Philippine clitic pronouns and the lower phase edge

Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine and Theodore Levin
{mitcho,tedlevin}@alum.mit.edu

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Pronominal paradigms in Philippine-type Austronesian languages show a robust and curious gap: in transitive clauses pivot arguments and non-pivot agents may have bound pronominal forms, appearing as second position clitics, but pronominal non-pivot themes must be full, free pronouns. This gap teaches us about the organization of the lower phase edge. As cliticization involves a syntactic dependency between the host and argument position and all syntactic dependencies are constrained by phases, the gap is explained if pivots and non-pivot agents are specifiers of the phase head, making them the only DPs accessible for operations from outside of the lower phase.

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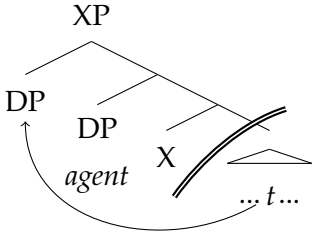
1 Introduction

Since the identification of a cyclic boundary which separates a lower, thematic domain — often referred to as the *v*P phase (Chomsky, 2000, 2001; see also Chomsky, 1986) — from a higher domain of the clause, more recent investigations have sought to articulate the fine structure of this lower phase edge (e.g. Pylkkänen, 2008; Travis, 2010; Legate, 2014; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, and Schäfer, 2015; Harley, 2017). Material within the lower domain is inaccessible for syntactic operations from outside of the domain, unless that material occupies the phase edge — the phase head and its specifier(s) (Chomsky, 2000). One such operation is movement. Movement out of the lower phase must stop at its edge.

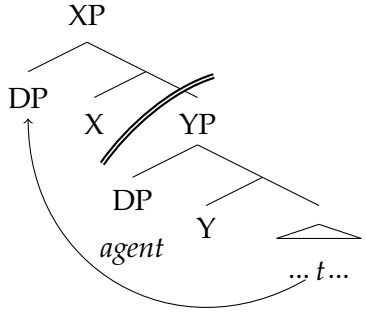
In this paper, we focus on identifying the precise position of the external argument with respect to the edge of this lower phase. Broadly, two views have been proposed in previous literature: (a) the external argument is generated as the specifier of the phase head, with any movements to the phase edge moving to another specifier (Chomsky, 2000, 2001; Nissenbaum, 2000; Legate, 2003, 2014; Aldridge, 2004, 2008; Rackowski and Richards, 2005; a.o.); and (b) the external argument is generated in a projection below the phase head (Collins, 2005 for passives; Gallego, 2008; Richards, 2010: 14ff; Coon, Mateo Pedro, and Preminger, 2014). These two options are illustrated in (1). XP represents the lower phase, together with movement of another argument to the phase edge. The double line delimits the material which is inaccessible to syntactic operations from outside the XP phase.

(1) **Two proposals for the lower phase XP, with movement to the phase edge:**

a.



b.



We offer a new argument for the structure in (1a), for a range of Austronesian languages, from patterns of attested and unattested clitic pronouns. As we will review in §2, in transitive clauses, many Philippine-type Austronesian languages have two second position clitic pronoun series, corresponding to "pivot" arguments and "non-pivot" agents; bound pronominal forms for non-pivot theme/patient arguments in such clauses are curiously absent. This fact is common to a wide range of Austronesian languages and has also been hypothesized for reconstructions of

Proto-Austronesian. We contend that this paradigmatic gap is not accidental. Cliticization involves a movement relationship from a DP's argument position, within the lower phase, to the clitic's host in second position, outside of the lower phase. Under the organization of the phase edge as in (1a), to be elaborated in §3, the "pivot" argument and non-pivot agent are precisely the only two types of DPs which are accessible for syntactic operations from outside of the lower phase. In §4, we conclude by discussing an apparent counterexample.

