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Formal Features and Ergative Variation
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1. Introduction

Target of investigation: Two types of ergativity

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

High ABS: Absolutive DP licensed uniformly by T

Mixed ABS: Absolutive DP licensed by ν in transitive clauses, by T in intransitive

Questions to address:

1. What is the historical origin of the two types?
2. What are the parameters?
3. How are the parameters set?

Proposal: 2-step historical process; parameters as features on ν

1. Reduced clausal nominalization nP is reanalyzed as νP .
=> High ABS ergative language
2. Transitive ν acquires case-licensing capability.
=> High ABS > Mixed ABS ergative language

2. Parameters and Austronesian Ergative Variation

Aldridge (2004, 2008)

Formal features on ν as the locus of parametric variation:

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

(3) Ergative Variation

High ABS: No [$u\phi$] on transitive v
 [$u\phi$] on T
Mixed: [$u\phi$] required on transitive v
 [$u\phi$] optional on T

2.1. High ABS (Seediq and most other Formosan languages)

Ergative Case-marking Pattern:

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

No absolutive available in embedded nonfinite clause.
=> Structural case can only be valued only by T.

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

(6) High ABS

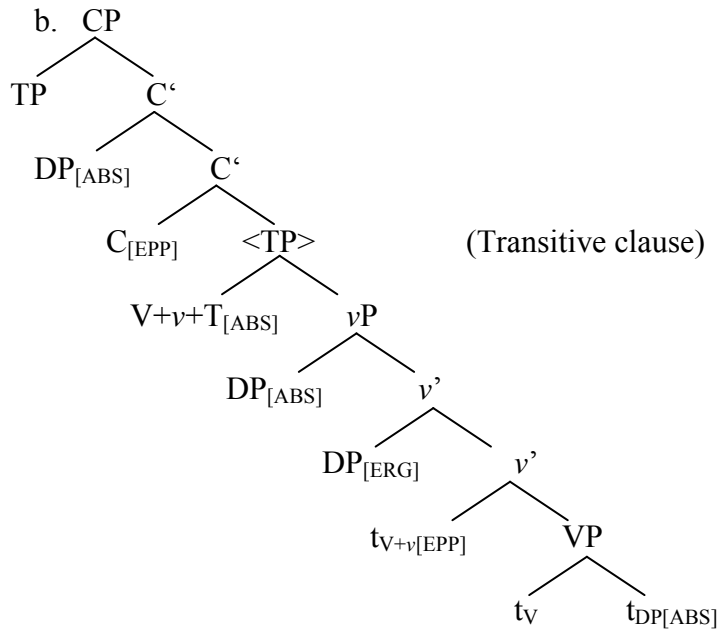
v_{Tr} : Inherent ergative case, no[$u\phi$], [EPP]
 v_{Intr} : No [$u\phi$], no [EPP]
 T_{Fin} : [$u\phi$], no [EPP]

(7) Verbal morphology and transitivity

m -/ < m > Intransitive/Antipassive
- un Basic transitive
< n > Perfective

(8) Transitive clause

- a. Wada bube-un na Pihu ka dangi=na.
 PAST hit-TR ERG Pihu ABS friend=3S.GEN
 ‘Pihu hit his friend.’



Evidence for ABS movement:

- VOS Word order
- (9) a. Wada=na s-tabu huling **ka** **buuts** **rodux**.
 PAST=3S.ERG APPL-feed dog ABS bone chicken
 ‘She fed the chicken bones to a/the dog.’
- b. Wada m-ari hulama **ka** **Ape**.
 PAST INTR-buy treat ABS Ape
 ‘Ape bought a treat.’

