

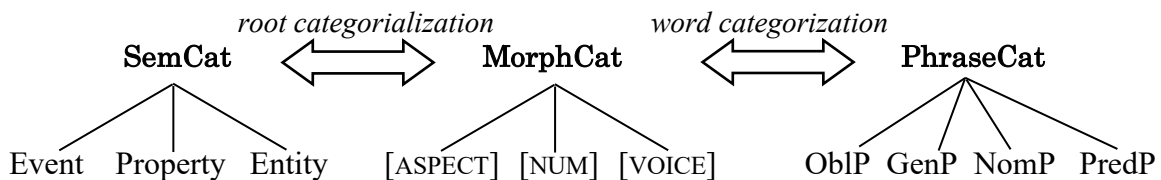
Nominalism and Lexical Categories in Austronesian: A case study in Evolutionary Syntax

This talk in a nutshell:

- I. Intro: on the Noun-Verb distinction
- II. Semantic coercion versus categorial conversion in Tagalog and beyond
- III. The nominalist hypothesis in Austronesian
- IV. The synchronic payoff
- V. The redevelopment of Verbs in Indonesian languages
- VI. Conclusion: prospects for Evolutionary Syntax

I. Introduction: On Nouns and Verbs

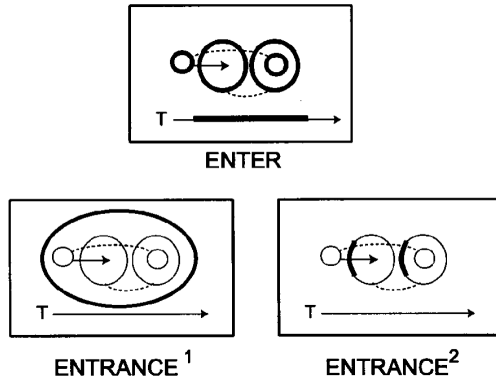
- ❖ Identifying Nouns and Verbs in Tagalog and other Philippine languages is notoriously thorny. Syntax doesn't offer many clues, notionally verbal morphology applies quite freely to notional nouns (without extra derivation) and notional verbs have certain nominal properties.
- ❖ Here, we will argue that there really is no good evidence for positing a separate category of verbs in Standard Tagalog, (Gil 1993, 2000; Himmelmann 1991, 1993, 2007), and this extends to many other Philippine languages.
- ❖ We'll refer to intuitive/notional categories as "Verbs" and "Nouns".
But the real linguistic categories of interest are:



- ❖ We will only require the most rudimentary **SemCat** distinctions here: Event versus Entity. These can be defined formally in predicate calculus terms as in (2) or on the basis of Langacker-type schemas as in Fig. 1.

John loves Mary
 $\exists e(\text{Love}(e) \ \& \ \text{Lover}(e,\text{john}) \ \& \ \text{Loved-one}(e,\text{mary}))$
e = Davidsonian event variable

Fig 1. (Adapted from Farrel 1999, Langacker 1986,)



- ❖ In the schema of <enter> there is motion and a timeline. The definition of an Event is a lexeme which includes a timeline. An Entity can be conceived of as having no timeline or constituting a slice of a timeline.
- ❖ **MorphCat** encompasses morphological marking of any nature. While Aspect is a SemCat, the surface marking of [ASPECT] is a morphological feature. So the bare root <enter> has the lexical structure of an Event but is not [+ASPECT].
- ❖ **PhraseCat** includes the marking and positional properties associated with particular syntactic constituents. For our purposes, the position and marking of predicates and arguments will be the PhraseCats of primary interest.
- ❖ In languages with a high level of categorization, the three categories typically overlap like this:

<i>Entity</i> (SemCat)	<i>Event</i> (SemCat)
<i>Number, Definiteness</i> (MorphCat)	<i>Aspect, Tense</i> (MorphCat)
<i>Argument position</i> (PhraseCat)	<i>Predicate position</i> (PhraseCat)

This overlap has led to much confusion and conflation in the literature. Complicates the analysis of mismatches (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1984,1985; Hengeveld 1992:58; Croft 1991,2000,2001; Gil 2000). In particular, SemCat, MorphCat and PhraseCat are all commonly taken as evidence for lexical categories without rigorous argument.

Root level and word level acategoriality must be kept distinct as one does not entail the other (Lehmann 2006).

- ❖ **Root categorialization:** Restricted morphological potentials for roots, e.g., in a language where Event denoting roots cannot take Number morphology and Entity denoting roots cannot take Aspect morphology.

R restricted √s: √Event-ASP *√Entity-ASP (√Entity-X-ASP) *√Event-NUM √Entity-NUM (√Event-Y-ASP)	U nrestricted √s: √Event-ASP √Entity-ASP √Entity-NUM √Entity-NUM
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- ❖ **Word categorialization:** Restricted syntactic potential for words, e.g., in a language where Aspect marked words cannot appear in argument position and Number marked words cannot appear as bare predicates.

Restricted Wds: Pred[Wd-ASP] *Subj[Wd-ASP] *Pred[Wd-NUM] Subj[Wd-NUM]	Unrestricted Wds: Pred[Wd-ASP] Subj[Wd-ASP] Pred[Wd-NUM] Subj[Wd-NUM]
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II. Noun and Verb in Tagalog

- ❖ **Tagalog background:** Predicate initial. All arguments are case marked (T1). Event denoting predicates are obligatorily marked with Voice and Aspect. The voice system (T2) is complex, being able to select a large number of argument and adjunct type constituents as subject. The constituent selected by the voice morphology is put in the nominative case and other (non-directional) arguments are put in the genitive case. Directional arguments not selected by the voice morphology are put in the oblique case.

