

Origin of Ergative Variation in Austronesian Languages
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1. Introduction

Traditional view on the source of ergative alignment (Bok-Bennema 1991; Bittner and Hale 1996; Ura 2000; Alexiadou 2001; Whitman and Yanagida, to appear):

1. Unavailability of structural licensing for internal argument in transitive clause
2. Non-structural licensing for external argument
3. Licensing of internal argument by T

High ABS (Seediq; Atayalic, spoken in Taiwan)

Ergative Case-marking Pattern:

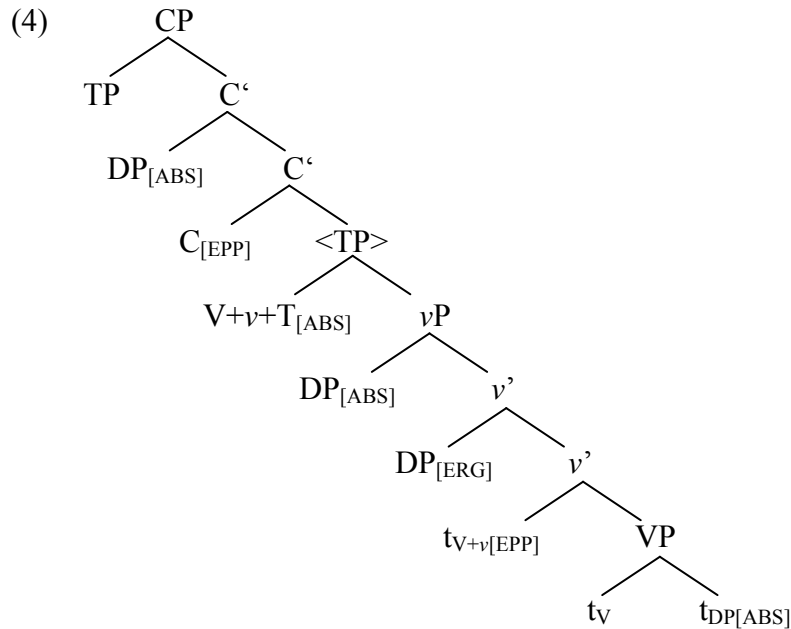
- (1) a. Wada kudurjak **ka** qedin=na.
PAST flee ABS wife=3S.GEN
'His wife ran away.'
- b. Wada bube-un **na** Pihu **ka** dangi=na.
PAST hit-TR ERG Pihu ABS friend=3S.GEN
'Pihu hit his friend.'

Absolutive case from T: No absolutive available in embedded nonfinite clause.

- (2) a. M-n-osa [PRO **m-ari** patis taihoku] ka Ape.
INTR-PRV-go INTR-buy book Taipei ABS Ape
'Ape went to buy books in Taipei.'
- b. *M-n-osa [PRO burig-**un** taihoku (ka) patis] ka Ape.
INTR-PRV-go buy-TR Taipei ABS book ABS Ape
'Ape went to buy books in Taipei.'

Parameters and clause structure:

- (3) High ABS
 v_{Tr} : Inherent ergative case, no[$u\phi$], [EPP]
 v_{Intr} : No [$u\phi$], no [EPP]
 T_{Fin} : [$u\phi$]



Problem: T cannot be the sole source for absolutive case in all ergative languages.

Mixed ABS (Tagalog)

Ergative Case-marking Pattern:

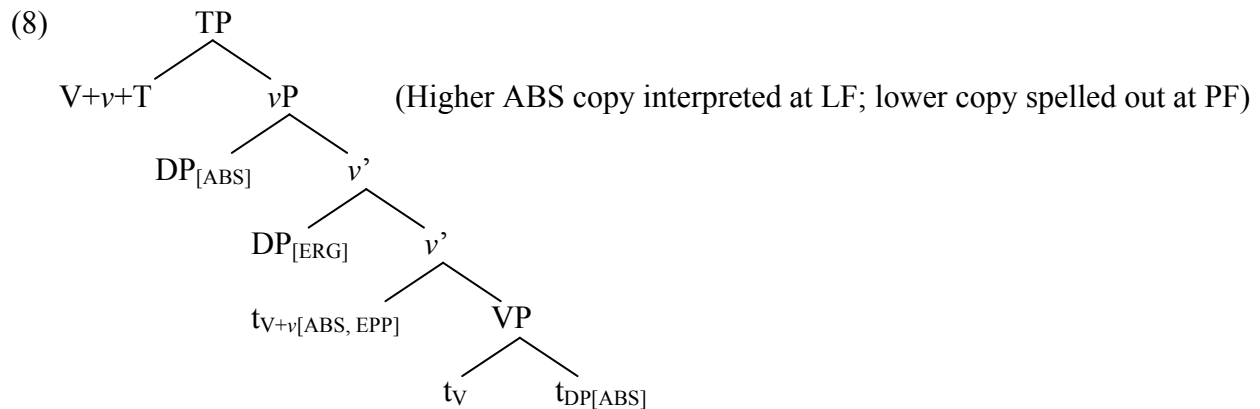
- (5) a. B<in>ili ng babae **ang** **isda**.
 <TR.PRIV>buy ERG woman ABS fish
 ‘The woman bought the fish.’
- b. D<um>ating **ang** **babae**.
 <INTR.PRIV>arrive ABS woman
 ‘The woman arrived.’

