

## Case Syncretism in Puyuma<sup>\*</sup>

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The notion of syncretism may be viewed diachronically or synchronically. Diachronically it refers to a merger that occurred as a process leading to the neutralization of a formerly overt distinction. Synchronically, it refers to formally identical expressions that are kept morphosyntactically distinct elsewhere in the system (Baerman et al. 2005).

In this paper, various patterns of case syncretism in different Puyuma varieties are observed. In Nanwang Puyuma, genitive and oblique are syncretic, while in other dialectal varieties the distinction is partially preserved. In comparing the case paradigms, we come to observe and investigate the notion of syncretism synchronically and diachronically. The comparison made among different dialectal varieties also enables us to reconstruct the case paradigm of Proto-Puyuma. The result of the reconstruction provides evidence which shows that phonological conservation does not necessarily entail morphosyntactic conservation: Nanwang Puyuma is phonologically more conservative but is morphosyntactically more innovative. Second, by virtue of the comparison among the Puyuma dialectal varieties, we can detect how the diachronic changes may be invoked and infer how syncretism in morphology can be compensated via other morphosyntactic means.

Key words: syncretism, Puyuma, case, diachrony, synchrony, conservative, innovative

### 1. Introduction

The notion of syncretism can be viewed both synchronically and diachronically. Synchronically, syncretism is viewed as a failure to make a morphological distinction which is syntactically relevant under particular conditions, this failure resulting in a mismatch between syntax and morphology. Diachronically, Campbell & Mixco (2007:198)

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define syncretism as “a change in which a single linguistic form comes to cover different functions previously covered by two or more separate forms.”

To illustrate the problems raised by the notion of syncretism in the description of Formosan languages, let us first take Mayrinax Atayal as an example. In most Formosan languages, a non-pronominal argument or an adjunct is preceded by a noun phrase marker.<sup>1</sup> These noun phrase markers form a paradigm, and they generally have the following functions: (i) they indicate the case of the noun they precede; (ii) they specify the subclass of the noun; (iii) they may provide information regarding the definiteness, referentiality, or plurality of the following noun. Two major problems are usually encountered in describing the paradigm of noun phrase markers in a given language. One is the problem of distinguishing the cases; the other is the problem of describing their meaning and function.

Table 1 shows the paradigm of the noun phrase markers in Mayrinax Atayal (Huang 1995:109).<sup>2</sup> Huang’s paradigmatic arrangement implies that there are nine distinct cases.<sup>3</sup> But when we look more closely, we see that the same form is repeated in different paradigmatic cells. Thus *na’* marks non-referential genitive and instrumental common nouns; *nku’* marks referential genitive, beneficiary, and instrumental common nouns. The repetitive occurrence of the same form in different slots leads us to question whether there is a need to distinguish so many cases.

The possible reasons for Huang to make such distinctions may be that in addition to semantics, we do not find any two columns that have exactly the same arrangement

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<sup>1</sup> Many different terms have been used to refer to these markers, including case markers, relation markers, construction markers, and determiners. Please refer to Reid (2002), Himmelmann (forthcoming) and Chang et al. (1998) for a more detailed discussion of their grammatical behaviors and functions. In Puyuma, these markers do not only mark case but also indicate the noun class (common or personal) they co-occur with, so a more neutral term “noun phrase marker” is adopted in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Huang (1995) uses the term “case markers” in her study.

<sup>3</sup> The Mayrinax case marking system was later re-analyzed as having made a five-way distinction in Huang et al. (1998). While the discrepancy between Huang (1995) and Huang et al. (1998) shows that the arrangement of cases is indeed problematic in the Formosan languages, we specifically deal with Huang’s (1995) analysis in this paper to illustrate the problems raised by the notion of syncretism. The case marking of Atayal (Squliq and C’uli’ dialects) as analyzed by different authors (cf. Huang 1993, 1995, Rau 1992, Li 1995, 1997) has been also re-assessed by Starosta (1999). Our analysis differs from his, though.

of the forms; the forms in each column only partially overlap with the forms of another column. For example, the forms *na'*, *nku'* and *ni* in the genitive column overlap with those in the beneficiary column (*nku'* and *ni*), except for the form occurring before non-referential nouns (empty in the beneficiary column); and the forms in the genitive column overlap with those in the instrumental column (*na'* and *nku'*), except that the slot for instrumental proper nouns is empty.

**Table 1:** Case makers in Mayrinax Atayal (Huang 1995:109)

		Nom	Acc	Dat	Gen	Ben	Ins	Com	Loc	Neu
Common	Nrf	<i>a'</i>	<i>cu'</i>	---	<i>na'</i>	---	<i>na'</i>	---	<i>i'</i>	---
	Rf	<i>ku'</i>	<i>cku'</i>	<i>cku'</i>	<i>nku'</i>	<i>nku'</i>	<i>nku'</i>	---	<i>cku'</i>	---
Proper		<i>'i'</i>	<i>'i'</i>	<i>'i'</i>	<i>ni'</i>	<i>ni'</i>	---	<i>ki'</i>	<i>ki'</i>	<i>'i'</i>

Alternatively, some of the columns could be grouped together under one umbrella; i.e. Gen, Ben, and Ins in the above table could be merged, and those slots that do not have a correspondent form could be treated as semantically incompatible. However, unless we have evidence showing that the identical forms in the three columns are formerly distinct or that they are treated differently in syntax, this cannot be treated as a case of syncretism.

The same form *'i'* (a noun phrase marker for proper nouns), on the other hand, can function as Nom, Acc (and Dat), or Neu, as shown in (1) where both the subject *yumin* and the accusative argument *yaya'* are preceded by *'i'*.

- (1) Mayrinax Atayal (Huang 1995:94)<sup>4</sup>  
*m-uwah kariariax 'i' m-itaal 'i' yaya'=nia' 'i' yumin*  
 AV-come often LK AV-see Acc mother=3S.Gen Nom Yumin  
 'Yumin often comes to see his mother.'

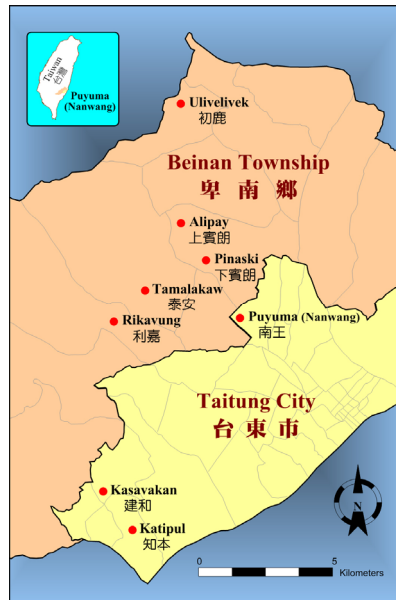
The identical form *'i'* marking both accusative and nominative proper nouns in the above sentence can be treated as an instance of syncretism because accusative and nominative are kept distinct for common nouns in Mayrinax Atayal.