Table 1. Tagalog case markers

	GENERAL	PERSONAL NAME	
		SG	PL
NOMINATIVE	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>sina</i>
GENITIVE	<i>naŋ</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nina</i>
OBLIQUE	<i>sa</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>kina</i>

Table 2. Tagalog voice system (√sulát 'write')

Voice Aspect	ACTOR <um>	ACTOR <i>mag-</i>	PATIENT <i>-in</i>	LOCATIVE <i>-an</i>	CONVEYANCE <i>i-</i>
BASIC	sumúlat	magsulat	sulátin	sulátan	isúlat
PERFECTIVE	sumúlat	nagsulat	sinúlat	sinulátan	isinúlat
IMPERFECTIVE	sumúsúlat	nagsúsulat	sinúsúlat	sinúsulátan	isinúsúlat
PROSPECTIVE	súsúlat	magsúsulat	súsulátin	súsulátan	isúsúlat

- ❖ Voice system in plain declaratives

- (1)a. s<um>úlat=ka naŋ=líham b. sulát-an=mo aŋ=dinding
 <AV>write=2s.NOM GEN=letter write=LV=2S.GEN NOM=wall
 'Write a letter!' 'Write on the wall!'
- c. sulát-in=mo aŋ=líham d. i-panúlat=mo aŋ=lápis
 write-PV=2S.GEN NOM=letter CV-INST-write=2S.GEN NOM=pencil
 'Write the letter!' 'Write with the pencil!'
- e. i-súlat=mo naŋ=tulà aŋ=asáwa=mo
 CV-write=2S.GEN GEN=poem NOM=spouse=2S.GEN
 'Write a poem for your spouse!'

❖ The voice system in interrogatives

- (2)a. Ano aŋ=s<in>úlat-Ø=mo?
 what NOM=<RL>write-PV=2S.GEN
 ‘What did you write?’
- b. Sino aŋ=s<um>úlat nito?
 who.NOM NOM=<AV.RL>write this.GEN
 ‘Who wrote this?’
- c. Sino aŋ=i-s<in>úlat=mo naŋ=tulà?
 who.NOM NOM=CV<RL>write=2S.GEN GEN=poem
 ‘Who did you write a poem for?’

❖ Two flavors of acategoriality in Tagalog:

Unrestricted words (aka omnipredicativity)

- (3)a. [nag-tá~trabáho] aŋ=[laláki] b. [laláki] aŋ=[nag-tá~trabáho]
 AV-INCM~work NOM=man man NOM=AV-INCM~work
 ‘The man is working’ ‘It’s a man who’s working’
- (4)a. [babáe]=ŋ [nag-tá~trabáho] b. [nag-tá~trabáho]=ŋ [babáe]
 woman=LNK AV-INCM~work AV-INCM~work=LNK woman
 ‘working woman’ ‘working woman’

Unrestricted roots

- (5)a. d<um>á~[daan] aŋ=[bátà] b. b<um>á~[bátà] aŋ=[daan]
 <AV>INCM~road NOM=youth <AV>INCM~youth
 NOM=road
 ‘The youth passes by.’ ‘The road gets younger.’

But acategoriality ≠ anarchy. There are still bad combinations:

- (6)a. mag-bigay b. i-bigay c. bigy-an d. *bigay-in
 AV-give CV-give give-LV give-PV
 ‘x to give’ ‘to give x’ ‘to give to x’

Patient voice implies undergoer affectedness. Because giving does not affect the theme, the *-in* affix is semantically incongruous. Cf. Ballard (1974) on Ibaloy (Northern Philippine):

“The meaning of a verb is the combination of the meaning of the verb root plus the meaning added by the affixation. ...A root will occur with those affixes whose meaning is compatible with its own meaning.” (via Huang & Huang 2007:425 fn.3)

De Guzman argues on the basis of other morphological operations that there exists a N-A-V distinction in Tagalog:

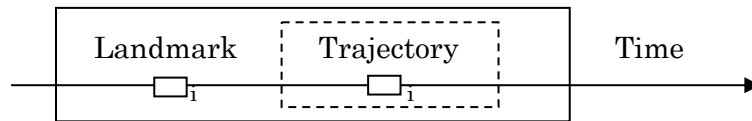
“...the specific forms – simple roots, typical affixes – the type of reduplication, and/or stress modification that apply to each word class corresponding to specifiable meanings within the class are characteristic to each category. Thus, every lexical derivation rule has to specify the category of its input and the category of its output, even when there is no change in category.” (DeGuzman 1995:312)

❖ Iterative, Intensive and Moderative morphology as evidence for categoriality:

(7)a. káin naṅ=káin b. táwa naṅ=táwa
eat GEN=eat laugh GEN=laugh
‘constantly eating’ ‘constantly laughing’

(8)a. *báhay naṅ=báhay b. *ma-ganda naṅ=ma-ganda
house GEN=house ADJ-beauty GEN=ADJ-beauty

❖ Iterative reduplication is an operation on the lexeme’s aspectual structure/timeline, as illustrated by the following Langackerian representation (Langacker 1999, I-wen Su & Huang 2006):



If the lexeme in question has no timeline, iterativity will be uninterpretable. In fact, “Noun” roots with directional semantics are possible here. And “Noun” roots such as <báhay> can take iterative reduplication once Voice+Aspect are added (as also noted by De Guzman).

