Exceptional Ā-extraction in Austronesian informs theories of voice systems

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1 Overview

1.1 Setting the stage

► A lot of Austronesian languages have a **voice system** (1):

  ▷ The verb can appear with various morphology (-α, -β, -γ, …)
  ▷ Correspondingly, one DP per clause is "special" in some way (boxed here)
    ▷ Depending on the language, "special" could mean case (Tagalog, a.o.), a fixed linear position (Malagasy, a.o.), etc.

(1) V-α ⇔ $\boxed{\text{DP}_1}$ DP$_2$ DP$_3$ …
     V-β ⇔ DP$_1$ $\boxed{\text{DP}_2}$ DP$_3$ …
     V-γ ⇔ DP$_1$ DP$_2$ $\boxed{\text{DP}_3}$ …
     …

  ▷ I'll call this special DP the **Voice-Selected Argument (VSA)** (Næss 2015)

► Austronesian languages also notoriously show particular **restrictions on what can be (Ā-)extracted** from any given clause:

(2) **The extracted argument must be the VSA of its clause:**

  a. **The girl** [$_{RC}$ who $\bigcirc$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\checkmark\text{ cooked.\textbf{av}}\\ \textbf{✗}\text{ cooked.\textbf{uv}}\end{array}\right\}$ the crab]

  b. **The crab** [$_{RC}$ that the girl $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\textbf{✗}\text{ cooked.\textbf{av}}\\ \checkmark\text{ cooked.\textbf{uv}}\end{array}\right\}$ $\bigcirc$]

(3) **Alternative framing: from each voice only the VSA can be extracted**

  a.   [$_{RC}$ **the girl** cooked.**av** the crab]

  b.   [$_{RC}$ the girl cooked.**uv** **the crab**]

► **Theories of Austronesian voice/extraction restriction**:
"the non-VSA argument(s) cannot be extracted…"

  ▷ **Phase**-based theories: "… because it's trapped in the lower phase" (Rackowski & Richards 2005, Hsieh 2020, 2023, Erlewine & Lim 2023, a.o.)

  ▷ **Intervention**-based theories: "… because the VSA intervenes" (Aldridge 2004, 2008, Erlewine 2018, Erlewine & Sommerlot 2023a,b, a.o.)

1.2   Contribution

► Novel finding: **in Äiwoo, some verbs only have one voice**.

  ▷ From these, either argument can be extracted:

(4)   **UV-only verbs: no extraction restriction**
   a. ✓ **the girl**   [RC who   ⬭   saw.**uv** the thief]
   b. ✓ **the thief** [RC that the girl saw.**uv**   ⬭   ]
   c.   [RC **the girl**   saw.**uv**   **the thief**]
          ←———✓————
          ←————✓—————

► I'll build a model of Äiwoo clauses and Ā-extraction patterns, making use of the tool of *goal-flagging* (Deal 2022, to appear)

► This will also make correct predictions about something seemingly very unrelated, i.e., the mixed A/Ā-character of the fronting to initial position in Äiwoo

┌─────────────────── Main Claim ───────────────────┐
│ ✓ Supports an **Ā-intervention theory of Austronesian extraction** │
│   │
│   ✗ Against phase-based theories   │
│   ✗ Against "highest DP-only" theories   │
│   │
│ ✓ Correct predictions about **mixed A/Ā-movement** in the language │
└──┘

2   Background on Äiwoo

2.1   Voice system and word order

► Oceanic (< Austronesian); Solomon Islands; about 8 000 speakers (Ross & Næss 2007, Næss 2006, 2015, 2021, Roversi 2019, 2020, to appear, a.o.).

► Philippine-type voice system: Actor Voice, Undergoer Voice, Circumstantial Voice

  ▷ Fairly **rigid V2 word order** (similar to Dinka; van Urk 2015):

(5) **Basic word orders**:

AV:	S	V		=TAM	O	(PP)	…
UV:	O	V	S	=TAM		(PP)	…
CV:	X	V	S	=TAM	O	(PP)	…

    ▷ X stands for the applied (DP) argument that CV introduces and promotes to pivot (locative, instrumental, etc.)

    ▷ "=TAM" stands for a template-y series of particles that cliticize to their left, and come in a fixed sequence. Includes TAM stuff, negation, and the CV marker

PIVOT	V	(S)	=TAM	(O)	(PP)

(6) **[Anna]**~S~   *i-vängä*   *=kaa*   **[sii]**~O~ **[ngä täpilo enge]**~PP~
Anna   ASP-eat.AV   =FUT   fish   in   bowl   this
'Anna will eat fish in this bowl'

(7) **[sii]**~O~   *i-ngä*   **[Anna]**~S~*=kaa*   **[ngä täpilo enge]**~PP~
fish   ASP-eat.UV   Anna =FUT   in   bowl   this
'Anna will eat the fish in this bowl'

(8) **[täpilo enge]**~X~ *i-vängä/ngä* **[Anna]**~S~*=kaa=kä* **[sii]**~O~
bowl   this   ASP-eat.AV/UV Anna =FUT=CV fish
'Anna will eat (the) fish in this bowl'

2.2 MORPHOSYNTACTIC CORRELATES OF VOICE

▶ Elsewhere in Austronesian, voice morphology = neatly segmentable affixes, usually

(9) **Voice morphology in Tagalog** (Rackowski & Richards 2005: 566; glosses from Hsieh 2019: 528)

  a. *b⟨**um**⟩ili* **ang bata** *ng tela sa palengke para sa nanay*
    ⟨AV.PFV⟩buy **NOM child** GEN cloth OBL market for OBL mother
    'The child bought cloth at the market for Mother'

  b. *b⟨in⟩ili*-**∅** *ng bata* **ang tela** *sa palengke para sa nanay*
    ⟨PFV⟩buy-**PV** GEN child **NOM cloth** OBL market for OBL mother
    'The child bought the cloth at the market for Mother'

  c. *b⟨in⟩ilh*-**an** *ng bata ng tela* **ang palengke** *para sa nanay*
    ⟨PFV⟩buy-**LV** GEN child GEN cloth **NOM market** for OBL mother
    'The child bought cloth at the market for Mother'

  d. **i**-*b⟨in⟩ili* *ng bata ng tela sa palengke* **ang nanay**
    CV-⟨PFV⟩buy GEN child GEN cloth OBL market **NOM mother**
    'The child bought cloth at the market for Mother'

▶ **In Äiwoo: it's a mess**.

  ▷ Voice morphology is highly idiosyncratic/suppletive.
  ▷ Essentially: every verb has two stems, one for AV and one for UV
  ▷ See also Næss (2015, 2021), and Roversi (2019: §3.2.2).

