FROM TOPICS TO SUBJECTS: AN A'-A SCALE OF AUSTRONESIAN PIVOTS

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1 AUSTRONESIAN VOICE

- **Pivot:** one argument is designated the *pivot* and is realised in a particular morphological form and/or position, regardless of its original grammatical function
- **Voice-marking:** morphology on the verb varies with the choice of pivot
- **A'-extraction restriction:** A'-extraction is limited to the pivot

(1) Tagalog [Rackowski 2002]

a. *B<**um**>ili* ***ang bata*** *ng tela sa palengke para sa nanay*
<AV.PFV>buy **PIV child** GEN cloth DAT market P DAT mother

b. *B<**in**>ili* *ng bata* ***ang tela*** *sa palengke para sa nanay*
<TV.PFV>buy GEN child **PIV cloth** DAT market P DAT mother

c. *B<in>ilh-**an*** *ng bata ng tela* ***ang palengke*** *para sa nanay*
<PFV>buy-LV GEN child GEN cloth **PIV market** P DAT mother

d. ***I**-b<in>ili* *ng bata ng tela sa palengke* ***ang nanay***
CV-<PFV>buy GEN child GEN cloth DAT market **PIV mother**
'The child bought (the) cloth at the market for mother.'

(2) Indonesian [Arka and Manning 1998: 1]

a. ***Amir mem**-baca buku itu.*
Amir AV-read book that
'Amir read the book.'

b. ***Buku itu*** *saya **ø**-baca*
book that 1SG OV-read
'The book, I read.'

Philippine-type (1)			***Indonesian-type (2)***		
AV	**Agent Voice**	external argument	AV	**Agent Voice**	external argument
TV	**Theme Voice**	internal argument	OV	**Object Voice**	internal argument
LV	**Locative Voice**	locative, source			
CV	**Circumstantial Voice**	instrumental, benefactive			
Amis, Atayal, Cebuano, Kavalan, (Malagasy) Paiwan, Puyuma, Seediq, Tagalog, Tsou			*Acehnese, Balinese, (Standard) Indonesian, Javanese, Madurese*		

- **No voice system:** *Polynesian (Chamorro, Niuean, Palauan, Samoan, Tongan,...)*

2 ARE PIVOTS SUBJECTS OR TOPICS?

- Does TV/OV translate to...

(3) a. ***The dog*** *was chased (by) the cat* ⇒ subject-like pivot

b. ***The dog***, *the cat chased* ⇒ topic-like pivot

- Do pivots convey case/ transitivity / alignment alternation?
- Are pivots information-structural A'-elements?

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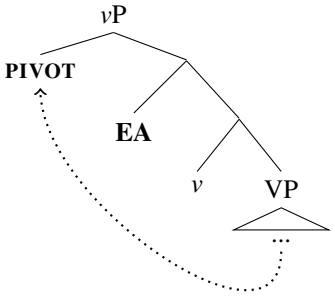
2.1 EXISTING SYNTACTIC ACCOUNTS

1) Pivot in *v*P/VoiceP

1a) EPP/ object shift: pivot ≠ subject

→ akin to object shift
→ (highest) internal argument moves to Spec*v*P/VoiceP (above or below external argument)
→ for specificity/ definiteness reasons, [EPP] or a language-specific [P(ivot)]
→ voice morphology in *v*P/VoiceP

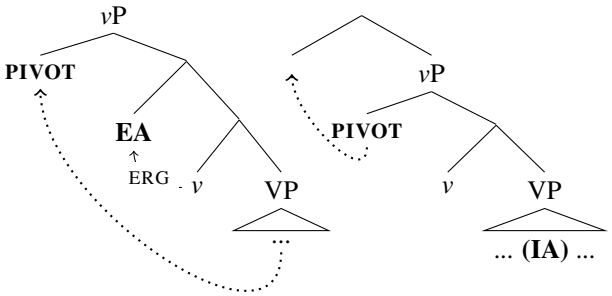


OV: IA shifts above/below EA

[Rackowski and Richards 2005; Cole, Hermon, and Yanti 2008; Wurmbrand 2013; Hsieh 2020]

1a) Ergativity in vP: pivot = subject

→ OV = transitive + high absolutive
→ AV = antipassive
→ Pivot needs to move to T for case, initial step in vP
→ Similar to Mayan languages: AV is agent focus (= antipassive)
→ Pivot is tucking-in below or moving above the EA (depending on the framework)



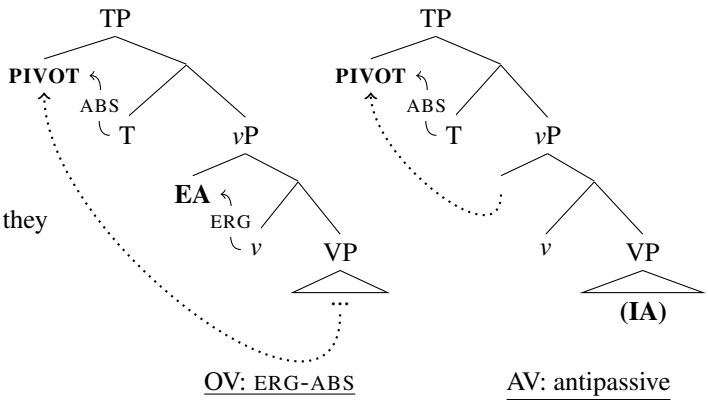
OV: ERG - high ABS AV: antipassive

[(Aldridge 2004); Brodkin 2022; Brodkin and Royer 2022]

2) Pivot in TP

2a) (Full) ergative Case-licensing: pivot = subject, agent ≠ subject

→ voice-alternations = alternation in syntactic transitivity
→ OV = transitive clause (EA = ERG, IA = ABS)
→ AV = antipassive (EA = ERG, IA demoted oblique)
→ LV/CV = applicatives
→ different kinds of Voice/*v* heads, depending on whether they assign ERG or not
→ voice morphology in TP or *v*P/VoiceP
→ pivot-marking = ABS-assignment in TP

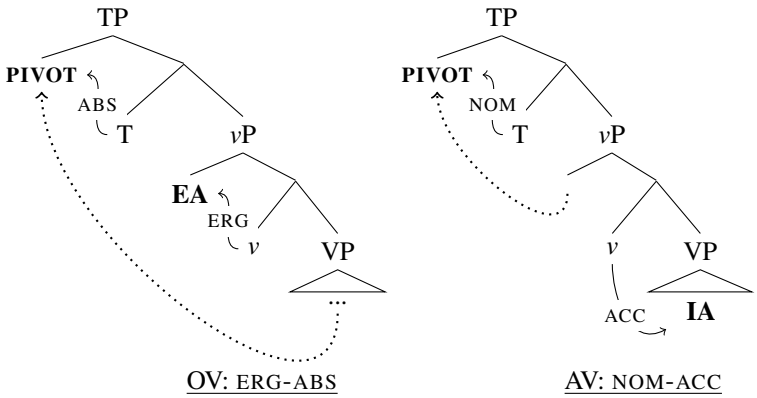


OV: ERG-ABS AV: antipassive

[De Guzman 1976; 1988; Payne 1982; Cooreman 1994; Gerdts 1988; Aldridge 2004; 2008; Legate 2014; Brodkin 2022]