2 Voice systems and clitic pronouns

Many Austronesian languages exhibit what has been termed a *voice system*. Key characteristics of such voice systems are described in (2), taken from Erlewine, Levin, and Van Urk 2017: 376:

(2) **Common characteristics of voice systems:**

a. A privileged argument: One argument is designated the "pivot," and is realized in a particular morphological form and/or structural position, regardless of its original grammatical function.

b. Articulated voice morphology: Morphology on the verb varies with the choice of pivot, including options for taking certain oblique arguments as pivots.

c. Extraction restriction: $\overline{\text{A}}$-extraction (*wh*-movement, relativization, topicalization, etc.) is limited to the pivot argument.

d. Marking of non-pivot agents: Non-pivot agents are morphologically marked, often coinciding with the form of possessors (i.e. genitive case).

Consider the Squliq Atayal examples in (3). These sentences all describe Yuraw cooking taro, but vary in word order and nominal and verbal morphology. In each example, one argument of the verb, which we call the *pivot* (in italics), is in sentence-final position and preceded by *qu*, which we gloss as nominative case. Voice morphology on the verb (in bold) correlates with the choice of pivot argument. Note that non-pivot arguments are also case-marked: non-pivot agents are genitive (also the case for possessors), whereas non-pivot themes are unmarked, glossed here as accusative.[1,2]

[1]The following abbreviations are used in glosses: AV = Actor Voice, PV = Patient Voice, LV = Locative Voice; ACC = accusative, GEN = genitive, NOM = nominative, DFLT = default (Isbukun Bunun); AUX = auxiliary, FUT = future, IRR = irrealis, NEG = negation, PFV = perfective; PROX = proximate. Some morpheme glosses and translations are modified from their sources for uniformity.

[2]Many Philippine-type languages have previously been described as exhibiting an ergative/absolutive alignment. See especially Aldridge 2004 for such an analysis of Seediq (Atayalic), and see Erlewine, Levin, and Van Urk 2017 and

(3) a. Cyux **p**-hapuy sehuy sa knobuy qu *Yuraw*.
AUX **AV.IRR**-cook taro(ACC) DAT kitchen NOM *Yuraw*
'Yuraw cooks taro in the kitchen.' Actor Voice (AV)

b. Puy-**un** na Yuraw qu *sehuy*.
cook-**PV** GEN Yuraw NOM *taro*
'Yuraw cooked taro.' Patient Voice (PV)

c. Hpuy-**an** na Yuraw sehuy qu *knobuy*.
cook-LV GEN Yuraw taro(ACC) NOM *kitchen*
'Yuraw cooks taro in the kitchen.' Locative Voice (LV)

[*Squliq Atayal: Erlewine field notes*]

Pronominals in Squliq Atayal can be expressed as free-standing pronouns or as second position clitic pronouns. Clitic pronouns can be used for pivots (4a) and non-pivot agents (4b), but full pronouns must be used for non-pivot themes (5). Notice that the clitic pronouns are hosted by the auxiliary in these examples and therefore appear preverbally, unlike regular DP arguments. In particular, the first person non-pivot theme in (5) is a full pronoun *kuzing*, following the verb. In examples without an auxiliary, clitic pronouns encliticize to the verb.

(4) a. Nyux=**saku** m-aniq sehuy.
AUX=**NOM.1sg** AV-eat taro(ACC)

b. Nyux=**maku** niq-un qu sehuy.
AUX=**GEN.1sg** eat-PV NOM taro
'I am eating taro.'

(5) Wal=simu m-ita **kuzing**.
AUX=2pl AV-see **1sg(ACC)**
'You(pl) saw me.' [*Squliq Atayal: Erlewine field notes*]

One mode of explanation for this gap would be to claim that bound forms do not exist for accusative pronouns. But such an approach fails to explain the same gap in languages such as Tagalog, where both non-pivot themes and non-pivot agents may bear identical case markers.[3] This is seen in (6):

Chen 2017 for overviews and discussion of the ergative hypothesis. The theoretical import of this paper does not change if the ergative hypothesis, especially that in Aldridge 2004, is adopted.