(10)   **Voice-based stem alternations in Äiwoo**:

a. *epavi* 'cook.UV'; *epave* 'cook.AV'	g. *kili* 'dig.UV'; *kei* 'dig.AV'
b. *lââ* 'build.UV'; *lâwââ* 'build.AV'	h. *pââ* 'steal.UV'; *pä* 'steal.AV'
c. *tu* 'bring.UV'; *tou* 'bring.AV'	i. *ve* 'buy.UV'; *veve* 'buy.AV'
d. *togulo* 'hit.UV'; *togo* 'hit.AV'	j. *kali* 'sing.UV'; *ekäi* 'sing.AV'
e. *ngä* 'eat.UV'; *vängä* 'eat.AV'	k. *la* 'give.UV'; *lää* 'give.AV'
f. *lâbu* 'cut.UV'; *lâbonge* 'cut.AV'	l. *nu* 'drink.UV'; *nu* 'drink.AV'

▶ So then, **how do we know what voice we're in?**

  ▷ Word order
  ▷ Voice concord on modifiers
  ▷ Position of φ-marking

1) Word order: VSA-initial

▶ As we've seen, Äiwoo is rigidly **V2** and **VSA-initial**

  ▷ If you're in **AV**, you must get **S** V=TAM O
  ▷ If you're in **UV**, you must get **O** V S=TAM

(11)   a. **AV**:   **S** V=TAM O
       Anna *ki-**veve**=kaa*   *nuwopa*
       Anna   IPFV-buy.**AV**=FUT house
       'Anna will buy a house'

   b. **UV**:   **O** V S=TAM
       nuwopa *ki-**ve***   *Anna=kaa*
       house   IPFV-buy.**UV** Anna=FUT
       'Anna will buy the house'

2) Voice concord on modifiers

▶ Äiwoo is very fond of stringing together adverbial-y modifiers onto a verb stem:

(12)   *kuli eângâ ki-li-⟨ngoduwâ-mana-vesi⟩=kaa*
       dog   that   IPFV-3AUG-shout-very-always=FUT
       'Those dogs will always bark loudly'

▶ These modifiers show **voice concord** (Roversi 2019, Næss 2021, Wu et al. 2023)

  ▷ If the base stem is **AV**, nothing special happens
  ▷ If the base stem is **UV**, every modifier must take a special suffix (here, *-i*):

(13)   a. **AV: no voice concord**

       *i-ki-⌐***lâwââ**-*päko-mana¬=kaa*   *nuwopa*

       1MIN-IPFV-build.**AV**-good-very=FUT   house

       'I will build a house/houses very well' (**ikilâwââpäkoimanai=kaa*)

   b. **UV: voice concord**

       nuwopa *eângâ* *ki-⌐***lââ**-*päko-**i**-mana-**i**¬-no=ngaa*

       house   that   IPFV-build.**UV**-good-**UV**-very-**UV**-1MIN=FUT

       'I will build that house/those houses very well' (**kilââpäkomanano=ngaa*)

3) POSITION OF φ-MARKING

► In general, the φ-features of the subject (agent, external argument, …) are marked on the verb with an affix. Where?

    ▷ In **AV**, we get **prefixes**

    ▷ In **UV**, we get **suffixes**

(14)   a. **AV: prefixes**   b. **UV: suffixes**

       ⌐***de-***¬*ki-**vängä**=kaa*   *sii*   *sii*   *ki-**ngä**⌐-***de***¬=ngaa*

       12AUG-IPFV-eat.**AV**=FUT fish   fish IPFV-eat.**UV**-**12AUG**=FUT

       'We will eat fish'   'We will eat the fish'

► Questions for another day:

    ▷ Are these agreement, are these clitics? Ask me!

    ▷ Especially UV actually has a rather complex system, with the object being marked sometimes instead of the subject (and sometimes both!), all depending on a complex person/number hierarchy effect[1]

3 Ā-EXTRACTION: THE CANONICAL PATTERN

► In other Austronesian languages, voice morphology famously correlates with what can be extracted from a given clause (Schachter 1976, Guilfoyle et al. 1992, Richards 2000, Pearson 2001, 2005, Rackowski 2002, Rackowski & Richards 2005, Aldridge 2004, 2008, 2017, Chen 2017, 2023, Chen & McDonnell 2019, Erlewine et al. 2017, Erlewine 2018, Erlewine & Lim 2023, Hsieh 2020, 2023, a.o.). How about Äiwoo?

► **Äiwoo is well-behaved**, offering us pretty much the standard Austronesian menu. Here's the canonical Austronesian extraction restriction:

    ▷ (Relative clauses are null-marked, juxtaposed to the right of the head noun)

    ▷ Shorthand notation: 'X ← Y' = "extraction of X from a Y-type clause"

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1 See Roversi 2020 for an analysis, although that work was actually based on a faulty empirical generalization. See Roversi (to appear: appendix B) for an amendment.

(15) **From AV you can only extract S:**

    a. ✓ S←AV:

       [***pedevalili*** [⬚ *ki-li-**vängä**=kaa*   *sii*]_{RC}]=*kâ* *pelivano* *gisi*

       children   IPFV-3AUG-**eat**.**AV**=FUT fish=DIST children brother.1MIN

       'The kids who will eat the fish are my brother's children'

    b. ✗ O←AV:

       * [***sii***   [*pedevalili* *ki-li-**vängä**=kaa*   ⬚]_{RC}]=*kâ*   *i-epavi-no*

       fish   children IPFV-3AUG-**eat**.**AV**=FUT   =DIST ASP-cook.UV-1MIN

       Intended: 'I cooked the fish that the children will eat'

(16) **From UV you can only extract O:**

    a. ✓ O←UV:

       [***sii*** [⬚ *ki-**ngä***   *pedevalili=kaa*]_{RC}]=*kâ* *i-epavi-no*

       fish   IPFV-**eat**.**UV** children=FUT=DIST   ASP-cook.UV-1MIN

       'I cooked the fish that the children will eat'

    b. ✗ S←UV:

       * [***pedevalili*** [*sii*   *ki-**ngä**-i*   ⬚=*laa*]_{RC}]=*kâ* *pelivano* *gisi*

       children   fish IPFV-**eat**.**UV**-3AUG   =FUT=DIST children brother.1MIN

       Intended: 'The kids who will eat the fish are my brother's children'

► Why only relativization? Easiest/most reliable.

   ▷ Focus is done with pseudo-clefts, aka just RCs
   ▷ Left-peripheral topics seem base-generated high, not movement-derived
   ▷ Wh-questions confuse me

4 Today's special: UV-only verbs

4.1 What are they, and what do they look like?

► So far we've seen verbs that alternate between the two voices.