- Extraction asymmetry (syntactic ergativity)
- (10) a. **sapah** s<n>malu na tama
 house <PRV>build ERG father
 ‘house which Father built’
- b. ***seediq** s<n>malu ka sapah
 person <PRV>build ABS house
 ‘person who built the house’

2.2. Mixed ABS (Tagalog)

Ergative Case-marking Pattern:

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

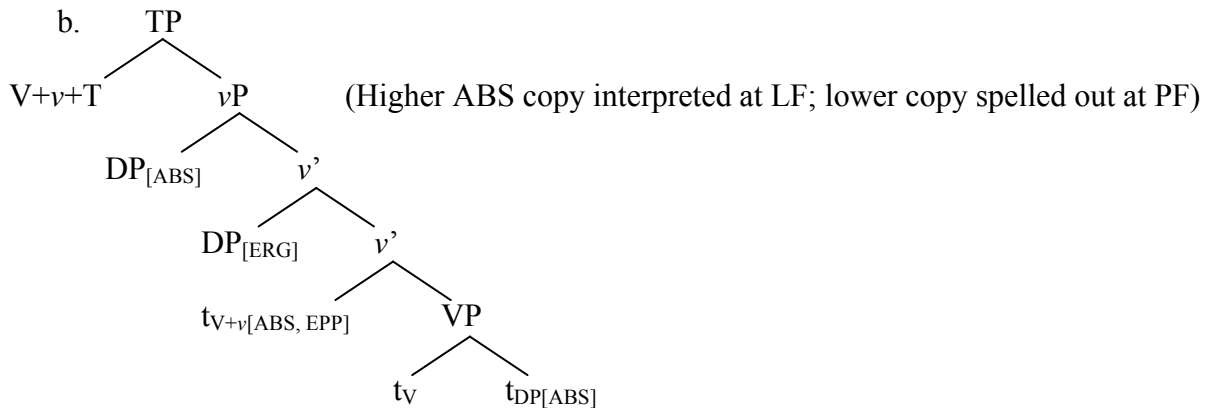
ABS available in transitive nonfinite clauses, but not intransitive:
 => ABS valued by transitive *v*; ABS valued by T when *v* is intransitive

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

- (13) Mixed ABS
*v*_{Tr}: Inherent ergative case, [*u*ϕ], [EPP]
*v*_{Intr}: No [*u*ϕ], no [EPP]
 T_{Fin}: Optional [*u*ϕ], no [EPP]

- (14) Verbal morphology and transitivity
 <*um*> Intransitive/Antipassive
 -*in* Basic transitive
 <*in*> Transitive perfective

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



Evidence for ABS movement

- Syntactic ergativity
 (16) a. isda-ng b<*in*>ili ng babae (Relativization on ABS: OK)
 fish-LK <TR.PRV>buy ERG woman
 ‘fish that the woman bought’

- b. *babae-ng b<in>ili ang isda (Relativization on ERG: *)
 woman-ng <TR.PRV>buy ABS fish
 ‘woman who bought the fish’

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

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

2.3. Summary

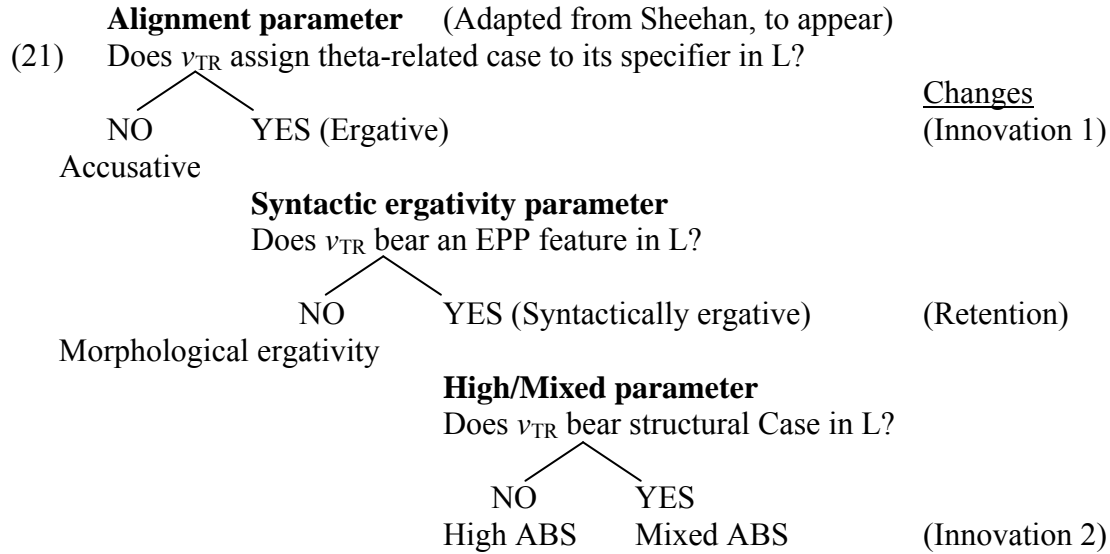
Seediq: High ABS
 v with <n>/-un as partially transitive (has external argument, but no case)
 v with <m>/m- not necessarily intransitive (“antipassive” has case)