Now we have seen an example of synchronic case syncretism in Mayrinax Atayal, in which case syncretism occurs within the paradigm of noun phrase markers in a single

<sup>4</sup> Abbreviations: 1=first person; 2=second person; 3=third person; Acc=Accusative; AV=actor voice; Ben=beneficiary; C=conveyance; Com=comitative; COP=copulas; Dat=dative; Df=definite; Gen=genitive; Id=indefinite; Ins=instrument; L=location; LK=linker; Loc=locative; Neu=neutral; Nmzr=nominalizer; Nom=nominative; Nrf=non-referential; Obl=oblique; P=patient; Perf=perfective; Pl=plural; PSR=possessor; Red=reduplication; Rf=referential; S, Sg=singular; Top=topic; UV=undergoer voice.

language. In the following sections we shall see syncretism from both a diachronic and synchronic perspective among the Puyuma dialectal varieties in the paradigms of verbal derivations, pronominal clitics, and noun phrase markers.

Puyuma is an Austronesian language spoken in south-eastern Taiwan. The total population is around 10,000. Traditionally the Puyuma are said to consist of eight villages (where eight varieties of Puyuma are spoken), known as *ba-she-fan* (‘eight aboriginal villages’) in Mandarin. They are Nanwang,<sup>5</sup> Katipul, Rikavung, Tamalakaw, Kasavakan, Pinaski, Alipay, and Ulivelivek. The data used in this paper come from the Nanwang, Katipul, and Ulivelivek dialectal varieties.<sup>6</sup> The geographical location of the villages is shown in Map 1 below.



**Map 1:** Geographical distribution of the Puyuma villages<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Speakers of the Nanwang dialect refer to themselves as ‘Puyuma’. However, the term ‘Puyuma’ is conventionally used for this entire family group. In order not to confuse the reader I use ‘Nanwang’ for the dialect, and the official and generally recognized term ‘Puyuma’ for the language and the ethnic group.

<sup>6</sup> In previous studies of Puyuma, most linguists have divided Puyuma into two dialects. While the one spoken in the Nanwang village forms a dialect by itself, it has been claimed that the rest of the Puyuma villages speak another dialect, labeled Katipul. Of the two dialects, Nanwang is regarded as the most conservative phonologically. To me, at least three dialects should be distinguished—Nanwang, Katipul (and Kasavakan), and the others. Ulivelivek is chosen among the ones other than Nanwang and Katipul because it is geographically the farthest from Katipul and Nanwang.

<sup>7</sup> I thank Chih-hsien Lin for his kind help with the drawing of the map.

The organization of the paper is as follows. In §2, two types of syncretism, neutralization and uninflectedness, are distinguished. Section 3 describes case syncretism in bound pronouns. This description is followed by a discussion of case syncretism in noun phrase markers in §4. Section 5 touches on diachronic issues and proposes a reconstruction of the Proto-Puyuma noun phrase markers. Finally a summary of the discussion in this paper is provided in §6.

## 2. An overview of types of syncretism

According to Baerman et al. (2005:27-35), two types of syncretism may be identified on the basis of their relevance or irrelevance to syntax. Syncretism may be seen as “neutralization”, in which the lack of formal distinction merely reflects the irrelevance of the feature in question for syntax. On the other hand, syncretism can be interpreted as reflecting a lack of response by morphology to syntactically relevant distinctions, which is termed “uninflectedness” by Baerman et al. (2005). We shall demonstrate these two types of syncretism with Puyuma data. The two types of syncretism illustrated in this section are both examples of diachronic syncretism, in which the distinctions made in Proto-Puyuma (viz. the distinction between Gen and Obl in noun phrase markers, and the distinction among different undergoer nominalizations) are not distinguished in Nanwang Puyuma. The evidence that these distinctions were made in Proto-Puyuma comes from the forms that have been reconstructed for PAn, i.e. the genitive \**ni*, and the nominalization suffixes \*-en, \*Si- are present in dialects other than Nanwang.

In Nanwang Puyuma, a non-subject actor is marked as oblique, like an adjunct. For example, in (2), both the non-subject actor *walak* “child” in (2a) and the adjunct *buwang* “hole” in (2b) are preceded by *kana*, which marks oblique case. In other varieties, a non-subject actor, i.e. *takiyu* in (3a), is preceded by *ni*, but an adjunct, i.e. *tazaw* “knife” in (3b), is preceded by *kana*. Hence we can say that Nanwang exhibits a syncretism of genitive and oblique case. However, because there is always a clitic pronoun (i.e. *tu=* in (2a)) cross-referencing with the non-subject actor (i.e. *walak* in (2a)), a non-subject actor is syntactically distinct from an adjunct.

### (2) Nanwang (Teng 2008:150)

- a. *tu<sub>i</sub>=padrek-aw*                      *i*                      *temutaw*                      *kana*                      *walak<sub>i</sub>*  
 3.Gen=carry.on.back-UV:P    Sg.Nom    his.grandparent    Df.Obl    child  
 ‘The child carried his grandmother on his back.’
- b. *tu<sub>i</sub>=lasedr-aw*                      *i*                      *temutaw*                      *kana*                      *buwang<sub>i</sub>*  
 3.Gen=hide-UV:P    Sg.Nom    his.grandparent    Df.Obl    hole  
 ‘He hid his grandmother in the hole.’

## (3) Ulivelivek

- a. *taw*=*pinatray-aw*    *i*                    *tava*    *ni*                    *takiyu*  
 3.Gen=kill-UV:P    Sg.Nom    Tava    Gen    Takiyu  
 ‘Takiyu killed Tava.’
- b. *taw*=*pinatray-aw*    *i*                    *tava*    *kana*                    *tazaw*  
 3.Gen=kill-UV:P    Sg.Nom    Tava    Df.Obl    knife  
 ‘He killed Tava with the knife.’

Syncretism of oblique and genitive in Nanwang exemplified above reflects a case of “uninflectedness” (a lack of response by morphology to syntactically relevant distinctions). An example of syncretism as “neutralization”, whereby the lack of formal distinction merely reflects the irrelevance of the feature in question for syntax, can be shown by the morphology of deverbal nouns. Take the verb *kerutr* ‘dig’ as an example.