► Äiwoo also has some verbs that just **don't have AV at all**.

► Since voice morphology is mostly done with stem suppletion, how can we actually be sure that they're always UV?

   ▷ Morphosyntactic correlates of voice: word order, voice concord morphology, position of φ-marking
   ▷ (I put what could've been a possible AV version of *te* 'see.UV' in small caps. What I mean: there is no stem in the language that would give us this sentence)

(17) **Word order: only OVS, never SVO**

    a.   *bugulo=kâ   ginou   ba   i-**te**-kä   Mary=gu*
         yesterday=DIST son.1MIN NEG ASP-see.**UV**-DIR3 Mary=NEG
         'Yesterday Mary didn't see my son'

    b.   * *bugulo=kâ   Mary ba   i-**TE**-kä=gu   ginou*
         yesterday=DIST Mary NEG ASP-**SEE.AV**-DIR3=NEG son.1MIN
         Intended: 'Yesterday Mary didn't see my son'

(18) **Always voice concord, always suffixal φ-marking:**

    a.   *bulaape=kâ   gino-mu   ki-**te**-**usi**-kä-**ngopu**=waa*
         tomorrow=DIST son-2MIN IPFV-see.**UV**-again.**UV**-DIR3-**1AUG**=FUT
         'Tomorrow we will see your son again'

    b.   * *bulaape=kâ   **me**-ki-**TE**-**ute**-kä=kaa   gino-mu*
         tomorrow=DIST **1AUG**-IPFV-**SEE.AV**-again.**AV**-DIR3=FUT son-1MIN
         Intended: 'Tomorrow we will see your son again'

▶ **What verbs are these?**

    ▷ *kää* 'know', *te* 'see', *lâwâle* 'help', *nyida* 'love', *wagu* 'tell', *luwa* 'take, grab', *tuwo* 'hold, grasp'; possibly also *weevä* 'visit', *komaa* 'invite', *potaa* 'search, look for' (less clear)

    ▷ Any verbs built from an intransitive + the applicatives *-ive* or *-i*

    ▷ Most likely not an exhaustive list! They keep popping up every now and then. One day it would be interesting to understand if they constitute a natural class.

▶ Contrast with **voice-syncretic verbs**: these exist in both voices, but the stem just happens to be the same.

(19) ***Nu* 'drink' is voice-syncretic, not UV-only:**

    a. **AV**: **φ-prefixes, no voice concord, VO order**
        de-ku-*nu*-mana=kaa   nuwoi
        12AUG-IPFV-drink.**AV**-very=FUT water
        'We will drink a lot of water'

    b. **UV**: **φ-suffixes, voice concord, OV order**
        *nuwoi ku-**nu**-mana-**i**-**de**=ngaa*
        water IPFV-drink.**UV**-very-**UV**-**12AUG**=FUT
        'We will drink a lot of the water'

    SUMMARY OF THE MORPHOSYNTACTIC PROPERTIES

▶ **UV-only verbs are really only UV:**

    ✗ Never SVO word order
    ✗ Never prefixal φ-marking
    ✗ Never absence of voice concord

4.2 UV-only verbs allow exceptional non-VSA extraction

► Remember: normally, **only VSA-extraction** is allowed

▷ VSA-extraction: ✓ S←AV, ✓ O←UV
▷ Non-VSA-extraction: ✗ S←UV, ✗ O←AV

(20) **Canonical cases: only the VSA can be extracted**

a.   [$_{RC}$ **the girl**   cooked.**AV**   the crab]

b.   [$_{RC}$ the girl   cooked.**UV**   **the crab**]

► But these verbs don't have an AV form, so… what now? If we want to extract the subject, what do we do?

► We just do it. Suddenly, **non-VSA extraction is ok!**

(21) **Extraction from *te* 'see.UV':**
kokä   polis=kä   nä-li-eeu-kä   go …
want   police=CV   IRR-3AUG-speak-DIR3   to
'The police wants to talk to…'

a.   **O←UV: unsurprisingly ok**
[*mekipä* [$_{RC}$ ☐   *i-te-usi-kä*   *pesingedâ*]]
 thief   ASP-see.**UV**-again.**UV**-DIR3   girls
'… the thief that the girls saw again'

b.   **S←UV: surprisingly ok!**
[*pesingedâ* [$_{RC}$ *mekipä* *i-te-usi-kä-i*   ☐]]
 girls   thief   ASP-see.**UV**-again.**UV**-DIR3-**3AUG**
'… the girls who saw the thief again'

c.   **S←AV: impossible because AV doesn't exist**
* [*pesingedâ* [$_{RC}$ ☐   *li-te-ute-kä*   *mekipä*]]
 girls   3AUG-see.**AV**-again.**AV**-DIR3   thief
Native speaker's comment: '*liteutekä* is not a word'

▷ See appendix for some more cases of non-VSA extraction from UV-only verbs, to convince you that it's not just an exceptional one-off thing

► Just to make sure: **voice-syncretic verbs don't do this**. If you do subject extraction, you must get the AV form and not UV

(22) a.   ✓ S←**AV**:
      [***pedevalili*** *mi*=[_{RC} ◯ *ku-**lu**-**nu**-mana*   *nuwoi*]]=*kâ*
       children   REL=   IPFV-**3AUG**-drink.**AV**-very water=DIST
        ki-li-nudâ-mana
        IPFV-3AUG-thirsty-very
      'The children who were drinking a lot of water were very thirsty'

      b.   ✗ S←**UV**:
          * [***pedevalili*** *mi*=[_{RC} ***nuwoi*** *ku-**nu**-mana-**i-i***   ◯]]=*lâ*
           children   REL=   water   IPFV-drink.**UV**-very-**UV**-**3AUG**   =DIST
           Intended: 'The children who were drinking a lot of water'

      c.   ✓ O←**UV**:
      [***nuwoi*** [_{RC} ◯ *ku-**nu**-mana-**i***   *pedevalili*]]=*kâ* *ba*   *päko=gu*
       water   IPFV-drink.**UV**-very-**UV** children=DIST   NEG good=NEG
      'The water the children were drinking (a lot of) wasn't good'

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Summary of extraction possibilities:

	Canonical		UV-only	
	S	O	S	O
AV	✓	✗	—	—
UV	✗	✓	✓	✓

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5 Accounting for the exceptions

5.1 Theories of the Austronesian extraction restriction

▶ General *explananda*:

(1) Voice morphology alternations on the verb correlating with one DP per sentence being "special" (the VSA)

(2) Only the special DP can be (Ā-)moved

▶ A theory of the Austronesian extraction restriction must explain (2), but it needs to say something about (1) too

▶ **Two broad families of theories**: "Only the VSA can be extracted because..."