Tagalog: Mixed ABS
 v with <in>/-in as transitive
 v with <um> as intransitive (has true antipassive)

3. Diachronic Analysis

- (19) Ergative vs. Accusative Alignment
 Accusative: [uφ] on T **and** transitive *v*
 Ergative: Transitive *v* assigns inherent case to its specifier.
 [uφ] on T **or** transitive *v*

- (20) Ergative Variation
 High ABS: No [uφ] on transitive *v*
 [uφ] on T
 Mixed: [uφ] required on transitive *v*
 [uφ] optional on T



3.1. Diachronic Origin of Austronesian Ergativity

Austronesian ergativity hails from a reduced clausal nominalization.¹
 Different types of ergativity develop along a continuum.

Austronesian, Mayan, Inuit: ERG as genitive

- Mam Mayan
- (22) a. ma chi kub' n-b'iy0-7n-a (England 1983:194)
 REC 3PL.ABS DIR 1SG.ERG-hit-DS-1SG
 'I hit them.'
- b. n-tzaj t-ma-7n n-maan-a (England 1983:142)
 PROG.3SG.ABS-DIR 3SG.ERG-say-DS 1SG-father-1SG
 'My father said it.'

- Inuktitut (Johns 1992:68)
- (23) a. Jaani-up taku-ja-a-nga
 John-REL see-PASS.PART-3SG/1SG
 'John saw me.'
- b. Jaani-up nasa-a
 John-REL hat-3SG
 'John's hat'

- Seediq (Atayalic, Taiwan)
- (24) a. S<n>malu na tama ka sapah=nii.
 <PRV>build ERG father ABS house=DEM
 'Father build this house.'

¹ See Starosta et al. (1982) for an early approach to a similar idea. See Kaufman (2009) for a different approach to clausal nominalization in Philippine languages.

- b. *sapah=na*
 house=3SG
 ‘his/her house’

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

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

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

Not in Rukai:
 => Nominative case for verbal subjects

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

=> Genitive case for possessors and subjects in nominalized clauses

- Mantauran Rukai
 (28) a. *lalake-li* (Zeitoun 2007:327)
 child-1SG.GEN
 ‘my child’

- b. to'a-dhaac-ae-li (Zeitoun 2007:333)
 REAS.NMLZ-DYN.FIN.leave-REAS.NMLZ-1SG.GEN
 'the reason I am leaving'

3.2. Diachronic Changes

3.2.1. Nominal and verbal morphology

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

PAN verbal inflection (partial paradigm) (Ross 2009:306)

- (29) *M- Realis (事实的法) (S/A subject)
 *-aw Realis (事实的法) (O subject)

PAN nominalization (partial paradigm) (Ross 2009:306)

- (30) *M- Realis (事实的法) (S/A subject)
 *M-<in> Perfective (完了相) (S/A subject)
 *-en Realis (事实的法) (O subject)
 *<in> Perfective (完了相) (O subject)

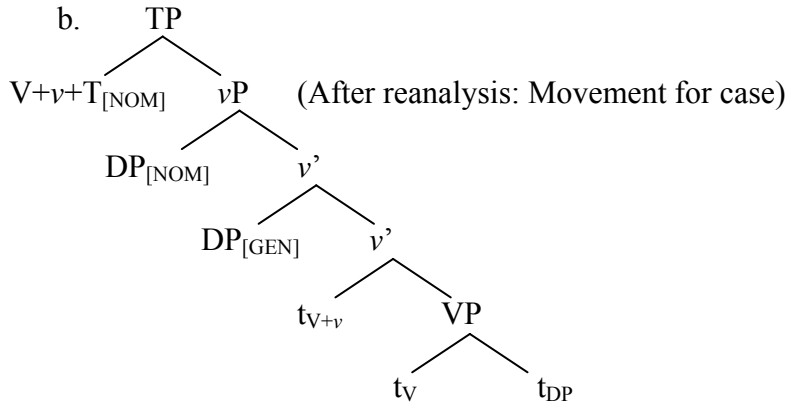
PAN relative clauses were nominalized.

