The Nominalist Hypothesis
in Austronesian

1.0   Background

Conservative Malayo-Polynesian (MP) languages have several typologically remarkable features. Three of the most discussed are the following:

(i)   apparent low functional load of lexical categories
(ii)   a complex system of alignment and diathesis not easily subsumed by traditional notions of accusativity or ergativity
(iii)   uncommon restrictions on extraction ("subjects only")

Here, I will extend arguments that these three defining features are intimately connected (cf. Foley 1998, Kroeger 1998, Himmelmann 2006) and have a basis in the nominal character of aspectually inflected words, which will be referred to here for convenience as VERBS (cf. Cappell 1964, Starosta, Pawley & Reid 1981 [SPQR]).

1.1   Organization of this talk

(2.0) The significance of case syncretism and the taxonomy of alignment systems
(3.0) The typology of nominal languages
         Nouns and verbs in Tagalog
(4.0) The Nominalist Hypothesis
(5.0) Extraction restriction
(6.0) Bonus Explanations!
(7.0) The disintegration of nominalism in Indonesia
(8.0)   Conclusion

2.0   Alignment systems

❖ Problem: Despite the apparent markedness of the actor voice (De Guzman 1988, Gerdts 1988, Aldridge 2004, Liao 2004) there is still very little typological commonality between Conservative MP and ergative languages of Australia, Central Asia, Basque, etc. There are also serious syntactic disparities within Austronesian ergativity (Paul & Travis 2007). Himmelmann (1996) thus questions the utility of "ergative type language" as a meaningful typological category for Austronesian languages.

Additionally, it has been long noted in the ergativity literature that the morphological pattern associated with ergativity has no strong implications for the syntax.

❖ In order to situate the position of conservative MP languages within an alignment typology we need to extend our definition of the ergative pattern. Morphological ergativity is defined minimally as a case syncretism between the instransitive subject and the transitive patient.

❖ But in the vast majority of ergative langauges there exist other syncretisms among the core and peripheral cases which are routinely ignored by analysts but provide important clues as to the historical origins of the pattern. Case syncretism between the transitive agent (i.e. the ergative argument) and one of the peripheral cases are particularly common (see Palancar 2002, Iggesen 2005 for many examples)

❖ In a large number of ergative languages, the ergative argument is marked as an instrumental or ablative. In another group, the ergative argument is marked in the same manner as possessors, i.e. with the genitive case.

A partial taxonomy of case syncretisms / morphological alignment types
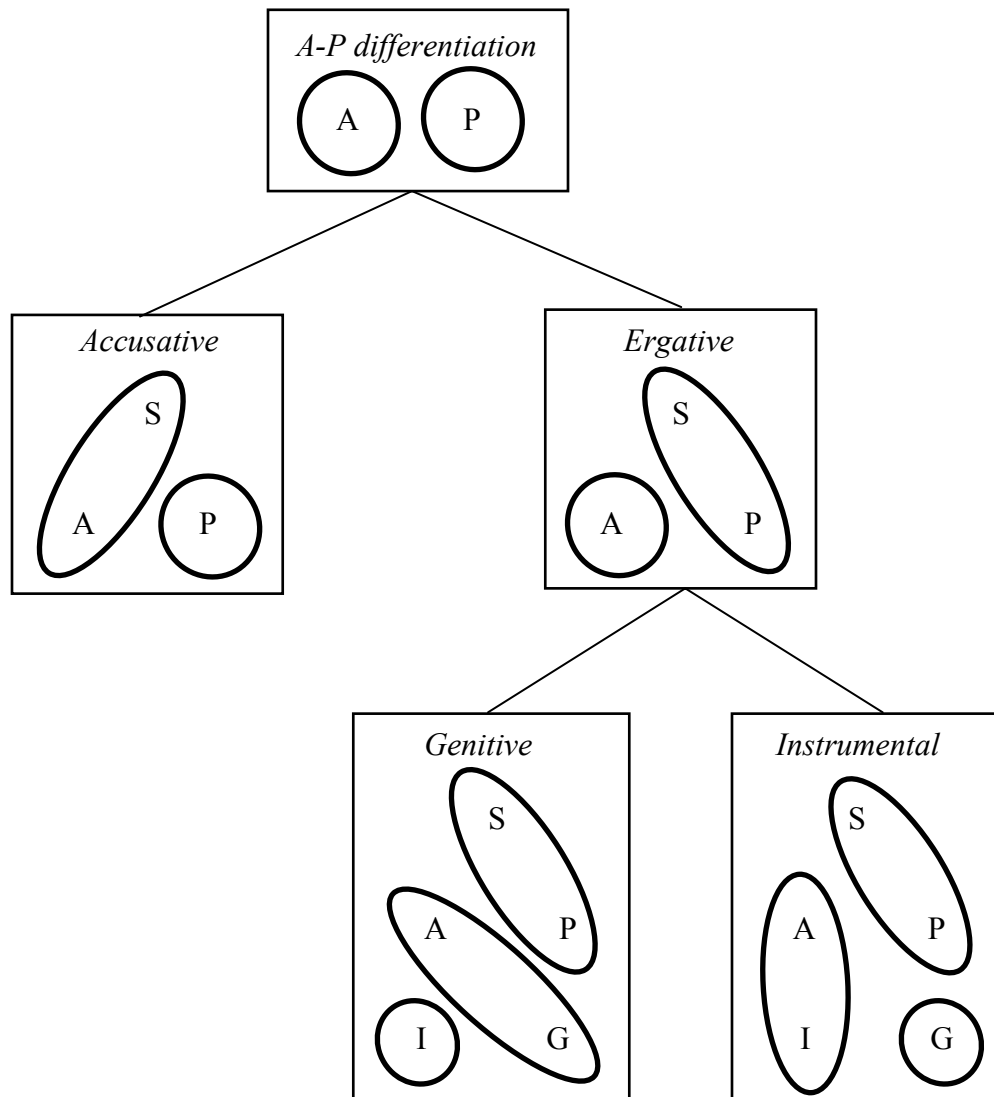
Key: S = intransitive subject, A = transitive agent, P = transitive patient, I = instrumental, G = genitive

❖ ERG = INST is the outcome of a historical reanalysis in which passives or middles were reinterpreted as canonical transitives (Plank 1979, Garrett 1990, Dixon 1994).