(A) **Phase**-based theories:
     "...because all other DPs are trapped in the lower phase"
     ▷ Rackowski & Richards (2005), Hsieh (2020, 2023), Erlewine & Lim (2023), and others

(B) **Intervention**-based theories:

"... because being highest it intervenes for extracting the lower DPs"

▷ Aldridge (2004, 2008), Erlewine (2018), Branan & Erlewine (2024), ...

(23)   a. **Phase-based approaches:**   b. **Intervention approaches:**
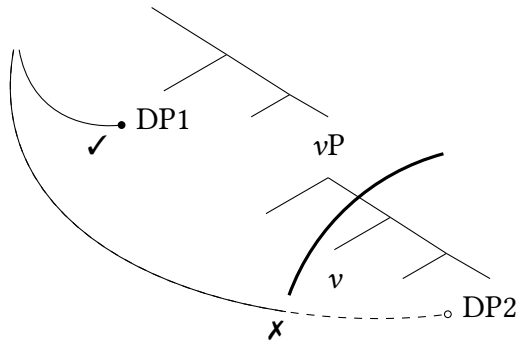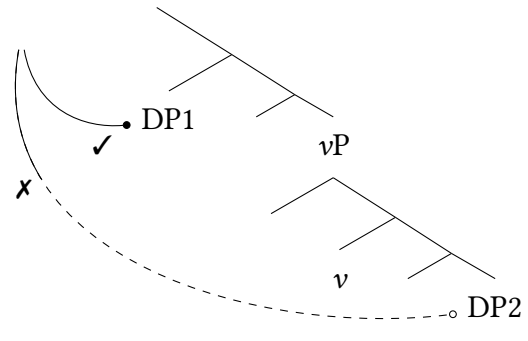
5.2   RULING OUT "HIGHEST DP" THEORIES

► As for the intervention-based theories: *what kinds of intervention exactly?*

▷ Intervention = Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990)

▷ ... relativized to *what feature(s)?*

► Some say: "in these languages **Ā-movement can only target the highest DP**" (Aldridge 2004, 2008, Erlewine 2018, Branan & Erlewine 2024)

▷ Concretely: the (Ā-)probe that's driving extraction is relativized to [D] or [φ], or at least some features that *all* DPs share

▷ Mixed A/Ā-probing: Legate (2014), van Urk (2015), Baier (2018), Erlewine (2018), Ostrove (2018), Bossi & Diercks (2019), Colley & Privoznov (2020), D'Alessandro (2020), Scott (2021), Coon et al. (2021), Jarvis (2023), Jenks (2023), and Deal (2024b), and probably more

► **This can't work for us:**

▷ Äiwoo is rigidly V2 and VSA-initial: very informative as to where DPs are!

▷ With UV-only verbs, we clearly *can* extract a lower DP across a higher one:

(24)   **Extraction across a higher DP is conditioned by the type of verb:**

     a.   **With canonical verbs: ✗ impossible**

* [*pesingedâ* [RC **_mekipä_** *i-**tu**-usi-kä-i*   ▢   *ngâ*   *nuwopa*]]
girls   thief   ASP-**bring**.UV-again.UV-DIR3-3AUG   P   house
'The girls who brought the thief back to the house'

b. **With UV-only verbs: ✓ possible**

[*pesingedâ* [_{RC} ***mekipä*** *i-**te**-usi-kä-i* ⬜ *ngâ* *nuwopa*]]
girls   thief   ASP-**see**.UV-again.UV-DIR3-3AUG   P   house
'The girls who saw the thief again in the house'

▶ We would have an inconsistency problem: some DPs intervenes, some don't

▷ But whether they intervene or not has nothing to do with the DP itself, and only with the verb they're a complement of!

(25) **Abstractly:**

a. **Canonical verbs: ✗ S←UV**

    * **head noun**   [_{RC} **object**   bring.UV ⬜=TAM   ...]
               ⎣_____ ✗ _____⎦

b. **UV-only verbs: ✓ S←UV**

    head noun   [_{RC} **object**   see.UV ⬜=TAM   ...]
               ⎣_____ ✓ _____⎦

5.3   RULING OUT PHASE-BASED THEORIES

▶ **Phase**-based theories propose the extraction restriction is about *absolute* locality:

▷ The VSA is high enough to be extracted
▷ The non-VSA(s) are too low, regardless of intervention: they're stuck in the lower phase (*v*P)

▶ In some languages, this is a feature and not a bug! See a.o. Hsieh (2020, 2023) about non-pivot extraction in Tagalog, and Erlewine & Lim (2023) about Bikol

▶ Can these approaches help us with Äiwoo? **No.**

PROBLEM 1: NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CANONICAL VERBS AND UV-ONLY VERBS

▶ Under a phase-based theory:

▷ If a DP can be extracted, it's above the phase boundary
▷ If a DP can't be extracted, it's below the phase boundary

▶ Therefore, in Äiwoo we make these predictions:

▷ Subjects of canonical UV verbs can't be extracted, so they must be below the phase boundary
▷ Subjects of UV-only verbs *can* be extracted, so they must be *above* the phase boundary

▶ **But they really seem to be in the same exact position!** No clear differences (in a language where word order is rather strict)

▷ Same position with respect to negation and TAM marking, and adjuncts

(26) a. *iso*   *ba*   *ku-**tu**-kä*   ***John**=to=gu=naa*   *ngâ* *nuwopa*
     mother.1MIN NEG IPFV-**bring**.UV-DIR3 **John**=TAM=NEG=FUT P   house
     'John won't already have brought my mother home'

    b. *iso*   *ba*   *ki-**te**-kä*   ***John**=to=gu=naa*   *ngâ* *nuwopa*
     mother.1MIN NEG IPFV-**see**.UV-DIR3 **John**=TAM=NEG=FUT P   house
     'John won't already have seen my mother at home'

PROBLEM 2: IS ANY SUBJECTS IN THE LOWER PHASE TO BEGIN WITH?

▶ What phase boundary to we care about? Canonical assumption: *v*P (Chomsky 2001)

▶ Objects of AV verbs can't be extracted: ok, they're plausibly in situ inside the *v*P

(27) *Mary* *ki-**epave**=kaa*   *nulei*
     Mary IPFV-cook.**AV**=FUT crab
     'Mary won't cook crab(s)'

▶ More interestingly: can we really say that **subjects in UV** are **inside the *v*P phase**?

▶ I argue that **no, (UV) subjects are in spec,TP**.

