

Tagalog voice revisited*

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1 The phenomenon

- Three central questions in Austronesian syntax:
 - Is Tagalog a syntactically ergative language?
(e.g. Payne 1982; Mithun 1994; MacLachlan 1996; Ricahrds 2000; Rackowski 2002; Aldridge 2004, 2012, 2017; Rackowski & Richards 2005; Chen 2017)
 - Does Tagalog's pivot marker (*ang/si*) mark topics or absolutive case?
(e.g. Kroeger 1995; Shibatani 1988; Richards 2000; Rackowski 2002; Aldridge 2004 *et seq.*)
 - Are Tagalog's four voice affixes *case-agreement morphology* that indexes the case status of the pivot (*ang/si*-)phrase?
(e.g. Rackowski 2002; Rackowski & Richards 2005)
- **Claim:** previously overlooked binding facts necessitate a new analysis of Tagalog voice:

- Tagalog possesses an accusative case system with **prominent topic-marking (*ang/si*) that overrides case.**
- Tagalog's four-way voice morphology realizes **four different bundles of Agree relations** that probe the **topic** of a clause:
 - Actor Voice:* topic agreement + subject agreement
 - Patient Voice:* topic agreement + object agreement
 - Locative Voice:* topic agreement + locative agreement (between P_{Loc} & DP_{Loc})
 - Circumstantial Voice:* topic agreement
- Tagalog constitutes a typical **discourse configurational language** (Li & Thompson 1976; Kiss 1985; Miyagawa 2010) that employs overt agreement morphology for **topics** (and not *subjects*).

Roadmap

- §2 Core traits of Tagalog voice
- §3 How binding facts undermine previous analyses of Tagalog voice
- §4 Tagalog *ang/si* as a topic marker
- §5 Tagalog voice as the spell-out of four different bundles of Agree relations
- §6 Implications

2 Tagalog voice basics

- Like other Western Austronesian languages known as the *Philippine-type*, Tagalog exhibits a crosslinguistically unusual four-way voice system (1) often cited as typologically unique.

(1) a. Actor Voice (AV)

B<um>ili si AJ ng keyk mula kay Lia para kay Joy.
buy<AV> [PN.PIVOT AJ] ID.CM₂ cake P₁ PN.CM₂ Lia P₂ PN.CM₂ Joy

'AJ bought cake from Lia for Joy.'

b. Patient Voice (PV)

Bi-bilih-in ni AJ ang keyk mula kay Li para kay Joy.
CONT-buy-PV PN.CM₁ AJ [PIVOT cake] P₁ PN.CM₂ Li P₂ PN.CM₂ Joy

'AJ will buy cake from Li for Joy.'

c. Locative Voice (LV)

Bi-bilih-an ni AJ ng keyk si Li para kay Joy.
CONT-buy-LV PN.CM₁ AJ ID.CM₁ cake [PN.PIVOT Li] P₂ PN.CM₂ Joy

'AJ will buy cake from Li for Joy.'

d. Circumstantial Voice (CV)

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I-bi-bili ni AJ ng keyk mula kay Li si Joy.
 cv-CONT-buy PN.CM1 AJ ID.CM2 cake P₁ PN.CM2 Li PN.PIVOT Joy

‘AJ will buy cake from Li for Joy.’

Core traits of Tagalog voice

- The pivot marker (*ang* for common nouns; *si* for personal names) is **unique per clause**.
- The distribution of the pivot marker is conditioned by voice morphology (AV/PV/LV/CV) on the verb.
- ‘Pivot-only’ constraint in \bar{A} extraction: only the pivot phrase may undergo \bar{A} extraction (2a-d).

(2) a. Actor Voice (AV)

Sino ang _[RC b<um>ili/{*in/*an/*i-}] ng gulay]?
 who PIVOT _[RC buy<AV>/{*PV/*LV/*CV}] ID.CM₂ vegetable]

‘Who is the one that bought vegetables?’

b. Patient Voice (PV)

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?’

c. Locative Voice (LV)

Nasaan ang _[RC bi-bilih-an/{*<um>/*in/*i-}] ni Aya ng
 where PIVOT _[RC CONT-buy-LV/{*AV/*PV/*CV}] PN.CM₁ Aya ID.CM₂
 gulay]?
 vegetable]

‘Where will be the place where Aya bought vegetables?’

d. Circumstantial Voice (CV)

Sino ang _[RC i-bi-bili/{*<um>/*in/*an}] ni Aya ng gulay]?
 who PIVOT _[RC cv-buy/{*AV/*PV/*LV}] PN.CM₁ Aya ID.CM₂ vegetable]

‘Who is the one that Aya will buy vegetables for?’

→ A phrase may undergo \bar{A} extraction only if voice morphology indicates it as the **pivot**.

3 Rethinking the ergative analysis and the case agreement approach to Tagalog voice

- Tagalog’s argument-marking pattern is illustrated in (3) (see (1a-d)).

	a. AV	b. PV	c. LV	d. CV
(3) 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

→ In **AV clauses**, the pivot marker *ang/si* falls on the external argument (EA).

