When Philippine-type voice meets Indo-European-style voice: Insights from Puyuma

Introduction. Following the division of Voice and *v*, the active/passive voice contrast has been captured through the postulation of different "flavors" of Voice (e.g. Harley 2013; Legate 2014). Philippine-type Austronesian languages have been claimed to bear a similar and more elaborate voice system, whereby different "flavors" of Voice^0 and Appl^0 enable not only internal arguments but also adjunct-like phrases (e.g. locative, benefactor) to be promoted to Subject (Rackowski 2002; Aldridge 2004, 2012, 2017; a.o.).

We argue instead that Austronesian-type "voice" has nothing to do with Voice^0(/Appl^0), despite what its name suggests. Our evidence comes from Puyuma, an Austronesian language that exhibits both a Philippine-type four-way voice system and a two-way voice contrast akin to active and passive. We show that the two types of "voice" can co-occur, because Philippine-type "voice" is *not* the morphological reflex of any functional head hosted within the core verbal projection (VoiceP), but instead agreement morphology **hosted at C**. This undermines the ergative/valency-indicating approach to Philippine-type voice (De Guzman 1988; Mithun 1994, Aldridge 2004, 2017; a.o.), and lends new support to the A'-agreement approach to voice in similar languages (Chamorro: Chung 1994; Malagasy: Pearson 2005).

The phenomenon. Puyuma possesses an understudied affix *u-*, which, when attached to a 2-place verb marked in Philippine-type Actor Voice (1a), denotes a passive-like construction (1b): the external argument is obligatorily absent, and the theme bears subject-marking, akin to unaccusative subjects (1c).

(1)
a. M-ekan na suwan kana buŋa. — AV-eat DF.PIVOT dog DF.ACC yam — 'The dog ate the yam.'
b. M-u-ekan la **na** buŋa. — AV-U-eat PRF **DF.PIVOT** yam — 'The yam was eaten up.'
c. M-utani **na** buŋa. — AV-fall **DF.PIVOT** yam — 'The yam fell (to the ground).'

When present in a causative construction, *u-* must appear between Philippine-type Actor Voice morphology (*m-*) and causative morphology (*pa-*), with the causer obligatorily absent, as in (2a-b).

(2)
a. M-u-pa-resis na raman. — AV-U-CAUS-intersperse DF.PIVOT weed — 'The weed was made interspersed.'
b. M-u-pa-depe' na tamaku. — AV-U-CAUS-inflame DF.PIVOT cigarette — 'The cigarette was made inflamed.'

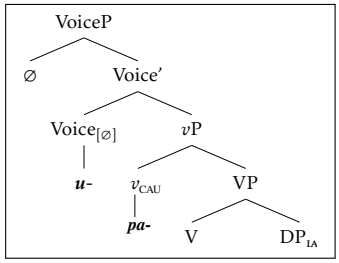
Claim 1: *u-* is a detransitivizer. Despite their superficial similarity, the *u*-construction is not a passive, given its incompatibility with agent-denoting PPs (*by*-phrases) (3) and agent-oriented adverbs (4b) .

(3) M-u-deru na kuraw (*kandrina walak/*dra traw/✓dra kadaw/✓dra karayag).
AV-U-COOK DF.PIVOT fish (*that.OBL child/*INDF.OBL someone/INDF.OBL sun/INDF.OBL foehn)
'The fish (was) cooked (*by that child/*by someone/from sunshine/from foehn).'

(4)
a. (✓Tremakatrakaw) m-ekan na ŋiyaw kana kuraw. *2-place AV-construction*
(secretly.AV) AV-eat DF.PIVOT cat DF.ACC fish
'The cat ate the fish (secretly).'
b. (*Tremakatrakaw) m-u-ekan na kuraw. *AV-marked u-construction*
(secretly.AV) AV-U-eat DF.PIVOT fish
'The fish was eaten (*secretly).'

The *u*-construction is also not an anticausative, given its compatibility with a wide range of agent-oriented verbs (e.g. *catch*, *comb*, *cheat*, *buy*, *bury*, *fold*, *fill*, *collect*), which are known to disallow inchoative counterparts across languages (Haspelmath 1993; Reinhart 2000; Alexiadou et al. 2006). It is also distinct from middles, given the obligatory presence of the detransitivizing affix *u-*, as middles are typically morphologically unmarked (e.g. Kemmer 1993; Kaufmann 2007). Finally, it is not an impersonal, given the mandatory "promotion" of the internal argument to Subject status as evidenced by case-marking ('pivot') (cf. (1a-c). We conclude that *u-* is an external-argument eliminating affix that marks an understudied type of detransitivization process distinct from all four common types of derived intransitive.

Claim 2: *u-* is the morphological reflex of Voice We argue that the detransitivizer *u-* is the morphological reflex of a **deficient Voice**, which does not introduce an external argument or Case-license its internal argument—as opposed to the external argument-introducing Voice^0 in the 2-place construction (1a), which is zero-marked. Consequently, the internal argument in the *u*-marked construction (1b) checks Case with T, akin to unaccusatives (1c). The co-occurrence of *u-* (reflex of Voice) and *pa-* (reflex of v_{CAU}) in (2a-b) lends new empirical support to Voice and *v* as two distinct functional heads—the former as responsible for external argument-introducing and the latter for introducing causative semantics (e.g. Pylkkänen 1999; Marantz



2001; Schäfer 2008; Harley 2013; Legate 2014). Crucially, the linear order of the two affixes (*u-pa*-ROOT) follows from the prediction of the Mirror Principle (Baker 1980), in which *u-* (reflex of Voice) surfaces to the left of *pa-* (reflex of *v*) and the root (V).

