Proto-Austronesian Case and its Diachronic Development
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1. Introduction

Case-marking variation in some Formosan languages:

(1) <u>Katripulr Puyuma</u>   NOM   ACC/OBL   (Teng 2018: 43)
    Personal.SG   *i*   *kani*
    Personal.PL   *na*   *kana*
    Common[+SPEC]   *na*   *za* (*Da* in Nanwang)
    Common[-SPEC]   *a*   *za* (*Da* in Nanwang)

    <u>Nanwang Puyuma</u> (Teng 2008)

(2) a. tr<em>akaw *Da   paisu* **i**   **isaw**
     <INTR>steal   OBL   money SG.NOM.PN   Isaw
     'Isaw stole money.'

   b. tu=trakaw-aw   **na   paisu** *kan   isaw*
     3.GEN=steal-TR1   NOM.SPEC   money SG.OBL.PN   Isaw
     'Isaw stole the money.'

   c. Dua   me-nau-a   **a   mia-Dua a**   **Tau**   i, …
     come INTR-see-PJ   NOM.NSPEC   PRS-2   NOM.NSPEC   person TOP
     'Two people came to see ….'

(3) <u>Tanan Rukai</u>   NOM   ACC/OBL[1]
    Personal   *ku*   *ki*
    Common[+VIS]   *ka*   *ini-a/na*
    Common[-VIS]   *ka*   *iDa-a/sa*

    <u>Tanan Rukai</u>

(4) a. luða   ay-kɨla   **ku   tina=li**
     tomorrow FUT-come   NOM.PN   mother=1SG.GEN
     'My mom will come tomorrow.'

   b. aw-cɨɨl-aku   *iDa-a   tau'ung*
     PAST-see-1SG.NOM   DEF.INVIS-ACC dog
     'I saw the dog.'

   c. aw-cɨɨl-aku   *ki   tama-li*
     PAST-see-1SG.NOM   DAT.PN   father-1SG.GEN
     'I saw my father.'

   d. kaDua   **ka   anewa**
     not.exist   NOM.CN   who
     'Noone is there.'

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[1] Based on author's fieldnotes, but heavily informed by Li (1973).

(5) <u>Amis</u>   NOM ACC/OBL   (Wu 2000: 64)
    Personal.SG   *ci*   *ci…an*
    Personal.PL   *ca*   *ca…an*
    Common   *ku*   *tu*

          <u>Amis</u> (Wu 2006)

(6)   a.   Mi-palu **ci**   **sawmah**   *ci*   *mayaw-an*.   (p. 166)
                AV-beat   NOM.PN   Sawmah   PN   Mayaw-ACC
                'Sawmah is going to beat Mayaw.'
                'Sawmah is beating Mayaw.'
     b.   R\<um>akat **ku**   **mitiliday**.   (p. 81)
                \<NEUT>walk   NOM.CN   student
                'The student is walking.'
     c.   Ccay   tu   tatukian   mi-tepoc   **ci-ngra**
                one   ASP   hour   AV-chop.down.at.once   3SG.NOM
                  tu-ra   *'aol*.
                  ACC.CN-that   bamboo
                'He has been chopping down those bamboos for an hour.'

(7)   <u>Key points</u>
    1. Different marking for personal (PN) and common nouns (CN)
    2. Variation in PN NOM: *i* (Puyuma), *ku* (Rukai), *ci* (Amis)
    3. Variation in CN NOM: *a* (Puyuma), *ka* (Tanan), *ku* (Amis)
    4. PN ACC tends to be *k-* or *–a(n)*

Proposed Proto-Austronesian (PAn) reconstruction:
=> Subjects are bare DPs.
=> CN ACC markers are demonstratives.
=> PN ACC marker is a nominalizer.
=> PN vs CN is a consequence of semantic type/syntactic category (DP vs NP).