Because adjunct agents are generally introduced by the instrumental (or directional cases) a homophony comes into being between the instrumental and the ergative case after reanalysis.

❖ ERG = GEN arises from the agent marking in nominalized subordiante clauses which was then extended to matrix clauses. Because the agent of nominalizations is generally introduced as a possessor, this reanalysis brings about a homophony between agents and possessors.

> '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)

Nominalization is precisely the type of event posited by SPQR for Austronesian. Other language families which show this syncretism include:

MAYAN, ESKIMO, OLD IRANIAN, NORTHEAST CAUCASIAN, BURUSHASKI, AUSTRONESIAN

Those languages which show a one-to-one bidirectional correspondence between possessor marking and transitive agent marking, i.e. all genitive markers are ergative markers and all ergative markers are genitive markers, are even fewer[1]:

MAYAN, ESKIMO, ~~OLD IRANIAN, NORTHEAST CAUCASIAN, BURUSHASKI,~~ AUSTRONESIAN

Of these three, it seems that only Austronesian languages have perfect correspondence.

❖ This partly overlaps with Trask's (1979) division into Type A and Type B ergative languages:

Type A – No Tense/Aspect split; Verb agreement with P; Commonly head marking; Arises historically from the reanalysis of passive as active.

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[1] In Burushaski, for instance, the ergative and genitive are differentiated in the feminine gender (by –mo GEN).

Type B – Tense/Aspect split; no Verb agreement with P; common ERG=GEN syncretism; arises from the "incorporation into the inflectional paradigm of a nominalized deverbal form with stative force".

❖ Opposite correlations suggested by Manning (1996:21):

> "I believe that historical origin could be a good guide in subdividing the types of ergative languages, although the matter would require much further investigation. Making an initial cut between ergativity arising from a perfective or passive origin (reinterpreting an oblique instrumental or agent as the ergative NP) seems promising....In contrast [to Trask's typology and predictions], I am suggesting that many languages where ergativity arises from nominalization are syntactically ergative (whereas the ergativity in the Indic Indo-European languages, for example, seems superficial from the point of view of syntactic behavior)."

Type A – accusative syntax; passive origin

Type B – ergative syntax; nominal origin

❖ The Austronesian syncretism (Manning's type B) is **extremely** stable pattern which is found throughout Philippine and Formosan languages and in several subgroups outside these areas. The pattern must be reconstructed to Proto-Austronesian because of its distribution (Wolff 1973, Ross 2002, *inter alia*).

❖ None of the changes affecting the genitive marker in Philippine languages (e.g. merger with OBLIQUE *sa*, cf. Cebuano) has managed to split the genitive and the non-AV agent. This attests to both the salience and grammatical "viability" of the pattern. In other words, it is impossible that it constitutes mere coincidental homophony. And yet, all generative accounts of Philippine case and voice treat it as such.

Sidenote: the genitive and non-AV agent are not differentiated in languages like Tagalog by the non-clitic oblique pronominals which are generally preposed. Only a tendency for these markers to indicate possessors as opposed to agents.

Na-kita=ko=siya	*Ákin=siya=ŋ na-kita*
PV.STA.PRF-see=1S.GEN=3S.NOM	1S.OBL=3S.NOM=LNK PV.STA.PRF-see
'I saw her.'	'I saw her.'

Ito=y   kay=Pedro-ŋ   g<in>awà-∅
NOM.this=TOP P.OBL=Pedro=LNK <PRF>make-PV
'Pedro made this' (Blake 1916:413)

❖ Passives and nominals are different enough that genitive and instrumental languages should look very different from each other

3.0 The typology of nominal languages

3.1   Weak distinctions between lexical categories

❖ In contrast to instrumental languages, the presence and scope of lexical categories has been a controversial issue in the analysis of most genitive languages with a tradition of linguistic description.

❖ We expect that if VERBS are the result of (often zero-derivation) nominalization then the lines between N and V will be blurred.

❖ Two difficulties in the literature on lexical categories is (i) the vagueness of the notion "lexical category" and (ii) the lack of explicitness in regard to the morphosyntactic domain/level where categoriality is supposed to hold.

❖ Categories can be identified primarily on the basis of their morphosyntactic profiles, i.e. the set of morphemes which can potentially apply to the given element and the clausal positions its simple form can appear in.[2] If this profile is *unpredictable* from the semantics, categoriality is required (Gil 2000).

3.1.1   A case study in categoriality: the N-V distinction in Tagalog

❖ One group (Gil 1993; Foley 1998; Lemaréchal 1982, 1989; Himmelmann 1987, 1991; Naylor, 1995) has argued that there is no lexical distinction between nouns and verbs.

A second group (Kroeger 1993, 1998; DeGuzman 1995, implicit in most generative work) argues that there does exist a distinction, but it is just not manifested as clearly as in more familiar langs.

A third group (Müller 1882; Scheerer 1924; Cappel 1964; Himmelmann to appear) argues that verbs are noun-like in nature.