[3]As an anonymous reviewer reminds us, there is, however, a further interaction with specificity for non-pivot themes: specific non-pivot themes are in oblique (dative) case. See Sabbagh 2016 and references there for discussion. However, as the reviewer notes themself, this does not weaken the strength of the argument we develop based on *nito* in (7) below.

(6) a. Naka-kita ang lalaki **ng** ibon.
AV.PFV-see NOM man **GEN** bird
'The boy saw a bird.'

b. Na-kita **ng** lalaki ang ibon.
PV.PFV-see **GEN** boy NOM bird
'The/a boy saw the bird.' [*Tagalog: Henrison Hsieh p.c.*]

Although both non-pivot themes ('bird' in (6a)) and non-pivot agents ('boy' in (6b)) are in genitive case, corresponding pronominal forms do not behave the same. Consider the genitive proximate demonstrative pronoun *nito* 'this one', which exists both as a second position clitic and full pronoun, and can be used both for animates and inanimates. In (7a), *nito* is the non-pivot agent of a PV clause and can appear as a second position clitic, hosted by negation, or appear as a full pronoun, in the postverbal field. In contrast, *nito* is a non-pivot theme in an AV clause in (7b), and can only occur as a full pronoun.

(7) a. Ang lalaki ang hindi {**=nito**} na-kita {**nito**}.
NOM boy NOM NEG **GEN.PROX** PV.PFV-see **GEN.PROX**
'It's the boy that this one didn't see.'

b. Ang lalaki ang hindi {***=nito**} naka-kita {**nito**}.
NOM boy NOM NEG **GEN.PROX** AV.PFV-see **GEN.PROX**
'It's the boy who didn't see this one.' [*Tagalog: Henrison Hsieh p.c.*]

The contrast in (7) shows that the lack of a clitic pronoun for a non-pivot theme cannot be reduced to surface morphological case. The proximate demonstrative takes the same genitive form *nito* as a non-pivot agent or non-pivot theme, but only the non-pivot agent can use the homophonous bound form, hosted by negation in (7a). The contrast here also forms a poverty-of-the-stimulus argument: Given the optionality in *nito* placement available in (7a), what input leads the child to determine that the same form is only available as a full pronoun and not a clitic if used for a non-pivot theme (7b)?

Similar facts in closely related languages lead to the generalization in (8):

(8) **Generalization:** In transitive clauses, second position clitic pronouns in Philippine-type languages are limited to pivot arguments and non-pivot agents.

A couple of clarifications are immediately in order. First, *Philippine-type* languages refers to those voice system languages with two or more different Non-Actor Voices (Blust, 2010: 130), which commonly have case markers and second position pronominal clitics (Wolff, 1996; Himmelmann, 2002, 2005; Ross, 2002; Blust, 2010, 2013; Chen and McDonnell, 2019). This comprises the Austronesian

languages of the Philippines, most of Taiwan, northern Borneo and Sulawesi, and Madagascar. Second, the claim in (8) is not that Philippine-type languages necessarily have clitics for both pivots and non-pivot agents. For example, Malagasy has bound pronominal forms only for non-pivot agents; there are no clitic pronouns for pivots in the language (Paul, 1996; Keenan and Polinsky, 1998; Zribi-Hertz and Mbolatianavalona, 1999).