ABS available in transitive nonfinite clauses, but not intransitive:
 => ABS valued by transitive v , T in intransitive clauses

- (6) a. Nagba-balak si Maria-ng [PRO p-um-unta sa Maynila]
 INTR.PROG-plan ABS Maria-LK <INTR>go to Manila
 ‘Maria is planning to go to Manila.’
- b. Nagba-balak ang babae-ng [PRO tulung-an ang lalaki]
 INTR.PROG-plan ABS woman-LK help-APPL ABS man
 ‘The woman is planning to help the man.’

Parameters and clause structure:

- (7) Mixed ABS
 v_{Tr} : Inherent ergative case, [$u\phi$], [EPP]
 v_{Intr} : No [$u\phi$], no [EPP]
 T_{Fin} : Optional [$u\phi$],



Solution: Typology of ergative alignment

(9)		<u>Mixed</u>	<u>High</u>
	Aldridge (2004, 2008):	v-type	T-type
	Legate (2008):	Default	Nom
	Coon et al. (2011):	Low	High

High: Formosan languages, Georgian, Q'anjob'al Mayan

Mixed: Tagalog, Niuean, Chol Mayan, Enga, Inuit languages, Warlpiri

Question to address: What is the historical origin of the two types of ergativity?

Proposal for Austronesian languages¹:

- (10) a. ACC alignment > High ABS ergativity
 Clausal nominalization is reanalyzed as verbal
 => Structural licensing unavailable for internal argument in transitive clause
 => Non-structural licensing for external argument
 => T licenses internal argument
- b. High ABS > Mixed ABS
 Mixed absolutive is innovated from high absolutive
 => Transitive v acquires the ability to license a DP.

2. Diachronic Background

2.1. Ergative = Genitive in Nuclear Austronesian

Diachronic or synchronic connection between nominalization and ergativity (Starosta, Pawley, Reid 1982, Kaufman 2009 for Austronesian; Bricker 1981 for Mayan; Gildea 1998 for Cariban; Johns 1992 for Inuit)

¹ This reanalysis is limited to the Nuclear Austronesian subgroup (Ross 2009).

Austronesian, Mayan, Inuit: ERG = GEN

- (11) a. Seediq
S<n>malu **na** tama ka sapah=nii.
<PRV>build ERG father ABS house=DEM
'Father build this house.'
b. sapah **na** tama
house GEN father
'Father's house'

- (12) a. Tagalog
B<in>ili **ng** babae ang isda.
<TR.PRIV>buy ERG woman ABS fish
'The woman bought the fish.'
b. isda **ng** babae
fish GEN woman
'(the) woman's fish'

Genitive marks clausal agents in widely distributed AN subgroups.
=> PAN *n- (Ross 2006); ERG=GEN in Nuclear Austronesian (Ross 2009)

- Proto-Austronesian subgrouping (Ross 2009:316)
(13) *Puyuma*
Rukai
Tsou
Nuclear Austronesian (ERG=GEN)
Kanakanavu, Saaroa
Northwest Formosan: Saisiyat, Kulon-Pazih
Atayalic: Atayal, **Seediq**
Western Plains: Thao, Taokas, Favorlang-Babuza, Papora, Hoanya
Bunun
Paiwan
East Formosan: Basay-Trobiawan, Kavalan, Amis, Siraya
Malayo-Polynesian: all extra-Formosan, including Yami and **Tagalog**

Not in *Rukai*:
=> Nominative case for verbal subjects

- (14) a. Mantauran Rukai (Zeitoun 2007:156)
maavanao-nga-**lrao**
DYN.FIN.bathe-already-1SG.NOM
'I have bathed already.'
b. o-kekrakelrange-nga-**lra**-ine ana lalake-'o
DYN.FIN.beat-already-1SG.NOM-3SG.OBL that child-2SG.GEN
'I have beaten your child.'

