The Thirteenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (13-ICAL)

Abstracts

Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica

18-23 July 2015

(Last updated 2015/07/07)
Opening speech by the director of the Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica

Distinguished guests and participants,

On behalf of the Institute of Linguistics, I would like to welcome you all to the 13th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, the major Austronesian conference which has been held every three or four years for the past forty years or so.


In the following five days, until July 22, the conference will feature three keynotes, the first to be given by on July 18 by Professor Alexander Adelaar, the second on July 20 by Professor Lillian M. Huang and the third on July 22 by Professor Malcolm Ross, 4 panels and 45 general sessions. 150 papers will be presented in three parallel sessions that cover most of the subgroups of the Austronesian language family by participants coming from 23 countries. Topics will cover a wide range of linguistic fields, including historical linguistics, phonetics and phonology, morphosyntax, sociolinguistics, to name but a few. Let me gratefully acknowledge the generous support of the Ministry of Science and Technology for this conference.

There will be two aboriginal performances. The first will be held on June 18, and will be given by Paiwan students of the Taiwu Elementary School in Pingtung County. The second performance will be given by an Atayal group on July 22.

On July 23, there will be an excursion to the Tainan archaeological site and we are grateful to Hsiu-chuan Liao, from National Tsing Hua University, for helping organize this excursion, and to Academician Cheng-hwa Tsang who agreed to open this archaeological site for participants who registered. On the same day, there will be simultaneously a satellite event on “New advances in Taiwan indigenous language revitalization” which is entirely sponsored by the Council of Indigenous Peoples. It will feature 12 papers on indigenous language policies, preservation and revitalization. The aim of this satellite event is to show the progress that has been made in the past 18 years in language documentation and language teaching since the last ICAL was held in Taiwan, back in December 1997 and just 19 years after the creation of the Council of Indigenous Peoples which has been instrumental in promulgating a number of language policies.
Conference guidelines

1. Each keynote is allotted one hour and fifteen minutes (including 50~60 minutes for paper presentation and 15~25 minutes for discussion). Each paper is allotted 30 minutes (including 20 minutes for paper presentation and 10 minutes for discussion).

2. Speakers will be shown reminder signs three times, as follows:
   - A 5 minutes left sign (to remind the discussion time starts)
   - A 2 minutes left sign with a short ring
   - A Time’s up sign with a short ring

3. No food or drinks (except water) should be brought in the conference room.

4. Cell phones should be switched off in the conference room.

5. Lunchbox vouchers are inserted in the name tags. Please be sure to wear your name tag during the conference.
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Early Malagasy history: An update
Alexander Adelaar
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies & University of Melbourne

This is an overview of the pre-colonial history of Malagasy and the settlement history of Madagascar on the basis of historical linguistic evidence. Issues covered include:
• The earliest contacts between East Africa and insular South East Asia
• The sociolinguistic setting in South Borneo at the time of the Malagasy migrations to East Africa
• The nature of the migrations (ethnic groups involved, one or several migrations, navigation routes followed, initial destination)
• Evidence for human occupation in Madagascar prior to the arrival of Austronesian and Bantu speakers
• The African component: the evidence of DNA and dialect divergence, the non-evidence of fenotypical contrasts; contact phenomena in both Bantu languages and Malagasy
• Continued contact between Madagascar and insular South East Asia
A cross-dialectal study of grammaticalization in Atayal

Lillian M. Huang
Shih Chien University

Atayal is an Austronesian language spoken principally in the mountainous area of northern Taiwan. It has two major dialects, namely, Squliq and C’uli’. While Squliq seems more homogenous structurally, C’uli’ illustrates more regional variations, with different lexical words and sometimes varying syntactic structures. Consequently, while Squliq is given only one set of exam questions in every national indigenous language proficiency test, C’uli’, a more conservative dialect, is given different sets of exam questions depending on which regions it is spoken, and thus, from north-eastern Taiwan to central Taiwan, Skikun (spoken in Ilan), Matabalay and Mayrinax (spoken in Miaoli), and Plngawan (spoken in Nantou).

The present paper attempts to investigate the grammaticalization in several Atayal dialects. The first part of the paper will summarize several examples of grammaticalization in the Squliq dialect as spoken in Wulai (Huang 2008), including (i) verbs like musaʔ/mosaʔ ‘go/will go’, wal/wayal ‘went’, nyux/cyux ‘exist’ being grammaticalized into auxiliaries designating tense/aspect/mood; (ii) the locative focus form of the verb malax ‘abandon; give up’ (i.e. laxi) extending its function into the negator used in negative imperative constructions; (iii) the ‘say’ verb mha being treated as a quotative marker, a complementizer and an evidential marker; (iv) the 3rd person singular pronoun hiyaʔ serving as an emphatic marker; and (v) the interrogative word nanuʔ ‘what’ functioning as a pause filler. While the original meanings of these words are relatively concrete, their new meanings are more abstract. Furthermore, the derived meanings of the first two sets (i.e. musaʔ/mosaʔ, wal/wayal, nyux/cyux, and laxi) are more syntactic/grammatical functions and can be examined on the sentence level, whereas those of the latter three (i.e. mha, hiyaʔ and nanuʔ) are more discourse/pragmatic functions and can be better illustrated in longer texts.

The second part of the paper will concentrate on the grammaticalization in the above-mentioned C’uli’ dialects, focusing on the grammaticalized words found in Squliq. Next, different degrees of transformation of lexical items into grammatical forms within a dialect and across dialects will be examined. For example, in Squliq Atayal, the grammaticalization process of wal/wayal seems more complete than that of musaʔ/mosaʔ, that is, wal/wayal is more often used as aspctual markers than as verbs, whereas musaʔ/mosaʔ is still often treated as a verb. And the grammaticalization speed of musaʔ/mosaʔ as aspctual markers and laxi as a negator in Squliq seems faster than that in Mayrinax. In other words, Squliq has reached a further stage of grammaticalization than Mayrinax and perhaps the other C’uli’ dialects as well. Finally, factors affecting various degrees of grammaticalization across Atayal dialects will also be analyzed.

References
Linguistic evidence for prehistory: Oceanic examples
Malcolm Ross
Australian National University

Historical linguistic analysis of a language family can provide evidence about prehistory in at least three respects. First, linguistic geography and the reconstruction of a linguistic phylogeny by the comparative method can tell us something about the movements of its speakers from place to place. Second, evidence of contact-induced change, carefully analysed, can tell us about the interactions of its speakers with groups speaking other languages and occasionally about instances of language shift. Third, reconstructed lexicon can tell us about the culture of speakers of that interstage language, revealing probable features of that culture that are less accessible to archaeology.

The talk will provide examples of these three kinds of evidence, drawn from the study of languages of the large Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian. Attention will be given especially to the role of reconstructed lexicon as a window into the culture of early Oceanic speakers, using examples drawn from published and unpublished volumes of *The lexicon of Proto Oceanic* and discussing lessons the authors have learned in the course of reconstruction.

References

1: Material culture (1998)
2: The physical world (2003)
3: Plants (2008)
4: Animals (2011)
5: Body and mind (forthcoming)
Pattern in the patchwork?: The interface between social history and dialectology in a long-established dialect network (Melawi River basin, West Kalimantan)

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Bernard Sellato
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Sellato (1986) is a brief ethnic sketch of the Melawi River basin of interior West Kalimantan, presenting one-paragraph summaries of twenty-one ethnic groups in the area. A follow-up article (Sellato 1987) expands on one of the largest groups, the Kebahan. A substantial volume of supporting data, including wordlists and kinship data, was not included in the publications or analyzed in detail at that time. Motivated by questions of linguistic classification, cultural diffusion and migrations, the current study presents a detailed analysis of the unpublished Melawi data. The objectives were: 1) to classify and, if possible, subgroup the Melawi lects; 2) to compare linguistic dialect distribution with emic classifications and patterns in kinship systems. Language groupings made through lexicostatistics, phonological (Levenshtein) distance (Nerbonne et al. 1996) and the comparative method are correlated with emic and anthropological classifications. Findings include the following:

- All Melawi lects except Ot Danum (Barito) can be classified as Malayic.
- On the whole, we see evidence of long in situ dialect differentiation, versus support for migration or language shift.
- Only subtle lexical and phonological differences can be observed between lects which could be considered ‘Malay’ and ‘Malayic Dayak’, differences deemed insufficient for subgrouping.
- Dialect patterns reflect a wavelike set of concentric circles springing from the area’s history: a. canonical Malay (Collins 2001); b. downstream serah groups submitted to the old Sintang Malay kingdom (Enthoven 1903:418); c. mardaheka 'free'/upstream Melawi basin groups; d. Malayic areas outside Melawi. In addition, two upstream lects share substantial similarities with Ot Danum.
- A reconstruction of a Melawi set of kinship terms is proposed. This set was later influenced by Barito from the south and east, and canonical Malay and Ibanic from the northwest.
- Lexical evidence is presented which offers possible support to the Borneo-as-the-homeland-of-Malayic hypothesis.

References


Grammatical vs. information structure prominence: The puzzling ko-marked arguments in Rongga

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This paper discusses the puzzling phenomenon associated with the marking of an argument by the particle ko in Rongga (Austronesian, Flores-Indonesia). On one hand, it marks a weakened/downgraded argument, e.g. a demotion of the (first) Object ndoi to the second Object, as observed in the ditransitive alternation in (1), or a new indefinite argument like lako or pake, as in (2). On the other hand, it also marks a pragmatically augmented (possibly definite) argument, e.g. a Patient (pake ‘frog’) as a passive Subject (3), or a sentence-initial topic or focussed Subject (4)–(5). That the same marker ko can mark both downgrading and upgrading processes is intriguing and puzzling.

   Ardi bring money Ardi bring 1s PART money
   ‘Ardi brought money’. ‘Ardi brought me money’.

(2) manga piri polu ko lako ne ko pake.
    exist raise raise part dog and part frog
    ‘there (was a child) keeping a dog and a frog’.

(3) niu ne’e kazhi ko pake, dano mbiwa zhenge
    call by 3s PART frog also not hear
    ‘(The) frog was called by him, he also didn’t hear (anything)’.

(4) ko lako kazhi kali kombe ndau nande ne’e kazhi
    part dog 3s also night that sleep with 3s
    ‘(As for) his dog, (he) was sleeping with him that night’.

(5) ema mbiwa mata, hanya ko stofles kali bekaregha
    lucky not dead only part jar also broken
    ‘Fortunately, (the dog) didn’t die, but only the jar broke up’.

I will argue that the opposing effects associated with ko are the outcome of the complex interaction of the grammatical and information structure constraints and that ko essentially marks FOCUS. FOCUS is a broad category encompassing information packaging in a given discourse context reflecting the speaker’s communicative intent to highlight certain new information. The newness can be thought of as having two important sub-types (Dik 1997, Choi 1999): a gap, i.e. new in the addressee’s knowledge, abbreviated as [NEW:GAP], and some sort of contrast and emphasis, i.e. old, but its additional pragmatic salience of contrast/emphasis is new (abbreviated as [NEW:SALIENCE]). Following Erteschick-Shir (2007), I adopt the analysis that FOCUS and TOPIC are not mutually exclusive, i.e. TOPIC can be given salience/contrast.

Crucially, while equally marked by ko (due to its shared [NEW] property), the [NEW:GAP] and [NEW:SALIENCE] elements are associated with an opposing word order in Rongga (and also in many other languages): [NEW:GAP] comes later in the clause, whereas [NEW:SALIENCE] comes sentence-initially. Rongga has rigid Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) or VOS order; hence, an item conveying [NEW:GAP], typically Object or the least Object, i.e. the second Object if there are two Objects, follows the item with old information. This accounts for the pervasive pattern that a weakened Object in Rongga is marked by ko, as seen in (1b). The proposed analysis also accounts for the marking of a subject by ko. The subject NP is in the clause-external position – a position for a salient discourse function (DF:SALIENCE), where DF can be TOPIC or FOCUS (or both, e.g. an on-going discourse TOPIC such as pake ‘frog’ in (3), which is newly re-focused/re-introduced and
therefore marked by *ko*. While puzzling at first, the information structure in Rongga turns out to be consistent with the known cross-linguistic pattern, where the pragmatically more salient item comes before the less/non-salient item in the clause. The only twist is that the newness is marked by *ko*. Rongga therefore provides good evidence that the pragmatic feature of [NEW] is a naturally broad category in information structure and that it is relevant to both ends in the grammatical prominence hierarchy of Subject>first Object>Second Object. This explains why *ko* can have both augmenting and downgrading/weakening effects.

References
Negatives between Chamic and Bahnaric

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The issue – In the Austronesian Chamic languages of (mostly) Vietnam ‘standard negation’, i.e. the negation of a verbal non-emphatic declarative main clause (Miestamo 2005), is interesting. First, in most Chamic languages standard negation uses a bipartite construction, with a preverbal and a postverbal marker. This issue was discussed by Lee (1996), but since we have significantly increased our understanding of bipartite negation (e.g. van der Auwera 2009), the time is ripe for a ‘revisit’. Second, in the areally close but genetically different Bahnaric languages (Mon-Khmer) standard negation is also often double. That there has been contact influence is very probable: Chamic and Bahnaric languages have been in close contact for 2 millennia, but negation has not been adequately studied from an areal perspective (Lee 1996, Thurgood 1997, Grant 2005, Sidwell 2007).

The data – Our data document 9 Chamic and 13 Bahnaric ones, against the background of 420 Austronesian and 37 Mon-Khmer languages.

MAT and PAT sharing – Negation in Chamic and Bahnaric languages evidences both MAT and PAT sharing, i.e. the sharing of matter or markers and of patterns (Matras & Sakel 1997). Thus the negative markers *ʔbuh and *ʔoh occur in both families, viz. in most of the Chamic languages and in at least 5 of the 13 Bahnaric languages. No obvious cognates are found in the Mon-Khmer or Austronesian languages of the wider area. Contact influence is obvious, though the direction is not clear, not least because markers could be originally Mon-Khmer, borrowed into Chamic and then reborrowed into Mon-Khmer (Sidwell 2007, 2008). Pattern sharing is strong too. The bipartite pattern occurs in 6 Chamic and 6 Bahnaric languages. Again, this pattern is not found in the Mon-Khmer or Austronesian families of the immediately surrounding area (though for Austronesian it is frequent much further afield, viz. in the wider New Guinea and Vanuatu areas, and for Mon-Khmer one should mention Cambodian).

Bipartite negation – World-wide most often bipartite negation embraces the verb (‘V’) and it arises through a ‘Jespersen Cycle’ (Dahl 1979), in which the bipartite pattern is typically a stage between a preverbal single negation and a postverbal single negation, and in which the old preverbal negation is first optionally accompanied by a second marker, which could be a copy of the first one, and the new postverbal negation first still supports the old preverbal negation and then forbids it. Schematically:

\[ \text{NEG1 V} \rightarrow \text{NEG1 V (NEG2)} \rightarrow \text{NEG1 V NEG2} \rightarrow (\text{NEG1}) V \text{NEG2} \rightarrow V \text{NEG2} \]

We will show that the stages of the cycle are reasonably well reflected in the synchronic variation of the Chamic languages but only in a fragmented way in that of the Bahnaric ones, suggesting that at least Chamic negation went through the cycle and allowing the assumption that the Bahnaric fragments resulted from contact. Of particular interest is also that Chamic is generally more influenced by North and Central Bahnaric and that the isomorphism with respect to negation also most strongly involves North and Central Bahnaric.
Examples

(1) Roglai (Chamic, Lee 1996: 294) [postverbal oh in Chamic]

\[\text{buh amā nāo paq apu oh}\]

\text{NEG1 father go to rice field NEG2}

‘Father didn’t go to the rice field.’

(2) Central Mnong (Bahnaric, Phillips, 1973: 130) [postverbal ôh in Bahnaric]

\[\text{gâp mãu hăn ôh}\]

\text{I NEG1 go NEG2}

‘I’m not going.’

(3) Haroi (Chamic, Lee 1996: 309) [stage I in a Jespersen Cycle]

\[\text{kau soh nāu pə Sen-Hòa}\]

\text{I NEG1 go to Sen-Hoa}

‘I did not go to Sen-Hoa.’

(4) Roglai (Lee 1996: 294) [stage II in a Jespersen Cycle]

\[\text{buh amā nāo paq apu oh}\]

\text{NEG1 father go to rice field NEG2}

‘Father didn’t go to the rice field.’

References


The role of social media in Keo attitudes towards their language
Louise Baird
The University of Canberra

In this paper I explore the emerging use of Keo in the social media forum of Facebook. I will look at how the use of Keo on Facebook has changed over recent years, and is emerging as a positive marker of identity. In this paper I will explore how Keo is flaunted through the use of code-switching in personal feeds, and how non-Keo speakers are sometimes deliberately excluded from particular discussions.

Keo is a highly isolating Austronesian language spoken on the central south coast of the island of Flores in Indonesia (Baird 2002). The area is traditionally a rural one, with difficult-to-traverse, mountainous terrain. There is a correlation between ease of access to the modern material world and the decline in use of the language. At the turn of the century speaker attitudes towards this oral language were generally negative, resulting in many parents consciously choosing to speak only Indonesian to their children (Baird 2002:9). There is a substantial ethnic Keo diaspora scattered throughout Indonesia, such as in towns on Flores, in the provincial capital Kupang on the nearby island of Timor, as well as further afield, such as on the islands of Bali and Java. The main motivation for Keo speakers to move away from their traditional villages is to pursue education and employment opportunities. Once Keo speakers are outside of the traditional Keo-speaking area on Flores they use Indonesian, the national language, for most interactions (Baird 2002:17). A noticeable exception to this pattern of usage has been emerging in recent years. This is the use of Keo in social media, especially Facebook.

The figures vary, but all sources for several years now have agreed that Indonesians are amongst the world’s largest users of social network sites, including Facebook. Indonesia Investments (2014) estimates there are currently 70 million Indonesians that use Facebook regularly. It is therefore unsurprising that Indonesians, aside from using the national language, are also using local vernaculars, such as Manado Malay (Jukes 2013) and Taba (Bowden p.c.). I have been a user of Facebook since 2008, and have had Keo speakers as Facebook friends from that time. Over the years the number of Keo speakers using Facebook has steadily risen, and where once their Facebook interactions were almost exclusively in Indonesian, these days there is a noticeable increase in the use of Keo. The Keo language has become a source of cultural pride in the new Facebook genre amongst the Keo speaking diaspora that have typically turned their backs on their language.

References
Spatial references in Dayak Ngaju language
Renate Siwuh Binti
Artha Wacana Christian University

This paper discusses about spatial references in Dayak Ngaju language. This language is spoken by 890,000 speakers (ISO 639-3 nij) along the Kapuas, Kahayan, Katingan, and Mentaya Rivers in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia (Ethnologue 2003). For the Dayaks, a well-defined reference frame to show directions is the river. There are 11 rivers flowing across Central Kalimantan. The Dayaks also use the other references such as; sun, house (stairs), and geographical area as their points of references in showing directions. Instead of saying; ‘walk to the direction where the sun rises’ they would say mananjung akan hila pambelum ‘walk to the direction of life’ and as the opposite, they would say mananjung akan hila pambelep ‘walk to the direction of death’. Some examples can be seen as follows;

1. Arah itah ngaliling bukit tuh iete bara hila pambelep ka hila pambelum.
   ‘Our direction to go round the hill is from the death to life.’

2. Tanjung even te bara tana akan hila n matanandau.
   ‘Their walk is from the field to the direction of the sun.’

Since rivers play a very important role for the Dayaks, they commonly use them as the points of references wherever they go. They would use the term murik ‘go upwards the river’ and masuh ‘go downwards’ as the opposite direction’.

3. Ewen nah handak murik andau jewu.
   ‘They would go upwards tomorrow.’

4. Pea ketun masuh akan Kapuas?
   ‘When do you go downwards to Kapuas?’

Geographically, they would say ka ngawa ‘go downstream’ if it is or not in an area, and ka ngaju is the opposite side.

   ‘Fishing upstream is sometimes different from fishing downstream.’

This paper is very rich with information related to directional and spatial reference in which it comprises static and dynamic concepts of primary and secondary reference frames (Li, 2005).

References
A new look at Bashiic

Roger Blench
University of Cambridge

The Bashiic [=Batanic] group of languages includes Tao [=Yami], Itbayat and the dialects of Ivatan, and is spoken on islands in the strait between Southern Taiwan and the Philippines (Ross 2005). Bashiic is something of a mystery, since in general its members are very close to one another, and yet it is apparently a primary branch of Western Malayopolynesian. Ross (2005) suggests that for some reason the nuclear language was isolated from developments in the remainder of the Philippines. Bashiic presents a paradox; although the languages are very close together, the evidence is the islands in this region have been settled for some 4000 years, i.e. at the point where the speakers of PMP left Taiwan (see Tsang 2005 for Lanyu, Mijares et al. 2003 for Itbayat, Bellwood & Dixon (2014) for the Batanes.

Data is now quite abundant for all Bashiic languages. Tsuchida et al. (1987) typed up a comparative Bashiic wordlist which provides a list of basic and cultural vocabulary. Yamada & Zayas (1997) is a useful bibliography of the literature on the Bashiic languages to the date of publication and Yang (2002) is a preliminary approach to historical reconstruction of the ‘Batanic’ (i.e. Bashiic) languages. Since the work of Ross, substantial new data has become available for Bashiic. Tao has been the subject of a grammar and dictionary (Rau 2006; Rau et al. 2012). Itbayat has been studied by Yamada (2002) and Ivatan has both two grammars and several dictionaries (Reid 1966; Hidalgo 1998; Maree 2007; Maree & Tomas 2012). Fieldwork on Pongsono Tao [Lanyu] was carried out in September 2014.

A study of the Bashiic lexicon reveals a problem. The Tao language shares too much with Ivatan to question the existence of a Bashiic group and is also clearly PMP. Yet much cultural and economic vocabulary is both exotic, different from Ivatan and not obviously Austronesian. Table 1 shows some of the unique terms in Tao which do not seem to be related either to other Bashiic or other Austronesian languages.

Table 1. Exotic economic vocabulary in Yami compared with other Bashiic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tao</th>
<th>Itbayat</th>
<th>Ivatan</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>ino</td>
<td>tito</td>
<td>cito</td>
<td>The other Bashiic languages can be related to common Philippines forms with initial glottal stop, but the origin of the Tao word is a mystery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>kois</td>
<td>kois</td>
<td>bago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male pig</td>
<td>miwɔnɔ</td>
<td>maroko</td>
<td>loko, bola</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>millet</td>
<td>kaday</td>
<td>raot</td>
<td>raot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calabash</td>
<td>pinyaw</td>
<td>tabayay</td>
<td>tabayay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cucumber</td>
<td>vızaoz</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>taboja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginger</td>
<td>manongit</td>
<td>anaha</td>
<td>ahnaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alocasia</td>
<td>raon</td>
<td>xaypaw</td>
<td>birabira</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>macrorrhiza</td>
<td>mabcık</td>
<td>(?)amid</td>
<td>(?)amid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lime</td>
<td>miasalap</td>
<td>ńkɔnɔnɔ</td>
<td>manomanok</td>
<td>The Tao form seems to mean ‘flying one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>zokang</td>
<td>laanyid</td>
<td>iiyu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shark</td>
<td>apyap</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>napanici</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stingray</td>
<td>amomobo</td>
<td>royɔn</td>
<td>royɔn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whale</td>
<td>tozatoza</td>
<td>palaka</td>
<td>tokak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows vocabulary shared with other Bashiic languages, but not with common Austronesian. Some terms, such as ‘sugar-cane’ are shared with other Philippines languages but are not usually reconstructed to PMP.
### Table 2. Exotic economic vocabulary in Bashiic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tao</th>
<th>Itbayat</th>
<th>Ivatan</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job’s tears</td>
<td>agegey</td>
<td>axogay</td>
<td>agagay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Solanum nigrum</em></td>
<td>?omci</td>
<td>homti</td>
<td>omci</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eggplant</td>
<td>vosa</td>
<td>vagusa?</td>
<td>vahosa?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro, dry</td>
<td>keytan</td>
<td>ketketan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banana</td>
<td>vinavəh</td>
<td>vinivex</td>
<td>atipoxo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breadfruit</td>
<td>cipoho</td>
<td>cipoho</td>
<td>cipoho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar-cane</td>
<td>onas</td>
<td>onas</td>
<td>onas</td>
<td>A regional lexeme attested in Northern Philippines languages, co-existing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with the more usual Austronesian <em>taBuS</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betel pepper</td>
<td>gaod</td>
<td>gawed</td>
<td>yoboy</td>
<td>Innovation within Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet potato</td>
<td>wakai</td>
<td>wakai</td>
<td>wakai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>baka</td>
<td>baaka</td>
<td>baaka</td>
<td>&lt; Spanish <em>vaca</em>. Also in Formosan e.g. Kavalan <em>baka</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goat</td>
<td>kagiling</td>
<td>kadin</td>
<td>kalden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sow</td>
<td>koraŋ</td>
<td>koraŋ</td>
<td>koraŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hen</td>
<td>oppa</td>
<td>opa</td>
<td>opa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>amoŋ</td>
<td>amoŋ</td>
<td>amoŋ</td>
<td>Reid (1971) transcribes with an initial (?) non-phonemic glottal stop. Unique lexeme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab</td>
<td>kalaŋ</td>
<td>kayaŋ</td>
<td>kayaŋ</td>
<td>A root unique to Bashiic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>iŋaŋ</td>
<td>iŋaŋ</td>
<td>iŋaŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pometia pinnata</em></td>
<td>cai</td>
<td>cawi</td>
<td>cai</td>
<td>? cf. Kavalan taʔajoR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How can this be explained? The Batanes islands have been occupied for a long time, and it seems likely that they were first settled from Taiwan some 4000 years ago. We do not know how long Lanyu (and Green Island) have been settled, but given the crossing of the Taiwan Strait and the navigational capacities of the early speakers of PMP languages, it seems likely this would also have been Neolithic at the very least. As Lanyu oral traditions record, only one village actually acknowledges a link with the Batanes. However, this link was probably important, as settlers from the Batanes, probably Itbayat, may have crossed to Lanyu relatively recently. They seem to have established cultural dominance over the existing residents, to the extent that their language disappeared and was replaced by Tao.

### References


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1 *Solanum sisymbriifolium* in Rau et al. (2012)
An emerging plenary set of implosive stops in lowland Kenyah

Robert Blust
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The Kenyah languages of central Borneo form a distinct unit within the larger North Sarawak group of Austronesian languages. Within the Kenyah languages of at least northern Sarawak there is a well-defined contrast between what Blust (1974) called ‘Highland Kenyah’ and ‘Lowland Kenyah’ varieties. One of the key differences between these collections of closely-related languages is seen in reflexes of the Proto-North Sarawak voiced aspirates, which typically became p, t, c, k in Highland Kenyah, but a corresponding series of voiced implosive obstruents in Lowland Kenyah. In some Lowland Kenyah communities, as Long Wat, the latter may be lightly imploded, but this appears to be variable and allophonic. In other Lowland Kenyah communities, as Long San, Long Sela’an and Long Ikang, all voiced obstruents are automatically and rather strongly imploded, but the optional reduction of nasal-voiced obstruent clusters has begun to introduce a new series of plain voiced obstruents. The result is a typological rarity --- the emergence of a set of implosive stop phonemes at every possible point of articulation: labial, alveolar, palatal, and velar.

Tondano pronominal clitics: Philippine-type or Indonesian-type?

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Western Austronesian languages are commonly categorised as either Philippine-type or Indonesian-type, with each attested in different geographic areas. While distinguishing between them is not always straightforward, there are a number of structural features which have been used to categorise each type.

One broad generalisation used to differentiate these two types relates to the placement and category of bound personal pronouns. More specifically, whether pronouns are enclitics which are positioned in relation to an initial element of a clause, or whether they are proclitics and prefixes which are orientated in relation to the verb. Languages in Taiwan, the Philippines, and North Sulawesi (Philippine-type) are often thought of as having second position (2P) or Wackernagel enclitics (Billings & Kaufman 2004), while those in Central Sulawesi and further south (Indonesian-type) are more likely to have preposed, verb adjacent pronominals in the form of proclitics or prefixes (Ross 2002: 52; Zobel 2002: 421). This diagnostic offers a rough overview of the two types of pronominal placement, although it should be noted that there are exceptions.

This presentation examines the status of pronominal clitics in Tondano, a Philippine-type language of North Sulawesi. Firstly, I will provide an overview of pronouns from a number of Philippine-type and Indonesian type- languages, before comparing these to the features displayed by Tondano pronominal clitics. While it could be expected that Tondano pronouns display a 2P system, this is not the case. Instead, the Tondano personal pronouns appear to display a unique pattern of pronominal placement, especially for a Philippine-type language.

References


(In)directness, upgrading and mitigation in Indonesian complaints

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This study examines the speech act of complaint in Indonesian, based on written discourse completion task data collected in Mataram, Lombok in 1996. It explores the influence of status, social distance, and respondent gender on the choice of whether to complain or not and on the level of directness of the complaint, and looks at the interaction between level of directness and presence or absence of upgrading and mitigation. Gender of respondent did not seem to have any clear impact. Social status of the addressee was found to have a strong influence, with higher status leading to reduced likelihood of performing the complaint, and lower level of directness, but only in situations where there was an on-going relationship between the two participants. Social distance also had a significant effect; complaints to strangers, regardless of their status, were done quite directly. In fact, when compared with studies done in other cultures (House & Kasper 1981, Olshtain & Weinback 1987, Trosborg 1995, Hartley 1996, 1998, Farnia et al 2010, Ho et al 2012 it appears that Indonesians (at least those living in Mataram), are unusually direct in their complaints, both to strangers and to familiars. It appears that, whereas in many societies, speakers chose to complain rather indirectly, Indonesians either do not complain at all, or do so fairly directly. The use of upgrading and mitigation was in line with this finding; in the more direct complaints upgrading was more common than mitigation.

References
Prosodic structure in child spoken Jakarta Indonesian

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The prosodic structure of Spoken Jakartan Indonesian (SJI) has been claimed to lack any metrical prominence. For instance, previous studies have found that the only phonetic difference between syllables is that a stressed penult is slightly higher in pitch (Laksman 1994), that the cues for stress are weak and largely irrelevant for auditory processing (van Zanten & van Heuven 1998), and that stress is perceptually “free” to occur on either of the final two syllables in a word (van Zanten et al. 2003). The resulting picture is of a language lacking word-level prosody. This study aims to determine how children acquiring SJI cope with such a lack of word prosody in the input. The method employed for this study included observing data sampled from the Child Jakartan Indonesian data (Gil & Tadmor 2007) from the CHILDES database (MacWhinney 2000). Data were selected from files of 2 children (at ages 3;10 and 6;1, respectively) who were from SJI-speaking households where no other local languages were spoken. Files were sampled after 10 minutes, and over 2 minutes of recording were taken at each sample and annotated. Duration, mean f0, and peak f0 were measured for each vowel. Comparisons of penult and final syllables for both children with respect to mean f0 and peak f0 were not significant. Comparisons with respect to duration indicated final syllables are significantly (p > .05) longer than penultimate. When phrase-final measures were removed, comparisons of duration remained significant for the younger child, but were no longer significant for the older child. The implication of this is that, consistent with the claims above, there is no identifiable word stress in SJI. This raises the question of whether children exploit any prosodic cues. The results indicate that final lengthening is the only strategy that may aid in phrase boundary identification.

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The historic evolvement of true triphthongs in Long Jegan Berawan
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Words ending on a combination of three vocalic components are generally rare in Austronesian languages (Blust 1984), but not uncommon in the phonologically rich North-Sarawak group, in which three members exhibit such triphthongs, which are Kiput (Blust 2002, 2003, 2009), Sa’ban (Blust 2001) and Long Jegan Berawan (LJG) (Blust 1995, Blust 2000, Burkhardt 2014). Due to their word-final occurrence, these triphthongs are phonologically ambiguous since they could be interpreted either as triphthongs or as diphthong-approximant sequences. LJG, on the other hand, is the only language among these three that does not only possess word-final (ambiguous) triphthongs, but also true (unambiguous) triphthongs (iəi and iəu) occurring in closed ultimate syllables. The paper describes how low vowel fronting led to the evolvement of triphthongs in the LJG ultimate syllable in general and in the closed ultima in particular in two stages, that is at a Pre-PBn stage (from PWMP to Proto-Berawan (PBn)) and a Post-PBn stage (from PBn to LJG).

References

Semantic and morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies in the Bunun Bible translation
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Christianity in its modern form is a relatively recent addition to the great variety of Taiwan’s religious landscape. After a long absence, Catholic missionaries only returned to the island in the mid nineteenth century, soon followed by Presbyterian ministers. Their proselytization efforts were especially successful in aboriginal areas. The Bunun were one of the tribes who, after an initial period of distrust, received the new foreign religion with open arms, and presently a majority of Bunun identify themselves as Catholics or Presbyterians.

To spread their religion, missionaries chose to use indigenous languages and this led to the translation of religious texts, in particular the Bible, into local languages. The genesis of these translations is often complex: they are collaborative enterprises in which a variety of source texts are used, certain idiosyncratic historical or theological terms might not exist in the target language, and dialectal variation within indigenous languages necessitates the selection of a target dialect or the creation of a supra-dialectal translation standard.

This talk gives an overview of how the most recent translation of the Bible in Bunun resulted in the creation of a de facto literary standard for the language. In particular, it focusses on two linguistic aspects: (a) the semantic processes that led to the introduction of various biblical terms into the Bunun language and (b) the morphological discrepancies between Biblical Bunun and the spoken language of the central Bunun dialects. The final part of this talk evaluates the implications of the creation of this standard on the development of the Bunun language, specifically on dialect diversification, and on language conservation.
Nasal substitution in Pendau: An Optimality theoretic approach

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Nasal substitution, which refers to the replacement of a root-initial voiceless obstruent by a homorganic nasal under prefixation, is a common morphophonological process in Austronesian languages (e.g. moŋ + pɔksa > mamaksə ‘to force’, Indonesian). The current paper provides a correspondence-based optimality theoretic analysis of nasal substitution as well as the phonological opacity regarding nasal substitution in Pendau, an endangered Austronesian language spoken in central Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Pater (2001) provides a treatment to nasal substitution, in which a violable constraint CRISPEDGE[PRWD] (Itô & Mester 1999), that no element belonging to a Prosodic Word be linked to a prosodic category external to that Prosodic Word, forces the coalescence of the voiceless obstruent and its preceding nasal. I show that this constraint is irrelevant to the nasal substitution in Pendau, since the very premise that allows CRISPEDGE[PRWD] to operate, that is, the alignment of a Prosodic Word and a root (Cohn & McCarthy 1994), is not supported by evidence in Pendau. My analysis with a more general constraint *CC (Archangeli, Moll & Ohno 1998), which holds that consonant clusters across a morpheme boundary are marked, successfully accounts for nasal substitution both in Pendau and in other Austronesian languages.

Pendau exhibits two instances of phonological opacity regarding nasal substitution. First, nasal substitution is not observed when the root-initial voiceless obstruent is a glottal stop (e.g. moŋ + ʔai > moŋkai). While the input /ŋk/ is outputted as [ŋ] as a result of nasal substitution, the output of the input /ŋʔ/ is [ŋk], and this gives us a synchronic chain shift ŋʔ > ŋk > ŋ. I show that this is a result of both structure preservation (Kiparsky 1985) and minimization of input-output distance. Structure preservation prevents the occurrence of a placeless nasal and forces place assimilation to be progressive (i.e. [ŋk]) instead of regressive (i.e. *Nʔ). Minimization of input-output distance, achieved by outranking *CC by a Local Constraint Conjunction (Smolensky 1993, 1995, 1997) of two faithfulness constraints which share the same domain, prevents [ŋ] to be the optimal candidate as it has multiple faithfulness violations, which [ŋk] does not have.

Here, I argue that local constraint conjunction is restrictive because only constraints of the same type and same domain can be conjoined. This input-output minimization also serves to preserve contrast across prefix-root boundaries in Pendau. One prediction following this contrast preservation is that the input onsets are highly recoverable. Kaye (1974) proposes that underlying representations could be recovered from the surface representations if the surface representations occur nowhere else. This unambiguous inversion is generally observed in Pendau, as the inputs/outputs at the prefix-root boundaries have almost one-to-one correspondence.

The second opacity issue is that, nasal substitution is not always observed when the root-initial voiceless obstruent is a fricative (e.g. moŋ + sambilə > moŋsambilə ‘butcher’, but moŋ + sole > monsole ‘fry’). I posit that there are two phonemic fricatives in Pendau (i.e. /s/ and /ʃ/) although there is only one phonetic fricative [s]. The non-occurrence of the palatal fricative in the surface is due to an undominated constraint *[CONT, PAL]. I also posit that nasal substitution is generally forbidden in nasal-fricative sequence because nasals and fricatives have different continuant features and thus they fail to coalesce (i.e. /ŋʃ/ > [ns] but *n). But in the case of the palatal fricative, nasal substitution applies so as to avoid the fatal violation of *[CONT, PAL] (i.e. /ŋʃ/ > [n] but *ŋʃ).

References
A reexamination of recent Austronesian higher-level subgroupings and the “Nominalization-into-Verb” hypothesis

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This paper examines three primary-level subgroupings of Austronesian languages built on the “Nom-into-V” hypothesis (Ross 2012; Zeitoun & Teng 2014; Aldridge 2014), and seeks to account for observations that conflict with it. It is argued that “Nom-into-V” is an innovation ancestral to at least all ergative-aligned higher-level languages, not just to those identified as ‘Nuclear Austronesian’.

The “Nom-into-V” hypothesis is supported by three features shared by higher-level AN languages: (1) “nominalizer/voice affix” homophony, (2) “ergative/possessor” Case homophony, and (3) voice marking through prefixation (*Si-/Sa-), infixation (*-in-), and suffixation (*-en, *-an), suggesting that the voice paradigm is an amalgam of originally disparate elements (SPR 1981). Parallel phenomena to (1) and (2) are observed in Inuit and Mayan, where it has been argued that the ergative alignments are a product of “Nom-into-V” (Johns 1992; Bricker 1981). Evidence from Austroasiatic adds support to “Nom-into-V”, since possible cognates of PAn *-um-, *-in-, and *-an in Mon-Khmer languages invariably function as nominalizers (Braine 1970; Radhakrishnan 1970; Reid 1994; Blust 1996).

However, “Nom-into-V” as a PNAn innovation (Ross 2012; Aldridge 2014) deserves reconsideration. First, ergative-aligned Tsou and Puyuma exhibit “ergative/possessor” Case homophony (cf. Teng 2009; Zeitoun 2009), a significant feature of “Nom-into-V” shared by Inuit, Mayan and NAn languages. The de transitivization of irrealis v that Aldridge (2014) proposes as the source of ergativity in Tsou and Puyuma provides little accountability for the ergative/possessor homophony in the same languages, and Ross’s proposal also leaves it unexplained. Second, “Nom-into-V” has subgrouping value only if it preceded the split of PNAn, but it remains unclear whether the partial realization of “Nom-into-V” in modern Saaroa and Kanakanavu (Zeitoun & Teng 2014) derives from PNAn, or is a product of convergence, and if this process is still ongoing it cannot be treated as a shared innovation that defines NAn. If the partial reanalysis preceded the split of PNAn, the binary voice system of Kanakanavu must be a product of loss, with only reflexes of *-in- (PRV) and *-en (UVP) left in the system. Given this inference it is unclear whether Kanakanavu was once a typical NAn language that has lost UVL and UVC markers, or is a language that never completed “Nom-into-V”. Similarly, the position of Rukai is ambiguous under the “Nom-into-V” interpretation, as there is no principled way to eliminate the possibility that its nominal markers were bifunctional as voice markers at an earlier time before the loss of voice distinctions. Third, there is no reflex of *-en in Ross’s non-NAn languages, either as verbal or nominal; reflexes of *Si-/Sa- are found in Puyuma, but do not form instrumental nouns; Tsou presents no reflexes of the four affixes. Rukai appears to be the only primary-level language that offers sound evidence for “Nom-into-V” as a PNAn innovation, while its status as a non-NAn language remains ambiguous. Each of these considerations weaken the hypothesis that “Nom-into-V” is a PNAn innovation. Fourth, the NAn hypothesis is incompatibile with a Tsouic subgroup, which is supported by phonological, lexical and sociocultural evidence (Tsuchida 1976; Ferrell 1969; Li 2001). Fifth, the “southern highland” homeland implied by the NAn hypothesis is in fundamental conflict with archeological evidence (Lepofsky 1988; Tsang 2005; Rolett et al. 2011; Kuo 2014). Finally, the lack of phonological innovations defining NAn remains a puzzle for the NAn hypothesis.

The present proposal resembles the original SPR hypothesis, and accounts for five empirical observations that are problems for the NAn hypothesis: 1) the ergative/possessor homophony in Tsou and Puyuma, 2) the absence of phonological evidence for NAn, 3) the integrity of the Tsouic subgroup, defined both by linguistic evidence and by cultural traditions linking the Tsou, Saaroa, and Kanakanavu (Ferrell 1969), 4) the partial realization of “Nom-into-V” in the latter two Tsouic...
languages, 5) the absence of *-en and instrumental *Si-/Sa- in Puyuma and Tsou on the one hand, and the full productivity of *-in- and *-an in both Rukai and Puyuma on the other. A unitary account for these phenomena is offered here through a hypothesis of loss. The verb paradigms of Tsou and Puyuma are clearly more reduced or “primitive” than those of other Formosan languages. Ross (2012) and Aldridge (2014) take the “primitive” condition to be original, while the present analysis argues that it is a product of pattern reduction. This interpretation is supported by the peculiar morphosyntactic system of Tsou, which has no reflexes of *-in-, *-en, *-an, or *Si-/Sa-. The absence of *-en and the functional shift of *Si-/Sa- in Puyuma also favor the “loss” hypothesis, and the partial realization of “Nom-into-V” in the two Tsouic languages is assumed to be due to an ongoing loss of voice distinctions and previously existing patterns. On the other hand, the “primitive” solution faces specific challenges in determining the positions of Tsou and Rukai. From the old “Nom-into-V” point of view (Ross 2009, 2012), Tsou is tentatively the very first offshoot of PAn, due to its lack of reflex of *-in-, *-en, *-an, and *Si-/Sa. From an alignment point of view (Aldridge 2014), however, Rukai is clearly the most primitive. The question of ‘Rukai first or Tsou first’ remains dubious under the “primitive” solution.

“Nom-into-V” has been established as a source of ergativity in both typological (Comrie 1978) and syntactic (e.g. Bittner & Hale 1996; Alexiadou 2001) theories, since nominal constructions and ergative alignment share an intransitive property (Alexiadou 2001). By contrast, although transitivity is weaker in irrealis than realis mood (Hopper & Thompson 1980), “detransitivization of irrealis v” (Aldridge 2014) has not been identified as a common source of ergativity, and has no connection to ergative/possessor case homophony that coexists with ergativity in Tsou and Puyuma.

The present proposal argues that “Nom-into-V” is the unitary source of Austronesian ergativity, an innovation ancestral to at least all ergative-aligned higher-level languages. The implausible “southern highland” homeland implied by the NAn hypothesis can thus be eliminated. In addition, the claim that “Nom-into-V” is the sole source of AN ergativity offers rich implications for the synchronic voice systems of Formosan languages. In particular, it provides a solid account for the absolutive-only constraint, and the inherent nature of ergative case. Given the intransitive nature of nominals (Alexiadou 2001), after the transmission of “Nom-into-V” the object under the defective v0 is expected to receive structural case from T0. T0 thus functions as the unitary Case-licenser of both transitive O (UVP) and intransitive S (AV), triggering an “ABS=NOM”-type ergative system (Legate 2008, 2012). In brief, this paper argues that “Nom-into-V” is a tenable proposal in the history of Austronesian languages, but that its chronology under Ross (2012) and Aldridge (2014) can be revised. The tried and tested method of subgrouping by phonological evidence provides a more reliable means of classification than other alternatives, as shown both by its internal consistency, and by its agreement with inferences based on data from academic disciplines other than linguistics.

Selected References
Epistemic distance: Mayrinax linking constructions in cognitive-typological perspective

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Mayrinax Atayal is a Formosan language well known for its rich inventory of linkers in various types of constructions (Wu 2012). This study aims to investigate from a cognitive-typological perspective two such linkers, ga and na, which introduce full complement clauses for sentence-initial modal predicates. In particular, it is demonstrated that the distribution of the two linkers correlates with the degree of epistemic distance, or the unlikelihood for an event to occur in reality (Dancygier and Sweetser 2002), expressed by the speaker. It is further shown that the (non-)occurrence of, and alternation between, ga and na in these modal predicates interestingly mirrors the crosslinguistic distribution of the subjunctive mood as discussed in Givón (1994).

As can be seen in (1), sentence-initial modal predicates that occur in the main clause display different degrees of compatibility with the two linkers ga and na depending on the degree of epistemic distance in the propositional modality encasing the following complement clause. The semantic contexts in which ga and na occur form a continuum, with low epistemic distance (high likelihood that the event expressed in complement clause would occur) occupying one end, and high epistemic distance (unlikelihood that the event in complement clause would occur) occupying the other, as illustrated in figure 1.

(1) a. in-lung-an=mu/tal-an=mu ga/*na sawa’-an=nia’ ’i’ Limuy.
   PFV-heart-LV=1SG.GEN/see-LV=1SG.GEN LNK desire-LV=3SG.GEN NOM PN
   ‘I think he is in love with Limuy.’ (high epist. certainty/low epist. distance)

   b. asi ga/na sawa’-an=nia’ ’i’ Limuy.
      seem LNK desire-LV=3SG.GEN NOM PN
      ‘It seems that he is in love with Limuy.’ (low epist. certainty/mid epist. distance)

   c. muwa’ *ga/na ma-glu’=ta’ maniq kahavaw
      wish LNK AV-gather=1PL.INCL AV.eat all
      ‘If only we could eat together.’ (epist. anxiety/high epist. distance)

   d. atu’ *ga/na ma-glu’=ta’ ’i’ maniq kahavaw
      should.really LNK AV-gather=1PL.INCL LNK AV.eat all
      ‘We should really eat together.’ (preference/high epist. distance)

Figure 1. Modal predicates and epistemic distance in Mayrinax Atayal

Distribution of the linker na also correlates with the degree of epistemic distance expressed in conditional constructions. As can be observed in (2), a na-linked modal predicate may optionally precede the protasis (if-clause) to indicate a certain degree of hypotheticality, and is obligatory to occur when a counterfactual scenario is expressed. As shown in figure 2, the (non-)occurrence of na also reflects a continuum of epistemic distance.

(2) a. inlungan=mu ga/*na ‘I think’ asi ga/na ‘seem’
   muwa’*ga/na ‘if only’
   b. talan=mu ga/*na ‘I think’
      atu’*ga/na ‘should really’

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(2) a. maniq 'i' Payan ga, pa-qavaq 'i' matawwaw la
   AV.eat LNK PN TOP AV.FUT-know LNK AV.work PART
   ‘If Payan eats, he will be able to work.’ (non-hypothetical/low epist. distance)

b. muwa'/atu' na maniq 'i' Payan ga, pa-qavaq 'i' matawwaw la
   wish/should.really LNK AV.eat LNK PN TOP AV.FUT-know LNK AV.work PART
   ‘If Payan ate, he would be able to work.’ (weak hypothetical/mid epist. distance)

c. *(atu'/muwa' na) m<in>aniq 'i' Payan ga, naki vaq 'i'
   should.really/wish LNK <PFV>AV.eat LNK PN TOP was.going.to AV.know LNK
   matawwaw la
   AV.work PART
   ‘If Payan had eaten, he would be able to work.’ (strong hypothetical/high epist dist.)

Figure 2. Marking on the protasis and epistemic distance in Mayrinax Atayal

unmarked optional atu'/muwa'na obligatory atu'/muwa'na

Epistemic Distance

Ex offenders have contributed to understanding the semantics of clause-level linkers in Mayrinax Atayal, which have mainly attracted formalist attentions in the past. In addition, the continua of epistemic distance proposed here are reminiscent of semantic contexts crosslinguistically found to be encoded by the subjunctive mood (Givón 1994). The Mayrinax data may therefore have implications for typological comparisons among languages where decadence of mood distinction in encoding modality is gradually replaced by other emerging systems (Palmer 2001).

Selected References
A number of ones: On the origin of Polynesian *te

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A conspicuous feature distinguishing Polynesian from other Oceanic languages is the definite (or specific) article, PPN *te, etymologically unrelated to the functionally analogous article, POC *(n)a, elsewhere in Oceanic. Comparison with other Eastern Oceanic languages (particularly in Micronesia and North-Central Vanuatu) points to an origin in the reconstructed numeral *te(w)a ‘one’. This numeral has repeatedly followed the familiar grammaticalization path leading to an indefinite article.

Perhaps unusually, in Polynesian, *te has generalized to include definiteness, contrasting with PPN *sa ‘non-specific’, itself an earlier grammaticalization from POC *esa ‘one’.
Indonesian has been described as having a 6 vowel system, including the five vowels [i, u, e, a, o] and schwa (Lapoliwa 1981). Yet there is reason to believe that the status of schwa is not the same as that of the other five vowels in terms of stress and phonotactic distribution (e.g. Cohn and McCarthy 1998). Most prior work on the question has focused on Standard Indonesian; however as a formal standard variety of the language, there are many normative aspects of pronunciation that might affect observed patterns. In order to understand the actual patterns of usage, it is the colloquial language that needs to be investigated. In this study we investigate the status and distribution of schwa in Jakarta Indonesian (JI), a variety of Indonesian spoken in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, using both corpus and experimental phonetic evidence. Corpus evidence allows us to look at actual realizations in naturalistic speech; while acoustic analysis allows us to investigate finer details of duration and vowel quality in the realization of schwa.

Schwa occurs in prefixes, e.g. ng- [ŋə] ‘active’ and ke- [ka] ‘static’, native roots, e.g. perempuan [prəmpwən] ‘woman’ and kelapa [kəlapə] ‘coconut’ and borrowings, e.g. peraktek [prəaktek] ‘practice’ and kelas [kalas] ‘class’. Syllables in Standard Indonesian are described to be CVC, with the only clusters being heterosyllabic, e.g. bantu [ban.tu] ‘help’. However, tautosyllabic clusters are observed in the spoken language, e.g. kelapa [kalapə] ~ [kəlapə] ‘coconut’. Ikranagara (1980) and Lapoliwa (1981) report at least 27 consonant clusters that may optionally occur in word initial or prefix-root CCV forms. Ikranagara (1980), describing Betawi Malay, a Jakarta variety of Malay, classifies three phonological environment where cluster may optionally occur: i. between an initial stop and following liquid, e.g. perempuan [prəmpwən] ~ [prəmplən] ‘woman’, kelapa [kəlapə] ~ [kəlapə] ‘coconut’, ii. between an initial /s/ and following consonant such as in seriep [sparṭi] or [sparṭi] ‘similar’, selalu [sələlu] ~ [sələlu] ‘always’, and iii. between prefixes that combine with root-initial liquid such as kelihatan kə=liatan [kəliatən] ~ [kəliatən] ‘visible’ and ngeliat nə-liat [nəliat] ~ [nəliat] ‘see’. Notably the observed tautosyllabic clusters follow the sonority sequencing principle of an obstruent followed by a liquid or involve an /s/ followed by a C. This raises the question whether schwa is underlyingly present and deleted in some cases, as usually assumed and suggested by the orthography, or whether it is inserted in some cases. Additionally it is not clear if the status of schwa is the uniform in all cases, in the native vocabulary vs. borrowings.

First we look at the realization of schwa in a naturalistic spoken corpus (Gil and Tadmor 2014) of JI to see what the actual realization is and how this relates to word structure and other factors including word frequency and grammatical structure. We predict clusters to be more likely in high frequency words, especially very common grammatical words. In a preliminary analysis we looked closely at the distribution of four words in JI that have the highest token frequency in the corpus. They are sekarang [səkarəŋ] ~ [səkarəŋ] ‘now’, terus [tərus] ~ [tərus] ‘continue’, berapa [bərapə] ~ [bərapə] ‘how much’, belom [bələm] ~ [bələm] ‘not yet’. Based on preliminary analysis of these forms as produced by two speakers in the corpus, we find that these words are always produced with an initial cluster and no evidence of even a brief schwa. This part of the analysis is being extended to additional speakers and other obstruent-(schwa)-liquid sequences.

We are also interested to understand whether schwa in prefixes is potentially variably in its realization. This is of particular interest, as schwa is the only vowel occurring in prefixes (with the exception of the prefix di-). We are comparing the acoustic realization of schwa in prefixes based on relevant forms in the corpus. We are also investigating the realization of schwa in prefixes based on a production study, comparing forms such as ngebali [nə=bali] ‘buy, active’ and ngebati [nəbat] ‘desperate’, ngerusak [nə=rəsək] ‘destroy, active’ and ngeri [nəri] ‘afraid’, and ngadeng [nə=dəŋ] ‘listen, active’ and ngeden [nədən] ‘push hard, active’. Preliminary results for one speaker are
shown in Figure 1. The first striking result is that with the exception of [ŋəl-] sequences, where no schwa was observed and [ŋəl-] sequences where the vocal element was very short (less than 10 ms), there was a vocal element of at least 30 ms. present in all cases. This suggests that sonority indeed plays a role with shortening or deletion in cases with rising sonority. However it is also interesting to note that the schwas in monomorphemic forms were on the average longer than those in prefix-root forms. We are currently extending this study to more speakers and more forms.

Both the corpus and experimental phonetic results allow us to look in a more detailed and careful way at the actual realization of schwa in spoken Indonesian, using JI, a rapidly growing variety, as a case study. Our results suggest that a number of factors come into play in determining the realization of schwa in Indonesian including phonological factors such as sonority, grammatical factors, such as morphological structure as well as usage factors such as token frequency.