**Table 2:** Nominalization of *kerutr* ‘dig’

		Actor	Undergoer		
			Patient	Locative	Conveyance
Perfective	Nanwang	<i>k&lt;em&gt;erutr</i>	<i>k&lt;in&gt;erutr-an</i>		
	Others	<i>k&lt;em&gt;erutr</i>	<i>k&lt;in&gt;erutr</i>	<i>k&lt;in&gt;erutr-an</i>	<i>i-kerutr</i>
Imperfective	Nanwang	<i>k&lt;em&gt;a-kerutr</i>	<i>k&lt;in&gt;a-kerutr-an</i>		
	Others	<i>k&lt;em&gt;a-kerutr</i>	<i>k&lt;in&gt;a-kerutr</i>	<i>k&lt;in&gt;a-kerutr-an</i>	<i>i-ka-kerutr</i>

In Puyuma except for the Nanwang variety, three subtypes of undergoer nominalization are distinguished in morphology. Unlike the case of uninflectedness discussed above, such a lack of distinction does not get compensation from syntax. That is, the distinction of undergoer nominalization made in other varieties (as shown in (5)) is covert both morphologically and syntactically in Nanwang Puyuma. In Nanwang Puyuma, the same form *k<in>erutr-an* can denote a patient (as in (4a)),<sup>8</sup> a location (as in (4b)), or an instrument (as in (4c)), but in other varieties, different forms are used.

Unlike the examples in (2), where there is a pronominal clitic serving to distinguish an actor from an adjunct that are both marked by an identical marker, in (4), there is no such mechanism that helps determining whether *k<in>erutr-an* in (4d) denotes a patient, a location or an instrument in Nanwang Puyuma.

<sup>8</sup> Teng (2008:130-139) claims that elements infixed with <in> are optionally suffixed with the nominalizer *-an* when the derived noun denotes the patient of the event. On the other hand, locative nouns mostly end with the suffix *-an*. Teng’s (2008:136) generalization that <in> is never used as a formative in instrumental nouns is proved to be wrong according to (4c).

## (4) Nanwang

- a. *matrina idru na bunga' nantu k<in>erutr-an*  
big that Df.Nom potato 3.PSR <Perf>dig-Nmzr  
'That potato he dug out was big.'
- b. *salaw asabak nantu k<in>erutr-an*  
very deep 3.PSR <Perf>dig-Nmzr  
'The place that he dug was very deep.'
- c. *aludrun idru na pitaw nantu k<in>erutr-an*  
heavy that Df.Nom hoe 3.PSR <Perf>dig-Nmzr  
'The hoe that he used to dig was heavy.'
- d. *matrina idru nantu k<in>erutr-an*  
big that 3.PSR <Perf>dig-Nmzr  
'That thing that he dug out was big.'  
'That place that he dug was big.'  
'That thing that he used to dig was big.'

## (5) Katipul

- a. *ma'izang izu na trunga' nantu k<in>erutr*  
big that Df.Nom ginger 3.PSR <Perf/UV:P>dig  
'That ginger that he dug out was big.'
- b. *salaw asavak nantu k<in>erutr-an*  
very deep 3.PSR <Perf>dig-UV:L  
'The place that he dug was very deep.'
- c. *aluzun izu na pitaw nantu i-kerutr*  
heavy that Df.Nom hoe 3.PSR UV:C-dig  
'The hoe that he used to dig was heavy.'

In this study, we are only interested in cases where syncretism is interpreted as 'uninflectedness'. We shall focus on case syncretism and examine how it induces changes in various constructions.

### 3. Case syncretism in bound pronouns

Puyuma makes a three-way case-marking distinction among verbal arguments: nominative, marking the grammatical subject, genitive, marking the non-subject actor, and oblique, marking other arguments. A distinction between nominative and genitive cases is made among bound pronouns. The nominative category can be divided into two subcategories; one indicates the subject, and is attached to a verb, and the other indicates the possessor of the subject, and is attached to a noun.

**Table 3:** Puyuma bound pronouns

	Singular			Plural			
	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup> Incl.	1 <sup>st</sup> Excl.	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>
<b>Nom</b>	= <i>ku</i>	= <i>yu</i> /= <i>u</i> <sup>9</sup>	---	= <i>ta</i>	= <i>mi</i>	= <i>mu</i>	---
<b>PSR/Nom</b>	<i>ku</i> =	<i>nu</i> =	<i>tu</i> =/ <i>taw</i> = <sup>10</sup>	<i>ta</i> =	<i>niam</i> =	<i>mu</i> =	<i>tu</i> =/ <i>taw</i> =
<b>Gen</b>	<i>ku</i> =	<i>nu</i> =	<i>tu</i> =/ <i>taw</i> =	<i>ta</i> =	<i>mi</i> =	<i>mu</i> =	<i>tu</i> =/ <i>taw</i> =

From Table 3 we see that the possessors of subject and the genitive pronouns have the same forms, except for the first person exclusive plural pronoun. However, their distributions are different. While the possessor is procliticized to a possessed nominal and indicates that the NP as a whole is the subject, the genitive pronoun is procliticized to a verbal element and refers to the non-subject actor. Another difference between them is that a possessor bound pronoun can be replaced with a free pronoun, but that is not possible for a genitive bound pronoun. For instance, in (6a) the first *ku*=, a genitive bound pronoun, cannot be replaced by a free pronoun, as shown in (6c), but the second *ku*=, a possessor bound pronoun, can be replaced with a free pronoun *nanku*, as shown in (6b).

(6) Nanwang

- a. *ku*=*rungas-aw*                      *ku*=*kiruan*  
 1S.Gen=take.off-UV:P    1S.PSR=clothes  
 ‘I took off my clothes.’
- b. *ku*=*rungas-aw*                      *nanku*    *kiruan*  
 1S.Gen=take.off-UV:P    1S.PSR    clothes  
 ‘I took off my clothes.’
- c. \**nanku*    *rungas-aw*                      *ku*=*kiruan*  
 1S.PSR    take.off-UV:P    1S.PSR=clothes

This is an instance which shows that morphology fails to encode syntactically relevant features. That is, except for the first personal exclusive pronouns, Gen and PSR are syncretic in the paradigm of Puyuma bound pronouns.

<sup>9</sup> Except for Nanwang, the second singular nominative pronoun is =*u* in all the other varieties.

<sup>10</sup> Nanwang and Katipul use the form *tu*=, whereas the other varieties use both *tu*=/*taw*= for the third person genitive and possessive pronoun.



#### 4. Case syncretism in noun phrase markers

Table 4 is a comparison of the noun phrase markers in three Puyuma dialectal varieties. A basic distinction between common nouns and personal nouns is made. Among personal nouns, there is a further distinction between singular and plural. Among common nouns,<sup>11</sup> definiteness is distinguished. Four cases are distinguished for the time being to account for the data in Ulivelivek because the significance of *na/nina/kana* in the definite common noun slot is not clear. Nominative (NOM) marks the subject, genitive (GEN) marks the non-subject actor, possessor (PSR) marks a possessor, and oblique (OBL) marks all the other arguments and adjuncts.<sup>12</sup>

**Table 4:** A comparison of case marking among three Puyuma dialectal varieties

			Nanwang	Katipul	Ulivelivek
Personal	Singular	NOM	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
		PSR	<i>kan</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>
		GEN			
		OBL		<i>kani</i>	<i>kani</i>
	Plural	NOM	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
		PSR	<i>kana</i>	--- <sup>13</sup>	---
		GEN		---	---
		OBL		<i>kana</i>	<i>kana</i>
Common	Definite	NOM	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
		PSR	<i>kana</i>	<i>na/nina</i>	<i>nina/na</i>
		GEN			<i>nina/kana</i>
		OBL		<i>kana</i>	<i>kana</i>
	Indefinite	NOM	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
		PSR	<i>dra</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>za</i>
		GEN			
		OBL			

<sup>11</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the subclasses of nouns in Nanwang Puyuma, please refer to Teng (2008:50-55).