To our knowledge, the generalization in (8) has never been explicitly stated before, despite seeming to be common knowledge among Austronesianists. As Hsiu-chuan Liao (p.c.) notes, "It seems true that linguists working on Philippine-type languages simply assume that everyone knows that these languages have two sets of clitic pronouns: (1) genitive/ergative; (2) nominative/absolutive." For example, Billings and Kaufman 2004 offers an in-depth study of Philippine-type clitic pronoun patterns which discusses the genitive and nominative series without commenting on the consistent lack of any other types. Descriptions of Philippine-type languages similarly describe two clitic pronoun series without comment — one for pivots and one for non-pivot agents. Nonetheless, this gap has occasionally been mentioned in discussions of specific languages. In their survey of nine Formosan languages, Huang, Zeitoun, Yeh, Chang, and Wu 1999 gives a table (p. 167) which explicitly indicates the lack of accusative (non-pivot theme) clitic pronouns for all nine languages.

The generalization is also supported indirectly by work on the historical reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian (Ross, 2002, 2006, 2009; Blust, 2015; Aldridge, 2015, 2016; a.o.). Ross 2002 in particular explicitly notes (p. 36) that reconstructions of the genitive and nominative clitic pronoun series are motivated, but there is again no accusative (non-pivot theme) clitic pronoun series.

The generalization in (8) also extends to languages with clitic doubling of full DP arguments. For example, in Nanwang Puyuma, both non-pivot agents and non-pivot themes are in genitive case, marked by *kan* for personal names and *kana* for definite common nouns (Teng, 2008; Chen, 2017). But as noted by Chen (2017: 15–16), the two types of arguments differ in their clitic-doubling behavior: non-pivot agents must be cross-referenced by a corresponding clitic pronoun on the verb, whereas non-pivot themes cannot be doubled by a pronoun.

(9) a. **Tu**=trakaw-aw na palridring **kan** Siber.
GEN.3=steal-PV NOM car **GEN** Siber

b. Trakaw i Siber **kana** palridring.
AV-steal NOM Siber **GEN** car
'Siber stole the car.' [*Nanwang Puyuma: Victoria Chen p.c.*]

Crucially, we will maintain that cliticization and clitic doubling are, for the purposes of syntax,

driven by the same operation(s). This is discussed in detail in the following section.

Additionally, as we have previously discussed in Erlewine, Levin, and Van Urk 2017, the key properties of Austronesian voice systems (2) can also be found in Dinka (Nilotic; South Sudan). Dinka clauses are generally V2, with an auxiliary or lexical verb in second position, preceded by the pivot. Argument cross-referencing in Dinka also obeys the generalization in (8). The verb or auxiliary in second position doubles a non-pronominal pivot with a prefix/proclitic. This is *à-* in (10). If there is a pronominal non-pivot agent, it will appear as a suffix/enclitic on the second position head. This appears as *-kṳ̀* in (10b). In (11a), the non-pivot agent combines with the default PRF.PV auxiliary *cṵ́i* to become *cá*.

(10) a. Pêen **à**-nhiɛ́ɛr Bôl.
town **3sg**-love.PV Bol.GEN
'Bol loves the town.'

b. Pêen **à**-nhiár-**kṳ̀**.
town **3sg**-love.PV-**1pl**
'We love the town.'

(11) a. Mòc à-**cá** tṵ̂iŋ.
man 3sg-PRF.PV.2sg see
'You have seen the man.'

b. Mòc à-cé **yṵ̂in** tṵ̂iŋ.
man 3sg-PRF.AV **2sg** see
'The man has seen you.'

[*Dinka: Van Urk 2018: 956, 958; (11a) Van Urk p.c.*]

Notably for our purposes, non-pivot themes must instead use full pronouns, as in (11b).

Finally, in all of these languages with two clitic series, a pivot and non-pivot agent can be simultaneously cliticized on the same host. See (12) for examples from Squliq Atayal, Tagalog, and Nanwang Puyuma. Example (10b) shows this for Dinka.