→ In **PV/LV/CV clauses**, *ang/si* falls on different types of internal argument (IA) (theme, locative, instrument/benefactor).

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Core assumptions of the ergative analysis

(4) Aldridge (2004, 2012, 2017)

Pivot	ABS from T	AV affix	reflex of intransitive Voice
CM ₁	ERG from transitive Voice	PV affix	reflex of transitive Voice (with EPP)
CM ₂	OBL from V	LV affix	reflex high Appl ⁰ (with EPP on Voice)
		CV affix	reflex of high Appl ⁰ (with EPP on Voice)

- o This analysis is built on three assumptions:

- Assumption 1 **Pivot (*ang/si*) marks ABS case from T** assigned to the highest caseless DP.
- Assumption 2 **CM₁ marks ERG case from transitive Voice⁰** available only in PV/LV/CV clauses (the alleged transitives)
- Assumption 3 **LV/CV morphology is the realization of a high Appl⁰** that licenses an applied object (AO) in the **highest IA position** above the theme, where the AO undergoes object shift due to EPP on Voice⁰.

→ Under (4), the pivot phrase in LV/CV clauses (e.g. locative, instrument, benefactor) is accessible to pivot-marking (absolutive case) because it is the **highest DP below Voice⁰** eligible for *object shift*.

Core assumptions of the case agreement approach to Tagalog voice

* * * * *

(5) Rackowski (2002); Rackowski & Richards (2005)

Pivot	Obj. shift-indicating marker	AV affix	Agree relation b.t.w Voice & NOM DP
CM ₁	NOM from T	PV affix	Agree relation b.t.w Voice & ACC DP
CM ₂	ACC from Voice	LV affix	Agree relation b.t.w Voice & DAT DP (source of DAT case: low Appl ⁰)
		CV affix	Agree relation b.t.w Voice & OBL DP (source of OBL case: high Appl ⁰)

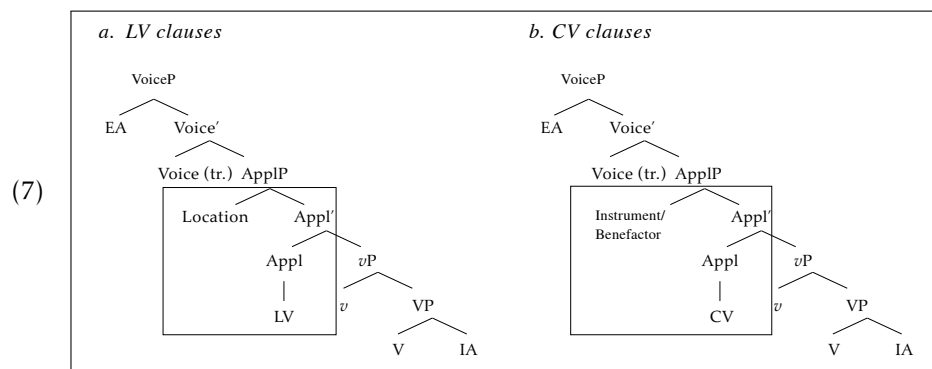
o Two core assumptions of (5):¹

- Assumption 1 Tagalog's four way "voice" morphology (AV/PV/LV/CV) realizes the case of the highest DP below Voice⁰, which agrees with Voice⁰.
- Assumption 2 The pivot phrase in LV clauses is an applied object (AO) inherently case-licensed by a **low Appl⁰**; that in CV clauses is an AO case-licensed by a **high Appl⁰**. Both types of AOs are based-generated **above the theme**.

→ Under (5), the LV and CV affixes mark two types of inherent case assigned to the highest DP below Voice⁰. This DP is accessible to the VoiceP phase edge due to an alleged EPP on Voice⁰

(6) **Shared assumption of the two analyses**

LV/CV morphology is associated with the presence of an Appl⁰ that licenses the pivot phrase in the **highest IA position above the theme**, illustrated in (7).

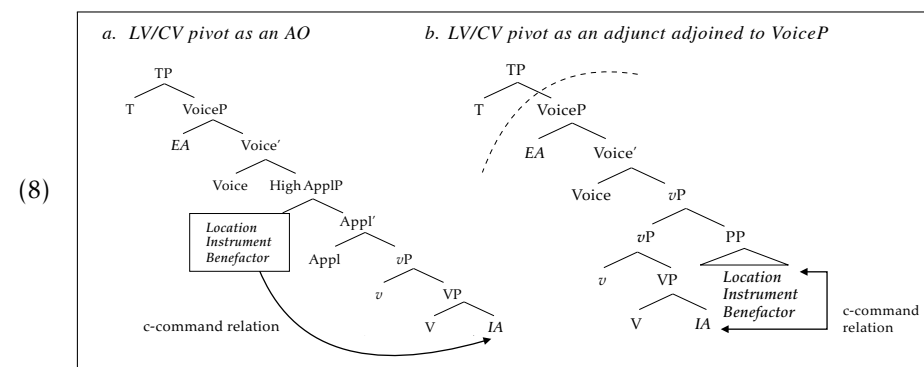


3.1 Binding facts against the applicative approach to LV/CV clauses

- Previously overlooked binding facts pose serious challenges to (6).