<sup>12</sup> Readers may object to my use of the terms “genitive” and “possessor”, which seems to imply that Agent and Possessor are marked differently, and this in turn makes the use of the term “genitive” awkward if Agent and Possessor are indeed marked differently. However, my use of these two terms is only for the convenience of discussion.

<sup>13</sup> Information on Ulivelivek and Katipul plural personal nouns is not complete. The empty slots only indicate a possible but not necessary distinction between PSR and GEN.

Readers will see that PSR and GEN are not distinguished except in Ulivelivek definite common nouns. Now, is it necessary that we make a four-way distinction (NOM, PSR, GEN, and OBL), instead of a three-way distinction (NOM, GEN, and OBL) in Table 4? At the moment, a four-way distinction is made in Table 4 for two reasons. First, synchronically, recall that a distinction is made syntactically between PSR and GEN, although the same form is used (cf. §3). For the sake of consistency, the distinction is kept here before we have further evidence showing that they are the same. Second, we have to consider diachronically how cases are distinguished in Proto-Puyuma.

Unlike the bound pronouns discussed in §3, GEN and PSR noun phrase markers not only have the same form (except for the Ulivelivek definite common nouns) but also behave the same syntactically. For instance, in (7a) and (8a) the genitive actor is marked by *kana* in Nanwang and *nina* in Katipul, which has a bound pronoun *tu*= cross-referencing with it; in (7b) and (8b), the possessor is marked by the same noun phrase marker, which also has a bound pronoun *tu*= cross-referencing with it. Hence, at least in Nanwang and Katipul, it is not necessary to make a four-way distinction.

(7) Nanwang

- a. *tu=pukpuk-aw*      *kana*      *sinsi*  
 3.Gen=beat-UV:P    Df.Obl    teacher  
 ‘He was beaten by the teacher.’
- b. *tu=tilrin*      *kana*      *sinsi*  
 3.PSR=book      Df.Obl    teacher  
 ‘the teacher’s book’

(8) Katipul

- a. *tu=pukpuk-aw*      *nina*      *sinsi*  
 3.Gen=beat-UV:P    Gen      teacher  
 ‘He was beaten by the teacher.’
- b. *tu=valay*      *nina*      *sinsi*  
 3.PSR=book      Gen      teacher  
 ‘the teacher’s book’

Diachronically, if Proto-Puyuma made a four-way distinction, the merger of PSR and GEN in Nanwang, Katipul, and partially in Ulivelivek shows a case of syncretism. If, on the other hand, Proto-Puyuma made a three-way distinction, syncretism occurs in Nanwang personal and common nouns but also in Katipul and Ulivelivek indefinite common nouns, in which GEN and OBL are merged. Then the distinction between GEN and PSR made in Ulivelivek common nouns is a case of split.

In Ulivelivek where GEN and PSR are coded by the same form, we see that both cases can be indicated by the form *nina*, which is the same as in Katipul. It is thus legitimate to postulate that, first, GEN, and PSR were not distinguished in Proto-Puyuma and that the coding by the same form in all categories of nouns in Nanwang and Katipul is not a case of diachronic syncretism; the distinction made in Ulivelivek is the outcome of a split. We shall turn to this issue in §4.3. Second, *nina* is the default form for GEN/PSR, as the occurrence of other forms, *na* and *kana*, is the result of partial syncretism with NOM or with OBL. Hence, we only distinguish NOM, GEN (split as PSR and GEN in Table 4), and OBL in the following discussion.

According to the above discussion, the following observations about syncretism in Puyuma can be summarized:

- (i) All three varieties show case syncretism in indefinite common nouns.
- (ii) Katipul and Ulivelivek do not have case syncretism in singular personal nouns.
- (iii) The category of definite common nouns displays the most diverse types of syncretism. In Nanwang, cases other than NOM are syncretic; in Katipul, GEN is sometimes syncretic with NOM; in Ulivelivek, GEN is sometimes syncretic with NOM, and sometimes with OBL.
- (iv) Diachronically, Nanwang Puyuma displays syncretism of genitive and oblique in all subcategories of nouns. Logically, there are two possibilities to account for the difference between Nanwang and the other varieties; either Nanwang represents the more conservative situation and there was no genitive category in Proto-Puyuma, or Nanwang represents the more innovative one and the distinction between genitive and oblique has been lost in Nanwang. Because the genitive form *ni* can be reconstructed to Proto-Austronesian, it is unlikely to be an innovation in other varieties.

It is noted by Baerman et al. (2005:45) that “the division between syncretic and non-syncretic paradigms should be sensitive to the animacy hierarchy.” We can infer from Table 4 that there indeed is a hierarchy, but unlike the prediction given by Baerman et al. in Puyuma, definiteness seems to play a more important role than animacy; the cases that mark indefinite common nouns are more readily syncretic than definite common nouns and personal nouns. The hierarchy may be written as follows:

*indefinite common nouns* > *definite common nouns* / *personal nouns*

Baerman et al. (2005:49) also note that, in the type of syncretism where a core case and a non-core case are syncretic, the core cases are kept distinct from each other, but

one of the core cases is syncretic with one of the peripheral cases. Typically it is the marked core case which is affected, that is the accusative in a nominative/accusative language and the ergative in an ergative/absolutive language. ‘Genitive’ in this study may alternatively be labeled as ergative;<sup>14</sup> ‘genitive’ is used conventionally because the same forms also mark possessors,<sup>15</sup> as we have seen in §3. The fact that all the syncretic patterns in Table 4 are related to genitive case is thus in line with the prediction made by Baerman et al.

Recall that genitive marks either the non-subject actor in a verbal construction or the possessor in a possessive construction. Ambiguities may arise from both genitive-nominative syncretism and genitive-oblique syncretism. In genitive-oblique syncretism, which occurs in the Nanwang variety, the oblique case marks the non-subject actor and the possessor, in addition to oblique arguments and adjuncts. In genitive-nominative syncretism, which occurs with *na* in the Katipul variety, the nominative case marks the non-subject actor and a possessor, in addition to subject. The Ulivelivek variety displays a split type—subject and possessor are marked nominative, while non-subject actor and other oblique arguments are marked oblique.<sup>16</sup> The following table summarizes how these NPs are case-marked in different dialectal varieties.