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Pronouns and other people referring expressions: Shifting reference in Indonesian
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Like a number of other languages of Indonesia and Southeast Asia (Flannery 2010, Wallace 1983), and in counter distinction to many other language families in the world, Indonesian has what has been analyzed as an open class of pronouns where a number of other lexical items beyond more traditional proforms have a similar function and distribution as pronouns. These include, but are not limited to, kinship terms, proper names, titles, personal pronouns from languages other than Indonesian, demonstratives, deictics, and some uses of null anaphora. Further, there are multiple lexemes that encode the same person, number, and gender distinctions, but that differ along some other dimension such as politeness or honorificity. As such, these are instantiations of ‘pronoun avoidance… a strategy (as opposed to a categorical feature) of pronoun use’ which incorporate various social distinctions indexed by various pronoun substitutes (Helmbrecht 2013).

Recent work in this area has aimed to explain the use of one form over the other, and has relied on notions such as stance taking, self-categorization, formality, and positioning. These studies have all looked at some relatively narrow subset of the various members: Kartomihardjo (1981), Errington (1998), Djenar (2007), and Englebretson (2007) model the Indonesian first person choice in terms of Brown and Gilman (1960) t/v distinction (extending their model of second person pronouns); Sneddon (1996) describes the distinction in first person pronouns in terms of formal vs. informal; Djenar (2007) explains the use of various first and second person pronouns as ‘strategic acts of self-categorization’, rejecting the formal/informal/intimate labels too simplistic. More recently, Manns (2012) has analyzed variation in first person pronouns as instantiations of different ‘stances.’

McGinn (1991) actually goes furthest in accounting for the range of elements that can function pronominally in Indonesian, extending his politeness analysis to proper names and kin terms.

The present paper aims to build on this body of work, and create a taxonomy of semantic types that function as the class of pronouns in colloquial Indonesian. First, I discuss the parameters that are used to define pronominal function. I then demonstrate that the set of categories of words which function as pronouns in Indonesian is fixed, though the items within those sets are not. Finally, I show that when denotational value and referential value of arguments are mismatched in terms of person and number (for Indonesian), there is no fixed mapping between types. That is, it is not the case, as seen in more traditional t/v systems where plural denotation simply maps to singular reference in politeness constructions; in Indonesia there is no fixed mapping and, within a single discourse even, mapping (especially of person) can shift.

References
Flannery, Greg. 2010. Open and Closed Systems of Self-References and Addressee-Reference in Indonesian


Current recognition and validation of colloquial varieties of Javanese through language documentation

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Javanese has benefited from a long history of linguistic study. To focus on grammars, Javanese boasts grammars in French by Favre (1866); in Dutch by Kiliaan (1919), Prijohoeftomo (1937), Arps et al. (2000); in Indonesian by Suhrarno (1982), Sudaryanto (1991), Wedhawati et al. (2006); in English by Horne (1961), Keeler (1984), Robson (2014); among others. Although Javanese already has a stable scholarly tradition, the focus has been almost exclusively on the Standard variety, spoken in the principalities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta/Solo, constituting a small sliver of the attested language. However, given its vast dialectal variation, there is still a significant need for linguistic research on Javanese.

Javanese varieties vary in phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, and even in whole grammatical and pragma-linguistic systems. Consider a simple comparison of (a subset of) the personal pronominal system across several different varieties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Javanese variety</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banten</td>
<td>kula/kite</td>
<td>sire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banyumas</td>
<td>(i)nyong</td>
<td>sira/rika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osing</td>
<td>isun</td>
<td>(h)iro/siro/riko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surakarta</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>kowé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surabaya</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>koen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengger</td>
<td>éyang (m)/ isun (f)</td>
<td>sira/rika</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These differences are not simply lexical. Varieties differ also in the distribution of personal pronouns, particularly in object-fronting constructions. For example, in Surakarta Javanese, *aku* cannot serve to mark the agent in an object fronting construction; instead, the lexicalized clitic *tak-* serves this function. However, in Banten, both *kula* and *kite* can appear in this construction.

With the advent of establishing language documentation as a branch of linguistics (Himmelmann 1998) as well as specific funding such as through the Pusat Perkembangan dan Pembangunan Bahasa (PPPB), some progress has been made in the documentation and description of colloquial varieties: for example, Suwadji (1981) on Javanese varieties on the north coast of Central Java; Nothofer (1982) on the western Central Javanese varieties; Ewing (1999) on Cirebon Javanese; Conners (2008) on Tengger Javanese; Hoogervorst (2010) on Surabayan Javanese; Vander Klok (2012) on Paciran Javanese. These works represent a shift towards the recognition and validation of non-standard varieties of Javanese, which were relatively unnoticed in the past.

We advocate for the continuation of this trend. In particular, we present our work on the documentation of two colloquial varieties of Javanese, Malang Javanese and Semarang Javanese. As the goal of the project is to produce a non-prescriptive grammar of colloquial Javanese, the data take the form of recordings of spontaneous naturalistic speech augmented with elicitation to confirm and elaborate on grammatical systems.

We also highlight the importance of such documentation, especially of non-standard varieties, for language maintenance: even large languages are susceptible to language endangerment, and Javanese is no exception (e.g. Kurniasih 2006; Cohn et al. 2013). Smith-Hefner (2009: 57) notes that ‘recent changes in possibilities for social and status mobility linked to language use have challenged traditional language ideologies and have led Javanese men and women to develop different language strategies and patterns of interaction.’ A shift to the national
language has been traced in a number of recent studies, but less noted is a shift to regional varieties of the national language, such as the specific East Javanese variety of Indonesian which, in turn, puts negative pressure speakers of Javanesse in Malang and Surabaya. We explore the role of these regional Indonesian varieties here, with respect to Semarang and Malang.

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Big Austronesian data: It takes a warehouse

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As is often said of military preparations, the database designs of historical and comparative linguists have tended to focus on winning the battles fought in previous wars. Developers design to suit the software, rather than the data — applications are limited to those supported by “standard model” relational databases and search engines. It is hardly surprising that linguistic databases are rarely more functional than on-line spreadsheets.

A new initiative focused on the vast quantities of published and unpublished legacy data available for this region – the Asia-Pacific Linguistic Data Warehouse – is proceeding on a rather different footing. Data warehouses break down the distinction between data archives and databases; they are built for information management and data analysis, rather than simple store-and-retrieve database transactions. They help us set aside retrograde concerns of database design and efficiency, and instead attend to the deeper issues of data acquisition, discovery, and accessibility, and on designing and implementing analytical tools that actually prepare and use content.

One consequence is that finding and managing data in print form – a task usually seen as an unavoidable preliminary secretarial chore — acquires central importance. From our point of view, books and other print resources may be imagined as trapping datasets behind bad Internet connections; slow in regard to retrieval, perhaps, but they should not be second-class citizens when it comes to discovery and access. A data audit helps identify and document this logical (and currently inaccessible) content, and may ultimately let us discover and aggregate large-scale, undocumented, independently collected, linguistic data supersets that span the region.

A second consequence is that metadata is defined in far broader terms than usual. Rather than simply being data about data — that is, collection information, publication notes, and so on — metadata becomes co-equal to primary lexical data: it is data about the data our data is about. This may include demographic, geographic, typological, phylogenetic, and similar information or analyses that bear on the language and its speakers, and which are useful both in choosing the content of just-in-time databases, and in extending the data frame of values returned with matched items. For example, subgrouping information is not part of any lexical dataset; rather, we may choose between alternative world-views (such as Ethnologue, Glottolog, or specialized branch analyses), then use this information to limit a search to a language and its phylogenetic sisters, or to label the items returned by a search.

Perhaps most significantly, we limit the type but not the scale of data content. Although we restrict the project to the sort of lexical and phonological data collected for comparative and survey purposes, we expect coverage to be as fine-grained as possible — the very fact that Austronesian languages are so deeply rooted and widely distributed makes it all the more essential to prepare data for contact languages and phyla as well. Our goal is to acquire materials sufficient for comparative and phonological analysis of the region’s roughly 3,000 languages. We have begun working on the two thousand-odd languages of just five families – AA, AN, HM, KD, and ST – ideally seeking sources with about 2,500 items per language, but accepting fewer if necessary, and including dialect surveys when available.

In sum, although we are mainly interested in comparative lexical and phonological content, a large amount of effort goes into creating the superstructure of texts, metadata, and tools needed to let data be data: to help make sense of it, and to gain insight from it. We will discuss our Austronesian-language sources, invite participation in the project, and describe data, metadata, and function in the Asia-Pacific Linguistic Data Warehouse.
Collaborating with speech communities in language documentation
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Ryn Jean Fe Villacorta Gonzales  
SIL-Philippines

As the theory and practice of language documentation has matured, the focus of linguistic research has shifted from the production of grammars and dictionaries derived from primary data, to the collection of primary data itself, to the roles, needs and rights of the speech community in the documentary project. Himmelmann (2006:15) quoted in Austin and Grenoble (2007) states that “language documentation requires active and collaborative work with community members both as producers of language materials and as co-researchers.

This paper presents three language documentation projects in the Philippines from 2011-2014: Giangan [bgi], Isinai [inn], and Guininang [knb], focusing on how the language documentation team and the speech communities worked together and the immediate outcomes of the language documentation projects vis a vis language development. We found out that different factors affect a community’s participation in a language documentation project, such as (1) level of interest of the speakers; (2) structure of the community; and (3) language vitality.. A crucial factor that motivates communities to collaborate is their concern for the transmission and continuity of their language and cultural practices not only as expressions but more importantly an affirmation of their ethnolinguistic identity. This paper will also discuss what worked well in organizing and carrying out a language documentation project. Starting with the framework that the communities themselves should decide what they want to do with their language and therefore, should be the ones deciding what to document, is not only ethical but also a way to open up access to rich linguistic and cultural content.
A video elicits a thousand words: Documenting cultural events and eliciting oral discussion
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Translators Association of the Philippines

There is agreement among linguists that the wider goals of language documentation include the presentation and preservation of the cultural heritage of the speech community (Franchetto, 2006). While this has traditionally come in the form of monologue texts explaining cultural practices, the advent of low-cost digital technology has made it possible to capture naturally occurring cultural events in audio-visual format. However, many cultural activities of special interest to the speech community and anthropologists fall under what Hymes (1972) categorizes as ‘speech situations’. These situations are rarely recorded by linguists because speech does not define the whole event or has a minor role, subordinate to other codes or forms of interaction.

This paper argues that such cultural activities are important to make video recording of during a documentation project, even if they contain little or no speech activity. In a language documentation project in Pinasil [knb] in Pasil Kalinga, Philippines, we found out that video recordings of cultural events, when used as stimuli, can elicit a good amount and variety of linguistic data. Oral comments from native speakers can be easily recorded as they excitedly discuss their own culture and identity based on these events. Videos of this kind, if properly shot and edited, have many potential uses. For the linguist, they are materials that he can ‘give back’ to the community. In the rest of this paper I will use two cultural events—the Bagungon (a funerary custom) and the Yabyab (a thanksgiving ritual) — as case studies to demonstrate the process of producing videos and eliciting oral discussion from native speakers.
The position of Nukeria in the Polynesian language family
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Nukeria (also known as Nuguria and Nukeria) is a Polynesian Outlier spoken on the Fead Islands situated in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville, Papua New Guinea. I use the term "Nukeria", since my consultants insist that it is the correct name of their language. According to them, "Nukuria" is a word from the "trade language", which is what they call a language variety that Takuu, Nukeria and Nukumanu speakers use when they gather together. Nukeria remains one of a few languages in the Polynesian family that lack documentation, with no dictionaries, grammatical descriptions and text collections published up to date. The main literature source on Nukeria is a chapter in Georg Thilenius' ethnographic description (1902); earlier literature is limited to a short wordlist published by Richard Parkinson (1897). The historical position of Nukeria is of great interest for Polynesian studies in the light of the recently-proposed hypothesis about specific relationship between East Polynesian languages and Central-Northern Outliers, i.e., Luangiua, Nukeria, Nukumanu and Takuu (Wilson 2012). Despite of the fact that at the beginning of the 20th century the number of Nukeria speakers was reduced to about 15 (Parkinson 1907), the language is very much alive and a considerable part of Nukeria oral tradition remains preserved. It should be noted that speakers of Luangiua, Takuu, Nukumanu, and Nukeria are in contact from the time immemorial and nowadays many Nukumanu and Takuu speakers marry and settle down on Nukeria and vice versa.

The most intriguing finding of the author's fieldwork concerns of consistent discrepancies between the modern Nukeria and the language of Thilenius' wordlist. My Nukeria consultants insist that s words and l words are of either Takuu or Nukumanu origin and that the 'correct' way to pronounce words is using s and r. Thilenius' wordlist contains a lot of h and l, while Parkinson's data do not show s. Some words from Thilenius' list show h and 'zero' instead of k. My consultants rejected many items of the wordlist suggesting other etymons for the corresponding meanings, e.g., 'coconut for drinking' is not niu, but motomoto, while 'coconut tree' is nuu. Thilenius' book shows the use of independent pronouns in the simple possessive structure, e.g. 'my thing' is rendered as 'te mea ana' instead of 'taku mea'. This grammatical innovation which resulted in the loss of specific possessive pronouns is also found in Luangiua and Nukumanu, but is not accepted by Fead islanders. I believe that the best way to explain the discrepancies between these two sets of linguistic data is to suggest that Thilenius worked with a Luangiua immigrant who settled down on Feads and had a good command of English.

Nukeria significantly differs from the other Northern Outliers from the both grammatical and lexical points of view. According to the basic lexicon, Nukeria shows more similarities with Takuu, but 15 positions of the 100-wordlist are occupied with different etymons: 'ashes', 'big', 'to bite', 'cloud', 'heart', 'to kill', 'to lie', 'many', 'neck', 'road', 'to say', 'seed', 'two', 'white', 'yellow'. In order to determine the historical position of Nukeria in the Polynesian language family, I suggest to consider likely shared lexical innovations in the 100-wordlist. Their number constantly grows in the following direction: Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro (3) > Nukeria, also Sikaiana and Takuu (8) > Nukumanu and Luangiua (4). Interestingly, Luangiua and Sikaiana share one important lexical innovation, perhaps indicating that innovations shared between Nukumanu and Luangiua are caused by relatively late contacts and/or a resettlement of Nukumanu from Luangiua. Irregular
developments of some 100-wordlist items (*au I' > *nau, *isu 'nose' > *ka=isu, *suki 'tail' > *
moi=suki), together with several shared contextual phonological changes (license of nt clusters, metatheses of *iu sequences, development of nasals into liquids) highly support these estimations.

In conclusion, I will reconsider the linguistic evidence for the Ellicean subgroup and discuss certain cultural traits whose distribution can be seen as supporting evidence for migration following the route "West Polynesia > Micronesian Outliers > Fead > Mortlock > Nukumanu > Ontong Java > Sikaiana".

References


genericity and impersonal uses of Indonesian orang

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This paper addresses the question of the role of interactional context in the interpretation of Indonesian term orang as an impersonal ‘pronoun’. Orang can be used to refer to people in general (generic impersonal), as in (1), or has ‘existential force’ and is roughly equivalent to ‘someone’ (Gruber 2013), as in (2).

(1) Orang sudah bosan sama korupsi.
   person PERF fed.up with corruption
   ‘People are fed up with corruption.’

(2) Orang datang malam-malam ke rumah.
   person come late.at.night to house
   ‘Someone/some people came late last night to (my) house.’

The indexical interpretation of (2) is made clear, for example, through quantification or reduplication (Gruber 2013), as in (3):

(3) Orang-orang datang malam-malam ke rumah
   person-RDPL come late.at.night to house
   ‘The people came last night to [my] house.’.

Here orang-orang refers a certain group of people who came to the house, and not people in general. However, data from conversation and fiction suggest that what appears to be generic impersonal use of orang often turns out to have existential force. In such cases, orang is used to index some referent relevant to participants in discourse. My purpose in this paper is to show the ways in which interactional context contributes to the indexical interpretation. I argue that the main function of the indexical use of generic orang is to make a comment about some referent in a manner that distances the speaker from what is being said.
The physicality of metathesis in Amarasi

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Amarasi, a member of the Uab Meto (Dawanese) language-dialect complex of West Timor, has a synchronic morphological process of consonant vowel metathesis. In my paper I provide a detailed phonological and phonetic description of metathesis and associated processes for the Kotos dialect of Amarasi.

A process of CV metathesis similar to the process found in Amarasi has been described for a handful of other Austronesian languages including Rotuman (Churchward 1940), Kwara’ae (Sohn 1980, Heinz 2004), and Leti (van Engelenhoven 2004). Among languages spoken on the Timor mainland, both Helong (Steinhauer 1996b) and the Nilulat variety of Uab Meto (Steinhauer 1996a;b) have received preliminary descriptions.

Nearly every word in Amarasi has two morphological forms, which I label the ‘U-form’ and the ‘M-form’. Which form occurs is determined by a combination of syntactic, pragmatic, morphological and phonological factors.

The basic process via which each form is derived is consonant vowel metathesis. Words end in CV in the U-form and VC in the M-form and each form can be derived from the other via metathesis of these final two segments.

\[(1) \ V_1CV_2# \leftrightarrow V_1V_2C# \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fafi</td>
<td>faif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asu</td>
<td>aus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feU</td>
<td>feu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiu</td>
<td>hiut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stems which have a final /a/ in the U-form, display a sequence of two identical vowels in the M-form, as shown in (2). We also find a sequence of two identical vowels in the M-form form of words when the penultimate and final vowels of the U-form are of the same quality, as shown in (3). For both types of words the final vowel of the U-form cannot be predicted from the M-form, and we must therefore posit the U-forms as synchronically underlying.

\[(2) \ V_\alpha Ca# \rightarrow V_\alpha VaC# \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na-tnina</td>
<td>na-tniin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-n-fena</td>
<td>a-n-feen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-tona</td>
<td>na-toon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-n-puna</td>
<td>a-n-puun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[(3) \ V_\alpha CV_\alpha# \rightarrow V_\alpha VaC# \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na-hini</td>
<td>na-hiin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-nene</td>
<td>n-neen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-n-kono</td>
<td>a-n-koon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-n-punu</td>
<td>a-n-puun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words which contain a sequence of two vowels fall into a number of classes. Most such words derive the M-form via deletion of the final consonant of the U-form, as shown in (4).

However, there is another class which take a suffix \(-aU\) to derive a form which functions paradigmatically as the U-form, while the bare stem functions as the M-form, as shown in (5).
(4) VVC# → VV#

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
<th>M</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuan</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>kua</td>
<td>‘village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tais</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>tai</td>
<td>‘sarong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toon</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>too</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bruuk</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>bruu</td>
<td>‘pants’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) VVC-aP ← VVC#

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
<th>M</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uab-a?</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>uab</td>
<td>‘speech’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaun-a?</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>kaun</td>
<td>‘snake, grub’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ain-a?</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>ain</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aik-a?</td>
<td>←</td>
<td>aik</td>
<td>‘thorn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these processes, other phonological processes include vowel height dissimilation, vowel assimilation, apocope and another kind of consonant deletion. In my paper I provide a detailed phonetic and phonological description of all the phonological processes associated with metathesis in Amarasi. I conclude with a brief outline of the environments in which each form occurs.

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Austronesian languages in cross-linguistic comparison: Using parallel texts and quantitative data

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In this paper we present quantitative data on syllable complexity as well as on word and clause length in the following 16 Austronesian languages: Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Melayu, Cham, Chuukese, Hawaiian, Javanese, Kadazan, Kemak, Malagasy, Mambae, Minangkabau, Karo Batak, Nias, Rinconada, Roviana, Tagalog.

Syllable complexity and word length are considered as important variables in language typology. But how can we compare languages with respect to syllable complexity? Should one count the maximally elaborate syllable type or the predominant syllable type in a language [1]? And how to compare word length in different languages - on the basis of lexicon entries or on the basis of textual material? And how to measure clause length? In our ongoing project [e.g.2] we are using parallel textual material – obtained by an elicitation experiment - for large-scale cross-linguistic comparisons concerning these variables.

Procedure: Native speakers of meanwhile 51 languages from all continents (19 European, 32 Non-Indo-European) were asked to give an intralineral translation of a set of 22 simple declarative sentences encoding one proposition and using a rather basic vocabulary: e.g. The sun is shining. I thank the teacher. Grandfather is sleeping. My father is a fisherman. The dog is outside.

Furthermore, they were asked to count the number of syllables in normal speech. The written translations allowed, moreover, to count the number of words per clause. The number of phonemes was determined by the authors, assisted by the native speakers and by grammars of the respective languages.

Some Results: In our sample of 51 languages, the mean number of syllables per clause is 7.02, ranging from 4.64 in Thai up to 10.96 in Telugu. The mean number of phonemes per syllable is 2.24, ranging from 2.79 in German to 1.76 in Hawaiian.

The Austronesian languages in our sample show a relatively large number of 8.72 syllables per clause and a relatively low number of 2.03 phonemes per syllable. Some well-known or some more or less hypothetical (areal-)typological differences within the group of Austronesian languages could be corroborated quantitatively. For instance:

- The Oceanic languages (Chuukese, Hawaiian, Roviana) exhibit the highest average number of syllables per clause (9.59) and the lowest mean syllable complexity (1.88)
- Cham that is said to be highly influenced by Vietnamese [3], is indeed the only language in our sample that shows a mean of only 6.32 syllables per clause (for comparison: Vietnamese 4.91) and as much as 2.37 (Vietnamese 2.24) phonemes per syllable. In the other 15 languages, syllable complexity is restricted to a small range from 1.77 in Hawaiian to 2.19 in Karo Batak (standard deviation: 0.13). In our matched textual material Cham also exhibits a relatively high number of monosyllables (30), much more than e.g. Malay/Indonesian (3) or Nias (11).

The findings will also be related to typological differences in speech rate and speech rhythm and will be discussed, more generally, within the framework of systemic typology.

References


Monosyllables, foot structure, ludlings and dialectal variation in Malayic

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Most words in Malay/Indonesian are bisyllabic. For this and other reasons, Gil (2002, 2006) posits the existence of a core bisyllabic foot which, for bisyllabic words, is coextensive with the word itself. However, a small number of words in Malay/Indonesian are monosyllabic, which raises the question what the role of the foot is in such words: Are monosyllabic words associated with a core foot, and if so how?

An answer to this question is provided by ludlings. This paper examines three different ludlings in three different dialects of Malay/Indonesian, illustrated in (1) below as they apply to bisyllabic words:

(1) Ludling forms for bisyllabic words:
   (a) JAKARTA INDONESIAN  makan > ukanmanang  mobil > ubalmoning
   (b) SIAK MALAY  makan > warakan  mobil > warobil
   (c) PAPUAN MALAY  makan > makoken  mobil > mobobel

Informally, on the basis of bisyllabic words, these ludlings appear to follow the rules given below:

(2) (a) JAKARTA INDONESIAN
   First, reduplicate the word. Next, replace the first syllable of the first copy with u; replace the vowel of the second syllable of the first copy with a; replace the onset of the second syllable of the second copy with n; and replace the coda of the second syllable of the second copy with ng.
   (b) SIAK MALAY
   Replace the first onset of the word with war.
   (c) PAPUAN MALAY
   Replace the last vowel of the word with the sequence oCe, where C is a copy of the onset of the final syllable.

How, then, do these ludlings apply to monosyllabic words? Whereas for Jakarta Indonesian it is not clear how the rule in (2a) might generalize to monosyllabic words, for Siak Malay and Papuan Malay the rules in (2b) and (2c) predict the forms shown in (3b) and (3c):

(3) Predicted ludling forms for monosyllabic words based on the rules in (2):
   (a) JAKARTA INDONESIAN  jam > ??  bos > ??
   (b) SIAK MALAY  jam > *warham  bos > *waros
   (c) PAPUAN MALAY  jam > *fojem  bos > *boses

However, this predication is false; the actual attested ludling forms are shown in (4) below:

(4) Actual ludling forms for monosyllabic words:
   (a) JAKARTA INDONESIAN  jam > ujamangen  bos > ubasenong
   (b) SIAK MALAY  jam > warejam  bos > warebos
   (c) PAPUAN MALAY  jam > jamome  bos > bosose

In order to account for the forms in (4), reference must be made to the core foot, with the rules in (2) replaced by those in (5):

(5) (a) JAKARTA INDONESIAN
   First, reduplicate the core foot and its associated segmental material. Next, replace any segmental material in the first syllabic position of the first foot with u; replace the vowel of the second syllabic position of the first foot with a; replace the onset of...
the second syllabic position of the second foot with \( n \); and replace the coda of the second syllabic position of the second foot with \( ng \). Finally, insert an epenthetic vowel \( e \) into any empty vowel position.

(b) **SIAK MALAY**
Replace any segmental material in the first onset position of the core foot with \( war \). Then insert an epenthetic vowel \( e \) into any empty vowel position.

(c) **PAPUAN MALAY**
Replace any segmental material in the vowel position of the second syllabic position of the foot with the sequence \( oCe \), where \( C \) is a copy of the consonant occupying the boundary between the first and second syllabic positions.

For the rules in (5) to work for monosyllabic words, they must be associated with a core foot. Crucially, however, the association works differently in different dialects. In Jakarta Indonesian and Siak Malay, monosyllabic words occupy the second syllabic position of the core foot, leaving the first syllabic position empty; however, this empty position remains visible to the ludling, in accordance with (5a) and (5b). In contrast, in Papuan Malay, monosyllabic words occupy the first syllabic position of the core foot, leaving the second syllabic position empty, while once again remaining accessible to the ludling, which makes reference to it, as per (5c).

Thus, ludlings provide strong support for the existence of a core bisyllabic foot across three quite diverse dialects of Malay/Indonesian. In particular, in monosyllabic words, they make substantive reference to the empty syllable of the core foot. In addition, ludlings provide evidence for a split between dialects such as Jakarta Indonesian and Siak Malay, in which monosyllabic words occupy the second syllabic position of the core foot, and dialects such as Papuan Malay, in which such words occupy the first syllabic position of the core foot. This split is clearly related to the distinct phrasal stress patterns of these dialects, with the phrase-final stress of Jakarta Indonesian and Siak Malay contrasting with the mostly phrase-penultimate stress of Papuan Malay.

**References**
Excrescent nasals in Malayic varieties of Western Sumatra

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In some of the Malayic dialects of western Sumatra, words ending in a high vowel, \(i\) or \(u\), exhibit a final excrescent velar nasal consonant \(ŋ\), for example *\(nasi\) > \(nasi\)\(ŋ\) 'cooked rice', *\(batu\) > \(batu\)\(ŋ\) 'stone'. This paper explores the occurrence of excrescent nasals in three different dialects, which we claim represent three stages in the development of excrescent nasal insertion from a purely automatic phonetic process marking phrase-final positions to a process that is morphologically and lexically conditioned.

The three dialects considered are (a) the Padang Pasia Sabalah dialect of Minangkabau, spoken in a handful of small fishing villages on the outskirts of the large metropolis of Padang; (b) the Tapan Kota dialect of Tapan, spoken in the eponymous small town in southern coastal Sumatra Barat; and (c) the Binjai dialect of Tapan, spoken in the village of Binjai just outside of Tapan. Data on these three dialects are from naturalistic speech corpora, supplemented with elicitation.

In Padang Pasia Sabalah Minangkabau, excrescent nasals occur infrequently, and are almost entirely limited to phonologically phrase-final positions. Speakers seem to be unaware of their presence; moreover, speakers also produce excrescent nasals when using the local dialect of Indonesian.

In the Tapan Kota dialect of Tapan, excrescent nasals occur with greater frequency, though forms lacking the excrescent nasal are also attested. Excrescent nasals tend to occur more frequently in phonologically phrase-final positions, though plenty of counterexamples are evident. Citation forms of the relevant words typically contain the excrescent nasal, and speakers tend to be unaware that in connected speech the excrescent nasal is sometimes absent.

Finally, in the Binjai dialect of Tapan, the excrescent nasal is always present word- finally, no matter whether the word occurs in phrase-medial or phrase-final position. However, when the word in question is the first term of a compound or of a reduplicated form, the excrescent nasal is optional. Furthermore, when a word which typically contains an excrescent nasal is followed by an associative suffix (roughly the cognate of Malay –\(ny\)), the nasal is absent. Based on the the form of the morphophonemically- variable associative marker, we argue that the vowel-final form of the word is the underlying form, even though the excrescent nasal appears in citation form and in all other word-final contexts.

Thus, the occurrence of excrescent nasals in these three dialects shows how a once purely automatic alternation marking phonologically phrase-final positions may become morphologized and lexicalized. In doing so, it provides a model for the diachronic development of other similar alternations present in Malayic dialects elsewhere in Sumatra, including pre-oralization of word-final nasals and stem gradations. While in many well-documented cases, today's morphology has been said to be yesterday's syntax, in the cases at hand, it would seem more appropriate to conclude that today's morphology is in fact yesterday's phrasal phonology.
Phasal polarity in Squliq Atayal
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Russian State University for the Humanities / ABBYY InfoPoisk

There are two particles in Squliq Atayal that encode, according to the grammar [Rau 1992], something close to phasal meaning (in terms of [van der Auwera 1998]): \textit{la} and \textit{na}. The grammar [Rau 1992] gives only limited information on the linear position of those particles in a clause and some rough translation equivalents for them in English. Amongst those all English phasal adverbials \textit{already/ still / not any more / not yet} are listed. The goal of this paper is to show that a special category of phasal polarity (a term adopted from [van Baar 1997]) can be stated for Squliq Atayal, and the two particles (\textit{la} and \textit{na}) mentioned above are markers for two out of three grams of that category. The analysis is based on data collected in Pyanan tribe (Yilan County, Nanshan).²

Although in many contexts their linear positions seem to be the same, there are contexts, which make the difference clear. The particle \textit{la} can only be followed by other phrasal particles, such as the quotative marker \textit{ma}, topicalizer \textit{ga}, or coordinating particle \textit{ro} (ex.1). The particle \textit{na}, however, can (and should) be followed by a subject NP (ex.2). Despite the fact that those two particles take different positions in a clause, they never co-occur. It must be due to the semantics of those particles, which is analyzed below.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(1)} \textit{ini pyujay (*la) squleq la}  
\quad \text{NEG DEP.be.monkey human DCNT}  
\quad \text{‘A man is no more a monkey.’}
\item \textbf{(2)} \textit{ini wah na yaya (*na)}  
\quad \text{NEG come CNT mother}  
\quad \text{‘Mother hasn’t come yet.’}
\end{itemize}

For both particles there are contexts where each particle is obligatory. For the particle \textit{na} those contexts are few. It cannot be omitted in the biclausal construction denoting precedence:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(3)} \textit{ini=ta qaneq na ga lama=ta m-ima qba}  
\quad \text{NEG=1PL.INC DEP.eat DCNT TOP first=1PL.INC AF-wash hand}  
\quad \text{‘Before we eat, we wash our hands’}
\end{itemize}

This construction literally means ‘When X has not yet taken place, Y takes place’, hence the particle \textit{na}, the semantics of which includes ‘not yet’. The particle \textit{la} is obligatory for certain predicate forms such as factitive form (for achievement predicates), cf:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(4)} \textit{pgyaw hoyil=mu *(la) get.lost dog=1SG.G DCNT}  
\quad \text{‘I lost my dog’}
\end{itemize}

Considering the fact that those two particles are sometimes obligatory, and that their frequency is higher than that of their English adverbial counterparts, it is only logical to assume that those are fully grammaticalized markers for phasal polarity. Following [van der Auwera 1998; Plungian 1999], we see the main four phasal meanings as shown in table 1:

² Special thanks goes to Yukan Masing, Masing Koyaw, Temu Go, Iitro Ipay, Kobu Iitro, Yayun Sayun, Sayun Bilay, Kumay Yumin and their friends.
Table 1. Basic phasal meanings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>marker</th>
<th>$t^0$</th>
<th>$t^1$</th>
<th>$t^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inchoative</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discontinuative</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuative</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuative negative</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to [van der Auwera 1998], phasal adverbials tend not only to encode the relation of current polarity of an event to its previous polarity, but also its relation to the expected state of affairs. The Atayal particles *la* and *na* only encode phasal meanings if the expected polarity of situation in question differs from the current polarity. In other words, if the particle *na* is used, not only the situation keeps taking (or not taking) place, but it is also clear, that the state of affairs is expected to suffer a change:

(5) *swa ina abigailaqa*ni
    *why NEG DEP.sleepe CNT child this*
    *’Why isn’t this child sleeping yet?!’*

Similarly, if the particle *la* is used, the polarity of the situation in question has changed and is expected to change again (or, indeed, it was never expected to have changed in the first place):

(6) *mqwalalala*
    *AF-rain DCNT*
    *’It is raining already (not that it was expected to)’*

If there is no notion of the expected state of affairs, then the gram is neutral, and no particle is used:

(7) *ini=ku abibi*
    *NEG=1SG.N DEP.sleep*
    *’I don’t sleep (not that I am expected to).’*

Negation falls inside the scope of phasal particles, which is typologically frequent (cf. Russian *uže* and *esčê* or Spanish *ya* and *todavia/aun*). This is how one particle encodes two of the main phasal meanings, either a change of polarity (from negative to positive – the inchoative meaning, from positive to negative – the discontinuative meaning), or no change of polarity.

The structure of the category is shown in table 2:

Table 2. Phasal polarity in Squilq Atayal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>marker</th>
<th>$t^0$</th>
<th>$t^1$</th>
<th>$t^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>discontinuative</td>
<td><em>la</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuative</td>
<td><em>na</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td></td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-not specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-/not specified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>3</sup> “$t^0$” stands for some time point before the focus time, “$t^1$” stands for the focus time, “$t^2$” stands for a time point after the focus time or lying on an alternative timeline of unrealized expectation. “+” is used for a situation taking place in the relevant timepoint, “-” for its not taking place.
To summarize, there is a grammatical category of phasal polarity in Squliq Atayal, with a symmetrical system of grams, comparable to the systems of phasal adverbs found in languages of Europe.

References
Layers of history and layers of evidence: genes, languages and the peopling of the Pacific

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Human history is a complex tapestry of migrations, population interactions, drift and local adaptation. Unravelling the complexities of our history is thus a challenging task that requires the integration of evidence from linguistics, genetics, archaeology and anthropology to help disentangle the relative roles and timing of these processes. The standard model of Pacific settlement focuses on two major migration phases: the early Pleistocene settlement of Near Oceania (Australia, New Guinea and the islands east as far as the Solomon Islands) from 50-30,000 BP, which was followed much later by the arrival of Austronesian speaking colonists around 3400 BP. This second wave is generally associated with a Neolithic expansion out of Taiwan, and is archaeologically visible in the Pacific region with the appearance of the Lapita Cultural Complex (Kirch 2002). Lapita peoples were the first to colonize Remote Oceania and Lapita sites are found as far east as Tonga and Samoa. The final expansion pulse, into the rest of Polynesia, began some 2000 years later, and ended with the settlement of New Zealand only 730 years ago (Wilmshurst et al. 2011).

Despite quantitative analyses of lexical data strongly supporting this account (Gray et al 2009), recent research indicates that the peopling of the Pacific was much more complex than the standard two-phase model implies. Data from cranial morphometrics (Pietrusewsky 2006), linguistics (Blust 2008), commensal animals (Addison and Matisoo-Smith 2010), and the dating of mitochondrial haplotypes (Soares et al. 2011), all conflict with that account and suggest that multiple waves of population expansion might better explain the apparently contradictory lines of evidence.

Computational methods recently developed in evolutionary biology enable the diversification of lineages to be tracked in both space and time (see Bouckaert et al 2012), and thus potentially infer multiple waves of population expansion. In this talk I will use a new “island hopping” variant of these Bayesian phylogeographic methods to analyse a cognate coded basic vocabulary dataset of over 600 Austronesian languages (the data will be drawn from the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary database (http://language.psy.auckland.ac.nz/austronesian/). The inferences from these analyses will be compared with those from archaeological and genetic data and I will outline how an ABC (Approximate Bayesian Computation) framework might be used to integrate the different layers of evidence and make inferences about different layers of history.

References
Why Tetun Prasa is not a creole
Zuzana Greksakova
CELGA

Tetun, one of Timor-Leste’s two official languages along with Portuguese, belongs to the Central Malayo-Polynesian division of Austronesian languages. It has two main varieties: Tetun Prasa (TP) and Tetun Terik (TT). TP is the variety of the language now spoken as a first language in the capital and its suburbs and used as a vehicular language in diglossic situations in most of the country. It has borrowed many features from Portuguese, especially on the lexical level, but also shows some influence of Malay/Indonesian and local languages. Unlike TT, a more conservative dialect of Tetun, it has lost most of its inflectional morphology (e.g. subject-marking prefixes). On the other hand, it has some new grammatical features not found in TT that entered in TP via Portuguese and its restructured varieties in SE Asia (e.g. possessive constructions, see below), via Malay/Indonesian and via local languages like Mambae.

Compared to other Austronesian languages from the same region, TP shows a highly isolating character and various authors use the term ‘creole’ or ‘pidgin’ in connection with it. However, if we compare TP to other languages spoken on Timor, we see that there are other, even more analytic, languages. This led McWhorter (2007, 2011) to assume that this analyticity was not caused by an uninterrupted, grammar-internal language change but by an incomplete acquisition by adult second language speakers which occurred not later than 3000 years ago. This resulted in a relexicalized and grammatically simplified language, but unlike creoles, at this stage there was no significant grammatical mixing. Then, before the 17th century, Tetun spread as a lingua franca throughout the eastern part of the island of Timor. With the arrival of the first traders, some of whom were speakers of Ambonese Malay (Hull 2005) and others of Portuguese, Tetun came into close contact with various trade languages, such as Bazaar Malay and Macau Creole Portuguese. Thus, a new variety of Tetun started to develop in the capital, Dili: the so-called Tetun Prasa or Tetun Dili. It has borrowed a great deal, especially on the lexical level, which led to it being labeled a creole language. However, looking at the ratio of lexical borrowings, which in the case of creoles is from 75% to 95%, in TP this number does not exceed 50% (Williams-van Klinken & Hajek 2009). Importantly, the core lexicon remains Tetun.

Apart from lexical borrowings, one can find also grammatical ones. Take, for example, plural forms. In TP, the most productive one is the native plural marker *sira* ‘they’. However, in TT there is a native plural marker *–n/-r*, still preserved in a fossilized form in some TP words. There are also many Portuguese loanwords that are used with the Portuguese plural marker –*(e)s*, e.g. *garantias* ‘guarantees’, *ofisiais* ‘officials’. We can also find instances of reduplication – typical for Malay – but, again, mostly in a fossilized form, e.g. *seluk* ‘other’ – *seluseluk* ‘others’. Other Portuguese grammatical categories like gender marking are used only by educated speakers. Another interesting feature in TP is the possessive construction. It can take two forms: NP1 + *nia* + NP2 or NP2 + NP1 + *nian*. A similar construction is not found in TT, where a genitive clitic –*n/-r* or a construction NP1 + NP2 is used. However, a parallel construction (NP1 + genitive relator + NP2) exists in Malacca Creole Portuguese and Macau CP as well as in Bidau CP (now extinct) (Baxter 1990:12).

These and other constructions show that the external influence on TP was not only lexical but also grammatical. However, Portuguese (or Malay or other languages that TP has been in contact with) cannot be considered the superstratum – as the term is used in creole studies – of TP as Hull (1999:ix) claims but rather simply its lexical source languages. More importantly, the specific and rich sociolinguistic history of TP shows that there was an absence of the conditions that could have led to a pidgin, let alone a creole – there was no need to create a new language to facilitate communication since Malay filled this function of a trade language in this region for centuries.
References


Responses in Indonesia and Malaysia to a new planning tool for language communities

Charlie Hanawalt
SIL International

Several reports in recent years have summarized language shift among Austronesian language communities. For example, using Ethnologue data based on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)\(^1\), Anderbeck 2014 describes that nearly half of the languages of Indonesia are experiencing initial or advanced language shift. Eberhard 2014 highlights that the majority of the languages of Sabah are experiencing a similar disruption of intergenerational transmission, and Ting and Ling 2013 demonstrate an absence of stable diglossia within many minority language communities in Sarawak.

To assist minority language speakers address these patterns of language shift, a new tool called *A Guide to Planning the Future of Your Language* leads community members through a series of discussions aimed at identifying and overcoming the obstacles barring them from healthy, local language use. The tool is based upon the Sustainable Use Model for Language Development, which sees language choice as positioned around the bodies of knowledge a community considers vital now and for their younger generations (cf. Lewis 2014 and Lewis and Simons forthcoming).

After giving a brief overview of the tool, this presentation describes experiences gained through early uses of this tool in three diverse Austronesian contexts in Indonesia and Malaysia. These contexts have included both a) training workshops that have prepared native speakers to facilitate community discussions about language use and b) community-based discussions about language use planning. The tool has helped speakers of several minority languages in these areas plan initial interventions aimed at slowing language shift and strengthening local language use. It has also helped community members better understand what goals for local language use may be realistic given current sociolinguistic realities and available resources.

Several participants expressed new understanding about their own role in strengthening the use of their local language while also achieving specific goals in a second language. The presentation concludes by discussing ways in which this tool could benefit additional Austronesian language communities.

Note: This paper is a companion paper to “Introducing *A Guide to Planning the Future of Your Language*”

References

\(^1\) An expansion of Fishman’s (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)
Tboli leaders decide and plan the way ahead for Tboli multilingual education

Sue Ann Hasselbring
SIL International

Tboli speakers of South Cotabato, Philippines, have been reading, writing, and teaching adults to read Tboli for more than four decades. Since 2010, Tboli teachers have been collaborating with Save the Children and the Department of Education to develop mother tongue based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) materials for use in first and second grade classrooms in pilot schools in six Tboli villages. During the process of training more teachers and beginning to use the materials, some parents and teachers voiced concerns to Save the Children that a second set of Tboli materials may be needed due to differences in word choice and pronunciation. Consultants from SIL recognized that rather than further linguistic research by outsiders, what was needed was a facilitated discussion through which both Tboli teachers and Tboli community leaders could analyze the existing situation and decide how to proceed. Save the Children invited 23 Tboli speakers from three municipalities to participate in a five day event planned by a facilitation team familiar with multilingual education issues.

Knowing that the discussion of dialect issues can cause tensions, the team started by inviting participants to share good things which they had experienced or heard about related to the use of Tboli in Tboli schools. They also invited the participants to create a diagram of the Tboli speaking area showing how well Tbolis in various parts of the language area understand one another. During the second day, the participants listed many challenges in the MTB-MLE program and then focused on analyzing two significant challenges in depth: difficulties in having enough Tboli teachers in Tboli classrooms and the lack of orientation to the MTB-MLE program for several groups of stakeholders.

On the third day, the participants identified some specific dialect differences, but confidently stated that the existing materials could serve all Tboli children. The participants prioritized a list of hopes they had generated the day before and developed plans to assure that seven of those hopes would be realized. On the fourth day, the participants worked in small groups to learn about the other plans and add their questions or suggestions to those plans. Each group then revised and improved their plan. Participants decided which other people they would invite to work with them on each plan, which people they would need to get permissions from and which people they would need to keep informed about each plan. The final day was one of reflection – considering how this event had influenced each participant, and how the implementation of the plans they had made would influence their schools, municipalities and the 90,000 Tboli people.

Plans developed by the participants included: reproduction of Tboli materials, training of more Tboli teachers so the MTB-MLE program could spread, increasing funding for a private MTB-MLE school which hires only Tboli teachers, developing Tboli curriculum for grades three and up, assuring that intellectual property rights of Tboli authors, artists and translators are protected, assuring that Tbolis are aware of their right to free, prior and informed consent, and developing a Tboli museum.

Using a continuum of participation from Kumar (2002) as a reference, the Tboli people moved from a middle level of participation in the Tboli MTB-MLE program to a significantly higher level of participation. They shifted from being implementers of plans developed by others to being key decision makers and planners. They are now the ones who will decide for each plan they made, who else they will invite to join them in implementation. Some plans they will implement with little outside assistance, while for others they intend to collaborate with groups outside the Tboli community such as Save the Children, and the Regional Department of Education.

Reference
Full circle? Old and new perspectives on the peopling of island Southeast Asia

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By the end of the twentieth century, the Austronesian language/farming dispersal theory systematized by Peter Bellwood had become the dominant paradigm for understanding the peopling of island Southeast Asia. Recently, however, that paradigm has been strongly under attack from writers like Barker, Blench, Donahue and Denham who, by adducing new archaeological and archaeogenetic evidence, as well as by reviewing the existing archaeological and linguistic data, attempt to decouple the spread of the Austronesian languages from that of agriculture. In place of Bellwood's combined technological and linguistic transformation during late prehistory as the result of a great migration of Austronesian farmers, they posit such unfamiliar complexities in the Southeast Asian island past as pre-Austronesian agriculturalists, non-agricultural Austronesians, and non-Austronesian Asian populations. Some of the new ideas are reminiscent of older theories about Southeast Asian prehistory, found in the work of such scholars as Sarasin, Harrison, Van Heekeren and Solheim, which until recently were generally regarded as obsolete. My paper examines these similarities, assesses whether they reflect a genuine continuity of knowledge, and reassesses the merits of some key older works on the peopling of island Southeast Asia in the light of recent discoveries.
Structural disambiguation and relativization ordering in Bunun and Seediq

Arthur Holmer
Lund University

The basic relativization order for Bunun restrictive relative clauses is Rel-N (Zeitoun 2000), while Seediq (with some idiolectal variation) generally allows for three orders: N-Rel, Rel-N and internally headed (or circum-nominal) relative constructions (cf. Aldridge 2004, Chang 2000). Seediq is far from alone in this respect, other Formosan languages are also described as displaying relativization order variation (e.g. Puyuma, cf. Teng 2008).

One consequence of the attested variation in e.g. Seediq and Puyuma would be to follow Tang (2008) in suggesting that both REL and N are structurally independent KPs / DPs (or, pre-theoretically, NPs) in a flat apposition structure. Ample morphological evidence for an apposition analysis can be found in Puyuma (cf. Teng 2008). It would follow that the placement of relative clauses under this analysis is no longer a problem for a headedness account of word order typology. However, this analysis still begs the question of what factors are involved in affecting the actual choice of N-Rel or Rel-N in a given context, or in setting an unmarked order in a given languages (such as Rel-N in Bunun).

To investigate possible factors underlying the actual distribution of the two orders, a set of elicitation tasks were designed to elicit restrictive relative constructions and elicitation sessions were held with five speakers each in Tgdaya Seediq and Takituduh Bunun. The resulting data consisted of approximately 300 instances per language of semi-spontaneous relativization constructions.

Contrary to expectations, which would have suggested fairly homogeneous Rel-N ordering in Bunun and substantial variation in Seediq, the pattern was almost the other way around. For Seediq, the result was virtually exclusively N-Rel (barring some isolated cases which appear to be matrix constructions), while it was Bunun where variation was actually found, with Rel-N as the predominant order (68%). Assuming that the received descriptions (Zeitoun 2000, Chang 2000, Aldridge 2004) of grammaticality judgments adequately reflect speaker intuitions, it follows that semi-spontaneously elicited production is clearly biased towards N-Rel ordering.

For the Bunun data, there was a further striking pattern within the attested variation, linking relativization ordering to the voice of the verb. It can be summarized as follows:

- a) relativization constructions involving non-AV verbs were less frequent (approx. 25%) and often subject to avoidance strategies;
- b) where relativization constructions did involve non-AV verbs, there was a strong preference for N-Rel order (78%);
- c) where relativization constructions involved AV verbs, there was an even stronger preference for Rel-N order (81%);

This implicational pattern (non-AV=>N-Rel, AV=>Rel-N) was found for all speakers, although the actual percentages varied somewhat.

Given that Bunun matrix clause worder also depends on voice (VSO in AV, VAgtS in non-AV), and given that relativization in Bunun is subject-oriented (as is generally the case in Austronesian), the attested pattern for relativization in Bunun can be compared with matrix word order as follows:

- i) in non-AV, Rel-N constructions [[ V-Agt ] NP] are linearly identical to matrix VAgtS clauses; (where linearly identical is taken to mean identical when disregarding overt case-markers and overt relativization markers).
ii) in AV, Rel-N constructions [[V O] NP] are not linearly identical to matrix clauses (VSO);

It is argued here the postnominal placement of relative clauses in Bunun non-AV constructions is a functionally motivated disambiguation mechanism which serves to maximize the difference between relative clauses and matrix clauses.

Interestingly enough, the same disambiguation principle would, when applied to Seediq (which has uniform VOS, VAgS order), tend to favour post-nominal relativization in both voice types, and this is indeed the pattern that was found (the lack of an overt relativization marker in Seediq, as well as the optionality of the NOM case-marker ka, make the disambiguation function much more important in Seediq than in Bunun, explaining the almost uniform post-nominal placement in the data from Seediq). Given that language is acquired on the basis of speaker output, such disambiguation strategies can arguably make their way into the internal grammar of the next generation of speakers and may well serve as a mechanism for language change.

References
A geographic explanation for the usage of spatial orientation terms in North Halmahera

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Both the Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages of North Halmahera exhibit systems of spatial orientation which employ a waterward-landward axis and an orthogonal upward-downward axis (Taylor 1984, Teljeur 1987, Yoshida 1980).

Although the syntactic details differ across the languages, the semantics of the systems are largely shared across language and language family boundaries and even calqued in the local Malay varieties (Klamer, Reesink & van Staden 2008, McWilliam 2007). The waterward-landward axis is very clearly determined by local geography, but the upward-downward axis is seemingly arbitrary. On Ternate and neighbouring islands, the upward direction is taken to be anti-clockwise around the island, hence north from Ternate town; while just a few kilometres across the water on the west coast of Halmahera the upward direction aligns with south along the coast. Such geographic contradictions have led previous authors to seek non-geographic explanations.

An oceanographic explanation suggests that the downward direction aligns with prevailing ocean currents. This explanation is compatible with the use of the downward direction to indicate downstream direction along rivers; however, it can be shown to be at odds with the oceanographic facts (National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency 2009).

An alternate explanation relies on social factors, suggesting that the upward direction indicates the direction of major sultanates. While this explanation accounts for some cases, it fails in many more cases. Drawing on data from existing descriptions as well as new first-hand survey work, this paper offers a more economical explanation for the usage of directional terms which is based on geography. Essentially, the upward direction indicates the direction into a bay or inlet. Local exceptions can be readily explained based on historical migrations and social relationships (cf. Fortescue 2011).

References
Problematic protoforms? A case for early WMP borrowing from North India

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Since Otto Dempwolff’s *Vergleichende Lautlehre*, the Austronesian literature features a set of dubious reconstructed etyma, e.g. *d’ambu* ‘k.o. fruit’ (from Sanskrit *jambu*) and *skuvat* ‘strong’ (from Arabic *qūwa*). These protoforms show expected sound correspondences, yet Dempwolff still marks them as borrowings from external sources. The present study centers on a number of tentative early loanwords from Indo-Aryan languages. The data discussed here play a role in various Austronesian sub-grouping hypotheses, including proto-West-Malayo-Polynesian, proto-Hesperonesian and proto-Malayo-Javanic. I argue that the external origins of these would-be protoforms have remained undetected due to a number of competing phonological mechanisms; some sound changes can be associated with Middle- or New-Indo-Aryan language development, while others reflect the phonological history of Malay and Javanese, through which the borrowings spread as far as the Philippines, eastern Indonesia and Madagascar.

How can we distinguish early borrowings from genuine protoform? Early loans in WMP languages typically display cognates or tentative precursors in non-WMP languages. However, such perceived similarities may also be due to chance distribution or transmission in the opposite direction. In some cases, the directionality of transmission remains unresolved. Reflexes of *paDahu* ‘a seagoing ship’, for example, are attested in Austronesian, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. As the above example demonstrates, the majority of non-authentic innovations – in WMP languages and generally – consists of cultural vocabulary, which is particularly susceptible to contact-induced propagation.

This study calls attention to vocabulary shared between Indo-Aryan and WMP languages. It explores the likelihood and directionality of early borrowing between these two language families. In doing so, I first investigate whether the distribution of the words under research is limited to languages in contact with Malay, which would favour a scenario of secondary distribution within the WMP language family. I then assess whether the tentative loanwords consist of meaningful elements in Indo-Aryan languages. My analysis is also based in part on extra-linguistic arguments. I examine historical and archaeological data to determine how established a specific plant, animal, material, or object is in the WMP speech area. Introduced items typically carry a name taken from those who introduced it. Therefore, I compare the WMP and Indo-Aryan terminologies for cultural items that entered Island Southeast Asia from India, complicating the linguistic history of WMP languages.
Exploring phonetic diversity in Malagasy dialects: Variation in cues to the voiced-voiceless contrast

Penelope Howe
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This paper presents acoustic and perceptual evidence that Central dialects of Malagasy are developing phonological tone and explores the extent to which this process follows the path outlined in Beddor (2009), in which variability in speakers’ articulation of a coarticulatory source (consonant voicing) leads to perceived equivalence of coarticulatory source and effect (following-vowel pitch) and ultimately to increased reliance on the coarticulatory effect. Previous works on Malagasy have noted a strong relationship between consonant voicing and vowel pitch, with low pitch following voiced and high pitch following voiceless consonants, but have explicitly denied that pitch plays a role in the phonology (Rakotofiringa 1982; Dahl 1952).

A preliminary study examining dialectal variation in the use of modal voicing and pitch cues in the fricative pairs /ʃ/-/ʃ/ and /s/-/s/ shows that the extent of modal voicing on voiced fricatives is highly variable both within and between speakers in the Central region, while speakers of Northern dialects consistently use significantly more voicing. In addition, pitch distinctions on following vowels are larger and more persistent for Central speakers, and secondary cues to voicing, including duration and frication intensity, show signs of ongoing neutralization.

