Object voice in Budai Rukai

Overview: (Western) Austronesian languages are broadly categorized into Philippine-type languages and Indonesian-type languages with a distinction in the 'voice' systems (Wolff 1996, Himmelmann 2005, Chen and McDonnell 2018). While most Formosan languages use the Philippine-type voice system (Aldridge 2004, Chang 2004, Chen 2017), Budai Rukai appears to share the Indonesian-type voice system in showing the active voice, (1a), and object voice (OV), where verbs are morphologically bare with themes being nominative and agents being genitive, (1b). Note that as no dedicated morpheme for AV is present in Budai Rukai unlike typical Indonesian-type languages, the distinction between AV and OV relies on the presence of realis markers, (1). This paper investigates OV in Budai Rukai in terms of the grammatical relations and the clausal structure. Different from an ergative structure for OV in Indonesian (Cole et al. 2008) and Acehnese (Legate 2014), this paper argues (a) that themes are A'-moved, (b) that agents are arguments with a structural Case, and (c) that OV clauses show both verbal and nominal properties.

Themes: While themes in OV have syntactic prominence, patterning with agents in AV, they actually undergo A'-movements. Themes in OV pattern with agents in AV for both case and A'-properties: they bear nominative, (1b), like agents but not themes in AV, (1a); they can be topicalized, (2a), like agents but not themes in AV, (3); they can be *wh*-moved, (2b), like agents but not themes in AV, (4); they can be relativized, (2c), like agents but not themes in AV, (5). Nevertheless, instead of undergoing A-movements to the grammatical subject position, themes in OV showcase A'-movements. First, themes in OV do not serve as controlled PRO, different from themes in the passive-like construction (Shih 2025), (6a). Second, themes as a reflexive in OV are reconstructed and bound by genitive agents, but nominative themes in OV cannot bind reflexive agents, (6b). Third, themes with an R-expression co-indexed with agents in OV are also reconstructed and induce the Condition C violation, (6c). Moreover, it is demonstrated that themes in OV are moved instead of staying in-situ in the grammatical object position as themes in AV. First, themes in OV exhibit the definiteness constraint and are interpreted as definite, (7a), whereas themes in AV are interpreted as indefinite, (7b). Second, quantificational themes in OV can bind into the pronouns inside agents with a co-varying reading, (8a), whereas quantificational themes in AV cannot, (8b). (Note that quantifier binding works in other Formosan languages of A'-movements (Chen 2017)).

Agents: Agents in OV are syntactically inert arguments with a structural Case rather than a non-structural ergative Case. Agents in OV are marked as genitive and obligatory, (9a), different from oblique and optional agents in the passive-like construction, (9b). In addition, agent arguments in OV appear inert as they do not participate in any A'-movements: they cannot be topicalized, (10a); they cannot be *wh*-moved, (10b); they cannot be relativized, (10c). Despite the inert behavior, agents in OV are not ergative as assigned in Spec,*v*P or Spec,VoiceP but receive a structural Case. First, in a subset of OV constructions where reasons or results have syntactic prominence, themes of unaccusative verbs receive the genitive case, (11a), which proves that the genitive case in OV is not restricted to the specifier position as a non-structural Case but can reach to the complement position. Second, in causatives with OV where causands get promoted (topicalized in (11b)), causers are marked as genitive while causees are marked as oblique, (11b). This case pattern differs from (some) ergative languages where both causers and causees are marked as ergative when causands have the absolutive marking (see Chen 2017 for other Formosan languages).

Clausal structure: The clausal structure for OV in Budai Rukai shows both verbal and nominal properties. OV shows its verbal properties in having TAM markings, such as perfective, (1b), and an agent-oriented adverb to modify the event, (12a). OV also shares the nominal property, in that the negation in OV, (12d), patterns with that in nominal predicates, (12c), rather than that in verbal predicates, (12b). Namely, a morpheme *ka* is required in negation for OV and nominal predicates, but is not allowed in negation for verbal predicates.

Tentative analysis: This paper adopts the agreement approach where syntactically prominent arguments, themes, are A'-moved (Richards 2000, Pearson 2001, 2005, Rackowski 2002, Rackowski and Richards 2005, Chang 2004, Chen 2017, Erlewine et al. 2017, Patrianto 2023). Moreover, similar to Pearson 2001, 2005 where themes are base-generated in Spec,CP with an operator movement, this paper proposes that themes in OV in Budai Rukai are base-generated in Spec,PredP and predicated by a nominalized predicate. The reconstruction effects are captured by an operator movement where the covert A'-moved element is an operator with an NP complement which is PF-deleted but LF-interpreted for reconstructions (Salzmann 2019).

References: **Chen, V.** (2017). *A Reexamination of the Philippine-Type Voice System and Its Implications for Austronesian Primary-Level Subgrouping*. U. of Hawai'i. **Pearson, M.** (2005). The Malagasy subject/topic as an A'-element. *NLLT, 23*. **Rackowski, A**. (2002). *The structure of Tagalog*. MIT.

(1) a. **Wa-kirikiri** ka damay ka ina. b. **Kirikiri(-nga)** ki ina ka damay.
REAL-stir.fry OBL dish NOM my.mother **stir.fry(-PFV)** GEN my.mother NOM dish
'My mother stir-fried the dish.' 'The dish is stir-fried by my mother.'