Claim 3: Philippine-type AV morphology does not mark Voice Assuming the Mirror Principle holds, that Philippine-type AV morphology *m-* surfaces to the left of the reflex of Voice (*u-*) and *v* (*pa-*) (2) suggests that it is hosted at a projection **higher than Voice** and outside of the core verbal projections. Support for this comes from the affix's obligatory insertion into the progressive prefix (C*a*-reduplication), which indicates that Actor Voice is encoded into morphology after that of ASPECT^0. This lends new support to a family of A'-agreement approaches to Philippine-type voice (Chung 1994; Pearson 2005; Chen 2017), according to which AV morphology is **hosted at C**, realizing an Agree relation between [uTOP] and the nominative DP. This accounts for its presence regardless of the valancy of the verb: intransitives (1c), detransitives (1b), transitives (1a). [The AV affix *m-* has three allomorphs: <*em*> (pre-C$_{\text{non-bilabial}}$; *me-* (pre-liquid); <*en*> (5b) (pre-bilabial) (5a).]

a. AV form	b. AV form (progressive)	
<*em*>√	C<*em*>*a*-√	
d<**em**>eru	d<**em**>a-deru	'cook'
g<**em**>isgis	g<**em**>a-gisgis	'shave with a razor'
k<**em**>aratr	k<**em**>a-karatr	'bite'
s<**em**>absab	s<**em**>a-sabsab	'wash'
t<**em**>enun	t<**em**>a-tenun	'weave'

Claim 4: Philippine-type voice is not hosted within the verbal complex. This observation, at the same time, undermines the ergative analysis of Philippine-type voice. Under that approach, AV and PV marker is the spell-out of intransitive and transitive Voice^0, respectively, while Locative Voice (LV) and Circumstantial Voice (CV) each mark an Appl^0 that licenses the Subject (pivot-marked phrase) as the highest internal argument (Aldridge 2004). In this view, 2-place AV-clauses like (1a) are antipassives whose intr. Voice^0 is spelled out as *m-*. Now, the fact that the alleged antipassive (1a) is compatible with detransitivization (1b) argues against the antipassive view of (1a). Two pieces of evidence reinforce that the AV morphology is *not* a reflex of intransitive Voice: its presence in unaccusatives (5a)—which in principle does not contain a Voice^0 as it neither introduces an EA nor assigns structural Case to its IA—as well as (5a)'s 2-place causative counterpart (5b), which is incompatible with an intransitive analysis.

(5) a. Me-redek na walak i renarenadran. *Unaccusative*
AV-arrive DF.PIVOT child LOC playground
'The child arrived at the playground.'

b. P<en>a-redek na walak kana ladru i renarenadran. *Causative counterpart of (5a)*
CAU<AV>arrive DF.PIVOT child DF.ACC mango LOC playground
'The child threw (*lit.* made arrive at) the mango to the playground.'

The compatibility of AV morphology with both intransitives and transitives indicates that Philippine-type AV and PV affixes are *not* transitivity-indicating morphology hosted at Voice^0.

Puyuma LV/CV affixes are *not* applicative markers. We demonstrate that Puyuma LV/CV affixes also behave like agreement morphology, rather than an applicative marker (reflex of Appl^0) that licenses the pivot phrase in the **highest internal argument position** (Aldridge 2004; Rackowski & Richards 2005 for Tagalog). First, evidence from binding reveals that the pivot phrase in a CV-clause can be interpreted as a bound variable of another internal argument (6a), indicating that it is *not* introduced in the highest IA position—contra the baseline assumption of the ergative analysis. Second, the fact that LV/CV morphology obligatorily cliticizes to the **highest predicate** of a clause (6b-c)—e.g. an adverb (6c)—reinforces the agreement approach to LV/CV affixes and argues against analyzing them as applicative markers.

(6) a. Ku=beray-anay **[tu$_k$=lribun]** [kan tinataw kana kiakarun$_k$ driya].
1s.GEN=give-CV **[3.POSS.PIVOT=wages]** [ACC 3s.POSS.mother LK laborer every]
'I gave every laborer's$_k$ mother his/her$_k$ wages.' (distributed reading available)

b. Ku=beray-**anay** kana walak **na** **aputr**.
1s.GEN-give-CV SG.ACC child **DF.PIVOT** **flower**
'I gave the child the flowers.'

c. Ku=trakatrakaw-**anay** beray kana walak **na** **aputr**.
1s.GEN=secretly-CV give.DEFAULT.AV DF.ACC child **DF.PIVOT** **flower**
'I ***secretly*** gave the child the flowers.' (cf. (6b))

Conclusion. We argue that Philippine-type "voice" is fundamentally different from the traditional sense of 'voice' (i.e. **valency-indicating morphology hosted at Voice**), hence its compatibility with true cases of *voice* morphology (e.g. *u-*$_{\text{DETR}}$). Crucially, the presence of the Voice^0-realizing detransitivizer *u-* (and an accompanying active/detransitive alternation) in at least three other Philippine-type Austronesian languages (Bunun, Thao, Saaroa) indicates that the current observation is not specific to only Puyuma.