3.11 Transitives with a locative/instrument/benefactive pivot

- If the Appl⁰ analysis for LV/CV morphology is on the right track, the pivot phrase in LV/CV clauses should asymmetrically c-commands the theme (8a).
- Alternatively, if the pivot remains as an adjunct adjoined to VoiceP, a theme should be able to bind into the pivot, as the two are under sisterhood within the same phase (VoiceP) (8b) (see Bruening's (2014) proposal of precede-and-command).



- Binding facts:** In Tagalog LV/CV clauses, a quantifier theme can bind into a pronoun embedded inside the pivot phrase (e.g. locative/instrument) with the latter interpreted as a bound variable. See (9).

¹The functional head Voice⁰ here corresponds to *v* in Rackowski & Richards 2005, which does not adopt a division of Voice and *v*

(9) a. **Locative Voice (LV)**

Ni-lutu-an=ko [ng isda ng bawat babae] [ang kanyang
PRF-COOK-LV=1SG.CM₁ [ID.CM₂ fish LK every woman] [PIVOT 3PL.POSS
kawali].
pot]

'I cooked every woman's_{<j>} fish in her_{<j/k>} pot.' (bound variable reading available)

b. **Circumstantial Voice (CV)**

I-p<in>ampalo=ko [ang kanyang pamalo] [ng bawat bata].
CV-hit=1SG.CM₁ [PIVOT 3SG.POSS hitting.stick] [ID.CM₂ every child]

'I hit every child_{<j>} with their_{<j/k>} stick.' (bound variable reading available)

→ **Take-home message:** This contradicts the Appl⁰ analysis of Tagalog LV/CV morphology (6) and indicates that a pivot-marked locative/instrument/benefactor may remain as an adjunct adjoined to VoiceP.²

3.12 Productive causatives

- In Tagalog productive causatives, the pivot marker appears on the **causee** in LV (10b) and the **theme of the caused event (henceforth causand)** in CV (10c):

	a. AV	b. PV	c. CV
(10)			
causer	Pivot	CM ₁	CM ₁
causee	CM ₂	Pivot	CM ₂
causand	CM ₂	CM ₂	Pivot

- If the applicative analysis for LV/CV holds, the fact that the pivot marker skips the **causee** and falls on the **causand** in (10c) indicates that the causand is introduced by a **high Appl⁰** and **base-generated in the highest IA position**.
- **Binding facts:** Regardless of voice, the **causee** asymmetrically binds the **causand**:

(11) a. **Actor Voice (AV)**

Nag-pa-pa-ligo=ako kay Maria ng sarili niya.
AV-CAU-RED-bathe=1S.PIVOT PN.CM₂ Maria CM₂ REFL 3s

'I made Maria bathe herself.'

b. **Patient Voice (PV)**

P<in>a-pa-ligo=ko si Maria ng sarili niya.
CAU<PRF.PV>RED-bathe=1SG.CM₁ PN.PIVOT Maria CM₂ REFL 3s

'I am making Maria bathe herself.'

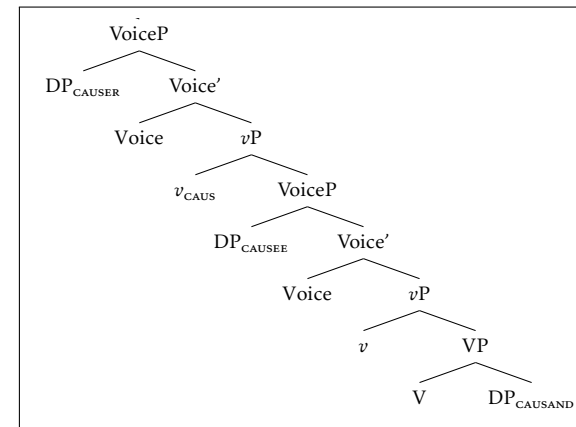
c. **Circumstantial Voice (CV)**

I-p<in>a-li-linis=ko kay Sue ang kanyang sarili.
CV-CAU<PRF>RED-clean=1SG.CM₁ PN.CM₂ Sue PIVOT 3s REFL

'I made Sue clean herself.'

→ **Take-home message:** Tagalog's causative of transitive possess a bi-eventive structure regardless of voice, whereby **the causee is introduced as an EA of the embedded VoiceP** and c-commands the causand (12).

(12)



→ This is reinforced by three facts: the causee's compatibility with (i) **agent-oriented adverb** and (ii) **the adverb of frequency 'again'**, indicating that it is an EA and *not* licensed by an ApplP, and (iii) quantifier-variable binding: a quantifier causee can bind into a pronoun embedded in the causand with the pronoun interpreted as a bound variable. This is illustrated in (13) (same results attested with AV- and PV-marked causatives).

(13) **Circumstantial Voice (CV)**

²This analysis is supported by the fact that the pivot-marked locative/instrument/benefactor can also bind into the theme (see Rackowski & Richards (2005) for the same observation). This is expected under Bruening's (2014) proposal of precede-and-command as the theme and the adjunct are in the same phase (VoiceP).