▶ **Evidence 1**: UV subjects are to the **left of TAM material**

▷ By standard assumptions about the clausal spine (e.g. Ramchand & Svenonius 2014 and many others), this means that they are at least in the T/Infl region

▶ We can also show that the TAM particles are not linearized according to some phonological principle(s), despite being monosyllabic/stressless/cliticizing.

▷ Regardless of the size of the subject DP, these particles go in the same place
▷ (28a): floating nasal feature
▷ (28b): big chunky DP containing a RC

(28) a. *nuwopa* *enge* *ba* *ki-ve*-Ø^n=*naa*
     house   this NEG IPFV-buy.UV-3MIN=FUT
     'They.SG will buy this house'

    b. *ba*   *ki-kää*   ***me**=[**ki-tokoli-woli-mä**   **ngä** **botu**]=gu=naa*
     NEG IPFV-know.UV REL:person=IPFV-sit-down-DIR1 in boat=NEG=FUT
     'The person sitting in the boat will not know (this)'

▶ This should be sufficient to convince us that these UV subject DPs have **moved up to the T/Infl region**.

▶ **Evidence 2**: UV subjects can sometimes surface in an exceptional **low position**, to the right of the TAM material

▷ This is when the verb carries object φ-marking; ask me the how's and why's of these cases another time

(29) a. *ku-tu-kä-gu-de=ngaa*   *mekivaavee* ngä skul
          IPFV-bring.UV-DIR3-GU-12AUG=FUT **teacher**   P   school
          'The teacher will bring us to school'

     b. * *ku-tu-kä-gu-de*   *mekivaavee=kaa* ngä skul
          IPFV-bring.UV-DIR3-GU-12AUG   **teacher=FUT**   P   school

► I argue that this low position is the pre-movement one for subjects, aka where they are base-generated in spec,*v*P

   ▷ Here, the object has exceptionally moved to spec,TP instead of the subject: only room for one DP!

► **Wrong predictions!** Under a phase-based approach, UV subjects should all be extractable, also from canonical verbs, because they're in the higher phase

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INTERIM SUMMARY

► **Canonical UV vs. UV-only verbs:**

   ▷ Identical morphosyntax: word order, voice morphology, etc.
   ▷ Difference in extractability of the subject: ✓ UV-only, ✗ canonical UV

✗ Against "**highest DP**" approaches:

   ▷ With UV-only verbs we can clearly extract across a higher DP

✗ Against **phase-based** approaches:

   ▷ No difference between the two verb types in where the arguments are
   ▷ Subjects are not even in the lower phase to begin with, they're in spec,TP

---

6 ANALYSIS

► First: **how do main clauses work**?

► Then: **how does extraction work**?

► And also: **why are UV-only verbs different?**

6.1 A MODEL OF THE ÄIWOO CLAUSE

► **Framework-level assumptions**:

  ▷ All movement is preceded by a step of agreement (notation: superscript ^{M} on the feature triggering movement)

  ▷ Agreement is modelled in the interaction/satisfaction framework Deal (2015, 2022, 2024a, to appear)

  ▷ Information is transferred from the goal to the probe (normal feature copying) but also from the probe to the goal: **goal-flagging** (Deal 2022, to appear)

    ▷ Conceptual predecessors in Chomsky (2001) and Pesetsky & Torrego (2001)

► **"Pivothood"**: one DP per sentence carries an Ā-feature [PIV] (Hsieh 2020, 2023)

  ▷ Syntactically free, chosen by the speaker depending on various information structural factors

► **Voice morphology**:

  ▷ Internal to the stem, on the inside of aspect: by Mirror Principle logic, this happens *early*

  ▷ *v* looks for [PIV], and case-agrees with the DP bearing it

    ▷ Case agreement/*wh*-agreement: Rackowski (2002), Rackowski & Richards (2005), and Hsieh (2020, 2023) for Tagalog, but also Chung (1994) (Chamorro), O'Herin (1993, 2002) and Arkadiev & Caponigro (2021) (Abaza), Ostrove (2018) (San Martín Peras Mixtec), D'Alessandro (2020) (Ripano), Colley & Privoznov (2020) (Khanty), Erlewine (2020) (Tibetan), dos Santos (2023) (Kawahíva)

  ▷ Unlike other analyses of Austronesian languages: *nothing moves at this point*
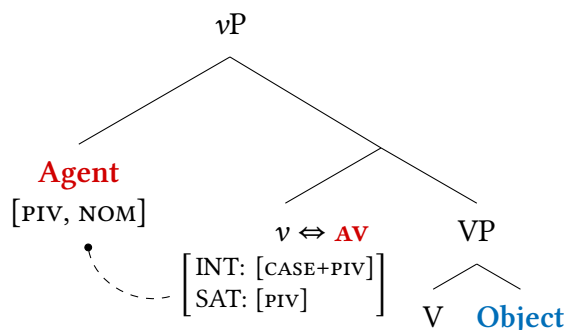
(30) a. **Actor Voice:**   b. **Undergoer Voice:**
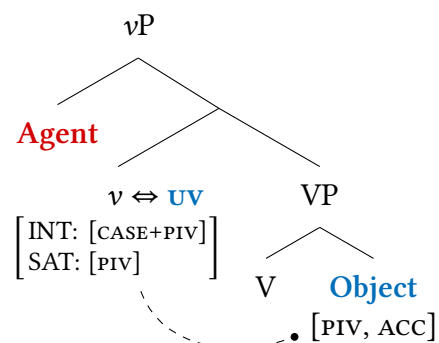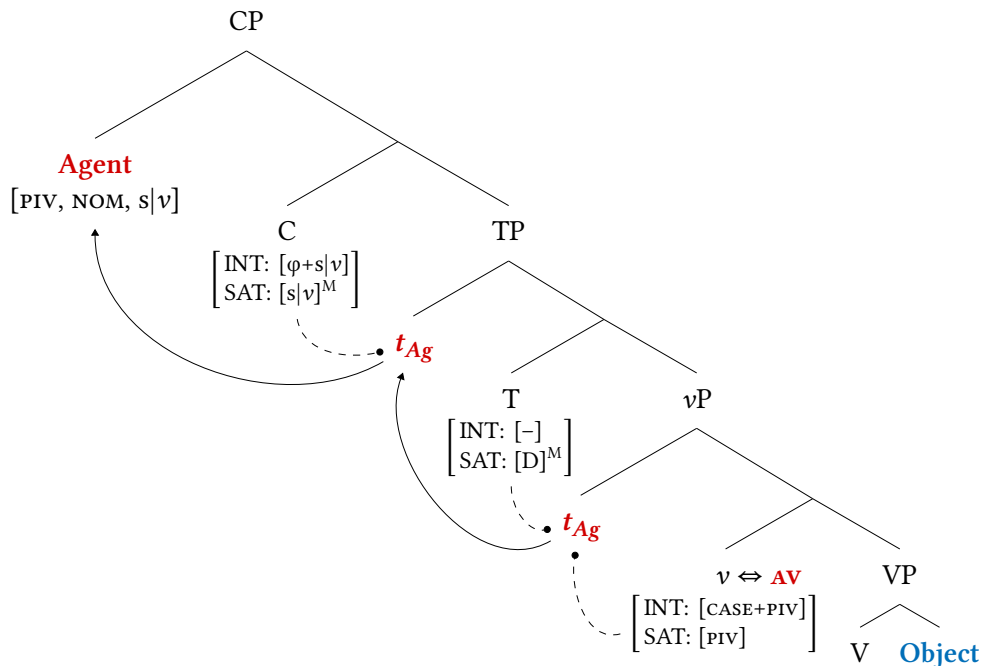