**Table 5:** Patterns of syncretism for definite common nouns

	<b>subject</b>	<b>non-subj actor</b>	<b>possessor</b>	<b>oblique</b>
Nanwang	Nom	Obl	Obl	Obl
Katipul	Nom	Nom/Gen	Nom/Gen	Obl
Ulivelivek	Nom	Obl/Gen	Nom/Gen	Obl

A summary of the possible ambiguities caused by different patterns of syncretism is provided below as a preview of the discussions in the following sections. Since genitive marks two roles (non-subject actor and possessor), we shall investigate the possible ambiguities in two types of constructions—verbal clauses, where genitive marks the non-subject actor, and possessive construction, where genitive marks the possessor.

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of syntactic alignment in Nanwang Puyuma, please see Teng (2008:144-163).

<sup>15</sup> However, they should be treated differently in Puyuma, as shown in §3.

<sup>16</sup> Note that because *nina* is always an alternative to *na* in non-subject actor and possessor and possessor forms in Katipul and an alternative to *kana* in non-subject actor in Ulivelivek, the syncretism is incomplete.

**Table 6:** Syncretic patterns and possible ambiguities

		possible ambiguities	disambiguating strategies
Nanwang	actor	actor vs. other oblique NPs	cross-referencing
	possessor	possessor vs. oblique argument of the deverbal noun	none
Katipul	actor	actor vs. subject	verbal semantics; topicalization
	possessor	possessive vs. modifying construction	word order
Ulivivek	actor	actor vs. other oblique NPs	cross-referencing
	possessor	possessive vs. modifying construction	word order

#### 4.1 Syncretism in Nanwang

As shown in Table 4, genitive and oblique are syncretized in all subcategories of nouns in Nanwang Puyuma, and there is no distinct marker to mark a non-subject actor or a possessor. The NPs that manifest these two roles are indicated by oblique case, in shown in (9).

(9) Nanwang

- a. *tu=kedreng-aw kan Senayan*  
3.Gen=pull-UV:P Sg.Obl Senayan  
'He was pulled by Senayan.'
- b. *bulray tu=kabung kan Senayan*  
beautiful 3.PSR=hat Sg.Obl Senayan  
'Senayan's hat is beautiful.'
- c. *tu=kedreng-aw kana walak*  
3.Gen=pull-UV:P Df.Obl child  
'He was pulled by the child.'
- d. *bulray tu=kabung kana walak*  
beautiful 3.PSR=hat Df.Obl child  
'The child's hat is beautiful.'

We have seen in §3 that there is always a bound pronoun cross-referencing an oblique-marked non-subject actor or possessor, and this mechanism serves to differentiate an oblique-marked non-subject actor and possessor from other oblique-marked NPs.

While we can easily decide whether an oblique marked NP is a non-subject actor or not in a verbal construction, in a possessive construction it is not so easy to decide whether the oblique-marked NP is the possessor or not. For instance, in (10), the oblique marked NP may be interpreted as the possessor or the undergoer of the deverbal noun.

In such situations, the speakers can only infer the meaning from the context and decide which role this oblique marked NP plays.

- (10) Nanwang  
*tu=ni-na'u-an kana vavayan*  
 3.PSR=Perf-see-Nmzr Df.Obl woman  
 'his/her/their thought towards the woman'  
 'the woman's opinion'

## 4.2 Syncretism in Katipul

In Katipul, genitive and oblique are kept distinct in personal nouns.

- (11) Katipul (personal nouns)  
 a. *tu=kezeng-aw ni Senayan*  
 3.Gen=pull-UV:P Gen Senayan  
 'He was pulled by Senayan.'  
 b. *vulray tu=talupung ni Senayan*  
 beautiful 3.PSR=hat Gen Senayan  
 'Senayan's hat is beautiful.'

It is interesting to note that for definite common nouns, genitive syncretizes with nominative, whereas for indefinite common nouns, genitive syncretizes with oblique. Such a split syncretic pattern is quite unusual.

- (12) Katipul (indefinite common nouns)  
 a. *tu=sa'az za/\*a kawi*  
 3.Gen=branch Id.Obl/Id.Nom tree  
 'branch of a tree'  
 b. *tu=karatr-aw za/\*a unan*  
 3.Gen=bite=UV:P Id.Obl/Id.Nom snake  
 'He was bitten by a snake.'
- (13) Katipul (definite common nouns)  
 a. *tu=d<in>apal-an na/nina/\*kana temuwamuwan*  
 3.PSR=<Perf>foot-Loc.Nmzr Df.Nom/Df.Gen/\*Df.Obl ancestors  
 'the footsteps of the ancestors'  
 b. *tu=paing-ay=ta na/nina/\*kana lalak*  
 3.Gen=sneeze-UV:L=1P.Nom Df.Nom/Df.Gen/\*Df.Obl children  
 'The children sneezed to us.'

In a possessive construction, when genitive syncretizes with nominative, the construction is similar to a modifying construction, where an NP consists of small NPs joining together by *na* (functioning as a linker). Compare the following two sentences:

(14) Katipul

- a. *tatelaw nantu sa'az na kawi*  
 long 3.PSR branch Df.Nom tree  
 'The branches of the tree are long.'
- b. *vulray nantu sa'az na tatelaw*  
 beautiful 3.PSR branch Df.Nom long  
 'Its long branches are beautiful.'

The above two sentences have the same structure. Whether one is a possessive construction or a modifying construction depends on the word class of the following word, i.e. noun vs. verb, or the possibilities of reversing the order. In a possessive construction, the order of the possessor and the possessum is fixed, but in a modifying construction, the order of the two elements is flexible.

In a verbal construction, when genitive syncretizes with nominative,<sup>17</sup> a possible confusion occurs as to which of the two nominative-marked NPs is the subject. For instance, in (15), both the subject *sa'az* and the actor are marked nominative. However, we can infer from the argument structure of the verb *atek* "hack" that *lalak* "children" is the actor and *sa'az* "branch" is the undergoer.

(15) Katipul

- tu=atek-aw na sa'az na lalak*<sup>18</sup>  
 3.Gen=hack-UV:P Df.Nom branch Df.Nom children  
 'The children hacked the branches.'

There are situations where semantics may fail to give us clues. For example, in a sentence like "the snake bit the dog", the speaker would either use genitive to mark the actor or to make the actor (nominative-marked) topicalized.

<sup>17</sup> Baerman et al. (2005:48) predicts that "if syncretism of absolutive and ergative is found somewhere among nouns, it is found somewhere among case-marked pronouns as well". However, I find this assertion not totally correct in Puyuma.