❖ The overwhelming majority of roots can take voice/aspect (VERB) morphology. But Kroeger (1998) claims that not all Tagalog roots can be 'verbed'. However, some of the evidence claimed to be ungrammatical is attested:
mag-paa   *paa-hin*
AV-foot   foot-PV
'to go barefoot'   'to foot something'

mag-pálay   *anák-in*
AV-rice   child-PV
'to engage in rice activity'   'to treat as one's child'
(*underspecified* e.g. growing, selling)

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[2] Himmelmann (to appear): 'The major formal distinctions between Tagalog roots pertain to the affix sets with which they may occur.'
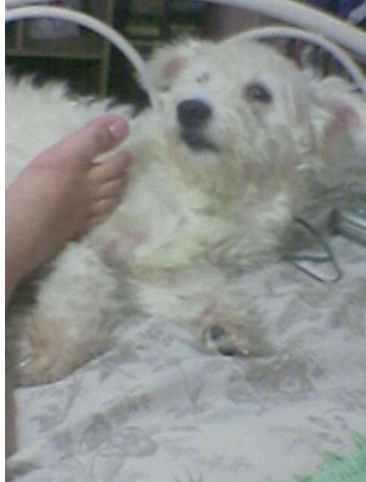
<baket mo ako pinapaa?>
baket=mo=ako   p<in>a~paa-∅
why=2S.GEN=1S.NOM <RL>PROG~foot-PV
'Why are you footing me?'
(picture w/caption from the internet)

❖ Unattested combinations do, of course, exist though. But these can be thought of as the result of morphological **blocking** and semantic implausibility.

%paláy-in   but: *p<in>álay-∅*
  rice-PV   <PRF>rice-PV
                        'made to be like a rice stalk'

bigas-an   *%B<in>igas-an=ko*
  rice-LV   <PRF>rice-LV=1S.GEN
'rice container'   ('I riced to (it)')

para sa=kinabukasan ng=kanila=ŋ   mga=anak at **a~anak-in** ng=kanila=ŋ   mga=anak
for OBL=future   GEN=3P.OBL=LNK PL=child and IRR~child-PV GEN=3P.OBL=LNK PL=child
'for the future of their children and those who will be "childed" by their children'

❖ We also have to make sense of the length alternation in Tagalog which appears to function as a derivational morpheme.

Root		Aspectual derivation	Non-aspectual derivation
áral 'study'	⇨	*arál-in* 'to study *x*'	*aral-in* 'a lesson'
káin 'eat'	⇨	*kaín-an* 'to eat from x'	*kain-an* 'eating place'
lagnat 'fever'	⇨	*lagnat-in* 'to suffer from fever'	*lagnát-in* 'fever prone'
básag 'break'	⇨	*baság-in* 'to break'	*basag-in* 'fragile'

'Flipping' length has the effect of removing aspect but there is no syntactic difference between the two derivations.

Arál-in=mo   iyan!   *Aral-in=mo   iyan!*
study-PV=2S.GEN NOM.that   study-PV=2S.GEN NOM.that
'Study that!'   'That's your lesson!'

❖ Declension type distinctions do exist in Tagalog for stative/adjectival type words (Wolff 1993, Himmelmann to appear).

Only roots of class A can form adjectives with *ma-*, a type of existential prefix and only roots of class B can inflect for aspect as stative verbs:

Class A
√*saya* 'happyness'

Ma-saya=ako
ADJ-happyness=1S.NOM
'I am happy'

*Na-sá~saya=ako
STA-PROG~happyness=1S.NOM

Class B
√*tuwà* 'happyness'

*Ma-tuwà=ako
ADJ-joy=1S.NOM

Na-tú~tuwà=ako
STA-PROG~joy=1S.NOM
'I am joyed'

Intensive reduplication only applies to class A roots:
"*ang tuwà*"   2,736 hits   "*ang saya*"   84,500 hits
"*ang tuwà-tuwà*"   **4 hits**   "*ang saya-saya*"   29,500 hits

❖ But the bare roots of both classes can be used as nominal arguments and can be considered N:

B<um>alik   ang=saya=ko
<AV.PRF>return NOM=happy=1S.GEN
'My happiness returned'

B<um>alik   ang=tuwà=ko
<AV.PRF>return NOM=happy=1S.GEN
'My happyness returned'

Class A
ma-saya – **have** happiness

Class B
na-tú~tuwà – **affected by** happiness

In Tagalog, one **has** fat, happiness, tallness, intelligence...etc.
           but one is **affected by** loneliness, joy, anger, hunger...etc.

While other roots are ambiguous between class A and B, e.g. √*lungkot*

ma-lungkot=siya
ADJ-sad=3S.NOM
'He's sad'

na-lu~lungkot=siya
STA-PROG~sad=3S.NOM
'He's being sad'

∴ Category must be, at least partly, specified in the lexicon but this still appears as a classification of *nominals*, judging from the √-function and √-semantics.

❖ The remarkable feature of Tagalog and Philippine languages is that *all* words which are typically construed as events are built on roots which have a clear *nominal* interpretation.

> "The interesting and often overlooked observation here is that almost all lexical bases in these [Philippine] languages may occur without affixes. This is no surprise in the instance of a putative nominal base such as *bató* 'stone'. But putatively verbal bases such as *putol* 'cut' may also be used without affixes (in the same slots as putatively nominal bases), and perhaps even more surprisingly, they convey nominal meanings when used in this way...In this view, Philippine-type lexical bases are not precategorial, but belong to the last type of bases listed above (i.e. morphologically or syntactically subcategorized): they are syntactically subcategorized as content words and morphologically as belonging to different (derivational) paradigms" (Himmelmann 2006:130-1)

> "almost all presumably verbal roots are glossed with English nouns or adjectives/participles. Typical examples include object nouns such as 'gift' for bigáy, action nominalisations such as '(act of) crying' for iyák, and adjectives/participles such as 'surpassed, defeated' for daíg." (Himmelmann to appear)

The claim here is that it is this aspect of Philippine languages which gives rise to many of their typological peculiarities.

❖ What happens when bare roots combine with genitive modifiers?