(9)a. daan naṅ=daan b. nag-báhay naṅ=nag-báhay
road GEN=road AV.RL-house GEN=AV.RL-house
‘passing by’ ‘constantly made/settled in houses’

c. nag-má~ma-ganda naṅ=nag-má~maganda
AV.RL-INCM~ADJ-beauty GEN=AV.RL-INCM~ADJ-beauty
‘constantly pretending to be beautiful’

This suggests the following hypothesis: Morphosyntactic operations may make direct reference to semantic features and these features can either be present at the $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ -level or be *coerced* at higher levels. Aspectuality is present on Event type and directional roots and is *coerced* by aspectual morphology.

Coercion is a widespread phenomenon in Tagalog and beyond:

❖ Coercion of **Entity** > **Property** via adjectival *ma-*
<ganda> ‘beauty’ Property; <pérà> ‘money’ Entity

- (10) a. ma-ganda=siya b. ma-ga~ganda=sila *declarative*
 ADJ-beauty=3S.NOM ADJ-PL~beauty-3P.NOM
 ‘She’s beautiful.’ ‘They’re beautiful.’
- (11) a. Aŋ=ganda=niya! b. Aŋ=ga~ganda=nila! *mirative*
 NOM=beauty=3S.GEN NOM=PL~beauty=3P.GEN
 ‘How beautiful she is!’ ‘How beautiful they are!’
- (12) a. ma-pérà=siya b. ma-pe~pérà =sila *declarative*
 ADJ-money=3S.NOM ADJ-PL~money-3P.NOM
 ‘She’s rich (lit. moneyed).’ ‘They’re rich.’
- (13) a. #Aŋ=pérà=niya! b. *Aŋ=pe~pérà=nila! *mirative*
 NOM=beauty=3S.GEN NOM=PL~money=3P.GEN

❖ Coercion of **Event** > **Entity** via plural marker *maŋa*

- (14) gúrò, díto=ka! *bare vocative*
 teacher here=2S.NOM
 ‘Teacher! come here!’
- (15) maŋa=gúrò! díto=kayo! *pluralized vocative*
 PL=teacher here=2P.NOM
 ‘Teachers! come here!’
- (16) *<um>á~áwit, díto=ka! *bare vocative*
 <AV.RL>INCM-sing here=2S.NOM
 (for, ‘One singing, come here!’)
- (17) maŋa=<um>á~áwit! díto=kayo! *pluralized vocative*
 PL=<AV>INCM-sing here=2P.NOM
 ‘Singers! come here!’

We can further note that the lack of the Noun-Verb distinction is in part due to the nouniness of the Voice-Aspect inflected words.

- (18) a. Beybi=niya=ako b. B<in>e~beybi-Ø=niya=ako
 baby=3S.GEN=1S.NOM <RL>INCM~baby=3S.GEN=1S.NOM
 ‘I’m her/his baby.’ ‘S/he babies me.’
- (19) a. Ito aŋ=báhay naŋ=paŋúlo
 this.NOM NOM=house GEN=president
 ‘This is the house of the president.’
- b. Ito aŋ=b<in>aháy-an naŋ=paŋúlo
 this.NOM NOM=<RL>house-LV GEN=president
 ‘This is the place resided in by president.’

- (20) a. ma-luᅇkot na b<um>alik b. ma-luᅇkot na bátà
 ADJ-sad LNK <AV.RL>return ADJ-sad LNK child
 ‘returned sadly’ or ‘sad returned one’ ‘sad child’
- (21) a. Mayroon / walà / ma-rámi=ᅇ súlat
 EXT / NEG.EXT / ADJ-many=LNK letter
 ‘There are / there are no / there are many letters.’
- b. Mayroon / walà / ma-rámi=ᅇ s<in>úlat-∅
 EXT / NEG.EXT / ADJ-many=LNK <RL>letter-PV
 ‘There are / there are no / there are many things written.’
- c. Mayroon / walà / ma-rámi=ᅇ nag-sú~sulat
 EXT / NEG.EXT / ADJ-many=LNK <AV.RL>INCM~letter
 ‘There are / there are no / there are many who write.’

III. The nominalist hypothesis (Starosta, Pawley & Reid 1982)

- ❖ The voice forms which are now more commonly found as matrix predicates developed from **nominalizations**. These may have been required in embedded and subordinate contexts.
- ❖ The original Austronesian verbs were the progenitors of what are termed “dependent forms” in certain modern languages.

Table 3. Independent and dependent affixes (Ross 2002)

	ACTOR	PATIENT	LOCATIVE	CONVEYANCE
INDICATIVE	<um>	-in	-an	i-
DEPENDENT	∅	-a	-i	-an

- ❖ Although not present in Standard Tagalog, the dependent paradigm survives in Southern varieties of Tagalog (e.g. Batangas) in addition to a large number of other languages throughout the Philippines.
- ❖ Morphosyntactic differences between dependent and indicative forms can be explained as Verb vs. Noun. In Batangas Tagalog and other Philippine languages, imperative addressee of dependent forms are **obligatorily** absent:

- (22) Buks-i(*=mo) aᅇ=bentána!
 open=LV.DEP=2S.GEN NOM=window
 ‘Open the window!’