- Puyuma (Teng 2008)
- (31) a. trakaw dra paisu i isaw (Active clause)
 <INTR>steal INDEF.OBL money SG.NOM Isaw
 'Isaw stole money.'
- b. ane kirtrebung=ta [dra ma'idrang-an
 when meet=1PL.INCL.NOM INDEF.OBL old-NMLZ
 [dra ma-sangal dra basak]] (Subject RC)
 INDEF.OBL INTR-carry INDEF.OBL sack
 'When we meet elders who carry packages on their shoulders'
- c. ala amuna sadru [[tu=tr<in>ekelr-an] na asi]
 maybe because many 3.PSR=<PRV>drink-NMLZ DEF.NOM milk
 'Maybe because the mild he drank is a lot.' (Object RC)

PAN clefts were also formed on nominalized relative clauses.

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

- Mantauran Rukai (Zeitoun 2007:359)
- (33) a. o-kelrakerang-iae taotao.
 DYN.FIN-beat-1S.OBL Taotao
 'Taotao beat me.'



(37) High ABS

v_{Tr} : Inherent ergative case, no[$u\phi$], [EPP]

v_{Intr} : No [$u\phi$]

T_{Fin} : [$u\phi$], no [EPP]

Evidence for High ABS:

=> No ABS in nonfinite clause

Seediq

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

Remnant of focus movement:

=> Clause-internal *wh*-movement

Seediq

- (39) a. [_{TP} M-n-ari [_{vP} ... [_{VP} sapah **Purishia**]]] ka Pihu.
 Intr-Perf-buy house Puli Abs Pihu
 ‘Pihu bought a house in Puli.’
- b. [_{TP} M-n-ari [_{vP} **inu** ... [_{VP} patis t_v t_{wh}]]] Ape?
 Intr-Perf-buy where book Ape
 ‘Where did Ape buy books?’

Seediq

- (40) a. [_{TP} H-m-eidaq **laqi** [_{CP} *m-ari* *rulu*]] ka tama.
 -Intr-allow child Intr-buy car Abs father
 ‘The father allowed the child to buy a car.’
- b. [_{TP} H-m-eidaq [_{CP} *m-ari* *maanu*] **laqi**] ka tama.
 -Intr-allow Intr-buy what child Abs father
 ‘What did the father allow the child to buy?’

Point: Innovation 1 results in a high ABS ergative language.

3.2.3. Innovation 2: Results in mixed ABS language

- (41) a. [TP T_[NOM] [vP DP_[NOM] [vP DP_[GEN] [vP V t_{NOM}]]]] (Movement for case)
 b. [TP T [vP DP_[NOM] [vP DP_[GEN] v_[NOM] [vP V t_{NOM}]]]] (Movement for IS)

Motivation for movement: Information status of object
 => Accounts for v-type ergativity in Philippine languages

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

- (43) v-Type (Mixed ABS) Ergativity
 v_{Tr}: Inherent ergative case, [uφ], [EPP]
 v_{Intr}: No [uφ], no [EPP]
 T_{Fin}: Optional [uφ], no [EPP]

Case on transitive v (Tagalog as Mixed ABS language):

- Tagalog
 (44) Nagba-balak ang babae-ng [PRO tulung-an ang lalaki]
 INTR.PROG-plan ABS woman-LK help-APPL ABS man
 ‘The woman is planning to help the man.’

Point: Mixed ABS is more marked, requires more innovations.

4. Conclusion

Incremental diachronic change from nominalization accounts for AN ergativity variation.
 High ABS develops first, then mixed ABS

Appendix: The Question of Antipassive

1. Seediq

Seediq can be analyzed as a split-ergative language which two transitive clause types (ergative and accusative) and no antipassive.