Monovalent vs. Bivalent roots

Monovalent VERB roots get an action nominal interpretation. When combined with a genitive phrase the genitive is interpreted as the agent of the action nominalization.

alis	'departure, leaving'	⇨	*alis=ko*	'my leaving'
akyat	'act of climbing'	⇨	*akyat=ko*	'my climbing'
takbo	'act of running, race'	⇨	*takbo=ko*	'my running/race'
talon	'act of jumping, a jump'	⇨	*talon=ko*	'my jumping/jump'
káin	'act of eating'	⇨	*káin=ko*	'my eating'

Note that all of these roots are transitive when *-in* PATIENT VOICE is applied:

alis-in	'to remove *x*'	⇨	*alis-in=ko*	'for me to remove *x*'
akyat-in	'to climb *x*'	⇨	*akyat-in=ko*	'for me to climb *x*'
takbu-hin	'to run *x*'	⇨	*takbu-hin=ko*	'for me to run *x*'
talun-in	'to jump over *x*'	⇨	*talun-in=ko*	'for me to jump over *x*'
káin-in	'to eat *x*'	⇨	*káin-in=ko*	'for me to eat *x*'

There are rare exceptions. We would *a priori* consider *uwì* 'return home' a strictly monovalent root which would thus follow the above pattern. But in Tagalog it has a bivalent variant i.e. 'bring *x* home':

uwì 'return home, returned home' ⇨ *uwì=ko* 'my return home, **that which I returned home**'

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❖   **Bivalent** 'verbal' roots have a resultative interpretation when used in their bare form. When a resultative combines with a genitive phrase, the latter is also assigned the agent role.

kítà	'visible'	⇨	*kítà=ko*	'my visible (thing)'
kúha	'obtained'	⇨	*kúha=ko*	'my gotten (thing)'
mahal	'loved, expensive'	⇨	*mahal=ko*	'my loved (thing)'
ayaw	'disliked'	⇨	*ayaw=ko*	'my disliked (thing)'
lútò	'cooked food, a dish'	⇨	*lútò=ko*	'my cooked (thing)'
bigay	'object of giving, gift'	⇨	*bigay=ko*	'my given (thing)'
háwak	'held, object of holding'	⇨	*háwak=ko*	'my held (thing)'
dala	'load, carried thing'	⇨	*dala=ko*	'my carried (thing)'
dama	'felt, perceived'	⇨	*dama=ko*	'my perceived (thing)'

Although, the translations above such as 'my held one' cannot be used felicitously as predicates in English, they are unmarked in Tagalog. A typical exchange:

A: *Nasaan ang=súsi?*
      where   NOM=key
      'Where is the key?'

B: *Dala=ko=na!*   *Háwak=ko=na!*
      carry=1S.GEN=CMP   held=1S.GEN=CMP
      'I'm carrying (it)!'   'I'm holding (it)!'

      *Isa=ŋ   ma-unlad   na Pilipinas=ba ang=**hánap**=mo?*
      one=LNK ADJ-progress LNK Phil.=QM   NOM=search=2S.GEN
      'Is a developed Philippines what you're looking for?'   (from an ad)

Rare Exceptions I: Bare agentive roots. Here the genitive is interpreted as a possessor, not an agent, and the patient voice is disallowed:

hárì	'king'	⇨	*hárì=ko*	'my king'	(*harí-in*)
tánod	'guard'	⇨	*tánod=ko*	'my guard'	(*tanúr-in*)
alagad	'follower'	⇨	*alagad=ko*	'my follower'	(*alagár-in*)

Rare Exceptions II: Root adjectives

bágo	'new'	⇨	*bágo=ko*	'my new (one)'
lúmà	'old'	⇨	*lúmà=ko*	'my old (one)'
múra	'cheap'	⇨	*múra=ko*	'my cheap (one)'

❖ Canonical (notional) verbs which are dynamic and bivalent the pattern is clear, the root designates the result of the denoted action (cf. Cena 1977):

Bigay=ko iyon   sa=kanya
gift=1S.GEN that.NOM OBL=3s
'I gave that to him/That is my gift to him'

*Bigay=ako ng=libro   sa=kanya   (cf. nagbigay ako ng libro sa kanya)
 gift=1S.NOM GEN=book OBL=3s

❖ This leads us to the surprising conclusion that the source of Philippine-type "ergativity" is prepackaged in the lexicon!

❖ If thought of as an obligatory nominalization process, it would have to apply at the earliest stage possible (i.e. the lexicon). In the AN transitive pattern the agent is GENITIVE while the undergoer is marked as **NOMINATIVE**. In other patterns involving genitive subjects, e.g. Altaic (Japanese, Korean, Turkic languages), the undergoer is marked with the **ACCUSATIVE**, a pattern which represents "high nominalization", as the verb can still assign objective case.

❖ **Interim Conclusion** – Tagalog roots are not acategorial, but they are also not categorial in the expected way. The most striking difference is that notional verbs of the dynamic bivalent type are built on nominal resultative roots.

4.0 The Nominalist Hypothesis

❖ The intuition that verbs have strong nominal characteristics 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 the most 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

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

*anguti-up nanuq   kapi-**ja**-a-∅*
man-GEN   bear(ABS)   stab-PASS.PART-3S/3S
'The man stabbed the bear.'
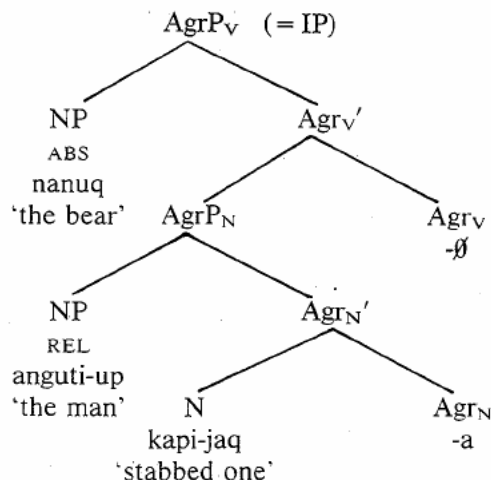
*angut   ani-**juq***
man(ABS) go.out-INTR.PART.3s
'The man went out'