2b) (Split) ergative Case-licensing: **pivot = subject, agent ≠ subject**

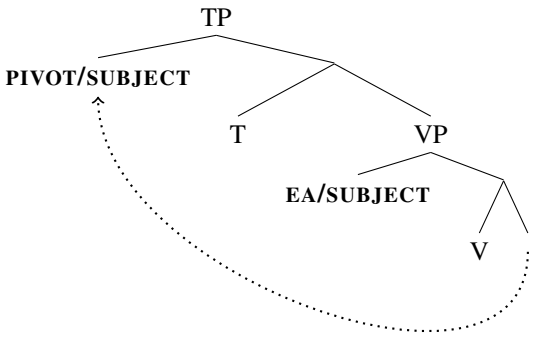
→ Alignment switch within languages
→ AV: NOM - ACC system
→ TV/PV: ERG - ABS system



[Aldridge 2016; Kaufman 2017; Teng 2016; V. Chen and Patrianto 2023a; Paul and Travis 2006]

2c) Split subjecthood: **pivot = subject, agent = subject**

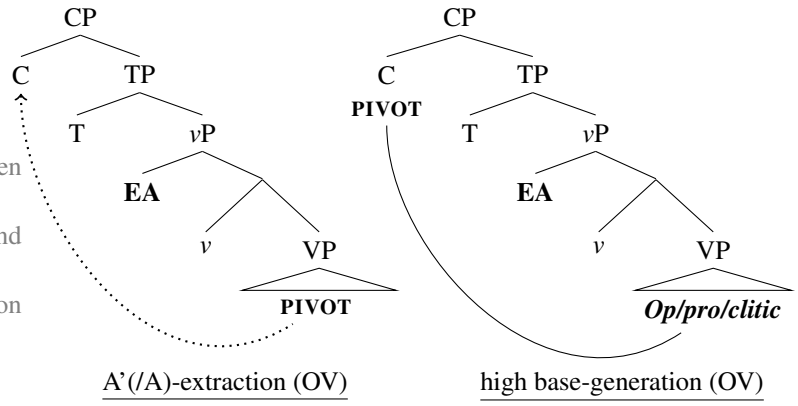
→ Austronesian does not exhibit one dedicated subject
→ Both the element in TP and the element in VP are subjects



[Schachter 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis 1992]

3) Pivot in CP **pivot ≠ subject**

→ Voice-marking encodes change of information structure
→ **V2 topicalization** [Richards 2000]
→ **Topicalization + ϕ-agreement bundling** [V. Chen 2017]
→ **A'-extraction to a Case position** [Erlewine, Levin, and Urk 2017]
→ **High base-generation + null operator/ clitic** [Pearson 2005; Travis 2011]



3 A COMPARATIVE VIEW ON PIVOTS

- Subjects are **A-elements/** positions
- Topics are **A'-elements/** positions
- Subjects are selected by **obligatory control, imperatives, anaphor binding,** a.o. [Dixon 1994]

→ *How does that translate to Austronesian pivots?*

3.1 Obligatory Control

- Two types of Austronesian languages:

→ **Pivot is controlled** (irrespective of agent/ θ-role)

→ **Agent is controlled** (irrespective of pivot/ voice-marking)

Type 1: Controllee = Pivot	**Type 2: Controllee = Agent**	**(Type 3: not testable)**
Acehnese	*Madurese*	*Kavalan*
Amis	*Tagalog*	*Paiwan*
Balinese	*Cebuano* (?)	*Puyuma*
Indonesian		*Tsou*
Malagasy		*Seediq Atayal*
Javanese (?)		

→ Type 3: languages which do not allow embedded OV at all or only as a full propositional clause (no control)

- **How to determine obligatory control in Austronesian:**

⇒ *decide*-type verbs	= *situation* class in Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2023
⇒ exclusion of *try*-type verbs (*event* class)	= might come with restructuring
⇒ exclusion of bare-stem/OV *want* matrix verbs	= might come with crossed control
⇒ complement clauses with IRR or FUT markers, negation, aspect	= at least TP complement
⇒ no overt pronoun alternation	= obligatory control, not *pro*
⇒ Target structure: **matrix AV + embedded OV/TV/LV/CV**	= no crossed control/ default voice/ voice matching

- **What to avoid:** Crossed control, backward control, restructuring, long object movement, voice matching, default voice

3.2 Controllee = agent

- *Tagalog, Madurese, Cebuano*

(4) a. × [DP VERB-**AV** [$_{CP/TP}$ PRO.pivot agent VERB-**TV/OV/LV/CV**]]

b. ✓ [DP VERB-**AV** [$_{CP/TP}$ PRO.agent pivot VERB-**TV/OV/LV/CV**]]

⇒ *schematic, ignoring real world word order*

(5) Tagalog [Dell 1981; Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis 1992: 390; Kroeger 1993: 37]

a. *Um-iwas ako=ng* [**PRO** *t-um-ingin kay=Lorna*]
PERF-AV-avoid 1SG.NOM=COMP [**PRO** **AV**-look.at DAT-Lorna]
'I avoided to look at Lorna.' **PRO = pivot + agent**

b. *Nagatubili siya=ng* [PRO *hiramin* ***ang pera***]
PFV.AV.hesitated he=C [PRO **TV**-borrow **PIV money**]
'He hesitated to borrow the money.' **PRO = agent; *money* = pivot**

c. **Nagatubili si Maria=ng* [*bigy-an* **PRO** *ng pera ni Ben*]
PFV.AV.hesitate PIV Maria=C [give-**TV** **PRO** GEN money GEN Ben]
Int.: 'Maria hesitated to be given money by Ben.' ***PRO = pivot; *Ben* = agent**

(6) Madurese [Davies 2005: 7-9]

a. *Bapa' e-payaken Ali* [**PRO** *melle motor-ra taretan-na*]
father OV-convince Ali [**PRO** **AV**.buy car-DEF older.sibling-DEF]
'Ali convinced father to buy his older brother's car.' **PRO = pivot + agent**

b. *Ebu' a-lantor Siti* [***sorad-da*** *Ita e-baca* PRO]
mother AV.allow Siti [**letter-DEF** Ita **OV**-read PRO]
'Mother allowed Siti to read Ita's letter.' **PRO = agent; *(Ita's) letter* = pivot**

c. **Siti e-olleagi ebu'* [*dokter rowa mareksa* **PRO**]
Siti OV-allow mother [doctor that **AV**.examine **PRO**]
Int.: 'Mother allowed Siti to be examined by the doctor.' ***PRO = pivot; *doctor* = agent**

