother every laborer’s_{<j/k>} wages.’ (bound variable reading available)

It is worth noting that a similar pattern has been documented before. Andrews (1985) noted that a non-pivot recipient can bind a theme pivot in CV-marked ditransitives (86). This supports the

²⁸In Tagalog, a non-pivot recipient/Causee is obligatorily marked by *sa* (*ng* is not a possible option). This is an instance of differential object marking, and has no direct correlation with the argument here. See Latrouite (2018) for a dedicated discussion of differential object marking in Tagalog.

current observation that CV-ditransitives display binding patterns consistent with those in other voices, suggesting that there is no indication of the pivot being introduced in an applicative position.

(86) Example of picture NP reflexive reported in previous work

I-ni-abot niya sa bata ang kaniya-ng sarili-ng larawan.
 CV-PFV-hand 3SG.CM₁ DEF.DOM.CM₂ child PIVOT 3SG-LK self-POSS picture
 ‘He_{<i>} handed the child_{<j>} a picture of himself_{<i/j>}.’ (Andrews 1985:143)

For the purpose of the paper, I set aside the structural differences between the ditransitives found in the first three languages and Tagalog. Tagalog exhibits a binding pattern that aligns with a prepositional dative analysis (for further information, refer to Hoekstra and Mulder 1990; Den Dikken 1995; Harley 1997). However, this differentiation is not pivotal to the main objective, which centers on the absence of argument structure alternation corresponding to voice alternation.

5.4 ‘Pivot’ as a topic marker independent of case: Further evidence

I have shown that the assignment of pivot-marking in causatives and ditransitives has no impact on argument structure. This non-local distribution thus reveals its status as a marker that is independent of case. This observation aligns with Bowen’s (1965) early insight that pivot phrases in Tagalog and many other Philippine-type languages exhibit topic properties, being preferentially definite/specific and conveying ‘old information’ (see also Schachter and Otnes 1972, Shibatani 1988, Richards 2000; Pearson 2001, Paul, Cortes, and Milambiling 2015, Collins 2018, and Paul and Massam 2021 for similar claims/assumptions and recent claims in Chen 2017 and 2021).

I argue accordingly that the pivot functions as a topic marker that is obligatory in all finite clauses containing a CP layer, which licenses topics. This marker overrides morphological case, akin to the topic markers *wa* and *nun* in Japanese and Korean (Kuno 1973; Chung 1994). This results in an apparently ergative-aligned argument-marking pattern where subjects, objects, and certain types of adjunct-like phrases can exhibit the same case, as in (87).

(87) The accusative approach to Philippine-type alignment

	a. AV	b. PV	c. LV	d. CV
external argument	NOM Topic	NOM	NOM	NOM
internal argument	ACC	ACC Topic	ACC	ACC
locative	P ₁	P ₁	P ₁ Topic	P ₁
instrument/benefactor	P ₂	P ₂	P ₂	P ₂ Topic

Support for this analysis comes from the possible co-occurrence of pivot-marking and prepositional marking on the same phrase. Consider below two examples from Paiwan, which illustrate an LV/PV contrast (88a–b). The locative phrase ‘post office’ consistently includes the locative preposition *i* and additionally bears the pivot-marking *a* when the sentence is in Locative Voice (88a). The compatibility of these two markers strengthens the perspective that the ‘pivot’ functions as a marker independent of case and denotes information structure status (topic).

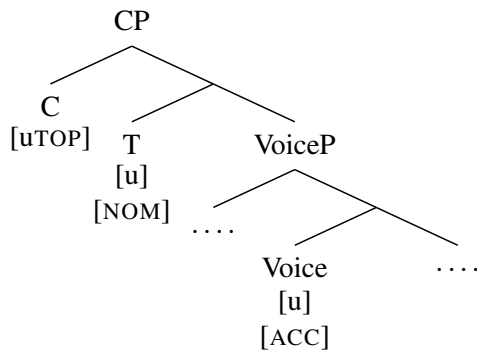
(88) Paiwan

a. 'u=<in>alap-an tatiav ta paysu a i yubinkiuku.
 1SG.CM₁=<PFV>take-LV yesterday CM₂ money PIVOT LOC post.office
 ‘I withdrew cash at the post office yesterday.’ (Locative Voice)

- b. ’u=<in>alap tatiav a paysu i **yubinkiuku.**
 1SG.CM₁=take-PV yesterday PIVOT money LOC **post.office**
 ‘I withdrew cash at the post office yesterday.’ (Chang 2018:63) (Patient Voice)

Topicality has proven to be challenging to define in a unified way across languages, with variation attested in various syntactic, pragmatic, and semantic regards (Rizzi 1997; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007; Sigurdsson 2011; a.o.). The topic approach presented here should therefore only be viewed as an approximate proposal. Under the current view, the so-called ‘Philippine-type alignment’ essentially reflects an ordinary nominative-accusative system obscured by obligatory topic-marking. The proposed design of this system is illustrated in (89). The obligatory topicalization is driven by a head in the C-domain that contains a [uTOP] feature, driving \bar{A} -movement of the pivot to the left periphery.²⁹ These languages thus possess a clear A/ \bar{A} distinction, with an obligatory \bar{A} -position filled by the pivot and an obligatory derived A-position filled by CM₁ phrases.