The current work examines the relationship between modal voicing and vowel pitch for all consonant types in the speech of approximately 130 Malagasy speakers from Central and non-Central (Northern and Southwestern) dialect regions. Production data are derived from word list recordings in which target sounds appear in both stressed and unstressed syllables and target words appear in carrier phrases that place them in both accented and unaccented position in terms of phrasal pitch-accent. In addition, word-list data for a small number of speakers are compared with conversational data taken from sociolinguistic interviews. Voiced-voiceless consonant pairs are assessed for the extent to which they can be categorized according to modal voicing distinctions and for the magnitude and persistence of pitch excursions on following vowels; a token-by-token analysis examines covariation of these factors in individual speakers’ production.

Perception of the voiced-voiceless contrast is examined through a two-alternative, forced-choice identification task which includes two types of stimuli created from minimal pairs: the first are same- and cross-spliced at the consonant-vowel boundary, and the second have pitch contours manipulated at equal steps spanning the range between the low pitch of a “voiced” consonant and the high pitch of a “voiceless” consonant. Responses of Central dialect listeners match the source word of the vowel almost exclusively in both same- and cross-spliced conditions, and high pitch triggers a voiceless response even when modal voicing is present on the consonant. Responses of non-Central listeners, however, suggest that they are attending more to modal voicing on the consonant; they identify most stimuli with modal voicing as voiced regardless of vowel pitch.

Development of phonological tone is linked to consonant voice quality contrasts that impart pitch differences to neighboring vowels. Evidence from both perception and production demonstrate that a sound change is currently in progress in Central Malagasy dialects in which the pitch of the following vowel is replacing modal voicing on the consonant as the primary contrastive cue for voiced-voiceless consonant pairs. This follows the model of tonogenesis proposed by Hombert et al. (1979) and is supportive of claims made by Beddor (2009) about the role of coarticulation and variation in sound change.

References
Issues related to possessive constructions in Kavalan and Saisiyat

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This study sets out to explore two important issues related to possessive constructions in Kavalan and Saisiyat, two Formosan languages: the development paths of HAVE predicative/verb and split possession. POSSESSION has frequently been described as a concept that is neither conceptually nor linguistically basic (cf. Heine 1997:1); consequently, a, perhaps the most, commonly seen approach to the studies related to POSSESSION is “possession-is-location” view (Payne 2009:109), viz., localist theory (e.g. Clark 1978:89; Lyons 1967; Lyons 1977:474; Baron and Herslund 2001; among others). Nevertheless, our data from these two languages tell a different story. If we compare Figure 1: the development path of the Kavalan HAVE-predicate yau, with Figure 2: the development path of HAVE-verb proposed by Heine (1997:206-7), we can see that our data do not support the localist analysis that possessive construction and existential construction are conceptually and linguistically derived from locative constructions (Heine 1997:1; Aikhenvald 2013:1; inter alia).

The second issue addressed in this study is split possession, which has been an important research topic for many years; many languages (e.g., Chappell & McGregor 1996b; Stolz et al. 2008; among many other references in Chappell & McGregor 1996a) have been reported to display two types of marking in possession: inalienable for close possessum (e.g. kin, body parts and objects closely related to a person, such as weapons and fishing nets) and alienable marking for those that are less close to the possessor (possessum that can be easily detached from the possessor). However, a clear general picture is still far from complete.

Possession splits in Kavalan and Saisiyat can be found in (i) the marking on pronominal possessor, as in Table 1; and (ii) two sets of pronominal marking in attributive possessive constructions, as in Table 2. Our data do not support the idea that frequency of use in discourse bring about grammatical distinction; instead, they are suggestive of a functional and conceptual motivation of possession splits: such different syntactic constructions in attributive possessions may be related to the different conceptualization of PERSONHOOD and inalienability of possession in these two languages.

Theoretically, such a study may help get a better understanding on the development paths of the HAVE-type verb in these two Formosan languages. In addition, the finding may shed some light in typological studies of the development paths of HAVE-verb/predicates crosslinguistically. It is also hoped that our findings on two types of possession splits may be of contribution to typological studies of possessive constructions of Formosan languages, and Austronesian languages at large.

Data

(1)

Figure 1. The development path of the Kavalan yau (adapted from Sung and Sung 2008:2
http://wwwling.arts.kuleuven.be/nrg4/)
Table 1. The marking of possessors in Saisiyat and Kavalan attributive possessives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kinship</th>
<th>Part-whole</th>
<th>Ownership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saisiyat</td>
<td>Marked</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zero-marked</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavalan</td>
<td>Marked</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zero-marked</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Two sets of pronominal marking in Kavalan and Saisiyat attributive possessive constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>genitive pronominal</th>
<th>possessive pronominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kavalan</td>
<td>sunis-ku child1SG.GEN ‘my child’</td>
<td>(a’) zaku ay sunis 1SG.POSS REL child ‘my child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kelisiw-na money3SG.GEN ‘his money’</td>
<td>(b’) zana ay kelisiw 3SG.POSS REL money ‘his money’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saisiyat</td>
<td>tama ma’an father1SG.GEN ‘my father’</td>
<td>(c’) tama ‘inmana’a father1SG.POSS ‘my father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rayhil niSo’ money 2SG.GEN ‘your money’</td>
<td>(d’) rayhil ‘inSo’o’a money 2SG.POSS ‘your money’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References cited
Tai-Kadai and Austronesian: The lexical evidence revisited

Andrew Hsiu
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Ever since Paul K. Benedict (1942, 1975) had first set out the case for Austro-Tai in detail, the latest published works to have summed up arguments for a genetic connection between Austronesian and Tai-Kadai (Kra-Dai) are Ostapirat (2005) and Sagart (2005), with Norquest (2013) providing more Austro-Tai lexical and phonological correspondences. Since 2005, there has been a huge amount of new Tai-Kadai data published in China, especially on the conservative and little-known Kra branch. Other than the Chinese new data, this study will take into account the various new and significantly revised reconstructions of mainland Southeast Asian language families and branches, namely Proto-Hlai by Norquest (2007), Proto-Tai by Pittayaporn (2009), Proto-Hmong-Mien by Ratliff (2010), and Proto-Mon-Khmer by Shorto (2006). Using this new evidence, I will demonstrate that some Tai-Kadai lexical forms are found only in certain divergent Formosan languages such as Rukai and Puyuma, but not in other Austronesian languages. The sporadic occurrences of some forms found only in Tai-Kadai and Malayo-Polynesian, such as *manuk 'bird', will also be discussed.

The primary purpose of this data-intensive paper will be to examine the external etymological origins and links of Tai-Kadai lexical forms at various levels, especially the primary branch level. An extensive database will be used, and lexical isoglosses will also be identified and analyzed across different phyla and branches. More than simply another Austronesian sister or branch that has undergone significant Sinification, Tai-Kadai will be shown to have many basic vocabulary items shared with other mainland Southeast Asian phyla, namely Hmong-Mien, Austroasiatic, and Tibeto-Burman. While not necessarily evidence for common genetic inheritance, these forms indicate a complex linguistic scenario in prehistoric southern China, with extensive borrowing among various linguistic phyla within a linguistic area characterized by shared typological features such as sesquisyllabic nominal morphology. Thus, rather than simply cherry-picking for likely Austro-Tai cognates, this study will also look at the Tai-Kadai vocabulary that is not shared with Austronesian, and what the other types of evidence can elucidate about Southeast Asian prehistory.

References

Variability and stability in Squliq syntax
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National Taiwan University

Language is a phenomenon that exhibits structure and regularity of patterning while at the same time showing considerable variation at all levels, and that is the primary reason for viewing language as a complex adaptive system (Beckner et al. 2009). In a usage-based model of language that views language as a complex adaptive system, there is a continued dialectical relationship between structure and use, between stability and variability. An important research question is to establish just how stable a given structure actually is, how variability is structured by social factors, and how the locus of variation, change and innovation arises. It is specifically the adoption of a corpus approach that draws the attention to lectal variation, which explains in part the rise of corpus linguistics in cognitive-functional Linguistics.

There are three ways variation is manifested in language. First-order variation refers to individual variation in occasions of language use, as illustrated in (1) and (2); second-order variation refers to variation in socially valued variants, the traditional focus of research in sociolinguistics. Third-order variation across languages can be best exemplified by the World Atlas of Language Structures (Haspelmath et al. 2005), or, on a much smaller scale, by motion typology attempted in Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005). It is important to note that while variation is local, the global pattern is emergent, hence not readily apparent and often requires intensive work.

In this study I examine a large number of verbalizations in the Squliq Pear and Frog narratives. I show that, in each of the scenes examined, there is usually one or at most two favored and stabilized verbalizations, but also the expected variability around the stability. These favored verbalizations are the preferred states of the system and may be thought of as strong attractors in the behavior space in terms of complexity theory (Larsen-Freeman et al. 2008). These attractors exert a force on the grammatical system, impose a frame on them and model the development of new constructions.

Since the potential for language change lies in variability, variability in the data is an intrinsic part of the behavior of the system. If we smooth away variability, as is often done in purely ‘theory-driven’ research that seeks overarching generalizations at the expense of variation, we lose the very information that may shed light on emergence of innovation forms. Much can be gained by examining the wide ranging, dynamic and systematic variability across individuals and languages, and a more comprehensive analysis across a variety of discourses should enable us to develop a deeper understanding of Squliq grammar at work.

Data
1. In the language of Tintin Bayan, a Squliq speaker, the following variants were observed:
   - mhka η i’ ~hmka η i’ ~mka η i’ ~hka η i’ ‘to search’
   - lmaqux~mlaqux~maqux ‘to win’
   - mtzyaw~mtzyuaw~mczyuaw~mzzyaw~mcyaw~mczyaw ‘to work’
   - rhyal~lhyal~hyal~hzyal~rhzyal ‘earth; ground’

2. Based on an examination of narratives in Li and Tsuchida (2001), different speakers were found to deploy different case marking systems, as shown in the table below(numbers within parentheses indicate tokens).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Obl</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Loc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>王伊底</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>u (3)</td>
<td>u (2)</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>潘詹梅</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>u(1);nu(2)</td>
<td>u(2)</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>潘萬吉</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>u(3); nu(1)</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>潘啟明</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>u (1)</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>潘金玉</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>kani (with pers.names)</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**References**
Different ways of using deictic verbs *come* and *go* in narrative: A comparison of Tsou, Chinese and English pear narratives

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This study examines how deictic verbs are used in Pear narratives in Tsou, Chinese and English.

Regarding motion, many languages encode deictic information as verbal elements, such as ‘come’ and ‘go’ in English, and similar equivalents in many other languages. Regarding lexicalization patterns of motion, Talmy (2000:56) indicates that Path is better understood as comprising structurally distinct components, of which three main components are Vector, Conformation and Deictic. Vector and Conformation are associated with more fundamental parts of motion, addressing how Figure schema works together with Ground schema in motion events. Deictic alone constitutes a unique component, since it does not only point to the direction the figure object moves from or toward, but also imply that the speaker in interaction is the contextual ‘reference point’ of the moving direction of the figure object. Although in Talmy’s view (2000:56), the Deictic component of path has only two member notions ‘toward the speaker’ and ‘in a direction other than toward the speaker’, more refined evidence from other studies (Fillmore 1997; Nakazawa 1990, 2005; Oshima 2012, etc.) show that languages may allow shifts of reference point in certain interactional contexts, suggesting that deictic markers pragmatically encode more extended interactional meaning.

In order to make a comparison among different languages, this study examines the distributions of deictic verb ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the Pear narrative texts of Tsou, English and Chinese. Since the setting is not a speaker-addressee conversational setting, but a narrator-story characters narrative setting, some interesting findings have emerged from the observations. In English, deictic verbs *come* and *go* are the most frequently occurring elements in the main verbs of motion clauses; there are about 45% of the motion clauses having *come* or *go* as the main verbs, functioning ‘towards the narrator/audience’ or ‘away from the narrator/audience’. Although 92% of *come* or *go* co-occur with a following particle, and the combinations can be treated as phrasal verbs, the distribution suggests an important pragmatic manipulation of expressing motion with ‘readily available’ linguistic expressions (Huang, to appear): English narrators frequently use the combinations of *come*+particle and *go*+particle, instead of using motion verbs in conjunction with manner or path element when the storyline focuses on the forward progress of the story. This pragmatic manipulation is not found either in Chinese or Tsou pear narratives. In Chinese Pear narratives, deictic verbs *lai* and *qi* occur with a very low frequency, and always in clause-final position after a manner verb and/or a non-deictic path verb. In Tsou Pear narratives, only four tokens of ‘pure’ deictic verbs, Tsou equivalents of English ‘come’ and ‘go’, are attested. The preferred strategy for Tsou speakers is to use lexicalized path verbs into which deictic components are incorporated. Beyond denoting the reference point of motion events, deictic verbs obviously serve some other functions in the narrative texts of these three languages, and thus make their distribution in the text so different.

Selected References
Palatalization in Formosan languages
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Academia Sinica

Palatalization is one of the most widely studied topics in the literature of phonology. Typological studies (e.g. Chen (1973), Bhat (1978), Hall (2000), Hall & Hamann (2006), Bateman (2007, 2011), Kochetov (2011)) have revealed a number of generalizations on the possible triggers, targets, and outputs of palatalization, and on the general types of palatalization processes. The paper aims to examine the patterns of palatalization in Formosan languages and explore their implications for typology.

In a cross-linguistic investigation of 64 languages and dialects belonging to 17 language families, Kochetov (2011) shows that as targets of place-changing palatalization, labials are exceedingly rare, and coronals are more frequent targets than dorsals. As to the triggers of palatalization, non-high vowels do not trigger palatalization, and high front /i/ and /j/ are most likely triggers. Kochetov (ibid.) classifies palatalization processes into three types: secondary palatalization (Type I, such as t → tj), palatalization resulting in a posterior coronal (Type II), and palatalization resulting in an anterior coronal (Type III); Type II and III are further classified into two subtypes (a) and (b), depending on whether the outcome is a non-sibilant (a) or a sibilant (b). Place-changing palatalization tends to result in sibilants than non-sibilants. Moreover, palatalization is primarily local, induced by immediately adjacent vocoids.

The patterning of palatalization in Formosan languages is consistent with the tendencies found in the previous studies. Most Formosan languages exhibit coronal palatalization rather than velar palatalization, suggesting that coronals are frequent targets of palatalization. High front /i/ and /j/ in Formosan languages are the most likely triggers of palatalization. Place-changing palatalization to a posterior sibilant (Type IIb) is most common in Formosan languages, which is also consistent with the generalizations found in Kochetov (2011). The contribution of the Formosan data to the study of palatalization mainly lies in the patterning of coronal targets. Quite a number of Formosan languages contain phonemic alveolar affricate /ʦ/ (conventionally represented by the symbol c in literature), which is mostly lacking in Austronesian languages outside of Taiwan. A survey of the Formosan data shows that coronal fricatives and affricates pattern together, to the exclusion of stops, in functioning as targets of palatalization, despite the fact that affricates are found to pattern with stops as [-continuant] segments in a number of studies (Hall 2004). Moreover, the survey shows that palatalization of /t/ always leads to a posterior coronal affricate in Formosan languages, and that /t/ palatalization in these languages implies palatalization of the sibilants /s/ and /ʦ/.

Given the idea that affricates are analyzed as strident stops that have no [+continuant] component (Kaisse 2011, Lin 2005, 2011, and references therein), in the proposed analysis the feature [strident] is held responsible to account for the natural class of fricatives and affricates as undergoers of palatalization. Palatalization targets [+strident] segments and involves spreading of the place features Dorsal/[-back] from the vowel /i/ to the consonants, leading to the changes of /s z t s/ to [ɕ z ʨ] before high front vocoids. In the case of palatalization affecting both sibilants and non-sibilants, the process targets all anterior coronal obstruents ([+sonorant]); palatalization of the stop /t/ is accompanied by concomitant insertion of [+strident], which is motivated by the turbulence upon the release of the stop into a high vocoid (Kim 2001). Two dialects of Atayal are selected to illustrate the two major patterns of palatalization in Formosan languages. In Mayrinax Atayal, the sibilants /s/ and /ʦ/ palatalize to [ɕ ʨ] before /i j/ (/um, tsiʔax/ [ʦumiʔax], /RED, tsiʔax, an/ [ʦateʔaxan] ‘shine’; /ʃwatiŋ/ [ʃwatiŋ] ‘moon’), while in Squliq Atayal, in addition to sibilants, the stop /t/ palatalizes to [ʨ] (/siax, an/ [ɛjαxan] ‘shine’; /ʃjatiŋ/ [ʃjateŋ] ‘moon’).

Selected references
Diego, Ph.D. dissertation.
P-lability in Patani Malay and Urak Lawoi’
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Chulalongkorn University

A labile verb is a verb that can be either intransitive or transitive. When used as intransitive, its subject refers to the same entity as the object of its transitive counterpart (Letuchiy 2009), as shown in the examples below.

(1)  
  a. John is boiling water.  
  b. The water is boiling.

Lability is typically considered a type of the causative-inchoative alternation, which also includes causativization, anticausativization, equipollence, and suppletion. While suppletion is a use of different verbs to denote causative and inchoative meaning, the other types of alternation are derivational processes that create new verbs from verbal stems. More specifically, causativization, anticausativization, and equipollence derive causative verbs to inchoative stems, inchoative verbs from causative stems, and both causative and inchoative from middle forms, respectively (Haspelmath 1993). The use of labile verbs is different from these four types of alternation in that both the causative and inchoative forms are identical.

As lability is found quite often in isolating languages (The World Atlas of Transitivity Pairs 2014), the appearance of labile verbs in agglutinative languages may be associated with a shift toward to analyticity. Patani Malay (PM) and Urak Lawoi’ (UL), both spoken in Southern Thailand, are interesting cases of Malayic varieties becoming typologically isolating. While PM is spoken in by ethnic Malays in the Deep South, UL is the language of the sea nomads of Andaman coast. The languages have been reported to show striking similarities to Thai, the dominant language of the country. Many constructions in the two languages are structurally identical to their Thai counterparts as illustrated by (2).

(2)  
  PM  aŋiŋ waʔ-wi yumɔh yutoh  
  UL aŋen buwaiʔ-bri rumah rutoh  
  Thai phaːjuɖ tham1-haj3 baːn3 phanj3  
  wind CAUS(<‘do’))-CAUS(<‘give’) house collapse  
  ‘The storm made the house collapsed.’

This paper investigates the occurrence of labile verbs as a type of the causative-inchoative alternations in PM and UL. As the two closely-related languages are in contact with the same dominant language but under different contact circumstances, comparing the use of labile verbs in these languages can reveal how languages can be typologically affected by different contact situations. The wordlist used for collecting data in this study is from Haspelmath (1993) with 31 items. Additional words are also collected. Contexts are given in elicitation session (e.g. ‘sugar dissolves’ vs. ‘he dissolves sugar’) to avoid confusion.

The results reveals that PM and UL show different degree of similarity with Thai regarding the use of labile verbs. More specifically, PM does not use many labile verbs but still uses affixation to derive inchoative verbs, while UL tend to agree with Thai. The examples of ‘open’ in (3) to (5) illustrate the contrast between PM and Thai as well as the similarity of UL to Thai.

(3)  
  PM  a. pitu b-bukɔ  
       door INCH-open  
       ‘The door opens.’

  b. jɔ bukɔ pitu  
       3SG open door  
       ‘He opened the door.’
With respect to meaning, the labile verbs in PM tend to differ from their counterparts in Thai. In particular, labile verbs in PM are subject to some semantic restrictions not found in Thai and UL. More specifically, most of the labile verbs in PM are stative and spontaneous, e.g. *hil ‘get lost/lose’, *beʔki ‘improve’, *huboj ‘connect’, *uboh ‘change’ and *hipoj ‘gather’, a characteristics absent in Thai and UL. On the other hand, labile verbs in UL seem to have similar semantics as their counterparts in Thai as described by Thepkanjana (2000). In particular, UL labile verbs be activity verbs, e.g. *pulaih–mun⁵ ‘spin’, verbs with noticeable time span between action and result, e.g. *crakoʔ–khwan³ ‘turn over’, or verbs without noticeable time span between action and result, e.g. *padap–dap² ‘go out/put out’.

From the point of view of language contact, the different degrees of convergence toward Thai are due to the different linguistic and contact situations the PM and UL speakers find themselves in, such as number of active speakers, linguistic repertoires of the speakers, especially the younger generations, and exposure to their agglutinative sister languages.

References
On the non-phonological status of glottal stops in Amis

Kazuhiro Imanishi
Hiroshima University

The Amis language is a Formosan language spoken along the east coast of Taiwan. In the present paper, I will present the analysis that glottal stops in Amis are not phonological, but are just phones inserted by insertion rules, which will be outlined below, or allophones of the epiglottopharyngeal stop phoneme /ʔ/.

There have been a number of analyses put forward regarding glottal stops in Amis. Fey (1984) doesn’t differentiate glottal stops from epiglottopharyngeal stops (/?/), which she calls “heavy” glottal stops. Maddieson and wright (1995) and Tsai and Zeng (1997) regard glottal stops as phonemes, no matter which phonological environment they are in. On the other hand, Tsuchida (1988) treats only word-internal glottal stops (e.g. [komaʔan]) as phonemes; according to his analysis, word-initial and word final glottal stops (e.g. [ʔanini?]) are not phonological. In the analysis of Edmondson et al. (2005), glottal stops are inserted by rules, but are phonological because there is phonological contrast between /ʔ/ and /ʔ/. Chen (1987) describes the insertion rules in (1), where a glottal stop or one of the glides [j] and [w] is inserted between two adjacent vowels. In her analysis, there are both phonological glottal stops and non-phonological glottal stops, and the latter is inserted by the rules in (1).

(1) a. [ ] > [w] /o_a, a_o b. [ ] > [j] /a_i, i_a, i_o, i_i c. [ ] > [ʔ] /a_a, a_e, o_i, o_o

In the analysis adopted in the present paper, glottal stops in Amis are not phonemes; they are either phones inserted by insertion rules or allophones of the epiglottopharyngeal stop.

First, outside roots, glottal stops are optionally inserted to “cover” the syllables beginning or ending with a vowel, as Edmondson et al. (2005) state.

(2) a. /anini/ ([ʔ]anini?) “now, today”, /pina/ [pina?] “how many/much”
   b. /ma-olah/ [maʔolah ~ maolah] “like”
   c. /na-i-ʔoa-aj/ [naʔisowaʔaj ~ naisowaoaj] “from where?”
   d. /watso=iso/ [watsoʔiso? ~ watsoʔiso?] “you dog”

Second, inside roots, either a glottal stop or glide is inserted between two adjacent vowels, following the rules (3) and (4). Vowel clusters /əa/, /əi/, /əo/, and /əə/ do not exist inside roots.

(3) [ ] > [ʔ] or [ ] /a_a, i_i, o_o, a_i, a_o, a_ə, o_ə, i_ə

(4) a. [ ] > [j] /i a/ b. [ ] > [w] /o
   /i o/ /o i/

(5) a. /aa/: /maʔan/ [maʔan ~ maan] “what”
   b. /ii/: /tatiʔh/ [tatiʔh ~ tatih] “bad”
   c. /oo/: /kanoo/ [kanoo ~ kanos] “nail”
   d. /ai/: /faʔiʔ/ [faʔiʔ ~ faiʔ?] “aunt”
   e. /aa/: /komaʔan/ [komaʔan ~ komaan] “aunt”
   f. /ia/: /kia/ [kijaʔ] “perhaps”
   g. /io/: /falioʔ/ [falioʔ] “typhoon”
   h. /oa/: /tsoa/ [tsowaʔ] (question marker)
The glottal stops and glides are thus in complementary distribution, as in the following table. (The leftmost column: first vowel; the uppermost row: second vowel)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/a/</th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/o/</th>
<th>/ə/</th>
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<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>(?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
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<td>/ə/</td>
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Third, as Wu (2013) states, there are instances where glottal stops cannot be omitted, such as [eiʔnaw]. In my analysis, this type of glottal stops is allophones of the epiglottopharyngeal stop /ʔ/. The allophonic rules of the epiglottopharyngeal stop can be summarized as follows:

**Rule 1**: /ʔ/ > [ʔ] / /Cʔ/ or /ʔC/  e.g. /siʔnaw/ > [eiʔnaw] “cold”

**Rule 2**: /ʔ/ > [ʔh] / /ʔ#/  e.g. /fanaʔ/ > [fanaʔh] “knowledge”

**Rule 3**: /ʔ/ > [ʔ] elsewhere  e.g. /matoʔas/ > [matoʔas] “old”

There are exceptions to the three rules above:

**Exception 1**: if a certain word contains reduplication which involves /ʔ/, /ʔ/ is realized as [ʔ] even if it is adjacent to a consonant. E.g. /teiʔteiʔ/ > [teiʔteiʔ] “surgery”

**Exception 2**: if /ʔ/ is adjacent to a consonant across word boundary, it is realized as /ʔ/. E.g. /mafaŋaʔ to/ > [mafaŋaʔ to] “understood” (to is an enclitic)

**References**


Socio-pragmatic values of Basa Walikan Malangan (BWM) terms of address

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In-depth investigation has long been made to explore the varieties of Javanese language. The hypotheses have significantly shared the idea of Javanese language system complexities that reflects the cultural richness of Javanese society. Observation, elaboration, and documentation of standard Javanese language have long been carried out (Kartomihardjo, 1979; Wolf & Poedjosodarmo, 1982; Errington, 1988; Subroto, et.al., 2008; Iragiliati, 2008, 2012). Few have also put much concern on Javanese dialects (Conners, 2008; Vander Klok, 2012; Jackson & Rahmat, 2013). Javanese dialects and sub dialects expand because of its socio-cultural diversities of the speakers. Basa Walikan Malangan (BWM) is Javanese dialects being extensively used in daily conversation in Malang, East Java, Indonesia and other big cities where the communities use BWM as the means of communication that functioning as the in-group markers. BWM specifically and uniquely features word reversing, for example the word ‘mlaku’ which means ‘walking’ in Javanese is reversed into ‘uklam’. BWM steadily turns into being the socio-cultural identity of Arema (Arek Malang), the people of Malang. Espree-Conaway (2013) has found the unique word-formation processes in BWM seen in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bahasa Indonesia</th>
<th>BahasaJawa</th>
<th>BWM</th>
<th>BahasaInggris</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sepatu → utapes</td>
<td>Boso → Osob‘bahasa’</td>
<td>Raijo → Ojir‘uang’</td>
<td>Slow → woles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepeda → adapes</td>
<td>Arek → kera’anaklaki/perempuan’</td>
<td>Ebes’orang tua’</td>
<td>Relax → skelirsantai’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This paper attempts to provide a wide range of data collection, data analysis, and data documentation of Term of Address (ToA) in BWM. It includes forms and functions of ToA spoken by BWM native speakers. The word ‘mas’ in standard Javanese which means ‘big brother’ and is used to address someone older (age), male (gender), and of higher (social status) is constructed into ‘sam’ in BWM in order to convey both solidarity and politeness. The variety of forms spoken in BWM is investigated from sociolinguistic variables, such as age, gender, and social status. Meanwhile, the functions of ToA are primarily perceived from solidarity and politeness perspective. To arrive at insightful description and explanation, in-depth observation and interview are conducted to BWM native speakers to obtain both forms and functions of ToA. This paper does not simply portray the richness of linguistic structure of BWM; rather, it essentially elaborates wider perspectives by which BWM can be extracted for further researchers.

References


About the “directionals” and their descriptive problems

The directionals have been described as Hawaiian functional words, and these kinds of words are recognized in many other Polynesian languages as well. Basically the directionals are preceded by verbs and they indicate the directions to which the actions proceed. In Hawaiian there are four “directionals”: mai (toward), aku (away), aʻe (upward) and iho (downward). They are used like hele mai (come) and hele aku (go).

Elbert and Pukui (1979) showed many examples of the actual usages in Hawaiian texts and described these elements’ syntactic natures and possible meanings. Other studies analyzed the temporal use (Cook 1996) or the comparative use (Shionoya 2007) in detail. Still, many questions remain to be discussed in detail such as:

i) The nature of the optionality: whether or not to use the directionals

ii) The locating of the grammatical or semantic range of their possible usages

iii) How to decide the reference point which is in particular essential for mai and aku

Purpose

This paper focuses on reanalyzing the nature of the deitic axis elements “mai-aku”, especially the most frequently used and polysemic mai. They are mainly discussed from the perspective of a) the co-occurring content words, and b) the distribution of the usages of mai.

Data used for the analysis

Data are from the Hawaiian texts written in late 19th and early 20th century. Within about 168,000 words, aside from the apparent homonyms, each token are approximately: mai 3200, aku 2300, aʻe 1000, and iho 850 (these were discussed more in Iwasaki 2014).

Main points

a) From a collocational point of view,

- Among the highly actional words, there is the evident deviation in the behavior of the words. Some are frequently accompanied with the directionals. On the other hand, there are several words which appear many times but are often without the directional.

- Especially with the directed motion and statement verbs,

1) The distribution of the directionals which appear with each verb of this category does not really agree with that of the entire token of the directions. For example, though mai is more numerous than aku, some words (haʻalele <leave>, paæaea <chant> etc.) more often appears with aku, at least twice as many as mai.

2) On the other hand, there are also the verbs that heavily need the directionals. For instance, over 80% of pane (reply) occurs with any directionals. Others are not as extreme as pane; in average about a half of these verbs precede the directionals.

-Considering all of these facts, though evidently the directionals have meanings associated with the spatial direction, future studies of the directionals need to consider other functions, like the focus marker suggested in Maori before (Bauer 1993).

b) In regard to the sound form “mai”,

-Its distribution of usages is roughly: Direction with VP (65%) > Direction with NP(20%) >Preposition (10%) > Negative imperative >Verb.

-With the fact that these usages (aside from the negative imperative) are apparently related
each other, and considering problems in the discussion of Hawaiian parts of speech often lead to circular argument, the following figure is suggested as an example which visually maps possible meanings of most polysemic mai.

![Fig. Chart of possible meanings of Hawaiian sound form mai (Based on Iwasaki 2014)](image)

**Contributions to the Hawaiian language**

From the point of view of the entire Hawaiian grammatical description, even more studies about these frequent words should be done both for linguistic and educational benefits.

**References**


This paper is dealing with traditional ecological knowledge of the language used by the Rotenese, Amarasi and Uab Meto indigenous communities, especially in palm weaving crafts. The aims of this paper are to find out: 1) the TEK of palm weaving crafts in Rotenese, Amarasi and Uab Meto languages, 2) ways of TEK of palm weaving crafts transmitted intergenerationally, and 3) whether some parts of the TEK of palm weaving crafts shared by several indigenous communities.

As language documentation, this study is hoped to preserve, transmit and promote traditional ecological knowledge in many ways, especially in local content educational curriculum. Several conservation programmes have begun involving indigenous communities, with their traditions, in conservation or resource-management programmes. It is worthwhile to examine one such resource-management programme in some detail, so as to illustrate the success that may be achieved by involving indigenous communities in such endeavours.

NTT is well known for its palm weaving crafts. In every occasion, indigenous communities in NTT use palm weaving crafts for their everyday activities as well as to show their identities. In a Timorese marriage ceremony, for example, it is a must to use Oko mama (bottle-nut container) as part of proposing a woman. Oko mama is presented by the speaker of the man’s family to the speaker of the woman’s, and when it is accepted, then the marriage can be done. Many palm weaving crafts are also used in the households, gardens, plantations, paddy fields and many others. However, many modern products, such as plastics, are taking over these traditional crafts lately. According to Ross (2002), education, too, can also be a thread. Thus, younger generations who have been increasingly exposed to formal commerce and schooling may be more likely to engage in independent discovery than their older counterparts who live a more traditional lifestyle and may be more likely to engage in collectivist (interdependent) learning activities. Regarding the specific domain of ecological knowledge acquisition, several studies have reported indigenous perceptions of TEK loss, providing evidence of it, but they have not examined changes in the actual process of TEK transmission that might have led to such loss (Ross, 2002).

Key words: language documentation, traditional ecological knowledge, palm weaving crafts

References
The subject in Central Sinama
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The notion of Subject is a vexed one for a number of Austronesian languages in the Philippines and Borneo. The most well-known dispute pertains to Tagalog [tgl], with Schachter (1976) famously positing that Tagalog subjecthood properties are divided between actors and topics, leaving no single syntactic category that can be identified as the Subject. Other researchers, though, have argued for identifying the Subject in Philippine- type languages with the nominative noun phrase, the NP which is selected by the verb morphology (Kroeger 1991 for Tagalog; Schwartz 1976 for Ilokano).

This paper analyzes the identity of the Subject in Central Sinama [sml], a Sama-Bajaw language spoken in the southern Philippines and northern Borneo. At least three syntactic constructions clearly identify the Sinama nominative NP as the Subject: functional control, quantifier float, and relativization. This analysis is in line with studies of other Sama-Bajaw languages. In Sama Bangingi’ [sse] the large majority of subject properties are associated with the nominative NP, despite some splitting of subject properties similar to that identified in Tagalog (Gault 1999). Likewise, the nominative NP is identified as Subject for West Coast Bajau [bdr] of Borneo (Miller 2007) and Indonesian Bajau [bdl] (Donohue 1998). In Sama Pangutaran [slm], the nominative NP has been described as “the syntactic pivot for all of the major syntactic constructions” (Walton 1983).

The basic Sinama voice system consists of a three-way alternation among Actor Voice, or AV (ex. 1), in which the verb morphology cross-references the Actor of the clause; Undergoer Voice, or UV (ex. 2), in which the Undergoer is cross-referenced; and Passive (ex. 3), in which the Undergoer is cross-referenced and the Actor is demoted or omitted. The cross-referenced NP in each voice is referred to as the nominative NP.

(1) Hal kita aN-baklay bang t'bba.
merely 1DU.INCL AV-travel.by.f when low.tide
‘When the tide is low we just travel along the shore.’

(2) Bay Ø-b'lla=na daing itu.
PST UV-cook=3SG fish this
S/he cooked this fish.

(3) Bang kami Ø-bowa=nu aN-adjal he’ mundu
when 1SG.EXCL AV-prepare.food fish DET
s<in>urang-an kami timbak.
<PASS>point.weapon-SM 1SG.EXCL gun
‘When we are held up by bandits we have weapons pointed at us.’

Control: In Sinama, only the nominative NP of a subordinate clause can be controlled, whether the Actor (ex. 4) or the Undergoer (ex. 5). This pattern provides strong evidence for the nominative NP’s status as the Subject of a Sinama clause, because in most languages only the Subject of the subordinate clause can be the controller.

(4) Bay kami Ø-bowa=nu aN-adjal daing he’.
PST 1PL.EXCL AV-influence=2SG AV-prepare.food fish DET
‘You had us prepare that fish.’
(5) Makannak itu mbal ta-kole’ <ni>lāng.
children DET NEG PASS.ABIL-able <PASS>forbid
‘These children are impossible to make stop.’

**Quantifier float:** Quantifier float is a phenomenon in which a modifier, typically a quantifier such as ‘all’ or ‘many,’ is able to move out of a noun phrase and take up residence elsewhere in the sentence. An English example:

(6) The students will all watch the games.

In Sinama, a floated quantifier can only be understood as modifying the nominative NP. This indicates that the nominative NP is a syntactically privileged argument, and is evidence for its Subject status in the Sinama clause. Example 7 is in AV, example 8 in UV.

(7) aN-dakdak sigām s’mmek ma bihing tampe kasehe’an.
AV-launder 3PL clothing at edge tidal.zone some
‘Some of them laundered clothing at the water’s edge.’

(8) Ø-Dakdak-an=sigām s’mmek hē ma bihing tampe kasehe’an.
UV-launder-sm=3PL clothing DET at edge tidal.zone some
‘They laundered some of the clothing at the water’s edge.’

**Relativization:** Sinama utilizes two strategies to form relative clauses: a gap strategy, and resumptive pronouns. The gap strategy is used to relativize the nominative NP in the relative clause (AV in ex. 9, UV in ex. 10). Resumptive pronouns are used to relativize possessors of nominative NPs.

In many Western Austronesian languages, relativization using the gap strategy is restricted to Subjects. As the gap strategy only applies to the nominative NP in Sinama, this is evidence that the nominative NP should be understood as the Subject in a Sinama clause.

(9) ni a’a bay aN-b’lli daing ma tabu’
to person PST AV-buy fish at market
‘to the person who bought fish at the market’

(10) onde’ bay Ø-pandi=na ma undam
child PST UV-bathe=3SG at basin
‘the child she bathed in the basin’
Three voices in Madurese
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University of Pennsylvania

INTRODUCTION. In Madurese (Malayo-Polynesian, Indonesia), verbs in active voice (1) are marked with either a- or a homorganic nasal prefix, N- (Stevens 1968, Davies 2010). The prefix e- marks a non-active voice, as in (2). e- verbs are analyzed as passives in early descriptions of Madurese (Killiaan 1897, Stevens 1968). In more recent work, Davies (2010) argues that e- verbs are not passive, but rather an object voice. Thus, previous work has indicated only two-way voice distinctions in the language (either active-passive or active-object).

(1) Pak Ali ng-ato-eng ana'-eng. (Familiar-Active)
Mr Ali AV-call-Apppl child-Poss
‘Mr. Ali called his child.’

(2) Ana’-eng e-kato-eh bari’ (bi’ Pak Ali). (Familiar-Passive)
child-Poss PV-call-Apppl yesterday by Mr Ali
‘His child was called yesterday (by Mr. Ali).’

PROPOSAL. Based on novel data in the western dialect of Madurese, we argue that e- verbs constitute a syntactically defined passive voice. We also demonstrate that another non-active voice—a syntactically defined object voice—exists in polite speech (high register), but not in familiar speech (low register). Thus, this variety of Madurese has a three-way voice distinction in polite speech (active, passive and object voices), but the familiar speech has lost the object voice, resulting in only two voices (active and passive).

EVIDENCE FOR e- VERBS AS PASSIVES. In canonical passive voice, an argument other than the Agent occupies the grammatical subject position, and the verb is marked differently from the active form (Haspelmath 2001, Kulikov 2010). The Agent DP is not a core argument in the verbal domain; it may be implicit (unpronounced), or may be embedded in an adjunct PP “by-phrase.” All these characteristics are present in verbs with the prefix e-, as shown in (2): the Theme ‘child’ is raised to the preverbal subject position, and the Agent optionally occurs in a by-phrase. The example in (3) further demonstrates that the Agent is embedded in an adjunct PP, which may appear in several different positions:

(3) a. (Bi’ embi’ rowa) jhuko’ jiyah e-kakan (bi’ embi’ rowa) bari’ (bi’ embi’ rowa).
(by goat that) fish that PV-eat (by goat that) yesterday (by goat that)
‘The fish was eaten yesterday (by the goat).’ (Familiar-Passive)

EVIDENCE FOR OBJECT VOICE only in polite speech. For a syntactic definition of the object voice, we follow analyses of languages related to Madurese (Chung 1978 and Sneddon et al 2012 for Indonesian, Arka 2003 for Balinese, and Legate 2012, 2014 for Acehnese.) Characteristic features of object voice are illustrated in the Indonesian examples in (4). The object voice Agent occupies its base-generated thematic position immediately before the verb, and cannot undergo movement. From this thematic position, the Agent is able to bind a raised Theme (4a). Unlike the passive voice, the object voice requires an overt Agent; it may not be implicit or pro-dropped (4b). The verb and the Agent must be immediately adjacent, and no element (e.g. adverb) may intervene between them (4c). Note that aspect and modals occur before the Agent, and that the object voice verb always occurs in its “bare form,” i.e. without a voice affix.

(4) Indonesian Object voice
a. Diri-nya tak dia hiraukan.
self-3 NEG 3sg OV.care
‘Himself he didn’t care for.’ (Chung 1976:68)
b. Sepeda motor itu akan *(ku-)beli.
   bicycle motor that FUT 1s-buy
   ‘I will buy the motorcycle.’

c. Sepeda motor itu sudah dia (*langsung) beli (langsung).
   bicycle motor that PERF 3s immediately buy immediately
   Intended: ‘He immediately bought the motorcycle.’

We employ the characteristics outlined above as diagnostics to determine whether an object
voice exists in Madurese. In familiar speech, the Agent cannot appear in its thematic position, after
aspect/modals and immediately before the verb (5). The bare form of familiar verbs, without voice
affix, is likewise ungrammatical in (5). Therefore, an object voice construction is not possible in
familiar speech.

(5) *Ana’-eng la ab’-eng kato-eh. (Familiar)
   child-Poss Perf 3s call-Appl
   Intended: ‘He called his child.’

By contrast, an object voice does exist in polite speech. In (6) the verb occurs in its bare form,
with no voice prefix. Like object voice in related languages, the Agent DP is immediately adjacent
to the verb; aspectual morphemes must occur before the object voice Agent.

(6) Potra-epon ampon ramah tembhal-ih. (Polite-Object voice)
   ‘Father called his son.’

The Agent in the object voice is a DP that remains in its thematic position; therefore, it
behaves differently from the Agent in the passive voice, which is embedded in an adjunct PP. A
preposition may not occur with the Agent in object voice (7). The object voice Agent must always
be pronounced (8), whereas passive Agents are not required to be pronounced (see (2) and (3)).
Questioning the object voice Agent is not possible (9), while forming questions from the passive
Agent is possible.

(7) *Potra-epon ampon sareng ramah tembhal-ih. (Polite-Object voice)
   ‘(By) Father called his son.’

(8) *Potra-epon ampon tembhal-ih. (Polite-Object voice)
   Intended: ‘[He] called his son.’

(9) a. *Paserah se potra-epon ampon tembhal-ih? (Polite-Object voice)
    Intended: ‘Who called his son?’

b. *Potra-epon ampon paserah tembhal-ih? (Polite-Object voice)
   Intended: ‘Who called his son?’

Note that in some languages with object voice, the Agent is restricted to certain types of DPs,
such as pronouns. Similarly, in Madurese the object voice Agent is also restricted to polite personal
pronouns, as well as a limited set of kinship terms (used in 3rd person): ‘father,’ ‘mother,’ ‘sibling.’

**CONCLUSION AND EXTENSIONS.** We conclude that Madurese has a three-way voice
distinction in polite speech, but that the familiar speech level has lost object voice. We discuss
several indications that the object voice is also not vigorous in polite speech. We consider the
possible implications for historical and ongoing changes in the voice system of the language.
Selected References
Directional and relative height terms in Sangiric languages

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This paper presents directional and relative height terms in the Sangiric languages of North Sulawesi, Indonesia. Bantik and Toratán are spoken in the north-east tip of Sulawesi, while Sangir and Talaud are spoken on islands stretching north to the Philippines.

It is widely known that Austronesian languages are conscious of the vertical axis, that is, the inland versus the sea axis. This vertical axis is frequently reflected in deictic terms of many languages of this family, as described in Blust (1997). The languages in the Sangiric subgroup are closely related to one another, and so are their systems of directional terms. However, there are considerable differences in usages of these terms among the four languages. It will be argued that differences in the locations in which the speakers of the languages live affect how directional terms are used.

Each language has at least four terms which denote the height relative to the deictic center. They are divided into two groups: one group for modifying static objects such as buildings and mountains, and the other for modifying dynamic movements. Some languages share the cognate morpheme but others have specific ones, but all of them have four terms for static objects: that for “up”, “down”, “somewhat upwards”, and “somewhat downwards”.

Counterparts of the four terms for modifying dynamic actions exist in Bantik, Toratán, and Sangir, but Talaud lacks the terms for “somewhat upwards” and “somewhat downwards” — which also vary in their meaning and usages in those languages that have them. For example, in Toratan, the latter two terms indicate specific directions: sa “somewhat downwards” indicates the opposite direction (south) of nei “upwards” (north). Directionals in Toratan, Sangir, and Talaud can serve roughly as cardinal directions, but not in Bantik. The enclitic ta in Toratan, Bantik, and Sangir accompanies a dynamic directional to indicate that movement is made away from the deictic center, but Talaud lacks such an element. However, Talaud dynamic directionals have progressive aspect despite the fact that they do not take other affixes that are characteristic of verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Directionals in Sangiric Languages</th>
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<tr>
<td>Language</td>
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<td><strong>Upwards</strong></td>
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<td>Talaud</td>
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<td>Sangir</td>
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<td>Bantik</td>
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<td>Toratan (Ratahan)</td>
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<td><strong>Downwards</strong></td>
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<td>Sangir</td>
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<td>Bantik</td>
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<td>Toratan (Ratahan)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Somewhat upwards</td>
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<td>Bantik</td>
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<td>sa</td>
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**References**


The reconstruction of Proto-SHWNG morphology

David Kamholz
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Proto-South Halmahera-West New Guinea (Proto-SHWNG) is the closest known relative of Proto-Oceanic (Blust 1978). Oceanic languages comparatively are well-studied and Proto-Oceanic is well-reconstructed (e.g., Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002). The 38 SHWNG languages of eastern Indonesia have received much less descriptive attention, with the result that their history is poorly understood, and there have been few attempts to reconstruct Proto-SHWNG. Van den Berg (2009)’s reconstruction of SHWNG possessive marking is a noteworthy exception. Unfortunately, his reconstructions are hampered by the lack of reliable subgrouping assumptions.

Kamholz (2014) proposes a systematic subgrouping of SHWNG languages on the basis of exclusively shared innovations, drawing on published and archival materials and his own field data. This newly established subgrouping could plausibly be employed to perform a bottom-up reconstruction of Proto-SHWNG in the manner of van den Berg. However, while Kamholz deduces that the homeland of Proto-SHWNG was in southern Cenderawasih Bay, he makes no attempt to reconstruct this proto-language.

This paper reconstructs the subject marking and inalienable possessive marking morphology of Proto-SHWNG, drawing on Kamholz’s subgrouping and morphological data. For example, several SHWNG languages show evidence of a 1 PL.IN inalienable suffix descending from *-nd-. This suffix is innovative with respect to its likely Proto-Malayo-Polynesian predecessor *-ta. Its reflexes are found in two primary branches of Proto-SHWNG: Moor, a single-language primary branch, and the South Halmahera and Raja Ampat languages (together forming the RASH subgroup). This distribution is best explained by reconstructing *-nd- to Proto-SHWNG.

The reconstruction of Proto-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (PEMP), the most recent common ancestor of Proto-SHWNG and Proto-Oceanic, will also briefly be considered. For example, the Proto-Oceanic 1 PL.IN possessive suffix *-da (phonetically *-nda) closely resembles the Proto-SHWNG reconstruction. This striking comparison reinforces the proposed Proto-SHWNG reconstruction and provides evidence that the suffix can be reconstructed to PEMP. Taken together, the reconstruction of Proto-SHWNG and PEMP are of great significance for better understanding the spread of Austronesian languages into New Guinea and their contact with non-Austronesian languages.

References

The Role of Mora in Phonology: A Case for Arta, A Northern Luzon Language

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Arta is an Austronesian language spoken by 11 Negrito people living in Quirino province, northern part of Luzon, Philippines, with the language belonging to the Northern Luzon subgroup of Malayo-Polynesian languages (Reid, 1989). This paper argues that, to assume that the mora is at work in the Arta phonology is useful in that (i) it predicts allomorphic alternations, (ii) it explains a constraint on a possible syllable structure in Arta, and (iii) it also explains the development of vowel lengthening.

First, the mora may explain the distribution of allomorphy. An aspectual marker =di with an allomorph =d is the case in point. The alternation between =di vs. =d is determined depending on the number of moras which the final syllable of a host word contains. =d is used if the host word ends with 1 mora syllable (e.g. nasungdu =d 'finished, ended'), whereas =di is used if it ends with 2 mora syllable, regardless of whether the final syllable ends with a consonant or vowel; e.g. mebbuyu :=di, 'bad-smelling', awan =di 'there is no'.

Second, Arta has a strong constraint on the syllable structure that a syllable must consist of 1 or 2 moras; that is, light syllables (CV), and heavy syllables (CV: and CVC) can appear, whereas superheavy syllables (CV:C or CVCC) are not allowed to appear in the language. This mora constraint on the syllable structure in Arta plays a significant role in both synchronic and diachronic phonology. Synchronously, we do not find any words with CV:C/CVCC except a loan kabba:t 'want, like'. Diachronically, the mora constraint could explain how a new phoneme /o/ developed. In Arta, PMP (Proto-Malayo-Polynesian) *a+u is reflected as either /o/, if it is followed by a coda consonant, as in *dahun > don 'leaf', PMP *lahud > di-lod (fossilized locative + ‘downstream’), and *saqup > top 'help' (after the loss of *q); or reflected as /aw/, if it has no coda consonant, as in *taqu > tataw 'know', *ulitau > ulitaw 'young man', and *leətaw > leətaw 'float'. This distributional fact would be motivated by the pressure from the mora constraint on the syllable structure, because the superheavy syllable CauC is not allowed and should be reduced to satisfy the constraint.

Finally, the development of long vowels in Arta is best explained as the tendency to retain the number of mora after phonemes were lost or fused (if it does not violate the syllable structure). Although Arta historically lost the accentual system (cf. Zorc 1979), the short-long contrast of vowels was re-developed. For example, compensatory lengthening occurred by the loss of *k is the case, as in *anak > ana: 'child', *manuk > manu: 'bird', and *gayan =ku > gaya:ŋ-u 'my lance'. In all the cases, the number of mora is retained in spite of the loss of *k, which again suggests that the mora is at work in the phonology of Arta.

References
The impact of right-anchored truncation on inflectional paradigms in western Austronesian languages: Evidence from Northern and Central Sulawesi

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I discuss the tendency for right-anchored truncation and its impact on the morphosyntactic history of voice and mood systems in western Austronesian languages, with a special focus on actor voice realis prefixes in Minahasan and Kaili-Pamona languages found in Adriani and Adriani-Gunning (1908) and its additional data on modern Northern and Central Sulawesi languages.

Right-anchored truncation is defined as truncation where the rightmost segments are preserved (Alber and Arndt-Lappe 2012), and is a key to the historical developments in western Austronesian languages which have a predominant left-branching morphology. For example, Dairi Batak reciprocal 𝐝-

The Proto-Malayo-Polynesian actor voice realis prefix is historically disyllabic *minaR- with the actor voice prefix *maR- and the realis infix *<in> (Reid 1987): It is often reflected as *naR- and its variants such as *naN- and *na- with an initial /n/ in most Philippine languages such as Tagalog nag-; however, some conservative languages still retain untruncated forms such as Casiguran Dumagat (Northern Luzon, Negrito) minag- and Sarangani Manobo (Manoboic) (mi)neN-. Historical and comparative evidence from Northern and Central Sulawesi suggests that the first morphemes of *minaR- are gradually truncated: The first consonant becomes truncated, as evidenced in Bobongko (Saluan-Banggai) ina- ~ na- (earlier *mina-); the following vowel then becomes truncated as in 19th-century Kaili mina- ~ Modern Kaili na-. It also suggests sporadic affix order change from earlier *m<in>a- to *mina-, where *<in> is prefixed as *ni-, as in Pre-19th-century Pamona (Kaili-Pamona) nima- and Kakas Tondano (Minahasan) nima-. Based on these observations, I argue that the co-occurrence of these morphological processes, as in Pre-19th-century Tontemboan (Minahasan) nima- ~ 19th-century Tontemboan ima- (earlier *nima-) and Pre-19th-century Pamona nima- ~ Modern Pamona ma-, has triggered the syncretism of the two mood forms marked with *maR- and *minaR-, eventually leading to the loss of the mood distinction with these forms in most West Indonesian languages, where only the mood-neutral form *maR- is attested as in Toba Batak actor voice mar-. This syncretism further has the effect that the realis marker <in> ~ ni- no longer appears in actor-oriented constructions, which causes the redefinition of the realis marker as an undergoer voice marker, as in the Makassarese undergoer voice prefix ni-.

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On semantic verb classes and regularity of voice paradigms in Tagalog

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It is often claimed that voice is highly irregular in Tagalog, with verbs having idiosyncratic voice paradigms varying both in the number and type of available voice forms. Sometimes one can read that “no general rules can be given for the occurrence or non-occurrence of a base with any particular major affix” (Schachter and Otanes 1972: 283; also cf. Endriga 2014: 2). While there have been a number of studies attempting a classification of Tagalog verbs according to their affix-correspondence classes (Silverio 1962; Cruz 1972; Schachter and Otanes 1972; McFarland 1976), rarely an attempt to provide a classification of Tagalog verb stems based on semantics, rather than purely form, as manifested by voice affixes, and on exhaustive lists of available voice forms derived from them has been made. One of such studies (Endriga 2014) limits its sample to 5 voice forms (actor, patient, locative, benefactive and instrumental) based on a corpus of comic books, thus presenting not complete voice paradigms.

Tagalog data suggests that voice paradigms do manifest a certain degree of regularity with respect to the number and semantic type of voice forms (but, apparently, less so for affix-correspondence classes mentioned above) within narrow semantic classes of verbs. For instance, verbs of property change (ganda ‘become (more) beautiful’, liit ‘become small(-er)’, lamig ‘become cold(-er)’, kulang ‘become lacking’, etc.) typically have a paradigm of three members: AV, CV and MV:

(1) G<um>anda siya dahil dito.
    <AV.INF>beauty 3SG.NOM because DEM.PROX.OBL
    ‘She became more beautiful because of this.’

(2) I-k<in>a-ganda mo ba iyan?
    CV-<PERF>STEM-beauty 2SG.GEN INT DEM.MED.NOM
    ‘Did you become more beautiful because of that?’

(3) Ma-laki ang i-g<in>anda niya.
    ADJ-big CM.NPRSNL.NOM MV-<PERF>beauty 3SG.GEN
    ‘She became much more beautiful.’

Most of the stems in this class also have an EV form which constitutes a separate paradigm, as it involves no property change and, thus, has no counterpart AV counterpart:

(4) Na-ganda-han sila kay Aya.
    MOD.PERF-beauty-EV 3PL.NOM CM.PRSNL.OBL Aya
    ‘They were struck by Aya’s beauty.’