❖ Under this analysis, it appears that the genitive agent attaches within the domain of modification, while the absolute 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   ng=laláki ang=bangka
visible GEN=man   NOM=boat
'The man sees/saw the boat'
(Lit. 'The boat is the man's visible one')
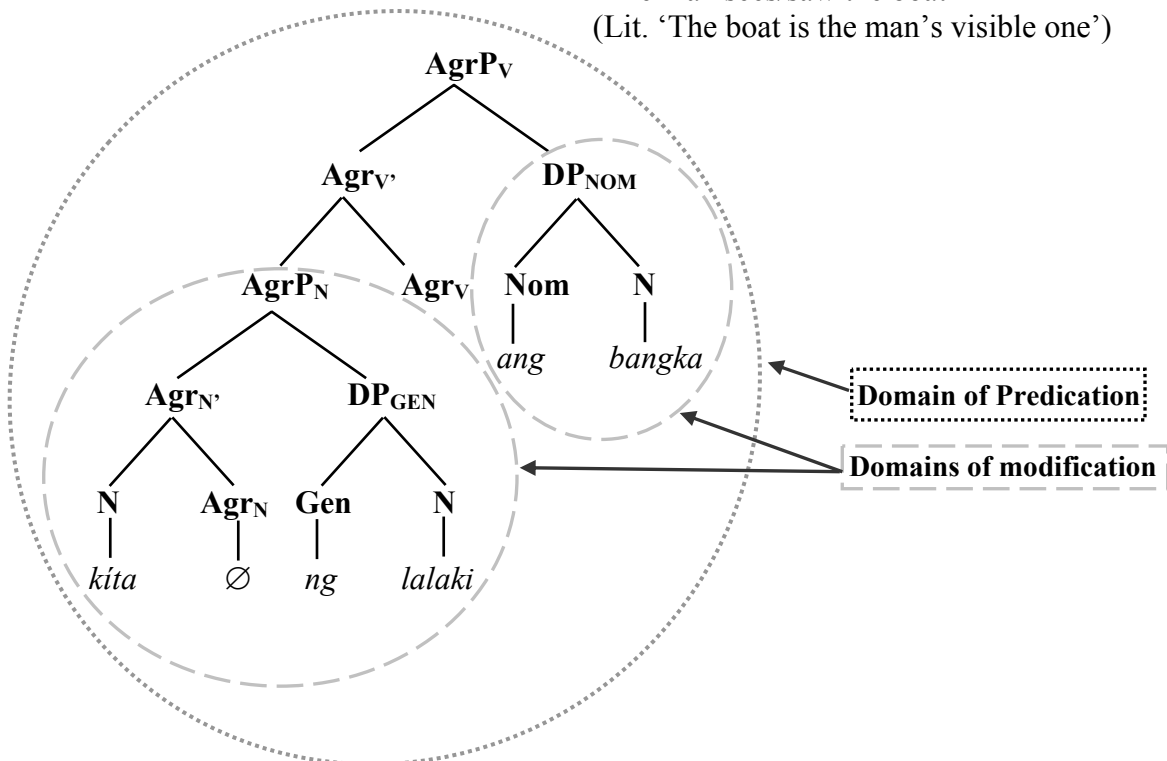
❖ **Prediction**: Genitive agents should have the hallmarks of modifiers

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

[*Ito=**ŋ**   ma-laki=**ŋ**   áso=**ŋ**   ito*]DP
NOM.this=LNK ADJ-big=LNK dog=LNK NOM.this
'This big dog'

[*Ákin=**ŋ**   na-kita*]   *ang=babae*
1S.OBL=LNK   PV.STA.PRF-see NOM=woman
'I saw the woman.'

Ito=y   [*kay=Pedro-ŋ*   *g<in>awà-∅*]
NOM.this=TOP   P.OBL=Pedro=LNK   <PRF>make-PV
'Pedro made this' (Blake 1916:413)

5.0   Restrictions on extraction

❖   The famous restriction on extraction in (conservative) AN langs has been dubbed "subjects-only" but this is a major misnomer.

❖   The classic examples of bad "object extractions" are severely muddled:

*Sino ang=b<in>ili   *ang=libro*
who   NOM=<PV.PRF>buy   NOM=book
(for 'Who bought the book?')   (Guilfoyle *et al* 1992, *inter alia*)

*Si=Maria   *ang=b<in>ili*   *ang=libro*
P.NOM=Maria   NOM=<PV.PRF>buy   NOM=book
(for 'It was Maria who bought the book.')

Three nominative phrases/subjects! This is a totally orthogonal reason to rule out such sentences (in any language).

❖   If we remove one of the offending nominatives we get a grammatical sentence, but of course, not with the intended meaning.

Sino / Si=Maria   *ang=b<in>ili*
who   P.NOM=Maria   NOM=<PV.PRF>buy
'Who/Maria was bought(?)'

❖   The problem is that many popular generative approaches tend to brush aside:

(i) questioned constituents should be treated as clefts/predicates in conservative AN (and other predicate-initial) languages. (As noted by Paul 2001, Oda 2005, Adger and Ramchand 2005)

(ii) *wh-* words are often case marked.

❖   The clefted *wh-* word or focused constituent is equated with the following definitely determined constituent.

❖   Following the nominalist hypothesis, a determined clause like *ang=b<in>ili* can only mean 'that which was bought' and thus it is no surprise at all that a clefted agent cannot be equated with such a clause

A genitive argument cannot switch case when clefted. More to the point of the extraction restriction are examples such as:

Nino   ang=b\<in\>ili?
GEN.who NOM=\<PV.PRF\>buy
(for, 'Whose was the bought thing?'/'Who bought it?')

Even easier to demonstrate with topicalization, which does not require altering the predicate-argument structure of the sentence:

B\<in\>ili   ng=babae ang=libro kahapon
\<PV.PRF\>buy GEN=woman NOM=book yesterday
'The woman bought a book yesterday.'

> [*Ang=libro*]ᵢ *ay b\<in\>ili   ng=babae   tᵢ kahapon*
> NOM=book   TOP \<PV.PRF\>buy GEN=woman   yesterday

> [*Kahapon*]ᵢ *ay b\<in\>ili   ng=babae   ang=libro tᵢ*
> yesterday TOP \<PV.PRF\>buy GEN=woman NOM=book

> *[*Ng=babae*]ᵢ *ay b\<in\>ili   tᵢ ang=libro kahapon*
> GEN=woman TOP \<PV.PRF\>buy   NOM=book yesterday

A psuedo-exception from a poem (but crucially no case marking = no extraction)
*Ngunit wala=ka   ng=pera   kayat **tindero'y** b\<in\>igy-an=ka*
but   NEG.EXT=2S.NOM GEN=money so   seller=TOP \<PRF\>give-LV-2S.NOM
'But you didn't have any money so the seller gave you (some).'