I-p<in>a-li-linis=ko (ulit) kay Sue ang kanyang sarili
 CV-CAU<PRF>RED-clean=1SG.CM₁ (again) PN.CM₂ Sue PIVOT 3s REFL
 (nang palihim).
 (CONG secretly)

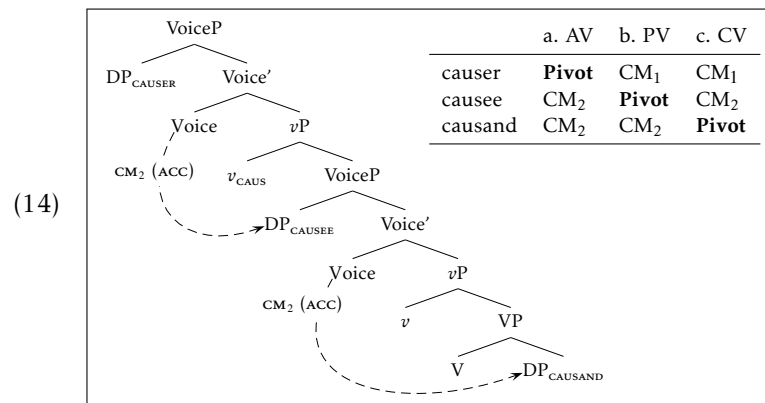
'I made Sue_k clean herself (again_k) (secretly_k).'

→ **Implication 1: CV affix ≠ reflex of high Appl⁰** The pivot-marked causand in CV-causative is *not* an applied object base-generated above the causee, but a **normal IA c-commanded by the causee**. This falsifies the high Appl⁰ analysis of CV morphology (Aldridge 2004 *et seq.*).

→ **Implication 2: 'CV' morphology does *not* mark OBL case from high Appl⁰** This, at the same time, undermines the case agreement approach to CV morphology, which maintains that CV affix marks **inherent OBL case from high Appl⁰**. The fact that the pivot in CV-clauses is base-generated in the **IA position**, however, argues against the assumption that it is case-licensed by a high Appl⁰ (R&R 2005).³

→ **Implication 3: Pivot ≠ absolutive.** The fact that the pivot marker *ang/si* can 'skip' the external-argument causee (which is not in a position accessible to any non-structural case) and marks the causand in CV-causatives indicates that **pivot does not mark absolutive Case**, given its 'non-local' licensing.

→ **Implication 4: CM₂ = accusative.** Finally, the fact that (i) the causee and the causand are licensed as EA and IA and (ii) bear the same case-marking CM₂ reinforces a structural accusative analysis for CM₂, whereby the causee is ECM-licensed with ACC case from the higher Voice⁰ (14).⁴



3.13 Ditransitives

- In Tagalog ditransitives, the pivot marker appears on the **recipient** in LV (15b) and the **theme** when in CV:

	a. AV	b. LV	c. CV
(15) agent	Pivot	CM ₁	CM ₁
recipient	CM ₂	Pivot	CM ₂
theme	CM ₂	CM ₂	Pivot

→ **Note:** PV is *not* an option for ditransitives. I will return to this in §5.2-3.

- For both previous analyses, the fact that the R and the T receive pivot-marking in LV (14b) and CV (14c), respectively, indicates that each is licensed in the highest IA position.
- Binding facts:** Regardless of voice, the recipient and the theme mutually bind each other:

(16) 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 (LV); 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>}.'

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

Nag-bigay=ako [sa kanilang nanay] [ng sweldo ng
 AV.PRF-give=1SG.PIVOT [DOM.CM₂ 3PL.POSS mother] [ID.CM₂ wages LK
 bawat manggagawa].
 every laborer]

³Recall that the causee in this construction is a normal EA (and not a phrase licensed as an ApplP). This is evidenced by the diagnostics in (13).

⁴I will argue in §4 that the pivot marker is a topic marker that overrides case, hence a pattern in (14b-c).

'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 [PIVOT 3PL.POSS mother] [ID.CM₂ wages LK every manggagawa]. laborer]

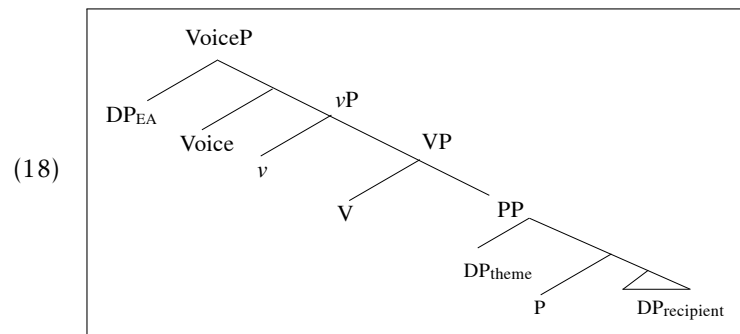
'I gave their_{<j>} mother every laborer's_{<j/k>} wages.' (bound variable reading available)

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

I-b-in-igay=ko [sa kanilang nanay] [ang sweldo ng CV-give-PRF=1SG.CM₁ [DOM.CM₂ 3PL.POSS mother] [PIVOT wages LK bawat manggagawa]. every laborer]

'I gave their_{<j>} mother every laborer's_{<j/k>} wages.' (bound variable reading available)

→ **Take-home message:** Tagalog ditransitives (16)-(17) are **prepositional datives** (18) regardless of voice (e.g. Hoekstra & Mulder 1990; Den Dikken 1995; Harley 1997, 2002).⁵



→ This invariable structure unaffected by voice argue against the putative **voice-conditioned argument structure alternation** necessarily assumed for both previous approaches to Tagalog voice (6).