Verbs of ingestion (kain ‘eat’, inom ‘drink’, lunok ‘swallow’, hithit ‘draw in’, singhot ‘sniff’, laklak ‘lap’, langhap ‘inhale, etc.) typically have a paradigm of 5 members: in addition to actor, patient, locative and instrumental voices, which one can easily expect based on the semantics of these verbs, there is also a BV form for every verb of this class:

(5) I-kain mo ako diyan nang ma-sarap.
    BV.IMP-eat 2SG.GEN 1SG.NOM DEM.MED.OBL CM.NPRSNL.GEN ADJ-delicious
    ‘Eat something delicious for me there (since, for example, I cannot come myself).’
The table below shows voice paradigms for 11 semantic classes of verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Semantic Class</th>
<th>AV</th>
<th>PV</th>
<th>LV</th>
<th>DV</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>BV</th>
<th>CV</th>
<th>EV</th>
<th>MV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooking (luto ‘cook’)</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ingestion (kain ‘eat’)</td>
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<td>Hitting (sipa ‘kick’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbal communication (sigaw ‘shout’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elimination (suka ‘vomit’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Punctual path-of-motion (punta ‘go’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nonpunctual path-of-motion (lapit)</td>
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<td>Change of body position (upo ‘sit down’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manner-of-motion (takbo ‘run’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extinction/appearance (matay ‘die’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Property change (ganda ‘become (more) beautiful’)</td>
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<td>(+)</td>
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The said paradigms are fully regular not for each stem: among the 73 verb stems grouped in the 11 verb classes arbitrarily taken for the overview of the system presented in the table above, 23 stems manifest some kind of irregularity, such as an extra-voice form not available to other members of the same class (such as the LV form from lamig ‘cold’ in (6)) or a verb stem has a deficient paradigm with one or more voice forms typical for verbs of the same class missing, as is the case of lunok ‘swallow’, which does not seem to have a LV form:

(6) $P<\text{in}>ag-la~lamig-an\ siya\ nang\ kamay$.

‘His hands are getting cold.’

Interestingly, verb stems in these classes also correlate regarding availability of such verbal forms as social verbs (verbs of hitting do not seem to have such forms), reciprocal (not available for verbs of cooking, ingestion, elimination, punctual path-of-motion, change of body position, manner-of-motion, and extinction/appearance), comitative (not available for verbs of extinction/appearance and property change), and modal (not available for verbs of extinction/appearance and property change).

**Abbreviations:**

**References:**
On the interference of Tuwali Ifugao and Yattuka elements in Hudhud di/ni kolot

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The research (a continuation of the topic presented at the 12th ICAL in Bali (Stanyukovich 2012)) deals with interference of Tuwali Ifugao, a language of the Central Cordilleran Group (Reid 1974), and Yattuka, a language of the Kalanguya/Kallahan cluster of the Southern Cordilleran group (Himes 1998), items in hudhud epics. The oral tradition in question is performed in a small number of municipalities in the Central and Southern parts of the Ifugao province of Northern Luzon and shared by speakers of two related linguistic groups: Ifugao and Kalanguya/Kallahan (Stanyukovich 2003; Stanyukovich 2013). The present study is based on the two texts of hudhud di/ni kolot ‘hudhud of hair-cutting’ recorded by Dr. Stanyukovich in 1995 (in Tuwali) and 2012 (in Yattuka). The Tuwali text contains the following instances of Yattuka elements:

1. The common Philippine infix –um- is reported to have become a prefix in Southern Cordilleran (Himes 1998: 140). Interestingly, the Tuwali text contains occurrences of –um- prefixed to the verbal root, which is a normal Yattuka/Kalanguya strategy, but never happens in Ifugao (umkiliggen ne umlahun ‘he rises and goes out’, where umkiliggen is a Yattuka verb, while umlahun is a Tuwali root with the Yattuka prefix). It should be noted, however, that Yattuka texts can contain forms with an infixed –um-, however, it does not necessarily mean that it is borrowed from Tuwali, as it is a member of the regular aspect paradigm and has to be used in certain constructions. Particularly, such forms are used at least in the following contexts: after the conjunctions ta ‘so that; in order to’ and ot ‘and then’, and after the verbal negator olog in the perfective sense. A similar phenomenon is reported to exist in Kalanguya, where om- is infixed in verbs in a so-called chaining structure with the meaning of the perfective aspect and in 3 person imperatives (Santiago, Tadena 2013).

2. Certain Yattuka personal pronouns are occasionally used in the Tuwali text. Thus, the text contains instances of the Yattuka kyu (2PL.NOM), hikyu (2PL.IND) and ida (3PL.NOM). Another example is tu (3SG.GEN), corresponding to na. In the hudhud it is used as part of a fossilized construction dammu tu ‘enough’. Interestingly, the two tokens of this unit with the Yattuka tu coexist in the text with two instances of the Tuwali counterpart dammu na.

3. The Tuwali text has many occurrences of Yattuka lexical words. Some of these are used consistently with numerous instances throughout the whole text, for example, nidiyaan ‘spent a night (locative voice)’, ungbal ‘conversation’, nodnod ‘descend’, lawwen ‘to go’, gilig ‘edge’; others are intermitted with corresponding Tuwali units, such as the Yattuka dallin ‘yard’ vs. Tuwali olladan and doldola, Yattuka bubud ‘ricewine’ vs. Tuwali binnahi, Yattuka udda-den ‘cooked rice’ vs. Tuwali inda-den. Other Yattuka items are used only once: nogibbuh ‘finished’, nuntapi ‘chewed betelchew’, haki ‘one’, lantayagon ‘to hold a chicken by a neck’, watwat ‘distributing’, dallagadag ‘North’, tinwik ‘pierced’, agakuwon ‘to dish out’, etc. An interesting case is that of makayyagud ‘good’ and woda ‘there is’. The former is a combination of the Yattuka adjective kayyagud ‘good’ with the Tuwali stative prefix ma- (Hohulin and Hohulin 2014: 37). As for the latter, woda is the Yattuka counterpart of the Tuwali existential predicate wada. While wada is used in the text primarily in its original function, woda does not form an existential construction, as the accompanying verb is used with a subject. This unit seems to be part of the formulaic construction normally consisting of Tuwali interjections used to start many lines of the epic. It is unclear if woda has any meaning related to the content of the line it is used in.

The Yattuka text, also containing Tuwali elements in its turn, seems to have slightly more grammar units among the borrowed elements than in the Tuwali hudhud, while borrowed content words are not so numerous:
2. The Tuwali prefix nun- is consistently used in the numerous occurrences of nun- ingngadan ‘the one named’.
3. The Tuwali dakami (2PL.IND) is used once in the text with the infix –umm- (dummakami). This form is not usual in the regular language and used only in hudhud. The Tuwali pronoun na (3SG GEN) has some instances in the text as well.
4. The Tuwali case markers di/-y (NPRS NL.NOM), -ndi (NPRS NL.GEN), hi (NPRS NL.OBL) and ad (place and time marker), as well as the locative pronoun hidí (distal) in combination with ad. These are not used consistently, as they are intermitted with their Yattuka counterparts.
5. Not so many instances of Tuwali lexical words occur in the Yattuka text. The most numerous and consistently used (i.e. those in formulaic constructions repeatedly used throughout the epic) are pammadingan ‘doorpost’ instead of pamodingan, bale ‘house’ instead of bali, and nak ‘offspring’ instead of onak. Others include nidawwi=n boble ‘a remote village’, dalipe ‘paving stones’, kaan ‘removing’, etc.

Further comparative study of grammar and lexicon of the two traditions will be facilitated by means of an electronic database that is now under construction.

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Discourse in a lingua franca: Tracking participants in Tetun Dili

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Tetun Dili is one of the two official languages of Timor Leste (East Timor) and its major lingua franca. It shows wide interspeaker variation in some aspects of discourse structure, such as clause linkage and marking of the major sections in a narrative. Such variation is not surprising given that Tetun Dili is a second language for many of its speakers, and that there is a wide range of influence from Portuguese and Indonesian.

One area of discourse in which there is much agreement, however, is in the tracking of participants. This is so even though Tetun Dili has less linguistic resources for participant reference than the vernaculars, having only one set of pronouns, no participant marking on verbs, and effectively only one demonstrative. Other restrictions, common to the region, include an (almost) fixed subject-verb word order, and no system of voice.

Participant reference is much more explicit in Tetun Dili than it is in Tetun Terik, the vernacular Austronesian language from which it has developed. Characters are introduced, and often referred to subsequently, by their status, role or relationship (e.g. mestri ‘teacher’, ferik ‘old woman’, or nia oan ‘his/her child’). There is a distinction between major and minor participants, in that the singular pronoun nia ‘he/she’ is largely restricted to major participants, or at least to the major participant at that point in the narrative. Zero anaphora is used relatively little, except when required or encouraged by the grammar. As a result of these tendencies, and in contrast to Tetun Terik, determining referents requires little background knowledge.

Tetun Dili has only one demonstrative that is regularly used with human referents, namely nee. It carries a heavy functional load in addition to regular deictic and anaphoric uses. One function is to combine with an expression that refers to a unique individual (such as a name or singular pronoun), in the subject of clauses that talk about that person’s identity or character, as opposed to their actions. Another is to combine with ema ‘person’ or nia ‘he/she’ to show that reference is not to the previously referred to individual, but to the one referred to before that. Both uses are illustrated in example (1). These uses appear to have developed independently of Tetun Terik.

(1) Reitor konyese João nee ema beik-teen,
rector know (name) this person stupid-person.who
The director knew this João was an idiot;

reitor mos foo hatene katak nia nee beik.
rector also give know that 3S this stupid
the director also told (people) that he (ie. João, not the director) was stupid.
Corpus based study of the Moriori language: Significance of spelling variations for linguistics

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Moriori is an extinct Polynesian language that was spoken on the island of Chatham until the late 19th century. The main sources for this language are: a dictionary of approximately 900 words collected by S.R.M. Deighton in 1889 [Deighton1889] and texts collected by S. Shand in 1868-69 and later published in the Journal of Polynesian Society[Shand1894-1898,1910].

The total volume of the Moriori texts is about 20,000 words. They provide us with about 2,100 different word forms, some of which are only spelling variants, e.g. tamiriki ~ tamirikī ~ tamirikī ~ tamiriki ~ tamariki ‘child’. The number of words excluding these spelling variations is 1500 and that significantly expands the available dictionary of this language, and especially our knowledge of grammar.

Based on these texts, a parallel corpus with a search engine and glossing of the Moriori words was compiled. The corpus structure allows using of all available data to the full. Besides, this corpus contains poetic texts as well as prose in Moriori, so it provides a valuable source for a better understanding of the Moriori poetry system.

This report will discuss different aspects of Moriori spelling. The subject is important in the reconstruction of language development, for example in describing the context of pPN *w > m sound change in Moriori [Williams1919:419]. Moreover, different spelling forms of particles are important for the understanding of grammar, for example rules of a loss of final vowel. That in particular was already done by R. Clark for the definite article [Clark2000].

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The status of the agentive clitic in Malay: Evidence from reflexive binding

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The Malay/Indonesian verbal prefix *di-* is generally analyzed as a marker of Passive Voice. This is uncontroversial in examples like (1a). In this talk I argue that the prefix *di-* always marks Passive Voice, a claim which has been challenged on both functional and syntactic grounds. I focus on the syntactic issues here, in particular the question of whether a clitic pronominal agent like that in (1b) is a core argument or not.

(1) a. Buku ini akan di-baca (oleh) mereka.
book this will PASS-read by 3pl
‘This book will be read by them.’

b. Buku ini akan di-baca=nya.
book this will PASS-read=3sg
‘This book will be read by him.’

Arka & Manning (1998) argue that the agent of the *di-V* construction is an oblique argument except when it is expressed by the 3rd person pronoun =*nya* cliticized to the verb, which they analyze as a core argument. Passive agents by definition cannot be core arguments, so under their analysis examples like (1b) are not passives, but some kind of ergative or inverse clause. Their primary evidence for this claim is the contrast in binding properties illustrated in (2). Based on the theory of reflexive binding proposed by Manning (1996), Arka & Manning argue that the agent expressed by the clitic pronoun =*nya* in (2b) must be a core argument, because it can bind a reflexive which is a core argument. The prepositional agent in (2a) is unable to bind a reflexive in the same position, because this PP is not a core argument.

(2) (from Arka & Manning 1998)

a. ?*Diri=*nya di-serahkan ke polisi oleh Amir.
   self=3 PASS-surrender to police by (name)
   (for: ‘Himself was surrendered to the police by Amir.’)

b. Diri=*nya selalu di-utamakan=*nya.
   self=3 always PASS-prioritize=3
   ‘Himself is always prioritized by him.’ (i.e., ‘He always gives priority to himself.’)

However, it is not clear that the examples in (2) involve real syntactic binding at all. Cole & Hermon (2005) and Kartono (2013) have shown that the “short reflexive” form (*diri+*pronoun) may either be syntactically bound, like a true reflexive, or take a discourse antecedent like a plain (non-reflexive) pronoun (see examples in 3). I suggest that the contrast illustrated in (2) is due to discourse or pragmatic factors, rather than the syntactic status of the arguments. I suggest that the greater acceptability of (2b) as compared to (2a) is due to the high inherent topicality of clitic pronouns (Givón 1983:18). The use of a clitic pronoun for the agent in (2b) implies reference to a highly topical participant, and this topical participant would be available to function as a discourse antecedent for *diri=**nya*, creating the observed co-referential interpretation. The agentive PP in (2a), in contrast, is a form that would not normally be selected if the agent is highly topical. This explanation is supported by the fact that an agentive pronoun can appear to “bind” a reflexive even when the pronoun is preceded by a preposition, where it would uncontroversially be an oblique argument (ex. 3b).
(3) a. [Mertua=nya Rita]: sangat meny-(s)ayangi diri=nya.  
   mother-in-law=3 Rita really AV-love self=3  
   ‘Rita’s mother-in-law really loves herself/heri.’ (from Kartono 2013)

b. Di-akui oleh=nya, bahwa sedang belajar mengendarai mobil.  
   PASS-admit by=3 COMP self=3 CONT learn drive car  
   ‘It was admitted by himi that selfi was just learning to drive a car.’  

Cole & Hermon (2005) and Kartono (2013) both state that “long reflexive” forms like diri=nya sendiri are true anaphors, requiring “a c-commanding antecedent in a local domain;” so we need to ask whether these forms might provide evidence which supports the Arka & Manning analysis. But once again we find natural examples where the long reflexive can take a discourse antecedent (4a), and can be “bound” by an agentive PP that contains a pronoun (4b). The minimal pair in (5) provides additional evidence that the contrast reported by Arka & Manning is due to the high inherent topicality of clitic pronouns, and does not constitute proof that agentive =nya must be a core argument when it attaches to the verb.

(4) a. Padahal dirinya sendiri di-hormati oleh raja-raja.  
   actually self PASS-honored by kings  
   ‘In fact he himself (Gautama Buddha) was honored by kings.’  
   Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, p. 115 (Google books)]

b. Rio di-manfaatkan oleh=nya untuk kepentingan dirinya sendiri...  
   (name) PASS-exploit by=3sg for importance self  
   ‘Rio was being exploited by heri (= his girlfriend) for heri own (lit: self’s) advantage.’  
   [http://www.hutanta.com/ebooks/bypass/EB000005JK]

   self=3 self always PASS-prioritize by (name)  
   (for: ‘Himself is always prioritized by Amir.’)  

b. Diri=nya sendiri selalu di-utamakan oleh=nya.  
   self=3 self always PASS-prioritize by=3  
   ‘Himself is always prioritized by him.’ (i.e., ‘He always gives priority to himself.’)

References


   http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/280549

Introduction: This study examines the verbal morphology responsible for causal-noncausal alternations in several Formosan languages, and demonstrates how the so-called voice markers are associated with verb types along the “spontaneity scale” (Haselmath 1993; Schäfer 2008).

Causal-noncausal alternations within Formosan languages: Causal-noncausal verb pairs have been shown to exhibit cross-linguistic variability of coding (Haselmath 1993, 2005). Unlike English, which demonstrates “labile” (i.e. uncoded) alternation, Formosan languages employ “equipollent” coding with overt voice marking.

(1) Equipollent alternation in Puyuma: <em>/mu-</em>-pairs
   a. b<en>a’itr dra ruma’ i siber  
      <AV>burn ID.OBL house ABS Siber  
      ‘Siber burned a house.’  [causal]
   b. (*tu=)mu-ba’itr na   ruma’  
      3.ERG=ACAU-burn DF.ABS house  
      ‘The house burned.’  [noncausal]

(2) Equipollent alternation in Amis: <em>mi/ma-</em>-pairs
   a. mi-corah Ø-ci kulas tu luma’  
      AV-burn ABS-PN Kulas OBL house  
      ‘Kulas will burn a house.’  [causal]
   b. ma-corah (ni kulas) ku luma’  
      PV-burn ERG.PN Kulas ABS house  
      ‘The house burned.’  [“noncausal”]

Two types of Formosan languages can be further classified based on their noncausal verbs. Type I languages (e.g. Puyuma, Thao, Bunun) typically rely on the “anticausative” <em>mu-</em>-prefix (Teng 2008), which derives a syntactically intransitive construction with the absence of an ergative argument (1b). Type II languages (e.g. Amis, Kavalan, Paiwan) generally employ the <em>ma-</em>-morpheme, which has been analyzed as a transitive Non-Actor voice (e.g. PV) marker in some studies (Wu 2007; Li 2008) based on its ability to introduce an ergative argument (2b).

Challenges for previous analyses of <em>ma-</em>: The NAV analysis of <em>ma-</em> faces challenges from a comparative perspective. First, typical NAV verbs and <em>ma-</em>-verbs differ with respect to the presence or absence of the ergative argument (3). Second, compared to transitive <em>ma-</em>, which has a restricted distribution (i.e. Type II only), intransitive (stative) <em>ma-</em> is found across Type I/II languages (4).

(3) Typical NAV verbs vs. dynamic <em>ma-</em>-verbs
   a. *(tu=)ba’itr-aw na ruma’  (Puyuma)  
      3.ERG=burn-PV DF.ABS house  
      ‘He burned the house.
   b. ma-corah (ni kulas) ku luma’  (Amis)  
      PV?-burn ERG.PN Kulas ABS house  
      ‘The house (was) burned (by Kulas).

(4) Intransitive stative <em>ma-</em>-verbs in Type I/II languages
   a. ma-ireb/biring/inebun=ku  (Puyuma)  
      BE-cold/jealous/angry=1S.ABS  
      ‘I am cold/jealous/angry.’
   b. ma-su’su/talaw/lasang Ø-ci aki (Amis)  
      BE-fat/afraid/drunken ABS-PN Aki  
      ‘Aki is fat/afraid/drunken.’

As transitive <em>ma-</em> is lexically conditioned and language-dependent, it receives less attention than intransitive stative <em>ma-</em> (or <em>ka-</em>) in Austronesian comparative studies (Zeitoun and Huang 2000; Blust 2003). Whether these two “opposing” grammatical functions are related to each other (i.e. homonymy vs. polysemy) remains underexplored.

Proposal and Analysis: A unified polysemy analysis of <em>ma-</em> across Formosan languages is proposed
based on this morpheme’s application range along the “spontaneity scale” (Haspelmath 1993; Schäfer 2008). First, we argue that Proto-Austronesian (PAn) *ma- specifies eventualities with the highest spontaneity, as evidenced in stative verbs (e.g. ‘dry’) and involuntary/impersonal verbs (e.g. ‘sneeze’, ‘rain’) in modern Formosan languages. Type I languages (e.g. Puyuma) retains this function, and therefore have a very restricted application range of ma- (Figure 1). The distinct usage of mu-/ma- for noncausal verbs represents a significant lexical split between internally-caused verbs and those to the left. In Type II languages, this split is obscured by ma-’s extended application range across events with varying degrees of spontaneity (Figure 2). The “NAV” function of ma- is thus reanalyzed via a two-step extension, supported by languages at the intermediary stage (e.g. Paiwan) with only the “anticausative” (i.e. SABS-OBL) case frame, and by languages reaching the final stage (e.g. Amis) with an additional “transitive” case frame (i.e. AERG-OABS).

**Conclusion and Implications:** This study demonstrates how the spontaneity scale can serve as a useful tool for verb classification in languages with a symmetrical voice system. The unified analysis reconciles previous debates on the grammatical function(s) of ma- (e.g. Huang and Sung 2008; Tsukida 2008; Jiang 2011; Kuo 2014) with a solid semantic basis. The study also contributes to the higher-level subgrouping of the Austronesian family. Among Formosan languages, the ma- verbs with AERG-OABS case frame are only found in members of the East Formosan subgroup (e.g. Amis, Kavalan, Siraya, Trobiawan) (Blust 1999). Finally, ma-’s ability to syntactically license the undergoer across verb types resonates with a related body of literature regarding the cross-linguistic variation of passive(-like) constructions (Huang 2013).

**Selected Short References:**
Investigating Colloquial Indonesian: Nasal assimilation differences in Betawi Malay and Jakarta Indonesian

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This paper investigates the patterns of variation of nasal assimilation in Betawi Malay (BM) and Jakarta Indonesian (JI), colloquial varieties of Indonesian/Malay spoken in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia. Both BM and JI form a dialect continuum with Standard Indonesian (SI), which has served as the formal and national language of Indonesia spoken in formal contexts. The phonologies of BM, JI and SI are different in some important respects but are mutually intelligible. Differences in the patterns of nasal assimilation show evidence of this.

The lack of understanding of the relationship between JI and BM often causes scholars to consider them as the same variety. However, BM should not be confused with JI. Nowadays, JI is spoken widely by more educated speakers associated with higher socio-economic status in Jakarta (Sneddon 2006), while BM is the vernacular that is spoken by a small minority group, limited to Betawi communities. Currently, JI is becoming the most prestigious informal variety of spoken Indonesian, not only in Jakarta but also throughout Indonesia. However, compared to SI, JI and BM are in fact barely studied at all (though see Wallace 1976, and Ikranagara 1980).

Therefore, this paper aims to shed light on a phonological aspect of BM and JI, namely the pattern of variation of nasal assimilation.

SI has a widely used verbal prefix /məN-/ which alternates in its shape at the prefix-root boundary. The nasal in the coda position of the prefix assimilates to a root-initial consonant. This phonological process is commonly known as nasal assimilation. Most of previous studies of nasal assimilation were devoted to SI. Less attention, however, has been given to the pattern of nasal assimilation in a more colloquial varieties of Indonesian, namely BM and JI with the cognate prefix /N-/.

The verbal prefix /N-/ (N-prefix) in BM and JI also alternates in its shape at the prefix-root boundary. This N-prefix exhibits variation beyond phonological conditioning environment. The variation found in BM and JI occurs when the N-prefix patterns with root-initial voiced obstruents [b-, d-, g-, and d̚ʑ-]. The variation is exemplified in (1):

(1) Root-initial voiced obstruents:
   a. /N+bəli/: mbəli ~ ŋəbəli 'to buy'
   b. /N+dapət/: ndapət ~ ŋədapət 'to get'
   c. /N+dəzawab/: ɲdəzawap ~ ŋədəzawap 'to answer'
   d. /N+guntiŋ/: ŋəguntiŋ ~ ŋəguntiŋ 'to cut with scissors'

The N-prefix is realized either as a homorganic cluster [mb, ɲd̚ʑ, ŋg, nd]. or with schwa epenthesis [ŋəb, ŋəd, ŋəg, ŋəd̚ʑ].

Rather than relying on impressionistic observation, data in this study are drawn from naturalistic spoken corpus in informal settings (Gil and Tadmor 2014). It is important to see how this variation is actually produced spontaneously by native speakers in naturalistic data. To the best of my knowledge, none of the prior studies about nasal assimilation in Indonesian have used a large data set from naturalistic conversation. The use of a corpus helps us to verify impressionistic observations and allow us for a better understanding of the pattern of variation of nasal assimilation. The investigation with the BM and JI corpus seeks evidence whether the two different forms occur are due to inter-speaker variation (i.e. dialect variation). The figures in (2) and (3) show the difference between BM and JI.
Here we see differences where BM and JI speakers produced different patterns of variation. BM speakers produced high numbers of the homorganic cluster forms [mb-, ɲd̪-] and [ŋg-] except for [nd-]. JI speakers produce higher numbers of the schwa epenthetic forms [ɲəb-, ɲəd-] and [ŋəg-] unless for [ŋəd̪-]. Across place of articulation, even though the numbers of tokens are low, significant differences of the number of tokens of the homorganic cluster forms between BM and JI speakers can be seen in the labial and velar forms. The forms [mb-] and [ŋg-] are produced in a greater numbers by BM speakers.

Thus, this study shows that the dialectal background of the speakers plays important role as the source of variation of nasal assimilation and highlights the important contribution of naturalistic data to our understanding of colloquial spoken Indonesian.

References
Gil, David and Uri Tadmor. 2014. The MPI-EVA Betawi-Jakarta Database. A joint project of the Department of Linguistics, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and the Center for Language and Culture Studies, Atma Jaya Catholic University.
Problems in documenting a Philippine Negrito language

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This is a report on three field trips to the area where the Philippine Negrito language Northern Alta (aqn) is spoken.

The first section will be an outline of who the Alta are and the previous research on their language, which includes Vanoverbergh (1937), Reid (1991), and Robinson and Lobel (2006).

The second part will be an account of the possible reasons for attitudes that may result in a loss of vitality for the language, such as the local pattern of intermarriage, the tendency of Alta female speakers to adopt their husband’s language, the migration of male community members to other provinces for work, and the bullying that Alta children often face at school.

The third section will discuss some of the problems that have been encountered that impact upon the documentation of the language, such as the loss of choice of certain types speakers, the frequent use of code-switching, and the progressive loss of speech genres, that are, in some cases, scattered across speakers.

The concluding section will outline possible solutions to these problems in the specific context of the Northern Alta communities, and will discuss future research plans.

References:
Lexical decomposition beyond thematic roles and aspectual classes

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Austronesian languages with a Philippine-type linking system are difficult to describe and account for within linking approaches based on Thematic Roles or Aktionsart classes, as already pointed out by Voskuil (1996) and others. Linguists who have gone down this road (cf. Wu 2006) often came up with more than one semantic representation for a certain voice form and/or optional constants in the semantic representations of these forms, thus providing a description of the resulting meaning associated with a given voice form, but not an explanation as to which semantic principles or constraints are at work so that a particular voice affix may be understood as profiling a beneficiary, a theme or an instrument with a given verb stem. In this paper I argue that participant-centered linking systems like the ones found in Philippine languages are a good point in case for the necessity to think of the meanings of lexical items in terms of rich semantic frames which are evoked by verbs and argument expressions (cf. Fillmore 1976).

In order to better describe the function and distribution of the voice affixes, their sensitivity to the properties of the argument they profile (i.e. in frame semantic terms: the attributes they activate) needs to be accounted for. A Tagalog example is given in (1), where two different voice forms are used with the verb ‘to open’ profiling different aspects of the theme argument ‘door’. The affix –an is often labeled as locative voice (LV) and evokes the open space associated with a door when affixed to bukas ‘open’ (1a), while the affix i-, which appears under various labels, e.g. instrument, beneficiary or circumstantial voice (CV), evokes the door panel (1b). Although the conventionalization of the two voice forms renders this subtle difference opaque to some speakers, they still seem to be aware of it, when they choose an argument as the direct object which does not allow such a double perspective, such as bike lane, which can be conceived of as an opening, but not as consisting of a movable blocking part; in this case we indeed only find one of the voice forms, i.e. binuksan (1c). Tagalog voice affixes, thus, provide a good window on conceptual frames evoked by certain argument expressions.

(1) /bukas/ ‘open’
      <RLS >give-LV 1sGen  Nom door
      ‘I opened the door.’
   b. I-b<in>ukas ko ang pinto.
      CV<RLS >open 1sGen  ang door
      ‘I opened the door.’
   c. B<in>uks-an /#I-b-in-ukas
      <RLS >give-LV/ CV<RLS >open 3pGen  Nom bike lane
      ‘They opened the bike lane.’

From a frame semantic point of view (cf. Löhner 2014), the voice affixes activate certain types of attributes of the central event participants in a given situation frame, if these are semantically or pragmatically salient. From the point of view of pragmatics one can conceive of many situations in which a particular participant or attribute could be salient and activated. However, there are obviously semantic restrictions to which participant or attribute in a given frame may be activated. For example an event participant or attribute of an event participant may be excluded as the referent of a subject argument because its attributes are not event type relevant, i.e. they are not related to manner or event structure attributes in the situation frame of this verb. A point in case is the complex voice form pinaghalikan ‘to kiss’ which may profile a tactile property of the kissee (like its softness), but may not be used to profile the kissee’s color or size, as only tactile properties are relevant to physical contact verbs.

A second aspect the voice affixes are sensitive to is the interrelatedness of participants in a
given frame. This is exemplified by the well-known (but slightly archaic) contrast between the centripetal and centrifugal transfer verbs in (2), which show that the theme argument is identified by different voice affixes depending on the respective relationship of the theme argument to the agent argument.

(2)  /bili/ ‘purchase’
   a. Bilh-in mo ang libro!
       purchase-TV 2sGen Nom book
       ‘You buy the book!’
   b. I-bili mo ang libro!
       CV-purchase 2sGen ang book
       ‘You sell the book!’

The point in common between (1a) and (2b) in the function of i- is the close relationship between the profiled argument, the agent argument and the initial point of the event. Such interrelations can be straightforwardly captured and formulated as constraints in a frame approach, but are hard to capture in Thematic Role- and Aktionsart-based decompositions. The frame approach thus provides a descriptive tool of the patterns and an explanatory model of possibilities and restrictions with respect to subject choice.

References:
Wu, Jing-lan Joy. 2006. Verb Classification, Case Marking, and Grammatical Relations in Amis. UMI.
Perceptual metathesis in Atayal and Seediq
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National Dong Hwa University

Atayal and Seediq are two Formosan languages which belong to the Atayalic subgroup in the Austronesian language family (Li 1980, Blust 1999). Despite being genetically related, both languages exhibit synchronic variations of perceptual metathesis, defined by Blevins and Garrett (2004) as a segment (or feature) with elongated phonetic cues, i.e. long durations, that shifts its linear position in a phonological string.

A preliminary observation of the data reveals that perceptual metathesis in both languages is non-local but not distant, where onsets of adjacent syllables are metathesized. The involved segments in the Atayal dialects include the obstruents (β, γ, η, l), the velar nasal, the liquids, and the pharyngeal fricative, as shown in (a), while those in the Seediq dialects the voiceless bilabial, and the alveolar stop /d/, the pharyngeal fricative, the velar nasal, as shown in (b) (Lee 2013).

With a theoretical orientation the data in these languages are tackled from the following perspectives: (1) free variations and dialectal variations in perceptual metathesis; (2) motivation of perceptual metathesis as morphologically-conditioned or phonologically-driven; (3) the role of contrastive features in perceptual metathesis.

First, perceptual metathesis as free variations in a dialect only operates within morpheme boundary, where the pharyngeal fricative is commonly involved, and dialectal variations provide clues for determining the underlying forms in the process. Secondly, though perceptual metathesis in these languages tends to occur with suffixation, this paper argues that the main driving force of perceptual metathesis is phonological, as in metathesized forms the segments with higher perceptual salience are kept at prominent position. New data from Toda also evidence that metathesis occurs when the stem is suffixed by -ani or -anaw (the imperative marker of the conveyance voice), but only sometimes when suffixed by -i (the imperative marker of the undergoer voice), as shown in (c), thus providing a counterexample to consider the process as morphologically-conditioned.

Thirdly, this paper proposes an Optimality-theoretical account by employing the model of contrastive hierarchy in phonology (Dresher 2009). Given that feature ranking plays a role in shaping the phonological processes in a language, it is considered that perceptual metathesis is no exception. An analysis of contrastive hierarchy in Seediq with the feature ranking of [pharyngeal] > [dorsal] > [labial] > [continuant] (Lee 2009, 2012) might shed light on explaining the reordering of the involved segments. A similar approach can also account for perceptual metathesis in the Atayal dialects.

List of examples:
(a) Perceptual metathesis in Atayal dialects involving /β, γ, η, l, h/ (data from Li 1980, Chen 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIALECT</th>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>NAV-FORM</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pyanan</td>
<td>siuluβaj</td>
<td>siβlaz-ι</td>
<td>siβlaj-an</td>
<td>‘swing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squiliq</td>
<td>γ-m-alu</td>
<td>l&lt;in&gt;γuan-an</td>
<td>‘sympathize’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squiliq</td>
<td>m-ŋilis</td>
<td>laŋis-an</td>
<td>‘weep’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skikun/Pyanan</td>
<td>mahoq</td>
<td>həbq-un</td>
<td>‘wash (clothes)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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(b) Perceptual metathesis in Seediq dialects involving /p, d, ts, , h/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIALECT</th>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>NAV-FORM</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Tgdaya</td>
<td>patsa̍n-tsapa̍n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘thick clothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truku (E)</td>
<td>háñ-גahan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘name’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truku (E)</td>
<td>s̄uhi</td>
<td>shə̍n̄-i</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toda (E)</td>
<td>shada</td>
<td>p-sdøha-ani</td>
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<td>‘cook (meal)’</td>
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</table>

(c) Metathesis and non-metathesis in Toda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIALECT</th>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>METATHESIS</th>
<th>NON-METATHESIS</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toda (E)</td>
<td>hañud</td>
<td>hañ̃-i</td>
<td>h&lt;н&gt;ɡado-an</td>
<td>‘cook.soup-UV.IMP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toda (E)</td>
<td>hañud</td>
<td>p-ɡado-i</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘CAUS-cook.soup-UV.IMP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toda (C)</td>
<td>hañud</td>
<td>ɡado-ani/-anaw</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘cook.soup-CV.IMP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toda (E)</td>
<td>shada</td>
<td>sdøha-i</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘cook.meal-UV.IMP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toda (E)</td>
<td>shada</td>
<td>p-sdøha-ani/-anaw</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘CAUS-cook.meal-CV.IMP’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toda (C)</td>
<td>shada</td>
<td>p-cdøha-ani ~ p-chə̍da-ani</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘CAUS-cook.meal-CV.IMP’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References


An Optimality-theoretic analysis of perfectives in Nantou Isbukun Bunun

Li-ying Lilian Li
National Tsing Hua University

Bunun is an Austronesian language spoken in central and southern Taiwan (based on Li 1988/2004). This study focuses on the Isbukun dialect spoken in the Tum pu village, Nantou. In Isbukun, the perfective aspect is marked by the infix <in> (Lin et al. 2001; Zeng 1986; Zeitoun 2000) or its allomorph <i> (Zeng 1986). The placement of the perfective infix is determined jointly by voices and the structure of the initial syllable of a root (Zeng 1986).

My fieldnotes show that the perfective marker is usually inserted after the first consonant of a verb root; however, it is found to be added after the first syllable under a particular environment with two requirements: (i) the presence of the Locative Voice (LV) marker -an; a root with a Ca-structure. Namely, this positional contrast of the perfective marker can only be found in Ca-initial roots with different voices, as shown in (1a) and (1b). Examples (2a-b) through (9a-b) in turn exemplify the neutralization of such contrast in non-Ca-initial roots, including roots beginning with Cu-, Ci-, Cai-, Cau-, Ciu-, Cia-, and Cua-, regardless of voices. (Note that the perfective infix is underlined and the symbol “—” means that no such form is attested.)

(1) a. b<in>aðu ‘<PFV>pestle’
   b. ba<i>ðu-an ‘<PFV>pestle-LV’
(2) a. t<in>upa ‘<PFV>tell’
   b. t<in>upa(an) ‘<PFV>tell-LV’
(3) a. k<in>ili ‘<PFV>look.for’
   b. k<in>ili-an ‘<PFV>look.for-LV’
(4) a. ?<in>aïða ‘<PFV>exist’
   b. ?<in>aïða-an ‘<PFV>exist-LV’
(5) a. h<in>aunj ‘<PFV>scold’
   b. h<in>aunj-an ‘<PFV>scold-LV’
(6) a. ——
   b. s<i>uis-an ‘<PFV>shave.in.pieces-LV’
(7) a. ——
   b. s<i>iuh-an ‘<PFV>lighten-LV’
(8) a. s<in>iahdut ‘<PFV>get.stuck’
   b. s<in>iahdut-an ‘<PFV>get.stuck-LV’
(9) a. t<in>ua ‘<PFV>open’
   b. t<in>ua-an ‘<PFV>open-LV’

This study proposes that the loss of the positional difference of the perfective marker between non-Ca-initial perfectives and non-Ca-initial LV perfectives is related to some phonotactics (e.g., the avoidance of onsetless syllables (Huang 2008) or the avoidance of two (derived) adjacent high vowels, as shown in unattested *iu<i>pa(an) ‘<PFV>tell-LV’) and the parsing of syllables within a perfective form in Isbukun Bunun. I will discuss this issue by using Optimality Theory. The insertion of the LV suffix -an to a perfective form changes the parsing of syllables (i.e., PARSE-SYL, a metrical constraint in Kager 1999) and thus causes the perfective marker to be added after the first syllable, as shown in the comparison between tableau 1 and tableau 2. Tableaux 3 and 4 demonstrate the interaction between PARSE-SYL and OCP/V[hi], a featural markedness constraint which disfavors two adjacent high vowels (revised from Anttila 2002) in a non-Ca-initial root. Although the optimal candidate (in tableau 3) has more unfooted syllables, it is still chosen as the optimum because it does not have two high vowels appearing in a row. Namely, PARSE-SYL can be violated as long as the optimum satisfies a higher-ranked constraint, OCP/V[hi] in this case. This analysis explains the contrast between Ca-initial and non-Ca-initial roots, and it also reflects how metrical and phonological accounts affect a morphological strategy.
Tableau 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/in, baðu, -an/</th>
<th>FT-BINµ</th>
<th>PARSE-SYL</th>
<th>/in, baðu/</th>
<th>FT-BINµ</th>
<th>PARSE-SYL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. [baj.(ðwan)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>a. [bi.(na.ðú)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. [bi.na.(ðwan)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>**!</td>
<td>b. [baj.(ðú)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. [(ba.j.(ðwan)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
<td>c. [(ba.j.(ðú)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tableau 2

Tableau 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/in, tupa, -an/</th>
<th>OCP/V[hi]</th>
<th>PARSE-SYL</th>
<th>/in, tupa/</th>
<th>OCP/V[hi]</th>
<th>PARSE-SYL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. [ti.nu.(pá:n)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>**</td>
<td>a. [ti.(nu.pá)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. [(tuj.pá:n)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
<td>b. [(tuj.pá)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. [tuj.(pá:n)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
<td>c. [tuj.(pá)]</td>
<td></td>
<td>*!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tableau 4

Selected references


Verbs or adverbs in Thao
Paul Jen-kuei Li
Academia Sinica

Linguists who work with Formosan languages have realized that many adverbial concepts in Chinese and English are often expressed by verbs in these languages. One may wonder if there are any genuine adverbs in these languages at all.

The form of an adverb is usually invariant and its position in a sentence is relatively free. To the contrary, the form of a verb varies and its position in the sentence is usually fixed.

Since the function of an adverb is to modify a verb or some phrase, it may not occur without another verb in a sentence, whereas a true verb will do without any other verb.

Verbs in Formosan languages can be derived (or inflected) for different foci and take aspect markers. Many adverbial concepts in Chinese and English are expressed by verbs that manifest different foci and take aspect markers in these languages. When these words function as the main verb in the sentence, they may attract bound personal pronouns, nominative or genitive, in some Formosan languages. These words include manner, scope, and time words.

One may expect that such concepts as ‘all’, ‘only’, ‘really’, ‘first’, ‘next’ and ‘tomorrow’ are adverbs or nouns, yet they all behave like verbs in Thao. The main problem with analyzing all these words as verbs is that not all of them can appear as the only verb in each sentence; that is to say, they may require co-occurrence with another verb and serve as adverbial adjuncts.

Are there any genuine adverbs at all in Thao? There must be at least a few. For example, the form mani 'also' is always invariable and its occurrence in the sentence is relatively free. Similarly, the form mashna 'even' is also invariable and it usually occurs before a noun or the subject of the clause. I shall examine a few other Formosan languages, such as Kavalan and Atayal, to see if these words have similar or different behaviors.
Sources of /ɨ/ in Ilongot

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Ilongot (or Bugkalot) is an Austronesian language spoken in Nueva Vizcaya, Quirino, and Aurora provinces, the Philippines. It is considered to be a first-order subgroup of the Southern Cordilleran branch of the Northern Luzon language group (Himes 1998). This study examines the occurrences of /ɨ/ in Ilongot with an attempt to provide a consistent account for its occurrences. Data from both my own fieldnotes and other sources (including Reid 1971 and Himes 1998 will be employed.

Reid (1973) describes Ilongot as one of the many Philippine languages that retains the “Proto-Philippines (PPh)” (or more accurately speaking, Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP)) four-vowel system. More specifically, PMP /*i, *u, *ɨ, and *a/ are reflected as /i, u, ɨ, and a/, respectively in Ilongot. However, a cursory look at Ilongot data shows that /ɨ/ occurs rather frequently in Ilongot and some instances of /ɨ/ do not appear to be the reflex of PMP /*ɨ/ or PAn pepet (Conant 1912). For example, PAn *quzaN /PMP *quzan ‘rain’ is reflected as /ʔudɨn/ ‘rain’ (rather than the expected /ʔudan/) in Ilongot, PAn *duSa/PMP *duha ‘two’ is reflected as /dɨwá/ ‘two’ (rather than the expected /duwá/) in Ilongot. Most of the irregular reflexes of PAn pepet in Ilongot appears to be of the former type. Possible accounts for the occurrences of /ɨ/ include “low vowel raising” (Himes 1998) and “low vowel fronting” (Blust 2000, 2013; Lobel 2010; Robinson and Lobel 2013) for the former example, and “back vowel fronting” for the latter example. I will discuss whether “low vowel raising” or “low vowel fronting” is more appropriate to account for the occurrences of /ɨ/ in Ilongot.

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Delimiting an event by its location: on locative voice construction and locational serial verb construction in Tsou

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In the Formosan language Tsou, locational expressions are aligned with the syntactic position reserved for core arguments in both locative voice construction (LV henceforth) and locational serial verb construction (L-SVC henceforth), as illustrated by the underlined TOPIC phrase in (1a) and (1b) below, respectively. While on first glimpse the two constructions appear to exhibit substantial functional overlap, this study demonstrates that they display semantic differences and are not used interchangeably. In (1a), the LV construction marks a specific goal toward which a vehicle switch event proceeds, whereas the L-SVC construction in (1b) highlights a spatial region having the switch event under its scope. Example (2a) shows that the LV construction is inappropriate for specifying the spatial region within which an eating activity takes place, a notion which instead requires an L-SVC construction, as in (2b).

(1a) os='o noezuh-i ’o kuyai ta mo’o.
NAV=1SG switch.locale-LV TOP vehicle NTOP Mo’o
‘I switched to Mo’o’s vehicle. (LV construction)

(1b) os='o yon=i noezuhu ’o maibayu.
NAV=1SG stay-LV switch.locale.AV TOP Chiayi
‘I switched (to a connecting vehicle) in Chiayi.’ (L-SVC construction)

(2a) *os='o an-i ’o aemana
NAV=1SG eat-LV TOP room
intended for ‘I ate in the room.’ (LV construction)

(2b) os='o yon-i b-Ōnu ’o aemana
NAV=3SG stay-LV AV-eat TOP room
‘I ate in the room.’ (L-SVC construction)

Even though it may be tempting to attribute the semantic differences in (1-2) to the nature of location-oriented participants in a verb’s lexical-semantic representation (e.g., inner vs. outer locatives in Andrews (1985)), the present study argues that the differences are better characterized if we assume that constructions play a role in determining the interpretation of a predicated event. Specifically, this study proposes that the locational element in the LV construction encodes a terminus that delimits the successful attainment of a predicated event (cf. Tenny 1994, Ritter and Rosen 1998, Rothstein 2004 for discussion on event delimiters). By contrast, the locational element in the L-SVC construction marks the spatial extension within which a predicated event unfolds, but this spatial extension is not relevant for determining if the endpoint of the event (in (2b), eating) has been achieved, nor is it central for determining the progress of the event. The delimiting/non-delimiting distinction is made explicit by the different spatiotemporal entailments involved in (3a-b). A quick comparison of (1a) and (3a) shows that the LV construction marks the desired endpoint of the vehicle switch, with the entailment that after the switch the speaker/actor rests in the specified endpoint/locale for a period of time which the temporal predicate ‘stay till evening’ in (3a) serves to specify. By contrast, the L-SVC construction in (3b) lacks such a delimiting endpoint, and as such the same temporal predicate is ambiguous regarding the precise spatiotemporal extension it addresses. In conclusion, LV construction and L-SVC construction display a delimiting/non-delimiting distinction in the locational element with which they associate,
and spatiotemporal entailments show that the distinction is central to the interpretation of the predicated event.

(3a) os='o noezuh-i 'o kuyai ta mo’o ho nofeʊŋna
NAV=1SG switch.locale-LV TOP car NTOP Mo’o and stay.till.evening.AV
‘I switched to Mo’o’s vehicle and rode (in the vehicle) till evening.’

(3b) os='o yon=i noezuhu 'o maibayu ho nofeʊŋna
NAV=1SG stay-LV switch.locale.AV TOP Chiayi and stay.till.evening.AV
‘I switched in Chiayi and rode (in the vehicle) till evening.’
‘I switched in Chiayi and stayed till evening (before boarding a connecting vehicle).

References
Utsat Tonogenesis and its implications for the representation of tone

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This paper expands Thurgood 1999’s model of Utsat tonogenesis (Chamic, China) and uses its findings to inform theories of phonological representation and how they handle the properties of tone.

The question of whether contour tones are primitive phonological categories and how they are represented has long been debated in theories of phonology. Some early feature theories such as Wang 1967 incorporate features to govern properties of the tone differential in addition to tone height (H, L etc.). The tone differential refers to the direction of change in the tonal contour, for example a rising tone has a positive tone differential value, a falling tone has a negative value, and a level tone has zero. However, evidence from African languages for contours as sequences of level tones phonologically has motivated a wholesale shift in representations: Autosegmental Phonology represents all contour tones as sequences of level tones associated with a single tone-bearing unit (Goldsmith 1976, Yip 1989). In a model where falling and rising tones are represented as HL and LH respectively, with H and L as primitive tonal categories, there is no overt representation of the tone differential, which in turn is viewed as epiphenomenal.

Despite this shift in analysis, languages with the richest inventories of contour tones, including those of Asia and Central America, resist reanalysis for several reasons. One is that they tend to lack the kinds of morphological and phonological alternations that linguists have traditionally used to inform feature systems and other theories of phonological representations. In this paper, I propose to partially fill this gap by introducing a new source of evidence for phonological features and representations: evidence from regular sound change. This is done by adopting the model of Evolutionary Phonology (Blevins 2004, 2013), a formal framework of sound change. Evolutionary Phonology analyzes recurring sound patterns in the world’s languages as consequences of common instances of phonetically-based sound change and provides a vehicle to formalize the relationships between phonetic and phonological environments during this process.

The sound change under focus is tonogenesis in Utsat, a Chamic language in Hainan Island, China. Under heavy contact with Sinitic and other tonal languages, most of the Chamic languages underwent some degree of registro- and tonogenesis (Thurgood 1999). Utsat is the most extreme case, having restructured its roots to monosyllables and gained an inventory of five contrastive tones (H, M, L, LH, HL) (Maddieson & Pang 1993). With evidence from other Chamic languages and reconstructions of Proto-Austronesian, the stages of Utsat tonogenesis are known in detail (Thurgood 1993, 1999; Maddieson & Pang 1993). In particular, the evolution of the Utsat falling tone from an earlier environment of breathy-voiced vowel with coda glottal stop suggests a stage where listeners directly phonologized a negative tone differential, but not specific tone heights of the original triggering environment. Attempts to account for the phonologization of contour tones in Utsat are problematic for models of phonology that only provide representation for tone height.

This paper uses Evolutionary Phonology to describe the relationships present between triggering phonetic material and phonologized tone in Utsat. This allows for insight into the kinds of tonal representation necessary for theories of phonology. The paper concludes by offering a concrete proposal for integrating values of the tone differential into autosegmental representations.

References


The common article o and nonverbal predicates in Vurës, Vanuatu
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University of Newcastle

In Vurës, spoken on the island of Vanua Lava in northern Vanuatu, the article o occurs in noun phrases which have a common noun as head. There are a number of types of nonverbal clauses in Vurës, and the main criterion for identifying a nominal clause is the obligatory occurrence of o preceding the predicate head. Further to the function of predicating identity, this type of nominal clause can also be used to predicate properties and states. Speakers typically use the same lexical items to specify a property, as the head of either a verbal or nominal predicate, with no or little perceived difference in meaning. For the most part a generalisation can be made such that nonverbal clauses are used to express identity, either nonverbal or verbal clauses can be used to refer to properties and states, and dynamic events are referred to using verbal clauses. There are, however, instances in which o occurs as the initial element in a predicate referring to what is logically interpreted as a dynamic event, and where the head of the predicate is an underived prototypical active verb. Less prototypical examples of o marked predicates are distributed on a scale according to those which are more or less easily interpreted as having stative rather than dynamic reference. For those clauses which refer to dynamic events, although the clauses have typical verbal characteristics, there appears to be stronger evidence that these are nominalised clauses rather than there being a homophonous o which occurs in verbal clauses with a distinctive function.

There is some unpredictability in speaker preference for nominal versus verbal predication of certain properties and states. We can look at the possibilities and tendencies for the distribution of a prototypical group of property words, colour terms, to illustrate the variability. Mamē ‘red’ is classified morphosyntactically as a stative intransitive verb. It can occur as a verb, marked with the imperfective clitic gO=, and as such can represent either a syntactic argument (1a) or a predicate (1c) and specify either a property (1c) or a ‘thing’ characterised by a property (1a). The same possibilities exist for mamē as the head of a noun phrase marked by o (1b, 1d). It is not the case that property terms which exhibit this variability tend to refer to a ‘thing’ when marked with o and predicate a property when marked with gO=. The actual distribution of lexical items shows unpredictable variability: e.g. qag ‘white’ occurs more frequently marked with gO=, körkör ‘black’ occurs more frequently marked with o. A number of antonymic pairs exhibit this unpredictable contrastive distribution, e.g. gö=tutun ‘be hot’, o mamēgin ‘be cold’.

Following on from this variability with terms which clearly refer to properties and states, it is not remarkable that we also see variability with terms which can refer to both states and dynamic events. To refer to an event in which the subject tells an untruth, the verb gial almost always occurs in a predicate marked with o. This could be easily interpreted with a property reading, specifying that the subject is a ‘liar’ rather than having engaged in the activity of ‘lying’. What is more problematic for the analysis of basic clause structure in Vurës is when predicates marked with o exhibit other verbal properties. Predicates like gial ‘know’, mörös ‘want’ and gial ‘lie (to)’ are able take an object argument in a predicate marked with o (2). The prototypical active verb van ‘go’ generally occurs as the head of a verbal predicate, however I have recorded several examples where van refers to a dynamic event, but is the predicate in a clause marked with o, as in (3) where future time reference is indicated by an adjunct and van is modified by the directional me. When active verbs occur as the predicate in a dehortative clause, they are generally marked with o (4).
Examples such as these, with o marking a dynamic predicate are not numerous, and are varied in terms of temporal properties that are either specified within the clause or can be interpreted from the context. I will investigate whether generalisations can be made about the distribution and interpretation of this clause type.

1a) \(\text{Le [ga=mamē]_{OBJECT}}\)  
\(\text{take IMPV=red}\)  
\(\text{‘Take the red one.’}\)

1b) \(\text{Le [o mamē]_{OBJECT}}\)  
\(\text{take COM.ART red}\)  
\(\text{‘Take the red one.’}\)

1c) \(\text{īnē [ga=mamē]_{PREDICATE}}\)  
\(\text{this IMPV=red}\)  
\(\text{‘This one is red’}\)

1d) \(\text{īnē [o mamē]_{PREDICATE}}\)  
\(\text{this COM.ART red}\)  
\(\text{‘This one is red’}\)

2) \(\text{Vēl qōn ren nēk o gial no.}\)  
\(\text{every EMPH 2SG COM.ART lie 1SG}\)  
\(\text{‘Every day you lie to me.’}\)

3) \(\text{Nē o van me lō=tōar wik.}\)  
\(\text{3SG COM.ART go to.sp COM.LOC=other week}\)  
\(\text{‘He will come next week.’}\)

4) \(\text{Nitog nēk o bēl-bēl o ŕiak ko.}\)  
\(\text{DEHOR 2SG COM.ART REDUP-steal COM.ART T.chestnut DEM.PROX}\)  
\(\text{‘Don’t steal these Tahitian chestnuts.’}\)
An unusual periphrastic passive construction in Besemah (Malayic, Sumatra)

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University of California, Santa Barbara

[Cancelled – 2015/06/30]

This paper describes the puzzling morphosyntactic properties of a periphrastic passive construction in Besemah (Malayic, South Sumatra) and demonstrates how this construction is both unique within Besemah grammar and across the grammars of Malayic isolects. In the end, this paper proposes that the unusual patterns of the periphrastic passive can be connected to the unique syntactic and semantic properties of the verb *ghulih* ‘get, obtain’.

The periphrastic passive construction, labeled the ‘*ghulih* construction’ here, consists of the verb *ghulih* ‘get, obtain’ and a transitive verb, which is exemplified in (1).

(1) Ghumah tu ghulih m-buat.
    house DET get  AV-make
    ‘The house was gotten by buying.’