- ❖ **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. Keenan & Comrie (1977, 1979a, 1979b)

  <u>Accessibility Hierarchy</u> (Keenan & Comrie 1977)
  SU > DO > IO > OBL > **GEN** > OCOMP

- ❖ **Some possessor extraction data**

Hebrew   [*et=ha=bayt   šel mi*]ᵢ *raita* tᵢ *?*
                      OBJ=DEF=house of who see.PST.2S
                      'Whose house did you see?'

> *[*(šel) mi   raita*]ᵢ   [*et=beyt-o* tᵢ]*?*
>   of   who saw.PST.2s OBJ=house-3S.GEN

> *[*šel mi   raita*]ᵢ   [*(et=ha=)bayt* tᵢ]*?*
>   of who saw.PST.2s   OBJ=DEF=house

Levantine Arabic   [*be:t   mi:n*]ᵢ *šuft* tᵢ*?*
                   house who   see.PST.2S
                   'Whose house did you see?'

                   **mi:n*ᵢ *šuft*   [*be:t* tᵢ] *?*
                    who see.PST.2S house

English   [*Whose pictures*] *did you see* tᵢ*?*
                  **[Whose]*ᵢ *did you see* [tᵢ *pictures*]?
                  **[Of whom]*ᵢ *did you see pictures* tᵢ *?*
                  (but, [*Whom*] *did you see pictures* [*of* tᵢ] *?* (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)

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

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

                  *Mari-**nak** a vendég-e-∅*   GENITIVE>DATIVE case shift
                  Mary-DAT the guest-POSS.3S   with extraction
                  'Mary's guest'   (Szabolcsi 1983/1984)

Indonesian   [*Gambar=nya   siapa*] *kamu=lihat* tᵢ *?*
                  picture=3S.GEN who   2=see
                  'Whose picture did you see?'

                  *Siapa kamu=lihat gambar=nya?
                   who   2=see   picture=3S.GEN

Timugun Murut   *baloy ru   ruandu'*
                  house GEN woman
                  'a woman's house' (Prentice 1971:180)

                  baloy=min
                  house=2S.**GEN**
                  'your house' (Prentice 1971:181)

> *ruandu' **ra** baloy*   symmetrical linking
> woman **LNK** house   structure with extraction
> 'a WOMAN'S house' (Prentice 1971:205)
>
> *akaw **ra** baloy*
> 2s   **LNK** house
> 'YOUR house' (Prentice 1971:205)

❖ In Tagalog, several types of arguments are marked by *ng* 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:

> *<Um>alis=sila*   **ng=ala-úna**
> <AV.PRF>leave=3P.NOM **GEN**=o'clock-one
> 'They left at one o'clock'
>
> ***Ng=ala-úna***   (*ay*) *<um>alis=sila*
> **GEN**=o'clock-one TOP <AV.PRF>leave=3P.NOM
> 'At one o'clock, they left'
>
> *Walà=ako=ŋ*   *g<in>awà-∅* **nito=ŋ**   **mga=huli=ŋ áraw**
> NEG.EXT=1S.NOM=LNK <PRF>do-PV GEN.this=LNK PL=last=LNK day
> 'I haven't done anything, these last (few) days.'
>
> ***Nito=ŋ***   **mga=huli=ŋ áraw** (*ay*) *walà=ako=ŋ*   *g<in>awà-∅*
> GEN.this=LNK PL=last=LNK day TOP NEG.EXT=1S.NOM=LNK <PRF>do-PV
> 'These last (few) days, I haven't done anything.'
>
> *Na-húlog=siya*   **ng=hindi=niya**   **na-maláy-an**
> PV.STA.PRF-fall=3S.NOM GEN=NEG=3S.GEN STA.PRF-conscious-LV
> 'He fell without noticing it'
>
> ***Ng=hindi=niya***   **na-maláy-an**   (*ay*) *na-húlog=siya*
> **GEN**=NEG=3S.GEN STA.PRF-conscious-LV TOP PV.STA.PRF-fall=3S.NOM
> 'Without noticing it, he fell.'

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

> *Nag-áral=sila*   **ng=isa=ŋ**   **óras**
> AV.PRF-study=3P.NOM GEN=one=LNK hour
> 'They studied for an hour'
>
> ****Ng=isa=ŋ***   **óras** (*ay*) *mag-áral=sila*
> GEN=one=LNK hour TOP AV.PRF-study=3P.NOM

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

T<um>akbo=sila　**ng=ma-dalas**　　**Ma-dalas**　　(*ay*) *t<um>akbo=sila*
<AV.PRF>run=3P.NOM GEN=ADJ-speed　GEN=ADJ-often TOP <AV.PRF>run=3P.NOM

T<um>akbo=sila　**ng=ma-bilis**　　***Ma-bilis**　　(*ay*) *t<um>akbo=sila*
<AV.PRF>run=3P.NOM GEN=ADJ-speed　GEN=ADJ-speed TOP <AV.PRF>run=3P.NOM
'They ran quickly.'

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.