- ❖ Unlike indicative imperatives, dependent forms cannot be embedded in a DP, quantified or modified directly by adjectives:

- (23) Bentána=na=laᅇ aᅇ=buks-an=mo!
 window=CMP=only NOM=open-LV=2S.GEN
 ‘Open the window!’ (Lit. ‘Window is your one to open!’)

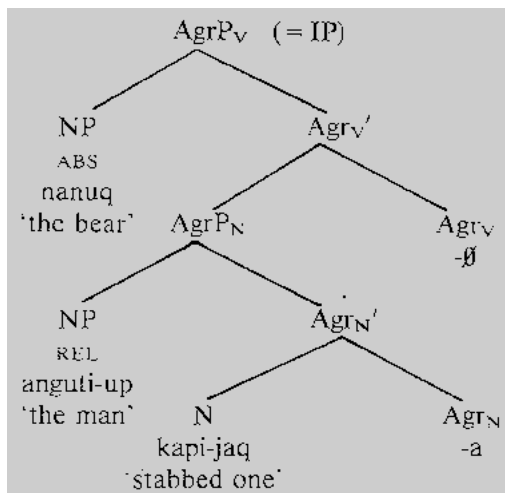
- (24) *Bentana=na=laŋ aŋ=buks-i!
window=CMP=only NOM=open-DEP.LV
- (25) *Mayroon / walà / ma-rámi=ŋ buks-i
EXT / NEG.EXT / ADJ-many=LNK open-DEP.LV
- (26) *Dáhan-dáhan=nalaan buks-i aŋ=bentána!
slow-slow=ONLY open-DEP.LV NOM=window
- (27) ?Buks-i aŋ=bentána naŋ=dáhan-dáhan!
open-DEP.LV NOM=window GEN=slow-slow
'Open the window slowly!'

- ❖ These are 3 good distributional arguments for treating the indicatives as nominal and the dependents as verbal.
- ❖ ERG = GEN arises from the agent marking in nominalized subordinate clauses which was then extended to matrix clauses. Because agents of nominalizations are generally introduced as possessors, this reanalysis brings about an agent-possessor (i.e. ergative-genitive) syncretism.

IV. Diachronic solutions to Synchronic problems

- ❖ The intuition that verbs have strong nominal characteristics has been recognized by historical linguists but has not made it into a single modern syntactic analysis of any AN language.
- ❖ The work of Alana John's (1992) on Inuktitut (Canadian Eskimo) offers a cogent formal exposition of the Nominalist Hypothesis and can be applied to AN. The basic elements of the analysis are the following:
 - i. VERB roots are unable to project a VP
 - ii. Transitive clauses require passivization via a passive participle
 - iii. The passive morpheme is a nominalizer

(28) a. kapi-jaq
stab-PASS.PART
'the stabbed one'



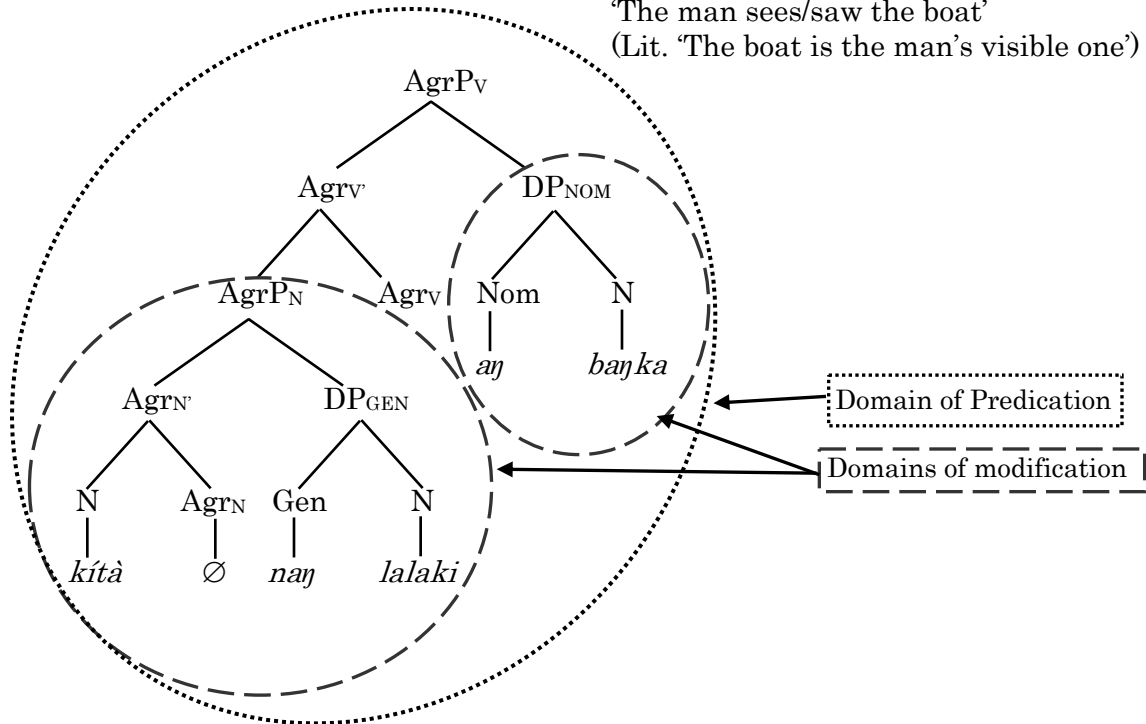
b. anguti-up kapi-ja-a-∅
man-GEN stab-PASS.PART-3S/3S
'The man's stabbed one.'