(12) a. Nyux=**saku**=**nha** kt-an.
AUX=NOM.1SG=GEN.3PL look-LV
'They are looking at me.' [*Squliq Atayal: Erlewine field notes*]

b. Bakit hindi=**mo**=**ako** tu-tulung-an?
why NEG=GEN.2SG=NOM.1SG FUT-help-LV
'Why won't you help me?' [*Tagalog: Schachter and Otanes 1972: 169*]

c. **Tu**=ka-aw=**ku** kan nanali.
GEN.3=tell-PV=NOM.1SG GEN my.mother
'My mother told me.' [*Nanwang Puyuma: Teng 2008: 148*]

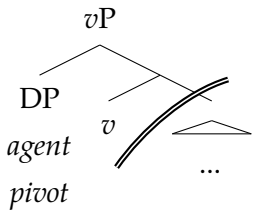
3 Proposal

The generalization that, in transitive clauses, only pivot arguments and non-pivot agent arguments can appear as second position clitic pronouns (8), can be productively understood as reflecting the

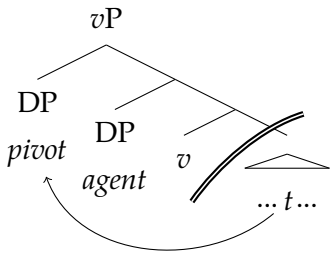
organization of the lower phase edge. We adopt a phase-theoretic conception of Austronesian-type voice systems whereby the pivot argument is necessarily the highest DP in the lower phase of the clause (Aldridge, 2004; Rackowski and Richards, 2005), reflecting the intuition that the pivot argument occupies a designated and privileged position in the clause (Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis, 1992).

We propose that in Philippine-type languages with pivot and non-pivot agent pronouns that are second-position clitics, the agent is base-generated as a specifier of the phase head. Here we refer to this phase as *v*P, but this is not crucial; for example, it may be VoiceP as in Legate 2008. In Actor Voice, the external argument is the sole DP specifier at the phase edge (13a). In Non-Actor Voices, the pivot DP moves to an outer specifier of the phase head (13b), which can be thought of as the effect of an EPP feature on *v* (Aldridge, 2004, 2008) or object shift (Rackowski and Richards, 2005).

(13) a. Actor Voice:



b. Non-Actor Voices: (=1a)



One famous property of voice system languages is their pivot-only extraction restriction (Keenan and Comrie, 1977; a.o.), in (2c). The organization of the lower phase edge in (13) *potentially* allows for higher probes to attract either the pivot or the agent in Non-Actor Voices. We follow Aldridge's (2004; 2017) proposal by which the probe triggering $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement to the CP edge will target the closest DP, and therefore will be unable to skip the pivot in Non-Actor Voice clauses (13b). This probe stops probing after it finds one satisfactory goal: the pivot DP. This approach also predicts that, given a more articulated probe, extraction of a non-pivot agent may be possible. Non-pivot agent extraction is, for example, attested in Bikol (Erlewine and Lim, 2018).

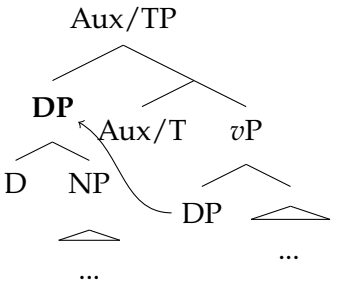
Now, we turn to the derivation of second position clitic pronouns, maintaining the following positions. First, recall that we adopt the view that cliticization and clitic doubling are, for the purposes of syntax, driven by the same operation(s), which we discuss below. Second, we posit that the second position clitic pronouns discussed here are hosted structurally higher than the lower phase edge, on a head which could be called Aux or T. In cases where the clitic pronouns appear to be hosted on the verb, the verb itself has undergone head-movement to Aux/T. Finally, and most importantly, we maintain that clitic doubling involves movement. Aux/T probes for

accessible goals for clitic doubling, allowing for attraction of multiple goals. Clitics then move from the position occupied by the noun phrase they double, to the host Aux/T.