3.3 Controllee = pivot

- *Acehnese, Amis, Balinese, Indonesian, Malagasy, Javanese (?)*

(7) a. ✓ [DP VERB-**AV** [$_{CP/TP}$ PRO.pivot agent VERB-**TV/OV/LV/CV**]]

b. × [DP VERB-**AV** [$_{CP/TP}$ PRO.agent pivot VERB-**TV/OV/LV/CV**]]

⇒ *schematic, ignoring real world word order*

(8) Malagasy [Potsdam 2009: 761]

a. *nanery ahy* [**PRO** *h-amafa trano*] *i Mery*
force.AV 1SG.ACC [**PRO** IRR-sweep.**AV** house] Mary
'Mary forced me to sweep the house.' **PRO = pivot + agent**

b. *nanery ny zaza* [**PRO** *h-ozahan'* *ny dokotera*] *aho*
force.AV the child [**PRO** IRR-examine.**TV** the doctor] 1SG.DFLT
'I forced the child to be examined by the doctor.' **PRO = pivot; *doctor* = agent**

c. **nanery ahy* [PRO *hofafana* ***trano***] *i Mery*
force.AV 1SG.ACC [PRO sweep.**TV** **house**] Mary
Int.: 'Mary forced me to sweep the house.' ***PRO = agent; *house* = pivot**

(9) Balinese [own elicitation]

a. *Ia majanji* [**PRO** *meriksa dokter*]
She promised [**PRO** **AV**.examine doctor]
'She promised to examine a doctor.' **PRO = pivot + agent**

b. *Ia majanji* [**PRO** *periksa* *dokter*]
3SG AV.promised [**PRO** **OV**.examine doctor]
'She promised to be examined by a doctor.' **PRO = pivot; *doctor* = agent**

c. **Ia majanji* [***dokter*** *periksa* PRO]
3SG AV.promised [**doctor** **OV**.examine PRO]
Int.: 'She promised to examine a doctor.' ***PRO = agent; *doctor* = pivot**

4 An A'/A Typology of Pivots

→ *How does control relate to other A'/A properties of pivots?*

→ *Are there fine-grained differences within Austronesian languages?*

→ *Are pivots are syntactically uniform phenomenon?*

	Language	Controllee	Definiteness	Condition A/C reconstruction	Variable binding reconstruction	WCO	Non-pivot agent
A'-topic	**Tagalog**	agent	✓	✓	✓	×	free
A'-topic	**Madurese**	agent	✓	✓			free (?)
A'-topic	**Cebuano**	agent	✓	✓			free
CONTROL							
A'/A	**Amis**	pivot	✓	✓	✓	✓	free-ish
A'/A	**Javanese**	pivot (?)	✓	✓	✓	×	R-adjac.
A'/A	**Balinese**	pivot	✓	A ×, C ✓	×	✓	R-adjac.
A'/A	**Malagasy**	pivot	✓	×	✓	×	R-adjac.
DEFINITENESS REQUIREMENT							
A-subject	**Acehnese**	pivot	×	×	×	×	L-adjac.
A-subject	**Indonesian**	pivot	×	×	×	×	L-adjac.

4.1 Definiteness

→ *Do pivots need to receive a definite/ specific interpretation?*

✓ Pivot must be definite/ specific

→ *Tagalog, Madurese, Cebuano, Amis, Javanese, Balinese, Malagasy*

(10) Madurese [Davies 2010: 177, 180]

a. ***Baji'*(-na)** *nanges*
baby*(-DEF) AV.cry
'The/*a baby cries.'

b. ***(Badha) burus** ngekke' tokang pos*
***(EXST) dog** AV.bite worker postal
'There was a dog who bit the mail carrier.'

(11) Balinese [V. Chen and Patrianto 2023a: 12][a]

a. ***(Ada) anak** ng-aukin Rani*
***(EXST) person** AV-call Rani
'There was someone who called Rani'

b. ***Murid*(-e)** *ba orin wake tuni*
student*(-DEF) ASP OV.inform 2SG PAST
semengan
morning
'You have informed the/*a student this morning.'

[a] The Balinese definiteness restriction only applies to human pivots, non-human pivots can be indefinite, see V. Chen and Patrianto 2023a

× Pivot must be definite/ specific

→ *Acehnese, Indonesian*

(12) Indonesian [V. Chen and Patrianto 2023a: 11]

a. ***Se-seorang/seorang pria** mem.anggil Rani*
one-CLF/CLF man AV.call Rani
'Someone/a man called Rani.'

b. ***Se-buah rumah** sudah aku jual*
one-CLF house PERF 1SG OV.sell
kemarin
yesterday
'I have sold a house yesterday.'

(13) Acehnese [V. Chen and Patrianto 2023a: 11]

a. ***Padum-droe aneuk mit** ji-baca buku*
several/some-CLF youngster small 3SGFAM.AV-read book
'Several kids read a/some books.'

b. ***Padum-boh poto** lon cok ngen kamera*
several/some-CLF photo 1SG OV.take with camera
'I took some photos with a camera.'

4.2 INTERIM SUMMARY: control + definiteness

a) Tagalog, Madurese, Cebuano
b) Balinese, Malagasy, Amis, Javanese
c) Acehnese, Indonesian
unattested: agent control, no definiteness requirement

controllee → / definiteness requirement ↓	agent	pivot
YES	✓[a]	✓[b]
NO	*n/a*	✓[c]

4.3 PRINCIPLE A/ ANAPHOR BINDING

→ *Do anaphor-pivots reconstruct? Can pivots bind subject-oriented anaphors?*

(14) Mary likes **herself**

a. ***Herself**, Mary likes* ⇒ English A'-topic; ✓ Reconstruction
b. **Herself is liked by Mary* ⇒ English A-subject; × Reconstruction

- **MARY LIKES.OV/TV HERSELF** (= OV/TV + anaphor-pivot)
- if OK = reconstruction, if OUT = no reconstruction
- For caveats of Principle A reconstruction, see Appendix

✓ Reconstruction ⇒ like *Herself, Mary likes*

→ *Tagalog, Cebuano, Madurese, Amis, Javanese*

(15) Tagalog [Richards 2000: 107]

a. *Nagmamahal **si Juan** sa kanyang sarili*
AV-loves PIV **Juan** ACC his self
'Juan loves himself.'

b. *Minamahal ni Juan **ang kanyang sarili***
TV-loves GEN Juan PIV **his self**
'Juan loves himself.'

(16) Cebuano [Bell 1976: 35]

a. *Motan'aw **si Rosa** sa iyang ka'ugalingon*
AV.look.at PIV **Rosa** OBL her.LNK self
sa salamin
OBL mirror
'Rosa will look at herself in the mirror.'

b. *Tan'awon ni Rosa **ang iyang ka'ugalingon***
TV.look.at GEN Rosa PIV **her.LNK self**
sa salamin
OBL mirror
'Herself, Rosa will look at in the mirror.'