=> Genitive case for possessors and subjects in nominalized clauses

- (14) a. Mantauran Rukai
 lalake-**li** (Zeitoun 2007:327)
 child-1SG.GEN
 ‘my child’
 b. to’a-dhaac-ae-**li** (Zeitoun 2007:333)
 REAS.NMLZ-DYN.FIN.leave-REAS.NMLZ-1SG.GEN
 ‘the reason I am leaving’

2.2. Nuclear AN verbal morphology in ergative clauses hails from nominalization

Nuclear AN languages:

=> Intransitive/antipassive verbs reflect PAN verbal morphology

=> Transitive verbs reflect PAN nominal morphology

- (15) Seediq (High ABS)
m-/<m> Intransitive/Antipassive
-un Transitive
<n> Perfective

- (16) Tagalog (Mixed ABS)
<um> Intransitive/Antipassive
-in Transitive
<in> Transitive perfective

Proto-Austronesian: Distinct morphology for verbal and nominal clausal projections

- PAN dichotomy between V and N morphology (Ross 2009:306)
 (17) **M-* Verb
 **-en* Nominalization (relative clause with theme gap)
 **<in>* Perfective in nominalization (relative clause with IA gap)

Dichotomy maintained outside Nuclear AN:

=> *Puyuma* subject relatives are clausal; object relatives are nominalized.

- (18) Puyuma (Teng 2008)
 a. trakaw dra paisu i isaw (Active clause)
 <INTR>steal INDEF.OBL money SG.NOM Isaw
 ‘Isaw stole money.’
 b. ane kirtrebung=ta [dra ma’idrang-an
 when meet=1PL.INCL.NOM INDEF.OBL old-NMLZ
 [dra **ma-sangal** dra basak]] (Subject RC)
 INDEF.OBL INTR-carry INDEF.OBL sack
 ‘When we meet elders who carry packages on their shoulders’

c. ala amuna sadru [[tu=tr<in>ekelr-an] na asi]
 maybe because many 3.PSR=<PRV>drink-NMLZ DEF.NOM milk
 ‘Maybe because the mild he drank is a lot.’ (Object RC)

2.3. Previous Proposal

Morphological change (Ross 2009)

Change: Nominalizing morphemes > verbal morphemes

Trigger: Partial loss of verbal paradigm

=> Lost verbal morphemes replaced by nominal affixes

PNan verbal inflection (partial paradigm) (Ross 2009:296)

- (19) *M- Realis (S nominative)
 *M-<in> Perfective (S nominative)
 *-en Realis (O nominative)
 *<in> Perfective (O nominative)

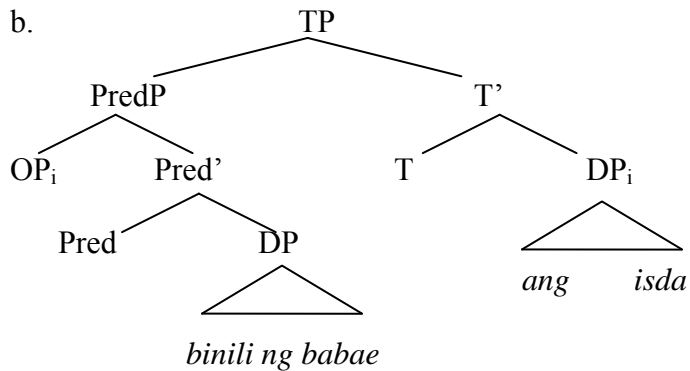
Structural change

Starosta, Pawley, Reid (1982) (SPQR):

=> Cleft with embedded relative clause was reanalyzed as declarative clause type

Possible result: Kaufman’s (2009) synchronic analysis of Tagalog in which all declarative clauses are copula constructions embedding a relative clause.

- (20) a. Tagalog
 B<in>ili ng babae ang isda.
 <TR.PRV>buy ERG woman ABS fish
 ‘The woman bought the fish.’



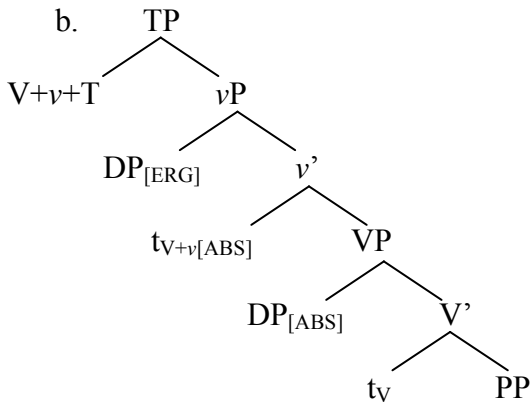
Problem: Kaufman’s (2009) structure does not account for structural properties of Tagalog:
 => Scrambling of arguments outside of “PredP island”.

- Tagalog
- (21) a. [TP [PrP B<um>ili **ng bahay**] ang babae].
 <INTR.PRV>buy GEN house ABS woman
 ‘The woman bought a house.’
- b. [TP [PrP B<um>ili t] ang babae **ng bahay**].
 <INTR.PRV>buy ABS woman GEN house
 ‘The woman bought a house.’

- Tagalog
- (22) a. [TP [PrP I-bi-bigay=ko **kay Maria**] ang bulaklak].
 APPL-RED-give=1S.ERG to Maria ABS flower
 ‘I will give the flowers to Maria.’
- b. [TP [PrP I-bi-bigay=ko t] ang bulaklak **kay Maria**].
 APPL-RED-give=1S.ERG ABS flower to Maria
 ‘I will give the flowers to Maria.’