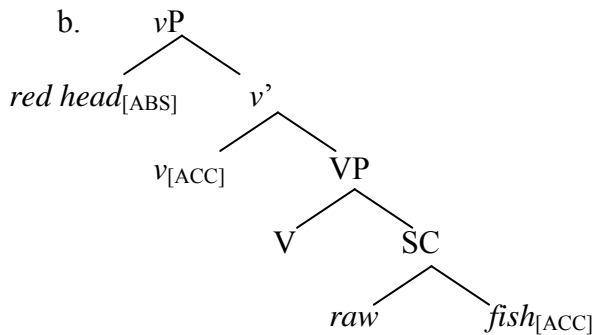
- (1) High ABS split-ergativity (Seediq)
 m/m- Accusative (S/A subject)
 n/$-un$ Ergative (O absolutive)

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

Evidence for m as Nom/Acc (inherited from PAN as verbal):
 => Seediq has no true antipassive construction.

1. [ACC] available on v

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



2. Object can be definite.

- (4) Seediq
 Wada beebu **Pawan** ka Awi-ni.
 Past hit Pawan Abs Awi-Def
 ‘Awi hit Pawan.’

3. Antipassive object can take wide scope.

- (5) a. Seediq
 Hatang=ku m-bari teru bale, buleq-un=ku suburo.
 plan=1s.Abs Intr.Fut-buy three only, well-Tr=1s.Abs rotten
 ‘I planned to buy only three, but when I took a good look, they were rotten.’

- b. Kiyaka *ini=ku* bari **kanna**.
 so Neg=1s.Abs buy.Intr.Irr all
 ‘So I didn’t buy all of them.’ (ALL > Neg)

4. Antipassive can introduce a discourse referent.

- (6) a. M<n>oda m-ari **qushia mutaso** Hori
 INTR<PERF>go INTR-buy water clean Puli
 ka Ape.
 ABS Ape
 ‘Ape went to Puli to buy clean water.’
 b. Wada=na s-pahu lukus ka **qushia mutaso**.
 PAST=3.SG.ERG APPL-wash clothes ABS water clean
 ‘She washed clothes with the clean water.’

6. Rukai reflex of <*m*> is not nominal but verbal.

Rukai is nominative/accusative (not ergative).

=> Active verbs take *o-/om-/m-* (< **<um>* - Malcolm Ross, Elizabeth Zeitoun, p.c.)

=> Passive verbs take *i-* (< **-ki-a-* ‘Pass-Realis’ – Zeitoun 2007:143)

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

Seediq Summary: *m-/<um>* as transitive NOM/ACC clause type (retention from PAN)
-un/<n> reanalyzed as *v* from *n* (Innovation 1)

2. Tagalog

Tagalog is a canonical ergative language with one transitive clause type and an antipassive.

- (8) Mixed ABS ergativity (Tagalog)
 <*m*>/*m-* Intransitive (S absolutive)
 <*n*>/-*un* Transitive (O absolutive)

Antipassive as intransitive:

- Structural case on transitive *v*, not antipassive *v*
 (9) a. **Gina-gamit=niya** [ang lalaki-ng alipin].
 TR.PROG-use=3S.ERG ABS man-LK slave
 ‘He/she uses the man as a slave.’

- b. *Guma-gamit=siya [ng lalaki-ng alipin].
 INTR.PROG-use=3S.ABS OBL man-LK slave
 ‘He/she uses the man as a slave.’

Antipassive object as nonspecific²:

=> AP cannot introduce discourse referent.

- Event existential: Can introduce referent
- (10) a. Mayroon=ako-ng hina-hanap na libro tungkol sa mga giraffe.
 exist=1s.Abs-Lk Red.Tr-look.for Lk book about Dat Pl giraffe
 ‘I’m looking for a book about giraffes.’
 b. Mayroon litrato sa loob.
 exist picture in inside
 ‘It has pictures inside.’

- Antipassive: Cannot introduce referent
- (11) a. Nag-ha-hanap=ako ng libro tungkol sa mga giraffe.
 Intr-Red-look.for=1s.Abs Obl book about Dat Pl giraffe
 ‘I’m looking for a(ny) book about giraffes.’
 b. #Mayroon litrato sa loob.
 exist picture in inside
 ‘It has pictures inside.’

Note: AN languages in Taiwan seem to systematically lack the event existential.

Summary: v with <in>/-in as verbal (Innovation 1)
 v with <in>/-in as transitive (Innovation 2)
 v with <um> as intransitive (Innovation 3)

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²Data from (Flegg 2004).

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