► **Subject movement to spec,TP**:

  ▷ Completely standard local movement: T just consistently attracts the highest DP to its specifier = always the subject

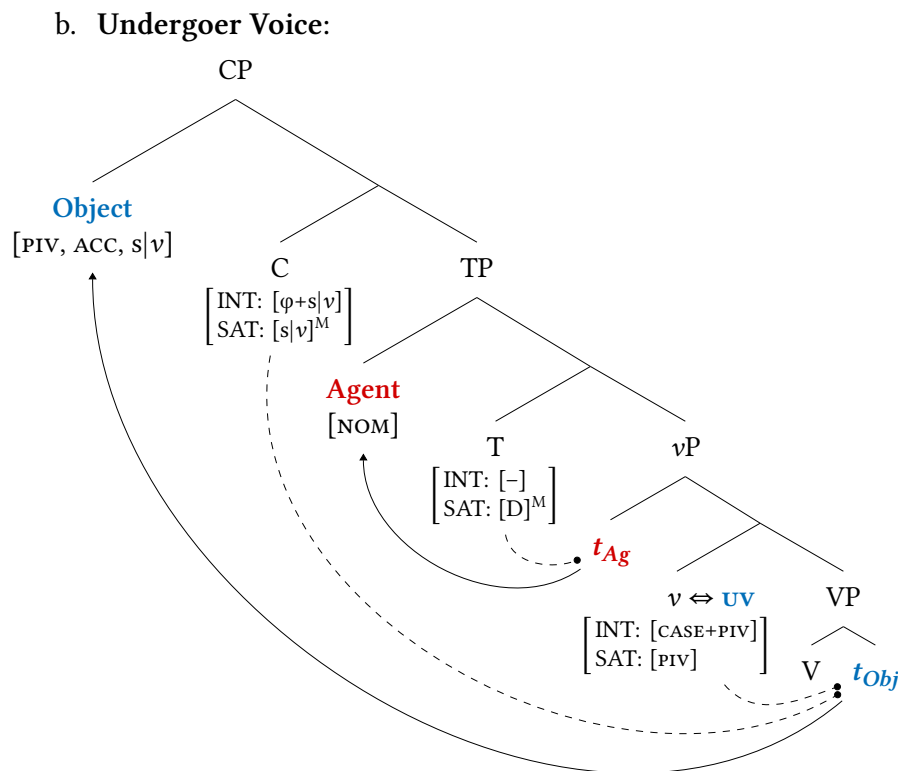 ▷ That's how we know that *v*P hasn't moved the object over the subject

▶ **VSA-fronting to spec,CP:**

    ▷ C consistently agrees with/moves **whatever _v_ has agreed with**

    ▷ Two logically possible ways:

        ▷ _v_ looks for [PIV]; C also looks for [PIV]

        ▷ _v_ looks for [PIV]; C looks for **what has satisfied _v_** (notation: [s|v])

    ▷ I use this notion of goal-flagging to model the behavior of UV-only verbs later

    ▷ We can show C also copies back φ-features, but only expones them in certain contexts; ask me about this

▶ I assume the verb undergoes long head-movement to C (Roberts 1994, 2010, Embick & Izvorski 1997, Rezac 2008, Harizanov 2016, Harizanov & Gribanova 2019, Preminger 2019), skipping the TAM material in T (not drawn in the trees)

    ▷ If long head-movement is unpalatable, we could also assume that the monosyllabic TAM particles are all specifiers in Cinque-ian functional projections in the Infl region, whose heads are null; then we can do perfectly local head-movement

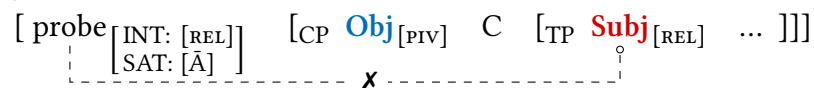▶ Putting it all together:

(31)   a. **Actor Voice**:

b. **Undergoer Voice:**

$$
\begin{array}{l}
\textbf{Object} \\
[\text{PIV}, \text{ACC}, s|v]
\end{array}
$$

C
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{INT: } [\varphi + s|v] \\
\text{SAT: } [s|v]^{M}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Agent
[NOM]

T
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{INT: } [-] \\
\text{SAT: } [\text{D}]^{M}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

t_{Ag}

$v \Leftrightarrow$ UV
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{INT: } [\text{CASE} + \text{PIV}] \\
\text{SAT: } [\text{PIV}]
\end{bmatrix}
$$

V t_{Obj}

DERIVING THE CLAUSE STRUCTURE

▶ Voice morphology is case agreement between v and the DP bearing [PIV]

▶ The subject always moves to spec,TP

▶ C always fronts whatever v has agreed with (goal flagging)

6.2   DERIVING THE CANONICAL EXTRACTION RESTRICTION

▶ Earlier, in trying to understand the Austronesian extraction restriction in its Äiwoo incarnation, we **excluded phase-based approaches** and **highest DP-approaches**

▶ Now we have a model of the clause where the highest DP, the VSA, consistently carries an Ā-feature [PIV]

▶ The extraction restriction is an effect of **Ā-intervention**!

　▷ Like the canonical *wh*-superiority effects, and also other Ā-intervention effects (Abels 2012, Aravind 2017, a.o.)

▷ Still Relativized Minimality, but relativized to Ā-features instead of to all DPs
▷ This will come in hand, since we know not all VSA DPs intervene...