3.2 Implication: pivot (*ang/si*) does not mark absolutive case

⁵See Bruening (2010) for a discussion of the asymmetry in binding facts between DOC and PDC. The PDC analysis for (16)-(17) is additionally supported by one other hallmark of PDC attested with these ditransitives: the recipient slot can be filled in by an inanimate locative NP (goal).

→ **Nonlocality in pivot-licensing:** the observations so far reveals that the pivot marker *ang/si* can (i) mark a DP embedded inside an adjunct (§3.11) and (ii) skip an intervening EA and marks an IA. Both show that **pivot-marking does mark structural case from T (absolutive/nominative)**.

4 Tagalog *ang/si* as a topic marker

- **Proposal:** the pivot marker *ang/si* is a **topic marker** that **overrides case**, illustrated in (19).

	a. AV	b. PV	c. LV	d. CV
(19) external argument	CM _T Topic	CM ₁	CM ₁	CM ₁
internal argument	CM ₂	CM ₂ Topic	CM ₂	CM ₂
locative	P ₁	P ₁	P _T Topic	P ₁
instrument/benefactor	P ₂	P ₂	P ₂	P ₂ Topic

- This is in line with a series of existing topic analyses for *ang/si* (e.g. Schachter & Otanes 1972; Shibatani 1988; Richards 2000; Katagiri 2006, a.o.).
- **Some new evidence:** in Tagalog question-answer sequences with a clear discourse topic, the topic must be put as the pivot in the answer sentence, showing a tight connection between topichood and the placement of the pivot marker (see Appendix).
- This analysis makes two testable predictions:

4.1 Prediction 1

- Tagalog *ang/si*-phrases should behave like an A'-element.

→ **Reconstruction for Principle C.** In Tagalog, promotion-to-pivot obligatorily reconstructs for Principle C:

(20) Gusto niya_{<j>} si Lia_{<k/*j>}.
 like.PV 3SG.CM₁ PN.PIVOT Lia
 'She_{<j>} likes Lia_{<k/*j>}.'

→ **Reconstruction for quantifier-variable binding.** A pivot-marked pronoun can be interpreted as a bound variable of a quantifier that c-commands its theta-position (21):

- (21) P<in>a-halik-an ni Berto sa bawat babae ang kanyang
 CAU<PV.PRF>kiss-LV PN.CM₁ Berto DF.CM₂ every woman PIVOT 3SG.POSS
 nanay.
 mother
 ‘Berto made every girl_{<k>} kiss her_{<k/j>} mother. (Rackowski 2002:68)

→ **No new antecedent for anaphors.** A pivot phrase cannot become a new binder of an anaphor (i.e. promotion-to-pivot does not rearrange the binding relations within a clause and create a new antecedent).

- (22) *Sa-sampal-in ng kanyang sarili si Maria.
 CONT-slap-PV ID.CM₁ 3SG REFL PN.PIVOT Maria
 (intended: ‘Herself will slap Maria.’)

→ **Weak Crossover.** Promotion-to-pivot shows weak crossover effects, another hallmark of A'-movement.

- (23) I-p<in>ag-luto=ko [ang bawat bata] [ng kanilang isda].
 CV-PAG<PRF>-cook=1SG.CM₁ [PIVOT every child] [ID.CM₂ 3PL.POSS fish]
 ‘I cook their_{<k>} fish for every_{<j/?k>} child.’

→ **Weakest Crossover.** Finally, promotion-to-pivot occasionally displays weakest crossover effects (Lasnik & Stowell 1991), e.g. (24): a pivot-marked IA can bind into an EA with marginal acceptability (24a) (cf. its ungrammatical counterpart (24b), which contains a non-pivot internal argument).

- (24) a. **Patient Voice (PV)**
 ?P<in>atay ng sarili niyang inay si Riza.
 <PV.PRF>kill PN.CM₁ self 3s.POSS mother PIVOT Riza
 (marginally acceptable: ‘The mother of himself_{<k>} killed Riza_{<k>}.’)
 b. **Actor Voice (AV)**
 *P<um>atay kay Joy ang sarili niyang anak.
 kill<AV> PN.CM₂ Joy PIVOT self 3s.POSS child
 (intended: ‘The son of herself killed Joy.’)

4.2 Prediction 2

- If pivot-marking indeed marks *topichood* and not *subjecthood*, Tagalog should display evidence for subject (NOM) case-marking distinct from pivot/topic-marking.