- (89) Proposal: the make-up of ‘Philippine-type alignment’



Below I outline three shared characteristics of Philippine-type syntax that provide additional support for the topic analysis.

5.4.1 ‘Pivot’ marks discourse topics

Elicited question-answer sequences featuring a predetermined discourse topic unveil a strong association between pivot status and topichood: in the absence of additional context, the discourse topic must correspond to the pivot in the answer sentence. When the discourse topic aligns with the theme in the response (e.g. ‘Kulas hit her’), the sentence must employ PV, with the topic holding pivot status, as illustrated in (90b). Conversely, a similar sentence where the topic does not function as the pivot is deemed infelicitous as a response (90c).

- (90) Amis
- a. Q: Na ma-maan **ci** **sawmah?**
 PST PV-what PN.PIVOT **Sawmah**
 ‘What happened to Sawmah?’ (Context: seeing Sawmah crying)
- b. A1: Ma-palu ni kulas **cingra.**
 PV-hit PN.CM₁ Kulas **3SG.PIVOT**
 ‘Kulas hit her.’
- c. A2: *Mi-palu=tu ci-kulas **cangran-an.**
 AV-hit=PRF PN-Kulas.PIVOT **3SG-CM₂**
 (Intended: ‘Kulas hit her.’)

²⁹Pivots in these languages can thus be viewed as internal topics in the sense of Aissen (1992), which contrasts with base-generated external/hanging topics (section 5.4.2), which involve no \bar{A} -movement. See Chen 2018 and Erlewine & Lim 2023 for specific evidence for hanging topics in Puyuma and Tagalog as base-generated.

Consultations with speakers verify that the unacceptability of A2 stems from the discrepancy between the pivot designation and the discourse topic. When the discourse topic corresponds to the agent in the response (e.g. ‘She is cooking pork’ (91)), the natural-sounding sentence must be structured in AV, with the agent topic designated as the pivot (91b). Question-answer sequences from Seediq, Puyuma, and Tagalog exhibit identical patterns. Due to space constraints, I omit the data here.

(91) Amis

- a. Q: Mi-maan **ci** **sawmah**?
 AV-what **PN.PIVOT Sawmah**
 ‘What is Sawmah doing?’ (Context: asking on the phone)
- b. A1: Mi-tangtang **cingra** tu titi.
 AV-cook **3SG.PIVOT CM₂** pork
 ‘She is cooking pork.’
- c. A2: *Mi-tangtang-an **nira** ku titi.
 PV.hit=PFV **3SG.CM₁** PIVOT pork
 (Intended: ‘She is cooking pork.’)

It is crucial to recognize that the pattern observed above doesn’t entail merely echoing the same voice type as the question. Take, for instance, the Tagalog dialogue below crafted by a native speaker. When presented with the question ‘Where is Maria’s spoon?’, four potential responses were offered, (A1)–(A4).

(92) Tagalog

- a. Q: Na saan **ang kutsara ni Maria**?
 NA where **CN.PIVOT spoon** **PN.POSS Maria**
 ‘Where is *Maria’s* spoon?’
- b. A1: Gamit ni Maria (**ang kutsara**).
 use.PV **PN.CM₁ Maria (CN.PIVOT spoon)**
 ‘Maria is using (*it/the* spoon).’
- c. A2: I-p<in>ang-ka-kain ni AJ (**ang kutsara**).
 CV-PANG<PRF>-RED-eat **PN.CM₁ AJ (CN.PIVOT spoon)**
 ‘AJ is eating with (*it/the* spoon).’
- d. A3: Na-kita=ko=[ng k<in>uha ni Lia (**ang kutsara**)].
 PRF.PV-see=1SG.CM₁=[LK steal<PV.PRF> **PN.CM₁ Lia (CN.PIVOT spoon)**]
 ‘I saw that Lia stole (*it/the* spoon).’
- e. A4: Na kay Peter (**ang kutsara**).
 NA with Peter (**CN.PIVOT spoon**)
 ‘*The* spoon is with Peter.’