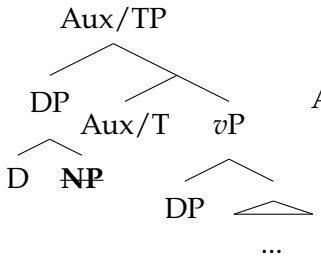
For concreteness, we illustrate the process of clitic doubling through the "copy, reduce, and m-merger" derivation recently proposed and discussed in Harizanov 2014, Kramer 2014, Baker 2016, Baker and Kramer 2018, and Sikuku, Diercks, and Marlo 2018. Under this approach, the entire noun phrase (DP) is first copied to a specifier of the hosting head (Aux/T)[4] — in (14a) below — which then must undergo m-merger (Matushansky, 2006) to form a morphophonological word with its host head (14c).[5] (Step (14b) is discussed below.)

(14) **Clitic doubling by copy, reduce, and m-merger:**

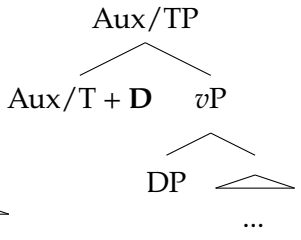
a. Copy (move) DP:



b. Reduce DP to D:



c. M-merger of D and Aux/T:



If the targeted DP is itself a D head without a restrictor — in other words, a weak pronoun (Postal, 1966; Elbourne, 2001, 2005) — it will undergo m-merger with Aux/T directly (15a,c). The lower copy of the D/DP will then be unpronounced due to chain reduction, as the equivalent object is pronounced higher in the chain (see e.g. Nunes, 2004; Landau, 2006). This results in a clitic pronoun with no double.

If instead the targeted DP is a full DP with a restrictor, it must first be "reduced" to its D head

[4]Many other proposals for clitic doubling also involve movement, but vary as to exactly what moves: for example, the head of the doubled noun phase (e.g. Roberts, 2010; Preminger, 2019) or a clitic base-generated as a specifier of the doubled noun phrase (e.g. Torrego, 1988; Arregi and Nevins, 2012). The derivation in (14) here is presented for illustrative purposes, but the data presented here can be captured under any of these proposals so long as this movement is subject to Phase Impenetrability.

Similarly, an alternative family of analyses claim that clitics are base-generated at the host site and establish a relationship with their doubled DP (e.g. Sportiche, 1996; see also Travis, 2006). If this relationship is also subject to Phase Impenetrability, the present data would also be amenable to such approaches.

[5]As discussed by these authors — most explicitly by Baker and Kramer (2016, 2018: 1050) — particular specifier positions (or corresponding EPP requirements) can be specified to allow material of only a certain form. Requiring that specifiers, if present, undergo m-merger with the head is one such requirement.

The final surface position of individual clitics is subject to reordering by various morphophonological considerations. See e.g. Billings and Kaufman 2004 for an overview of factors that determine clitic position.

alone as in (14b). Following reduction, the higher copy (now just a D head) and the lower DP will both be pronounced due to non-identity, resulting in consistent clitic-doubling, as in Nanwang Puyuma (9) or Kapampangan (Mirikitani, 1972; Richards, 1971).

Baker 2016, Baker and Kramer 2016, and Sikuku et al. 2018: 398 furthermore propose that languages vary in the availability of this "reduction" operation in (14b).[6] If a full DP is targeted for movement to the specifier of Aux/T but it cannot be reduced to a D head to feed m-merger, we propose that the entire higher copy must be deleted at PF, resulting in the appearance of no clitic-doubling at all. This parameter setting thus yields a language with clitic pronouns but no clitic doubling of full DPs, such as Squliq Atayal and Tagalog above.