→ **Tagalog does possess a case marker that shows the hallmarks of structural nominative, i.e. CM₁.** This marker, though traditionally regarded as inherent ERG case, shows several core traits of nominative: (i) availability to both non-pivot EA (25a) and non-pivot IA in unaccusatives (25b):

- (25) a. *ni*-marking on unergative subjects

Ni-lakar-an ni Ivan ang daan.
 PRF-walk-LV PN.CM₁ Ivan PIVOT road

‘Ivan walked on the road.’

- b. *ni*-marking on unaccusative subjects

H<in>ulug-an ni Raul ang swimming pool.
 fall<PRF>LV PN.CM₁ Ivan PIVOT swimming pool

‘Ivan fell into the swimming pool.’

(ii) its being **unique per clause**, and (iii) **unavailability to external arguments in nonfinite clauses** (e.g. causee in bi-eventive causatives (26)).⁶

- (26) CM₁ unavailable to agentive causee

I-p<in>a-li-linis=ko kay/*ni Joy si Aya.
 CV-CAU<PRF>RED-clean=1SG.CM₁ ACC/*PN.CM₁ Joy PN.PIVOT Aya

‘I made Joy clean Aya.’

→ This argues against the inherent ERG case analysis for CM₁ (4) suggests that CM₁ is in fact structural nominative.

* * * * *

⁶Note: ERG-marked causees are attested in a typologically diverse range of ergative languages, e.g. Macushi (Cabrid), Trumai (isolate), Kabardian (Kabardians), Qiang (Tibeto-Burman), and Agul (Caucasian) (Abbott 1991, Abitov et al. 1957, Guirardello 1999, LaPolla 1996). If Tagalog is ergative and CM₁ indeed marks inherent ERG case, the fact that CM₁ cannot mark the causee (10) is unexpected.

5 Proposal: Tagalog voice as the realization of four different bundles of Agree relations

- The mapping between voice and pivot selection in different constructions is summarized below:

(27) Mapping between voice and pivot selection

	AV	PV	LV	CV
a. unergatives	EA	*	(locative)	(benefactive/instrument)
b. unaccusatives	IA	*	(locative)	(benefactive/instrument)
c. transitives	EA	IA	(locative)	(benefactive/instrument)
d. ditransitives	EA	*	goal	theme
e. causatives	causer	causee	*	causand

Generalizations:

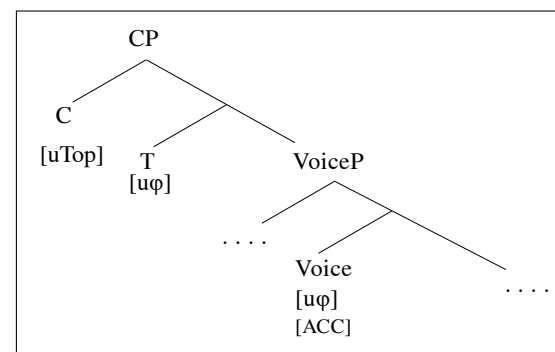
- Voice selection in Tagalog is sensitive to the **(relative) structural height** of the pivot: **AV > PV > CV** (see §3.2).
 - The pivot in PV clauses must be the **second highest DP in the clause** (e.g. causee in causatives, theme in simple transitives; see §3.11-12).
 - A possible pivot in CV clauses ranges from **DPs that are structurally low** (e.g. causand in causatives; see §3.12) to **adjuncts** (e.g. instrument, benefactor; see §3.11).
 - Voice selection in Tagalog is *not* conditioned by the case or thematic role of the pivot (see (26b) & (26e)).
 - To put an IA that is not the highest DP below Voice⁰ in pivot status (e.g. theme in ditransitives; causand in causatives), **CV morphology** is the only option.
- o *Crosslinguistic observation*: Agree relations may bundle in their morphological output **when more than one Agree relation targets the same goal** (e.g. anti-agreement effect (see, e.g. Bejar 2003; Coon & Bale 2014; van Urk 2015; Baier 2017)).
- ★ **Proposal**. Tagalog's four-way voice distinction is best analyzed as the spell-out of **four different bundles of Agree relations** that probe the *topic* of a clause (i.e. a phrase with a [TOP] feature, whose case-marking is overridden by *ang/si*) (29):

“Actor Voice”:	topic agreement + subject agreement
“Patient Voice”:	topic agreement + object agreement
“Locative Voice”:	topic agreement + locative agreement
“Circumstantial Voice”:	topic agreement (when the topic is <i>not</i> under other Agree relations)

Assumptions:

- topic agreement*: Agree relation between [u_{TOP}] and the topic phrase
- subject agreement*: Agree relation between [u_φ] at T and the highest DP
- object agreement*: Agree relation between [u_φ] at Voice⁰ and the closest DP below Voice⁰
- locative agreement*: Agree relation between a locative-selecting P (P_{LOC}) and its COMP