(8) <u>PAN</u>   DET   NOM ACC   TOP

	DET	NOM	ACC	TOP
Personal	*i	*i	*-an	*k-
Common[+SPEC]	*u	*u	*DEM-an	*k-
Common[-SPEC]	*a	*a		

(9)   Austronesian   (Accusative alignment)   (Aldridge 2015, 2016)

   Rukai   Ergative An (Irrealis > ergative)

          Tsou   Puyuma   Nuclear An (Nominalization > ergative)
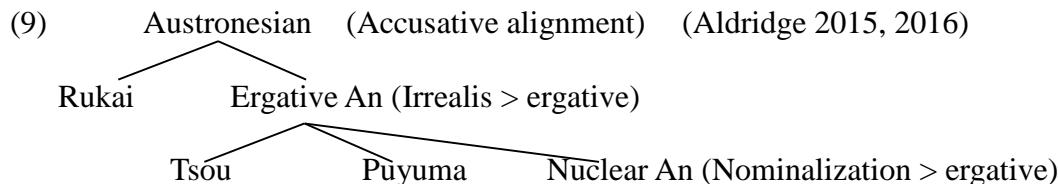
2. Previous approaches

2.2. Ross (2006)

(10)	PAn	DET	NOM	ACC	
	Personal	***i**	*k-	*C²-	
	Common	***a**	***k-**	***C-**	**(But *C- CN.ACC reflected only in NucAn)**
		*u	***k-**	***C-**	

Evidence
Full *k- NOM marking: Only in Rukai (Tanan *ku* PN.NOM & *ka* CN.NOM)
CN.NOM *k widely reflected in Formosan languages
*C- ACC: Nuclear An subgroup (e.g. Amis CN.ACC *tu*)

Problems: No evidence for *ki PN.NOM
No evidence for *C- PN.ACC
No evidence for *C- CN.ACC in non-NucAn languages

2.2. Blust (2015)

(11)	PAn	NOM	ACC	
	Personal.SG	***si**	***ki**	**(But *s- PN.NOM reflected only in NucAn)**
	Personal.PL	*sa	*ka	
	Common	*su	*ku	

Evidence
Full *s- NOM paradigm: Old Bikol & Subanen (Philippine languages)
*s- PN.NOM: Nuclear An subgroup (Ross 2009)
=> Tagalog *si* PN.NOM (*a* CN.NOM); Amis *ci* PN.NOM.SG & *ca* PN.NOM.PL (*ku* CN.NOM)
*ki PN.ACC: Rukai, Mayrinax Atayal, Saisisyat, various MP languages

Problems: Dearth of evidence for *s- CN.NOM (none outside MP)
No evidence for *s- PN.NOM in non-NucAn languages
No evidence for *k- CN.ACC

Possible conclusions:

(12)	PAn	NOM	ACC
	Personal	?	*ki
	Common	*k-	?

(13)	PNucAn	NOM	ACC
	Personal	*s-	*ki
	Common	*k-	*C-

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² Ross (1992) reconstructs *C as a dental affricate.

3. Reconstruction and development of TOP *k-

3.1. PAn NOM & TOP marking

(14) | PAn | DET/NOM | ACC | TOP |
|---|---|---|---|
| Personal | *i | *-an | *k- |
| Common[+SPEC] | *u | *DEM-an | *k- |
| Common[-SPEC] | *a | | |

PAn as a differential object marking (DOM) accusative language:
=> Common cross linguistic pattern

Turkish (Cagri 2005: 78)

(15) a. Ali   kitap   oku-du.
        Ali   book   read-PAST
        'Ali read a book.'
    b. Ali   kitab-ı   oku-du.
        Ali   book-ACC read-PAST
        'Ali read the book.'

Contemporary NOM markers:

	Puyuma	Tanan Rukai	Amis
PN:	*i* (SG), *na* (PL)	*k-u*	*c-i* (SG), *c-a* (PL)
CN:	*na* (SPEC), *a* (NSPEC)	*k-a*	*k-u*

Determiners *i, *u, *a:
1. *i D/NOM PN reflected in Puyuma, Atayalic, Kavalan pronouns
2. *a D/NOM CN: Puyuma, Paiwan, some MP languages
3. Pervasive opposition of –i PN vs. –a or –u (-o) CN
   e.g. GEN PN *ni* vs. GEN CN *na* (Paiwan, Kavalan); GEN PN *ni* vs. GEN CN *no* (Amis
4. Amis neutral CN marker *u* (Wu 2006, Ross 2006)

D[SPEC] *u & D[-SPEC] *a:
1. Puyuma *a* (NOM CN NonSpec)
2. Tanan Rukai *ku* (NOM PN) vs. *ka* (NOM CN)
3. Tona Rukai *ko* (CN DEF) vs. *na* (CN INDEF)

*k- as TOP
Pronouns in Rukai dialects have a reflex of *k- only when topicalized.