With these assumptions in place, the generalization on possible second position clitic pronouns in (8) falls out. First consider the derivation of Non-Actor Voices, (14b). The pivot argument (such as a theme in Patient Voice) and the non-pivot agent *both* occupy specifiers at the lower phase edge. Thus, both are accessible for syntactic operations from above such as clitic doubling. Next, consider the derivation of Actor Voice, (14a). Here, the agent is the pivot and is the only DP at the edge of the lower phase. Thus, the pivot agent is the only DP accessible for syntactic operations from above. Non-pivot themes — which may bear the same morphological case as non-pivot agents — remain within the complement of the phase head in Actor Voice clauses and are inaccessible for clitic doubling. If non-pivot agents occupied a position below the phase edge, (1b), they would be unable to be clitic-doubled like non-pivot themes, contrary to fact.[7]

Under our proposal, both $\overline{\text{A}}$-extraction and clitic doubling involve probe-driven movements (Chomsky, 2000). An important difference between these two processes is the specification of these probes as seeking a single goal or multiple. Individual probes may be parameterized in terms of whether they stop after finding one matching goal or then continue, resulting in interaction with multiple goals; see e.g. Hiraiwa 2001; Nevins 2011; Harizanov 2014; Deal 2015; Erlewine 2018; Foley and Toosarvandani 2018. The $\overline{\text{A}}$-probe in these languages seeks one matching goal — the closest DP, necessarily the pivot — and then stops. In contrast, the probe triggering clitic doubling in the languages discussed above seeks to interact with *all* accessible DP goals.[8] This accounts for the ability of pivot and non-pivot agent DPs to be simultaneously clitic-doubled, as we saw in (12) above. The same has been explicitly proposed for multiple clitic doubling targeting the

[6]Van Urk 2018 discusses the reduction of DPs to pronouns in a range of other constructions, also with consideration of more articulated DP structures. He similarly concludes that languages must vary in the availability of this operation.

[7]Our proposal remains agnostic as to the precise mechanism by which morphological case on DP arguments is determined.

[8]The alternative possibility, where Aux/T probes only once and thus clitic doubles only pivots, is attested in Isbukun Bunun, as we discuss in the following section.

same host in Bulgarian: Harizanov 2014 claims that the head triggering clitic doubling will "have a property which forces any goals within its c-command domain (subject to additional locality constraints, of course) to undergo movement..." (p. 1066). This derives the contrast between the pivot-only restriction on $\overline{\text{A}}$-movements attested in Philippine-type languages and the behavior of clitic doubling, which can target both pivots and non-pivot agents, but not non-pivot themes, which are inaccessible due to Phase Impenetrability.

Finally, we note that clitic doubling and $\overline{\text{A}}$-extraction cannot simultaneously target the same argument. This is observed in Kapangpangan in (15): the pivot DP 'man' is doubled by the third-person clitic pronoun *=ya* in (15a), but when an argument in this position is *wh*-moved, it is no longer clitic-doubled, as in (15b).

(15) **Clitic doubling does not target $\overline{\text{A}}$-extracted DPs:**

a. E=**ya** masikan ing lalaki.
NEG=**NOM.3SG** strong NOM man
'The man is not strong.'

b. Ninu ing e masikan?
who NOM NEG strong
'Who is not strong?' [*Kapangpangan: Richards 1971: 258, 276*]

Such facts are compatible with our account. Suppose the pivot is clitic doubled, following the process in (14), followed by $\overline{\text{A}}$-probing by C. The $\overline{\text{A}}$-probe cannot attract the clitic pronoun, either due to some sort of general freezing of the specifiers of Aux/TP (see e.g. Rizzi and Shlonsky, 2007) or an anti-locality constraint (see e.g. Erlewine, 2016, 2019), as suggested by a reviewer.[9] Alternatively, if C probes past the clitic pronoun — as clitic pronouns are generally not licit goals for probing (see e.g. Anagnostopoulou, 2003) — it will move the pivot DP across the coreferential pronoun, resulting in a crossover violation (Postal, 1971). See Baker and Kramer 2018 for much relevant discussion of such configurations.