The example in (1) looks much like a periphrastic passive; the presence of *ghulih* ‘get’ allows the theme argument *ghumah* ‘house’ to be the sole argument of the construction in the preverbal ‘subject’ position. There are, however, several intriguing properties of the *ghulih* construction in (1) that contrasts with the more common adversative periphrastic passive construction in other Malayic isolects, the so-called *kena* passive (e.g., Standard Malay (Chung 2005)). First, the *ghulih* construction does not take an adversative meaning, but its meaning can be paraphrased as ‘to obtain by means of [transitive verb]’, where the transitive verb could be anything from *mbeli* ‘to buy’ to *mancing* ‘to fi Second, the transitive verb in the *ghulih* construction is marked with the agentive voice prefix and cannot occur as an unmarked verb. This is markedly different than the *kena* passive, which canonically contains an unmarked verb (Nomoto & Kartini 2012).

However, a closer inspection of the *ghulih* construction reveals properties that are even more surprising, which are demonstrated in the examples in (2).

(2) a. Aku ghulih m-buat (di malam) ghumah tu.
    1SG  get  AV-make earlier night house DET
    ‘I got the house (last night) by buying (it).’

b. Ghumah tu aku ghulih m-buat di malam.
    house DET 1SG get  AV-make earlier night
    ‘I got the house (last night) by buying (it).’

c. Ghumah tu ghulih=ku m-buat di malam.
    house DET get=1SG AV-make earlier night
    ‘I got the house (last night) by buying (it).’

In (2a) and (2b), the agent *aku* ‘I’ may be in the subject position, while the theme *ghumah* ‘house’ may occur either pre- or post-verbally. Furthermore, if the theme occurs post-verbally, it need not occur directly after the verb, but may be separated from the verb by an adjunct. This is a much freer distribution than even patient/theme arguments in agentive voice marked transitive clauses, which must occur directly after the verb. An even more surprising property is found in (2c) where the fi person agent pronoun =*ku* encliticizes after the verb. As is well known in many Malayic isolects, fi and second person agent pronouns only occur as proclitics in the bare patientive voice construction (i.e., the *passive semu*). These properties raise several questions about the nature of the *ghulih* construction, such as:
1. Is the ghulih construction really a periphrastic passive?
2. What is syntactic status of the theme argument when the agent is present (like in the examples in (2))?
3. How did the agent enclitic pronouns come about in the history of the ghulih construc- tion?
4. Can the agent enclitic pronouns be explained as a retention from earlier voice forms (Wolff 1996) or the result of a reanalysis of nominal possessive forms (Starosta, Pawley & Ried 1982)?

Based on new data collected from field work in the Besemah highlands, this paper demonstrates how the puzzling properties of the ghulih construction can be explained by the grammaticalization of ghulih as well as the unique properties of theme arguments in the small class of bare transitive verbs, including ghulih ‘get, obtain’.

References
Reconstructing negation and negative suppletive existentials in Malayic

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A number of the world’s languages exhibit a pattern of suppletion between negative and non-negative forms of the existential verb (Veselinova 2014). The Malayic isolates of South and Central Sumatra and western Kalimantan exhibit this pattern, but with extraordinary diversity in both form and morphosyntactic properties. A few examples are provided in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Isolect name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>‘not’</th>
<th>‘exist’</th>
<th>‘not exist’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sawe (Beope dialect)</td>
<td>West Kalimantan</td>
<td>ndaʔ</td>
<td>ade</td>
<td>tadih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mualang (Ibanic)</td>
<td>West Kalimantan</td>
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<td>aday</td>
<td>nisiʔ</td>
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<td>Mahap</td>
<td>West Kalimantan</td>
<td>ndaʔ</td>
<td>adəə</td>
<td>cadəətn</td>
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<td>Besemah</td>
<td>South Sumatra</td>
<td>didəə</td>
<td>ado</td>
<td>(daʔ) kateʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palembang Malay</td>
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<td>idaʔ</td>
<td>ade</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Jambi Malay</td>
<td>Central Sumatra</td>
<td>idaʔ</td>
<td>ado</td>
<td>daʔ tiʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact, the simple compositional pattern ‘negator’ + ‘exist’ → ‘not exist’ such as Standard Indonesian tidaʔ ‘not’, ada ‘exist’, tidaʔ ada ‘not exist’, are rare in these areas of Sumatra and Kalimantan. This widespread suppletive pattern raises a number of questions about the history of negation in Malayic:

- Is it possible to reconstruct a single (verbal) negator in Proto-Malayic?
- If so, what was its form?
- What is the reason behind the diversity of suppletive existentials?
- What is the etymology of these suppletive existentials?

We reconstruct a Proto Malayic negative marker *ti-, the existential *ada, and the transparent negative existential *tiada. Further, we demonstrate that many Standard Negation markers in Malayic arose from the Negative Existential Cycle, a grammaticalization pathway whereby the negative formative and the existential are reanalyzed as the Standard Negation marker (Croft 1991). That is, Standard Negation markers are fairly uniform across Malayic, with some exceptions (cf. Betawi ŋgaʔ). They are made up of two elements: ti-, ni(ʔ)-, di(ʔ)-, or c(i)-, all derived from the Proto Malayic negator *ti and -ada, -de, or -daʔ, all derived from the Proto Malayic existential *ada.

While most Standard Negation markers in Malayic isolates are quite similar, the suppletive existentials are far from uniform (see table 1 above). We argue that this diversity is explained by the nature of the Negative Existential Cycle. As the negative prefix and the existential begin to fuse together and be reanalyzed, the element representing the existential becomes semantically bleached, and new elements are coopted to take the meaning ‘exist’. For example, the proposed etymology of bedie ‘not exist’ in Besemah comes from the prefix be-, the most common way to express possession in Besemah, and the third person pronoun die. Thus, the negative existential originally meant ‘have it’. Other negative existentials are far less conspicuous. The negative existential katiʔ in Palembang Malay, is derived from the combination of a prothetic ka- commonly found in other Malayic words and negative markers (e.g., kagaʔ in Betawi Malay) and the Proto Malayic negative prefix *ti-. These reconstructions, however, present a number of complicating issues, such as the origin of the final glottal stop found in a number of Standard Negation markers (e.g., tidaʔ ‘no, not’ in Standard Malay) and the origin of Standard Negation markers that begin with a nasal (e.g., ŋgaʔ in Betawi).

References

Typology of voice in Malayic: The development of agent-demoting passives

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A key typological characteristic of traditional Austronesian languages such as Seediq, Malagasy, Tagalog etc. is that these languages display a so-called ‘Philippine’ type voice system. Whereas, in languages with a European-type voice system, the agent in the passive construction is ‘demoted’ from argument to adjunct (as evidenced by syntactic behavior, e.g. optionality of agent, binding and extraction patterns typical of adjuncts rather than arguments etc.), in languages with a ‘Philippine’ type voice system, agent arguments are retained as core arguments in transitive constructions with non-agent subjects.

While a large proportion of the Austronesian family has completely lost the ‘Philippine’ type voice system, Indonesian-type languages have been claimed to exhibit a ‘mixed’ voice system (cf. Arka & Manning, 1998 inter alia). The term ‘mixed’ refers to the fact that, on the one hand, these languages retain a ‘Philippine’ type voice construction, while on the other hand, they also appear to exhibit a European-type passive in which the agent argument is ‘demoted’ to adjunct. This passive construction is marked with the prefix *di-* in Standard Indonesian.

(1) object voice (agent not demoted to adjunct)
Buku itu sudah aku baca.
book that already 1SG read.
I have read that book.

(2) *di-*passive (agent demoted to adjunct)
buku itu sudah dibaca (oleh ali)
book that has been read (by Ali).

Although the etymological origin of the passive prefix *di-* has been widely discussed (Wolff, Adelaar, van den Berg), little has been said about how Indonesian-type languages, which, by hypothesis, descend historically from a variety exhibiting a Philippine type voice system, subsequently developed a European-type passive construction. In this paper, we present evidence from ‘missing link’ varieties: i.e. Malayic varieties in which the European-type passive construction shows the remnants of the earlier, Philippine-type voice system. These varieties, which include some dialects of Kerinci (Mckinnon, Cole and Hermon, 2011), have already developed a European-type passive, yet they exhibit unusual properties which are best understood as the remnants of a Philippine type passive. As illustrated by the Kerinci example below, the ‘demoted’ agent in the *di-*passive construction exhibits behavior/properties typical of arguments rather than adjuncts. For example, in the *di-*passive construction, the agent argument is syntactically obligatory (3), it must be appear adjacent to the verb (4), it cannot appear in a by-phrase (Mckinnon (2011, p.197), and, as in the object voice construction, the verb exhibits selectional restrictions with regard to the agent (5).

(3) Agent is obligatory
kaki nyah digigit hah/aliy
leg.O 3 DI-bite.O person.A/animal.A
‘His leg was bitten by someone/Ali.'
*kakɨɲah digigit.
leg.O 3 DI-bite.O
(ungrammatical with the interpretation ‘his leg was bitten’)

(4) Adjacency to the verb
kakɨɲah digigit (*word) hah
leg.O 3 DI-bite.O person.A
‘His leg was bitten by someone’

(5) Selectional restrictions on features of the agent (only 3rd person agents permitted)
ayɛʔ la dinyɨŋ hah/aliy/*mpo/*kao/*kito
water.A PAST DI-drink.O person.A/Ali/*2SG/*1SG/*1PL(incl.)
‘The water was drunk by someone/Ali/*you/*me/*us’

Through comparison of the syntactic characteristics of these ‘missing link’ varieties, this paper develops an account of the historical changes which lead to the development of the mixed voice system in Indonesian-type languages.

Works cited:
Sakizaya is a highly-endangered language spoken in the Hualien region on the East coast of Taiwan. Although the Sakizaya gained recognition as a distinct and separate tribe in 2007, there has still been very little linguistic research into their language, and we are yet to clearly determine its position amongst both the Amis dialects as well as the Formosan and Philippine-type languages as a whole.

Previous research into Sakizaya (Tsukida 1993; Shen 2008) has shown that temporal/aspectual information is inferred by voice markers when no other temporal information is present, and also through the use of reduplication, temporal clitics and other markers. However, other finer aspectual and modal categories have gone unnoticed. The author’s current fieldwork indicates that one of these aspects – the durative – seems unique in its expression. Unlike many other Formosan languages which express this morphologically, primarily through Ca- (e.g. Bunun – De Busser 2009) or full reduplication (e.g. Yami – Rau & Dong 2006), Sakizaya seems to do so through phonological strategies, namely vowel lengthening or glottal stop epenthesis. When used with dynamic verbs, the durative aspect is expressed, while emphatic information is conveyed when used with stative verbs and adjectives. Blust (2013) notes that some AN languages automatically lengthen vowels in certain environments, while some languages of Taiwan are known to sporadically insert [ʔ] in vowel sequences e.g. Bunun ma-tin?un ‘weave’ and Amis mi-tinu?un ‘weave’ (Wolff 2005), while in PAn it was a phoneme that had a special function as a grammatical marker and was thus preserved (or reanalysed) in a number of daughter languages (Zorc 1996: 42), however, this seems to be a relatively unexplored phenomena in Formosan languages.

This paper illustrates the restrictions of these strategies on Sakizaya verb types, and aims to examine the underlying phonological structures and phono-morphological processes at the heart of the durative.

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Tsukida, Naomi (1993), A Brief Sketch of the Sakizaya Dialect of Amis, Tokyo University Linguistics Paper 13
Applicatives vs symmetrical voice: The case of Äiwoo =Cä

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Himmelmann and Riesberg (2013) discuss the criteria for labelling a morphological alternation an applicative vs. part of a symmetrical voice system, based on data from the Totoli language of Sulawesi. They propose a set of diagnostic differences including primary function (marking semantic role of the privileged argument for symmetrical voice vs. allowing a participant in a peripheral undergoer role to appear in a core syntactic function for applicatives), effect on transitivity/argument structure (symmetrical voice does not necessarily change transitivity or argument structure, whereas applicatives always do), interaction with other alternations (voice marking remains constant for semantic role, whereas applicative marking remains constant when other alternations such as voice or causative marking apply) and semantic roles targeted (symmetrical voice systems include options for the prototypical undergoer roles patient and theme, whereas applicatives are typically restricted to more peripheral roles).

This paper will examine the clitic =Cä in the Äiwoo language of the Reef Islands, Solomon Islands, in light of these criteria. It will argue that while the clitic shows properties that according to Himmelmann and Riesberg are characteristic of applicatives, in particular the fact that it can combine with verbs in either the actor voice or the undergoer voice, its function in the overall system indicates that it must be analysed as a circumstantial voice marker. In its marking of arguments on the verb, Äiwoo distinguishes between prefixes marking the actor in the actor voice and suffixes marking the actor in the undergoer voice. The difference between these patterns has previously been analysed in terms of transitivity (e.g. Næss 2006, 2012, 2013), but on closer examination, both clause types are syntactically transitive, and the alternation does not correlate with any established semantic properties of transitivity such as definiteness, affectedness or topicality of the O argument; rather, it patterns much like the symmetrical voice alternations described for Western Austronesian languages. The clitic =Cä, when added to an actor-voice form, changes person marking from prefixing to suffixing, meaning that it must be analysed as a voice marker rather than an applicative; compare Himmelmann and Riesberg’s (2013: 413-414) Totoli data showing that the applicative –an can be added to either the actor voice or the undergoer voice with no changes in person marking.

Äiwoo =Cä is plausibly a reflex of *akən/*akin[i], which has grammaticalised into an applicative suffix in many Oceanic and Indonesian languages. Indeed, the definition of an ‘Indonesian-type’ as opposed to a ‘Philippine-type’ symmetrical voice system is that they include a set of applicatives, of which one typically reflects *akən, which can be added to either the actor voice or the undergoer voice (Arka and Ross 2005: 7). The presumed cognate in Äiwoo, on the other hand, is a voice marker rather than an applicative. This makes Äiwoo doubly unusual: not only is it an apparently Oceanic language showing a symmetrical voice system, which is problematic because the symmetrical voice system of PMP is generally assumed to have been lost by the time of POc (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 61-62); but its voice system is in a very real sense a hybrid between a Philippine-type and an Indonesian-type system. It shows the syntactic characteristics of a Philippine-type language in that it only permits the syntactic promotion of participants to ‘subject’ position; there are no mechanisms in Äiwoo to promote a participant to nonsubject core (‘object’) status. But it shows the morphological characteristics of an Indonesian-type language in that in that the circumstantial voice marker can be added to both actor-voice and undergoer-voice verb forms – and is plausibly a cognate of the applicative marker found in many Indonesian-type systems. This situation raises a number of questions with respect to the precise genealogical affiliation of Äiwoo and its closest relatives, the languages of Santa Cruz, which were classified as forming a first-order subgroup of Oceanic together with the Utupua and Vanikoro languages by Ross and Næss (2007); with respect to the morphosyntactic properties of Proto-Oceanic, which is commonly assumed to have lost the PMP symmetrical-voice system and
replaced it with a system marking transitivity; and with respect to the history of *akən/*akin[i].

References
Possession and nominalization in Lamaholot

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Lamaholot, a Central Malayo-Polynesian language of eastern Indonesia, has two possessive markers, -N and =kə̃. The possessive suffix -N is realized as nasalization on the last vowel of the possessum noun, while =kə̃ is an enclitic that follows a possessum noun. In this paper, I present a description and analysis of these two possessive makers and argue that they have a variety of functions in addition to marking a possessive relationship.

Major findings and observations in this paper can be summarized as follows. First, -N and =kə̃ express inalienable and alienable possessive relationships, respectively. See (1) and (2). Note that, in Lamaholot, like many other languages in eastern Indonesia (Klamer 2002, Himmelmann 2005), inalienable and alienable possessive relationships are expressed in distinct constructions, and a possessor noun precedes a possessum noun.

(1) Hugo kə̃ʔ
Hugo head-POSS
‘Hugo’s head’

(2) Hugo laŋə̃ʔ
Hugo house =kə̃ʔ
‘Hugo’s house’

Second, the two possessive markers -N and =kə̃ can co-occur with adjectives and verbs, in which case they indicate noun-modification and nominalization. On the one hand, certain adjectives must be marked with a possessive marker to serve as noun modifiers, as in (3), and as nominalized expressions, as in (4). On the other hand, verbs followed by a possessive marker can work as noun modifiers, as in (5), and as nominalized expressions, as in (6).

(3) go hope honda beləʔ
go hope honda beləʔ-N
1SG buy motorcycle big-POSS
‘I bought a big motorcycle.’

(4) go hope beləʔ
go hope beləʔ-N
1SG buy big-POSS
‘I bought a big one.’

(5) go kə̃ ikə̃ mo bihoʔ
go kə̃ ikə̃ mo biho-N,
1SG eat.1SG fish 2SG cook-POSS
‘I ate the fish you cooked.’

(6) go kə̃ mo bihoʔ.
go kə̃ mo biho-N,
1SG eat.1SG 2SG cook-POSS
‘I ate the one you cooked.’

Third, as nouns are divided into inalienably-possessed and alienably-possessed classes, adjectives and verbs are also divided into two classes with regard to -N and =kə̃. To be more specific, there are two classes of adjectives: those adjectives that can appear with -N and those that occur only with =kə̃. The former include bela ‘big’, kre ‘small’, blaha ‘long’, and kposu ‘short’, among others, while the latter include blə ‘wide’, knipu ‘narrow’, wa ‘next’, waũ ‘smell bad’, and so on. Similarly, verbs are classified into two groups: those verbs that can go with –N and those that cannot. The former include biho ‘cook’, tunu ‘burn’, hope ‘buy’, and so on, while the latter include tei ‘live’, boa ‘throw away’, ai ‘get’, among others. In either case, the classification is lexically determined.

Fourth, “double nominalization” is possible in Lamaholot. In other words, an element already marked with the suffix –N can be further followed by the enclitic =kə̃. Interestingly, “double
nominalization” indicates contrastiveness and exclamation. See examples in (7) and (8), respectively.

(7)  
go hope oto belɔʔnəʔ.  
go hope oto belɔʔ -N =kə̃.  
1SG buy car large =POSS  
‘I bought the large car (not the small car).’

(8)  
Ilon sənənə.  
Ilon səna -N =kə̃.  
Ilon beautiful -POSS =POSS  
‘Ilon is very beautiful!’

In summary, the two possessive markers –N and =kə in Lamaholot display the linguistic features of typological interest. They are attached not only to nouns but also to adjectives and verbs. Functionally speaking, they indicate noun-modification, nominalization, contrastiveness, and exclamation in addition to possessive relationships.

References
From Proto Oceanic to contemporary Southeast Solomonic: Changes in patterns of distribution of transitive morphology

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In Proto Oceanic (POc), transitivity was marked morphologically. Three valency-increasing morphemes have been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic: i) the short transitive suffix *-i, ii) the long transitive suffix *-akin[i], and iii) the causative prefix *paka- (Evans, 2003). The distribution of the suffix *-i was determined phonologically; it occurred with verbs whose stems were consonant-final or ended with *a. The prefix *paka- derived causative verbs from intransitive verbs and nouns, and had also a multiplicative use with numerals. Transitive verbs occurred with an object marker, which followed the verb stem or, if present, the transitive suffix.

The suffixes *-i and *-akin[i] are reflected in Southeast Solomonic languages (SES) as the short suffix -(C)i and the long suffix -Cakini respectively, where C stands for a variable consonant. The reflexes of *paka- in SES languages have forms va'a-, fa'a-, ha'a- and others. To the extent of reflecting the ancient valency-increasing morphemes, transitive morphology in Southeast Solomonic is conservative. As in Proto Oceanic, often we find pairs of verbs with the same root, where the intransitive verb is unmarked and its transitive counterpart is marked either by the object marker alone, or combined with one or more of the transitivising morphemes. However, data from contemporary SES languages suggest significant redistribution of the patterns of transitive morphology compared to Proto Oceanic.

As the data in Table 1 shows, there are numerous innovations in transitivity marking in SES languages. Bugotu reflects the POc transitive form with the short suffix, but seems to lack the causative form. Whilst Longgu and 'Are'are reflect the causative form with the short suffix, they have also innovative causative forms without the suffix. Sa'a and Owa, on the other hand, have the causative forms with the short suffix but with an etymologically unexpected consonant, and have innovative transitive forms with reflexes of *-akin[i] rather than the expected *-i. Innovative transitive forms with the long suffix are also found in Lau and Kwaio, together with an innovative derived intransitive forms. One language, 'Are'are, appears to have also developed an unsuffixed transitive form. In all languages where the transitive form with the short transitive suffix is found, the nasal consonants in the suffix are innovations.

This comparative study examines the data synchronically as well as diachronically: it investigates the factors that determine the patterns of transitivity marking in the contemporary Southeast Solomonic languages and the changes in the distribution of the transitive morphology that have taken place in the history of these languages.

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1 The suffixes are termed close and remote, respectively, in Pawley and Reid (1979). The POc suffixes *-i and *-akin[i] introduced object arguments with different semantic roles, and so were in a complementary distribution.

2 Evans (2010) concludes that *akin[i] occurred as a transitivising suffix as well as a preposition in Proto Oceanic. As a suffix, it introduced an object; as a preposition, it introduced an oblique argument.

3 There is evidence that Proto Oceanic had two causative prefixes, *pa- and *paka-. These morphemes were used in slightly different ways in a pre-Proto Oceanic, but the distinction was no longer productive in Oceanic (Evans, 2003).

4 The forms somewhat differ across the Southeast Solomonic languages and -Cakini is used here for the sake of consistency.
Table 1. Distribution of transitive morphology in POc and SES (Fox, 1974; Geerts, 1970; Hill, 2011; Walter G. Ivens, 1918; G. Ivens, 1940; Keesing, 1975; Lichtenberk, 2008; Mellow, 2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ma-takut</td>
<td>*matakut-i</td>
<td>*paka-matakut-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bugotu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*matagu</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bugotu</td>
<td>*matakut-i</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*paka-matakut-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longgu</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
<td>be afraid of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ų</td>
<td>ma'u-ni-</td>
<td>*va'a-ma'u-ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lau</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
<td>be afraid of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mou</td>
<td>ma'u-ni-</td>
<td>ma'u-ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mou-tai</td>
<td>ma'u-ni-</td>
<td>ma'u-ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toqabaqita</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
<td>be afraid of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ų</td>
<td>fa'a-ma'u-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaio</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
<td>be afraid of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ų</td>
<td>ma'u-ni-</td>
<td>ma'u-ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ų-pa'i</td>
<td>ma'u-ni-</td>
<td>ma'u-ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Are'are</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
<td>be afraid of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ų</td>
<td>ma'u-ni-</td>
<td>ma'u-ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa'a</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
<td>be afraid of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa'</td>
<td>ma'u-te'i-</td>
<td>(transitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owa</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
<td>be afraid of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maagu</td>
<td>maagu-taini-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References
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Causative constructions of Oirata on Kisar Island:
The influence of Meher and Melayu Tenggara Jauh

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Leiden University Center for Linguistics

There are 24 languages in Southwest Maluku (Indonesian province of Maluku) of which 23 are Austronesian; Oirata, in Kisar Island, is the only Non-Austronesian language in the area. On Kisar Island there are at least four languages, Meher (Austronesian, SVO, with 12,000 speakers), Oirata (‘Papuan’/non-Austronesian, SOV, with 1,566 speakers), Local Malay (Austronesian, SVO, use as lingua franca on the island), and Indonesian (Austronesian, SVO, use as official language in Indonesia). As the only non-Austronesian language on the area and with small number of speakers, Oirata is an interesting case of how a language can survive in a multilingual situation. The diagram below shows us the language use of Oirata.

* Meher was used as lingua franca on Kisar Island before Dutch occupations.
** They start using Local Malay as lingua franca after Dutch occupations.

Based on the preliminary research on Oirata, it is found out that there are diglosic situation on interaction between Oirata, Meher and Local Malay. From the diagram above, it can be seen that the use of local Malay (or borrowing the term by Engelenhoven, Melayu Tenggara Jauh/MTJ) in a very wide range of usage, before that they also used Meher in the same manner. Therefore, deep contact situation is expected to happen between Oirata, MTJ, and Meher. It is expected through this contact scenario, MTJ and Meher give some influences to Oirata. This multilingual situation suggests a comparable contact induced language change. This research aims at describing causative constructions of Oirata language in order to investigate the similarities between Oirata, MTJ, and Meher to recognize its possible influences.

From the preliminary research, there are some similarities found in MTJ and Oirata languages.

1. **iyar** `path, road`
   **pai** `do, make`
   **mamaʔa** `clean`
   **wati** `path, road`
   **pai** `do, make`
   **mamaʔa** `Clean`
   **to (O)** `so`
   **and then**
   `n` `v` `adj` `n` `v` `adj`

2. **Bikin** `Make`
   **bersih** `clean`
   **jalan (MTJ)** `road`
   `V` `adj` `n`
Austronesian languages in the area indicate causation by means of a verb ‘to make’ or ‘to do’. Additionally, causative constructions in MTJ use ‘to give’ as an auxiliary. (Engelenhoven, 2002: 185) Therefore, the second example “bikin bersih” is a typical construction of Austronesian language. However, the causative construction in the first example, “pai mama’a”, is not a typical non-Austronesian language because the construction found in the De Jong’s data from 1937 has different construction “naware pai”.

3 Etu  **naware pai** (O-DeJong)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Con</th>
<th>Adj</th>
<th>v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Then</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>do, make</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Meanwhile, it can also be seen in the examples below that the causative of Meher language also similar with Oirata since the contact between Meher and Oirata was happened earlier and intensively for long periods.

4  **ue leher me houte**

ue leher me- houte  
3SG sail give descend  
'He lowers the sail.' (Woirata)

5  **ai n al kopur walar**

ai n- al- kopur walar  
3SG Cli give descend sail  
'He lowers the sail.' (Meher)

6  **Di kas turun layar.**

3SG give descend sail  
'He lowers the sail.' (MTJ)

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The case-marking in Isbukun Bunun existential constructions

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The aim of this paper is to discuss the case-marking of the theme argument in Isbukun Bunun (Austronesian, Formosan) existential constructions. The data of the present study come from narrative texts collected by the present author in Namasia district, Kaohsiung City.

In previous studies on existential constructions in Isbukun Bunun, two opposite statements have been made for the case-marking of the theme argument in existential constructions. First, Zeitoun et al. (1999:26) recognizes that a theme argument is marked with the nominative case. In the following examples (1a, b), Zeitoun et al. (1999) concluded that the non-occurrence of case marker before the theme argument is because of the vowel deletion for avoiding the sequence of two identical vowels and the theme argument can therefore be recognized as assigned the nominative case in existential constructions.

(1)  
a. ʔaiḍaʔ a puah siaʔ humaʔ  “There are flowers in the field.”
   exist NOM flower at field
b. ʔukaʔ a puah siaʔ humaʔ  “There are no flowers in the field.”
   NEG NOM flower at field

In contrast, Wu (2009:368) states that neither the nominative nor oblique case marker can precede the theme argument. In order to illustrate this, Wu (2009) gives the following sentences (2a, b) as ill-formed.

(2)  
a. *Aiza a kukuav sia lukiš-cia.  
   exist NOM eagle PREPOSITION tree-that.OBL
b. *Aiza mas kukuav sia lukiš-cia.  
   exist OBL eagle PREPOSITION tree-that.OBL

Contrary to the expectations, however, the present author’s data show that a case marker can precede the theme argument in existential constructions. The theme argument can be preceded by the nominative case marker in affirmatives and by the nominative or the oblique case marker in negatives. In the affirmative constructions, although no case marker is visible in the example (3), the example (4) shows that the nominative case marker a can appear after a word ending with a consonant, and the example (5) shows that the other form of nominative case, maaz=a, appears.

(3)  
aiza singhaili  
   exist sword
   “There is a sword”
(4)  
aiza habas a uvaaz. tatini.  
   exist before NOM child one:person
   “There was a child. One.”
(5)  
aiza maaz=a maluspingaz=a. itu-duma tu maluspingaz.  
   exist what=NOM woman=NOM.DIST POSS-other LIGATURE woman
   “There was a woman. (She was) other’s woman.”

In the negative constructions, the theme argument can be preceded by a case marker. Although no case marker is visible in the example (6), the theme argument can be preceded by the nominative case marker, shown in the example (7), or by the oblique case marker, as shown in the example (8). The choice between the nominative and the oblique case for the theme argument in negative constructions, as the data show, depends on the definiteness of the theme: it can be inferred that the nominative is chosen if the theme is definite while the oblique is chosen if indefinite.
(6) $\text{uka } \text{laak}$
   $\text{NEG} \text{ hole}$
   “There is no hole”

(7) $\text{uka } \text{dau } \text{maaz=a } \text{nas-tama-bukun}$
   $\text{NEG} \text{ HEARSAY what=NOM the:late-father-Bukun}$
   “The late Father Bukun was not (there)”

(8) $\text{uka } \text{mas } \text{sapuz } \text{aupa } \text{m-ushu } \text{sia } \text{vaha=tia}$
   $\text{NEG} \text{ OBL fire because AV-burn:out LOC horn=OBL.DIST}$
   “There was no fire, because (it) went out at the horn (of a pygmy deer).”

In Isbukun Bunun, a single argument in intransitive clauses generally occurs in the nominative case. The only exception is the oblique marking of the theme argument in clauses with the predicate $\text{uka}$ “not exist”. This fact will require us to reconsider the typology of the case-marking in existential constructions of Formosan languages.

References
Adjectival expressions in Paran Seediq

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Adjectives stand as a word class in all languages regardless of the size of this class (Dixon 2010:62). As with most Austronesian languages, however, adjectival expressions in Seediq—Atayalic, Formosan—have been called stative or adjectival verbs (Asai 1953, Holmer 1996, and Tsukida 2005). All of the literature on this topic, however, presents only a handful of words, and a comprehensive description of this class of words is one of the most urgent desiderata of Seediq linguistics. Incidentally, Asai and Holmer have described Paran Seediq, while Tsukida has investigated Teruku Seediq. In this study I have collected as many adjectival expressions in Paran Seediq as possible and clarify the morphological and syntactic features, which are peculiar to adjectives but not to verbs.

First, from a syntactic point of view, an adjectival expression in Seediq i) qualifies a noun when it stands after the noun, and ii) serves as a predicate when it is placed in the sentence initial position.

(i) \[\text{Seediq}\text{NP}[\text{-paru}]\text{ADJ} \quad \text{(person big) ‘a big person’}\]

(ii) \[\text{∅-paru} \text{PRED ka seediq} \quad \text{(big TOP person) ‘The person is big’}\]

Second, from a morphological point of view, adjectives appear either without a prefix as in (i-ii) above, that is to say in a bare form, or with the prefix \(m\)- as in (iii).

(iii) \(m\text{-qaras ka seediq} \quad \text{(happy TOP person) ‘The person is happy.’}\)

As far as I can see from my data, whether an adjective in question takes or lacks the prefix \(m\)- seems to be dependent on the semantic field. As is well known, Dixon (2010:73-74) classifies adjectives into three sets, A, B, and C. A comprises 1. DIMENSION, 2. AGE, 3. VALUE and 4. COLOR, B, 5. PHYSICAL PROPENSITY, 6. HUMAN PROPENSITY, 7. SPEED, and finally C, 8. DIFFICULTY, 9. SIMILARITY, 10. QUALIFICATION, 11. QUANTIFICATION, 12. POSITION, 13. CARDINAL NUMBERS. Generally speaking, all the Seediq adjectives belonging to Set A appear as bare forms (cf. (iv), (v)), while those denoting the notions in Sets B and C take either bare forms or prefixed forms, cf. (vi), (vii). Some of the words denoting notions classed under Set C, i.e. 10. QUALIFICATION, 11. QUANTIFICATION, 12. POSITION, 13. CARDINAL NUMBERS behave differently from other adjectives. For example, the notions of QUALIFICATION such as ‘definite’, ‘true’, ‘probable’, and ‘possible’ are expressed by means of verbs, adverbs or nouns.

A2. AGE

(vi) \(\text{∅-bgurah ka lukus nii.} \quad \text{(new TOP clothes this) ‘These clothes are new.’}\)

A3. VALUE

(v) \(\text{∅-naqah ka seediq nii.} \quad \text{(bad TOP person this) ‘This person is bad.’}\)

B5. PHYSICAL PROPENSITY

(vi) \(\text{∅-saadux ka ppuqun nii.} \quad \text{(hard TOP food this) ‘This food is hard.’}\)

(vii) \(m\text{-henuk ka ppuqun nii.} \quad \text{(soft TOP food this) ‘This food is soft.’}\)

Third, from a morpho-syntactic point of view, all adjectival expressions I have investigated share a common morpheme, the prefix \(k\)-, in the connegative; the connegative is a form employed after a negator \(ini\) (see sentence (viii) below), while verbs have no such prefix in the connegative, cf. (ix) with the verb \(d\text{-}\text{<AV.PRES>}\text{ayo} \quad (<AV.PRES>\text{help ‘help’}).\) This verb appears in the bare form, \text{dayo},
in the connegative.

(viii) ini k-paru seediq waga (NEG K-big person that) ‘That person is not big.’

(ix) ini dayo alang heya (NEG help village 3SG) ‘He does not help the village.’

Fourth, adjectives also share an exclamatory construction, in which the forms accompanied by the prefix kn- or circumfix kn-…-an appear as in (x).

(x) keyan kn-paru=na (what! KN-big=3SG.GEN) ‘How big it is!’

Thus the adjective class in Paran Seediq is distinguishable from verbs in terms of morphology and syntax. Adjectives either have the zero or m- prefix, and share the connegative prefix k-, whereas verbs show different affixes (typically, infix <m> in the affirmative and the bare form in the connegative constructions). Adjectives also show the exclamatory construction.

References
Adverbial constructions in Truku Seediq

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Verb-like elements used to express adverbial meanings in many Formosan languages have been variously analyzed as serializing verbs, complement-taking verbs, and functional heads. Despite being commonly called “adverbial verbs,” they do not demonstrate the full range of properties typically associated with verbs. The purposes of this study are to present the first analysis of Truku Seediq (Atayalic) adverbial verb constructions (AVCs) as well as to explore their historical and typological implications. I will demonstrate that Truku adverbial verbs function in two ways: as serializing verbs and as manner/frequency preverbs, latter of which are a case of grammaticalization. It will be shown that Truku adverbial verbs are at an advanced stage of grammaticalization as compared with other Formosan languages.

Truku has Philippine-type four-way voice alternations of Actor Voice (AV), Patient Voice (PV), Locative Voice (LV), and Circumstantial Voice (CV). The constituent order is predicate-genitive agent-nominative (or predicate-ergative-absolutive, in the ergative approach) and is said to be derived by TP-raising (Aldridge 2004). The first verb (V1) in a serial verb construction (SVC) may be freely inflected for voice and TAM and host pronominal clitics, whereas the second verb (V2) may only carry AV morphology in either its realis or irrealis form. Thus, arguments are associated thematically to V2 but syntactically to V1. The language lacks manner adverbs, and manner modification is often achieved by stative verbs serving as V1 of an SVC.

Adverbial verbs in Truku are a small set of items denoting manner or frequency. Like stative verbs, adverbial verbs can serve as V1 of SVCs, while largely lacking predicative functions.

(1) M-biyax bi s<m>ipaq laqi=na ka Rubiq “Rubiq hit her child hard.”
   STAT.REAL-strong INT hit<AV> child=3SG.GEN NOM Rubiq

(2) Kn-biyax-an Rubiq s<m>ipaq ka laqi=na “Rubiq hit her child hard.”
   KN-strong-PV Rubiq hit<AV> NOM child=3SG.GEN

Adverbial verbs in Truku have Philippine-type four-way voice alternations of Actor Voice (AV), Patient Voice (PV), Locative Voice (LV), and Circumstantial Voice (CV). The constituent order is predicate-genitive agent-nominative (or predicate-ergative-absolutive, in the ergative approach) and is said to be derived by TP-raising (Aldridge 2004). The first verb (V1) in a serial verb construction (SVC) may be freely inflected for voice and TAM and host pronominal clitics, whereas the second verb (V2) may only carry AV morphology in either its realis or irrealis form. Thus, arguments are associated thematically to V2 but syntactically to V1. The language lacks manner adverbs, and manner modification is often achieved by stative verbs serving as V1 of an SVC.

To further set them apart from stative verbs, adverbial verbs may function as preverbs (5–6). Prototypical preverbs are functional items which do not inflect or determine argument structures, while many host clitic pronouns. This closed class includes the negative marker for nominals as well as aspect and modal-like items, among others. The verb following a preverb inflects for voice and TAM (7).

(5) Hmut=ku m-n-imah sinaw ‘I drank wine excessively.’
   carelessly.AV=1SG.NOM AV-drink wine

(6) Hmut=mu mah-an ka sinaw ‘I drank wine excessively.’
   carelessly-LV=1SG.GEN AV-drink NOM wine

(7) Jima=na g<n>guy-an ka pila=mu ‘He/she already stole my money.’
   already=3SG.GEN steal<PRF>-PV NOM money=1SG.GEN

I argue that this latter use of adverbial verbs as preverbs is the result of reanalysis. Given the parallel structure of contemporary adverbial SVCs and other SVCs, it is possible that adverbial verbs in Truku initially functioned merely as stative verbs or the V1 in SVCs used as figurative collocations (e.g., knteetu conceivably comes from a prefixed form of teetu “to cut in small pieces,” that subsequently became fossilized and morphologically non-analyzable). The AV-only constraint would render NAV inflection on V2 unavailable. Preverbs, on the other hand, may be followed by
AV or NAV verb forms. Notably, the AV form of the adverbial verb is zero-marked, often creating surface identity with non-inflecting preverbs when followed by an AV action verb. Therefore, the following construction is ambiguous between an SVC and a single-verb sentence with a preverb. The only difference is indicated by the two glosses.

(8) Sprang g<m>rung pratu ka Masaw
   intentionally.AV break<AV> plate NOM Masaw (SVC)
   intentionally break<AV> plate NOM Masaw (preverb)
   ‘Masaw broke the plate on purpose.’

Over time, adverbial verbs in some SVCs could have been reanalyzed as preverbs. In turn, V2 and all following constituents was reinterpreted as a fully inflected clause. This would enable adverbial verbs to be followed by NAV-inflected verbs, in accordance with preexisting preverbs.

The coexisting usages of adverbial verbs in SVCs and as preverbs can be seen as a result of grammaticalization. Considering nouns and verbs as cardinal categories, loss of nominal or verbal properties can be associated with “decategorization” (Hopper and Traugott 2003) from a relatively open major category into a relatively closed minor category. If the scenario above is correct, this would mean that adverbial modification that was achieved exclusively by lexical items in the past has an option of being achieved via homophonous functional items today.

Truku AVCs present two unique features: freedom in voice inflection and a high degree of grammaticalization. Chang (2010) observes that Formosan adverbial verbs generally have a reduced, two-way voice distinction of AV vs. PV. For instance both in Tsou and Tkdaya Seediq, locative and instrumental NPs cannot serve as pivot of an AVC. On the other hand, at least Truku adverbial verbs enjoy a full four-way voice distinction:

(9) Ensuil-an=mu m-imah sinaw ka sapah Rubiq
   occasionally-LV=1SG.GEN AV-drink wine NOM house Rubiq
   ‘Occasionally, I drink at Rubiq’s house.’

(10) S-tmlux=na s<m>ipaq huling ka qhuni nii
   CV-randomly=3SG.GEN hit<AV> dog NOM wood PROX
   ‘He hits dogs randomly with this wooden stick.’

While two distinct classes of adverbial verbs are found in Tkdaya Seediq and Mayrinax Atayal a subset of adverbial verbs in Kavalan and Paiwan participate in two constructions similar to those of Truku. In Truku, however, all five adverbial verbs identified so far may participate in both of the two constructions. I propose that pairs of homophonous items now belong to two separate grammatical categories; a situation not found in other Formosan languages. Thus, it can be said that Truku adverbial verbs are at an advanced stage of grammaticalization. Truku presents a truly unique case in which typical verbal functions are relatively well-preserved for one usage of adverbial verbs (SVCs), while they have been severely impoverished in the other (preverbs).

Selected references
Putative morphological ergativity in Mono-Alu: The problem particle $ga$

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The particle $ga$ in Mono-Alu (MA, Northwest Solomonic) has been analysed as a preposition assigning absolute case. A range of factors undermine this analysis: its absence with many absolute arguments, the location of $ga$-marked object DPs outside the VP, and the presence of $ga$ in contexts not preceding a DP. I propose an alternative analysis where $ga$ is head of a Topic Phrase, with a DP or VP as its complement, the VP occurring in a cleft construction.

MA is traditionally treated as displaying unmarked SV/AOV clause order (Evans & Palmer 2011:496, Fagan 1986:84, Ross 1988:228). All orders of DPs referring to A and O are possible. However, AOV (2a) and AVO (2b), occurring with similar frequency, account for most transitive clauses with two overt DPs, while with intransitives, SV (1a) and VS (1b) also occur with similar frequency (Fagan 1986:84). All other orders are possible but rare.

When postverbal, a DP referring to S or O is usually marked with $ga$ (1b),(2b), while the A cannot be (3), leading Fagan (1986:94) to conclude $ga$ is an absolute case preposition. However, $ga$ is confined to S and O when postverbal: it cannot precede preverbal DPs referring to S (1a) or O (2a) (or A (2b)), a fact Fagan’s analysis does not account for. A further issue justifying closer examination of $ga$ as projecting absolute case lies in its typologically unusual overt marking of absolute with an unmarked ergative, the opposite of the claimed universal making absolute the unmarked case (e.g. Tsunoda 1981).

The syntactic position of $ga$-marked DPs is also in question. MA objects are obligatorily indexed by postverbal bound forms (2a-b),(3), leading Fagan to conclude that MA displays both ergative and accusative case marking (1986:80,108). However, there is evidence that the bound forms are not agreement but object pronouns in internal argument position, with coreferential $ga$-marked DPs as adjuncts, a hypothesis resembling that proposed for object DPs elsewhere in Oceanic from nearby Hoava (Palmer 2011) to Fijian (Aranovich n.d.). Evidence for this in MA includes the obligatory nature and fixed position of the bound forms versus the optionality and freedom of location of object-referring DPs elsewhere in the clause, including the possible separation of a $ga$-marked DP from the verb by an oblique (4).

Fagan notes in passing another construction, in which S precedes the verb with $ga$ located between S and V (5). For Fagan, $ga$ is still associated with the S, but notes it cannot be a preposition here as it follows the NP with which it is associated (1986:95), acknowledging his theory is unable to account for this construction. In fact, the construction also occurs when the phrase preceding $ga$ refers to the O (6), A (7), or even an adjunct (8).

This paper proposes a unified account where $ga$ does not mark absolute case, but topic. A post-predicate position is occupied by a Topic Phrase with $ga$ ‘TOP’ as head. As in other NWS languages (e.g. Palmer 2009), unmarked topics are prodropped, while marked topics are expressed in TopP. In MA verbal constructions (1)-(4), DPs referring to S or O may occur in TopP, but DPs referring to A are prohibited. Postverbal A (3) is not in the same syntactic position as $ga$-marked S. Clause order of DPs is relatively free, and DPs may occur postverbally without occurring in TopP, as shown by postverbal non-topic A occurring with a $ga$-marked O (9a), corresponding to postverbal non-topic S (9b) or O (7) not marked with $ga$.

In this analysis, the construction in (5)-(8) does not involve $ga$ postposed to a preverbal NP as Fagan assumes. Instead, $ga$ remains a preposition, with the VP as its complement forming TopP in a cleft construction. The clause-initial phrase is in focus, with the $ga$-marked VP topic expressing the situation or event within which context the focal information holds.

   this S. 3SG.SBJ.REAL-leave 3SG.SBJ.REAL-leave $ga$ S.
   ‘Sakusaku went away.’  ‘Sakusaku went away.’
(2) a. Maito kai-gu oi-golu=Ø.  
    2SG same.sex.sib-1SG.PSSR 2SG.SBJ.REAL-swallow=3SG.OBJ  
    ‘You swallowed my brother.’

b. E’a magota bau ena-lapu=ri ga sa-gu talaiva.  
    this old.woman NEG 3SG.SBJ.IRR-kill=3PL.OBJ ga POSS-1SG.PSSR women  
    ‘The old woman shall not kill my wives.’

(3) Mafa kai-gu i-lapu=Ø sa-ma tolo’o.  
    1SG same.sex.sib-1SG.PSSR 3SG.SBJ.REAL-kill=3SG.OBJ POSS-1EXCL.PL.PSSR eel  
    ‘Our eel has slain my brother.’

(4) E’a batafa sale-na i-fuane=Ø kokobui=a ga iana.  
    this woman be.alive-NMLZ 3SG.SBJ.REAL-put.inside=3SG.OBJ basket=LOC ga fish  
    ‘The living woman put the fish in her basket.’

(5) Pirite ga i-gagana.  
    k.o.bird ga 3SG.SBJ.REAL-go  
    ‘The pirite bird went off.’ [‘It was the pirite bird that went off.’]

(6) Manualai ga i-fa-por-i=Ø.  
    fish.hawk ga 3SG.SBJ.REAL-CAUS-be.born-TR=3SG.OBJ  
    She gave birth to a fish hawk.’ [‘It was a fish hawk that she gave birth to.’]

(7) Ale ga i-fa-mako darami?  
    who? ga 3SG.SBJ.REAL-CAUS-be.cooked food  
    ‘Who has cooked our food?’ [‘Who is it that has cooked [our] food?’]

(8) O’a=ua ga i-aofo ga ifa-na.  
    that=COMIT ga 3SG.SBJ.REAL-be.sick ga same.sex.sib.in.law-3SG.PSSR  
    ‘That’s why her sister-in-law fell ill.’ [‘It was with that her sister-in-law fell ill.’]

(9) a. I-nkot-i=Ø Matairua ga tauii.  
    3SG.SBJ.REAL-hold-TR=3SG.OBJ M. ga child  
    ‘Matairua took hold of the child.’

b. Iri-soku fanua famata=ang.  
    3PL.SBJ.REAL-arive people village=LOC  
    ‘The men arrived at the village.’

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Introducing “A Guide to Planning the Future of Your Language”

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SIL International has been involved with over 2000 language communities in developing local language resources over the past 80 years. This history of involvement has led to an awareness of certain dynamics related to the vitality, maintenance and shift of languages and certain beliefs about what sorts of methods and activities can lead toward positive outcomes, particularly for smaller language communities. A number of these principles and dynamics are captured in the Sustainable Use Model (SUM), developed primarily by Lewis and Simons. The backbone of SUM consists of a “scale of language development” which is essentially an expanded version of Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale. The adoption of this scale is making it possible for the Ethnologue to describe and report on the state of development of the world’s languages with a consistency, clarity and comparability that has heretofore been elusive.

But raising awareness through reporting on the status of languages of the world is not enough. How can theoretical models and analytical scales be turned into practical tools for language activists and whole communities of speakers who want to work for a better future for their languages? How can communities become more aware of prospects for the very survival of the languages they speak? For those who want to make a difference, where and how can they begin to do so with a reasonable measure of hope for success? This paper introduces a theoretically informed, practical, participatory tool for engaging members of language communities in exploring the current status of the languages they speak and planning for their future. It describes the tool’s various components and their theoretical basis, and reviews its development and early use in different parts of the world.

Note: This paper is a companion paper to “Responses in Indonesia and Malaysia to a New Planning Tool for Language Communities”

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3 See http://www.ethnologue.com/world
What’s in an alphabet? A thorny issue of orthography planning in Yami

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Indigenous language conservation efforts in Taiwan depend on joint efforts of community activists and linguistic scholars. Although this collaboration has produced many good grammatical analyses of Austronesian languages in Taiwan, it has not dealt adequately with orthography planning. Since Christian churches are influential in most indigenous speech, the orthography of the translated Bible has become a locally acknowledged “standard,” competing with the orthography established by scholars. For example, in the Yami translation of the New Testament the symbol /h/ represents both a velar approximant [ɬ] and a glottal stop [ʔ]. Its erratic presence and absence has been a thorny issue impeding efforts in Yami language teaching and testing. Even though the principle of “one phoneme, one symbol” is believed to be the best linguistic practice, the Yami community on Orchid Island is reluctant to accept the “unfamiliar” glottal stop symbol /ʔ/ as part of their writing system. However, they are eager to learn the distinction between /h/ and the invisible glottal stop if evidence can be drawn from the orthography of the Yami Bible and local literature.

This study attempts to investigate the distribution of the graphemic variable /h/ by testing internal and external factors that are hypothesized to account for its presence and absence in: (1) the Yami New Testament (1994), and (2) three Chinese-Yami bilingual literary works written by Yami speakers: In Praise of Taro (Dong, 1995), The Myths of Patai Bay (Syman Rapongan, 1994), and Yami Original Songs and Culture (Siyapen Jipengaya, 1996). The questions to be investigated include: (1) whether word stress, immediate phonetic environments, morphemic boundary, and lexical frequency can account for the variation between the presence or absence of the grapheme /h/, and (2) whether different local writers demonstrate different patterns in their use of the graphemic variable /h/. The results of this study are crucial for establishing the distribution of /h/, based on which one can investigate whether and how the grapheme /h/ displays variation between a velar approximant [ɬ] and a glottal stop [ʔ], the final piece of puzzle leading toward adoption or abandonment of the unfamiliar glottal stop in Yami orthography.
A re-evaluation of the position of Iraya among Philippine languages

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The Iraya language is spoken in northern Mindoro, Philippines by around 6000 people, mostly only by the elderly since younger generations communicate in Tagalog. Although Iraya people do not identify themselves as different from other Mangyan groups, recent phylogenetic research shows that Iraya has about the same Negrito genetic component as the Agta of eastern Luzon (HUGO 2009). The language has few available materials apart from an unpublished doctoral thesis (Tweddell 1958), an unpublished Iraya-Tagalog-English lexicon (Page und.), and an unpublished MA thesis (Barbian 1977). A cursory examination of its morphology and syntax from available descriptions and from three periods of recent fieldwork by the author suggests that it has a fairly wide range of features that distinguish it from most other Philippine languages.

The most important work to date that examines the relationship of Iraya to other Philippine languages in Mindoro and other areas of the Philippines is Zorc (1974). This work, primarily based on lexicostatistics and exclusively shared innovations in lexicon, phonology and morphology suggests that Iraya (along with its southern neighbors, Alangan and Tadyawan) subgroup with the Central Luzon languages, including Kapampangan and the Sambalic languages. Languages further to the south in Mindoro appear to subgroup with the Central Philippine group.

This presentation will expand on the work of Zorc in primarily examining morpho-syntactic data, and comparing the results with other languages of the Philippines.

The verbal paradigm is of considerable interest, in that past tense and future tense verb forms, even for transitive sentences are the same. All transitive verbs carry the infix <in>, with future verbs marked by a unique auxiliary (ba)tay (1,2). The expected transitive suffix appears only in imperative and infinitive forms (3,4). Continuous or repetitive verbs carry a suffix -an, in addition to other expected verbal suffixes.

1. Nay ginaru na nábà pun
   1SG bought that yesterday
   ‘I bought that yesterday.’ (IM #242b)

2. (Ba)tay nay ginaru nába girábas
   future 1SG buy that tomorrow
   ‘I will buy that tomorrow.’ (IM #242c)

3. (Kum) garuwun naba.
   2SG buy that
   ‘Buy that!’ (IM #242e)

4. Nay malyag garuwun naba
   1SG want buy that
   ‘I want to buy that.’ (IM #242f)

5. Laki huwan ba nagkaʔakalekan nguna.
   male Juan BA sleep.CONT now
   ‘John is sleeping now.’ (IM #479e)

Iraya has no distinctive case marking on SAP lexical noun phrases, and only singular pronouns maintain a distinction between genitive and nominative. All pronouns moreover precede their heads, whether agentive, nominative, or possessive; the language also no longer has a
distinction between personal and common noun phrase marking, marking all male names as *Laki* and female names with *Baʔi*.

Among other distinctive features of this language is the frequent use of a form *ba*, which is not a *yes-no* interrogative marker like Tagalog, but has a wide range of other functions, the details of which will be discussed in the paper (6).

6. **Nu munaʔan ka ʔaldaw ba ʔaku ba ʔibun dapu ba ʔámnya ba**
when first LIG day BA 1SG BA small still BA 1EXPL BA

**sataʔ naw sa ʔulman sa ʔámnya pamatawan sa ʔámnya tanntman.**
there far LOC mountain LOC 1EXPL live LOC 1EXPL field

‘Long ago, when I was still small, that mountain far away is where we lived and had our field.’

(MG Text1.1)

**References**


Further on Formosan phylogeny
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This paper will respond to recent criticism of the numeral-based model of Formosan phylogeny by Blust. First, it will show that Blust’s alternative explanation of the nesting pattern for isoglosses 5-10 only accounts for secondary aspects of the pattern, while clashing with major aspects and making false predictions on the numeral systems of the world’s languages. Second, the status of the etymology of *pitu, *walu and *Siwa after Blust’s criticism will be reviewed. Third, the evidence for Blust’s East Formosan and Western Plains, two proposed Formosan subgroups, will be evaluated. It will be shown that the various pieces of evidence presented by Blust in support of his Western Plains do not delineate any consistent Formosan subgroup. As to East Formosan, predicted by Blust solely on the merger of PAN *n with the phoneme known as *j (allegedly [g]), an alternative account will be presented, where the unnatural sound change n > g and the otherwise unsupported prehistoric migration supposed by Blust can be dispensed with: PAN *j was really a palatal nasal *ɲ, whose nasal quality was preserved on both coasts, where it merged with *n twice independently as part of the tendency of palatales to be lost in Taiwan. In the center and south, *ɲ developed noisy offglides to [ɲz], similar to Middle Chinese ny- (the traditional 日 rì initial), and this in turn eventually developed into a palatal affricate through a series of internally motivated steps which will be detailed. These developments took place before the MP migration from southern Taiwan made the southernmost Formosan reflex of *ɲ, a voiced affricate or stop, part of the PMP sound system. It will be pointed out that reinterpretation of *j as *ɲ makes the PAN consonant system more natural by removing a voiced stop without a voiceless counterpart. The conclusions will be that (1) there is no explanation for the isogloss nesting pattern other than a historical sequence of innovations affecting the numerals; (2) given that fact it remains highly probable that *pitu, *walu and *Siwa are based on aditive expressions of *RaCep ‘5’ plus 2, 3, 4, even if details of the model presented in 2004 will need to be modified; (3) Western Plains does not exist; (4) East Formosan does not exist.
Grammaticalization paths of “go” and “come” in Nuclear Southern Cordilleran languages

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The verbs “go” and “come” are among the most common lexical units that enter into grammaticalization due to their general lack of specifics and the wide range of their functions (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994). Grammatical forms derived from these verbs are indeed widely attested in Oceanic languages (cf. Lichtenberk 1991; Ross 2004). In contrast, far too little attention has been given to the grammaticalization of “go” and “come” in Philippine languages. This study seeks to address this gap by examining the changes involving these verbs in Nuclear Southern Cordilleran (NuSC) languages (Himes 1998). Specifically, the paper investigates the grammaticalization paths of the lexical verbs law ‘go’ and ʔali ‘come,’ and of the ‘go’ auxiliary in NuSC. The two lexical verbs served as sources from which new grammatical concepts have been drawn, giving rise to second-position clitics used as deictic directionals and temporal markers. The clause-initial ‘go’ auxiliary has undergone cliticization, resulting in a structure in which enclitic pronouns (and other second-position clitics) that were attached to it now occupy the clause-initial position, followed by the main verb. It will be argued that cliticization, and not phonological weakening (as speculated by Starosta, Pawley and Reid 2009 [1981]), accounts for the loss of the ‘go’ auxiliary. The paper also explores the possible motivations for the cliticization of this auxiliary and the changes that ensued.