<sup>18</sup> In this sentence, the informants prefer to have *lalak* preceded by a nominative demonstrative *ini* or *izu*, but for the sake of demonstration I change it to *na*. The point is that the actor, which is supposed to be marked genitive, is marked nominative in this sentence.

(16) Katipul

- a. *tu=karatr-aw na suan nina unan*  
 3.Gen=bite-UV:P Df.Nom dog Df.Gen snake  
 ‘The snake bit the dog.’
- b. *na unan mu, tu=karatr-aw na suan*  
 Df.Nom snake Top 3.Gen=bite-UV:P Df.Nom dog  
 ‘The snake, it bit the dog.’

### 4.3 Syncretism in Ulivelivek

Similar to the Katipul variety, genitive and oblique are kept distinct in personal nouns, as shown in (17). In (17a), *ni* marks a possessor, and in (17b) the agent. On the other hand an oblique NP is preceded by *kani* in (17b).

(17) Ulivelivek

- a. *nintaw talupung ni Tava*  
 3.PSR hat Gen Tava  
 ‘Tava’s hat’
- b. *taw=veray-anay na kiping ni inani kani Tava*  
 3.Gen=give-UV:C Df.Nom clothes Gen my.mother Obl Tava  
 ‘My mother gave the clothes to Tava.’

It is interesting to note that in the common noun category, genitive syncretizes with oblique in a verbal construction, as shown in (18a), but syncretizes with nominative in a possessive construction, as in (18b).

(18) Ulivelivek

- a. *tu=senan-ay nina/kana/\*na kadaw*  
 3.Gen=sunburned-UV:L Df.Gen/Df.Obl/\*Df.Nom sun  
 ‘It was burned by the sun.’
- b. *tu=tial nina/na/\*kana suan*  
 3.PSR=belly Df.Gen/Df.Nom/\*Df.Obl dog  
 ‘the dog’s belly’

To disambiguate these sentences, the same strategies as those discussed in Nanwang and Katipul are applied.



#### 4.4 Modifying vs. possessive constructions<sup>19</sup>

In the previous sections we have seen how ambiguities may occur due to case syncretism in different dialectal varieties. In this section, we focus on two complex NP constructions, the attribute construction and the possessive construction.

In Puyuma, an NP that contains a modifier is analyzed by Teng (2008:80-91) as consisting of two small NPs.<sup>20</sup> Each small NP is preceded by the same noun phrase marker, as shown by the Nanwang examples below. The order of the small NPs is flexible, and thus the free translations given in (19b) and (19c) are the same.

(19) Nanwang (Teng 2008:82-83)

- a. *me-na'u=ku dra matrina dra utreutrem dra suan*  
 AV-see=1S.Nom Id.Obl big Id.Obl black Id.Obl dog  
 'I saw a big black dog.'
- b. *amau a drenan a makiteng*  
 COP Id.Nom mountain Id.Nom small  
 'It was a small mountain.'
- c. *amau a makiteng a drenan*  
 COP Id.Nom small Id.Nom mountain  
 'It was a small mountain.'

The phenomenon of case concord is obligatory unless the NP is marked as definite oblique. In such cases, the non-initial small NPs are optionally linked by the invariant marker *na*. For instance, in (20a), the first small NP is preceded by *kana*, which indicates *buwang* is a definite oblique argument; the non-initial small NP *matrina* "big" can either be preceded by *kana* or *na*. When it is preceded by *na*, *na* functions as a linker and is no longer a noun phrase marker indicating the case. Sentence (20b) shows that when the order of the small NPs is changed, only the initial small NP is obligatorily case-marked. Sentence (20c) demonstrates that when the NP is not a definite oblique argument, case concord is obligatorily; the occurrence of *na* is not acceptable.

(20) Nanwang

- a. *tu=lasedr-aw kana buwang kana/na matrina*  
 3.Gen=hide-UV:P Df.Obl hole Df.Obl/LK big  
 'He hid it in the big hole.'

<sup>19</sup> Tang (2002:300-311) discusses the same issue in Paiwan. However, the structure of Paiwan noun phrase is very different from that of Puyuma.

<sup>20</sup> There is no morphosyntactic indication of the head, but a "primary information bearing unit" (Croft 2001:257-259) can be identified on the basis of meaning.

- b. *tu=lasedr-aw kana matrina kana/na buwang*  
 3.Gen=hide-UV:P Df.Obl big Df.Obl/LK hole  
 ‘He hid it in the big hole.’
- c. *me-na’u=ku dra matrina dra/\*na suan*  
 AV-see=1S.Nom Id.Obl big Id.Obl/LK dog  
 ‘I saw a big dog.’

The examples given above are all from the Nanwang variety, but the same restriction holds in all the other varieties.

Teng (2008:90-91) provides two possible explanations for the rise of the marker *na* as a linker. Phonologically, among all the noun phrase markers, only *kana* consists of two syllables, and thus a reduction of *kana* to *na* may be a possible result. Another possibility lies in the fact that in Nanwang Puyuma, the possessor is indicated by *kana*, and in order to avoid the possible ambiguity, speakers replace *kana* with *na*. Compare the following sentences. In a possessive construction like (21a), the phrase marker *kana* before *enay* ‘water’ cannot be changed to *na*. Also the order of the possessor and the possessum is irreversible, as shown in (21b). On the other hand, the noun phrase marker *na* in (21c) indicating that this is a modifying construction, and the order of the two small NPs is flexible, as shown in (21d). In such sentences, *na* functions as a linker, and it does not indicate the case of the noun following it.

(21) Nanwang

- a. *m-uka=la kanantu rami kana enay*  
 AV-go=Perf 3.PSR/Obl root Df.Obl water  
 ‘They went to the fountain-head of the river (the source of the water).’
- b. *\*kanantu enay kana rami*  
 3.PSR/Obl water Df.Obl root
- c. *kanatu sadru na enay*  
 3.PSR/Obl many LK water  
 ‘his lots of water’
- d. *kanantu enay na sadru*  
 3.PSR/Obl water LK many

Unfortunately, the hypothesis that the rise of *na* as a linker is due to the necessity of distinguishing a possessive construction from a modifying one fails to explain what we have seen in Katipul and Ulivelivek, where *na* is used in both possessive and modifying constructions. For instance, in (22a), which is a possessive construction, the possessor *Iriyapuy* is preceded by *na*; in (22b), which is a modifying construction, the non-initial small NP is preceded by *na* as well.

## (22) Katipul

- a. *tu=travu-ay na 'avay zatu vira' na lriyapuy*  
 3.Gen=wrap-UV:L Df.Nom rice.cake 3.PSR/Obl leaf Df.Nom tree  
 'She wrapped the rice cake with a leaf of variegated shell ginger.'
- b. *nu me-na'u=ta kana vavuy na areta<hera>herang*  
 when AV-see=1P.Nom Df.Obl boar LK <Red>big.chest  
 'When we see a wild boar that has a big chest...'