× Reconstruction ⇒ like **Herself is liked by Mary*

→ *Balinese, Malagasy, Acehnese, Indonesian*

(17) Malagasy [Paul 2002: 110]

a. *Manaja tena i **Sahondra***
AV.respect self **Sahondra**
'Sahondra respects herself.'

b. **Hajain'i Sahondra **tena***
TV.respect.GEN.Sahondra **self**
Int.: 'Herself, Sahondra respects.'

(18) Amis [V. Chen 2018: 249]

a. *Mi-komimit **ci Mayaw** cingra-an-to i matini.*
IPFV.AV-pinch PIV **Mayaw** 3SG-ACC-REFL P now
'Mayaw is pinching himself now.'

b. **Mi-komimit **cingra-to** ci Mayaw-an i matini*
IPFV.OV-pinch **PIV.3SG-REFL** ACC Mayaw-ACC P now
Int.: 'Himself, Mayaw is pinching now.'

4.4 RECONSTRUCTION FOR PRINCIPLE C

→ *Do R-expression pivots reconstruct?*

(19) He likes **John's father**

a. ***John's$_i$ father**, he$_i$ likes* ⇒ English A'-topic; ✓ Reconstruction
b. ***John's$_i$ father** is liked by him$_i$* ⇒ English A-subject; × Reconstruction

- **HE LIKES.OV/TV JOHN'S FATHER** (= OV/TV + R-expression-pivot)
- if OUT = reconstruction, if OK = no reconstruction

✓ **Reconstruction** ⇒ like **John$_i$'s father, he$_i$ likes*

→ *Balinese, Tagalog, Javanese, Madurese?, Cebuano?, Amis?*

(20) Balinese [own elicitation]

a. ***Ia$_i$** *ng-alih* *bapan i Wayan$_i$-e*
3SG **AV**-search father Wayan-POSS
Int.: 'He$_i$ searches for Wayan$_i$'s father'

b. ***Bapan i Wayan$_i$-e** *alih* *(ajak) ia$_i$*
father **Wayan-POSS** **TV**.search (ajak) 3SG
Int.: 'Wayan$_i$'s father, he$_i$ searches for.'

× **Reconstruction** ⇒ like *John$_i$'s father is liked by him$_i$*

→ *Malagasy, Acehnese?, Indonesian?*

(21) Malagasy [Paul 2002: 112]

a. **Nanamby* *ny* *zana-dRakoto$_i$* *ariary folo* ***izy$_i$***
PST.**AV**.hire DET child.GEN.Rakoto ariary ten **3(NOM)**
Int.: 'He$_i$ hired Rakoto$_i$'s child for 10 ariary.'

b. *Notambazany$_i$* *ariary folo* ***ny*** ***zana-dRakoto$_i$***
PST.**TV**.hire.GEN.3 ariary ten **DET** **child.GEN.Rakoto**
'Rakoto$_i$'s child, he$_i$ hired for 10 ariary.'

4.5 Reconstruction for QP-Variable Binding

→ *Do variable pivots reconstruct for quantifier binding?*

(22) Every father loves **his son**

a. ***His$_i$ son**, every father$_i$ loves* ⇒ English A'-topic; ✓ Reconstruction
b. ****His$_i$ son** is loved by every father$_i$* ⇒ English A-subject; × Reconstruction

- **EVERY FATHER LOVES.OV/TV HIS SON** (= OV/TV + variable pivot)
- if OK = reconstruction, if OUT = no reconstruction

✓ **Reconstruction** ⇒ like *His$_i$ son, every father$_i$ loves*

→ *Tagalog, Amis, Javanese, Malagasy, Madurese?, Cebuano?*

(23) Tagalog [Rackowski 2002: 42]

a. *m<in>amahal* *ng bawat ama$_i$* ***ang kanyang$_i$***
<ASP.**TV**>love CS every father **PIV POSS**
anak
child
'His$_i$ child, every father$_i$ loves.'

(24) Malagasy [Travis 1998: 442]

a. *Novangian'ny* *mpianatra tsirairay$_i$* ***ny***
PST.**TV**.visit.DET student each **DET**
rainy$_i$ *omaly*
father-3 yesterday
'His$_i$ father, each student$_i$ visited yesterday.'

× **Reconstruction** ⇒ like **His$_i$ son is loved by every father$_i$*

→ *Balinese, Acehnese, Indonesian*

(25) Balinese [Wechsler and Arka 1998: 407]

a. ?***bungkusan-ne$_i$** *jemak-ang* *tiang sabilang*
package-3POSS **OV**-take-APPL 1 every
anak *cenik$_i$ t*
person small *t*
Int.: 'His/her$_i$ package, I brought for every child$_i$.'

(26) Indonesian [Winarto 2017]

a. ***Anaknya sendiri$_i$** *akan siapapun$_i$ cintai*
child.his self FUT whoever love.**OV**
Int.: 'His$_i$ own child, anyone$_i$ will love.'

4.6 Weak Crossover

→ *Can quantifier pivots bind variables?*

(27) His father loves **every son**

a. ***Every son**$_i$, his$_i$ father loves* ⇒ English A'-topic; ✓ WCO; no variable binding possible

b. ***Every son**$_i$ is loved by his$_i$ father* ⇒ English A-subject; × WCO; variable binding possible

- **HIS FATHER LOVES.OV/TV EVERY SON** (= OV/TV + QP pivot)
- if OUT = WCO, does not feed binding, if OK = obviates WCO, feeds binding

✓ WCO, does not feed binding ⇒ like **Every son$_i$, his$_i$ father loves*

→ *Balinese, Amis*

(28) Balinese [Wechsler and Arka 1998: 428]

a. ***Sabilang jlema**$_i$ edeng-in=a t*
every person OV.show-APPL=3 *t*
potrekan-ne$_i$
picture-POSS
'Every person$_i$, (s)he showed his/her$_i$ picture.'

b. ****sabilang potrekan**$_i$ edeng-in=a*
every picture OV.show-APPL=3
jleman-ne$_i$ t
person-POSS *t*
Int.:'Every picture$_i$, (s)he showed (to) its$_i$ owner.'

(29) Amis [V. Chen 2018: 95]

a. **Neng-neng-en ni ina ningra **ko***
watch-TV GEN mother GEN.3SG **PIV**
ha-cecay a wawa
DISTR-one LNK child
Int.: 'Every child$_i$, his/her$_i$ mother looked at.'