The paper is divided into two parts. The first part is primarily concerned with the development of two deictic directional clitics, =la and =ʔali, and a temporal marker, =law, in NuSC. Directional clitics indicate whether the motion is away from or toward the deictic center (GO > ANDATIVE; COME > VENITIVE). Through metaphorical abstraction, the spatial usage of the two directionals has been extended to express temporal concepts (ANDATIVE > REMOTE PAST/’ALREADY’; VENITIVE > FUTURE). The temporal marker =law ‘already’ (GO > ‘ALREADY’) is only found in Keley-i, Hanglulaw and in Kalanguya spoken in Nueva Vizcaya. Tinoc-Kalanguya only uses =la to denote both REMOTE PAST and ‘ALREADY,’ while Ibaloi and Karao developed a different marker (=ma) for ‘ALREADY’.

The second part deals with the grammaticalization path of the ‘go’ auxiliary, beginning with a discussion of the evidence that suggests that the purposive particle ʔan= is more likely to be the auxiliary that used to serve as the syntactic head of ‘go’ clauses (GO [AUX] > PURPOSE [CLITIC]). Several possible factors may have triggered the cliticization of this auxiliary, such as its clitic-like position when other auxiliaries occupy the clause-initial position and the relatively high frequency of ‘go’ clauses with the zero 3NOM.SG pronoun. Changes that took place as a consequence of the cliticization of ʔan= are also examined.

So far, it appears that Southern Cordilleran languages are the only known languages in the Philippines to have developed directional clitics from “go” and “come” (Pangasinan also has =la; Ilongot still needs to be investigated), which makes it interesting to determine the communicative and/or cognitive needs that motivated their development. The loss of clause-initial auxiliaries, on the other hand, has been reported in other languages but has not been studied in detail. This study hopes to provide some insight into the grammaticalization processes that might have been involved.

References

“Playing with Palindromes”: The particles nem/men and met/tem in Kalanguya

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Kalanguya (Philippine; Nuclear Southern Cordilleran) is a language spoken by approximately 120,000 people living in the Northern Philippines. A plethora of particles is employed in this language for various grammatical and discourse functions. The goal of the present paper is two-fold: first is to examine the semantics and functions of two sets of particles, and second is to trace the origin of the second members of each set.

The first set consists of coordinating particles nem and men. Coordinating particles are used to link two phrases or clauses. The particle nem functions as an adversative coordinator (1a), a contrastive (comparative) particle (1b), and a coordinator in unreal conditionals (1c):

(1a) *Inohal to hotta tabokol, nem agto kayan dadpapan*
   (He used the fishing net, **but** he was not able to catch it)
(1b) *Nalinih hotta abong ko nem hotta abong mo.*
   (My house is cleaner **than** your house)
(1c) *Ollawak koma nem waday pilak.*
   (I **would go if** only I had money)

The particle men is used as a phrasal conjunctive coordinator (2a) and occasionally as a clausal conjunctive coordinator (2b). Moreover, it can also serve to function as an adversative coordinator (2c).

(2a) *hotta oongnga men hotta ahho*
   (the child **and** the dog)
(2b) *Naibkah hotta bobolla men nandiritson limaw la.*
   (Lit.: The ball was thrown **and** (it) went straight away)
(2c) *Ollawak koma men andi pilak ko.*
   (I wish I could **go, but** I have no money)

The second set consists of modal particles met and tem. These particles denote degrees of certainty. Propositions with the particle tem appear to convey a higher degree of certainty than those with met (high certainty vs. moderate certainty).

(3a) *Tem andi ngo! (It is certainly not (i)there!)*
(3b) *Andi met ngo. (It is probably not (i)there!)*

Surprisingly, the second members of each set (men and tem) can only be found in Kalanguya. To my knowledge, men and tem do not occur even in other languages that belong to the same language group (Nuclear Southern Cordilleran). On the other hand, the use of nem and met is common in many Cordilleran languages. I will look at two possible processes involved in the creation of men and tem. The first one is onset-coda metathesis (*met > tem; nem > men*). After the creation of the metathesized forms, the new particles were associated with certain grammatical and modal functions, some of which differ from those of their sources. The second possible process that might have been involved is metathetic reduplication (in which the reduplicant has a metathesized form of the base), which is then followed by the deletion of the base. A piece of evidence seems to support the latter claim. In Kalanguya, an almost palindromic particle *ketteg* occurs, which may have been created by reduplicating the metathesized form of the particle ket.
What is a serial verb construction? A view from Kove (Papua New Guinea)

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Serial verb constructions (SVCs) have been discussed by numerous scholars (e.g., Aikhenvald 2006; Crowley 2002; Foley and Olson 1985; Sebba 1987) for decades. From the typological perspective, Aikhenvald (2006:1) defines an SVC as “a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort” to describe “what is conceptualized as a single event.” It is widely accepted that SVCs are characterized by five properties: absence of grammatical marking of syntactic dependency between the verbs, shared inflectional categories, shared arguments, prosodic properties of monoverbal clauses, and reference to a single event. In particular, the absence of grammatical marking of syntactic dependency between the verbs is thought to be crucial because an SVC is considered a verbal sequence within a single clause.

Kove, an Oceanic SVO language spoken in West New Britain, Papua New Guinea, has constructions that look like SVCs. Formally, they are monoverbal clauses. They may share inflectional categories and arguments, and they have the intonational properties of a monoverbal clause. Semantically, they may encode one event or subevents that are linked together. In particular, serialized verbs may denote tense-mood-aspect, direction, location, time, manner, and causative relationships. They satisfy most of the parameters discussed above. However, there is a marker, gha between the verbs. In the following example, the subject and the tense are shared to encode a single event, ‘return’. Furthermore, its intonational property is very strict, and there is no pause between the two verb phrases. However, as indicated in bold, SVCs are linked by the marker gha.

(1) Ta yau nga-lua-ghau gha nga-la Hawai‘i.¹
FUT 1SG 1SG.SBJ-return-1SG.OBJ SVU 1SG.SBJ-go Hawai‘i
‘I will go back to Hawai‘i.’

(2) U-kea uraghe eta gha i-nama.
2SG.SBJ-take knife ART SVU 3SG.SBJ-come
‘Get a knife.’

In fact, clause coordination or subordination of Kove does not have grammatical marking, as seen in (3) and (4).

(3) Asihua ti-lupu ti-rae ti-rio vanene.
3DU 3PL.SBJ-gether 3PL.SBJ-go.up 3PL.SBJ-go.down like.that
‘The two of them gathered, climbed up and down like this.’

(4) Ta nga-la nga-simi muli-ghu.
FUT 1SG.SBJ-go 1SG.SBJ-look.for place-1SG.POSS
‘I will go to look for my place.’

Thus, gha appears only in SVC-like constructions.

¹ In addition to the Leipzig Glossing Rules, the following abbreviation is used in glossing the examples: svu, serial verb unifier.
These SVC-like constructions are also found with ambient verbs. As in (5), ambient serialized verbs are always marked with the third person singular subject marker, regardless of the subject and object marking of the initial verb, and express an aspectual meaning.

(5) Ya-ware nga-ghai gha i-moho, ….
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-divide PREP-1PL.EXCL.OBJ SVU 3SG.SBJ-finish
‘After we finish dividing (the compensation we received) for ourselves, …’

Furthermore, non-verbal elements such as adverbs or adjectives also serve as serialized elements to express temporal, location or the manner of the action or the event. Although these elements have a place in serialized elements, they do not take the subject marker.

(6) Ya-mororo gha ya-mororo gha lailai.
1PL.EXCL.SBJ-stay SVU 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-stay SVU afternoon
‘We stayed until the afternoon.’

(7) Nga-heri momo gha paka tau!
1SG.SBJ-chop sago.tree SVU big very
‘I have to try hard to chop the sago tree!’ (lit., ‘I have to chop the sago tree aggressively!’)

The preceding examples demonstrate that Kove has SVC-like constructions. They are monoclausal and denote a single event. However, its structure signifies a typologically idiosyncratic feature, and brings into question fundamental issues regarding the definition of SVCs. From a typological perspective, the absence of overt grammatical marking between the verbs is a crucial element of the definition of SVCs. Indeed, most scholars include the absence of overt markers in their definition of serial verbs. However, this fact seems to be in violation of the definition of SVCs. In this talk, I will look at the data of SVCs in Kove and some related languages, and discuss (1) what are SVCs, and (2) how do we deal with a grammatical marker in a serialization construction.

References
Gender in the languages of Aru

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Little is known about the Austronesian languages of the Aru archipelago in eastern Indonesian. Like other languages of eastern Indonesia, the Aru languages display innovative typological features (e.g., Himmelmann 2005) many of which are traced to Papuan influence, either by contact or substratum (Donohue 2004, 2007, Donohue & Schapper 2008, Schapper & Hammarström forthcoming). In this paper, I examine gender systems in Aru, another feature of the languages thought to be of Papuan origin (Schapper 2010). I conduct a detailed comparison of the morphology and semantics of gender systems in three Aru languages, Dobel (Hughes 2000), Kola (Takata 1992, Winne 2013) and Ujir (Schapper ongoing fieldwork), and consider whether the variation observed can be reconciled to a gender system in an ancestral language.

References
Three patterns of reduplication in Tao are elicited from Rau and Dong (2005, 2006) and Rau et al. (2012) based on the translated meaning. They are the comparative, collective, and pluralive reduplications. The former two patterns occur with adjectives (stative verbs), and the latter one with nouns. The purposes of this study are: a) to showcase the utility of Precedence-Based Phonology (PBP, Raimy 2000 et seq.) on analyzing the three reduplicative patterns in Tao, and b) to invite more people putting PBP into practice against the backdrop of Austronesian reduplication in general.

PBP is a model where precedence relationship among X-slots is explicitly represented. So, a string with three timing slots would be represented as: \#→X1→X2→X3→%. It reads as: nothing (# for the beginning) precedes (→) X1, X1 precedes X2, X2 precedes X3, and X3 precedes nothing (% for the end). In such a string, there are three sub-relations to be met: a) irreflexivity—each X-slot does not precede itself, b) asymmetricality—if X1→X2 is true, X2→X1 is false, c) transitivity—if X1→X2 and X2→X3 are true, X1→X3 is true. Precedence relationship, however, can be distorted after morpheme concatenation. Every phonological representation, distorted or not, is linearized due to the bare output conditions of the Articulatory-Perceptual interface. A distorted string after linearization will have its precedence relationship restored. In (1), some schematic representations are to display how reduplication is accounted for in PBP.

(1) reduplication in PBP (C = concatenation, L = linearization)

a. total reduplication
\[ \#\rightarrow a\rightarrow b\rightarrow c\rightarrow % \quad C\gg\gg \quad \#\rightarrow a\rightarrow b\rightarrow c\rightarrow % \quad L\gg\gg \quad \#\rightarrow a\rightarrow b\rightarrow c\rightarrow a\rightarrow b\rightarrow c\rightarrow % \]
b. partial reduplication
\[ \#\rightarrow a\rightarrow b\rightarrow c\rightarrow % \quad C\gg\gg \quad \#\rightarrow a\rightarrow b\rightarrow c\rightarrow % \quad L\gg\gg \quad \#\rightarrow a\rightarrow b\rightarrow c\rightarrow b\rightarrow c\rightarrow % \]
c. partial reduplication with fixed segmentalism
\[ \#\rightarrow a\rightarrow b\rightarrow c\rightarrow % \quad C\gg\gg \quad \#\rightarrow a\rightarrow b\rightarrow c\rightarrow % \quad L\gg\gg \quad \#\rightarrow a\rightarrow b\rightarrow d\rightarrow a\rightarrow b\rightarrow c\rightarrow % \]

In (1), the morphemes concatenated are in fact precedence relations (plus d). And it is important to stress that PBP is not reduplication-specific. Instead, PBP is for affixation in general. Samuels’s (2011) Search-based formalization of the X-slots which are referable for affixation in PBP is adopted as a working hypothesis to concretize the following analysis. Five elements are identified: a) \( \Sigma \) (string in the active workspace); b) \( \varsigma \) (initiator of Search); c) \( \gamma \) (target of Search): \{first, second, stressed\} combined with \{X, C, V, foot\}; d) \( \delta \) (direction of Search): \{L(eftward), R(rightward)\}; e) \( \beta \) (beginning point of Search): \{#, %, \( \gamma_{n-1} \)\}. Two notes are in order here. Firstly, \( \Sigma \) and \( \varsigma \) are idiosyncratic. Secondly, \( \gamma_{n-1} \) of \( \beta \) means to start the Search from the X-slot where the previous Search left.

For the comparative, similar to –er in English, (2a) might suggest that it is total reduplication. When (2b-c) are brought into the picture, the comparative turns out to be partial reduplication. Since both monosyllabic and disyllabic roots are involved, what is looked for in the end of string is the last vowel, not the second vowel. (2c) further tells us that what is looked for at the beginning of the string is the initial consonant, not just the initial X-slot. The proposed analysis for this
morpheme is given in (2d). And in (2e), three derivations are provided for the instances (2a-c) to demonstrate how different shapes of adjectives can receive a unified characterization.

(2) comparative reduplication in Tao (ma- is not part of the comparative morpheme)
a. rako-rako ‘bigger’ b. ma-snge-sngen ‘nearer’ c. a-naro-naro ‘longer’
   ráko ‘big, very big’ -sngen ‘close’ anáro ‘very long’
d. PBP analysis
   Σ (string in the active workspace): adjective root
   ζ (initiator of search): ζi → ζj
   γ (target of search): γi = first V; γj = first C
   δ (direction of search): δi = L; δj = R
   β (beginning point of search): βi = %; βj = #
   in prose: The last V precedes the first C.
e. derivations
   i. #→r→a→k→o→% C>>> #→r→a→k→o→% L>>>
   #→r→a→k→o→r→a→k→o→%
   ii. #→s→ng→e→n→% C>>> #→s→ng→e→n→% L>>> #→s→ng→e→s→ng→e→n→%
   iii. #→a→n→a→r→o→% C>>> #→a→n→a→r→o→% L>>> #→a→n→a→r→o→n→a→r→o→%

In (2e), for ease of typography, the letters are used as a shorthand for the timing slots associated with the melodies. Moreover, the digraph ng stands for the velar nasal. By means of the same reasoning and analytic tool (i.e. PBP), the collective and pluralative morphemes in Tao are successfully analyzed as well. As mentioned earlier, the present study intends to put PBP both into practice AND into test.

Selected References
The definite marker in Balinese

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The presence of the definite suffix -é (-né after a vowel) is a distinctive feature of Balinese among the languages in the Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup of the Austronesian languages (Adelaar 2012); Javanese and Malay, for example, lack an independent grammatical category of ‘definiteness’, although the third person possessive suffix (-në in Javanese and -nya in Malay, respectively) covers some related role in each language, presumably a result of semantic extension and differentiation that the forms underwent.

This study aims to give an exhaustive observation of the suffix -é. Syntactically, it is normally attached to the head noun.

(1) anak-é luh ‘the woman’ (an adjective modifier)
(2) anak-é ento ‘that person’ (a demonstrative modifier)
(3) jelema-n-é anë maling dompet
    person-INS-É REL steal wallet ‘The man who stole a wallet’ (relative clause)

The only exception is an NP in which the head noun is modified by a noun; in this structure, the suffix -é is attached to the modified noun, as in montor jepang-é ‘Japanese car’ (car Japan-É), sebun kedis-é ‘bird’s nest’ (nest bird-É); a personal pronoun exhibits features similar to a noun in this environment, as seen in pianak tiang-é ‘my child (child 1SG-É)’.

As Barber (1977) suggests, the suffix -é functions as an equivalent of the English definite article the. Lyons (1999: 3) listed the uses of the English definite article, most of which are shared by -é. It has both a situational use, as in (5), and an anaphoric use, as in (6).

(5) jemakang uyah-é!
    take salt-É ‘Take the salt (e.g., on the table).’
(6) I Raksasa ngelah manik sakti telung….
    ART witch have gemstone magic power three
    Sawirèh ia sayangang-a, orahin-a ia kagunan manik-é….
    Because 3 love-3 tell-3 3 use gemstone-É
    ‘The witch had three gemstones with magic power…. Because she (the witch) loved her (the girl), she (the witch) told her (the girl) to use the gemstone….’

Suffix -é also shares a use that Lyons (1999: 7) calls ‘associative’ with the English definite article. In example (7) below, the referent of the NP kapal-é ‘the ship’ has not been introduced in the previous discourse; the suffix -é occurs here presumably because the referent of the NP is identifiable from the information given by the previous sentence (7).

(7) Ia ajak tetelu mara san teka uli New York.
    3 with three newly just come from New York.
    kapal-é lambat limang jam
    plane-É late five hour
    ‘They’ve just got in from New York. The plane was five hours late.’ (Lyons: 3).
However, unlike the English definite article, the suffix -é does not indicate ‘uniqueness’. In example (8), the NP referring to the president of Ghana, which is marked by the definite article in the English gloss because of its uniqueness, does not occur with the suffix -é; native Balinese speakers do not accept the presence of the suffix -é in this clause.

(8) Presiden(*-é) Ghana lakar teka mani

    president(*-é) Ghana will come tomorrow.

‘The president of Ghana is visiting tomorrow.’ (Lyons: 3)

Another difference between definite markers in Balinese and English is caused by the presence of the third person genitive suffix -né in Balinese, which is a counterpart of -nya in Malay and -(n)é in Javanese. This pronominal suffix occurs instead of -é when the referent can be related to an already mentioned entity, and is therefore definite. For instance, the pronominal suffix -né cannot be replaced by the definite suffix -é in example (9).

(9) Umah icang-é resem. Kakus-né (*-é) uwug, raab-né (*-é) bolong

    house 1SG-É shabby. toilet-3GEN broken, roof-3GEN have a hole

‘My house is shabby. The (lit. its) toilet is broken and the (lit. its) roof has a hole.’

On the basis of the facts observed so far, we will examine how this suffix occurs in written texts of various genres, such as folktales and newspaper articles, in order to investigate in more the conditions in which the suffix -é is used.

References
Reconstructing Proto Kenyah pronouns and the development of a true five number system

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Number in pronoun systems is described formally as the interaction of features. At most, the literature allows for three features which interact to give a maximum of four numbers, singular, dual, trial/paucal, and plural, in the world’s languages (Harley and Ritter 2002) while some feature based accounts of number allow for only two features, [±singular, ±plural] which give three possible numbers (Adger 2003). The goal of such restricted feature sets is to constrain theory to represent only those languages which have attested attributes. Topologists have in the past claimed that a 15 person system, with singular, dual, trial/paucal, plural, first person inclusive/exclusive, second person, and third person, is the maximum system allowed in the world’s languages (Ingram 1978). Typological works such as this have led to the acceptance of a four number maximum. Within the past fifteen years more comprehensive works on number such as Corbett (2000) have published documented five number systems in widely available formats, yet feature systems still insist on a four number maximum. Interestingly, all of the languages used to exemplify five number systems in Corbett are from the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian. However, complex number systems, including a five number pronoun system, have developed independently in central Borneo. Although Blust (2009, 2013) has made this data widely available, central Borneo remains untouched in general discussions of number.

The Kenyah languages form a primary branch of the North Sarawak subgroup, located in central Borneo in both Sarawak (Malaysia) and Indonesia. A number of typologically rare features are present in Kenyah, including a pronoun system that includes 5 numbers and a “true quadral” as claimed in Blust (2013). The number system in Kenyah pronouns, like those in Oceanic languages, was formed by the incorporation of numerals into the pronoun system. Over time, two distinct words fused into a single lexeme, creating pronouns such as tua < *kita dua ‘1dl.incl’, kəlu < *kamu təlu ‘2tr’, and təpat < *kita pat ‘1paucal.incl/1quad.incl’. The existence of separate plural pronouns clearly shows that some dialects of Kenyah have true five number systems and what is likely a true quadral number. Comparative data shows that a five number system can be reconstructed for Proto Kenyah. The complexity of this system is no doubt the major factor in its rarity in the world’s languages. Given this complexity, one might assume that such number systems are unstable and prone to simplification. This also seems to be the case in Kenyah languages. Several dialects have lost the ‘quadral’ reading of pronouns such as təpat, and instead use it as a paucal or plural. Still more, the Uma’ Pawa’ Kenyah dialect of Long Apu has lost both the quadral and the trial numbers. In this dialect there are no pronouns ending in -pat and the trial number has been reassigned the role of paucal/plural.

The historical development of such a pronoun system is one of innovation and fusion, resulting in some of the world’s most complex pronoun systems, followed by simplification and loss of number in order to better conform to language’s natural tendency for economy.

References
Mbraa: A Modang-Bahau language?

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Very little is known about the Mbraa language (aka Merap) spoken by a group of alleged Kayanic people in the today’s province of Kaltara (Kalimantan Utara) in Indonesia. The Merap number possibly around 1000 people spread in three main villages in the area of the Malinau and Tubu Rivers in the North-east part of the Indonesian Borneo and are all surrounded by non Kayan people, that is speakers of Kenyah, Punan Tubu and some Dusunic languages who all consider Mbraa as unintelligible for its very striking phonologic features.

The importance of Mbraa phonological features was mentioned in Guerreiro (2009) and details of the history of Merap people are found in some ethno-historical descriptions by Sellato (1995, 2001), Cesard (2009) Okushima (2008) and Kaskija (2012).

Merap people consider themselves as the original Kayan people though their original place is located in the upper part of the Bahau River occupied by Kenyah groups. Indeed their language has much in common lexically with Kayan languages such as Uma’ Leken, though a relation with some Kenyah variants is documented too.

This paper discusses synchronically the phonology of Mbraa and diachronically the changes that may have occurred from Proto Malayo-Polynesian and will eventually define its position in the Kayanic branch. Although this branch is divided into four sub-branches, it is important to define the position of Mbraa and with which languages it relates to. It is proposed that the Modang branch in Ethnologue and in other Borneo classifications has to be expanded to include Ma’ Pnaan and Punan Segah, Mbraa, Bahau, and other languages whose speakers claim the upper Bahau as their original place like the Hueng Bau, the Ngorek and the Pua’. Provided that Murik now spoken in Sarawak, is a variant of Ngorek, it will be tested the possibility of including it as well in this newly defined Modang-Bahau branch.

Some of the features that will be discussed in this paper are the lack of occurrence of the stops p, t, k in final position, the diphthongization of final vowels u and i, the absence of velar nasals in final position, the presence of an uncommon voiceless unreleased palatal stop in final position, the palatalization of final nasals, and the process of monosyllabization of bisyllabic roots.

In Mbraa, the Proto-Malayo-polynesian voiceless obstruents in final position change systematically in glottal stops preceded by vowels that are in-glided as it can be observed in PMP *puk ‘hair’ > M bauʔəəʔ, PMP *anak ‘child’ > neiʔəəʔ, PMP *paʔiit ‘bitter’ > M paʔiəəj.

The vowels u and i in final position are diphthongized into ou and ei and the velar nasal is realized into an aspirate h like in PMP *ejung ‘nose’ > M ruəh. This last example shows also that the process of monosyllabization of bisyllabic roots is systematic. Other examples are tlau ‘three’, mlah ‘red’, hni ‘mother’, kiu ‘elbow’, teiʔ ‘calf of leg’, ngan ‘arm’ that descend from bysillabic PMP roots.

Some of these changes are shared by languages like Òma Lóngh Kenyah known for its idiosyncratic features like the voiceless unreleased palatal stop in final position, the change of nasal velars in final position in aspirates (Soriente 2006). The monosyllabization is shared with Ma’ Pnaan (Soriente 2012) and with other Kayanic languages like Wehea (Guerreiro 1996).

The discussion of Mbraa phonologic features, the very first step of a language documentation project in fieri, will contribute to a description of this undocumented language and on the other hand to better understand its relation to the other languages of the area.
The making of the Lakalai dictionary

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The making of a first dictionary of Lakalai, an Oceanic language of New Britain, has a long history. Begun by Ann Chowning and Ward Goodenough in the 1950s, a Lakalai-English dictionary draft evolved over many years of additional fieldwork by Chowning, with copious handwritten annotations to the typescript. In 2011 Chowning commissioned the authors of this paper to edit the MS for publication, and to create an English-Lakalai finder list. This first bilingual dictionary assembled, essentially, by a single anthropologist amounts to an ethnographic record that is both instructive and fascinating. The dictionary is an acute snapshot of Lakalai language and life in the 1950s, rich in information about local culture and geography.

(1) ilapu (la-) the pulling (in) (from lapu).
   la-ilapu-la-gabutatalala 'the pulling of (her) thoughts': love magic.

(2) tuha (la-)
   1 left humerus of a dead person or a substitute for it, used in mortuary ceremonies;
   2 spear decorated with a human humerus.

In subentry of (1) we have an example of several terms for ‘love magic’; this one employs the poetic metaphor of ‘pulling of her thoughts’ (the literal translation), demonstrating the universal notion that ‘love’ is a matter of the mind. In (2) the mortuary ritual and decorative uses of the humerus should be of interest to any anthropologist, though one craves more detail on the ritual use.

This paper also reviews certain issues of method and theory that arose in the course of editing. One focus is on the distinction between ‘definition of’, and ‘anthropological or encyclopaedic information about’ Lakalai headwords, and whether it is possible to justify such a distinction. Another focus is on polysemes attributed to headwords and how far such polysemes are inherent to the lexical items or are the result of the translation method that employs the very polysemy inherent in English lexemes. While English/Eurocentric concepts are impossible to avoid one may employ a strategy that reflects Lakalai concepts to a good degree, as exemplified by Chowning (her first brief as an anthropologist was to investigate the lives of Lakalai women), especially in her access to detailed ‘female’ concepts elicited from female informants:

(3) varaga-gu (e-)
   1 another woman born on the same day as myself (other than twin) (also e-tahalo- gu);
   2 my personal friend, of women only.

A third focus is on assembling a finderlist which can provide valuable feedback (hopefully for a second edition) such as error recognition, ambiguities, lexical and thematic gaps, and on the positive side can serve as a thesaurus indexing the rich ethnographic description to be found in the Lakalai-English entries. Fascinating insights can be had when assembling thematic fields such as dance, spirits, magic, sex, marriage, taboo, flora (there are about 180 entries for plants) and fauna (there are about 160 fish names). The Lakalai dance culture from the 1950s is captured in great detail – see sample in Appendix (one wonders how much is left in 2014).
APPENDIX: first 20 ‘dance’ entries out of a total of 60

dance, v. tilia, tilalia.
dance, n. (in general) tilialala (la-).
dance varieties kaic (la-), maroto-la-kaie (la-).
ceremonial dance maroto (la-).
dance originating in Maututu rai (e-).
dance in which the performer displays artificial hands with very swollen fingers kuku-bobuo (e-).
dance in which objects (weapons, mats) are flourished bilelo (la-), belo.
overture of e-rai dance barasa-la (la-).
first movement of la-maroto and e-rai dance tulugaluga-(la) (la-). second
and final (fast) movement of e-rai dance pulutulutula (la-). third
movement of e-rai dance vuletasola (la-).
fourth movement of e-rai dance virarila (la-).
fifth movement of e-rai dance, which involves gestures of washing ipurupurula (la-).
finale of e-rai dance tilala (e-).
do a step in e-rai dance kurupesi.
short skirt of banana leaves worn for e-rai dance rehearsals tageigei (la-).
dance of e-rai type malilopati (e-), tamasi (e-).
dance of the e-rai type kasiko (e-).
partner in the dance of that name (or other dance) maroto (e-).
pair off dancing partners for e-maroto: vimaroto.
Dialects competing or mutually complementing? The language of the Tsou Bible translations

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The fruit of four decades of translation labour, a Catholic (CA) and a Presbyterian (PR) version of the Gospels has been published for the Alishan Tsou over the past two years. They give testimony of the present state of Tsou still with high vitality in the respective communities and in worship. These books mean also a significant development in indigenous literacy. Having observed (even participating in one of) the translation teams, however, we can see significantly differing discourse styles and vocabulary in the two outputs.

In my paper, I intend to compare the linguistic aspects, similarities and differences of the two, almost synchronic translations. The CA translation is characterized by the use of Tefuyeh dialect, while the PR New Testament relies on the language of Dapang. At the same time, the CA gospels use ceremonial and antique words, reviving the vocabulary of Tsou myths, resembling a classical narrative style, but the PR translation mirrors the modern, to a degree already Sinicized language of the PR community. From a sociolinguistic angle we can observe how they were produced to satisfy the religious needs of different age-groups and pastoral and preaching requirements.

Earlier comparisons of these dialects, both in the geographic and social sense, were inadequate, owing to lack of in-depth data. We only have phonetic and some vocabulary comparisons from earlier papers, but these two translations provide the most complete evidence how the language struggles to gain vitality in two major varieties.

I will make a systematic comparison of vocabulary contrasts, syntactic devices and discourse styles of the two ‘codified’ uses of Tsou language in the texts. Concurrently, I will filter out the differences based on theological considerations and those genuine geographical and social dialect variations.

Having studied both translations, scrutinizing them as products of language documentation, another aspect comes up: They are not really in competition, rather we can see them as complementing each other and providing a more authentic and rich Tsou language surviving, and taken together, they keep most of the past but also innovate and enjoy a high chance of re-flourishing in the communities.
Relative clause asymmetry: The case of Tagalog

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A signature feature of Tagalog grammar is its voice system, in which a verbal affix signals the thematic role of the nominal marked by the case prefix (focus marker) *aŋ*. In (1), the -um- infix in the verb indicates that the NP bearing the marker *aŋ* is the agent. In (2), on the other hand, the infix -in- indicates that the *aŋ*-marked nominal is the patient/theme.

(1) AGENT VOICE
H<um>a~habol aŋ lalake sa babae
<AV>IPFV~chase NOM man OBL woman
‘The man is chasing the woman.’

(2) PATIENT VOICE
H<in>a~habol naŋ lalake aŋ babae
<PV>IPFV~chase GEN man NOM woman
‘The man is chasing the woman.’

These contrasts are also relevant to the syntax of relative clauses. As illustrated in (3) and (4), a focused (*aŋ*-marked) NP is relativizable.

(3) AGENT RELATIVE
lalake=ŋ [h<um>a~habol ____ sa babae]
man=L <AV>IPFV~chase LOC girl
‘the man who is chasing the woman’

(4) PATIENT RELATIVE
babae=ŋ [h<in>a~habol naŋ lalake ____]
woman=L <PV>IPFV~chase GEN boy
‘the woman who the man is chasing’

In contrast, other arguments cannot be relativized, as shown in (5) and (6).

(5) UNGRAMMATICAL AGENT RELATIVE
*lalake=ŋ [h<in>a~habol ____ aŋ babae]
man=L <PV>IPFV~chase NOM woman
‘the man who is chasing the woman’

(6) UNGRAMMATICAL PATIENT RELATIVE
*babae=ŋ [h<um>a~habol ____ aŋ lalake]
woman=L <AV>IPFV~chase NOM man
‘the woman who the man is chasing’
Cross-linguistic research has shown that subject (agent) relative clauses are in general easier to produce, comprehend, and acquire than direct object (patient) relatives. This asymmetry has been documented for English (e.g., Gibson 1998), Dutch (e.g., Frazier 1987), Japanese (e.g., Ishizuka 2005), Chinese (e.g., Hsu, Hermon, and Zukowski 2009) as well as Chamorro (Borja et al. 2015) and Ch’ol (Clemens et al. 2015), among other languages. We address the question of whether there is a similar contrast in Tagalog.

We conducted a picture-based elicited production task with 26 adult speakers of Tagalog. For agent relative clauses, participants saw a pair of pictures like the one in Figure 1a and heard: “A boy is chasing a monkey. Another boy is chasing a girl. Who has the arrow?” Following a beep sound, an arrow appeared over the head of the boy who is chasing the girl, and the participants responded in Tagalog. For patient relative clauses, participants saw a pair of pictures like the one in Figure 1b and heard: “A monkey is chasing a girl. A boy is chasing another girl. Who has the arrow?” An arrow appeared over the head of the girl who the boy is chasing, also accompanied by a beep sound.

We analyzed the accuracy rates (i.e., proportion of targeted responses out of all responses) as well as the reaction times (i.e., the time between the beep, which signaled the appearance of the arrow, and the onset of the participant’s verbal response). The results showed no significant difference in either accuracy (94.88% for agent relative clauses; 95.30% for theme relative clauses) or reaction time (1069 ms for agent relative clauses; 1099 ms for theme relative clauses). These results differ from findings for other languages. In future research, it will be important to test other types of structure, such as *wh*-questions, to test whether we see the lack of asymmetry similar to this study.

**References**
A re-assessment of voice and nominalization in Saaroa

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Academia Sinica

Saaroa, with only a handful of fluent speakers left, is one of the most endangered Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan. The Saaroa voice system has been described to a more or lesser extent in a number of studies, including Tsuchida (1976), P. Li (1997), Chang (2006), Ross (2009), C. Li (2009, 2010) and Pan (2012).

In Saaroa, it is found that two kinds of constructions are available when the subject is an undergoer. For instance, in (1), both sentences are acceptable and there is no difference in meaning according to the informants.

(1) a. tinuun-a=cu a ilhaku a vanukanuka ki-ruvana.
weave/stitch-UVP=COS GEN 1S. NOM pants IRR-evening
‘I weaved/stitched pants last evening.’

b. lhi-tinuun-a=cu=ku a vanukanuka
PVF.PATNMLZ-weave/stitch-PATNMLZ=COS=1S.POSS NOM pants
ki-ruvana.
IRR-evening
‘I weaved/stitched pants last evening.’

Interestingly, it is found that while (1b) can be negated by directly adding the negator ku in the beginning of the sentence, as shown in (2b), sentence (1a) cannot, cf. (2a). Only when the verb is changed to its AV form can the sentence be negated, as illustrated in (2a’).

(2) a. *ku tinuun-a=cu a ilhaku a vanukanuka ki-ruvana.
NEG weave/stitch-UVP=COS GEN 1S. NOM pants IRR-evening
Intended for ‘I didn’t weave/stitch pants last evening.’

a’. ku=aku tinuuu a vanukanuka ki-ruvana.
NEG=1S.NOM weave/stitch NOM pants IRR-evening
‘I didn’t weave/stitch pants last evening.’

b. ku lhi-tinuun-a=cu=ku a vanukanuka
NEG PVF.PATNMLZ-weave/stitch-PATNMLZ=COS=1S.POSS NOM pants
ki-ruvana.
IRR-evening
‘I weaved/stitched pants last evening.’

In previous studies, e.g. Pan (2012) and Li (2010), all the above sentences are analyzed as verbal, and thus the contrast of voice/nominalization and their asymmetric properties are failed to be recognized. We, on the other hand, consider that (1a) and (2a’) are verbal clauses while (1b) and (2b) are nominalized clauses. In this paper, in addition to re-examining the voice system and offering our own analysis on the basis of a number of morphosyntactic evidence, the asymmetrical properties of voice, as opposed to nominalization, will also be investigated.
References


Language attitudes and language use of Minangkabau people

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There are a number of reasons why the study of language attitudes is important in sociolinguistics. This study can identify how people’s feel and view about language in general, their own language and others’ languages. There is a variety of feelings and attitudes towards their own language. These may be positive or less positive attitudes. Some examples of positive attitudes are that people are very proud of their own language, they feel that their own language shows their identity and also feel that it is the best language to be used in the family or society. However, on the other hand, there are also less positive attitudes towards the native language. Some people or communities feel that their language is not prestigious and they are shy to speak their native language because it is considered as a low prestige language.

This paper discusses the language use and attitudes of Minangkabau people in West Sumatra, Indonesia, especially the adult group. One of the most important discussions about the use of Minangkabau language is in Anwar (1985). Anwar described the issue of language use of Indonesian versus regional language. One of his examples was the use of Indonesian by Minangkabau people in West Sumatra. In his data, he said “The Minangkabau do not normally use Indonesian in the home no matter what the topic of the conversation is, but speak in Minangkabau throughout because that is the proper language to be used at home” Furthermore, he said “ A Minangkabau who tries to use Indonesian all the time when speaking to other Minangkabau is normally regarded as a crank or even crazy” (1985: 155- 156). The picture of the language situation at that time indicated that people preferred to use Minangkabau language in the home domain. This situation contrasts with the situation at present. Parents mostly use Indonesian as the first language to their children. Indonesian is becoming the home language, especially in urban areas.

The data were collected in the form of questionnaires, in-depth interviews and participant observation with a sample of 200 respondents in six research areas. I chose three cities as the high language contact areas and three regencies as the low language contact areas. For the analysis of language attitude, I use a Likert scale with the categories classified into five alternatives (1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Uncertain, 4 = Agree, and 5= strongly agree) and there are some tables analyzed based on yes/no questions, no=0 and yes=1. While for the domain of language use, the alternatives are (1= BI, 2 = BI > MIN, 3 = BI=MIN, 4= MIN>BI, and 5 = MIN).

The results show that the adult attitudes can be classified into three categories, (1) positive attitudes; (2) negative attitudes; and (3) ambivalent attitudes. The third category is dominant. I used term ‘ambivalent” for intermediate results. In the study of domains of language use, the analysis is divided into four activities (1) Speaking in different family and community settings 28 questions, (2) Writing 5 questions, (3) Buying and selling 5 questions, and (4) Expression of feelings 4 questions. The results reveal that out of 28 Speaking questions, results for 15 questions suggested that adults use BI dominantly. The results from Writing activities show that the respondents use BI exclusively, even though the respondents write to friends who speak Minangkabau. Three questions out of 5 questions in Buying and selling activities show the use of BI dominantly. For the last, Expression or feelings, the tendency to use BI and MIN equally is found.
Some selected results of language use domain:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample of Questions</th>
<th>Location 1</th>
<th>Location 2</th>
<th>Location 3</th>
<th>Location 4</th>
<th>Location 5</th>
<th>Location 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talking to children at home</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to children elsewhere</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to husband or wife at home</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>4.66</td>
<td>3.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to husband or wife in formal situation</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to other Minangkabau people</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to shop employer in department store or mall</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>2.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing your own note</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing to friends who are not educated</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing to friends who speak your language</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these results, it can be seen that there is a great shift of language use in every domain from MIN to BI. BI has come to dominate almost all of the domains of use, whether it is a formal or informal situation.

References
Complementation strategies in Seediq
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Seediq is an Austronesian language spoken in North Taiwan. There are about 30,000 Seediq people, but not all of them can speak the language; it is not the first language for younger generation. Its basic word order is VXS word order (X stands for elements other than Subject).

Seediq has three types of complementation strategies: serial verb construction (example (1), SVC, henceforth), CV Future phrase (example (2), see Tsukida 2006 for detail), and clause apposition/embedding (example (3), see Tsukida 2009 for detail).

(1) SVC
me-kela [me-geri̇q tederuy] ka risaw ni’i.
AV-know AV-drive car NOM young:man this
This young man knows how to drive a car.

(2) CV.FUTURE phrase
d<em>uruN=ku [qe-qebelaiq=na].
<AV>pray=1s.NOM RDP-CV.FUT.happy=3s.GEN
I pray for him to be happy.

(3) a. Clause embedding
me-kela ka [m-en-iyah=ku pa’ah tehaypaq] ka rubiq.
AV-know CMP AV-PRF-come=1s.NOM from Taipei NOM Rubiq
Rubiq knows that I came from Taipei.

b. Clause apposition
me-kela ka rubiq, [m-usa sapah rubiq ka kumu].
AV-know NOM Rubiq AV-go house Rubiq NOM Kumu
Rubiq knows; Kumu went to Rubiq's house.

This paper will investigate which complementation strategy is employed for which complement taking predicate.

In addition to three types mentioned above, one can observe a sentence like the following.

(4) [m-usa sapah rubiq ka kumu] ’u,
AV-go house Rubiq NOM Kumu CNJ
me-kela ka rubiq.
AV-know NOM Rubiq
Rubiq knows that Kumu went to Rubiq's house.

Example (4) seems to be derived by left-dislocating the embedded/apposed clause of (3). To generalize, it would be schematized as follows.

(5) a. MAIN-PREDICATE [XXXX] complement Subject.

b. [XXXX] ’u, MAIN-PREDICATE Subject.
([XXXX] stands for whatever element that appears as a complement.)

In (5b) sentence, [XXXX] seems to be left-dislocated, compared to (5a) sentence, though one cannot be sure whether a derivational relationship holds between the two. This presentation will also show the possibility of such pairs.
References
Potential and accidental verbs in Sangiric languages

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In this study, affixes that indicate potentiality/ability and accidentality in Sangiric languages are described and compared. A morpheme that indicates potentiality can also imply accidentality in certain Sangiric languages, which is not surprising since both potentiality and accidentality lack volitionality of the ACTOR.

Sangiric language group consists of five languages, four of which are spoken in North Sulawesi (Indonesia) and one in the Philippines. Of the four languages spoken in North Sulawesi, Bantik and Talaud are compared and investigated in detail; the other two languages are briefly discussed. While the two languages seem similar, a close examination reveals considerable differences.

It is common in West Malayo-Polynesian (henceforth WMP) languages to have a semantic category that includes both potentiality and accidentality expressed by the same linguistic element. For example, the prefix ter- in Indonesian has both “accidental” and “potential” meanings (Sneddon 1996, Goddard 2003). In Tagalog, the prefix ka- has different meanings, which include both accidental\(^2\) and potential\(^3\) (Palmer et al. 2003). The form similar to ka- can be found in many other languages in Sulawesi and also in Kalimantan.

In Bantik and Toratan (or Ratahan), potentiality is indicated by the prefix ka-, the same form as found in Tagalog. In Talaud, as it underwent the innovation in which the /k/ sound changed into /ʔ/, the potential morpheme becomes /ʔa/. The prefix ka- or ʔa- denote both potential and accidental meanings in the aforementioned languages. An example of Bantik is given in (1) and that of Talaud in (2).

\[(1) \quad i-aŋga \quad ma-ka-su? \quad sikora \quad ene
\]
SUBJ-Angga AV.NPST-POT-enter school that
“Angga can enter that school/ Angga will accidentally go into that school” (Bantik)

\[(2) \quad i-tou \quad na-ʔa-appid \quad u-anna \quad su \quad baila
\]
SUBJ-3sg AV.PST-ACC-take LINK-food LOC field
“S/he could bring the food to the field/ S/he mistakenly took the food to the field” (Talaud)

There is another prefix in Bantik, namely the prefix i-, which is exclusively used to denote accidental meaning (Example 3). This prefix, however, does not denote accidental but “desirative” meaning in Talaud (Example 4).

\[(3) \quad i-santi \quad na-i-rutaj \quad kapuna \quad ni-kuntua
\]
SUBJ-Santy AV.PST-ACC-shoot dog LK-village.mayor
“Santy mistakenly shot the village mayor’s dog”

\[(4) \quad i-aʔu \quad ma-i-ellega \quad si-ʔo
\]
SUBJ-1sg AV.NPST-ACC-look OBJ-2sg
“I want you to look after me”

In addition, the prefix ma-/na-, which mainly forms the actor voice for stative verbs, can also mean potential in both languages. A verb with this prefix that has potential meaning always takes PATIENT as the subject in Bantik (Example 5), but a verb with this prefix in Talaud can have both

---

1 In the article, it is called “abilitative.”
2 In the article, it is called “non-desirative.”
3 In the article, it is called “abilitative.”
ACTOR and PATIENT as the subject (Example 6). This syntaco-semantic description will be discussed in detail during the presentation. The above mentioned potential and accidental affixes in the two languages are summarized in Table 1.

(5) sapi ini na-buno=ku
cow this UV.PST.ACD-kill=POSS.1sg
“This cow was killed by me” (Bantik, PATIENT as the subject)

(6) i-ani na-pesa lamaʔa udde
I-Annie AV.PST.ACD-break dish that
“Annie could break that dish/Annie accidently broke the dish. (Talaud, ACTOR as the subject)

To summarize, Sangiric languages, despite sharing cognate affixes with similar meaning, show diverse syntaco-semantic phenomena. A detailed investigation and theoretical explanation based on cognitive semantics will be provided during the presentation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Potential and accidental affixes in Bantik and Talaud</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bantik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Desirative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References
A Role and Reference grammar account of the information structure-syntax interface in Tagalog

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Anja Latrouite
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Information Structure (IS) is known to play an important role in Austronesian languages like Tagalog and Kapampangan for syntactic structure (e.g. Katagiri 2006, Kaufmann 2005) and to some degree also to voice and subject selection. Tagalog has a number of fronting structures for focus and topic. Focused arguments of the verb are clefted and require a verb form with an appropriate voice affix, as in (1a).

Focused non-arguments occur simply in the pre-core slot and take clitics with them (1b-c).

(1) a. Siya ang t<um>a~tawa. ‘He was the one who was laughing.’
    3sgNOM NOM <AV>ipfv.laugh

b. Kahapon siya t<um>awa sa kaniya. ‘Yesterday he laughed at him.’
    yesterday 3sgNOM <AV>laugh DAT 3sgOBL

c. Sa kaniya siya t<um>awa kahapon. ‘At him he laughed yesterday.’
    DAT 3sgOBL 3sgNOM <AV>laugh yesterday

It is not possible to combine these two fronting strategies, as shown in (2).

(2) *Sa kaniya siya ang t<um>awa. ‘At him he was the one who was laughing.’
    DAT 3sgOBL 3sgNOM NOM <AV>laugh

Interestingly, if the non-A[ctor] is a semantic argument of the verb, topic fronting of this phrase is rejected in a sentence with a focused A, as shown in (3).

(3) #KayLina (ay), siya ang t<um>awa. ?'(As for) at Lina, he was the one who laughed.’
    DAT Lina TOP 3sgNOM NOM <AV>laugh

A’s, however, may be frame-setting topics in sentences with focused U[ndergoer]s.

(4) Si Lina (ay), sila ang t<in>awa. ‘(As for) Lina, they were laughed at (by her).’
    NOM Lina TOP 3plNOM NOM <UV>laugh

A theory of IS should be able to explain these restrictions on syntactic structure. With respect to ay-topic-inversion, Kroeger (1993) also notes that the ay-inverted s-topic determines voice marking in non-clefted sentences. Latrouite (2011) suggests that the contrast in (3) versus (4) is tightly linked to the voice system and the nature of subject selection in Tagalog. The arguments that are the most prominent on the referential structural [RS], the event-structural [ES] and/or information-structural level turn into the subject and determine voice selection. The levels are assumed to be ordered (IS > ES > RS), so that IS is the most important level. If the A and the U are both prominent on the IS level, the U outranks the A for subjecthood, this is why the U may not be topical in the A-voice sentence, but the A may be topical in the U-voice sentence. Given that IS is often argued to be rather complex and consist of more than one layer and that different kinds of focus and topic need to be distinguished, a more detailed study is needed to investigate what aspects of IS are relevant for this kind of information-structural prominence. In this talk we develop an analysis within Role and Reference Grammar (Cf. Van Valin 2005) to formalize the notion of IS-prominence and explain the patterns above.
References
Classifying Old Rapa: Linguistic evidence for prehistoric contact networks in South-East Polynesia

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The historical classification of Old Rapa, a Polynesian language spoken on the island of Rapa Iti, has never been thoroughly investigated. Due to lack of documentation on the language, Old Rapa's classification under Eastern Polynesian (EP) has been more or less assumed from very limited data and casual observations. Based on the author's recent documentation of the language, this paper provides the first detailed historical investigation of Old Rapa; the results of which reveal a number of unique features in Old Rapa with respect to other EP languages.

Through a comparative analysis, evidence is provided for an especially close relationship between Mangaian and Old Rapa, as well as for shared innovations between Old Rapa and Rarotongan, Mangarevan, and Rapa Nui. Furthermore, the new linguistic information provided here indicates that there was an ongoing micro contact network between Rapa Iti and Mangaia. This network eventually expanded to include Rarotongan, Rapa Iti, Mangareva, and Rapa Nui.

The first part of this paper summarizes evidence for the classification of Old Rapa as a Central Eastern Polynesian (CEP) language. This section focuses on Old Rapa's consonant reflexes from Proto Central Eastern Polynesian (PCE), as well as a number of PCE innovations present in Old Rapa (based on Green 1966 & 1985 and Marck 1996 & 2000).

The second portion of this paper offers a comparative analysis of Old Rapa's phonological, grammatical, and lexical features with respect to other EP and CEP languages. This section pays particularly close attention to features in Old Rapa that represent innovations from Proto Eastern Polynesian (PEP) and PCE. These include:

(1) sporadic sound changes (both vowel and consonant changes);
(2) innovated grammatical function words (perfective aspect marker ka, adverbial tuai, adverbial ta'anga, adverbial noti negative perfective ki'ere, negative existential kāre, and discourse definite tō);
(3) and nearly 100 innovated lexical items that cannot be reconstructed for PEP or PCE; including some very basic vocabulary items such as 'woman' pe'ā (PEP *fafine), 'man' rua (PEP *taqane), 'parent' karakua (PEP *matuqa), 'taro' mīkaka (PEP *taro), 'stone' koni'i (PCE *pofatu), 'nose' pita'u (PEP *isu), 'go' nākū (PEP *saqele), 'look/see' noko (PEP *kite), 'earthen oven' ko'otu (PEP *umu), 'canoe' kāmi'a (PEP *waka), 'fresh water' kōta'e (PEP *wai).

The results of this comparative investigation indicate shared features between Old Rapa and Mangaia, Rarotongan, Mangarevan, and Rapa Nui. In particular, the results show a striking number of shared innovations between Mangaian and Old Rapa: (a) identical sound correspondences; (b) shared sporadic sound changes; (c) shared grammatical features; (d) extensive shared lexical innovations which include basic vocabulary items, as well as vocabulary indicative of socio-political structure. These uniquely shared innovations from PCE indicate that Mangaian and Old Rapa are more closely related to each other than to the rest of the languages in the CEP group. The nature of their shared innovations signals that the two languages likely form a subgroup of CEP.

Based on the linguistic evidence described in part two, the third part of this paper offers a scenario for the contact history of these south-east Polynesian islands. Rapa Iti was settled in continued waves of migration by the same people who had previously settled on Mangaia. A localized contact sphere persisted between these two islands to the point where these communities were participating in each other's political and social systems and shared linguistic features were
developed. Based on the shared features between Old Rapa and other languages, this paper hypothesizes that the Rapa Iti-Mangaia contact sphere was only a fraction of a larger contact network that stretched across the south Pacific, from the Southern Cooks to Rapa Nui including Rapa Iti and Mangareva.

Finally, this paper addresses the wider implications of a south-east Polynesian contact network and a Old Rapa-Mangaian subgroup. First, subgrouping of Old Rapa and Mangaian under CEP challenges the traditional CEP subgroups of Marquesic and Tahitic. Second, a southern contact sphere involving Rapa Nui argues against the theory that Rapa Nui was significantly isolated (Kirch and Green 2001, Fischer 1992, among others) while the rest of east Polynesia was interacting via long-distance voyages. This is a critical problem, as Rapa Nui's isolation accounts for the language's conservative retentions from PEP, and lack of membership in the PCE subgroup.

References
Case alignment diversity in western Austronesian languages: A multivariate approach

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Case alignment in languages with symmetric voice systems has been determined in different ways. Thus, for instance, Tagalog has been variably classified as exhibiting accusative, ergative, or yet another type of case (or argument-marking) alignment. The problems that standard approaches to alignment typology share are normally at least two-fold:

1. They often only allow one data point per language, i.e. the fact that one language can have more than one alignment type is seen as an obstacle and/or ruled out.
2. The symmetrical voice systems of western Austronesian languages differ considerably from voice systems in languages on which alignment approaches are originally based.

Multivariate typology (Bickel 2011) offers a solution to the problem of reconciling language-specific properties and cross-linguistic comparison: language-internal diversity is not seen as an obstacle but is explored. This is achieved in the following way: variables that are valid across languages (tertia comparationis) are established in such a way that they can capture the similarities and differences of the investigated structures, both within and across languages.

In the same vein, the present study proposes an approach which can be characterized by the following points (and largely follows the approach by Bickel 2010):

1. Case-marking is defined in fairly broad terms, including any element of dependent marking on the clause level irrespective of their morphological nature (affixes, clitics and separate words), since the properties (and definitions) of words vary widely across languages (see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002).
2. Arguments (and valency) are defined in purely semantic terms since the application of syntactic criteria of argumenthood poses problems for the cross-linguistic investigation of arguments (cf. Witzlack-Makarevich 2011: 41–47).
3. Generalized semantic roles (comparable to Dowty’s 1991 proto-roles) are assigned by a predicate to its arguments.