The structure proposed and defended by Aldridge (2004, 2008) does account for Tagalog word order.

- Tagalog
- (23) a. B<**in**>ili ng babae *ang isda*.
 <TR.PRV>buy ERG woman ABS fish
 ‘The woman bought the fish.’



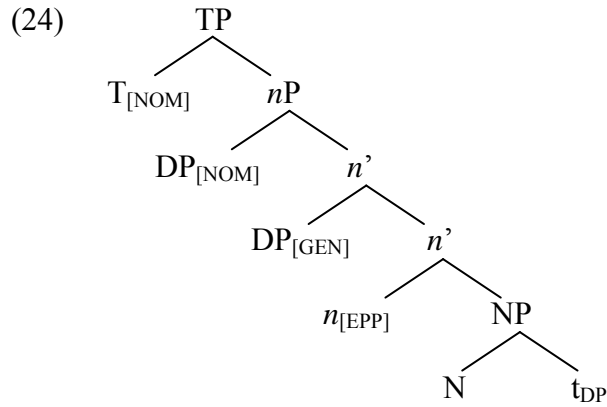
=> PP base generated in VP; No island to block scrambling

But: Now there is a problem for the reanalysis of a cleft to a monoclausal construction.
 => Requires a radical reanalysis of clause structure and constituency.

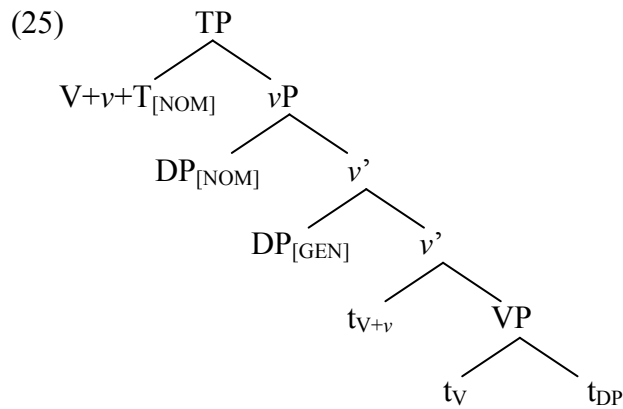
Solution: Input structure cleft embeds a reduced relative clause.

3. Proposal

Input: Reduced cleft²



Relativizing *n* has [EPP] in order to raise the head nominal.
 Change: $n > v$ (category change)
v retains [EPP].



3.1. Evidence for reduced relative clause

Clefts outside Nuclear AN are formed on nominalized relative clauses.

Rukai active verbs take *o-/om-/m- < *M-* (Malcolm Ross, Elizabeth Zeitoun, p.c.).
o-/om-/m- do not occur in nominalizations.

- Mantauran Rukai* (Zeitoun 2007:197-9)
- (26) a. *o-kane* 'to eat' (verbal)
 b. *ta-kane* '(who) eats' (subject nominalization)
 c. *a-kan-ae* 'food' (object nominalization)

² See also Yanagida and Whitman (2009), Yanagida (2012), Whitman and Yanagida (to appear) for another analysis of non-accusative alignment involving a reduced clausal nominalization.

- Mantauran Rukai* (Zeitoun 2007:359)
- (27) a. **o**-kelrakelrang-iae taotao.
DYN.FIN-beat-1S.OBL Taotao
'Taotao beat me.'
- b. taotao **ta**-kelrakerang-iae.
Taotao SUBJ.NMLZ-DYN-NONFIN-beat-1S.OBL
'It is Taotao who beat me.'

<in> (< *<in>) only occurs in nominalizations.

- Tanan Rukai* (Li 1973:156)
- (28) a. kani PRES (V)
b. wa-kani PAST (V)
c. ay-kani FUT (V)
d. kani-an 'eating object' (N)
e. a- kani-an 'object to be eaten' (N)
f. ni-kani-an / k<in>ani-an 'object that was eaten' (N)

- Tanan Rukai* (Li 1973:108-9)
- (29) a. ku lacing **wa**-baay naku-a sa Lima ka 'aysu.
NOM Lacing PAST.ACT-give 1S-ACC OBL five LK money
'Lacing gave me five dollars.'
- b. kay 'aysu **b<in>aay**-an naku-a ina maruDang.
this money <PRV>give-NMLZ 1S-ACC that old.man
'This money was given to me by that old man.'

Puyuma *wh*-clefts are also formed on nominalized relative clauses.

- Puyuma*
- (30) a. bəray=ku ɖa kuraw ɖa ɲiaw (Tan 1997:11)
give=1.SG.NOM OBL.INDEF fish OBL.INDEF cat
'I gave a fish to a cat.'
- b. amanay [nu-b<in>əray kan aʈuŋ] (Tan 1997:116)
what.NOM 2.SG.GEN-<NMLZ>give OBL aʈuŋ
'What is the thing that you gave to Aʈuŋ?'