× WCO; does feed binding ⇒ like *Every son$_i$ is loved by his$_i$ father*[1]

→ *Tagalog, Amis, Malagasy, Javanese, Acehnese, Indonesian*

(30) Acehnese [Legate 2014: 14]

a. ****Aneuk geuh**$_i$ geu-lindong tieptiep mak$_i$*
child 3POL 3POL.AV-protect every mother
Int.: 'Her$_i$ child protects every mother$_i$'

b. ***Tieptiep aneuk**$_i$ mak droe-jih$_i$ lindong*
every child mother self-3FAM OV protect
'Every child$_i$, his/her$_i$ mother protects.'

(31) Malagasy [Travis 1998: 442]

a. **Nanoroka ny vehivavy **rehetra**$_i$ **ny vadiny**$_i$*
PST.AV.kiss DET woman **all DET spouse.her**
Int.: 'Her$_i$ spouse kissed every woman$_i$.'

b. *Norahan'ny vadiny$_i$ **ny vehivavy rehetra**$_i$*
PST.TV.kiss.DET spouse.her **DET woman all**
'Every woman$_i$, her$_i$ spouse kissed.'

5 Verb-adjacency of Non-pivot Agents

→ Languages differ in how they treat **non-pivot agents**

→ some of them require **direct adjacency to the verb**

Licensing of nominals:
[Branan 2022; Levin 2015; Van Urk 2020]

- a nominal must be k-licensed
- a nominal is k-licensed iff
  - it has been assigned Case
  - its N° is strictly adjacent to V°

Left-adjacent	Right-adjacent	Free
Acehnese	*Balinese*	*Tagalog*
Indonesian	*Malagasy*	*Madurese*
	Javanese	*Cebuano*
		Amis (?)

↪ *strict adjacency, phonological N-bonding*
↪ *disappears with "by"-phrase*

[1] All languages listed in this section show WCO in other A'-constructions/ with quantifier raising, thus the obviation of WCO in pivots is not due to a general lack of WCO effects. Also, the AV order is ungrammatical with co-indexation.

Non-pivot agent needs to be right/left-adjacent to verb

→ *Balinese, Javanese, Malagasy, Indonesian, Acehnese*

(32) Balinese [Levin 2014: 2]

a. *siap-e* ***uber*** ***cicing*** *ke* *jalan-e*
chicken-DEF **OV.chase** **dog** into street-DEF
'A dog chased the chicken into the street.'

b. ***uber cicing*** *ke jalan-e siape-e*

c. ****uber*** *siap-e* ***cicing*** *ke jalan-e*

d. **siap-e* ***uber*** *ke jalan-e* ***cicing***

(33) Indonesian [Cole and Hermon 2005: 62-63]

a. *Buku ini* *tidak akan* ***kami*** ***baca***
book this NEG will **we** **OV.read**
'This book, we will not read.'

b. *Buku ini **(*kami)** tidak **(*kami)** akan **baca**

Non-pivot agent does not require adjacency

→ *Tagalog, Madurese, Cebuano?, Amis?*

→ Often preference for adjacency but no strict requirement

(34) Tagalog [Kroeger 1993]

a. ***Sinulat*** ***(ni=Juan)*** *ang=liham* ***(ni=Juan)***
PERF-write-OV **(GEN=Juan)** PIV=letter **(GEN=Juan)**
'Juan wrote the letter.'

5.1 Common ground of adjacency-languages

- **Adjacency requirement coincides with:**

→ Impoverished voice system (Indonesian-type; only AV & OV)
→ (Split) ergative accounts
→ A/subject-properties of pivots
→ Morpho-syntactic collapse of OV and PASS

↪ **Hypothesis:** nominal licensing via strict verb adjacency is an intermediate stage in the emergence of an ergative system, whereby the external argument receives inherent case from *v*/Voice, only that its marking manifests by positional means.

6 Pivots on a Cline from Topics to Subjects

	Language	Controllee	Definiteness	Condition A/C reconstruction	Variable binding reconstruction	WCO	Non-pivot agent
A'-topic	**Tagalog**	agent	✓	✓	✓	×	free
A'-topic	**Madurese**	agent	✓	✓			free (?)
A'-topic	**Cebuano**	agent	✓	✓			free
CONTROL							
A'/A	**Amis**	pivot	✓	✓	✓	✓	free-ish
A'/A	**Javanese**	pivot (?)	✓	✓	✓	×	R-adjac.
A'/A	**Balinese**	pivot	✓	A ×, C ✓	×	✓	R-adjac.
A'/A	**Malagasy**	pivot	✓	×	✓	×	R-adjac.
DEFINITENESS REQUIREMENT							
A-subject	**Acehnese**	pivot	×	×	×	×	L-adjac.
A-subject	**Indonesian**	pivot	×	×	×	×	L-adjac.

- Pivots come as **A'-topics**, **A-subjects** and an intermediate stage of **A'/A-topic/subjects**
- Pivot typology is the result of an **ongoing alignment change** from NOM-ACC via PASSIVE-like to to ERG-ABS

[see also: V. Chen and Patrianto 2023b]

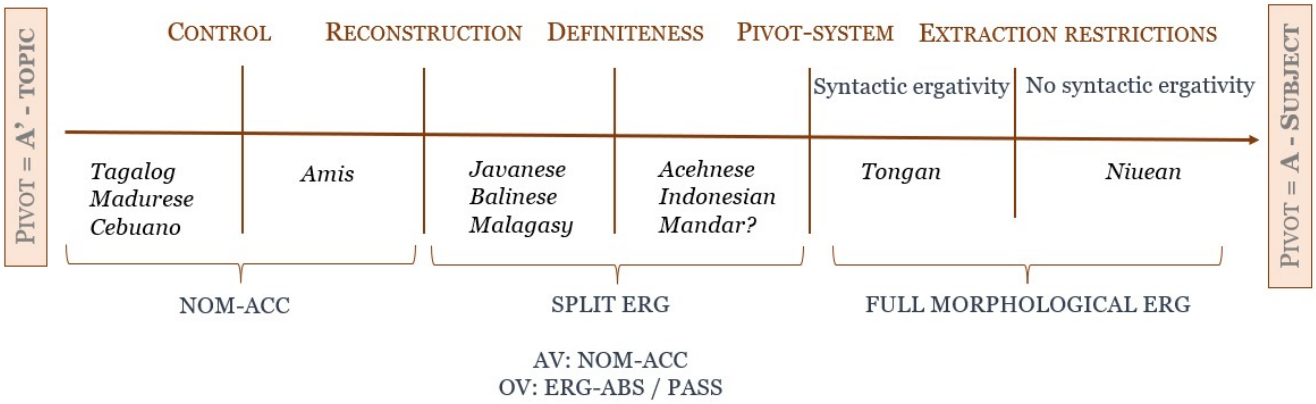
→ Pivots **grammaticalize** from topics to subjects, with single Austronesian languages exhibiting **different stages** of this cline

→ In the A'/A stage, the verb **thematically selects two arguments** but can only **case-license one** (the pivot) - the other argument is licensed by adjacency or a by-phrase