c. anguti-up nanuq kapi-ja-a-∅
man-GEN bear(ABS) stab-PASS.PART-3S/3S
'The man stabbed the bear.'

d. angut ani-juq
man(ABS) go.out-INTR.PART.3s
'The man went out'

- ❖ Under this analysis, it appears that the genitive agent attaches within the domain of modification, while the absolutive attaches in the domain of predication.
- ❖ In Tagalog resultative nominals, genitive phrases are also interpreted as agents and the subject is part of an equational structure with the initial bare predicate (cf. Bloomfield 1917)

Kítà naŋ=laláki aŋ=baŋka
 visible GEN=man NOM=boat
 ‘The man sees/saw the boat’
 (Lit. ‘The boat is the man’s visible one’)



The crucial aspect of the above structure is that the dependents of the predicate are contained within a single domain of modification.

- ❖ **Prediction:** Genitive agents should have the hallmarks of modifiers

In the preposed pronominal construction the arguments are attached to the following constituent by the linker. The linker is a diagnostic for modification in Philippine languages, demarcating the edges of DP-internal constituents.

- (29) $DP[Ito=\eta \quad ma\text{-}laki=\eta \quad áso=\eta \quad ito]$
 NOM.this=LNK ADJ-big=LNK dog=LNK NOM.this
 ‘This big dog’

Preposed agents are attached with the linker, while this is impossible for the nominative subject.

- (30) $DP[\acute{A}kin=\eta \quad na\text{-}kítà] \quad aŋ=babae$
 1S.OBL=LNK PV.STA.RL-see NOM=woman
 ‘I saw the woman.’ (cf. Naylor 1980, 1995)

- (31) Ito=y DP[kay=Pedro-ŋ g<in>awà-Ø] *Old Tagalog*
 NOM.this=TOP P.OBL=Pedro=LNK <RL>make-PV
 ‘Pedro made this’ (de Totanes 1745/1865:120; Blake 1916:413)

This also captures the reason why Austronesian languages have stringent restrictions on extraction.

- ❖ The famous restriction on extraction in (conservative) AN langs has been dubbed “subjects-only” but this is a misnomer. The restriction is demonstrated below with topicalization, which does not require altering the predicate-argument structure of the sentence:

- (32) a. B<in>ili naŋ=babáe aŋ=libro kahápon
 <PV.RL>buy GEN=woman NOM=book yesterday
 ‘The woman bought a book yesterday.’
- b. [Ang=libro]_i ay b<in>ili-Ø naŋ=babae t_i kahápon
 NOM=book TOP <RL>buy-PV GEN=woman yesterday
- c. [Kahápon]_i ay b<in>ili-Ø naŋ=babae aŋ=libro t_i
 yesterday TOP <RL>buy-PV GEN=woman NOM=book
- d. *[Naŋ=babáe]_i ay b<in>ili-Ø t_i aŋ=libro kahápon
 GEN=woman TOP <RL>buy-PV NOM=book yesterday

- ❖ **If the genitive agent is a DP-internal possessor, we expect it to be restricted!** Cross-linguistically, possessors are highly constrained in their extraction possibilities, (cf. Ross 1967; Keenan & Comrie 1977, 1979a, 1979b; Gavrusseva 2002 *inter alia*).

Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977)
 SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

This solves a paradox encountered by the AH. Keenan & Comrie were forced to assimilate the absolutive argument to the subject in the (mostly Austronesian) ergative languages in their sample.

- ❖ **Some possessor extraction data**

- (33) a. [et=ha=bayt šel mi]_i raita t_i? *Hebrew*
 OBJ=DEF=house of who see.PST.2S
 ‘Whose house did you see?’
- b. *[(šel) mi raita]_i [et=beyt-o t_i]? (pied piping of DP
 of who saw.PST.2s OBJ=house-3S.GEN obligatory)
- c. *[šel mi raita]_i [(et=ha=)bayt t_i]?
 of who saw.PST.2s OBJ=DEF=house

(34) a. [be:t mi:n]_i šuft t_i? *Levantine Arabic*
 house who see.PST.2S
 ‘Whose house did you see?’

b. *mi:n_i šuft [be:t t_i] ? (pied piping of DP
 who see.PST.2S house obligatory)

(35) [Whose pictures] did you see t_i?
 *[Whose]_i did you see [t_i pictures]?
 *[Of whom]_i did you see pictures t_i?
 (but, [Whom] did you see pictures [of t_i] ? (conditioned))

What did John write about Nixon? He wrote it (=a book) about Nixon.
 *What did John see of Nixon? *He saw it (=a picture) of Nixon.

