When Austronesian-type voice meets Indo-European-type voice: Insights from Puyuma

In this presentation I discuss new evidence from an understudied Formosan language, Puyuma, which sheds new light on our understanding of Austronesian-type voice. Puyuma demonstrates the compatibility of two distinct types of voice alternation within the same clause – a Philippine-type four-way voice alternation, which features a fluid argument-marking pattern and extraction asymmetry, and an Indo-European-type two-way voice alternation, which features the presence or absence of the external argument. I demonstrate the co-occurrence of these two 'voice' systems is not as surprising as it appears as first glance, as only the latter instantiates a genuine case of *voice alternation* hosted within VoiceP. The former is located external to the core verbal domain, and is best analyzed as topic agreement encoded in the left periphery, hence its compatibility with Indo-European-type voice. The interaction of these two types of 'voice' systems offers novel evidence for Voice as an external argument-introducing head located above *v*, and its presence in detransitive constructions without an external argument (e.g. Alexiadou et al. 2006; Legate 2014). It also indicates that Philippine-type voice does not form a homogeneous group with valency-indicating morphology, lending new support to previous Ā agreement approaches to Philippine-type voice (Chung 1994; Pearson 2005; Chen 2017) and argues against an alternative ergative analysis, which places Philippine-type voice within VoiceP (Payne 1982; Mithun 1994; Aldridge 2004).

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