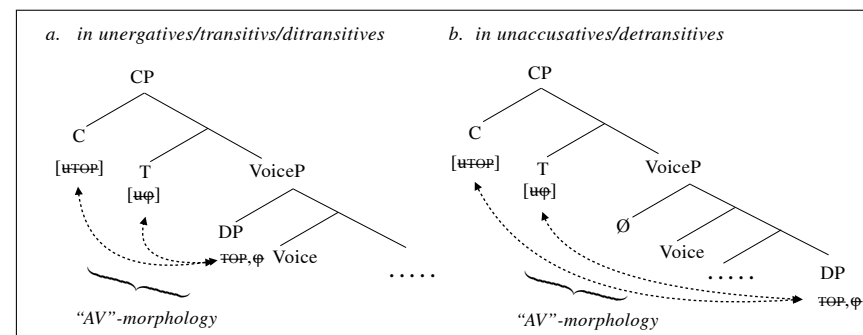
(28)



5.1 AV affix as the spell-out of the bundle of {topic agreement + subject agreement}

- Possible pivots in AV**: EA in unergatives/transitives/ditransitives; IA in unaccusatives; **causer but *not* causee** in causatives
- **Account**: **AV morphology** indicates that the goal of topic agreement is also the goal of subject agreement (i.e. highest DP in a clause).

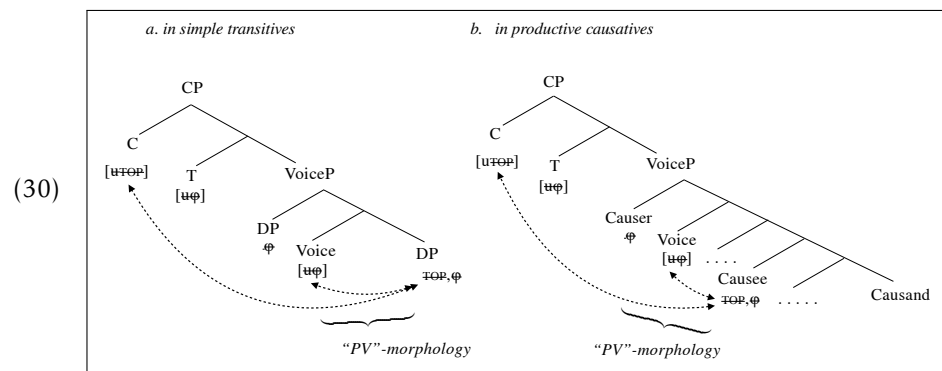
(29)



5.2 PV affix as the spell-out of the bundle of {topic agreement + object agreement}

- Possible pivots in PV: IA in transitives (and *not* unaccusatives); causee (and *not* causand) in causatives.

→ **Account:** PV morphology indicates that the goal of topic agreement is also the goal of object agreement (i.e. highest DP below matrix Voice⁰).



→ This analysis follows from the crosslinguistic observation that overt object agreement is (i) **unique per clause**, (ii) **sensitive to phase-like conditions and cannot agree with PPs**, and (iii) **restricted to the highest DP below the matrix Voice⁰**, targeting the *causee* and *not* the *causand* in causatives (Baker 2012; Amberber 2002; Duncan & Aberra 2009; Deal 2019; a.o.).

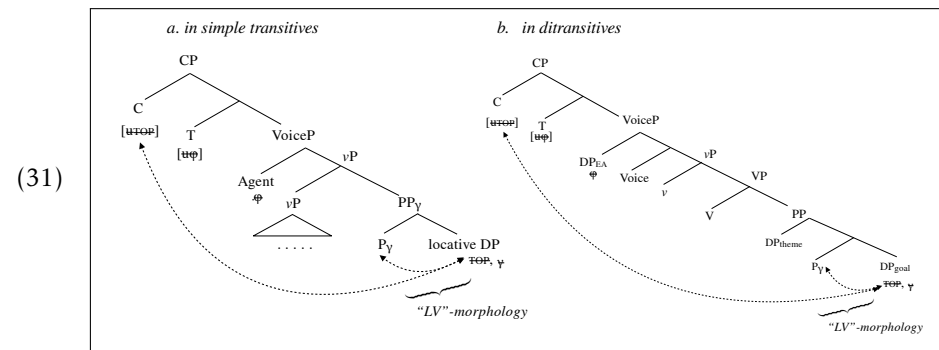
- The current analysis correctly predicts that **PV morphology is not available in ditransitives** (see (10)) – as the theme in a PDC is embedded inside a PP and cannot not be the target of *object agreement*.

5.3 LV affix as the spell-out of the bundle of {topic agreement + locative agreement}

- Possible pivots in LV: locative phrase in intransitives/transitives/ditransitives; goal/recipient in ditransitives

→ **Account:** LV morphology indicates that the goal of topic agreement is also the goal of an Agree relation between a P_{Loc} and its complement DP.