[_{VP} write [_{DP} a book] [_{PP} about Nixon]]
 [_{VP} see [_{DP} a picture [_{PP} of Nixon]]] (Chomsky 1977)

(36) a. (a) Mari-∅ vendég-e-∅ *Hungarian*
 the Mari-N/G guest-POSS.3S
 ‘Mary’s guest’

b. *Mari-∅ a vendég-e-∅
 Mary-N/G the guest-POSS.3S

c. Mari-**nak** a vendég-e-∅ (GEN>DAT case shift
 Mary-DAT the guest-POSS.3S w/extraction)
 ‘Mary’s guest’ (Szabolcsi 1983/1984)

(37) a. [Gambar=nya siapa] kamu=lihat t_i? *Indonesian*
 picture=3S.GEN who 2=see
 ‘Whose picture did you see?’

b. *Siapa kamu=lihat gambar=nya?
 who 2=see picture=3S.GEN (Pied piping of
 entire DP obligatory)

(38) a. baloy ru ruandu’ *Timugun Murut*
 house GEN woman
 ‘a woman’s house’ (Prentice 1971:180)

b. baloy=min
 house=2S.GEN
 ‘your house’ (Prentice 1971:181)

c. ruandu’ **ra** baloy (GEN>NOM case shift
 woman LNK house w/symmetrical linking)
 ‘a WOMAN’S house’ (Prentice 1971:205)

- d. akaw **ra** baloy
 2s **LNK** house
 'YOUR house' (Prentice 1971:205)

❖ In Tagalog, several types of arguments are marked by *naŋ* GEN, not all of them possessors (cf. Kroeger 1993:40-7). Here, restricted extraction is a result of position and function, not case. We expect genitive case not to effect the extractability of elements in the predicational domain:

(39) a. <Um>alis=sila **naŋ=ala-úna**
 <AV.RL>leave=3P.NOM **GEN**=o'clock-one
 'They left at one o'clock'

b. **Naŋ=ala-úna** ay <um>alis=sila
GEN=o'clock-one TOP <AV.RL>leave=3P.NOM
 'At one o'clock, they left'

(40) a. Walà=ako=ŋ g<in>awà-∅ nito=ŋ maŋa=huli=ŋ áraw
 NEG.EXT=1S.NOM=LNK <RL>do-PV GEN.this=LNK PL=last=LNK day
 'I haven't done anything, these last (few) days.'

b. **Nito=ŋ maŋa=huli=ŋ áraw** ay walà=ako=ŋ g<in>awà-∅
 GEN.this=LNK PL=last=LNK day TOP NEG.EXT=1S.NOM=LNK <RL>do-PV
 'These last (few) days, I haven't done anything.'

(41) a. Na-húlog=siya naŋ=hindi=niya na-maláy-an
 PV.STA.RL-fall=3S.NOM **GEN**=NEG=3S.GEN STA.RL-conscious-LV
 'He fell without noticing it'

b. **Naŋ=hindi=niya na-maláy-an** ay na-húlog=siya
GEN=NEG=3S.GEN STA.RL-conscious-LV TOP PV.STA.RL-fall=3S.NOM
 'Without noticing it, he fell.'

Interestingly, a distinction exists in GEN marked adverbials. Among temporal adverbs, punctuals are extractable, while duratives are not:

(42) a. Nag-áral=sila **naŋ=isa=ŋ óras**
 AV.RL-study=3P.NOM **GEN**=one=LNK hour
 'They studied for an hour'

b. ***Naŋ=isa=ŋ óras** ay mag-áral=sila
GEN=one=LNK hour TOP AV.RL-study=3P.NOM

Also, frequency adverbs are extractable while manner adverbs are not:

(43) a. T<um>akbo=sila **naŋ=ma-dalas**
 <AV.RL>run=3P.NOM **GEN**=ADJ-often
 'They run often.'

b. **Ma-dalas** ay t<um>akbo=sila
 ADJ-often TOP <AV.RL>run=3P.NOM
 ‘Often, they run’

(44) a. T<um>akbo=sila **naŋ=ma-bilis**
 <AV.RL>run=3P.NOM GEN=ADJ-speed
 ‘They ran quickly.’

b. ***Ma-bilis** ay t<um>akbo=sila
 GEN=ADJ-speed TOP <AV.RL>run=3P.NOM

If topicalization of phrasal adverbs is generally permitted by the grammar, we can derive the facts based on the nominalist hypothesis. Only punctual adverbs relate to the entire predicational domain; durative adverbs only relate to the smaller, modificational domain. Extraction of duratives thus violates the same island constraint seen above with possessors.

V. The disintegration of nominalism in Indonesia

- ❖ Outside the Philippines, the nominal system described here breaks down. Further support for the nominalist hypothesis comes from the fact that throughout various Indonesian subgroups, the inherited features discussed above are lost and many of the same innovations arise.
- ❖ The linker, the primary demarcator (and acquisition cue) of the modification domains, disappears. This results in the creation of a real (i.e. category particular) **relative marker**.

(45) a. Anjin besar b. Anjin **yaŋ** besar *Indonesian*
 dog big dog RELT big
 ‘a big dog’ ‘a dog which is big’

c. Anjin *(**yaŋ**) ku=lihat
 dog RELT 1s=see
 ‘the dog I see’

- ❖ Case markers, the primary indicators of which phrases are in which domain, erode. Nominative pronouns can typically serve as AV patients unlike in Philippine languages where pronominal AV patients must be marked with oblique case. Case no longer signals the subject of the predicational domain.