→ The OV agent argument is eventually reanalysed as **ergative**

→ Syntactic ergativity in Polynesian languages is the development of the **pivot-only restriction**

1)	NOM-ACC	*topic pivot*	→ **A'**	*Tagalog, Madurese, Cebuano*
2)	NOM-ACC PASS	*subject/topic pivot*	→ **A'/A**	*Amis, Javanese*
3)	Split ERG/PASS	*subject/topic pivot*	→ **A'/A**	*Balinese, Malagasy*
4)	Split ERG/PASS	*subject pivot*	→ **A**	*Acehnese, Indonesian, Mandar?*
5)	Full morpholog. ERG (+ syntactic ERG)	*no voice marking*	→ **A**	*Tongan*
6)	Full morpholog. ERG (- syntactic ERG)	*no voice marking*	→ **A**	*Niuean*



- **Relates to:**

→ **Topic to subject reanalysis** usually goes along with passivization [Van Gelderen 2022]

→ Cross-linguistically observed: topic markers tend to grammaticalize into **NOM markers** [Bennett 1974; Givón 1977; Shibatani 1991; Blanchon 1998; König 2008]

→ **Ergative reanalysis** often emerges out of passive structures [Polinsky 2016; Aldridge 2024]

→ Reconstruction of **Proto-Austronesian** as NOM-ACC [Hohepa 1969; Lynch 1972; Chung 1978]

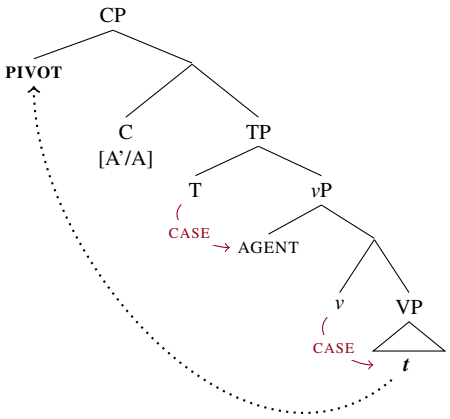
→ Adjacency can be a form of **ERG-licensing** [Brodkin 2022]

7 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

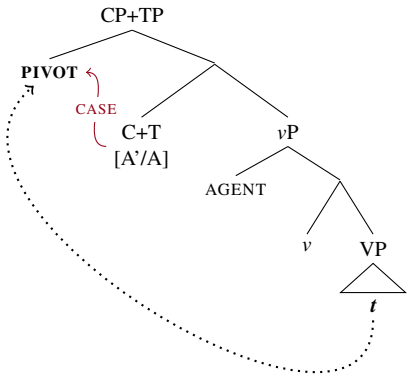
- Pivots are derived via movement (overt or covert)
- Mixed A'/A behavior of pivots is the result of an interplay of **composite A'/A-probes** and **Case-licensing options**
- We assume that pivots move through Spec*v*P but for the sake of simplicity this is not depicted

Pivot type → / **↓ Pivot syntax**	Topic pivots	Topic/Subject pivots	Subject pivots
Composite A'/A probe	✓	✓	×
Case licensing	×	✓	✓

(35) a. **OV, topic pivots**

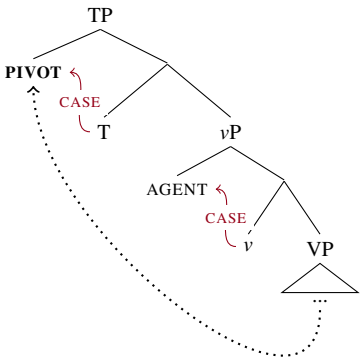


b. **OV, topic/subjects pivots**



[cf. Erlewine, Levin, and Urk 2017]

c. **OV, subject pivots**



[cf. Aldridge 2016]

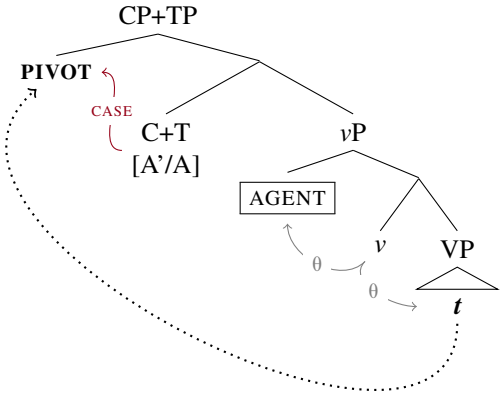
7.1 The mixed cases: thematically transitive, passive for case

- OV verb is on its way to passive: it selects for a **thematic agent** but only **assigns one case** (to the pivot)

→ verb is **thematically transitive** but **intransitive for case**

- Agent cannot be implicit/demoted but needs to be case-licensed in another way – **verb adjacency or via a by-phrase**

(36)



- Relates to: debate of whether PASS-suffix in Indonesian-type languages is...
  - **OV (transitive)**
  - or true **passive (intransitive)**
  - see Arka and Manning 1998; Legate 2012; 2014; Aldridge 2008; Arka et al. 2008; Cole, Hermon, and Yanti 2008; Kroeger 2014; Riesberg 2014

(37) Balinese [Arka et al. 2008: 70]

a. *Nyoman baang=**a*** *pipis*
Nyoman **OV**.give=**3SG** money
'Nyoman, (s)he gave money to.' OV

b. *Nyoman baang-**a*** *pipis* ***teken Wayan***
Nyoman give-**PASS** money **by Wayan**
'Nyoman was given money (by Wayan).' PASS

→ 3RD person suffix (*-a*) is the same as "PASS" marker that can combine with *by*-phrase

→ as soon as there is a ***by*-phrase agent**, the interpretation is **passive**

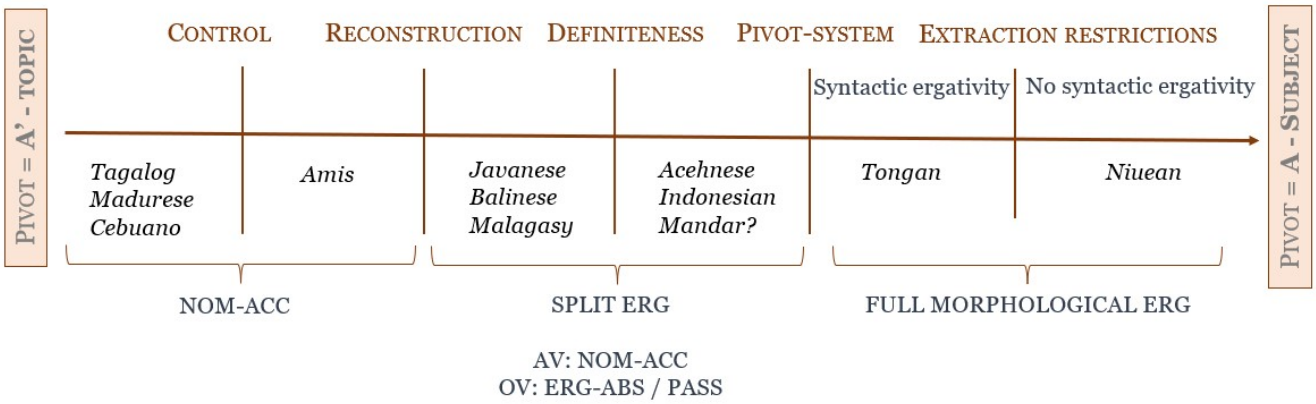
→ if there is no *by*-phrase, the interpretation is OV **(3SG = agent)**
→ **implicit agent** interpretation is **not** possible