Arguments with the same generalized semantic role are often marked in different ways within a language. The resulting splits are conditioned by the following types of variables:

1. Referential properties of the arguments
2. Valency classes, defined by shared case frames; different voice types also represent different valency classes
3. Clause properties such as TAM values and clause types (e.g. main vs. subordinate clause)

Consequently, the present approach allows for more than one case alignment per language. The established variables can account for the comparison of these alignment patterns both within and across languages. Naturally, western Austronesian languages with more voice distinctions also tend to have more alignment types, since the (semantically defined) arguments are marked in different ways in each voice construction. Hence, geographically, the alignment patterns found in languages of the Philippines, Taiwan, NE Borneo and N Sulawesi tend to be more complex than the ones found in Austronesian languages spoken further west and south (and east, not considered here).

The present paper seeks to explore the diversity in case alignment in western Austronesian languages, thereby focusing on the following questions:

1. Language-internal diversity: what alignment types can be found in specific languages?
What variables condition the alignment types? What properties do the alignment types have?

2. Cross-linguistic diversity: how similar or different are the alignment patterns compared across languages?

Data are drawn from western Austronesian languages (in the geographical sense) with a focus on languages spoken in the Philippines, Taiwan, Borneo, and Sulawesi.

References


Cinque’s roll-up movement or Abels’s and Neeleman’s base generation?: A case study of Indonesian data

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Cornell University

My research looks into the positioning of DP internal elements like adjectives, possessives, and other determiners in Indonesian. Their position relative to the nouns and also relative to each other, as well as their co-occurrence conditions will be explored and explained in details. Taking this descriptive data from Indonesian, I strive to provide more insight into the opposing views that exist in the Literature regarding DPs: Cinque’s (2005) roll-up movement based on Kayne’s LCA and Abels’ and Neeleman’s (2009) base generation hypothesis.

Under Cinque’s (2005) theory, elements in the DP are universally base-generated with the same-hierarchy, all left-headed with the following order: Determiner>Number>Adjective>Noun. Different DP orders are then achieved through non-movement or partial, as well as full phrasal movement of maximal projections within the DP locally through each Spec Agr position of the respective maximal projections. Abels and Neeleman (2009) provided an alternative where Cinque’s merge order of element in the DP is still maintained, but they allow for mix-headedness of the maximal projections. Under Abels’ and Neeleman’s theory, there is no need for complicated roll-up movements.

Following Greenberg’s universal typology of languages, Indonesian has the following order of element in the DP: Num N Adj Det. More detailed analysis of this data has revealed some support of Cinque’s roll-up movement theory. First, post-nominal attributive adjectives in Indonesian appear in the mirror order of the English pre-nominal adjective order. This is only predicted under Cinque’s theory:

(1) Bola merah besar (2)? Bola besar merah
     ball red big  ball  big red
     “big red ball”

The second evidence in favor of Cinque’s theory comes from the complementary distribution of the Classifier and the unique definite article “-nya.” Since these are the two maximal projections that cannot co-occur together, I hypothesize that these are actually one and the same projection within the Indonesian DP. Classifiers, however, are pre-nominal, while the DP containing “-nya” is post-nominal. Under Abels’ and Neeleman’s base-generation theory, this is unpredictable; while under Cinque’s theory, this complementarity falls for free because all maximal projections are left-headed; and their position relative to the noun is just the result of movement.

(3) Matahari-nya panas sekali hari ini. (4) Tiga (buah) bola merah saya itu.
     sun DEF hot very  day this three class. ball  red  my that
     “The sun is very hot today”
     “Those three balls of mine”

(5) *satu (buah) matahari -nya
     one class. sun DEF

In my presentation, more details about the individual DP elements will be elaborated on. Of special interest would be the data on two types of definites in the language in line with Schwarz’s (2010) analysis of the German definite articles: the unique definite article “-nya” and the anaphoric definite article “itu;” and their interaction with each other.

Selected references
Nonfinites in Southern Paiwan: Restructuring, complex predicate, nominalization and CP infinitive

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Given the lack of clear-cut tense marking, it remains unclear how nonfinites are grammatically identified in Formosan languages. What have been categorized as infinitive verbs in Indo-European languages are subject to a morphological constraint dubbed as the AV-only restriction (Tang 1999, Chang 2010, among others). However, it is suggested that the AV-only restriction be not equated to non-finiteness. Recent findings have indicated that Formosan nonfinites can be diverse and some of them do not respect the AV-only restriction (Chang 2010, C. Wu 2013). This study explores nonfinite structures in Southern Paiwan, with a special focus on their grammatical status and syntactic representations. In Southern Paiwan nonfinites are distinguishable from finite clauses and can be at least divided into four types according to differences in their morphosyntactic realizations and operations (Chang 2014). The first type of nonfinite structure is restructuring, which is characterized by an intervening linker a and is widely attested across many verbal categories (cf. Chen 2012). For one thing, the a-construction allows a syntactic process of long-distance A’-movement (cf. long passive in Wurmbrand 2001).

The restructuring construction exhibits a morphosyntactic asymmetry in which the matrix verb can be fully inflected while the embedded verb must remain non-finite and respect the AV-only restriction, as in (1) and (2) (Tang 1999, Chang 2010 among many others). The restructuring infinitive occurs as an intransitive vP that does not accommodate the grammatical trigger (the ABS-marked argument). In a transitive construction like (1), the embedded patient ciqaw must raise out of the embedded phrase to the matrix clause owing to the edge feature on the matrix v.

(1) 'u-g<in>alju [vP a k<em>an t] a ciqaw1
1S.ERG-slow<PERF.TR> LNK eat<INTR> ABS fish

‘I slowly ate the fish.’ (Manner)

For another, a process of clitic climbing is attested. As seen in (2), the clitic pronoun =a’en attaches to the matrix verb although it is the embedded patient argument.

(2) pangtjez-en=a’en nimadju a pacun
come-TR=1S.ABS 3S.ERG LNK see.INTR

‘He came to see me.’ (Motion)

The second nonfinite construction involves a complex predication. A complex predicate nonfinite differs from a restructuring infinitive in five respects. First, its complement verb can be transitive, as in (3a). Second, a clitic climbing is not attested. Third, long-distance A’-movement is not attested; the DP which looks like an argument of the embedded verb turns out to be introduced by the applicative morphology on the matrix verb, as in (3a). Fourth, its complement verb must occur in a non-indicative form, as in (3a-b). Fifth, its complement is introduced by the linker sa instead of a.

(3) a. uRi='u-si-alap ta tjakit a ai cu a qayam
IRR=1S.ERG-IA-take OBL knife ABS this LNK pork
[vP sa 'u-sekas-i/*uRi='u-sekas-i/*sekas=a’en /*'u-sekas-en]
LNK 1S.ERG-cut-TR.NIND/*IRR=1S.ERG-cut-TR.NIND/*cut.INTR.NIND=1S.ABS/*1S.ERG-cut-TR

‘I will take a knife to cut this pork.’ (Purposive)

b. 'u-p<in>angul a kasiw [vP sa 'a-pungdjuq/*ma-pungdjuq/*na-ma-pungdjuq]
1S.ERG-hit<PERF.TR> ABS wood LNK STA-broken/*INTR-broken/*PERF-INTR-broken

‘I hit the wood broken.’ (Resultative)
The third type of nonfinite involves nominalization. The nominalized nonfinite is a vP introduced by an oblique case marker *tu*, as in (4a-b) (Tang 1999). Although the V1 can be fully inflected, the V2 can only take intransitive/transitive nominalizers or anaphoric genitive pronouns. Unlike restructuring and complex predicate, nominalized nonfinites do not put the embedded argument in the matrix clause, as in (5a-b).

(4) a. na-’isalu=a’en tu [vP k<em>an ta qavay] PERF-agree.INTR=1S.ABS OBL eat<NMLZ> OBL taro.cake ‘I agreed to eat taro cakes.’ (Control)
b. uRi=’u-alap-en a icu a tjagit tu [vP ’u-si-sekas ta kasiw] 1S.ERG-take-TR ABS this LNK knife OBL 1S.GEN-NMLZ-cut OBL tree ‘I will take the knife to cut a tree.’ (Purposive)

(5) a. *’u-’isalu-en tu [k<em>an ti a qavay] 1S.ERG-agree-TR OBL eat<NMLZ> ABS taro.cake
b. *uRi=’u-si-alap ta aicu a tjakit a kasiw tu [’u-si-sekas ] IRR=1S.ERG-TA-take OBL  this LNK knife ABS tree OBL 1S.GEN-NMLZ-cut

The fourth type is called CP infinitive. The intervening linker again is *sa*. In the CP infinitive, the V1 can be a full-fledged verb while the V2 is subject to the non-indicative restriction attested also in the complex predicate nonfinite. Different from other types of nonfinite as aforementioned, however, the CP infinitive may take a grammatical trigger (topic), as in (6a-b), or a wh-phrase, as in (7a-b).

(6) a. tekel-en ni kapi a vava [CP sa kesa-i a djamay nimadju] drink-TR ERG Kapi ABS wine COMP cook-TR.NIND ABS vegetables 3S.ERG ‘Kapi drank the wine and cooked the vegetables at the same time.’
b. na-m-alap=a’en ta tjagit [CP sa ’u-sekas-i a kasiw] PERF-INTR-take=1S.ABS OBL knife COMP 1S.ERG-cut-TR.NIND ABS tree ‘I took a knife to cut the tree.’

(7) a. tekel-en ni kapi a vava sa anema a kesa-en nimadju drink-TR ERG Kapi ABS wine COMP what ABS 3S.ERG ‘Kapi drank the wine and cooked what at the same time?’
b. na-m-alap=esun ta tjagit sa su-kuta-i a s<em>ekas a kasiw PERF-INTR-take=2S.ABS OBL knife COMP 2S.ERG-how-TR.NIND LNK cut<INTR> ABS tree ‘You took a knife and then how did you cut the tree?’/Lit. ‘You took a knife so as to cut the tree in what manner?’

This study has identified different nonfinite categories in Southern Paiwan and revealed that nonfinites vary in morphosyntactic behaviors. These findings suggest that in Austronesian languages nonfinite structures are recognizable and can be more diverse than expected. We shall further explore how these diverse structures and operations are tackled both in theoretical and typological studies.

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The SAY verbs sa and han in Amis revisited

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Amis is a Formosan language mainly spoken in the east coast area of Taiwan. This study revisits the morphosyntactic behaviors of the SAY verbs sa and han in this language, in particular, the analysis proposed in Wu (2006). These two verbs have been reported (cf. Wu 1995, Tsai and Zeng 1997, Liu 2003, Wu 2006 and 2013) to perform the following functions under grammaticalization: a quotative marker (e.g. (1)), an evidential marker (e.g. (2)), and a stance marker (e.g. (3)).

Wu (2006) proposes an analysis for the stance marker function of sa. She especially points that =sa and the prefix sa- in (3a) should be analyzed as different morphemes instead of the components of a circumfix sa-…-sa as proposed in Liu (2003). While the bi-morphemic analysis is adopted in the present study, a further investigation shows that the prefix sa- is semantically related to the stance marker sa based on its interpretations reported by Wu (2006) (e.g. “an intensifier ‘so’”, “seems”, “form”); all of these interpretations can be subsumed under the meaning of the stance marker. A similar observation is also found for han, which seems to be related to the prefix ha- in (5). It is thus possible to propose that the prefix function is a further stage of the grammaticalization after the stance marker function.

References
Examples:

(1) a. “Ma-lahok=to kita” = sa ci ina.
   AV-have.lunch=ASP 1PL.INCL say.so.AV NOM mother
   ‘Mother said, “Let’s have lunch!”’

   b. “Ma-lahok=to kita” han ni ina.
      AV-have.lunch=ASP 1PL.INCL say.so.UV GEN mother
      ‘Mother said, “Let’s have lunch!”’

(2) a. Ira ko nika-fafelin no kolong i laeno
      exist NOM NIKA-roll.over GEN water.buffalo PREP under
      no sera, saka ma-lonen=sa ko
      GEN earth so AV-have.earthquake=say.so.AV NOM kimad.
      story
      ‘It is said that the water buffalos roll over under the earth, so there is an earthquake.’

   b. Ira ko nika-fafelin no kolong i laeno
      exist NOM NIKA-roll.over GEN water.buffalo PREP under
      no sera, saka ma-lonen han no tao.
      GEN earth so AV-have.earthquake say.so.UV GEN others
      ‘People said that the water buffalos roll over under the earth, so there is an earthquake.’

(3) a. Sa-kietec=sa ko kamay=iso.
      so-cold=like.that NOM hand=2S.GEN
      ‘Your hands are so cold.’

   b. Cokay han no wawa=ako ko kafang a
      kick like.that.UV GEN child=1SG.GEN NOM blanket LNK
      MA-sleep
      ‘My child kicked (away) the blanket when sleeping.’

      so-run NOM Mayaw when AV-SA-young=ASP
      ‘Mayaw ran very fast when (he) was still young.’

   b. Hato-tamdaw kiso anini.
      like-person 2S.NOM today
      ‘You are human-like today.’

   c. Hato-cepi’ ko tata’ak koya foting.
      like-thigh NOM big that.NOM fish ‘That fish is as large a thigh.’
Two verb forms in Ilocano complement clauses

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This study reports that verbs in complement clauses in Ilocano, which is a language spoken in the Philippines, are classified as either balanced or deranked. A balanced verb has the same form found in independent declarative clauses, as in (1a), and a deranked verb is structurally different from verbs that occur in independent declarative clauses (Cristofaro 2003). In Ilocano complement clauses, deranked verbs lack any aspect marking, as in (1b). This demonstrates that the distribution of the two forms can be predicted by two parameters, levels of juncture and relations of dependency, which are developed by Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1994).

(1) a. P<in>adas-ø=da nga n-ag=mula ti mas~masetas.
   <PFV>try-PF=3PL LIN PFV-AF=plant OBL houseplants
   ‘They tried to plant houseplants.’

b. P<in>alubus-an=nak ni nanang
   <PFV>allow-LF=3SG.E+1SG.A CORE
   mother nga s<um>rek iti kolehiyo.
   LIN <AF>enter OBL university
   ‘My mother allowed me to go to university.’

In Role and Reference Grammar, three layers of juncture are postulated, namely nucleus, core and clause juncture. The nucleus corresponds to the predicate; the core is composed of the nucleus and its argument(s); the clause is the core plus non-obligatory adjuncts. The second parameter concerns relationship of dependency that holds between linked units. It postulates three relations, namely coordination, subordination and cosubordination. Coordinate constructions are just added together in sequence and independent of each other. Subordinate constructions are defined as structurally dependent on the matrix clauses (e.g. embedded clauses and adverbial clauses). Cosubordinate constructions are not embedded but dependent on the main clauses in terms of grammatical properties such as tense, aspect and modality.

The form of complement verbs can be predicted by applying these two parameters. Deranked verbs occur in core subordination and clause cosubordination, as in (2). The second core in (2a) is structurally dependent on the main core, and the second clause in (2b) is dependent on the main clause in terms of tense.

(2) a. P<in>ilit=nak ni Maestro nga t<um>aray.
   <PFV>force=3SG.E+1SG.A C teacher LIN <AF>run
   ‘The teacher forced me to run.’

b (=1b). P<in>alubus-an=nak ni nanang nga s<um>rek iti kolehiyo.

On the other hand, balanced verbs occur elsewhere, that is, core coordination (e.g. (3a)), core cosubordination (e.g. (1a)) and clause coordination (e.g. (3b)).

15 The following abbreviations are used: A-Absolutive, AF-Actor focus, C-Core argument marker, DIS-Distal, E-Ergative, LIN-Linker, OBL-Oblique, PF-Patient focus, PFV-Perfective, SG-Singular, 1-First person, 3-third person, “<”-infix, “~”-Reduplication, “~”-Cliticization.
In conclusion, to predict which of the two verb forms occurs in a complement construction in Ilocano, one should consider the two parameters, namely the levels of juncture and the relations of dependency.

References
Complementation in Saisiyat
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In Saisiyat, a language spoken by the indigenous people inhabiting the Northeastern mountainous areas in Taiwan, a variety of complement clauses can be found, ranging from a complete or full-fledged sentence to various reduced clauses. In this study, the reduced clauses will be classified on the basis of the morphological marking on the verbs into M-clause (clauses with the verbs marked with Agent Focus marker), Si-clauses, <in>-clauses, and pa-clause. The combination of the same complement-taking verb (CTV) with different complement clauses may yield different meanings. Examples for illustration are provided in (1) to (3). As shown in (1), the verb root ra:am ‘know’ when taking a complete sentence (in the sense that it contains subject and verb with independent TAM, negation or question marking), denotes the mental state of knowing. In contrast, when taking an M-clause, it designates ability ‘know how to,’ as shown in (2). In (3), when the verb Somiwa ‘agree’ takes an instrumental focused Si-clause as complement, it behaves like an object control verb where the subject of the complement is not identical to the subject of CTV; however, when taking an M-clausal complement, it functions like a subject control verb. According to Givón (2001), the syntactic integration between a CTV and its complement reflects the semantic bond between the CTV and its complement. In Givón and Ranch (2009), finiteness is a parameter for the prediction of typology of complex clauses. It is found that only full clauses can be counted as finite and functionally they are employed to express propositions (Dixon 2006), whereas M- and pa-clauses appear to be nonfinite clauses designating activities. As for Si- and <in>- clauses, they are nominalization exploited as complementation strategies (Dixon 2006) to express reification of the event. In terms of finiteness, they are counted as nonfinite according to Givón (2011).

(1) know (mental state)
   a. Só’o ra:am=ay noka ’aehoe’ S<in>arara’ kasi’aelen ’okik bo’oel?
      2S.NOM know.AF=Q GEN dog <PFV>like food NEG bone
      ‘Do you know that the food which dogs like to eat is not the bone?’
   b. yako ra:am ila yako nonak ’awhaey.
      3S.NOM know.AF PFV 1SG.ACC self bad
      ‘I know it is my fault.’

(2) know how to (ability)
   a. So’o ra:am=ay h<om>lal
      2SG.NOM know.AF =Q <AF>dance
      ‘Can you dance?’
   b. ’aehoe’ ra:am z<om>iyae’ ka pangih nonak
      dog AF.know <AF>lick ACC wound self
      ‘Dogs know to lick their wounds.’

(3) verb of control (Yeh 2000: 135)
   a. baki’ S<om>iwa’ Si?’osa’ nisiya
      grandpa < AF>agree IF-go 3S.GEN
      ‘Grandpa agreed for him to go’
   b. siya S<om>iwa’ ’am m-wa:i’
      3S.NOM < AF>agree will AF-come
      ‘He agreed to come.’
References
Sonority-driven stress in Paiwan—competition between phonological or phonetic factors

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Sonority-driven stress (de Lacy 2004) or quality-sensitive stress (Kenstowicz 1997), in which vowel sonority/quality affects the location of stress within the metrical domain, can be observed in languages such as Kobon (Davies 1981), Takia (Ross 2002) and many others. The analyses of this stress type are mostly attributed to phonological grounds, involving metrical peak- or trough-specific constraints (Kenstowicz 1997, de Lacy 2004); but Hargus (2001) considers such stress to be conditioned by phonetic factors, mainly the durational difference of vowels. This paper investigates the sonority-driven stress pattern in Paiwan, and shows that peak-specific phonological constraints decide the location of stress; however, while the two vowels in the metrical domain are equally bad, a phonetic constraint sensitive to duration then takes effect.

Paiwan is an Austronesian language spoken in south mountain area of Taiwan. The data in this study are collected from two village dialects of Paiwan, Piuma and Kazangiljan, which differ from most Paiwan dialects in the assignment of stress. Stress in Piuma (Chen 2006) and Kazangiljan Paiwan favors peripheral vowels [i u a] over the central one [ə] within the two syllables at the right edge, while that in most Paiwan dialects are regularly penultimate (Ho 1977, Ferrell 1982). For words without the central vowel schwa [ə], the natural, unmarked pattern is penultimate, as shown in (1). Stress shifts to the final syllable when the penultimate nucleus is a schwa and the final one a peripheral vowel, as shown in (2). Stress never seeks out /ə/ if any peripheral vowel /i u a/ is available. Strangely, stress falls on the final when identical schwas occur within the domain such as CəCə as shown in (3), whereas the unmarked penult stress when identical peripheral vowels show up, as in (4).

In an Optimality-Theoretic account, a fixed hierarchy of peak-specific constraints referring to the peripheral/central distinction (Kenstowicz 1997, de Lacy 2004) are employed, e.g. *PEAK/ə >> *PEAK/ i, u, a, showing that stress prefers peripheral vowels over schwa in the foot. With no central vowel schwa involves, penultimate is the most unmarked pattern. The constraint ranking so far is practicable: ALL-FT-R, TROCHEE >> *PEAK/ə >> FT-BIN, *PEAK/ i, u, a. Nevertheless, it fails to account for the occurrence of the final stress rather than penultimate stress in words with both schwas. The knot can be disentangled by simply adding a phonological constraint *FT/ə, banning schwas in feet; but this study suggests a solution based on phonetic grounds—vowel duration. A primary phonetic measurement shows that the duration of word-final vowels is longer than the identical one in penultimate syllable even though the penultimate vowel bears stress. Therefore, a phonetic constraint avoiding stress on a shorter schwa is needed, overriding the unmarked penultimate stress when the vowels in the foot are both schwas. To sum up, this study displays the pattern of sonority-driven stress in Piuma and Kazangiljan Paiwan, and provides a possible account which employs both phonological and phonetic constraints. The fixed ranking of peak-specific constraints predicts the preference for peripheral vowels over central one, and the phonetic constraint favoring final longer schwa overwhelms the unmarked stress pattern in words with schwas. Phonological and phonetic factors run parallel in the stress assignment of these two Paiwan dialects.

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(1) General penultime stress
a. [kì.na] ‘mother’  e. [pá.naq] ‘bow and arrow’
b. [lā.vu] ‘ash’  f. [sa.vi.ki] ‘betel nut’
c. [qì.as] ‘moon’  g. [ku.já.vaw] ‘rat’
d. [vá.ji] ‘wind’  h. [tśa.jì.na] ‘ear’

(2) Final stress with penultime schwa
a. [və.kə.á] ‘arrow’  c. [cə.vús] ‘sugarcane’
b. [kə.ri] ‘small’  d. [tśu.qə.á] ‘bone’
e. [qa.pə.dú] ‘gall’  f. [qə.ʁi] ‘sparrow’

(3) Final stress with both schwas
a. tśa.má] ‘grass’  c. tśa.ká] ‘spouse’
b. vo.tśo.qá] ‘short necklace’

(4) Unmarked penultime for identical peripheral vowels
a. ka.má.ja ‘mango’  c. [ú.kuts] ‘bird’s nest fern’
b. sa.tli.lim ‘midnight’

References
A cognitive approach to conveyed focus constructions in Squliq Atayal: Figure as the perceptual archetype of the Nom NPs

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In Squliq Atayal, the nominative (Nom) NP in Conveyed Focus (CF) constructions covers four major types of thematic roles: conveyed theme, instrument, cause, and “beneficiary”. The goal of the present study is an attempt to identify the relationship between these roles at a conceptual-cognitive level. I argue that Figure (Talmy (2000)) is the perceptual archetype of conveyed theme, instrument, and cause in CF constructions, and Ground (Talmy (2000)) is that of “beneficiary”.

Major findings from a morphosyntactic and semantic examination on ditransitive NAF verbs in this study are:

(i) As pointed out in Yeh (2013), for some verbs in CF constructions (e.g., biq ‘give’, gaput ‘ask’, and panga’ ‘carry on back’ etc.), there is no instrumental reading for their Nom NPs (compare (1) with (2)).
(ii) In CF constructions, the role of “beneficiary” is encoded as the possessor modifier of a possessive NP whose the head referring to a transported theme ((3)-(5))
(iii) The reading of “beneficiary” can also be assigned to the recipient Nom argument of ditransitive verbs in Locative Focus (LF) constructions ((6)).

From a cognitive perspective to account for these findings, the undergoer roles in CF constructions can be described in terms of the following figurative expressions:

(a) Conveyed theme is Figure, which is released from the actor and is finally conveyed to the other undergoer in the event encoded by a base verb.
(b) Instrument is Figure, which is released from the actor to affect the intrinsic undergoer in the event encoded by a base verb.
(c) Cause (event) is Force (i.e., Figure), which is conveyed to the event (i.e., Ground) described by a base verb to trigger its occurrence.
(d) Beneficiary is Possessor (i.e., Ground).

The present study shows that like LF constructions, CF constructions are essentially associated with the notion of space, namely, the two focus markers, s- and -an, are perception-experiences-based concepts and also implies the division of labor between the two focus markers in constructing a three-dimensional conceptual space in Squliq Atayal.

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Appendix

(1) wal=mu s-biq ciwas qu’ pila’ la.
ASP=1SG.GEN CF-give PN NOM money FP
‘I have given (the) money to Ciwas.’
(cf. A wrong translation: ‘I have used (the) money to give Ciwas.’)

(2) wal=mu sklw-an sa sumul qu’ krahu’ na’
ASP=1SG.GEN steam-LF OBL glutinous rice NOM big GEN
sklw-an la.
steam-LOCNMLZ FP.
‘I have used a big steamer to steam glutinous rice.’

(3) a. wal=mu s-biq ciwas qu’ pila’ ni’ yumin la.
ASP=1SG.GEN CF-give PN NOM money GEN PN FP
‘I have given Yumin’s money to Ciwas.’
b. *wal=mu s-biq pila’ sa ciwas qu’ yumin la’.
ASP=1SG.GEN CF-give money OBL PN NOM PN FP

(4) a. wal=mu s-bil sa ciwas qu’ hyal ni’
ASP=1SG.GEN CF-leave OBL PN NOM land GEN
yumin. PN
‘I have handed over Yumin’s lands to Ciwas.’
b. *wal=mu s-bil hyal sa ciwas qu’ yumin.
ASP=1SG.GEN CF-leave land OBL PN NOM PN

(5) anay=mu s-biq sa ciwas qu’ pila’ ni’ yumin.
ANAY=1SG.GEN CF-give OBL PN NOM money GEN PN
‘Let me give Yumin’s money to Ciwas!’

(6) wal=mu biq-an pila’ qu’ ciwas la.
ASP=1SG.GEN give-LF money NOM PN FP
‘I have given Ciwas money (before).’
On the distributions of mood particles in Mayrinax Atayal

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The purpose of this paper is to clarify the syntactic distributions of mood particles in Mayrinax Atayal (MA), one of Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan, as well as their interactions with modals. First, focusing on the incompatibility between modals and mood particles, we can clearly distinguish two interrogative particles, \textit{quw} and \textit{pisa’}; the former never co-occurs with evidential modals in (1b), while the latter does in (1a).

Second, the distribution of mood particles in MA is relatively free (comparing with those in Mandarin Chinese); mood particles in MA, such as evaluative \textit{ga’} and affirmative \textit{qi’}, are allowed to occur at either the final or post-verbal position, expressing speaker’s affirmation in (2a) or evaluation in (2b) on the proposition, respectively. When co-occurring with modals, such as \textit{ki’i ‘may’}, mood particles are free to occur at final position in (3a), to follow the modal in (3b) or to follow the verb in (3c). Moreover, mood particles are also permitted to occur at these locations with either combined or separated forms in (4). Several syntactic criteria and semantic restrictions help us to indicate the compatibility and usage of these mood particles. Based on feature-based perspectives, we claim that the appearance of mood particle at final/ post-verbal position depends on the location where the periphery feature of the mood particle is checked off. This concept can also be extended to account for the initially appearing of particles in Seediq (Holmer 2005), another Austronesian language in Taiwan.

Considering the discussions on particles in previous studies (Law 2002, Paul 2014, Hsieh 2005, Li 2006), we claim that there exists a hierarchical order between modals and mood particles in (5) in terms of their syntactic restrictions and semantic interactions. The incompatibility mentioned above can also be accounted for through Cartography Approach (Cinque & Rizzi 2008, Tsai 2010). A mood particle \textit{quw} in MA and \textit{ma} in MC is grammatical as long as it dominates all the other components. An evidential modal \textit{asiEvi ‘should’} in MA and \textit{yinggaiEvi ‘should’} in MC, however, is located higher than mood particle \textit{quw}, under the concepts of split CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1997, 2004). A derivation might crash if there is a element located outside of the domain of the mood particle.

Despite free distribution, certain restriction between epistemic modal and affirmative mood particle also damages the derivation in (6a) and (6b). However, this restriction can be repaired by raising the matrix verb which is originally located lower than the mood particle in (6c). The failure in (6a) and (6b), in our assumption, results from the incapability of checking off the periphery feature on mood particles. To check off the periphery feature, either verb movement or remnant movement is required in the derivation.

Interestingly, the location of mood particles in languages, though various in distribution, also provides us another way to clarify the difference on the word order in these languages. Particles in MC (Li 2006, Paul 2014) and Cantonese (Law 2002) are also hierarchically ordered in (7) and (8). Particles in these languages remaining at the sentence final position are believed to undergo remnant movement. For Austronesian languages, however, remnant movement is not absolutely required. In Seediq, certain mood particle occurs at the initial position in (9). With or without the application of this movement, three types of languages could be classified in terms of their surface word order, even though they are believed to share the identical hierarchy in the left periphery.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{llll}
(1) & a. asievi ga’ m<in>-tauwaw cuhisa’ ‘i’ Watan pisa’? & b. *asievi ga’ q<um>ualax cu’ sawni quw? \\
seemingly Link AV<PERF>-work yesterday Nom.Watan Part & seemingly Link rain<AV> Past today Part & Intended: ‘Is it the situation or not that it seems as if Watan had gone to work and returned yesterday?’ & Intended: ‘Does it seem as if it is going to rain today?’
\end{tabular}
\end{figure}
a. m<in>'uwah (qi') cuhisa’ 'i' Watan (qi').
   AV<PERF>come Part yesterday Nom. Watan Part
   'I’m sure and remind you that Watan came yesterday.'

b. m<in>'uwah (ga') cuhisa’ 'i' Watan (ga').
   AV<PERF>come Part yesterday Nom. Watan Part
   'It’s true that Watan came yesterday.'

(3) a. ki'i epí 'i' pa-qualax 'i' bari 'i' casan ga'.
   may Link IRR-rain Loc Miaoli Fut tomorrow Part
   'It’s true that it is possible that it will rain at Miaoli tomorrow.'

b. ki'i epí ga’ 'i' pa-qualax 'i' bari 'i' casan.
   may Part Link IRR-rain Loc Miaoli Fut tomorrow
   'It’s true that it is possible that it will rain at Miaoli tomorrow.'

(4) a. m<in>'uwah cuhisa’ 'i' Watan la ga’.
   AV<PERF>come yesterday Nom. Watan Part Part
   'It’s true that it turns out to be the case that Watan came yesterday.'

b. m<in>'uwah la ga’ cuhisa’ 'i' Watan.
   AV<PERF>come Part Part yesterday Nom. Watan
   'It’s true that it is possible that it will rain at Miaoli tomorrow.'

(5) ga’ > pisa’ > asi eví > quw > ki'i epí > qi’ > asi deco

(6) a. *ki'i epí 'i' q<um>ualax 'i' casan 'i' bari qi’
   may Link rain<AV> Fut tomorrow Loc Miaoli Part
   'It’s true that it turns out to be the case that Watan came yesterday.'

b. *ki'i epí qi’ 'i' q<um>ualax 'i' casan 'i' bari
   may Part Link rain<AV> Fut tomorrow Loc Miaoli
   'I’m sure and remind you that it is possible that it will rain at Miaoli tomorrow.'

(7) Discourse > Degree > Force > Evaluative > Mood > Fin (Li 2006)
   ga’ > pisa’ > asi eví > quw > ki'i epí > qi’ > asi deco

(8) Attitude > Force > C (low) > TP (Paul 2014:(1))
   a ba, ma1 ne

(9) a. kiyaka puq-un=daha gaya babuy si (sa) peni,
   then eat-PATF=3PL.GEN law pig QUOT well.you.see
   ‘…it is said that they then just ritually eat a pig, you see…’

   b. ye=su m-n-ekan hlama kiya ? (Holmer, Arthur. 2005)
   INTERR-2SGNOM ACTF-PST-eat steamed.rice that
   ‘Did you eat that steamed rice snack?’

Selected references
Paul, Waltraud. 2014. Why particles are not particular: sentence-final particles in Chinese as heads of a split
CP. Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan. 2010. 談漢語模態詞的分佈與詮釋之對應關係.
A typology of minimal words in Formosan languages

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Academia Sinica

Hsuan-ju Chen  
Academia Sinica

Languages usually impose restrictions on the minimal size a word can have. A minimal word consists of a foot, which must be binary at some level, as shown in (1a-b). The foot may include two moras in the same syllable, as in (1a), or it may consist of two distinct two syllables, as in (1b).

(1) Minimal Word

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Example of minimal word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>1 syllable, CVC</td>
<td>Puyuma</td>
<td>Nanwang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>1 syllable, bimoraic CV:C</td>
<td>Bunun</td>
<td>Takibakha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Takivatan</td>
<td>dán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Isbukun</td>
<td>húl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paiwan</td>
<td>Puljetji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>2 syllables, bimoraic CV,VC</td>
<td>Bunun</td>
<td>Takituduh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saisiyat</td>
<td>Tungho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>2 syllable, with either one (first or second) heavy</td>
<td>Kanakanavu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The goal of the present paper is to provide a typology of minimal word in Formosan languages – in particular we will examine the phonological impact of affixes and clitics on minimal words – and work out the distinction between minimal words, phonological (or prosodic) words and grammatical words.
Selected references


Negative linguistic cycles in Philippine languages
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This paper aims to investigate the manifestation of negative linguistic cycles in Philippine languages. Negative linguistic cycles are diachronic processes that posit the various trajectories markers of negation take when they undergo reanalysis. Simply put, older negative elements are weakened and new negative forms emerge. In this paper, examples and evidences of two of the well-established negative linguistic cycles, Jespersen and Croft cycle, will be provided based on data from several Philippine languages such as Ivatan, Itbayaten, Yami, T'boli, Tagalog, Hiligaynon, Waray, Ifugao, and Sinauna. Other trajectories such as those encountered in SNA typology and aspect restriction will be explored.
Panel 1  Modality in Austronesian languages: Form and function

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Ghent University

Languages utilize various strategies to express modality, including but not limited to affixes, auxiliaries, verbs, second-position enclitics, final particles, and adverbs. Despite the diversity of the morphosyntactic means for signaling modality, linguists have revealed significant cross-linguistic patterns of modality regarding its structure and function.

One of the most-addressed issues in the syntax of modality is how to account for the ordering and scope relations not only among different modalities but also between modality and other grammatical categories, e.g., tense, aspect, and negation. Formal linguists attribute the linear order and scope relations of modality to the fine structure of IP and CP (Cinque 1999, 2006; Rizzi 2004) or semantically-based principles (Ernst 2004, 2009). On the cartographic approach to modality, ambiguous interpretations of a modal auxiliary, e.g., epistemic vs. root interpretations or deontic vs. epistemic interpretations, result from the multiple syntactic positions where it can be merged (Cormack and Smith 2002). Ernst (2004, 2009), however, argues that the ordering and scope of modal adverbs and other types of adverbs do not follow from a strict structural hierarchy but can be derived from independent semantic principles.

Studies on the Austronesian languages in this regard have yielded contradictory results. As discussed in detail in Chang (2006) and Holmer (2010, 2012), manner and frequency expressions in many Formosan languages exhibit properties of voice-affixed verbs, whereas high adverbials, including modals, do not. This generalization finds a natural explanation in Cinque’s framework if manner and frequency expressions, but not modals, are analyzed as heads of functional projections between VoiceP and VP (Holmer 2010). The fact that modals are not realized as voice-affixed verbs can be attributed to their merge position above VoiceP. The scope relations among different types of adverbs in Tagalog, however, are not amenable to a cartographic analysis, but corroborate Ernst’s semantically-based approach (Kaufman 2006).

While research on modality from the formal perspective focuses on its syntactic structure and scope with respect to other grammatical categories in the left periphery of a clause, functional linguists contend that a comprehensive analysis of modality cannot disregard its interactive role in discourse (Bybee and Fleischman 1995; Nuyts 2001; Precht 2003). Austronesian linguists have begun to appreciate the fact that the languages they are investigating have rich systems of modality markers whose diversely unique functions are waiting to be discovered. Recent studies on ‘mood’ and ‘modality’ have especially identified a wide range of stance-marking systems, enabling researchers to distinguish between epistemicity, evidentiality, mirativity, and attitudinality. An abundant number of strategies will be presented, especially in Philippine languages and Malay.

This panel invites Austronesian linguists working on modality to share their methodology and research results with each other. It is hoped that the interaction between formal and functional approaches to modality in the context of Austronesian languages will contribute to a more profound understanding of modality in terms of its formal structure and discourse functions.

References


1-1 Lack of epistemic necessity in Atayal

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This paper investigates the modal system of Atayal, an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan, based on data from two dialects, Squliq (spoken in Hsinchu) and Mayrinax (spoken in Miaoli). Following a formal typology of modality (Rullmann et al. 2008, Davis et al. 2009, Peterson 2010, Deal 2011, Menzies 2013, Matthewson 2013, Vander Klok 2013, etc.), I show that the Atayal modals lexically distinguish between epistemic and circumstantial modality flavor and between necessity and possibility strength. The proposal places the Atayal modal in line with Paciran Javanese (Vander Klok 2013) with one salient difference: Atayal lacks a logically stronger counterpart of epistemic possibility modals. I provide evidence from linguistic data and speakers’ feedback in fieldwork to support the absence of epistemic necessity modals. The behaviors of the Atayal epistemic modals suggest an analysis based on an independent mechanism (Rullmann et al. 2008; Peterson 2010) surpasses one based on a modal paradigm (Deal 2011).

The Atayal modal system. Recent research has identified a lexical split between epistemic and circumstantial modal flavor in both Squliq and Mayrinax. Squliq has two epistemic modals of different categories, modal auxiliary \( \text{ki'a} \) and modal adverb \( \text{hazi} \), one deontic auxiliary \( \text{nway} \), and two ability modal verbs \( \text{baq} \) and \( \text{thuzyay} \) (Hsiao 2004; Chen 2014b). Most of these modals have a morphological counterpart in Mayrinax, as shown in Table 1, with trivial syntactic variations with respect to presence of linkers and clitic climbing (see Tsai and Wu 2013; Wu 2013). In this paper, I provide data with speakers’ judgment in contexts only compatible with one type of modal flavor to reinforce the distinction, which has been made solely based on direct translation of the modals. I also show that Atayal has a plain circumstantial modal \( \text{blaq/balaiq} \), which can express varied subtypes of circumstantial modality except deontic, forming non-overlapping distribution with the modals specialized for deontic interpretations; this shows that non-epistemic modals have more lexical variations than being subsumed into priority modality as suggested by Portner (2009). Besides this, I show that the two ability modals in both dialects encode mental ability and physical ability respectively.

With respect to quantificational strength, another major dimension that carves up modality in languages (van der Auwera and Ammann 2008; Rullmann et al. 2008), I show that the Atayal modals all lexically encode possibility or necessity, evidenced by the fact that use of each modal is restricted to contexts favoring either quantificational strength rather than both. I argue that Atayal has a fully-specified modal system, similar to that in Paciran Javanese (Vander Klok 2013), Mandarin (Chen 2014a), and Blackfoot (Algonquian) (Reis Silva in prep.; Louie in prep.); however, Atayal differs from the above-mentioned languages in possessing a lexical gap in epistemic necessity. The Atayal modal system is outlined in Table 1 with data from the two dialects. I then present a formal account for the Atayal modals in the Kratzer’s (1977, 1981, 1991) theory of conversational backgrounds.

### Table 1. Modality in Atayal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Squliq</th>
<th>Mayrinax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possibility</td>
<td>Necessity</td>
<td>Possibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic</td>
<td>( \text{ki'a;hazi} )</td>
<td>( \text{ki'I} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstantial</td>
<td>( \text{blaq} )</td>
<td>( \text{siki} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deontic</td>
<td>( \text{nway} )</td>
<td>( \text{hanu'an} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lack of epistemic necessity modals. In contexts favoring epistemic necessity claims, speakers do not equally volunteer one single and the same form. Even for individual speakers, they offered different means for a necessity claim. (1) is from a Squliq speaker, who offered a indicative non-modal claim and a periphrastic phrase \( \text{si baqi sa} \) ‘I’m sure that … ; it’s known that …’, in his two
trials of telling the same story. (2) is from a Mayrinax speaker, where an emphatic adverb cu balay ‘really’ is volunteered for talking about simple necessity.

(1) Context: The policeman says, “They can’t be hiding in the box. It’s too small.” “They can’t be hiding under the bed. It’s too low.” (‘On the Lam’, TFS Working Group 2011)

a. p-kaki’ suruw na pala qniway tubung.  
FUT-exist.AV back GEN cloth cover window  
‘They will behind the curtain.’

b. si baq-i sa cyux maki suruw na pala qniway tubung.  
AFF know-PV PRT PROG exist.AV back GEN cloth cover window  
‘They must behind the curtain.’ (Lit. ‘It’s known that they are behind the curtain.’)

(2) Context: Your friends had a match today. They came with extreme happiness and hurray.

r<um>uwi’ cu balay i naha la.  
win<AV> OBL really ABS 3PL.N PRT  
‘They must have won.’ (Lit. ‘They really won.’)

The epistemic possibility modals ki’a and hazi are rejected in (1), and it’s infelicitous that the possibility modal ki’i alone appears in (2) without the emphatic adverb. These show that the epistemic possibility modals are genuine possibility modals without scalar implicatures (Deal 2011). The possibility modals also pass Deal’s (2011) test such that they are only compatible with a possibility reading in downward-entailing environments. As shown in (3), the epistemic modal ki’i under the scope of bali, which is an irrealis negation that can scope over the constituent to its right (Sue 2004), gives only ¬◊ (not-possible), rather than ¬□ (not-necessary), readings.

(3) cu hesa ga, bali ki’i q<um>walax i taipei!  
OBL yesterday TOP NEG.IRR EPIS.POS rain<AV> LOC Taipei  
‘How could it have rained in Taipei yesterday?’ (Lit. ‘It wouldn’t be possible that it rained …’)  
#‘It wouldn’t be necessarily the case that it rained in Taipei yesterday.’

As for the necessity modals siki/asi ki, since they are of circumstantial flavor, which are rejected consistently in epistemic contexts, they do not form a scale with the epistemic possibility modals. The paradigmatic gap in epistemic domain, however, is predicted by Deal to allow the possibility modals to have flexible strength in upward-entailing environments like the modal o’qa in Nez Perce; that is, ki’a, hazi or ki’i should have been accepted in (1-2), contra the facts.

Implications. The finding suggests that an analysis simply based on a modal paradigm is not sufficient to account for language variations in, at least, quantificational strength. Instead, an analysis using domain restriction (Rullmann et al 2008), which shrinks the domain of a necessity modal, or adding ordering source, which shrinks the domain of a possibility modal (Peterson 2010) allows modals without scales to be specified with fixed or flexible strength in languages. Adopting Peterson’s (2010) analysis, the Atayal epistemic possibility modals will vary parametrically from Gitksan (Tsimshianic) in disallowing ordering source over the quantificational domain. This, again, reinforces a position that conversational backgrounds of a modal can be lexically (such as Atayal modals) or contextually determined (such as Gitksan modals) (Rullmann et al. 2008).
“Raising out of CP” constructions, in which an argument of a finite embedded clause occurs in the matrix clause, have been reported in several Austronesian languages. There are three major competing analyses for "raising out of CP" constructions: A’ movement (Nakamura, 2000; Liu, 2011), base-generated A-chain (for copy raising, Potsdam & Runner, 2001), and prolepsis (Davies, 2005). Amis, the largest Formosan language, has a similar construction termed “raising to trigger” (RtoT in (1)) in Liu (2011) who favors a tough-construction approach, or null operator movement, for RtoT.

(1) ka-vana?-an nura wawa kura kapahı [CP OPi Ø ]
LT-know-LT NOM.that child T.that young man LNK
[na-mi-r par ́ı rı tu ?ayam]
PERF-AT-catch ACC chicken
‘That child knows (that) that young man has caught a chicken.’ (Liu 2011: 119)

This paper would like to show that modal verbs (e.g. can, should) and aspectual adverbial verbs (e.g. often, almost) can also introduce “raising out of CP” constructions and that such construction greatly resembles prolepsis.

As shown in (2a), a modal verb can select a fully-fledged CP which is led by a finite complementizer u and in which the verb can be inflected with voice and TMA markers. (2b) shows that one argument associated with an embedded clause can occur in the matrix clause (hereafter “raised NP”) and can leave an optional pronoun behind. The nominative NP in (2b) should be viewed as being situated in the embedded clause since a modal/aspectual adverbial verb is incapable of introducing and assigning cases to two NP arguments without the help of a lexical verb (see (2c)). If tatiliden in (2b) is merged with the lexical verb of a finite embedded clause, it can be directly assigned case by the lexical verb and it cannot (and indeed, need not) move out. In addition, as also shown in (2b), a temporal adverb cannot appear immediately before the nominative NP, which implies that the clausal boundary does not form before tatiliden and tatiliden is within the complement clause.

(2) a. Ma-edeng (u) ma-ma-laheci n-i aki k-u-ra tatiliden
Neut-should (u) IRR-UV-finishGen-PPhn aki Nom-Cm-that study
‘Aki should finish that study.’

b. ma-edeng n-i aki (u) ma-ma-laheci (ningra) (*inaicira) k-u-ra
UV-should Gen-PPhn Aki (U) IRR-UV-finish (3rd.Sg.Gen)(*tomorrow) Nom-Cm-that study (tomorrow)
‘Aki should finish that homework (tomorrow).’

c. *ma-edeng n-i aki k-u-na tatiliden
UV-should Gen-PPhn Aki Nom-Cm-that study

This paper suggests that the “raised NP” is base-generated. The evidence against traditional raising analysis comes from case marking, idiomatic chunks, and coordinate construction constraint. In Amis, only a nominative NP is movable. Thus, the “raised NP” in (2b), which is a genitive actor, is not present as a result of raising. Secondly, idiomatic chunks lose their original idiomatic interpretation when separated from other parts as in (3).

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1 This study labels this construction as Mod-Asp AVC for convenience.
(3) a. ma-laliw n-u keral
   UV-leave Gen-Cm tide
   ‘It’s too late.’

   b. ma-ngata ma-laliw n-u keral
   UV-leave UV-leave Gen-Cm tide
   ‘It’s almost too late.’

   c. ma-ngata n-u keral ma-laliw
   UV-close Gen-Cm tide UV-leave
   ‘Tide ebbs.’ *‘It’s almost too late.’

In addition, it is possible that the “raised NP” is co-indexed with a conjunct pronoun in the embedded clause, as exemplified in (4).

(4) ma-rarid n-i aki ma-samsam ningra atu n-i
    UV-often Gen-PPn Aki sUV-bully 3rd.Sg.Gen Conj Gen-PPn
    kacaw ci panay
    Kacaw Nom-PPm Panay
    ‘Panay was often bullied by Aki and Kacaw.’ Or ‘Aki (he) and Kacaw often bullied Panay.’

Despite a similar surface structure to RtoT (Liu, 2011), Mod-Asp AVC and RtoT respond differently to parasitic gap licensing, a diagnosis tool for A’-movement (Maclachlan, 2000). Shown in (5a) and (5c), wh-movement and “raised NP” (and only “raised NP”) in RtoT can license a parasitic gap. However, in (5b), at least one pronoun must be "spell-out" in the “without” adjunct clause and either the “raised NP” or the other argument is eligible.

(5) a. cima i sa-ka-ulah-an n-u misu ________i ca’ay-ay
    Who SA-Ka-like-NMZ Gen-Cm 2nd.Sg.Nom ________i NEG-Fac
    ku ka-fana-an (cingra-anj)
    KU KA-know-NMZ (3rd.Sg.Dat)
    ‘Who do you like without knowing (him)?’

   b. ma-rarid n-i aki ma-lisu’ ci panayj
    UV-often Gen-PPn Aki UV-visit Nom-PPn Panay
    ca’ay-ay ku pa-li’ayaw-an ningra/cingraj
    NEG-Fac KU Cau-before-Appl 3rd.Sg.Gen/3rd.Sg.Nom
    ‘Aki often visits Panay without informing.’
    ‘Panay was often beaten by Aki and Kacaw without being seen.’

   c. ka-fana-an n-u-ra wawai k-u-ra kapahj na
    KA-know-Appl Gen-Cm-that child Nom-Cm-that young man Pst
    mi-repet t-u ‘ayam away-ay ku mi-padang-ay
    AV-chase Dat-Cm chicken NEG-Fac KU AV-help-Fac
    (*cingraj) (cingra-anj)
    ‘The child knows that the young man caught a chicken without help.’

This study suggests that Mod-Asp AVC displays significant characteristics of prolepsis (Davies, 2005). A Mod-Asp AVC: (1) takes a finite complement clause, (2) loses idiomatic interpretation if idiomatic chunks are discontinuous, and (3) is not always cognitively synonymous between “raised” and “nonraised” counterparts. These are the characteristics of prolepsis.

Selected References:
1-3 Form and function of modality in Ilocano

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The notion of modality has long been established in literature as something vague and is open to various definitions and classifications. Epistemicity and evidentiality are two of its categories that have received a considerable amount of research in terms of their linguistic marking across languages (Aikhenvald 2004; Chafe & Nichols 1986; Palmer 2001; among others). As De Haan (2005) argues, “Evidentiality asserts the evidence, while epistemic modality evaluates the evidence” (p. 379). Likewise, Pietrandrea (2005) explains that evidentiality qualifies the source that justifies the assertion of a proposition, whereas, modality qualifies the genuine beliefs of the speaker about the truth of the proposition. This presentation discusses forms and functions of evidentiality and epistemicity in Ilocano, the third most spoken language in the Philippines with approximately nine million speakers.

Using a 250,000-word corpus of Ilocano written texts and conversations, data show various means of encoding modality which include lexical verbs, auxiliaries, affixes, adverbs, enclitics, and particles. Some of these items, as Dita (2011) opines, are idiosyncratic and are ‘untranslatable’. While evidentials usually encode either speaker’s direct or indirect involvement in the proposition, epistemicity, on the other hand, encodes the speaker’s degree of certainty on the proposition. Interestingly, the degrees (here classified as high certainty – low certainty) also encode various stances which the speaker may not be aware of.

References:
Dita, S. N. 2011. Discourse particles as stance markers in Philippine languages. Paper Typological, Diachronic, & Discourse Perspective, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong, SAR China, 18-20 July 2011.
1-4 Modality and temporality in Javanese topic: Application

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Many researchers have claimed that epistemic modals do not allow past temporal perspectives (i.e., the time at which the modal base is calculated cannot be past) (e.g., Groenendijk and Stokhof 1975; Cinque 1999; Drubig 2001; Condoravdi 2002; Stowell 2004; Hacquard 2006; Borgonovo and Cummins 2007; Demirdache and Uribe-Etxedarria 2008; Laca 2008). For instance, Cinque (1999:79) argues that since epistemic modals are syntactically above T(past) and T(future), they are outside the scope of absolute tense. However, others argue that past temporal perspectives exist with epistemic modals in different languages (e.g., Eide 2003; Boogaart 2007; von Fintel and Gillies 2008; Homer 2010; Martin 2011; Matthewson and Rullmann 2012; Rullmann and Matthewson 2012).

In this paper, I provide evidence from Javanese (Western Malayo-Polynesian) that the epistemic possibility modal *paleng* ‘EPIS.POS’ allows for past temporal perspectives, adding to the literature with data from an unrelated language. The data presented are based on fieldwork on a dialect of East Javanese spoken in Paciran, East Java, Indonesia. Under the hypothesis (inspired by Condoravdi 2002) that temporal perspective is provided by tense, depending on how tense is encoded in Javanese, we may or may not see an overt distinction between past and present temporal perspective with *paleng* ‘EPIS.POS’.

In order to properly address this interaction between modality and temporality, I first establish how tense is encoded in Javanese. It is known that verbs are not marked for tense or aspect (Horne 1961; Robson 2002), but whether Javanese has a grammaticalized tense system is not addressed. I show that both stative and eventive predicates are compatible with past, present, or future reference times. I also argue that the one possible marker of tense as a future marker (*ape*) is best analyzed as a prospective aspect. Therefore, I propose that Javanese clauses are tenseless—only context and overt non-grammaticalized temporal expressions such as *sesok* ‘tomorrow’ serve to restrict the temporal reference (in matrix clauses) (cf. Tonhauser 2011 for Paraguayan Guaraní).

Since Javanese does not distinguish past from present tense, we expect *paleng* to show systematic ambiguity with respect to its temporal perspective. In other words, we expect that *paleng* will be compatible in contexts with a past or present temporal perspective (without overt temporal expressions). This is borne out, as shown in (1) and (2).

(1) **Context:** When you looked outside earlier this morning, the ground was wet. But later, you found out that Bunga was playing with water. You thought before that:

*Paleng* mari *udan*

‘It might have rained.’

(2) **Context:** You were watching the football game with Surabaya Muda but you fell asleep when the game was tied 2:2. They might have won (but you’re not sure).

*Surabaya Muda* paleng *sing menang* (tapi aku durung weroh)

‘Surabaya Muda might have won.’

Therefore, Javanese is an additional, unrelated language to those researched which provides evidence that epistemic modals allow for a past temporal perspective, but how this interaction between modality and temporality is represented depends on how tense is marked.
Selected References
Research on the syntax of polarity emphasis has revealed consistent structural differences between two types of emphatic polarity markers (EPM): high and low (Batllori & Hernanz 2013; Breitbarth & Haegeman 2014; Kandybowicz 2013). A high EPM is base-generated in the CP left periphery, whereas a low EPM occupies an inner focus/emphasis projection between TP and VP. The present paper investigates the syntax of *maqen*, the marker of polarity emphasis in Kavalan, and demonstrates that it is a low EPM. It is also argued that a low EPM can be merged either below or above vP.