(46) a. Aku me-lihat **kamu** *Indonesian*
 1s(NOM) AV-see 2s(NOM)
 ‘I see you’

(47) ŋ-ita **kaw** aku... *Bajau*
 AV-see 2s(NOM) 1s(NOM)
 ‘I see you’ (Donohue & Brown 1999:71)

- (48) Ini buku **kamu** *Indonesian*
 this book 2(NOM)
 'This is your book'
- ❖ The agents of patient voice verbs are no longer obligatorily genitive modifiers. They can be introduced as obliques, signalling the emergence of true passives.
- (49) Ni-kokko'=a' **ri** meoŋ=ku *Makassarese*
 PASS-bite=1S.NOM PREP cat=1S.GEN
 'I was bitten by my cat' (Jukes 2006:254)
- (50) Mbe'e ede ra-nduku **ba** ompu sia *Bima*
 goat that PASS.REAL-hit by grandfather 3sg
 'The goat was hit by his/her grandfather' (Arka 2002)
- (51) Tu' da-kerja **ulih** dua iku' nsia *Mualang*
 this PASS-work by two CLASS human
 'This is done (later) by two persons.' (Tjia 2007:152)
- (52) Ami onnga **le** hia *Manggarai*
 1p.ex hit by 3s
 'We were hit by him/her' (Arka & Kosmas 2005)
- (53) Lôn ka geu-côm **lé**-gopnyan *Acehnese*
 1p IN 3-kiss OBL-she
 'I was kissed by her.' (Durie 1988, Lawler 1988, Asyik 1987)
- ❖ Voice inflected elements can now license applicatives, person agreement, Ø imperative addressees, i.e., they are real Vs.
- (54) Ini yang **ku**=tulis *Indonesian*
 this RELT 1s=write
 'This is what I wrote'
- (55) Aku **men-ulis-kan** kamu sajak *Indonesian*
 1s AV-write-APPL 2 poem
 'I write a poem for you'
- (56) Bib **n=pun-ak** kolay peda *Taba*
 Bib 3s=kill-APPL snake machete
 'Bib killed the snake with a machete' (Bowden 2001:122)
- (57) tau **ku**=buntul-i=a... *Makassarese*
 person 1S.ERG=meet-APPL=DEF
 'the person that I met' (Jukes 2006:239)

- (58) Ia meli-**an** Nyoman umah *Balinese*
 3 AV.buy-APPL name house
 ‘(S)he bought a house for Nyoman’
- (59) Masak sayur=**nya**! *Indonesian*
 cook vegetable=3S.GEN
 ‘Cook the vegetables!’
- (60) Keo=**a**! *Selayarese*
 call=1S.NOM
 ‘Call me!’

❖ Person agreement, which in most cases develops from the genitive set pronouns, deviates from possessor marking, as in many languages of Sulawesi (Noorduyn 1991:148-9):

na -hilo= a	tomi= ku	<i>Uma</i>
3S.ERG-see=1S.ABS	house=1S.GEN	
na -cini= ka ’	ballak= ku	<i>Makassarese</i>
na -kita= na ’	banua= ngku	<i>Sa’dan</i>
la -loja-aku	sapo= ku	<i>Barang-barang</i>
a -kamata-aku	banua= ku	<i>Wolio</i>
no -toa-aku	laika- nggu	<i>Tolaki</i>

❖ Occasionally copulas and indefinite pronouns crop up as well:

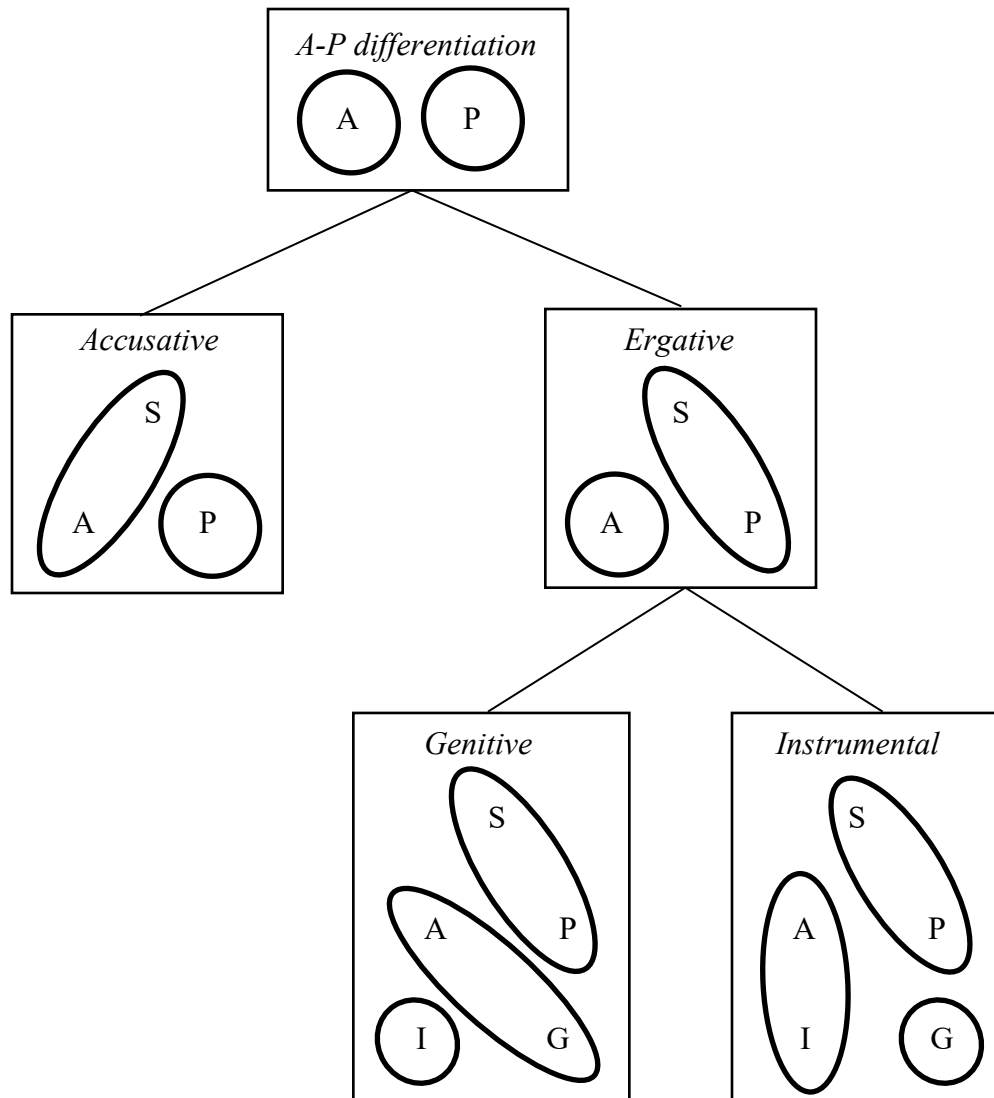
- (61) Ini **adalah** guru saya *Indonesian*
 this COP teacher 1s
 ‘This is my teacher’
- (62) Aku menj-erja-kan **sesuatu** *Indonesian*
 1s AV-work-APPL something
 ‘I’m doing something’
- (63) %Ada di-kerja-kan *Indonesian*
 EXT PASS-work-APPL
 (For, ‘He worked on something’)