(16) | **Tanan** | TOP | NOM | ACC | GEN | (Li 1996: 210-211) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | ku-n-aku | -(a)ku | n-aku-a | -li | |
| | | -naku | | | |
| | | -naw | | | |
| 2SG | ku-su | -su | musu-a | -su | |
| 1PL_INC | ku-ta | -ta | mita-a | -ta | |
| 1PL_EXCL | ku-nai | -nai | nai-a | -nai | |
| 2PL | ku-numi | -numi | numi-a | -numi | |

Tanan Rukai

(17) a. **ku-su**   ka   tina-li   i-wa=**su**   luwiga   l<uw>angay?
          NOM-2SG   TOP   mother=1SG.GEN   FUT-go=2SG   when   <NONFIN>buy
          'You, my mother, when are you going shopping?'
      b. **ku-naku** ka   aw-cɨil=**aku**   musu-a
          NOM-1SG   TOP   PAST-see=1SG   2SG-ACC
          'As for me, I saw you.'

*k- [TOP] > [NOM] with CN

PAn: Top *k selected topicalized constitutents. Because of the extraction restriction, a DP topic could only be the subject.

(18)   *TopP (=DP)   (PAn)

        Top   DP
         k
                 D   NP
                 u
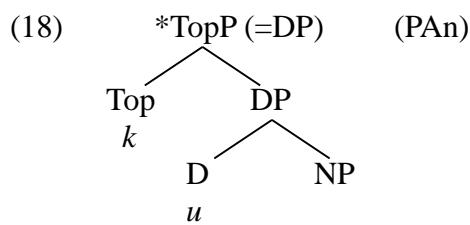
Reanalysis in Rukai and Proto-NucAn:
Topic marking on DPs was reanalyzed as [NOM].

(19)   *KP

        K   DP
        k
      [NOM]   D   NP
              u
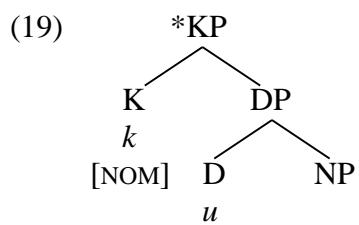
But: *k- marking for NOM is generally only on common nouns, especially NucAn languages, e.g. Amis.

(20)   <u>Puyuma</u>   <u>Tanan Rukai</u>   <u>Amis</u>
      PN: *i* (SG), *na* (PL)   *k-u*   *c-i* (SG), *c-a* (PL)
      CN: *na* (SPEC), *a* (NSPEC) *k-a*   *k-u*

3.2. What about ACC/OBL *ki*?

*ki is never reflected as NOM.

(21) **Tana Rukai**   NOM   ACC/OBL   (Based on Li 1973)
      Personal   *ku*   *ki*
      Common   *ka*   *ini-a/iDa-a/sa*

      <u>Tanan Rukai</u>
(22) aw-cɨil-aku   **ki**   tama-li
      PAST-see-1SG.NOM   DAT.PN   father-1SG.GEN
      'I saw my father.'

The answer begins with tracing the origin of D.PN *i. D *i traces its origin to the locative P *i.

(23) a. pilang-u   i   temuu
          take-TR1.IMP   SG.NOM.PN   your.grandmother
            m-uka   **i**   **Dena-Denan**
            INTR-go   LOC   RED-mountain
          'Take your grandmother to the mountains.'   (Puyuma; Teng 2008: 216)
      b. na-t<em>alem   azua   tsaotsao   tua   velevel   **i gadu**
          PRV-<INTR>plant   NOM.DEM   person   OBL   banana   in mountain
          'That person plants bananas in the mountains.'   (Northern Paiwan)

PAn had *i P and *i D. *i P underwent a split:
=> *i P > P
=> *i P > D

DPs with a [PERSON] feature could only be topicalized in a PP in PAn. [PERSON] features require case licensing, whereas nominals projected by common nouns do not necessarily (Béjar and Rezac 2003, Preminger 2011, Kalin 2018, and others)[3]. P *i could license [PERSON] on D.