4 Conclusion and discussion

The absence of second position clitic pronominal forms of non-pivot themes in Philippine-type languages follows from the organization of the lower phase edge. Non-pivot themes occupy a VP-internal position and are not visible to syntactic operations from outside of the lower phase. In contrast, pivot arguments, regardless of thematic role, and non-pivot agents occupy positions

[9]Furthermore, if $\overline{\text{A}}$-probing occurs after m-merger of the pronoun to Aux/T (14)c, its movement would violate the ban on excorporation.

at the lower phase edge. Agents are base-generated there; non-agent pivots move there. This asymmetry between non-pivot agents and non-pivot themes is unexpected if agents are generated within the lower phase and not at its edge.

By way of conclusion, in this final section of the paper, we discuss one interesting potential counterexample: the behavior of clitics in Isbukun Bunun. Isbukun Bunun, like the languages discussed so far, has two clitic pronoun series. One series is a nominative pivot series, used for pivots. However, the other — called the "default" series in Li 2010 — marks *both* non-pivot agents and non-pivot themes:

(16) a. Ludah-un**=ku'=as**.
hit-PV**=DFLT.1SG=NOM.2SG**
'I hit you.'

b. M-adu'**=ik=su'**.
AV-like**=NOM.1SG=DFLT.2SG**
'I like(d) you.' [*Isbukun Bunun: Li 2010: 58-59*]

In (16a), the clitic *=as* marks the pivot theme and the default clitic *=ku'* marks the agent. In (16b), the pivot agent is marked by *=ik*, and the default clitic, *=su'*, marks the theme.

Realizing the non-pivot theme as a clitic appears at first glance to counter-examplify our generalization (8). However, further investigation reveals that these default clitics are not second position clitics and thus their behavior does not counter-exemplify (8), which only applies to second position clitics. Default clitics always encliticize to the verb, rather than appearing with any higher host. This stands in contrast to nominative clitics that must appear in second position, e.g. encliticizing to negation in (17).

(17) a. Na=ni'**=ik** ma-ludah**=mu'**.
FUT=NEG**=NOM.1SG** AV-hit**=DFLT.2PL**
'I won't hit you.'

b. Na=ni'**=ik** ludah-un**=mu'**.
FUT=NEG**=NOM.1SG** hit-PV**=DFLT.2PL**
'You won't hit me.' [*Isbukun Bunun: Li 2010: 102*]

Our analysis for clitic pronouns in Philippine-type languages can in fact be easily extended to this behavior. If, in Isbukun Bunun, the host for clitic doubling of non-pivots in the language is the phase head itself, we expect both agent and theme arguments to be visible for the purposes of clitic doubling with the default series.[10] There is no intervening phase boundary to block clitic

[10]We assume that a clitic-doubling probe on a head can target its specifier, as in Béjar and Rezac 2009 and much subsequent work. This allows for the phase head to clitic double the agent in its specifier (1a). Alternatively, following

doubling of the non-pivot theme.

For the sake of explicitness, we propose that both arguments in (17) are visible to the clitic-doubling probe on the lower phase head, resulting in "default" clitics, but that the clitic-doubling probe on Aux/T probes only once (like the $\overline{\text{A}}$-probe on C), interacting with the pivot but not with non-pivot agents.[11] Combined with a rule that arguments can only be clitic-doubled once per clause, in the highest possible position,[12] we ensure the correct realization of a second position pivot clitic and a lower, verbal clitic for non-pivot arguments, regardless of thematic role. The default clitics in Isbukun Bunun — at first glance an apparent counterexample for our generalization and approach developed here — thus can also be straightforwardly accounted for by our proposal.

the approach to clitic doubling adopted above (14), an agent pronoun could undergo m-merger directly with the phase head.

[11] We thank an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

[12] Kenyon Branan (p.c.) notes that this straightforwardly follows from Kinyalolo's Constraint (Kinyalolo, 1991; Carstens, 2005: 253) as applied to clitic-doubling.

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