Relative clauses are larger than lexical nominalizations, but are not finite CPs:

=> Can contain aspect and negation.

=> Do not make NOM available.

- Puyuma* (Teng 2008)
- (31) a. kadru [ku=k<in>a-sagar-an **dra suan]**
<INTR>there 1.SG.GEN=<PRV>KA-like-NMLZ OBL dog
'My loving of dogs is like that.'
- b. wa-alrak dra patrungtrungan [dra *adri=driya*
go-take INDEF.OBL drum INDEF.OBL NEG=IMPRV

b<in>arekep-an dra kulritr]
 <PRV>assemble-NMLZ INDEF.OBL skin
 ‘Go get a drum that has not been assembled with a skin.’

3.2. Innovation 1: Results in high ABS language

PAN $\frac{u_{[EPP][GEN]}}{*<in>/-en}$ (IA relativizer) > PNAAn $\frac{V_{[EPP][GEN]}}{*<in>/-en}$ (ergative *v*)

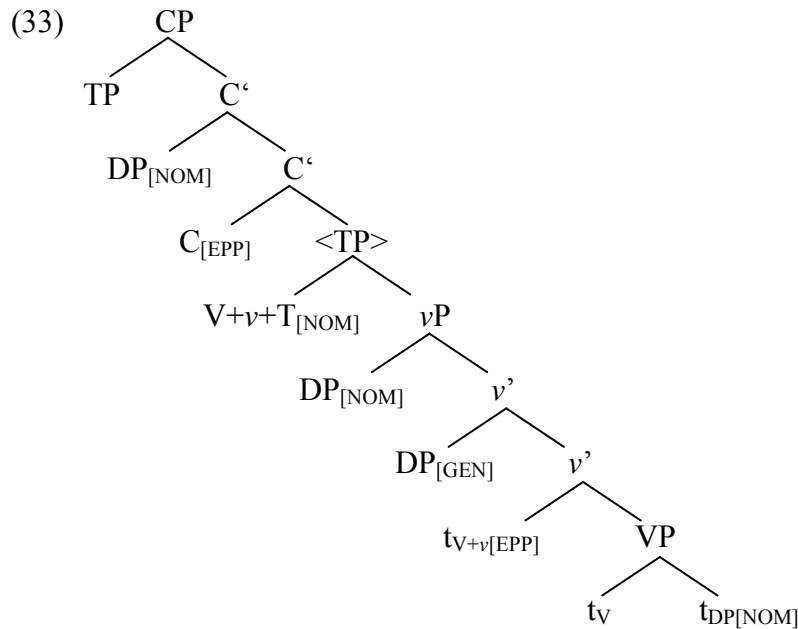
PAN **M*- (No change, remains verbal)³
 Transitive *v* with **M*- = accusative *v*

Possible trigger: Loss of certain forms in verbal paradigm?

Result: High ABS language

(32) High ABS ergativity

- v_{Erg} : Inherent genitive case, no[$u\phi$], [EPP]
- v_{Acc} : [$u\phi$], no [EPP]
- v_{Intr} : No [$u\phi$]
- T_{Fin} : [$u\phi$]



³ This proposal deviates from Ross (2009), who claims that *M*- attached to both verbal and nominal stems in Proto-Austronesian. According to Ross, the *M*- found in Nuclear Austronesian reflects the nominalizing *M*-. In the current proposal, only the transitive affixes (*<in>, *-en, etc.) were nominalizers. *M*- has always been verbal.

- Seediq (High ABS as split-ergative? Two transitive clause types!)
- (34) a. **M**<n>osa Taihoku ka Ape. (Intransitive)
 ACT<PRV>go Taipei NOM Ape
 ‘Ape went to Taipei.’
- b. Wada bube-**un** na Pihu ka dangi=na. (Ergative)
 PAST hit-TR GEN Pihu NOM friend=3S.GEN
 ‘Pihu hit his friend.’
- c. **M**<n>ari sapah purifia ka Pihu. (Accusative)
 ACT<PRV>buy house Puli NOM Pihu
 ‘Pihu bought a house in Puli.’

Evidence for High ABS:

=> No ABS in nonfinite clause

- Seediq
- (35) a. **M**<n>osa [PRO **m**-ari patis taihoku] ka Ape.
 ACT<PRV>go ACT-buy book Taipei NOM Ape
 ‘Ape went to buy books in Taipei.’
- b. ***M**<n>osa [PRO burig-**un** taihoku (ka) patis] ka Ape.
 ACT<PRV>go buy-TR Taipei NOM book NOM Ape
 ‘Ape went to buy books in Taipei.’