- Similar arguments/ data for
  - **Javanese** and **Indonesian** *di*-marker [V. Chen and Patrianto 2023b]
  - **Acehnese** *le*-constructions [Legate 2012; 2014]
- **Diachronic explanation again?** There exists a cross-linguistic grammaticalization process from 3rd person pronouns/clitics to passive markers [Heine and Kuteva 2003]

8 Conclusion

- Austronesian pivots receive a lot of **different syntactic analyses**
- ... probably because they do **not depict a uniform syntactic phenomenon**
- Pivots range from **A'-topics** to **A-subjects** with a **mixture of topic/subjects** in between
- Visible from **control, definiteness, A'/A properties**
- Analysis: ongoing **alignment change** from NOM-ACC to ERG-ABS
  - Topic to subject reanalysis ⇒ mixed A'/A properties
  - OV to passive reanalysis ⇒ emerging subject properties, loss of agent licensing case
  - "Mixed languages": verb is thematically transitive but intransitive for case ⇒ adjacency of non-pivot agent
  - Agent is reanalysed as ERG ⇒ split ERG system
  - Loss of pivot system: via syntactic ergativity ⇒ extraction restrictions stays but voice morphology disappears
  - ... and finally morphological ergativity ⇒ nothing left of the pivot system

→ Austronesian languages **depict different stages of this cline**



9 Appendix

9.1 Caveats for Principle A reconstruction

→ **1. Caveat: Is it condition A or condition C?** Anaphor binding may be tricky to test; in (ungrammatical) examples with a reflexive theme pivot we cannot always tell whether that is violation of Condition A (i.e., the anaphor is no longer locally bound) or C (i.e., the R-expression agent is c-commanded by the anaphor), or both.

→ **2. Caveat: Bare vs. complex reflexives.** Complex reflexives in possessive forms (lit. 'his/her-self' or 'his/her-body') often contrast with bare reflexives (literally 'self' or 'body'). Complex reflexives can become the pivot (=reconstruct) but bare reflexives cannot. Complex reflexives, however, are often in general much freer in for binding: they can be bound by non-local antecedents, partial antecedents or even by discourse (Paul 2002; Satık 2022; Satık and Bryant 2023)

(38) Tagalog [Aldridge 2008]

a. *P<in>igil ng lalaki **ang sarili *(niya)***
<PFV.**TV**>controll GEN man **PIV self (his)**
'Himself, the man controlled'

(39) Malagasy [Pearson 2005: 424]

a. *Novonoin' ny lehilahy ***(ny) tena*(-ny)***
PST.**TV**.kill DET man **DET self-his**
'Himself, the man killed.'

→ **3. Caveat: Independent reasons for the exclusion of reflexive agents.** Reflexive non-pivot external arguments are often disallowed under non-Agent Voice (i.e., when the reflexive's binder becomes the pivot) for independent reasons; e.g., McGinnis' 2004 *Lethal Ambiguity* or Brodkin and Royer 2022 on the ban on ergative anaphors in Austronesian and Mayan.

↪ Tagalog shows strong crossover with agent reflexives and is thus not informative; Acehnese does not and (optional) promotion to pivot under OV remedies a Condition A/C violation licensing the reflexive

(40) Tagalog [Richards 1993: 33]

a. **Tumingin **ang sarili niya** sa lalaki sa salamin*
AV.looked **PIV self his/her** P man P mirror
Int.: 'Himself looked at the man in the mirror.'

b. **Tiningnan ng sarili niya **ang lalaki** sa salamin*
LV.looked GEN self his/her **PIV man** P mirror
Int.: 'Himself looked at the man in the mirror.'

(41) Acehnese [Legate 2014: 49]

a. ***Mie aneuk-aneuk miet**$_i$ nyan awaknyan$_{i/k}$ (keu droe) poh*
cat child-child small DEM 3PL (to self) **OV**.hit
'The children$_i$'s cat, they$_{i/k}$ hit.'

b. **Ka awaknyan$_i$ (keu droe) jaga **mie aneuk-aneuk miet**$_i$ **nyan***
PFV 3PL (to self) **OV**.care.for **cat child.child small DEF**
Int.: 'The children$_i$'s cat, they$_i$ took care of.'

↪ the safest way to test Condition A is **OV/TV + reflexive embedded in complex agent DP, with the R-expression theme pivot as potential binder**. Base-order should be out, but whether OV can remedy Condition A violation depends on reconstruction effects. For instance, in Tagalog the pivot reconstructs and does not license the embedded anaphor:

(42) Tagalog [Richards 2013: 415]

a. **Bumatikos [**ang mga artikulo tungkol sa kanyang sarili**] sa Pangulo*
AV.criticized [**PIV PL article about P him/her self**] P president
Int.: '[The articles about herself] criticized the president'

b. **Binatikos [ng mga artikulo tungkol sa kanyang sarili] **sa Pangulo***
TV.criticized [GEN PL article about P him/her self] **PIV president**
Int.: 'The articles about herself criticized the president.'

9.2 Accounting for the fine-grained A'/A mix

- **A'/A-distinction:** contingent on what kind of abstraction movement induces from the landing site

⇒ **A-movement:** abstraction over individuals (type <*e*>)

⇒ **A'-movement:** abstraction over choice functions (type <*et,e*>) [Sauerland 1998; 2004; Ruys 2004; Bhatt and Keine 2019]

⇒ **(A-)movement & Case:** case-driven is A-movement but A-movement can be independent of case; A'-moved elements can land in a case position

- **A' vs. A-probes:** A'/A-distinction hinges on movement triggering features, not positions/ landing-sites

⇒ **Composite A'/A probes:** [A'] and [A] can bundle on one head [van Urk 2015]

⇒ **A'/A-movement**: movement operation itself is either A' or A, no "mixed" movement

- **WCO:** tracks the A'/A-distinction (= if movement is A' or A)
- **Condition C:** tracks locus of first case-assignment

⇒ **Case stacking:** case can be stacked or overwritten [Merchant 2006]

⇒ **Wholesale Late Merge (WLM):** the NP restrictor of a D head can be late-merged as long as it enters the derivation at a point where it can (still) be assigned case → obviation of Condition C under A-movement [Takahashi and Hulsey 2009]