❖ The other side of the extraction problem in Austronesian languages regards the actor voice patient ("a core function that is neither the pivot nor the agent" [Ross 1999]). In Tagalog, and other languages, this constituent is marked as a genitive (Type IV) but in many other AN langs it is marked as an oblique (Type III), or in rarer cases, marked uniquely (Type V) (see also Donohue & Donohue forthcoming)

Case marking syncretisms in Malayo-Polynesian (based on Ross 1999)

Type	NOM	GEN	AV-patient	OBL
I	A			**B**
II	**A**	**B**		
III	**A**	**B**	**C**	
IV	**A**	**B**		**C**
V	**A**	**B**	**C**	**D**

❖ But even in Type V languages, the marker for AV-patient has multiple functions, as in Ivatan (Reid 1966):
Man-abas o=tao　**so=tamek** *no=lókoy=na*　　*do=takey*
AV-slash　NOM=man OBJ=weed GEN=bolo=3S.GEN OBL=field
'The man is slashing weeds with his bolo in the field.' (Reid 1966:38)

S<omn>avat=ako　　　**so=asa kaaraw**
<AV.PRF>go.home=1S.NOM　OBJ=one.day
'I went home for one day' (Reid 1966:69)

S<omn>avat=ako　　　**so=makalo**
<AV.PRF>go.home=1S.NOM　OBJ=quickly
'I went home quickly' (Reid 1966:69)

rakoh **so=oho**
big　OBJ=head
'big headed' (Reid 1966:107)

o=ása   **so=padang**
NOM=one OBJ=leg
'the one-legged (person)' (Reid 1966:108)

The last two are crucial in that they are **unambiguous modifiers** (DP-internal).

❖ The extraction of AV-patients extends beyond genitive marked constituents. Even AV-patients which are marked with the oblique, cannot be extracted via oblique fronting:

Nag-sábi=ako   *sa=pangúlo*
AV.PRF-say=1S.NOM   OBL=president
'I told (it) to the president'

Sa=pangúlo=lang=ako   *nag-sábi*
OBL=president=only=1S.NOM AV.PRF-say
'It's only to the president that I told (it).'

%K<um>áin=ako   *sa=pansit*
 <AV.PRF>eat=1S.NOM OBL=noodles
 'I ate from/at the noodles' (partitive object)

*?Sa=pansit=lang=ako   *k<um>áin*
 OBL=noodles=only=1S.NOM <AV.PRF>eat

Dílì=sila   *mu-káun ug=/sa=báboy*   (Cebuano)
NEG=3P.NOM   AV-eat   OBJ=/OBL=pig
'They don't eat pig.'

*Ug=bábuy, dílì=sila   mu-káun
 OBJ=pig   NEG=3P.NOM AV-eat

*Sa=bábuy, dílì=sila   mu-káun
 OBL=pig   NEG=3P.NOM AV-eat

❖ The restriction on extraction is not coextensive with a particular case. Nor can those extractable constituents be summed up by a single case.

The best generalization appears to be that **constituents within the nominal/modificational domain are contained within a strong island**.

6.0   Bonus explanations!

Other, lesser noted features of conservative AN langs also support the nominalist hypothesis.

❖ No difference between complementizers and linkers in conservative MP:

Ma-laki=ŋ áso   *ang=h\<in\>úli-∅=ko=ŋ*   *áso*
ADJ-big=LNK dog   NOM=\<PRF\>catch-PV=1S.GEN=LNK dog
'big dog'   'the dog I caught'

❖ No copula (no distinction between verbal and non-verbal predication)

❖ No 3>2 applicatives. Curious for languages which have such rich voice/derivational morphology, but completely expected if verbal type predicates are actually nominal in character.

❖ No person agreement. Again curious for such a large group of languages which possess 2P clitics. Typically, given the same amount of variation, we would expect some languages to have developed person agreement. The closest thing in Philippine languages is Sambalic, Yami, Batanic, which have clitic doubling, but crucially, the clitics need not attach to the verb.

Yami   *I-ka-rilaw=**na**=**sira***   *no=ina=da*   *o=an~anak=na*
            BV-STA-pity=3s.GEN=3p.NOM   GEN=mother=3p.GEN   NOM=PL~child=3s.GEN
            'Mother pitied her children.' (Rau & Dong 2006:95 ex.32)

❖ Near-obligatory imperative addressees:

***Buks-an**=mo*   *ang=bentana!*
open-LV=2S.GEN NOM=window
'Open the widow! (Lit. The window is yours to open!)'

❖ Morphosyntactic differences between PAN dependent and indicative forms can be explained as V vs. N. In Batangas Tagalog, unlike with indicative imperatives, the imperative addressee of dependent forms are **obligatorily** absent:

***Buks-i**(*=mo)*   *ang=pintuan!*
open=LV.DEP=2S.GEN NOM=door
'Open the door!'

Unlike indicative imperatives, dependent imperatives **can't** be embedded in a DP (cf. Ross 2002:46):

Bentana=na=lang   *ang=**buks-an**=mo!*
window=CMP=only NOM=open-LV=2S.GEN
'Open the WINDOW! Not the door' ('Window is your one to open!)

*Bentana=na=lang   *ang=**buks-i**!*
 window=CMP=only NOM=open-DEP.LV

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❖ No real indefinite pronouns (*something, someone*, etc.):

May=g\<in\>a~gawà=ako
EXT=\<RL\>PROG~do=1S.NOM
'I'm doing something.'   ('I have something being done')

If the pivot of the existential is nominal, it's expected that there should be no 'dummy pronoun' to fill the head position.

❖ Adjectival manner adverbs (not very rare cross-linguistically, but predicted here)

Ma-bilis na kotse
ADJ-fast LNK car
'a fast car'

Ma-bilis na nag-alok ng=tulong ang=Mongolia
ADJ-fast LNK AV.PRF-offer GEN=help NOM=Mongolia
'Mongolia offered help quickly'

(But note, only the presence of Aspect licenses genitive marked adverbs)

*Kotse ng=ma-bilis	*Nag-alok*	*ng=tulong*	*ng=ma-bilis*
car GEN=ADJ-fast	AV.PRF-offer	GEN=help	GEN=ADJ-fast
	'Offered help quickly'		

❖ The inherited 'Voice' morphemes **-ən* PV, **-an* LV marked CASE in PAn, as shown most clearly by Ross's (2006) pronominal reconstructions. It is difficult to imagine how a case marker on nouns could be reinterpreted as a voice marker on verbs. On the other hand, if **-ən*, **-an* were nominalizers, or nominal affixes from the beginning the connection is more straightforward.

7.0   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.