Evidence for movement to edge of vP:

=> Paiwan V-ABS-X order

- Northern Paiwan (Chang 2000:97-8)
- (36) a. t-in-ekel **a zua vava** ni palang
 <TR.PRIV>drink NOM that wine GEN Palang
 ‘Palang drank that wine.’
- b. na-t-em-ekel ti palang **ta vava**
 PRV-<ACT>drink NOM Palang OBL wine
 ‘Palang drank wine.’

Paiwan is also a high ABS language: No ABS in nonfinite clause

- Northern Paiwan
- (37) a. Kilingaw [a PRO v<en>eli ti palang tua sunat]
 try C <ACT>buy NOM Palang OBL book
 ‘Palang tries to buy a book.’
- b. *Kilingaw-in [a PRO veli-in ni palang **a sunat**]
 try-TR C buy-TR GEN Palang NOM book
 ‘Palang tries to buy the book.’

3.3. Innovation 2: Results in mixed ABS language

PNAn $\overset{V[u\phi]}{*M-}$ (accusative v) > Tagalog $\overset{v}{<um>}$ (antipassive)

PNAn $\overset{V[EPP][GEN]}{*<in>/-en}$ (ergative v) > Tagalog $\overset{V[EPP][GEN][u\phi]}{<in>/-in}$ (fully transitive ergative v)

Result: Mixed ABS language

(38) Mixed ABS ergativity

- v_{Erg} : Inherent genitive case, $[u\phi]$, [EPP]
- v_{Acc} : No $[u\phi]$, no [EPP]
- v_{Intr} : No $[u\phi]$
- T_{Fin} : Optional $[u\phi]$, no [EPP]

Case from v in transitive clauses, but from T intransitive

- (39) Tagalog
- a. Nagba-balak si Maria-ng [PRO p-um-unta sa Maynila]
 INTR.PROG-plan ABS Maria-LK <INTR>go to Manila
 ‘Maria is planning to go to Manila.’
- b. Nagba-balak ang babae-ng [PRO tulung-an ang lalaki]
 INTR.PROG-plan ABS woman-LK help-APPL ABS man
 ‘The woman is planning to help the man.’

Possible trigger: Loss of morphological accusative case?

- (40) PAN case: NOM GEN ACC (Ross 2006:529)
 *k- *n- *C-

Ross also reconstructs ACC *t- for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, so the loss was limited to Philippine languages.

Tagalog has a fully intransitive antipassive. And the object is *genitive*.

Objects in antipassives (cross-linguistically) are indefinite and take low scope.

- (41) ABS object specific/definite; OBL object nonspecific
- a. B<in>ili ng babae ang isda. (Transitive)
 <TR.PRIV>buy ERG woman ABS fish
 ‘The woman bought the fish.’
- b. B<um>ili ang babae ng isda. (Antipassive)
 <INTR.PRIV>buy ABS woman GEN fish
 ‘The woman bought a fish.’

- ABS object wide scope; OBL object narrow
- (42) a. B<in>asa [ng lahat ng bata] [ang marami-ng libro] (Trans)
 <PRV.TR>read ERG all GEN child ABS many-LK book
 ‘All the children read many books.’
 MANY > ALL
- b. Nag-basa [ang lahat ng bata] [ng marami-ng libro] (AP)
 PRV.INTR-read ABS all GEN child GEN many-LK book
 ‘All the children read many books.’
 ALL > MANY

Contrast with Seediq (which does not have an antipassive):

- Object can be definite
- (43) Wada beebu Pawan ka Awi-ni.
 PAST hit Pawan NOM Awi-DEF
 ‘Awi hit Pawan.’

- Wide scope possible
- (44) a. Hatang=ku m-bari teru bale, buleq-un=ku suburo.
 plan=1S.NOM ACT.FUT-buy three only, well-TR=1S.NOM rotten
 ‘I planned to buy only three, but when I took a good look, they were rotten.’
- b. Kiyaka ini=ku bari kanna.
 so NEG=1S.NOM buy.ACT.IRR all
 ‘So I didn’t buy any of them.’ (ALL > Neg)

Tagalog antipassive (erstwhile accusative) *v* cannot value case:
 => ECM available from transitive *v*, not not antipassive *v*

- Tagalog
- (45) a. Gina-gamit=niya [ang lalaki-ng alipin].
 TR.PROG-use=3S.ERG ABS man-LK slave
 ‘He/she uses the man as a slave.’
- b. *Guma-gamit=siya [ng lalaki-ng alipin].
 INTR.PROG-use=3S.ABS OBL man-LK slave
 ‘He/she uses the man as a slave.’

No such restriction in Seediq:

- Seediq
- (46) a. Tanah tunuh m-ekan [meluk qutsuruh].
 red head ACT-eat raw fish
 ‘Japanese (lit. red heads) eat [fish raw].’