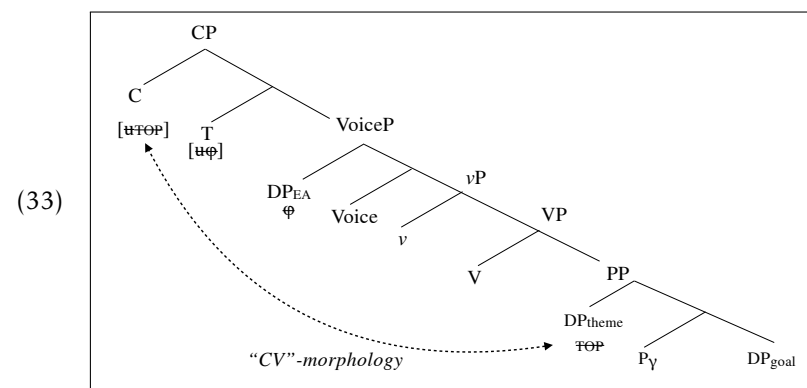
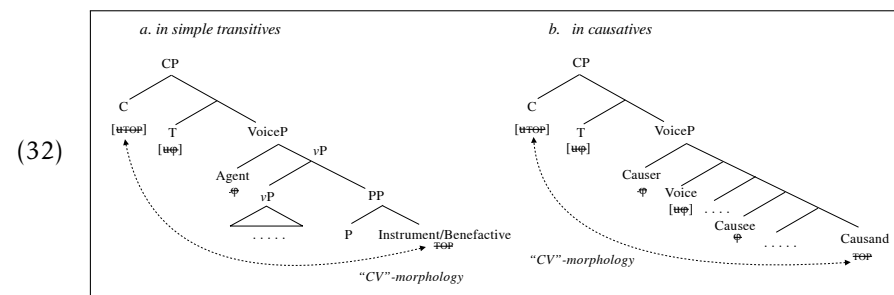
- **Supporting evidence:** In a wide range of Philippine-type languages, locative phrases are marked with a specific preposition *i-*, which is reconstructable to Proto-Austronesian (Blust 2009, 2015) and patterns exclusively with locatives.



5.4 CV morphology as the spell-out of topic agreement

- Possible pivots in CV: benefactive; instrument; causand in causatives; theme in ditransitives

→ **Account:** CV morphology indicates the goal of topic agreement is *not under an Agree relation with any other probe*.



- The current analysis successfully accounts for the fact that the mapping between pivot selection and voice is *not* conditioned by the **case**, **thematic status**, or **structural position** of the pivot.
- In this view, Tagalog employs overt topic agreement which inflects in its spell-out when the goal of [u_{TOP}] is simultaneously the goal of other probes. The convergence of different Agree relations is spelled out as a different type of ‘voice’ morphology.
- **Implication.** Tagalog constitutes a typical **discourse configurational language** (Li & Thompson 1976; Kiss 1995; Miyagawa 2010, 2017), which employs agreement for **topics**, and not **subjects**.

6 Conclusion/implications

- Tagalog’s typologically unusual four-way verbal morphology is best analyzed as the spell-out of **four different bundles of Agree relations that probe the topic** of a clause.
- Tagalog does not manifest syntactic ergativity.

- **Implication:** Tagalog voice is akin to voice in Dinka (Nilotic) and Kilega (Bantu), which is **topic-indicating morphology hosted at C** (Dinka: van Urk 2015; Kilega: Miyagawa 2010, 2015) (see Erlewine *et al.* (2018) for a similar claim for Dinka).

7 Appendix

- In Tagalog question-answer sequences with a clear discourse topic, the topic must be placed as the pivot in the answer sentence, showing a tight connection between topichood and the placement of the pivot marker.

- (34) a. *Q: Discourse topic: Maria*
 Ano-ng nang-yari kay Maria?
 what-LK AV-happen P Maria
 ‘What happened to Maria.’ (context: seeing Maria cry)
- b. *A1: the discourse topic is pivot-marked*

S<in>isi siya ni William.
 scold<PV.PRF> 3SG.PIVOT PN.CM₁ William
 ‘William scolded **him**.’

- c. *A2: the discourse topic is not pivot-marked*
 *S<um>isi si William sa kanya.
 scoldAV PN.PIVOT William DF.CM₂ 3SG.CM₂
 (intended: ‘William scolded him.’)

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

- Richards (2000) discusses results from a similar diagnostic (36a-c), noting that a discourse topic in Tagalog is not necessarily Pivot-marked. As seen in A1, the Agent Juan, which is the presumed discourse topic, is marked with X, the nominative, with Pivot-marking shown on the object dishes. However, both Tagalog speakers I consulted commented that the sentence in (A1) is not well-formed as the answer to the question Where is Juan?, and they provided the sentence in (A2), in which the discourse topic Juan bears Pivot status.

- (36) a. *Q (Discourse topic: Juan)*
 Na saan si Juan?
 NA where PN.PIVOT Juan
 ‘Where is Juan?’
- b. *A1: the discourse topic is not pivot-marked*
 H<in>u-hugas-an niya ang mga pinggan.
 <PRF>wash-LV 3SG.CM1 PIVOT PL dish
 ‘He is washing the dishes.’
- c. *A2: the discourse topic is pivot-marked*
 Nag-hu-hugas-an siya ng mga pinggan.
 <PRF.PV>RED-wash 3SG.PIVOT ID.CM1 PL dish
 ‘He is washing the dishes.’

The potential variation in speakers’ judgement of (A1/36a) could be due to the fact that the question ‘Where is Juan?’ in (36a) does not indicate a discourse topic as clearly as that in the question used in previous tests What happened to Juan?.

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