(24)   *PP   (PAn)

        P   DP
        i
                 D   *n*P
              [PERSON]
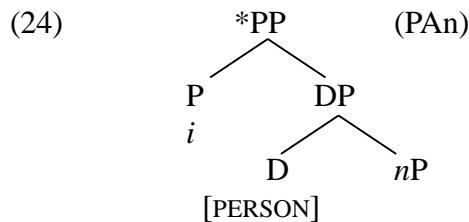
D *i reflected as NOM PN in Puyuma and Atayalic languages
=> P *i > D (facilitated by NULL D)

(25)   *DP   (PAn)

        D   *n*P
        i
      [PERSON]
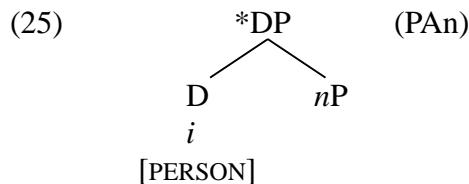
(26)   <u>Puyuma</u>   <u>Tanan Rukai</u>   <u>Amis</u>
   PN: **i** (SG), *na* (PL)   **k**-u   **c**-i (SG), **c**-a (PL)
   CN: *na* (SPEC), **a** (NSPEC)   **k**-a   **k**-u

D *i also reflected as marker for free (non-clitic) pronouns:
=> Kanakanavu, Sa'aroa, Puyuma, Bunun, and Atayalic languages

Topic marker *k- was not capable of case licensing a nominal, so it could only attach directly to arguments headed by common nouns.

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[3] This is particularly true of nominals that do not project a full DP structure (Massam 2001, Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002, Cagri 2005, Danon 2006, and others).

(27)　　　*TopP = DP　　　(PAn)

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        *TopP = DP
       /      \
     Top       DP
      k        /  \
            D      NP
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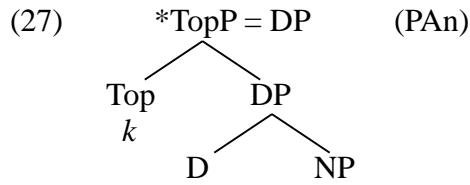
If DP had a [PERSON] feature:
=> Top *k- could only attach to a PP, so P *i could license [PERSON] on D.

(28)　　　*TopP (=PP)　　　(PAn)

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        *TopP (=PP)
       /      \
      k        PP
              /  \
            P      DP
            i     /  \
                D      nP
           [PERSON]
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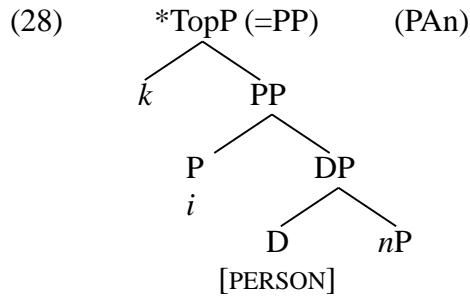
Thus, P *i is retained in PN.ACC/OBL *ki*.

　　　<u>Tanan Rukai</u>
(29)　aw-ciɨl-aku　　　　**ki**　　tama-li
　　　PAST-see-1SG.NOM　　ACC　　father-1SG.GEN
　　　'I saw my father.'

*k- nominative pronominal forms are marked by *k-* in several Formosan languages, e.g. Kanakanavu, Amis, Bunun, and most dialects of Rukai. Note further that that NOM forms show attachment of *k-* and not *ki-*.

(30)　**<u>Amis</u>**　　　NOM　　GEN　　　(Wu 2018)
　　　1.SG　　　*k-ako*　*=ako*
　　　2.SG　　　*k-iso*　*=iso*
　　　1.PL.INCL　*k-ita*　*=ita*
　　　1.PL.EXCL　*k-ami*　*=niy-am*
　　　2.PL　　　*k-amo*　*=n-amo*

These reflect topicalized pronouns that were resumed by clitic (agreement) pronouns on the verb, so *they did not need to be licensed by a preposition*.

4. New DET/NOM-marking in Proto-Nuc-An

PAn P *i > DET/NOM (Puyuma, Atayalic)

NucAn languages reflect *i uniformly as D[PERSON].
=> DET/NOM *i > D[PERSON] *i (Proto-Nuclear An)

Evidence for –*i* as [PERSON]:
=> Spans case-markers in NucAn languages, e.g. *ni* GEN, *ti/ci/si* D/NOM, *ki* ACC/OBL

So *i by itself could no longer express NOM in Proto-NucAn.
=> NucAn languages have PN.NOM *ti/ci/si*

(31) <u>Amis</u>   NOM   ACC/OBL   (Wu 2000: 64)
      Personal.SG   *ci*   *ci…an*
      Personal.PL   *ca*   *ca…an*
   Common   *ku*   *tu*