↪ **Hypothesis:** nominals have to be case-licensed at the first available opportunity (case-licensing positions can not be "skipped")

↪ **entails:** WLM is not possible in case-stacking structures above the first case-assigning head

- **Control:** targets highest case-licensed position

Accounting for fine grained A'/A distinctions in pivot systems

Property of promotion to pivot	**Implication**	Tagalog	Balinese	Malagasy	Indonesian
WCO	*movement = A'*	×	✓	×	×
↪	*variable at launching site*	e	<<e,t>e>	e	e
Feeding case	*case assigned at landing site*	×	✓	✓	✓
Condition C	*case assigned at launching site (in situ)*	✓	✓	×	×
↪	*WLM in pivot position*	×	×	✓	✓
Controllee	*highest case position*	agent	pivot	pivot	pivot

- **Hypothesis:** ACC is still available in Balinese OV, but not in Malagasy TV

↪ In-situ internal argument in ditransitives/ applicatives can be expressed as a DP in Balinese but only as a PP in Malagasy

(43) a. ***Pipis*** *baang* *tiang* ***Nyoman***
money **OV**.give 1SG **Nyoman**
'The money, I gave to Nyoman.' Balinese [Arka 2003: 25]

b. *Rosoana* ****(hoan')ny*** ***vahiny*** ***ny*** ***sakafo***
TV.serve ***(FOR) DET** **guests** **DET** **meal**
'The meal is served to the guests.' Malagasy [Pearson 2004: 237]

9.3 What control constructions we exclude

- **How to determine obligatory control in Austronesian:**

⇒ looking for *decide*-type verbs	= *situation* class in Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2023
⇒ exclusion of *try*-type verbs (*event* class)	= might come with restructuring
⇒ exclusion of bare-stem/OV *want* matrix verbs	= might come with crossed control
⇒ complement clauses with IRR or FUT markers, negation, aspect	= at least TP complement
⇒ no overt pronoun alternation	= obligatory control, not *pro*
⇒ Target structure: **matrix AV + embedded OV/TV/LV/CV**	= no crossed control/ default voice/ voice matching

- **What to avoid:** Crossed control, backward control, restructuring, long object movement, voice matching, default voice

9.3.1 Backward control

(44) *(??) naneren' i Mery PRO* [*hofafa- ko*] *ny trano*
force.**CV** Mary PRO [sweep.**TV** 1SG.NOM] the house
'Mary forced me to sweep the house.' Malagasy [Potsdam 2009: 762]

→ controllee is in the matrix clause, controller (1SG) in the embedded clause

→ matrix pivot (CV) = *house*

→ only possible with object control verbs (never occurs with subject control)

→ irrealis marker *h(o)-* in embedded clause

→ apparently only possible with matrix CV (cf. Polinsky and Potsdam 2006)

→ co-exists with forward control (Potsdam 2009)

→ might fall under the (backward) restructuring analysis in Bryant, Kovač, and Wurmbrand 2023

9.3.2 Crossed Control

(45) *Anak mau* [*kamu ø-peluk*]
child want [2SG **TV**-hug]
SC-reading: 'The child wants you to hug it'
CC-reading: 'You want to hug the child.' Indonesian [Berger 2019: 62][2]

→ bare (TV?) matrix predicate + embedded TV or PASS

→ embedded agent (*you*) = interpreted as matrix agent

→ long object movement (*child*); no thematic relation with matrix verb

→ (backward) restructuring analysis + LOM [Berger 2019; Paul, Travis, et al. 2021; Bryant, Kovač, and Wurmbrand 2023]

→ CC reading usually alternates with control/*pro* reading *The child wants you to hug (it)* [Berger 2019; V. Chen and Patrianto 2023b]

→ CC reading disappears if any of the predicates is **AV-marked** or the embedded clause has an **independent time reference** [Berger 2019]

9.3.3 Restructuring

- Restructuring (of the embedded clause) exists in many Austronesian languages (parallel to control structures) [a.o. T. Chen 2010; Wurmbrand and Shimamura 2017; Paul, Travis, et al. 2021]
- **Restructuring properties:** [adapted from T. Chen 2010 for Atayal]
  - restructuring matrix predicates (*begin, try, finish, start,...*)
  - ✓ long object movement (= embedded object becomes matrix subject)
  - ✓ scrambling parallel to simple clauses
  - × embedded negation
  - × embedded aspect
  - × embedded independent tense
- embedded clause is **reduced** (VoiceP), **semantic control**, **no embedded PRO** [Wurmbrand 2004; 2014; 2015; T. Chen 2010; Wurmbrand and Shimamura 2017]
- embedded clause shows reduced voice morphology (voice matching or default AV)
- **Voice matching languages**
  - matrix TV or PASS; embedded voice value must match

(46) Chamorro [Chung 2004]

[2]Matrix *want*: lack of voice morpheme usually characterizes TV in Indonesian; we adopt an analysis of an underspecified/bare matrix verb (Berger 2019; Bryant, Kovač, and Wurmbrand 2023) thus do not gloss it as OV.

a. *Pära tafan-ma-chägi ma-na'fanätuk ni lalahi siha*
FUT 1PL.IR.IN-PASS-**try** NPL.RL.IN.PASS-hide OBL men PL
'The men will try to hide all of us.'[3] [Chung 2004: 204]

b. **Tinituhun ha-lalatdi si Dolores i famagu'un*
NPL.RL.IN.PASS.**begin** 3SG.RL.TR-scold Dolores the children
'Dolores began to scold the children.' [Chung 2004: 219]

c. **Ha-hähassu si Carmen binisita i biha*
3SG.RL.TR-think.PROG Carmen NPL.RL.IN.PASS.visit the old.lady
'Carmen is thinking of visiting the old lady.' [Chung 2004: 222]

- **Default voice languages**
  - embedded voice default AV form, not a real voice value [T. Chen 2010]

(47) Atayal [T. Chen 2010]

a. *naqaru.un i t.um.uting ni yumin ku bawwak*
finish.TV LNK beat.AV.beat GEN Yumin NOM pig
'Yumin finished beating/killing the pigs.' [T. Chen 2010: 5]

b. *m.naqru i t.um.uting cu bawwak i yumin*
AV.**finish** LNK beat.AV.beat ACC pig NOM Yumin
'Yumin is finishing beating/killing pigs.' [T. Chen 2010: 7]

c. **naqaru.un i tuting.un ni yumin ku bawwak*
finish.TV LNK beat.TV GEN Yumin NOM pig
Int.: 'Yumin is finishing beating/killing pigs.' [T. Chen 2010: 11]

d. **m.naqru i tuting.un i yumin cu bawwak*
AV.**finish** LNK beat.TV NOM Yumin ACC pig
Int.: 'Yumin finished beating/killing the pigs.' [T. Chen 2010: 11]

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[3] Chung 2004 notes that the embedded realis (RL) marker does not express "true" realis but a semantically irrealis mood.

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