RELT MARKER	*Anjing besar*	*Anjing **yang** besar*
Indonesian	dog big	dog RELT big
	'a big dog'	'a dog which is big'

*Anjing *(**yang**) 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. Nominative thus no longer uniquely signals the subject/specifier of the predicational domain.

NOM OBJ	*Aku me-lihat **kamu***
Indonesian	1s(NOM) AV-see 2s(NOM)
	'I see you'

NOM OBJ	*Ng-ita **kaw** aku...*
Bajau	AV-see 2s(NOM) 1s(NOM)
	'I see you' (Donohue & Brown 1999:71)

NOM POSS	*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.

OBL AGENT	*Ni-kokko'=a' **ri** meong=ku*
Makassarese	PASS-bite=1S.NOM PREP cat=1S.GEN
	'I was bitten by my cat' (Jukes 2006:254)

OBL AGENT	*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)

OBL AGENT	*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)

OBL AGENT	*Ami ongga **le** hia*
Manggarai	1p.ex hit by 3s
	'We were hit by him/her' (Arka & Kosmas 2005)

OBL AGENT	*Lôn ka geu-côm **lé**-gopnyan*
Acehnese	1p IN 3-kiss OBL-she
	'I was kissed by her.' (Durie 1988, Lawler 1988, Asyik 1987)

Note: we also predict that when patient voice agents are no longer genitive modifiers, there should no longer be a restriction on their extraction (just as in many **instrumental** ergative languages). This is borne out by many languages:

OBL AGENT	[*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)	

❖ Voice inflected elements can now license applicatives, person agreement, ∅ imperative addressees, i.e., they are real Vs.

APPL	*Aku* **men**-*ulis*-**kan** *kamu sajak*
Indonesian	1s AV-write-APPL 2 poem
	'I write a poem for you'

AGR	*Ini yang ku=tulis*
Indonesian	this RELT 1s=write
	'This is what I wrote'

APPL + AGR	*tau* **ku**=*buntul*-**i**=*a...*
Makassarese	person 1S.ERG=meet-APPL=DEF
	'the person that I met' (Jukes 2006:239)

APPL + AGR	*Bib* **n**=*pun*-**ak** *kolay peda*
Taba	Bib 3s=kill-APPL snake machete
	'Bib killed the snake with a machete' (Bowden 2001:122)

APPL	*Ia meli-ang Nyoman umah*
Balinese	3 AV.buy-APPL name house
	'(S)he bought a house for Nyoman'

∅ IMPR ADRSE	*Masak sayur=nya!*	∅ IMPR ADRSE	*Keo=a!*
Indonesian	cook vegetable=3S.GEN	*Selayarese*	call=1S.NOM
	'Cook the vegetables!'		'Call me!'

❖ Person agreement, which in most cases develops from the genitive set pronouns, deviates from possessor marking.
❖

	na-*hilo*=*a*	*tomi*=**ku**
Uma	3S.ERG-see=1S.ABS	house=1S.GEN
Makassarese	**na**-*cini*=*ka'*	*ballak*=**ku**
Sa'dan	**na**-*kita*=*na'*	*banua*=**ngku**
Barang-barang	**la**-*longa*-*aku*	*sapo*=**ku**
Wolio	**a**-*kamata*-*aku*	*banua*=**ku**
Tolaki	**no**-*toa*-*aku*	*laika*-**nggu** (Noorduyn 1991:148-9)

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❖ In Tukang Besi, a language of Southeast Sulawesi which has developed (transitive) person agreement, the older 'voice' system survives in precisely the types of environments where the Batangas Tagalog dependent form was shown to be impermissible:

Ku-'*ita*-'*e*   *na* *ia*
1S.see-3S.OBJ NOM 3S
'I saw her.' (Donohue 1999:120)

Te   *ia* *te*   *mia*   *i*-'*ita*-*su*   *i* *aba*
CORE 3S CORE person PV-see-1S.GEN OBL PREV
'S/he is the person who I saw earlier.' (Donohue 1999:347)

❖ Ocassionally copulas and indefinite pronouns crop up as well:

COPULA *Indonesian*	*Ini **adalah** guru saya* this COP teacher 1s 'This is my teacher'
INDEF PRON *Indonesian*	*Aku lagi meng-erja-kan **sesuatu*** 1s PROG AV-work-APPL something 'I'm doing something'

%Ada yang di-tulis-nya
  EXT RELT PASS-write-3S.GEN
  'He wrote something'

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

Totoli   *Panguman itu, gaukan no-gutu*
                 story   DIST, king   AV.RLS-make
                 'This announcement, the king made' (Himmelmann 2006:142)

"...non-subject undergoer arguments in actor voice constructions (such as poguman itu in (30)) can usually be topicalized without any problems (!) but non-subject actor arguments in undergoer voice constructions (i Andris in (31)) cannot." (Himmelmann 2006:143)

As seen above, actor voice patients are just as restricted as genitive agents in Philippine langauges. This is true for many Indonesian languages as well:

Sa'dan   *Un-tiro=ko*   *burung*   **Burung, un-tiro=ko*
           AV-see=2S.NOM bird   bird   AV-see=2S.NOM
           'You saw a bird' (Kaufman to appear)

But it is correct that the restriction on AV objects is consistently loosened before the restriction on PV agents.

This relates to Aldrige's (2004) and Johns' (2006) suggestions that it is changes in the use and structure of the AV construction (antipassive) which is the trigger for larger changes. The AV/Antipassive becomes the canonical transitive. In this framework, this means that the AV object is "promoted" to the domain of predication.

8.0 Conclusion

Higher-level syntax can be clarified by looking into the lowest level.

Many of the features characterizing conservative MP syntax make better sense if we view verbs as nominals.

Many of the features characterizing Indonesian languages make better sense as the development of a canonical V.

If genitive languages differ consistently from instrumental ones, despite massive historical changes, we have an interesting case for "Evolutionary Morphosyntax" (Blevins 2004).

Research is needed on the syntax and semantics of **roots** in Austronesian

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