► Concretely: let's model relativization with an Ā-feature [REL]

▷ A high probe (above C) looks for [REL], but any other Ā-features count as an intervener (assuming some kind of feature geometry for Ā-features; Abels 2012, Aravind 2017)
▷ (Compatible with various kinds of derivations for RCs: head-raising, OP movement, matching)

► In the canonical extraction cases, the VSA (what v and C have agreed with) is also always the pivot (what carries the feature [PIV])

► Therefore, if [REL] is on a lower DP than the VSA/pivot, this will intervene, and relativization will be **blocked**:

(32)   ✗ S ← UV due to Ā-intervention:
$$[\text{probe}_{\begin{bmatrix} \text{INT: [REL]} \\ \text{SAT: [Ā]} \end{bmatrix}} \quad [_{CP} \text{Obj}_{[PIV]} \quad C \quad [_{TP} \text{Subj}_{[REL]} \quad ... \,]]]$$

6.3   DERIVING EXCEPTIONAL EXTRACTION WITH UV-ONLY VERBS

► We have established that the VSA-only extraction restriction we find with canonical verbs is an effect of **Ā-intervention**

► So **why don't UV-only verbs have this?** Reasoning backwards:

▷ This would mean **their VSA doesn't (have to) carry [PIV]**
▷ If the highest DP doesn't have [PIV], no intervention arises, and relativization is free (like in English)
▷ We conceptually and mechanically split the VSA from the Ā-marked pivot, so now we have a reason to exploit this split
▷ For UV-only verbs, **VSA ≠ pivot**!

► Proposal: UV-only verbs lexically **select a different v head**, call it v^*

▷ Instead of looking for [PIV], v^* **looks for [D]**
▷ At the time of its merge, the only DP in its c-command domain is the direct object, so v^* **will always agree with the object** (per normal cyclicity) ⟹ **always UV!**
▷ This is **regardless of which DP carries [PIV]!**
▷ C doesn't really care about [PIV] either , it just wants whatever v has agreed with, so it will also always agree with the object

► Now we have a class of verbs that can create configurations where the **highest DP doesn't necessarily carry an Ā-feature**, and thereby it **won't intervene**

▶ Deriving the relevant case where subject extraction from UV is allowed:

　▷ We have a UV-only verb, so the VSA will always be the object
　▷ But **[PIV] is on the subject = no Ā-intervention!**

(33)　✓ S←UV with UV-only verbs: non-Ā-marked VSA doesn't intervene
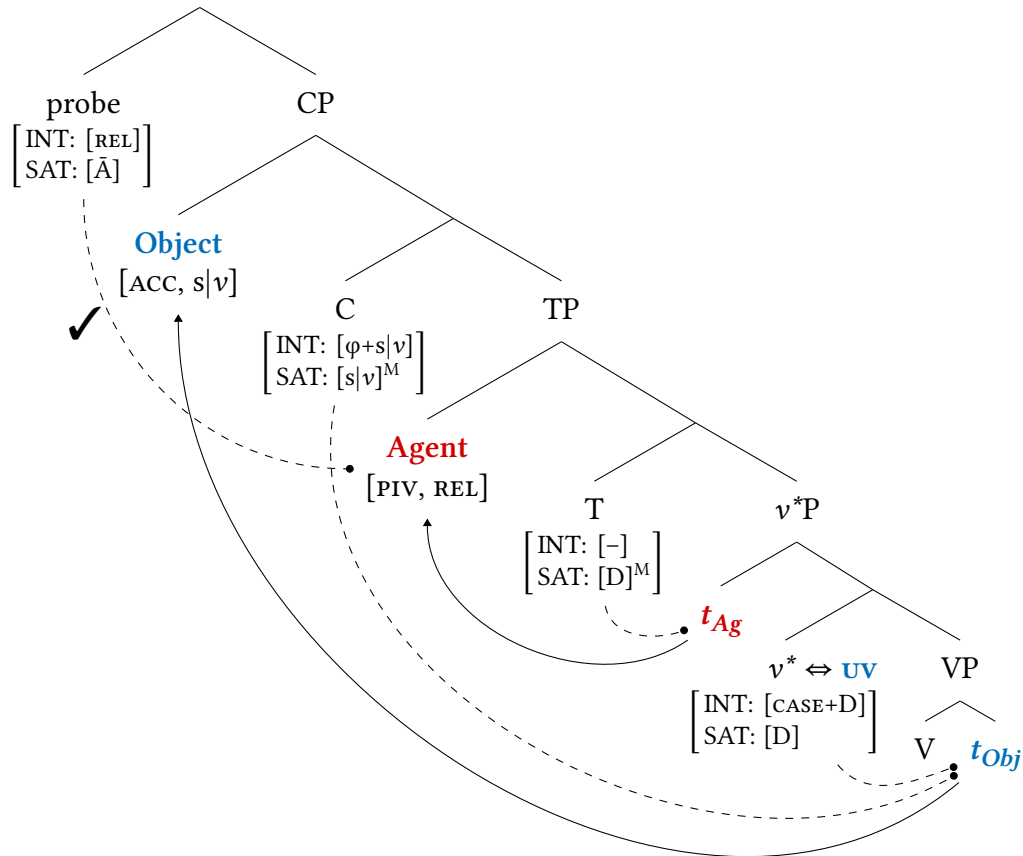
7　Movement to spec,CP is mixed A/Ā-movement

▶ We have posited a particular probe specification for C to model different extraction patterns (sometimes a high DP intervenes, sometimes it doesn't)

▶ What type of movement is this? Classic differences in (34)–(35):

　▷ ✓ = what Äiwoo VSA-fronting has
　▷ I don't know how parasitic gaps work, and I don't know if this movement creates new antecedents for anaphors; very hard to test for independent reasons)

(34) **A-properties:**

    a.   Local

    b.   ✓ Restricted to nominals

    c.   ✓ No Condition C reconstruction

    d.   ✓ No Weak Crossover

(35) **Ā-properties:**

    a.   ✓ Long-distance

    b.   Not restricted to nominals

    c.   Reconstruction for Condition C

    d.   Weak Crossover

▶ Under **a featural approach to the A/Ā-distinction** (van Urk 2015), we expect this:

  ▷ **Ā-type** locality profile: the probe is specific enough that it won't only target the closest DP

  ▷ **A-type** profile for syntactic categories: C only targets nominals (because of [φ], but also indirectly because *v* only targeted nominals in the first place)

  ▷ **A-type** profile for Condition C and WCO (because it only targets nominals; see van Urk 2015 for details)

▶ Interesting comparison: Äiwoo VSA-fronting vs **Germanic V2-fronting**

  ▷ They look in principle very similar on the surface, but Germanic V2-fronting is more like pure Ā-movement