3.4. Summary

- (47) PAN
 *M- Verbal, attaches to both transitive and intransitive
 *-en, *<in> Nominalization (relative clause with IA gap)
- (48) PAN (Accusative alignment)
 v_{Acc} : [$u\phi$], no [EPP] (*M-)
 n_{Rel} : Inherent genitive case, no [$u\phi$], [EPP] (*-en, *<in>)
 v_{Intr} : No [$u\phi$] (*M-)
 T_{Fin} : [$u\phi$]

Innovation 1:

- (49) PAN > PNan
 Verbal prefix *M- No change
 Nominalizers *-en, *<in> Verbal (ergative) ($n_{Rel} > v_{Erg}$)
- (50) High ABS (e.g. Seediq)
 v_{Acc} : [$u\phi$], no [EPP] (*M-)
 v_{Erg} : Inherent genitive case, no [$u\phi$], [EPP] (*-en, *<in>)
 v_{Intr} : No [$u\phi$] (*M-)
 T_{Fin} : [$u\phi$]

Innovation 2:

- (51) PNan Philippine languages
 Verbal prefix *M- Intransitive/AP (loss of [$u\phi$] on v_{Acc})
 Ergative*-en, *<in> Become fully transitive (gain of [$u\phi$] on v_{Erg})
- (52) Mixed ABS ergativity (e.g. Tagalog)
 v_{Acc} : **No** [$u\phi$], no [EPP] (*M-)
 v_{Erg} : Inherent genitive case, [$u\phi$], [EPP] (*-en, *<in>)
 v_{Intr} : No [$u\phi$] (*M-)
 T_{Fin} : **Optional** [$u\phi$], no [EPP]

4. Theory of Parameters

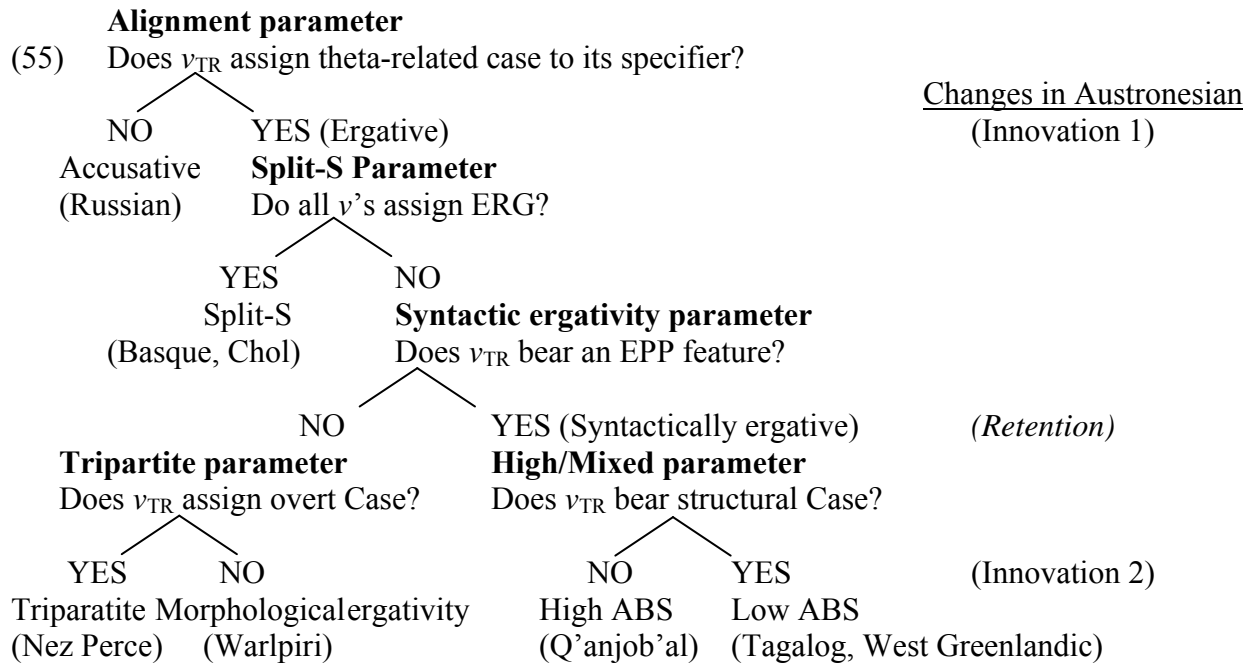
Aldridge (2004, 2008)

Formal features on v as the locus of parametric variation:

- (53) Ergative vs. Accusative Alignment
 Accusative: [$u\phi$] on T **and** transitive v
 Ergative: Transitive v assigns inherent case to its specifier.
 [$u\phi$] on T **or** transitive v

- (54) Ergative Variation
 High ABS: No [$u\phi$] on transitive/ergative v
 [$u\phi$] on T
 Mixed: [$u\phi$] required on transitive/ergative v
 [$u\phi$] optional on T