❖ Topicalization of actor voice patients is permitted, as the verb now “governs” its object:

- (64) Panjuman itu, gaukan no-gutu *Totoli*
 story DIST king AV.RLS-make
 ‘This announcement, the king made’ (Himmelman 2006:142)

V. Conclusion – An evolutionary approach

- ❖ A new taxonomy for ergative languages (cf. Palancar 2002):



‘With the ergative, type 2 syncretism in our sample most typically joins it with the genitive, as in the Tacanan language Araona, the isolate Burushaski, Lak and the Tibeto-Burman language Limbu. It is likely that this is not a random choice, in that there are languages which have cases which inherently combine the functions of ergative and genitive (e.g. the relative case of the Eskimoan languages). Such constructions may have their origin in nominalizations, with the agent expressed by the genitive. However, although diachronic explanations may be found, it is unlikely that a direct, synchronic motivation can be demonstrated for most type 2 patterns’ (Baermann et al 2005:52, emphasis mine)

- ❖ Restrictions on extraction in ergative type languages appear to closely mirror the restrictions in their source constructions. As a result, extraction in ergative-genitive languages is much more restricted than in ergative-instrumental languages (cf. Manning 1996).

(65) Gizona-k neska-ri pelota-Ø eman d-io-Ø *Basque*
 man-ERG girl-DAT ball-ABS given 3S.ABS-3S.DAT-3S.ERG
 ‘The man has given the ball to the girl.’ (Brettschneider 1979:374)

Relativization of Abs: [Gizona-k neska-ri eman d-io-Ø-**n**] **pelota**
 man-ERG girl-DAT given 3S.ABS-3S.DAT-3S.ERG ball
 ‘The ball that was given by the man to the girl.’

Relativization of Dat: [Gizona-k pelota-Ø eman d-io-Ø-**n**] **neska**
 man-ERG ball-ABS given 3S.ABS-3S.DAT-3S.ERG girl
 ‘The girl that was given the ball by the man.’

Relativization of Erg: [Neska-ri pelota-Ø eman d-io-Ø-**n**] **gizona**
 girl-DAT ball-ABS given 3S.ABS-3S.DAT-3S.ERG man
 ‘The man who gave the ball to the girl.’

We also predict that Indonesian languages which have redeveloped verbs and possess non-genitive agents should behave like **instrumental** ergative languages. This is borne out by several languages, e.g.:

(66) [Ulih dua iku’ nsia] tu’ da-kerja *Mualang*
 by two CLASS human this PASS-work
 ‘This is done (later) by two persons.’ (Tjia 2007:152)

In the majority of Indonesian languages (excluding CEMP) the typical extraction restrictions of the Philippine system exist with clefting, but not with topicalization. Also,

“...non-subject undergoer arguments in actor voice constructions...can usually be topicalized without any problems but non-subject actor arguments in undergoer voice constructions.” (Himmelmann 2006:143)

- ❖ The way in which nominalism offers an explanation for a constellation of typological facts in Philippine languages suggests that it is crucial to look to historical facts for explanation.

More importantly, the way in which certain consequences of nominalism survive in Indonesian languages long after nominalism has been eliminated suggests an evolutionary approach to syntax along the lines of Blevins (2004) *Evolutionary Phonology*:

Principled diachronic explanations for sound patterns have priority over competing synchronic explanations unless independent evidence demonstrates, beyond reasonable doubt, that a synchronic account is warranted. (Blevins 2004:237)

- ❖ In fact, we still have very little idea what the threshold for irregularity is in first language acquisition. Ever since the shift towards a synchronic view (Sausurre 1916), it has often been assumed that linguistic systems must ‘make sense’ on some synchronic level.
- ❖ But if the evidence for “hyperlearning” and Poverty of the Stimulus is weaker than previously thought (Pullum & Scholz 2002, Scholz & Pullum 2002 *inter alia*) systematicity could be enforced much less stringently.

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