  ▷ Very different profiles for Condition C, WCO, and restriction to certain syntactic categories

CATEGORIAL RESTRICTIONS:

(36) **Äiwoo pre-verbal position: ✓ DPs, ✗ PPs, ✗ AdvPs**

    a.   [*George*]_{DP} *ki-te-vesi-i-kâ-no*   *ngä taun dâbu dâuwângâ*
           George   IPFV-see.UV-keep-UV-DIR3-1MIN in   town day   every
           'I see George in town every day'

    b.   *[*ngä taun*]_{PP} *ki-te-vesi-i-kâ-no*   *George dâbu dâuwângâ*
           in   town   IPFV-see.UV-keep-UV-DIR3-1MIN George day   every

    c.   *[*dâbu dâuwângâ*]_{AdvP} *ki-te-vesi-i-kâ-no*   *George ngä taun*
           day   every   IPFV-see.UV-keep-UV-DIR3-1MIN George in   town

(37) **Norwegian pre-verbal position: ✓ DPs, ✓ PPs, ✓ AdvPs**

    a.   [*Ana*]_{DP} *ser jeg i by-en*   *hver dag*
           Ana   see I   in city-DEF every day
           'I see Ana in town every day'

    b.   [*i by-en*]_{PP} *ser jeg Ana hver dag*
           in city-DEF see I   Ana every day

    c.   [*hver dag*]_{AdvP} *ser jeg Ana i by-en*
           every day   see I   Ana in city-DEF

Condition C reconstruction:

(38) a. **Äiwoo pivot-fronting: no Condition C reconstruction**
      [*poi   no $\boxed{\textbf{\textit{Pita}}}$*]$_{\text{Obj}}$ *i-dââ-$\boxed{Ø^{\text{n}}}$=naa*
       pig POSS   Peter   ASP-tie.UV-3MIN=FUT
      '**Peter$_i$** will tie **his$_i$** pig'; lit. '**He$_i$** will tie **Peter$_i$**'s pig'

      b. **Norwegian V2-fronting: reconstruction for Condition C**
      [*hus-et   til $\boxed{\textbf{\textit{Petter}}}$*]$_{\text{Obj}}$ *kjøpte $\boxed{\textbf{\textit{han}}}$ for ikke så lenge siden*
       house-DEF to Peter   bought he   for not so long ago
      '**He$_{j/*i}$** bought **Petter$_i$**'s house not too long ago'

Weak Crossover:

(39) a. **Äiwoo pivot-fronting: no Weak Crossover violation**
      $\boxed{\textbf{\textit{iie}}}$ *ku-tu-mä   tumwä-$\boxed{Ø^{\text{n}}}$=naa?*
      who IPFV-bring.UV-DIR1   father-3MIN=FUT
      'Who are the individuals x such that x's father will bring x?'
      Lit. '**Who$_i$** will **his/her$_i$** father bring?'

      b. **Norwegian *wh*-fronting: Weak Crossover violation**
      $\boxed{\textbf{\textit{hvem}}}$ *vil far-en $\boxed{\textbf{\textit{hans}}}$ ta   med?*
      who   will father-DEF his   take with
      '**Who$_i$** will **his$_{j/*i}$** father bring?'

8 Conclusion

► Äiwoo shows something novel for Austronesian languages: **UV-only verbs**

  ▷ With these, the standard extraction restriction doesn't hold

► We learn something about the interplay between syntactic "inversion" (one argument moving above another) and restrictions on extraction: they don't need to go together!

  ▷ Classic explanations for syntactic ergativity (Deal 2016 and references therein)
  ▷ But not necessarily: one can have the one without the other (see Ershova 2019)

► Supports the idea that locality is probe-specific, and not determined globally

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A MORE SUBJECT EXTRACTION FROM UV-ONLY VERBS:

(40) *kää* 'know':
[*isä devalili* [RC *ile   lopwâ enge* i-*kää*-päko-i-i   ]]
women   PROX story   this ASP-know.UV-good-UV-3AUG
'[I've met some] women who know this story well'
▷ Constructed AV RC: **likääpäko ile lopwâ enge*

(41) *wagu* 'tell':
[*sime*   [RC *lopwâ eângâ* i-*wagu*-mä-i   ]]=*lâ   li-pe-Lende*
person   story   that   ASP-tell.UV-DIR1-3AUG   =DIST 3AUG-COLL-S.Cruz
'The people who told me that story were from Santa Cruz'
▷ Constructed AV RC: **liwâgumä lopwâ eângâ=kâ*

(42) *lâwâle* 'help':
[*silaki* [RC *Jen ki-lâwâle*-vesi-i-kä-∅^{n} =*naa*]]
girl   Jane IPFV-help.UV-always-UV-DIR3-3MIN   =FUT
'The girl who will always help Jane [is my daughter]'
▷ Constructed AV RC: **kilâwâlevesikä=naa Jen*

(43) ***nyida*** 'love':
[***gilaki*** *mi*=[$_{RC}$ ***isä*-$\varnothing^n$**   *ba*   *ki-**nyida**-$\varnothing^n$*   ☐=*gu*]]
 boy   REL=   mother-3MIN NEG IPFV-love.**UV**-**3MIN**   =NEG
'A boy who doesn't love his mother [has bad manners]'
▷ Constructed AV RC: **ba kinyida=gu isä*

(44) ***te*** 'see':
[***pesingedâ*** *mi*=[$_{RC}$ ***kuli no-mu***   *ki-**te**-**usi**-kä-**i***   ☐=*laa*]]
 girls   REL=   dog POSS-2MIN IPFV-see.**UV**-again.**UV**-DIR3-**3AUG**   =FUT
'[I want to talk to] the girls who will see your dog again'
▷ Constructed AV RC: **kiliteutekä=naa kuli nomu*

(45) **Applicative *-i* 'comitative':**
[***mikilitei*** [$_{RC}$ ***nubââ*** *i-eâ-**i**-to-mä-**i***   ☐]]=*lâ*
 fishermen   shark   ASP-[paddle-**COM**]$_{UV}$-in-DIR1-**3AUG**   =DIST
'The fishermen who paddled back with the shark [are very strong]'
▷ Constructed AV RC: **lieâitomä nubââ=kâ*

(46) **Applicative *-ive*:**
[***pedevalili*** [$_{RC}$ ***John*** *ku-mâea-**ive**-mana-**i**-**i***   ☐]]=*lâ*
 children   John   IPFV-[laugh-**APPL**]$_{UV}$-very-**UV**-**3AUG**   =DIST
'The children who were laughing at John [were very small]'
▷ Constructed AV: **kulumâeaivemana John=kâ*