All four responses diverge in voice selection and sentence structure, yet each maintains ‘Maria’s spoon’ as the pivot, the discourse topic. This robust consistency lends additional credence to the assertion that pivothood intricately intertwines with topichood in Philippine-type languages.

5.4.2 Pivot phrases share the same marker with hanging topics

The connection between pivothood and topichood is further evident in hanging topic constructions. Across most Philippine-type languages, hanging topics consistently exhibit the same morphological marking as the pivot phrase. This correlation is illustrated with data from two languages belonging to different primary branches of the Austronesian family: Paiwan and Cebuano. Despite variations in the form of pivot-marking across these languages, their hanging topics consistently bear the same marking as the pivot phrase.

(93) Paiwan

- a. D<in>ukuL ti kui ni zepul.
hit<PV.PRF> SG.PIVOT Kui PN.CM₁ Zepul
‘Zepul has hit Kui.’
- b. {**Ti**/*ni} zepul d<in>ukuL ti kui.
{**SG.PIVOT**/*SG.CM₁} **Zepul** hit<PV.PRF> **SG.PIVOT** **Kui**
‘Zepul, (she) has hit Kui.’ (Chang 2006:417-18)

(94) Cebuano

- a. Gi-higugma ni jua*n* si maria.
PV-love PN.₁ Juan PN.PIVOT Maria
‘Juan loves Maria.’
- b. {**Si**/*ni} **juan** gi-higugma (niya) si maria.
{**PN.PIVOT**/*PN.CM₁} **Juan** PV-love (3SG.CM₁) **PN.PIVOT** **Maria**
‘Juan, (he) loves Maria.’ (Shibatani 1988:131)

5.4.3 ‘Pivot’ marks presupposed information in pseudo-clefts

Pseudo-cleft constructions provide further evidence for the current analysis. In Philippine-type languages, this structure typically comprises a sentence-initial predicate, followed by a marker preceding a presupposed clause resembling a headless relative (Paul 2001; Aldridge 2004; Potsdam 2006 et seq.), as exemplified in (95). In the four target languages, new information (focus) is typically introduced as the predicate, while given information is placed within the presupposed clause. Importantly, the marker linking the predicate and the presupposed clause consistently takes the form of pivot marking across Philippine-type languages, as depicted in (96).

- (95) Focus pivot-marking { presupposed clause }
new information *old information*

(96) Pseudo clefts

- a. Tagalog
Si ivan **ang** [b<um>ili ng kendi], hindi si aya.
PN ivan **PIVOT** [buy<AV> INDF.CM₂ candy] NEG PN.PIVOT Aya
‘It is Ivan who bought candy, not Aya.’
- b. Puyuma
I senten **na** [trima dra ruma] ameli i sayki.
PN.PIVOT Senten **PIVOT** [buy<AV> INDF.CM₂ house], NEG.COP PN.PIVOT Sayki
‘It is Senten who bought a house, not Sayki.’
- c. Amis
Ci kulas **ku** [mi-palu-ay tisuwanan], anu ci panay?
PN.PIVOT Kulas **PIVOT** [AV-hit-NMZ 2SG.CM₂] or PN.PIVOT Panay
‘Is it Kulas who hit you, or is it Panay?’
- d. Seediq
Ye walis **ka** [b<n>eebu ∅ isu], ye watan?
PART Walis **PIVOT** [<PV.PRF>hit CM₁ 2SG] Q Watan?
‘Is it Walis who hit you, or is it Watan?’

This construction can be viewed as a topic-comment structure, where the presupposed clause serves as the topic, marked by pivot-marking, while the predicate denotes the focus of the construction, as in (97).

- (97) Focus pivot-marking { presupposed clause }
 Comment *topic-marking* *Topic*

Elicited question-answer sequences from Tagalog, Puyuma, Amis, and Seediq affirm that the focus (i.e. new information) consistently occupies the predicate of the cleft construction, while the given information is consistently situated in the presupposed clause, marked by pivot-marking. This pattern is demonstrated in examples (98) through (101).

(98) Tagalog

- a. Q: Sino **ang babae**=[ng naglakad kasama ni ivan]?
 [who] CN.PIVOT woman=[LK AV.PRF-walk with PN.CM₂ Ivan]
 ‘Who is the woman who walked with Ivan?’ (Context: saw Ivan outside)
- b. A: [Nanay niya] **ang babae**=ng iyon.
 [mother 3SG.POSS] PIVOT woman=LK that
 ‘That woman is his mother.’