The examples above show that in Katipul (and also in Ulivelivek) there is no morphosyntactic indication distinguishing a possessive construction from a modifying construction. Readers may then question whether it is necessary to say that there is syncretism of genitive and nominative in Katipul because we can alternatively treat *na* as a linker in a nominal construction regardless of whether it is a modifying or a possessive construction,<sup>21</sup> and this seems to be more economic.

However, this alternative solution fails to account for the situations where *na* marks a non-subject actor. Based on this fact, the syncretism analysis is more plausible. This brings us back to the initial question: what causes the rise of *na* as a linker in a modifying construction in the first place? To impute to it a need to distinguish a modifying construction from a possessive construction seems to be infelicitous. Unfortunately, we do not have a satisfactory answer to this question. By now, given the fact that *na* occurs before a non-subject actor and possessor, which are originally and still alternatively marked by genitive *nina*, we can be sure that there is syncretism of nominative and genitive.

## 5. Diachronic issues

### 5.1 Digression in the phonology of Puyuma

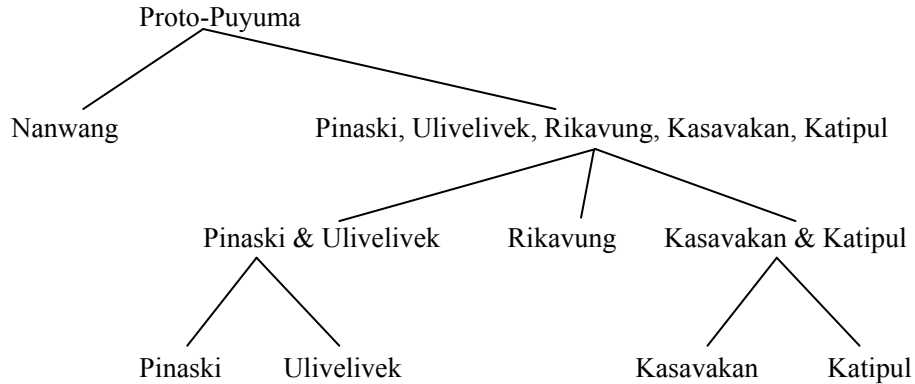
In this section we review Ting's (1978) and Li's (1992) studies of the phonological variants of Puyuma. Ting (1978) compares six varieties (out of eight) in his reconstruction

<sup>21</sup> In some languages, the same marker is used to indicate a possessive construction and a modifying construction. For instance, Mandarin utilizes *de* in both constructions, as shown below:

- (i) *mama-de yifu*  
 mother-DE clothes  
 'Mother's clothes'
- (ii) *piaoliang-de yifu*  
 beautiful-DE clothes  
 'beautiful clothes'

For a more detailed discussion on the usage of *de*, see Tang (1993).

of Proto-Puyuma phonology; they are Nanwang, Katipul, Rikavung, Kasavakan, Pinaski, and Ulivelivek. His subgrouping is based on shared innovation and exclusively shared lexical items. His grouping is shown as follows:



**Figure 1:** Ting's (1978) subgrouping

All varieties except Nanwang belong to a single subgroup, because they exclusively share a common innovation that voiced stops /b/, /d/, /q/ and /g/ have become fricatives (for example, /b/→/v/ in Kasavakan, and Katipul; /b/→/β/ in Rikavung, Pinaski and Ulivelivek; /d/→/ð/ and /q/→/z/ in Katipul, Rikavung, Pinaski and Ulivelivek; /g/→/h/ in all the dialectal varieties, except for Nanwang). The Nanwang variety is alone in not having undergone such an innovation. Ting (1978) notes that the other five dialectal varieties vary only slightly in their phonetic features. In addition to these changes, the lateral /l/ in Nanwang corresponds to /ɭ/ in all the other dialectal varieties, and the glottal stop in Nanwang corresponds to /ɸ/ or /h/ in other dialectal varieties.<sup>22</sup> Li (1992) also classifies Puyuma into two varieties: Nanwang and Katipul (which consists of all the dialectal varieties other than Nanwang). His subgrouping is also based on the shared innovation discussed by Ting (1978).

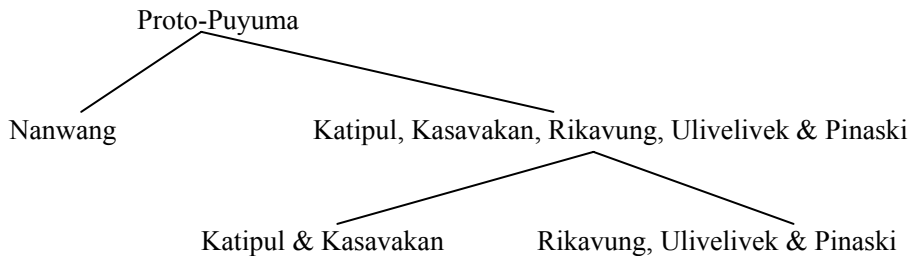
In addition to the sound changes discussed in Ting (1978), Kasavakan has undergone three other changes: the merger of /ɭ/ and /ɾ/, merger of /z/ and /d/ (becoming /d/), and the change from /t/ to /ts/. Table 7 summarizes the discussion of this section.

<sup>22</sup> However the glottal stop in Nanwang has become very unstable. It is sometimes omitted and in their official orthography this sound is represented as zero.

**Table 7:** Phonological changes among Puyuma dialectal varieties

example	Nanwang	Katipul	Kasavakan	Rikavung	Ulivelivek	Pinaski	gloss
b → v, β	ʔarəbu	karəvu	karəvu	karəβu	karəβu	karəβu	hair
d → ð	daum	ðaum	daum	ðaum	ðaum	ðaum	needle
ɖ → z, d	idɖ	izu	idu	izu	izu	izu	that one
g → h	sagar	sahar	sahar	sahar	sahar	sahar	like
l → ʎ	wali	waʎi	waʎi	waʎi	waʎi	waʎi	tooth
t → ts	ʈau	ʈau	tsau	ʈau	ʈau	ʈau	person
ʔ → ɸ	ʔapuʈ	ɸapuʈ	ɸapuʈ	ɸapuʈ	ɸapuʈ	ɸapuʈ	flower
merger of l and r	marayas	marayas	malayas	marayas	marayas	marayas	often
	mauləp	mauləp	mauləp	mauləp	mauləp	mauləp	toilsome
merger of ɖ and d	dɪya	ziya	diya	ziya	ziya	ziya	yet
	daway	ðaway	daway	ðaway	ðaway	ðaway	produce

My subgrouping based on the phonological changes alone will be slightly different from that of Ting's (1978), as shown in Figure 2. Katipul and Kasavakan are grouped together because they have undergone a further change where /β/ has become /v/. Rikavung, Ulivelivek and Pinaski are grouped together because they have not undergone such change.