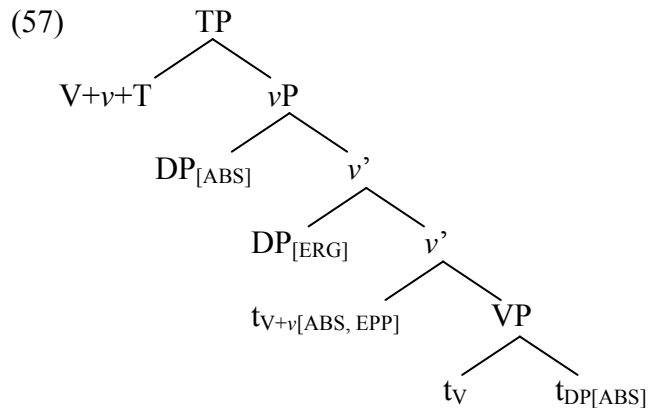
Parameter Hierarchy (Sheehan, to appear)



“Syntactic Ergativity Parameter” = Absolute Restriction on A'-extraction (ARAE) (Aldridge 2004, 2008): When a DP undergoes A'-movement, only the absolutive is eligible. (see also Bittner 1994; Campana 1992; Dixon 1979, 1994; England 1983; Manning 1996; Payne 1982; and others)

- Tagalog
- (56) a. B<in>ili ng babae ang isda. (Transitive clause)
 <TR.PRIV>buy ERG woman ABS fish
 ‘The woman bought the fish.’
- b. isda-ng b<in>ili ng babae (Relativization on ABS: OK)
 fish-LK <TR.PRIV>buy ERG woman
 ‘fish that the woman bought’
- c. *babae-ng b<in>ili ang isda (Relativization on ERG: *)
 woman-ng <TR.PRIV>buy ABS fish
 ‘woman who bought the fish’
- d. babae-ng b<um>ili ng isda (Antipassive; EA=ABS: Mvt OK)
 woman-LK <INTR.PRIV>buy GEN fish
 ‘woman who bought a/the fish’

EPP on transitive *v* moves IA above EA, so IA can move out of *v*P, blocking EA.⁴



Problem: Entailments of the hierarchy:

1. EPP is found only in ergative languages.
2. Mixed ABS languages all have the EPP restriction.

But:

1. EPP restriction is not limited to languages with ergative alignment.
2. There are mixed ABS languages with no EPP restriction.

Accusative language with extraction restriction:
=> Accusative alignment in Standard Indonesian

- Standard Indonesian
- (58) a. **Ali** *mem*-beli buku.
Ali ACT-buy buku
'Ali bought a book.'
- b. **Ali** bekerja.
Ali work
'Ali works.'

=> Only subjects can A' extract in Indonesian.

- Indonesian
- (59) a. Ali **mem**-beli buku. (Active clause)
Ali ACT-buy buku
'Ali bought a book.'

⁴ Syntactically ergative languages lack a SUBJECT grammatical function. I account for this by proposing that the [EPP] is not inherited from C to T (in the sense of Chomsky's 2005 feature inheritance). Consequently, C retains the [EPP] which seeks a DP, with the result that DPs are interveners for C probes.

- b. Siapa yang **mem**-beli buku-nya? (EA extraction in active clause: OK)
 who C ACT-give book-DEF
 'Who bought the book?'
- c. *Apa yang Ali **mem**-beli? (IA extraction in active clause: *)
 what C Ali ACT-buy
 'What did Ali buy?'
- d. Apa yang **di**-beli Ali? (IA extraction in passive clause: OK)
 what C PASS-buy Ali
 'What did Ali buy?'

Mixed ABS ergative language without extraction restriction:

=> Niuean (Levin & Massam 1985, Massam 2006), Warlpiri (Legate 2002, 2008), Chol (Coon 2010, Coon et al. 2011)

Proposal: Licensing (A) and dislocation (A') features belong in separate hierarchies.

=> Licensing ($[u\phi]$) features are inherited from phase head, so put them on the lower head.

=> Dislocation (esp. operator) features are not inherited, so leave them on the phase head.

Where does the ARAE come from?

=> Consequence of the diachronic source of ergativity

Syntactic ergativity is found predominantly in languages with a nominal source for ergativity (AN, Inuit, Mayan):

=> Relativizing n had an EPP feature to move the head nominal.

=> Relativizing $n >$ ergative v .

=> Ergative v inherits the EPP feature.

5. Conclusion

Ergative Alignment

Results when structural case is unavailable for IA in transitive clause

=> EA gets inherent case; IA gets structural case from T

Austronesian Ergativity

Results from two innovations

1. Nominalization $>$ verbal clause in Proto Nuclear Austronesian (High ABS)

2. Transitivity of v (erstwhile n) (Mixed ABS)

Syntactic Ergativity (extraction restriction)

Results if obligatory [EPP] is inherited from proto/pre-language

=> AN relativizing n (with EPP) $>$ ergative v (retaining EPP)

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