(99) Puyuma

- a. Q: [Isuwa] **na suwan**?
 [where] PIVOT dog
 ‘Where is the dog?’ (Context: asking a family member about the family dog)
- b. A: [Ulaya i sawka] **na suwan**.
 [EXI LOC kitchen] PIVOT dog
 ‘The dog is in the kitchen.’

(100) Amis

- a. Q: [Cima] **ci Kulas**?
 [who] PN.PIVOT Kulas
 ‘Who is Kulas?’ (Context: overheard people talking about a man named Kulas)
- b. A: [U mitililday aku] **ci Kulas**.
 [DET student 1SG.POSS] PN.PIVOT Kulas
 ‘Kulas is my student.’

(101) Seediq

- a. Q: [Ima] **ka heya**?
 [who] PIVOT 3SG
 ‘Who is he?’ (Context: overheard people talking about a man named Kulas)
- b. A: [Tangi=mu] **ka heya**.
 [friend=1SG.POSS] PIVOT 3SG
 ‘He is my friend.’

The consistent marking of old information by pivot-marking across these languages suggests that this marker may serve as a general topic marker, utilized for both hanging topics and internal topics, as well as in topic-comment constructions like the one discussed above. The non-local distribution of pivot-marking observed in the preceding parts of this section aligns with this analysis.

We may conclude that the topic approach offers a better approximate for pivot-marking, the distribution of which is independent of case and indicates a particular information structure status. A closer understanding of its nature awaits further investigation.

6 Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown that the ergative characteristics found in four Austronesian languages with Philippine-type alignment (Tagalog, Puyuma, Amis, Seediq) are best viewed as an illusion created by prominent topic-marking obscuring an accusative case system. As this conclusion suggests, ‘Philippine-type alignment’ does not manifest syntactic ergativity (Payne 1982; Mithun 1994; Aldridge 2004 et seq.; a.o.). Nor does it instantiate a typologically unique type of case alignment (Himmelmann 2002; Foley 2008; Riesberg 2014, a.o.). The fact that the four languages belong to distinct higher-order branches of Austronesian and share the same case patterns with other Philippine-type languages suggests that the current conclusion may extend beyond these four languages.

The conclusion reached here thus indicates that what is known as ‘Philippine-type voice’ is fundamentally different from Indo-European voice. While the latter constitutes valency-rearranging morphology hosted within VoiceP, the former would be best viewed as topic-indicating morphology hosted beyond VoiceP. See Pearson (2005) and Chen (2022) for specific evidence for this implication. A notable prediction is therefore that ‘Philippine-type voice’ (i.e. topic-indicating morphology) may appear in languages with either accusative or ergative case alignment—as it is not associated with valency-rearranging operations and should be compatible with any type of case alignment.

This conclusion also indicates that syntactic ergativity is not the only possible cause of highly constrained \bar{A} -extraction asymmetries. A key implication here is therefore that discourse configurational languages may exhibit superficial traits of ergativity if their topic-marking is imprecisely treated as part of their case system. The illusory ergativity found in Austronesian thus reinforces the importance of approaching conventional glosses with caution.

A remaining question from this conclusion is the nature of the highly restricted ‘topic-only’ constraint imposed on relativization. Recent work on a typologically similar language offers insights on that constraint. Dinka (Nilotic) has been shown to exhibit a typologically similar voice system (van Urk 2015), where the grammatical role of the topic in a given clause is also indexed by verbal morphology. A similar ‘pivot-only’ constraint in \bar{A} -extraction is also attested in Dinka. In instances of relativization and *wh*-extraction, the language’s verbal morphology must indicate the extracted phrase as the topic. Notably, Dinka has also been analyzed as a topic-prominent accusative language with obligatory topic agreement on the verb (van Urk 2015). Along the lines of this analysis, its ‘pivot-only’ constraint is proposed to be driven by a flat \bar{A} -probe, which can be satisfied through Agree with a phrase bearing either a [TOP] or [REL]-feature. Accordingly, ‘pivot-only’ is not an extraction restriction in Dinka, but the outcome of relativization and topicalization triggering the same set of verbal morphology. See also similar proposals in Miyagawa (2010) and Baier (2018). In light of this analysis, a plausible account for the ‘pivot-only’ constraint in Philippine-type languages is therefore that topicalization and relativization are also driven by the same \bar{A} -probe. See also Pearson (2001, 2005) for a similar account for the ‘pivot-only’ constraint under a non-ergative view of Philippine-type languages.