(2) a. **Ka damay**, kirikiri ki ina. b. Manemane [ka **kirikiri** ki ina]?
NOM dish stir.fry GEN my.mother what [NOM **stir.fry** GEN my.mother]
'The dish is stir-fried by my mother.' 'What did my mother sir-fry?'
c. Sangu-a-esay ka [**kirikiri** ki ina ka] damay.
smell-REAL-rich NOM [**stir.fry** GEN my.mother REL] dish
'The dish that my mother stir-fried smells good.'

(3) a. **Ka Lavurase**, wa-lrumay ki tawpungu. b. *__Ki tawpungu__, wa-lrumay ka Lavurase.
NOM Lavurase REAL-hit OBL dog **OBL dog** REAL-hit NOM Lavurase
'Lavurase hit the dog.' 'Lavurase hit the dog.'

(4) a. Aneane ka **wa-lrumay** ki tawpungu? b. *Manemane ka **wa-lrumay** ki Lavurase?
who NOM **REAL-hit** OBL dog what NOM **REAL-hit** GEN Lavurase
'Who hit the dog?' 'What did Lavurase hit?'

(5) a. ka **wa-lrumay** ki tawpungu ka lasu. b. *ka **wa-lrumay** ki Lavurase ka tawpungu
NOM **REAL-hit** OBL dog REL male NOM **REAL-hit** GEN Lavurase REL dog
'the man that hit the dog' 'the dog that Lavurase hit'

(6) a. Ka lrulay, ma-kiwcu [*kaace ki sulraw / ki-kaace ki sulraw].
NOM child STAT.REAL-afraid [*bite GEN snake / PASS-bite OBL snake]
'The child is afraid of being bitten by the snake.'
b. Sa calri-calrigi ka Lavurase ki angatu, [**ngi**-papakay=**ini** / *__ngi__-papakay=Ø] .
when RED-chop NOM Lavurase OBL tree [**REFL**-hit=**3SG.GEN** / *__REFL__-hit=**3SG.NOM**]
'When Lavurase was chopping the tree, he hit himself.'
c. Lapu=ini$_{*i/k}$ [ka tawpungu ki Lavurase$_i$].
keep=3SG.GEN$_{*i/k}$ [NOM dog GEN Lavurase$_i$]
'Lavurase$_i$'s dog is kept by him$_{*i/k}$.'

(7) a. Langay ki L. [ka vaeva ka daane]. b. Wa-langay [ku vaeva ku daane] ka L.
buy GEN L. [NOM one REL house] REAL-buy [OBL one REL house] NOM L.
'That one house is bought by L.' 'L. bought a house.' (some random house)

(8) a. Ka-dalame [ki t-ina=ini$_i$] [sanaka lrulay$_i$].
STAT-like [GEN T-mother=3SG.GEN$_i$] [every child$_i$]
'Every child$_i$ is loved by his$_i$ mother.'
b. Ma-dalame [kay sinsi=ini$_{*i/k}$] [sanaka panudhu$_i$].
STAT.REAL-like [this teacher=3SG.GEN$_{*i/k}$] [every student$_i$]
'His$_{*i/k}$ teacher likes every student$_i$.'

(9) a. Ka Muni, ka-dalame*(**=li**). b. Ka Muni, ki-a-ka-dalame (**nakwane**).
NOM Muni STAT-like*(**=1SG.GEN**) NOM Muni PASS-REAL-STAT-like (**1SG.OBL**)
'Muni is loved by me.' 'Muni is loved (by me).'

(10) a. *__Ki ina__, kirikiri ka damay. b. *Aneane [ku **kirikiri** ka damay]?
*__GEN my.mother__ stir.fry NOM dish who [NOM **stir.fry** NOM dish]
'The dish is stir-fried by my mother.' 'Who stir-fried the dish?'
c. *Pasawvaladhane ka [**kirikiri** ka damay ka] lasu.
handsome NOM [**stir.fry** NOM dish REL] man
'The man that stir-fried the dish is handsome.'

(11) a. Kay kela**=li** ki daane=numi, lri-kisalru=aku ku paysu.
this come**=1SG.GEN** OBL house=2PL.GEN FUT-borrow=1SG.NOM OBL money
'The reason that I came to your house is to borrow money.'
b. Ka lrulruuy, pa-salri**=li** **iniane** / *__=ini__ kibubuli.
NOM box CAUS-move**=1SG.GEN** **3SG.OBL** / *__=3SG.GEN__ stealthily
'The box is what I made him move stealthily.'

(12) a. Langay **kububuli** ki ama ka didiwsa. b. Kai=naku (*ka) walrumay ki L.
buy **stealthily** GEN my.father NOM car NEG=1SG.NOM (*KA) REALhit OBL L.
'That car is bought by my father stealthily.' 'I didn't hit Lavurase.'
c. Kai=su *(ka) sinsi. d. Kai *(ka) kirikiri ki ina ka damay.
NEG=2SG.NOM *(KA) teacher NEG *(KA) stir.fry GEN my.mother NOM dish
'You are not a teacher.' 'The dish is not the one that my mother stir-fried.'