**Figure 2:** Subgrouping based only on phonologically shared innovations

## 5.2 Nanwang as phonologically conservative but morphologically innovative

We have seen that the variety spoken in Nanwang village is phonologically distinct from the others and is regarded as more conservative. From the perspective of the paradigm of noun phrase markers, Nanwang is again distinct from all the others, but this time it is more innovative.

**Table 8:** A tentative reconstruction of Proto-Puyuma noun phrase markers

			Nanwang	Katipul	Ulivelivek	Proto-P
Personal	Singular	NOM	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	* <i>i</i>
		GEN		<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>	* <i>ni</i>
		OBL	<i>kan</i>	<i>kani</i>	<i>kani</i>	* <i>ka-ni</i>
	Plural	NOM	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	* <i>na</i>
		GEN		---	---	---
		OBL	<i>kana</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>kana</i>	* <i>ka-na</i>
Common	Definite	NOM	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	* <i>na</i>
		GEN		<i>nina</i>	<i>nina</i>	* <i>ni-na</i>
		OBL	<i>kana</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>kana</i>	* <i>ka-na</i>
	Indefinite	NOM	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	* <i>a</i>
		GEN				
		OBL	<i>dra</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>za</i>	* <i>dra</i>

Unlike the Nanwang variety, which distinguishes only nominative and oblique cases in the paradigm, all the other varieties make a three-way distinction (nominative, oblique, and genitive). Because the genitive marker \**ni* can be reconstructed to PAn (Blust 2005), it can be inferred that the syncretism of the genitive and oblique in Nanwang Puyuma is an innovation. Thus the reconstruction of Proto-Puyuma is quite straightforward, except for forms incorporated with \**ka-* (\**ka-(n)i* and \**ka-na*) and the genitive form \**ni-na*. Ross (2006:528) reconstructs \**ka-* to PAn as a preposition based on Saisiyat, Puyuma, and PMP. This preposition preceded a genitive case-marker and marked a beneficiary or other peripheral role, as shown on the data in (23):

- (23) PAn \**ka* OBL: Saisiyat *kan*, *kala* BENEFACTIVE,<sup>23</sup> P-Puyuma \**ka-na*  
OBL:+SP, *ka-ni* PS:OBL:S, *ka-na* PS:OBL:P, PMP \**kani*, \**ka-y*

While the forms given in Table 8 are the same as the ones reconstructed by Ross (2006), we offer another possibility whereby the forms \**ka-ni* and \**ka-na* are portmanteau morphemes which consist of the preposition \**ka-* and a nominative case-marker (*i* and *na*),<sup>24</sup> not a genitive case-marker (*ni* and *na*). The /n/ sound in *kani* is automatically inserted, and the original form is *ka-i*. The evidence comes from the formation of free pronouns in all but Nanwang Puyuma dialectal varieties, as shown below.

<sup>23</sup> However, according to Yeh (1991) and Elizabeth Zeitoun (p.c.), *kan* and *kala* are not analyzed as benefactive, but as locative.

<sup>24</sup> I am aware that \**na* is one of the reconstructed PAn genitive markers by Blust (2005), Ross (2006), and Reid (2007), but it seems to be more plausible that the element after *ka-* is a nominative or unmarked for case instead of a genitive in Puyuma.

	bound form	neutral form	possessive	oblique form
1 <sup>st</sup> singular	<i>ku</i>	<i>i-ŋku</i>	<i>ni-ŋku</i>	<i>ka-ŋku</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> plural (Incl)	<i>ta</i>	<i>i-nta</i>	<i>ni-nta</i>	<i>ka-nta</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> singular	<i>u</i>	<i>i-nu</i>	<i>ni-nu</i>	<i>ka-nu</i>

From the examples we find that in forming portmanteau forms, there is always a linking element /N/ between the combined elements.

If the present analysis is correct, the forms in the nominative category indicate the noun class and are unmarked for case; whereas in the genitive category the forms consist of *ni* and the noun classifier and in the oblique category *ka* or *z(a)* and the noun classifier.<sup>25</sup> That is, *i*, *na*, and *a* are nominal classifiers indicating the noun they attach to is a personal noun, a definite common noun, or an indefinite common noun respectively.<sup>26</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have seen different patterns of syncretism in Puyuma. Some can be understood as neutralization (i.e. undergoer nominalization in Nanwang Puyuma), some can be interpreted as uninflectedness (i.e. the bound pronominal paradigm and the paradigm of noun phrase markers).

In the discussion of case syncretism, we have observed a decline of the genitive; genitive syncretizes either with nominative or with oblique. It is often assumed that syncretism can be taken to reflect the natural classes of feature values. As an example of such an approach, we might analyze the case values in terms of component subvalues which define natural classes, as shown in (24).

(24) Feature structure	Underlying subvalues
Nominative:	[+subject, +core]
Genitive:	[–subject, +core]
Oblique:	[–subject, –core]

Following this approach, we could then characterize the genitive/nominative and genitive/oblique syncretism as reflecting the underlying structure of the feature “case”. Genitive/nominative syncretism is [+core], while genitive/oblique syncretism is [–subject]. This seems to describe the Puyuma data well, but the Mayrinax data discussed in §1 can less readily be described in this way.

<sup>25</sup> See Chang et al. (1998) for a similar treatment of the Kavalan noun phrase markers.

<sup>26</sup> To my mind, plural personal nouns are treated as definite common nouns in Puyuma. However, more evidence is needed to confirm this claim.

In §5 we review the internal relationship among the Puyuma dialectal varieties from both phonological and morphological perspectives. We show that Nanwang Puyuma is phonologically the more conservative but morphologically the more innovative dialect. This illustrates the fact that phonological conservatism does not necessarily entail morphological conservatism.

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## 卑南語格位形式融合

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「形式融合」(syncretism) 的現象可分別從歷時與共時的角度來探討。從歷時的角度而言，「形式融合」指的是於先前區分的兩個形式合併為一的過程。從共時的角度而言，「形式融合」指的是有作區分的語言單位卻以同一形式來表達。

在此篇文章，我們探討卑南語三個方言中各種不同模式之格位形式融合。在南王卑南語，屬格跟斜格有形式融合的現象，而在其他方言，此區分被部分保留。跨方言的比較，除了能讓我們從歷時與共時的角度來探討「形式融合」，亦能幫助我們構擬古卑南語的格位系統。此篇文章顯示，語音較為存古的方言並不一定在構詞句法的表現上也較為存古；南王卑南語是語音較為存古的方言，但在構詞句法上卻較為創新。另外，藉由跨方言的比較，我們可以觀察歷時的演變如何產生，以及在構詞上因「形式融合」現象所造成的模糊，可如何經由其他構詞句法的方法得到彌補。

關鍵詞：形式融合，卑南語，格位，歷時，共時，存古，創新