Appendix I

Mapping between voice and case in basic constructions

	a. AV					b. PV				
	unergative	unaccusative	transitive	causative	ditransitive	unergative	unaccusative	transitive	causative	ditransitive
initiator/Causer	Pivot	–	Pivot	Pivot	Pivot	*	*	CM1	CM1	CM1
locative	P1	P1	P1	–	–	*	*	P1	–	–
benefactor/instrument	P2 / CM2	P2 / CM2	P2 / CM2	P2 / CM2	P2 / CM2	*	*	P2 / CM2	–	–
Causee	–	–	–	CM2	–	*	*	–	–	Pivot
recipient	–	–	–	–	CM2	*	*	–	–	Pivot
theme	–	Pivot	CM2	CM2	CM2	*	*	Pivot	CM2	CM2

	c. LV				d. CV					
	unergative	unaccusative	transitive	causative	ditransitive	unergative	unaccusative	transitive	causative	ditransitive
initiator/Causer	CM1	CM1	CM1	*	CM1	CM1	CM1	CM1	CM1	CM1
locative	Pivot	Pivot	Pivot	*	–	–	–	–	–	–
benefactor/instrument	–	–	–	*	–	Pivot	Pivot	Pivot	–	–
Causee	–	–	–	*	–	–	–	–	CM2	–
recipient	–	–	–	*	Pivot	–	–	–	–	CM2
theme	–	–	CM2	*	CM2	–	–	CM2	Pivot	Pivot

Appendix II

Some researchers have glossed Tagalog *sa* and *kay* as dative, for the reason that they also mark locative/recipient phrases. This treatment, however, is misleading as these markers also appear on the patient of high-transitive verbs (typical accusative positions). See Schachter and Otones (1972) and Himmelmann (2005b) for relevant discussions. In such cases, *ng*, *sa*, *kay* share the same case value, differentiating between definiteness/specificity and nominal type (i.e. common noun (*ng/sa*) vs. personal name *kay*). This is illustrated with the examples below. See Himmelmann (2005b) for a relevant discussion on SA as the marker for patient arguments.

(102) Possible object-marking for Tagalog AV clauses

- a. B<um>isita si Juan { ng hari / sa hari / kay Maria /
 <AV>visit PN.PIVOT Juan { INDF.CM₂ king / DEF.CM₂ king / PN.CM₂ Maria /
 sa kaniya }.
 DEF.CM₂ 3PL.CM₂ }
 ‘Juan visited { the king / a king / Maria / them }.’
- b. K<um>ilatis si Maria { ng pusa / sa pusa / kay Juan /
 <AV>examine PN.PIVOT Maria { INDF.CM₂ cat / DEF.CM₂ cat / PN.CM₂ Juan /
 sa akin }.
 DEF.CM₂ 1SG.CM₂ }
 ‘Maria examined { a cat / the cat / Juan / me }.’

That such *sa/kay*-marked phrases are core objects of the bivalent verb is evidenced by the fact that they can serve as the pivot in PV. Consider (iia-b) and (iva-b).

(103) AV/PV alternation with a *sa/kay*-marked object shifting to pivot status (cf. (ii))

- a. B<in>isita ni Juan { ang hari / si Maria / =siya }.
 <PV.PRF>VISIT PN.CM₁ Juan { PIVOT king / PN.PIVOT Maria / =3PL.PIVOT }
 ‘Juan visited { the king / Maria / them }.’
- b. K<in>ilatis ni Maria { ang pusa / si Juan / =ako }.
 PV.PRFexamine PN.CM₁ Maria { PIVOT cat / PN.PIVOT Juan / =1SG.PIVOT }
 ‘Maria examined { the cat / Juan / me }.’

- (104) AV/PV alternation in causatives with a *sa/kay*-marked Causee shifting to pivot status
- a. Nag-pa-habol si Aya { **sa** aso / **kay** **Maria** } ng pusa.
 AV.PRF-CAU-chase PN.PIVOT Aya { **DEF.CM₂ dog** / **PN.CM₂ Maria** } INDF.CM₂ cat
 ‘Aya made { the dog / *Maria* } chase a cat.’
- b. P<in>a-habol ni Aya { **ang** aso / **si** **Maria** } ng pusa.
 <PV.PRF> PN.CM₁ Aya { **PIVOT dog** / **PN.PIVOT Maria** } INDF.CM₂ cat
 ‘Aya made { the dog / *Maria* } chase a cat.’

See Latrouite (2011, 2018) for a discussion of how *sa* and *kay* function as differential object marking in three-place constructions. All three works cited above as well as the data collected from primary fieldwork suggest that *sa* and *kay* can mark core arguments/objects. I therefore label *sa* and *kay* as ‘CM₂’ where they mark the object of a bivalent verb.

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