Paiwan *t*, Amis *c*, Tagalog *s* < PAn **s* (Ross 1992, Blust 1995, and others)

Proto-NucAn P **s-*[4]:
=> DAT/LOC *sa* in Tagalog
=> Motion verb in Seediq *mu-sa*, *sa-un*, *sa-an*

Topicalized DP selected by P **s* in Proto-Nuclear An

(32)   *PP
                     /   \
                   P   DP
                   s   /   \
                         D   nP
                    [PERSON] name/pronoun
                         i

P **s-* > K$_{[NOM]}$

(33)   KP
                     /   \
              K$_{[NOM]}$ DP
                   s   /   \
                          D   nP
                    [PERSON]   name/pronoun
                          i
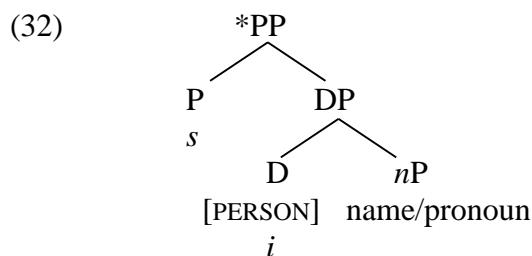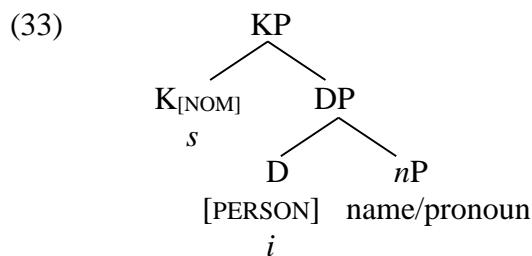
New innovation defining NucAn subgroup:

(34)   Austronesian (Accusative alignment)   (Aldridge 2015, 2016)
         /   \
      Rukai   Ergative An (Irrealis > ergative)
                    /   \
                 Tsou   Puyuma   Nuclear An (NMLZ > ERG & **P *s- > K$_{[NOM]}$**)

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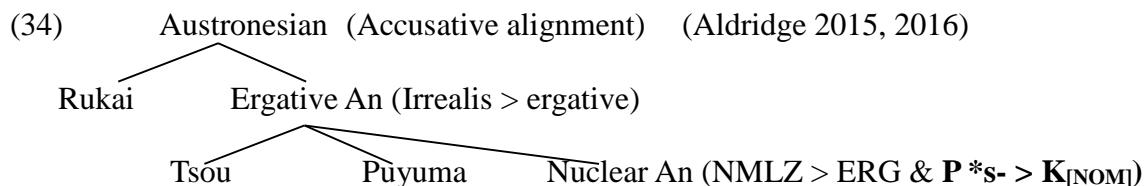
[4] Ross (2006) reconstructs OBL **s-*.

5. Conclusion

(35)

PAN	DET	NOM	ACC	TOP
Personal	*i	*i	*-an	*k-
Common[+SPEC]	*u	*u	*DEM-an	*k-
Common[-SPEC]	*a	*a		

Prepositions *i & *s-

Contemporary NOM markers:	Puyuma	Tanan Rukai	Amis
PN:	*i* (SG), *na* (PL)	*k*-u	*c*-i (SG), *c*-a (PL)
CN:	*na* (SPEC), *a* (NSPEC)	*k*-a	*k*-u

Diachronic source for consonantal NOM markers < TOP or P

Top *k- > K[NOM] for common nouns

(36)   *TopP = DP

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        *TopP = DP
        /        \
      Top         DP
       k         /  \
                D    NP
```

P *i > D
P *s- > K[NOM]

(37)   *PP

```
          *PP
         /    \
        P      DP
        s     /   \
             D      nP
        [PERSON]  name/pronoun
             i
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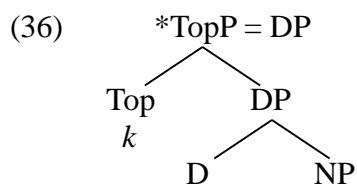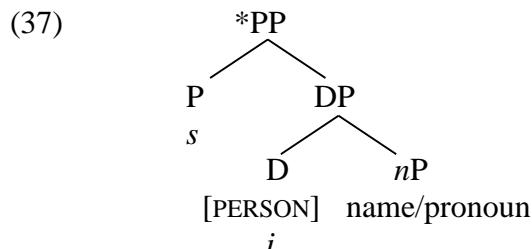
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