As illustrated in (1), *maqen* exhibits morphosyntactic properties of a verb in that it occupies the clause-initial position, attracts aspect markers, and is able to take the patient voice suffix. According to Lin (2013), -*an* should be analyzed as v or Voice in Syntax due to its ability to assign an external argument. The contrast between (2a) and (2b) suggests that the patient voice marker on *maqen* is also associated with argument structure, esp. an external argument or an agent. The fact that *maqen* can be affixed with -*an* thus suggests that it is a head that is initially merged below vP.

(1) maqen-an-na=ti ni imuy m-Rasa ya lepaw
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Imuy AV-buy ABS house
‘Imuy DID buy the house.’

(2) a. maqen=ti m-laydaw ti-abas
indeed=PFV AV-sad NCM-Abas
‘Abas WAS sad.’
b. *maqen-an-na=ti ni abas m-laydaw
indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Abas AV-sad

The distributional contrast between *maqen* and epistemic markers like *qawman* ‘certainly’ also support the analysis of *maqen* as a low EPM below vP. Firstly, unlike *maqen*, *qawman* cannot take voice affixes (3). Secondly, while *maqen* can be suffixed with the imperative marker, *qawman* is incompatible with imperative mood (4). The compatibility between *maqen* and the imperative mood indicates that it is truly an EPM instead of an epistemic marker. Thirdly, when *maqen* and *qawman* co-occur in a clause, *qawman* must precede *maqen* (5). All these differences between *maqen* and *qawman* can be attributed to the hierarchical difference between the two markers. While *qawman*, an epistemic marker, is merged above vP, *maqen* is merged below vP.

(3) a. qawman Rasa-an-na=ti ni buya ya lepaw
certainly buy-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Buya ABS house
‘Buya must have bought the house.’
b. *qawman-an-na=ti ni buya m-Rasa ya lepaw
certainly-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Abas AV-buy ABS house

(4) a. maqen-ika m-liyam ya sudad
indeed-IMP AV-read ABS book
‘DO read the book!’
b. *maqen-ika m-liyam ya sudad
certainly-IMP AV-read ABS book

(5) a. qawman maqen-an-na ni utay m-qila ya sunis-na
certainly ERG Utay AV-scold ABS child-3GEN
‘Utay certainly WILL scold his child.’
b. *maqen-an-na ni utay qawman m-qila ya sunis-na
indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Utay certainly AV-scold ABS child-3GEN

Another piece of evidence for the low structural position of *maqen* is that it does not
exhibit Main Clause Phenomena (MCP), as opposed to high EPM (Haegeman 2012). Maqen can occur in subordinate clauses that resist MCP for lack of full CP projections, e.g., conditional clauses and restrictive relative clauses. This is illustrated in (6).

(6) anu maqen-an-na ni utay qiRuziq kelisiw, qila-an-na
   if indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Utay steal money scold-PV-3ERG
   ni abas aizipna
   ERG Abas 3SG.ABS

‘If Utay DOES steal the money, Abas will scold him.’

While the properties of maqen discussed above confirm its low merge position in an inner focus/emphasis projection, the contrast between PV-marked and non-PV-marked maqen further reveals that there are two base positions for inner focus/emphasis. When maqen is affixed with the patient voice marker, it imposes AV-restriction on the following lexical verb (7a) and the perfective marker \(=\text{ti}\) must be attached to the PV-marked maqen, but not the lexical verb (7a vs. 7b). However, without PV on maqen, the lexical verb following it does not need to obey AV-restriction (7c vs. 7d) and the perfective marker \(=\text{ti}\) can be attached to either maqen or the lexical verb (7d vs. 7e). The contrast between PV-marked and non-PV-marked maqen can be accounted for if we posit two structural positions for inner focus/emphasis: \[... \text{EmpP}_1 \text{AspPFV}_P \text{vP EmpP}_2 \text{VP} ...\]. PV-marked maqen is base-generated below \(v\) in EmpP\(_2\) and thus blocks the movement of the lexical verb to \(v\) and AspPFV because of the Head Movement Constraint. Non-PV-marked maqen, on the other hand, is merged in a position higher than \(v\) and AspPFV in EmpP\(_1\) and thus the lexical verb can still move to \(v\) for the patient voice suffix and to AspPFV for the perfective marker. Maqen can still take \(=\text{ti}\) in (7d) due to clitic climbing.

(7) a. maqen-an-na\(=\text{ti}\) ni imuy m-Rasa/*Rasa-an ya lepaw
   indeed-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Imuy AV-buy/buy-PV ABS house
   ‘Imuy did buy the house.’

b. *maqen-an-na ni imuy m-Rasa=\text{ti} ya lepaw
   indeed-PV-3ERG ERG Imuy AV-buy=PFV ABS house

c. maqen=\text{ti} m-Rasa tu lepaw ti-imuy indeed=PFV
   AV-buy OBL house NCM-Imuy ‘Imuy did buy a house.’

  d. maqen=\text{ti} Rasa-an-na=\text{ti} ni imuy ya lepaw
     indeed-PFV buy-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Imuy ABS house
     ‘Imuy did buy the house.’

e. maqen Rasa-an-na=\text{ti} ni imuy ya lepaw
     indeed buy-PV-3ERG=PFV ERG Imuy ABS house
     ‘Imuy did buy the house.’

In conclusion, maqen is a low EPM base-generated below projections of epistemic markers. The contrast between PV-marked maqen and non-PV-marked maqen further suggests that there are two merge positions for low EPM: above or below \(vP\).

References
Breitbarth, Anne, and Liliane Haegeman. 2014. The distribution of preverbal \(en\) in (West) Flemish: Syntactic and interpretive properties. Lingua 147.69-86.
Linguists have traditionally categorized evidential expressions under epistemic markers (Bybee 1985; Hengeveld 1988, 1989; Biber et al. 1999; Karkkainen 2003, among many others). Linguists like Bybee et al. (1994) consider epistemicity and evidentiality to be related, but the dividing line between the two may be fuzzy. There are also some other linguists who deem otherwise. Nuyts (2000) contends that the notion of epistemic modality does not include evidentiality (27). Grunow-Harsta (2012) argues that evidentiality is a categorically distinct phenomenon from epistemics in terms of its form and function. This study intends to investigate and show the distinct forms of epistemic and evidential expressions in Cebuano by looking at conversations and narratives in the language and confirm the findings of Grunow-Harsta (2012), and hopefully contribute to the study of epistemicity and evidentiality in Formosan and Philippine linguistics.

A very important question asked in the study is of course whether epistemic and evidentiality expressions in the language can be teased apart. The data indicated that both epistemicity and evidentiality are primarily expressed in Cebuano by means of second-position enclitic forms. In addition, and this constitutes one of the factors that distinguish between both concepts, epistemic expressions include verbs, which are usually complement-taking “defective” verbs, while evidential expressions include quotative markers and verbs of utterance.

The epistemic verbs in Cebuano are formally particles but behave like verbs in that they usually take complement clauses and do not inflect at all. They function to express the attitude or belief of the Speaker toward the proposition conveyed in the complement clause. Table 1 summarizes the types of “particles” or “defective” verbs that can enter into complementation strategies. They can take either nga, ug, or interrogative complements, and only abi can take a syntactic argument. Moreover, the group of high-frequency second-position enclitics in this language, which I call emphasizers and intensifiers, show the speaker’s strong degree of commitment to the proposition, as in Table 2.

As for evidentiality, =kunu is a clitic, whose function is to free the Speaker of the responsibility regarding the truth of an utterance, as in (1). A quotative expression matud(=pa) ‘according to . . .’ is followed or preceded by the quotation, as in (2). A more colloquial form of the quotative matud is the verb of saying ingun ‘say,’ which can inflect and take a complement clause that is either a direct or an indirect quote. Direct quotes are usually preceded by a prosodic pause after the complementizer nga, as in (3). Moreover, the phrases containing the verb of utterance like ingun=ko 'I say' and ingun=siya 'he/she says' have become so entrenched in discourse that their frequent use have caused them to evolve shortened forms ing=ko and ing=siya in casual conversation. Once the forms have evolved, their argument structures must evolve too; this is reminiscent of English forget and remember (Tao 2003). Other less common forms for expressing evidentiality will be discussed.

Data/Examples

(1) clitic =kunu
   ingon=siya nga makig-minyo’=kunu=siya=nako’
   say=3S.NOM COMP RECIP-marry=EVID=3S.NOM=1S.OBL
   ‘He said that he was going to get married with me.’

(2) defective verb matud followed by a quotation matud=niya, ma’ayo kana=ng klase
   according=3S.GEN good that=LK class ‘According to him that is a good kind.’
Verb of utterance nga (+ pause) direct quote

\begin{verbatim}
ingun=siya nga, baki=' ha'ay=na=ka karon
say=3S.NOM COMP frog where=already=2 S.NOM now
\end{verbatim}

'He called out, Frog, where are you now?'

Table 1. Complement-taking epistemic particles/verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>particle</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>ug</th>
<th>comp</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
<th>arg</th>
<th>coreferential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abi</td>
<td>‘(I) think/thought’</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-bot</td>
<td>‘(I) don’t know’</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambot</td>
<td>‘(I) don’t know’</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basi'</td>
<td>'maybe' (epistemic)</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'a-yu</td>
<td>'good' (evaluative)</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'u</td>
<td>'it seems'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Emphasizer and intensifier clitics in Cebuano

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>enclitic</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=gyud</td>
<td>'INTENS'</td>
<td>intensifies meaning of proposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ka'ayo</td>
<td>'EMPH'</td>
<td>emphasizes quality of modifier/predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=lagi</td>
<td>'ASSERT'</td>
<td>emphasis with hearer-involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=gud</td>
<td>'ASSERT'</td>
<td>emphasis of a reason directed at nobody</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References


1-7 The epistemics of kot in Malay: How a ‘fear’ verb develops into a marker of epistemic modality

Foong Ha Yap
Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Epistemic markers, including evidentials, are often used as either boosters or hedges to modulate one’s claims, rights or entitlements in interactive talk (see Fox 2001; Kim 2005, 2011). ‘Say’ and ‘think’ constructions are frequently recruited as such epistemic markers, as amply attested in previous studies on hearsay evidential markers such as Japanese tte (S. Suzuki 1998; R. Suzuki 2007) and Korean tako, tamye(nse), tanun, tanta and tay (Ahn & Yap 2014), and also on epistemic parentheticals such as English I think (Thompson & Mulac 1991; Kärkkäinen 2003) and Mandarin wo jue de ‘I think’ (Lim 2011; Endo 2013). Psych verbs expressing ‘fear’ are also sometimes recruited as epistemic markers (see Jing-Schmidt & Kapatsinski 2012 for a crosslinguistic analysis of fear epistemic expressions in English, Russian and Mandarin; see also Endo 2004 and Yap et al. 2012 on Mandarin pa and kongpa, and Yap & Chor 2014 on Cantonese paa and taipaa).

In this paper, we will examine the grammaticalization of the Malay ‘fear’ verb takut, as shown in (1), into epistemic markers kot--kot and kot, the former typically used as an epistemic adverbial at the left periphery of an utterance, as shown in (4), while the latter has greater syntactic freedom and is often found at the right periphery as a sentence final particle with an epistemic meaning such as ‘perhaps’ or ‘I guess’, as shown in (6). Our findings indicate the following stages of development:

(i) Lexical verb takut ‘fear’ > Reduplicative verb takut--takut ‘being sort of afraid’
(ii) Epistemic adverbial takut--takut ‘Maybe, perhaps’ (at the right periphery)
(iii) Phonologically reduced epistemic adverbial kot--kot (at the right periphery)
(iv) Non-reduplicated epistemic marker kot (often used as sentence final particle)

The reduplicative strategy in Malay has an ‘imperfectivizing’ effect on the ‘fear’ verb, blurring its aspctual boundary and lending a sense of unboundedness to the interpretation of the psych verb, as seen in the ‘kind of’ or ‘sort of’ reading in (2). This unboundedness reading, which produces a sense of ‘lack of precision’ and ‘hedgy-ness’ is recruited in the formation of an epistemic adverbial takut--takut at the right periphery, as seen in (3), where a construction meaning ‘I’m sort of afraid that X’ is used in the adverbial sense of ‘perhaps/maybe X’. As seen in (4) and (5), phonological reduction gives rise to kot--kot and kot, and when right-dislocated the latter is reanalyzed as a sentence final particle, with epistemic pragmatics. We thus see how the semantics of uncertainty is amplified through the morphosyntactic mechanism of reduplication that is available in the language to produce a grammaticalized marker of epistemic uncertainty.

Examples:

1) Dia takut hantu.
   3SG fear  ghost
   ‘S/he is afraid of ghosts.’

2) Dia takut--takut kau marah nanti.
   3SG fear-fear  2SG angry FUT(< wait)
   ‘S/he’s a bit afraid (< kind of afraid) you would be upset.’

3) Takut--takut, dia tak datang nanti.
   fear-fear  3SG NEG come FUT
   ‘Perhaps (< I’m sort of afraid) s/he won’t come.’

4) Kot--kot dia tak datang nanti.
EPIST 3SG NEG come FUT
‘Perhaps (< I’m sort of afraid) s/he won’t come.

(5) *Kot* dia tak datang nanti.
EPIST 3SG NEG come FUT
‘Perhaps s/he won’t come.’

(6) *Dia tak* datang nanti *kot.*
3SG NEG come FUT EPIST.SFP
‘Perhaps s/he won’t come.’

References


Panel 2 Topics in the morphosyntax of higher-order Austronesian subgrouping: Considering the Nuclear Austronesian hypothesis

Edith Aldridge
University of Washington

Loren Billings
Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

It is now virtually uncontroversial that the homeland of the Austronesian (An) language family is the island of Taiwan. Less agreement, however, is found on the question of high-order subgrouping among the languages spoken there. Ross (2009, 2012) challenges an earlier authoritative view (Blust 1999, 2009/2013) that there are as many as ten first-order subgroups and instead proposes that all An languages except the Formosan languages Puyuma, Tsou, and Rukai belong to one large subgroup dubbed Nuclear Austronesian (NucAn). This hypothesis also departs from the practice of An historical linguistics to date in taking its primary evidence from morphosyntactic paradigms rather than relying solely on phonological or lexical evidence. The main innovation shared by NucAn languages is claimed to be the replacement of finite realis verbal affixes with nominalizing morphology, while retaining the dependent and irrealis forms from Proto Austronesian (PAn).

This panel proposes to explore the NucAn hypothesis, offering support or revision in some cases, and rejecting the hypothesis in others. The first paper (Kaufman & Aldridge) adopts the NucAn hypothesis but applies a critical eye to the reconstruction of alignment in PAn, weighing the evidence for reconstructing ergative (as assumed by Ross) or accusative alignment, as suggested by the accusative morphosyntax of Rukai and the methodological elegance of reconstructing the less marked alignment type. The second and third presentations explore implications of the NucAn hypothesis in specific domains of the grammars of the languages, first from the standpoint of clitic-pronoun paradigms (Jiang & Billings) and next from the perspective of voice/nominalizing morphemes (Kaufman). The final paper in the panel presents an alternative view to the NucAn hypothesis (Kikusawa). Presentation titles and short abstracts are listed below.
A central problem with deriving ergativity from the reanalysis of nominalization in Austronesian (An) languages is the fact that the dependent verb forms do not differ from the independent forms in the assignment of case and grammatical relations. Three of the more obvious routes for explaining this are (i) the syntax of the dependent verbs assimilated via analogy to that of the independent forms, (ii) An ergativity is completely independent from the historical reanalysis of nominalizations as main-clause predicates, and (iii) the case system of Proto Austronesian (PA) was considerably different from what has been hitherto reconstructed.

We argue here that analogy cannot be an option if we consider the ergative properties of Tsou, which attests no reflexes of the independent verb forms at all, in light of Ross’s Nuclear Austronesian hypothesis. We are left to adjudicate between (ii) and (iii), which will both be considered in this presentation. Under possibility (ii), the ergative alignment observed in the dependent forms is reconstructed to PA. This approach has been traditionally assumed by those advocating the nominalization origin of ergativity in the independent paradigm in Philippine and most Formosan languages, given that the nominalizing morphemes are not derivationally related to the dependent forms. On the other hand, if possibility (iii) is adopted, PA is reconstructed with accusative alignment, and ergativity is posited to have emerged twice through independent but parallel innovations. In this scenario, the change from accusative to ergative alignment is a case of drift. The syntactic conditions for the alignment change are argued to have arisen twice, once in nominalizations and once in irrealis clause types. Both environments meet the requisite conditions, given the cross-linguistic tendency of these environments to lack structural accusative case for the object, making it dependent on nominative-case licensing from the T(ense) head.

It was originally suggested by Starosta, Pawley, & Reid (1982/2009) that the independent verb forms of Austronesian signaled thematic nominalization and that nominal predicates replaced true verbal predicates in main clauses at some early point in the history of the language family. This suggestion is well-supported by the facts in that reflexes of *-en “Patient Voice” and *-an “Locative Voice” are also widely found as “pure” patient and locative nominalizers, respectively, in present day languages. However, one aspect of their distribution is very difficult to reconcile with this analysis. In Amis, Saisiyat, Sediq, and Rukai, among others, traces of either *-en or *-an (or even both) are found in a case-marking function on pronouns and animate nouns. This suggests that either nominalization morphology was reinterpreted as case marking or case marking was reinterpreted as nominalization. I argue that only the latter possibility makes syntactic and typological sense. Suffixal case marking on pronouns in Formosan languages is thus a window into the earliest usage of these morphemes, which I posit to have been a primary signal of grammatical relations in Proto Austronesian but only a vestigial secondary mechanism in Proto Nuclear Austronesian (PNuc). This talk is devoted to exploring how case marking could have been reinterpreted as thematic nominalization and how this affects our understanding of the later reanalyzer that took place in Ross’s PNuc.

2-1 On the relative chronology of ergativity and nominalism in Austronesian
Daniel Kaufman
Columbia University
Edith Aldridge
University of Washington

2-2 On Proto Austronesian *-en and *-an
Daniel Kaufman
Columbia University
2-3 Evidence from Puyuma for only a single clitic-pronoun paradigm in Proto Austronesian

Haowen Jiang
Rice University

Loren Billings
Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Like others before him, Ross (2006:532) reconstructed two paradigms of enclitic pronouns in Proto Austronesian (PAn), conventionally labeled nominative (NOM) and genitive (GEN). Since then, Ross (2009, 2012) has proposed only four primary subgroups of Austronesian: Tsou*(ic), Rukai, Puyuma, and all remaining languages within Nuclear Austronesian (NucAn). Most recently, he has argued that the differences between these paradigms result from innovations only in NucAn, and that in PAn there was only one enclitic paradigm serving both functions (Ross manuscript-a). Our proposed talk bolsters this latest claim using data from the three non-NucAn branches. In Tsou, the same paradigm of clitic pronouns is used for both functions; only 3.INVISIBLE forms show a case distinction (Zeitoun 2005:277). There is also relatively little evidence for separate bound-pronominal paradigms that can be reconstructed for Proto Rukai (Ross manuscript-b). As for Puyuma, from which all of our new data come, though Teng (2008:61, 2009:825) claims that among clitic pronouns a distinction is made between NOM and GEN, her cross-dialect data (2009:826) show relatively few differences in the pronominal forms between these cases. Namely, all clausal 1SG, EXCL1PL, INCL1PL, and 2PL forms are listed as syncretic: invariably ku, mi, ta, and mu (respectively). Only two (types of) forms—namely, 2SG (NOM (y)u, GEN nu) and 3 (NOM Ø, GEN tu or taw)—show a case distinction. The main difference between Teng’s NOM and clausal-GEN sets is direction of leaning: enclitic NOM as opposed to proclitic GEN. (Slightly different pronominal inventories for these non-NucAn languages, including four Rukai dialects, appear in Huang et al. 1999:170-172.) Our talk uses mainly data from the Rikavung, Tamalakaw, and Nanwang varieties of Puyuma. (We hope to investigate others during the intervening year). We show that in the Nanwang dialect it is possible to explain the 2SG and 3 allomorphy positionally rather than in terms of a case distinction. Namely, if proclitic, use mu= and tu=; otherwise, use =yu or Ø (respectively). In the Rikavung and Tamalakaw varieties, we show that case cannot account for the allomorphy, only positioning can do so (and argue that even in the Nanwang dialect a positioning analysis is slightly more advantageous). We also report variation in 1SG and 2PL forms not reported by Teng. We further demonstrate that in Rikavung and Tamalakaw tu ~ ta(w) is an inverse marker, not a 3.GEN pronoun. We incorporate ideas from Payne (1994) about how inverse markers and third-person pronouns, over time, change into each other. Finally, we also reconstruct all intermediate protolanguages between PAn and the modern Puyuma dialects as having had a single, caseless paradigm of clitic pronouns.

2-4 Looking for signs of drift, diffusion, and others: Reanalyzing Ross’s verb paradigm in the context of morphosyntactic comparison and reconstruction

Ritsuko Kikusawa
National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka

This paper re-examines the verb forms presented in Ross (2009) and re-evaluates his reconstruction of the Proto Austronesian (PAn) verbal paradigm. The discussion focuses on identifying which of the PAn features that Ross reconstructs actually existed in PAn and how they are reflected in the daughter languages. Special attention is given to the cases that appear to be the result of processes other than direct inheritance, such as drift and diffusion, possibilities which Ross either dismisses or does not consider.
Panel 3 Diachronic toponymy and landscape terms in East Nusantara

František Kratochvil
Nanyang Technological University

Theme
This panel investigates the landscape terms and place names in languages of East Nusantara. Certain types of place names are known to provide clues about the population and linguistic history of particular areas. They are routinely interpreted so by geographers and historians and can help interpret genetic studies. East Nusantara is a well-established language contact zone between Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages. However, the past population and linguistic history is not well understood and likely differs from one area to another. Systematic investigation of place names can uncover some of the traces of that history.

Language and landscape
Languages and their speakers are located in geographic reality – on the side of a mountain, a bay or a fertile valley plain. This primary relationship is marked on the languages and on the cognitive system of the speakers. The relationship is, therefore, reflected in the people’s terms for the landscape around them and defines language boundaries. All societies are sustained by the landscape they live in that provides water, food, and other material resources essential for life. Landscape terms reveal the structure of a unique knowledge system, containing ecological, agricultural, historical, political, and cultural information that is characteristic of a particular community.

Diachrony of landscape terms
Besides community specific features, landscape terms and their structure and etymology share features with other linguistically related communities. Landscape terms that are not synchronically transparent and for which no etymology can be established may represent an older layer, which offers a glimpse of the past populations. Diachronic toponymy has identified a range of names which appear remarkably timeless, and resistant to population changes. In particular, these include ‘water names’ (sea names or names of body of water), which tend to be the most stable in absolute terms, and ‘basic’ place-names associated with the primary resources that people need to survive (for example water, food, refuge, animals, fire). The conservative names are so resilient that they are more likely to be misunderstood and reinterpreted (in their morphology and in their semantic interpretation) than replaced over the centuries or millennia (Pokorny 1959; Krahe 1963; Beretta 2007).

Austronesian language family
The Austronesian language family belongs among the world’s best-studied language families and its reconstruction is advanced (Bellwood et al. 1995; Ross et al. 1998; Lynch et al. 2002; Adelaar and Himmelmann 2005; Blust 2009a). Resources are available to examine etymology of landscape terms and their morphological structure (see resources listed below). It is possible to examine the etymology of landscape terms in any Austronesian-speaking community in the area as well as in non-Austronesian areas with available reconstructions (Timor-Alor-Pantar: Holton et al. 2012; Schapper 2012; wider Papuan: Robinson and Holton 2012).

Population history of East Nusantara
The modern language situation of Eastern Indonesia reflects the outcome of the Austronesian migration into the area about 3,500 years ago (Bellwood et al. 1995; Bellwood 1997).
Austronesians are almost certainly predated by the Papuan populations (Klamer and Ewing 2010; Robinson and Holton 2012). The archeological record shows continuous occupation of the area (Veth et al. 2005; Pannell and O’Connor 2005; and others).

A careful study of the onomastic layers is of particular importance in East Flores, an area where a Papuan substrate is widely considered to have affected the grammatical structure of the languages spoken there (Klamer 2012), although it remains unclear whether this substrate was related to the Alor-Pantar family or not. Besides the Timor-Alor-Pantar family, Tambora in Sumbawa represents another non-Austronesian isolate (Donohue 2007).2 West Papuan languages of North Halmahera and the Bird’s Head Peninsula are a third area. The reverse scenario, of a Papuan layer over on the top of an Austronesian substrate is attested in the East Timorese Fataluku (McWilliams 2007).

There are a few synchronic studies of landscape names in the area. Holton (2011) surveys the landscape names of Western Pantar, spoken in the island of Pantar. Huber (2014) gives an overview of landscape terms in the Papuan languages of East Timor, in particular in Makalero and Bunaq. Huber (2014:195) points out that the Papuan landscape of Timor records both specific features in day-to-day life as well as their spiritual associations. In Western Pantar, on the other hand, the practical aspect of naming seems dominant

References
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3-1 Toponyms and ethnonyms in the history of South Borneo

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South Borneo is home to the South East Barito languages, and it is the homeland of Malagasy. Virtually nothing is known about the socio-political history of this area before the advent of Islam, except for what is written in the Hikayat Banjar (the chronicles of the present-day city of Banjarmasin written in a form of classical Malay) and a few references in Old Javanese literature. Ecologically, the South Borneo region has always been affected by the transfer of alluvial material from the highlands towards the sea via major rivers. As a result, trade centres along these rivers have regularly had to move to locations closer to the sea due to siltation in their harbours.

In this paper I demonstrate how the study of toponyms and ethnonyms in South Borneo contributes to a better understanding of the history of this area. It throws new light on the historical links between South East Barito languages including Malagasy. It also helps to understand the geographical and ecological setting which the early Malagasy speakers left behind when they migrated to east Africa and the ties they might have had with early Malay polities in the South Borneo region.
3-2 Keo toponyms: spirits, ancestors, people and animals residing in a single landscape

Louise Baird
Australian National University

Keo, spoken by approximately 40,000 speakers, is one of around seven Austronesian languages forming the central Flores dialect chain in Indonesia. It is primarily spoken on the south coast in terrain that consists of mountains that rise sharply from the sea. In more recent times a substantial Keo-speaking population has been relocated to the north coast of central Flores. This paper will focus on the traditional south coast Keo homeland, more specifically focussing on the single village of Udiworowatu.

In this paper toponyms will be identified as being area names or feature names, the lexical source domains for the component parts of place names will be examined and how toponyms are used within language will be explained. We will do this by going on a journey through the landscape of the village of Udiworowatu and surrounds on the physical level, social-cultural level and spiritual level. We will look at the layout of the hamlets within the village, the names of the important features of the landscape and how this is connected to the social and spirit world. We will then look at the layout of individual houses, the names of the important places within a house and how these connect to the social and spirit world.

This research is based on the author’s personal fieldwork experience of the village of Udiworowatu and analysis of relevant Keo historical legends which provide explanations for place names based on the supposed historical movements of ancestors (Baird 2002). This paper will also draw on the work of Udiworowatu-born anthropologist and Catholic priest Father Philipus Tule (2004). Anthropologists, such as Father Philipus Tule, Maribeth Erb (1999), Andrea Molnar (2000) and Gregory Forth (1991, 2001) working in Flores have long been fascinated by the connection between the human created physical world as a symbolic reflection of social structures. In particular, they talk of house-based societies (a notion coined by Lévi- Strauss), in which social structures and physical house structures mirror each other.

While some anthropological research into the connection between the physical world and the social-cultural world exists for Udiworowatu, gaps remain in our understanding of place names, which this paper aims to fill. This paper endeavours to answer linguistic questions about toponyms such as those posed by Burenhult & Levinson (2008), such as how the ambiguity between landscape terms and place names as objects and places are resolved in the language; the categorization strategies employed in the naming of places; how place names combine with spatial relator expressions, such as Keo directionals (Baird 2002, 2008), and how place names relate to each other.
References


Kapampangan life is centered on rivers. The eponymous stream Indûng Kapampángan ("mother of river banks") is only one in a network of waterways that connect all traditional settlements in the Kapampangan territory (central Luzon). This study surveys Kapampangan names of bodies of water, based on the pre-existing literature (Bergaño 1732, Henson 1965, Panganiban 1972) and the native knowledge of the author Michael R.M. Pangilinan. Hydronyms form the basis of Kapampangan toponymy in general, as they are commonly adopted to denote areas and settlements.

After providing etymologies for three dozens of river names, we identify the following underlying patterns of nomenclature: rivers are mostly named after a) their natural attributes (e.g. quality of the water, smell), b) their shape, or c) a landmark (e.g. prominent vegetation, rocks). Furthermore, some rivers have different names associated with their sections, but lack an overarching name. In a further step, we demonstrate how the later Spanish names not only reinterpreted or relabeled the traditional Kapampangan system with different strategies of nomenclature, but also partition rivers differently.

A majority of hydronyms in the Kapampangan territory are synchronically transparent descriptions. However, with the ongoing shift to Tagalog, their etymology becomes opaque to younger people. In an attempt to counteract this trend, we encode Kapampangan hydronyms in a publicly accessible map created with Google Map Makers, alongside etymologies and information on the history and folklore of waterways. This forms the first step towards an upcoming more comprehensive interactive map of the traditional Kapampangan territory.

References


3-4 Abui landscape – a study of micro-landscape of Takalelang, Alor, Eastern Indonesia
Benediktus Delpada, František Kratochvil, and Francesco Perono Cacciafoco
Nanyang Technological University

This paper is a detailed study of the landscape terms and their etymological origin in the Abui-speaking area of Takalelang (Alor Island, Eastern Indonesia). The paper focuses on the terms related to current human settlement in the area: (i) it discusses the basic concepts of the landscape and settlement classification, (ii) establishes the historical layering of terms in the Takalelang area, (iii) analyses the composition of the settlement names, and (iv) makes a comparison with Western Pantar (Holton 2011) and East Timor (Huber 2014) – two areas where related languages are spoken.

The Abui community of Takalelang is located on the northern slopes of the Central Alor Island, falling to the coast of the Banda Sea. These steep and wide slopes (*looma*) are carved by deep valleys with periodic water streams (*lu*), which serve as natural boundaries between areas. Each slope contains flatter areas used to rest (*lulang*) or to bivouac. The largest and oldest of them are known as *lasak* and give the name to the entire slope. Originally a place of hunter rendezvous, after the clearing of forest, *lasak* became places to bring offerings for good crop yield.

The landscape classification suggests that the Takalelang area was gradually settled from the central valleys and cleared of forest. Before WWII, all villages in the area were located on hilltops, away from the coast, but were abandoned during 1950s and 1960s when the population moved down to the coast, to what used to be exclusively agricultural land.

The generic terms for settlements are *afeng* ‘hamlet, small village’ (from proto-Alor-Pantar *haban* ‘village’) and *melang* ‘large village’ (perhaps a semantic shift from proto-Central-Alor *mila* ‘field’). Although many terms are etymologically obscure, a solid pattern of revealing the past agriculturalist use of the land is detectable in the onomastic sources (typically including reference to renewable resources associated with the place, such as fruit or cash-crop trees). Commonly found are *mea* ‘mango’, *kalang* ‘Schleichera oleosa’, and *kanai* ‘Canarium indicum’.

The Abui landscape classification reflects the ‘human experience of the landscape’, is driven by the ‘landscape affordance’ (Levison 2008). While the generic terms such as ‘hill’, or ‘forest’ are encountered rarely, the classification is dominated by reference to specific locations on the slope as well as with references to renewable resources such as trees.

Abui shares features of the Timor-Alor-Pantar type described in Huber (2014): (i) basic concepts such as *mountain*, *water*, *village*, and *garden* are inherited (Schapper et al. 2014); (ii) the classification is focused on ‘landscape affordances’; (iii) sea-oriented forms are largely absent (Huber 2014). The Abui classification differs from the much more arid landscape of Western Pantar making much finer distinctions of water quality (Holton 2011:144). With a low degree of similarity with neighboring languages, numerous lexical innovations semantic shifts, the Abui pattern not unlike that of the East Timor, as described by Huber (2014).

References


3-5 Homelands and dispersals in eastern Timor:
A study of place name etymologies

Juliette Huber     Aone van Engelenhoven
Regensburg University       Leiden University
Antoinette Schapper
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The linguistic landscape of Timor presents a complex picture: while dominated by Austronesian languages, it is home also to four non-Austronesian languages. These belong to the westernmost group of Papuan languages, known as the Timor-Alor-Pantar (henceforth TAP) family. Three of the island’s TAP languages (Makasae, Makalero and Fataluku) are clustered on the eastern tip of East Timor, while the fourth, Bunaq, is spoken on both sides of the East-Timorese / Indonesian border in the mountainous interior of the island. This distribution is generally consistent with the conventional understanding of the area’s population history, according to which Austronesian speakers gradually overwhelmed pre-existing populations of Papuan-speaking hunter-gatherers when they arrived in Eastern Indonesia around 3,000 years ago (Bellwood 1998).

However, a closer look at the linguistic map of East Timor suggests that this account is too simple. For instance, up to the 1960s, an Austronesian language (Makuva / Lovaia) was spoken at the very eastern tip of East Timor, in the midst of territory occupied by speakers of the Papuan language Fataluku (Engelenhoven 2010: 178). Since that time, Makuva has all but disappeared, and Fataluku is the everyday language in that area now, although Makuva continues to be used as a ritual language. The case of Makuva shows that in the course of the Austronesian-Papuan relations on Timor, Papuans have not consistently been in a position of weakness. Indeed, with the exception of Makalero, the Papuan languages of East Timor today are among the nation’s strongest, surpassing many of its Austronesian languages in terms of numbers of speakers. A further point of interest suggesting a more complicated narrative is the presence of Naueti, a small Austronesian language, on the south-eastern coast of East Timor, where it is entirely surrounded by the Papuan languages Makasae and Makalero.

In the central part of the island, Bunaq too has spread into formerly Austronesian-speaking territory (Schapper 2011). Using place name etymologies, Schapper (2011) delimits the Bunaq homeland in an area where all place names have Bunaq etymologies. By identifying areas in which place names with both Bunaq and Austronesian etymologies can be found, and areas where all place names are Austronesian in origin, she is furthermore able to reconstruct different stages of the spread of the Bunaq language.

To date, there is no comparable study for the eastern group of TAP languages of Timor (though Huber 2013 and Huber & Schapper 2013 offer glimpses at the possibility of reconstructing small-scale population movements using place name evidence). In this paper, we will present evidence regarding the origins and spreads of the Papuan-speaking populations of eastern Timor based on a preliminary study of place name etymologies. This study has the potential to offer valuable insights into the relations and interactions between Papuan and Austronesian speakers in this linguistically diverse region, and will help understand the current distribution of Austronesian and Papuan languages in the eastern tip area of East Timor.

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3-6 Placenames in Mon Mot the Giant Snake myth  
(Alor Island, Eastern Indonesia)  
František Kratochvil, Benediktus Delpada and Rachel Siao Jia Yi  
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The Abui narrative genre *tira* (legend, myth) records historical events that establish, and clarify the permanent bond between the landscape and its inhabitants. The genre is deeply rooted in the local oral history tradition (Rodemeier 1995; 2006; Holton 2010) and the rapid formation of myths (Wellfelt 2009; 2013). We have recorded the first version of *Mon Mot the Giant Snake* myth in 2004 in Tifolafeng (Takalelang area) and published that version in a story collection in Kratochvil and Delpada (2008: 68-77). Since then we have been unraveling the rich narrative fabric surrounding the myth.

The myth narrates how Mon Mot the Snake attacks a village and slaughters all but one pregnant woman. When her twin sons grow up they kill the snake and become the founders of the clans living in the area up to this day. The myth contains detailed path descriptions, as in its final part, where the snake is provoked to pursue the twins, as shown below.

**ABUI**  
*Di furaa ai ba marang Laling mia, ding wahaisi, wan marang hen mia.*
*Henil mai dining ayoku di furaa ai, sei iti yaa oro Rolmelang mia, ding wahai, uwo Laling sei.*
*Hen mia ba di furaa i, di sei Mitingfui melang mia, ding wahaisi, me Rolmelang kaafata la hadasei henil mai di hori:*

“Nukata Mon Mot moni yo, heeto a mingbeeka laaki, ni fa Mitingfui mia yo!”
*Dakuri ya me yaa uwo Montoting hayeei, hen mia di yaa Mitingfui mia, di pa Kawaaka Loohu mia:*

**ENGLISH**  
They ran down.
From Laling they fled to Rolmelang and then they saw him climbing towards them.
So they ran down to Mitingfui.
There they looked again and saw that Mon Mot the Snake was coming down from Rolmelang.
After that they called him again:

"Hey, Old Mon Mot, hey you, you are running astray, we are now down here, in Mitingfui!"
Having heard that, Mon Mot the Snake rushed to Mitingfui and then to Kawaka Lohu.

It is common for the *tira* narratives to supports the narrative with reference to physical environment, which serves as touchable ‘evidence’ of the authenticity of the myth (Mly. *bukti*). Prominent rock formations, caves, water bodies, and places and movements between them spatially anchor narratives, giving rise to *chronotopes* - configurations of space and time in which the myth and the present intersect (Basso 1996:62, after Bachtin 1981).

We explore the relationship between landscape and the myth through a series of interviews with Takalelang storytellers. While the entire community is familiar the myth, the detailed knowledge differs greatly among storytellers. The narrated landscape connects the current inhabitants with their mythical ancestors and the knowledge of its physical and symbolic attributes serves (i) to validate one’s genealogical connection to the mythical actors, (ii) to put claims on associated landscape ‘affordances’ (Levinson 2008), and (iii) to explain current physical, spiritual, and intellectual well-being of the descendants of the mythical actors.

References

3-7 Placename narratives and identity in the north east of Ambon Island

Simon Musgrave
Monash University

Ambon Island in the Central Maluku region of Eastern Indonesia has a long history of contact with non-indigenous cultures. During the seventeenth century, the Dutch colonizers caused many inland villages on Ambon to relocate to the coast, including a group of villages in the north-eastern corner of the Island: Tulehu, Tengah-tengah and Tial. In these villages, traditional narratives which tell of the origins of the villages are still current. A central feature in these narratives is an account of how the villages came to have their names. None of these narratives mention the European presence or its role in the relocation of the communities. Instead, the narratives seek to construct identities for the communities based on relations to natural phenomena such as bird cries and the sea. This paper examines linguistic aspects of several such narratives to show how ideas of place and identity are imagined in these communities and contrasts this with the contemporaneous Dutch account of Rumphius (1678). The comparison highlights the way in which the indigenous narratives construct identity in terms of communities rather than individuals and with a clear relation to the natural world rather than in relation to human activity.

3-8 Diachronic toponymy in Austronesian languages:
A pilot study about the coastal areas

Francesco Perono Cacciafoco
Nanyang Technological University

Diachronic toponymy is one of the foundations of the historical study of a language (and/or of a linguistic family) and of the origins of a civilization. This paper aims to test the Austronesian toponymy in a historical key, proposing a sampling of analysis of coastal place names in different areas (mainly South-East Asia and Melanesia), in order to verify the onomastic stratigraphy of toponyms, hydronyms, and oronyms. In some specific prehistoric linguistic families (i.e. Indo-European) the place names are the most conservative witnesses of the origins of languages, preserving remote (possibly prehistoric) roots generally fertile – over the millennia – in the naming process (not only in toponymy, but also in the general lexicon). This study would like to verify if the nature of linguistic fossils or relics (very peculiar, because, unlike fossils, generally linguistically productive) of toponymic roots can be ascribed also to the Austronesian place names, in particular in the coastal areas, very useful in order to evaluate a) the linguistic change in presence of settlement dynamics and population movements and b) the possible conservatism of place names despite ethnic changes. In the first case, we would witness an irregular and specific, case-by-case, development of languages and onomastic indicators, in the second we would be able to go back to the origins of a language also in the absence of historical documentation showing changes in populations. The comparison will be produced on the basis of a careful evaluation of historical semantics, historical geography, and landscape archaeology (the links between a place name and the features of the landscape and human settlements where the place is located) and, through the use of the current available documentation, it will allow confirming or denying the etymological (toponymic) reconstructions so far produced. The paper will be a pilot study, able to open a new path in the study of historical toponomastics in the Austronesian areas.
3-9 Landscapes in Saaroa: A mountain divided
Paula A. Radetzky and William S. Ayres
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This paper addresses landscape concepts as expressed in the Saaroa language (Austronesian, southern Taiwan). Specifically, we interpret terminology for landscape structural components and place names as evidence of the Saaroa approach to landscape definition. The Saaroa area represents a location where speakers of Austronesian languages replaced earlier non-Austronesian speakers; however, the time depth of this makes linguistic reconstruction of earlier landscape systems unlikely. Still, the examination of extant Saaroa terms for delineating major components of mountain terrain, including its riverine systems, provides an avenue for inferring a landscape system that emphasized topographically-differentiated resource distribution. In addition, the examination of Saaroa place names (proper nouns) allows us to place aspects of oral history into the landscape. Our data offer insight into how the kind of heavily dissected natural landforms common in Taiwan and elsewhere in Southeast Asia were conceptually organized.

3-10 Austronesian words in the Malagasy landscape
Chantal Radimilahy, Narivelo Rajaonarimananana, and Jean-Aimé Rakotoarisoa
INALCO Paris

Madagascar is considered as a marker of far western expansion of Austronesian world. Also, Malagasy language is composed mostly of words of Austronesian origin. Currently, we find these words or their derivatives in current vocabulary.

Much work has already been published by various authors on Malagasy connection with Austronesian languages, especially Indonesian language. (O. Dahl, A. Adelaar, Kukusawa R., Beaujard, P.,Robert Blust)

Our contribution will aim to give an overview of Austronesian words still used to name landscape and spatial organization of Madagascar. Here are some examples.

The Indonesian word *Laut* has given the Malagasy word *Antalaotra* (or *Antalaotse*) which means a group of population coming from the sea. One of Madagascar largest lake is named *Alaotra*.17

The Austronesian word Kuala can be found in many place names in Malagasy Ankoala and often means a place at a confluence of rivers.

Along the eastern coast of Madagascar waterway of about 700 km was built along the marine sand dunes to keep away from strong sea waves. This is named *Pangalana*, or *Pankalana*. This term would be closerd to Malay word *Pang Kalan*.

In the Madagascar landscape bear several types of megalithic monuments whose generic name is *Vato* obviously derived from the word Austronesian *Batu*.

We have discovered some Malagasy geographical terms related to Austronesian origin but not mentioned or identified by specialists yet.

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17 Malagasy O is pronounced OR. U Austronesian word is replaced with an O in Malagasy.
3-11 Place-names in Yattuka and Tuwali Ifugao hudhud ni nosi/hudhud di nate
funeral chant

Maria V. Stanyukovich
Russian Academy of Science

_Hudhud-shaped_ funeral chants are performed in a small number of municipalities in the Central and Southern parts of the Ifugao province of Northern Luzon by several local groups of Ifugao and Kalanguya/Kallahan speakers. They demonstrate general unity in melody, poetic structure and shared poetic language (although the proper language of the song is either Tuwali Ifugao or Yattuka Kalanguya/Kallahan), as well as in pragmatics (the function of bringing the soul to the abode of the dead). There is however a drastic difference in contents which results in completely different toponymy of the chants.

In Tuwali Ifugao-speaking part of the hudhud-singing area, from where all the samples of published hudhud texts (Lambrecht 1957, 1960, 1961, 1967; Daguio 1983) come so far, ‘ordinary’ epics treating about heroic exploits of the hero are sung at the funerals. Here funeral chants do not differ from other hudhud genres in respect of toponyms. Some of those place names are enlisted in the dictionaries (Hohulin 2014). Gonhadan and Hananga are most stable, usually being the names of the home village of the main hero, Aliguyun, and his adversary.

Within this frame, level of variability of hudhud toponyms is very high. E.g., lists of place names in two funeral Tuwali Ifugao chants, recorded within a short span of time by L. Dulawan and N. Revel (Aliguyon nak Binenwahen, taped in Kiangan) and Bugan nak Pangaivan, taped in Lagawe) have only one toponym - Makawayan – in common. AnB: Ananayu, Dayuden, Dulnu(w)an, Hallula, Madadyong, Makawayan, Nabayung, Nanganudan, Nauyahan (Dulawan, Revel 1993); BnP: Bay(y)ongbong/Bayombong, Gonhadan, Hulbaken, Hulnagen, Lumingaling, Makawayan, Nalawdan, Numbintuwan, Udungo (Dulawan, Revel 1997). Dulnu(w)an can be used as a place name in one hudhud sample and as a personal name in the other.

The first step towards making a formalized paradigm for description of hudhud epics on an onomastics level was made in (Stanyukovich 2008).

The Yattuka hudhud-shaped funeral chants, _hudhud ni nosi_, as well as those of the second burial, _hudhud ni bogwa_, recorded by the author during genuine rituals, demonstrate a completely different system of toponymy. Asipulo chanters literally trace the path of the soul from the household where the ritual is performed to the Nambawang - place at the confluence of rivers where the soul of the dead falls down from the rock into a river that will bring her to the Kadungayan – the abode of the dead (Stanyukovich1998, 2003, 2013). Dealing first with real local micro geography, the soloist, helped by the chorus, leads the soul of the deceased from one sitio to another, replacing the ordinary names with coded metaphorical substitutes. Amduntug, the municipal center of Asipulo, gets the coded poetic name _Monigsiging Monigchibangkig_ – “like a mountain leaning to another mountain”, whereas its smaller units, sitios Agaban and Gissigid, come under the names of _Ulidititaan_ , ‘place for having a rest’, and _Hinlalangiit_ , ‘refreshing’, “because it is very windy in Gissigid”. Once the singer brings the soul outside the well-known local geography, the chant leaps through less known (and important) territory towards _Nambawang_, a poetic ritual name for a real place of confluence of rivers in Lamut municipality– and then leaves the soul float downstream to mythological _Kadungayan_.

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Panel 4 Study of Indic scripts used in the Austronesian languages of Southeast Asia
Michael Raymon M. Pangilinan
Aguman Sulat Kapampangan, Philippines

The study of local Indic scripts used to represent several Austronesian languages has always been on the periphery of Austronesian linguistics. Scripts are the tangible historical representations of these languages. The study of their relationships and spread across Southeast Asia would reveal the historical relationships of several ethnic groups within the region and the historical relationships of their languages. Many of these scripts are currently endangered and are rapidly losing their relevance in modern society. A panel is therefore proposed to put these scripts into focus and possibly advance their study and discuss issues and topics regarding their origins, history, evolution, relationships, innovations, endangerment and revival.

4-1 Philippine indigenous writing systems in the modern world
Norman delos Santos

There is a current revitalization of the baybayin script and related precolonial indigenous writing systems of the Philippine archipelago. This is due in part to modern communications technology; particularly the increased availability of personal computers and cheaper access to the Internet. When the Philippine masses discovered the few scholarly websites dedicated to baybayin, enthusiasm spread out about their "newly found" heritage. However, even though the awareness of baybayin script is currently on the rise, it remains vulnerable and in danger of misrepresentation and uncontrolled dissemination of faulty data. Those who recently learned about the script find it inadequate for the modern Filipino language and want to modify it to adapt to the myriad of modern lexicon and borrowed foreign words. Special interest and political groups with hidden agendas are proposing myopic bills into law that may aggrandize the Tagalog variant of baybayin over other indigenous variants of the script, particularly the thriving script of the Mangyan. If it doesn’t get immediate support from officially recognized standardization, proper publication & documentation, practical everyday utility, and correct & responsible public exposure, the intrinsic character of this writing system may not survive the next generation. The future of Philippine abugida script is still in question. What has been done to preserve it, what is being done to revive it, can it adapt to modern Filipino languages, and how can technology & standardization help it sustain its character? The answers to these issues (and more) will determine the fate of baybayin script.

4-2 Writing in South Sulawesi: The pros and cons of ‘deficient’ scripts
Anthony Jukes
La Trobe University

South Sulawesi in Indonesia has two locally-derived Indic scripts - one was once used to write the Makasar language, and another is still in marginal use to write Bugis, Makasar, and Mandar languages. Both share the 'deficiency' of not representing syllable codas, which can add significantly to the difficulty in reading them. This paper will discuss the scripts and their advantages and disadvantages, and will argue that a cultural expectation that reading need not be easy has contributed to the relative failure of reform proposals.
4-3 Localisation and dissemination of the Southeast Asian surat scripts

Uli Kozok
University of Hawai‘i

It has long been known that the surat scripts of island Southeast Asia (Sumatra, Sulawesi, and the Philippines) are part of the larger family of Indic scripts. The presentation will show how the surat scripts underwent radical changes in the attempt to create scripts that are easy to master and in many cases perfectly adopted to the sound system of the languages they represent. The ease of use in combination with the relevance of the script in courtship rituals resulted in high literacy rates in all areas where the surat scripts were used.

Besides focusing on the localisation and dissemination of the surat scripts, this presentation will also provide new evidence for the co-existence of two Indic scripts in Sumatra (the kawi and the surat scripts), and new evidence how the surat scripts developed out of the Sumatran kawi scripts.

4-4 Regularities in chirographic structure and shared orthographic practices of the Indic scripts of Sumatra, Sulawesi and the Philippines

Christopher Miller

This presentation proposes a new account of the origins and relationships of Indic scripts indigenous to the Philippines, southern Sulawesi (with Sumbawa and Flores) and Sumatra. The data on which the theory is based come from several newly exploited original sources for the Philippines and for Devanagari, Gujarati and related scripts in India, as well as the work of earlier generations of researchers, including some little-known early Dutch sources describing scripts of Sumatra.

4-5 Kambal Siuálâ (‘twin vowels’): Properly representing the Kapampángan language in the Kulitan script

Michael Raymon M. Pangilinan
Aguman Sulat Kapampangan, Philippines

The Kapampángan language contains many words that are spelled the same way but pronounced differently when written in the Roman script, for instance MASÁKIT (adj.) ‘painful,’ MASÁKIT (adj.) ‘difficult’ and MÁSAKIT (n.) ‘a sick person.’ Their difference is indicated by diacritical marks that denote stress or accents. Due to the influence of English and Filipino orthography that make no of use diacritical marks in denoting stress or accents, Kapampángan writers also stopped using them when writing their language in the Roman script. Despite the context, Kapampángan words are often misread without the necessary diacritical marks.

In the indigenous Kapampangan script KULITAN however, no two words is spelled in exactly the same way. The lengthening of the vowel sounds and final glottal stops, the stresses and accents in the Kapampangan language, are immediately evident at a glance due to the spelling convention known as KAMBAL SIUÁLÁ ‘twin vowels’. Unlike the Roman script, KULITAN seems to have been designed to correctly represent sounds of the Kapampángan language. This paper aims to discuss the use of the KAMBAL SIUÁLÁ and demonstrate the limits of the Roman script in representing the Kapampángan language.
4-6 Sontera Jontal: A script used in the Sumbawa district of Eastern Indonesia

Asako Shiohara
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Sontera Jontal is script attested in the Sumbawa district, the NTB province, Indonesia. This is a variant of Bugis/ Makassar script (Aksar Lontaraq) in the south Sulawesi. This paper will present several remarkable changes and innovations from its parent script, Aksara Lontaraq, as well as the recent government initiative to revive it.
Satellite event: New advances in Taiwan indigenous language revitalization

Retrospect and prospects of governmental work on indigenous language revitalization in Taiwan

Wen-long Chiu
Council of Indigenous Peoples

Taiwan has always been a dynamic society with various races, languages and cultures. In the past 100 years, though, language policies have been promulgated by different governments. After the Japanese as an official language for about fifty years, the domination of Mandarin Chinese for the past seventy years has led indigenous languages into the brink of extinction.

The Council of Indigenous Peoples was founded in December 1996. As the central government organization dedicated to indigenous affairs, it has driven a number of regulations on indigenous languages, promoting both language preservation and revitalization. In this talk, I will first talk of personal experiences regarding the last 16 years, then provide an assessment on CIP policies and projects and mains ideas behind language revitalization policies. Finally, I will discuss the prospects of language revitalization.

My talk will be divided into four parts, reflecting the four-stage policy of adopted by the Council of Indigenous Peoples. The first stage began in 1999 as the first governmental policy was initiated, with the “indigenous culture revitalization” project (1999-2004). The second stage was triggered by the UNESCO “international mother language day”, which is being held on February 21 every year. At this stage, the “indigenous language proficiency policy” was launched, followed by the very first proficiency tests. The third stage was the “six year project on indigenous language revitalization, phase 1 (2008-2013)”. The fourth stage is still under progress and is called the “six year project on indigenous language revitalization, phase 2 (2014-2019)”.

Historiography of language policies: A case study of the indigenous language proficiency tests

Haisul Palalavi
Indigenous Languages Research and Development Center

In the 1990’s, along with the nativization movement and the rising of indigenous awareness, the government began to focus on indigenous languages, and gradually instituted preservation and revitalization policies. 2001 was a pivotal year for indigenous language policies. First, indigenous language courses were designed as compulsory in primary schools. Second, indigenous proficiency tests were initiated. Third, the use of native languages within the family circle and the tribe sphere was promoted. Of these three policies, the implementation of the indigenous proficiency tests has played a crucial role in the language revitalization movement in Taiwan.

Up to 2015, the indigenous proficiency tests (student competence tests excluded) have been held ten times up, in 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2014. In addition to the proficiency tests, another type of examination was devised mainly for testing students’ cultural and language competency. This competency test has been held nine times, from 2007 to 2013. Beginning from 2014, a new scale certificate was launched, incorporating the two tests mentioned above into one sort of examination.

In this talk, I will provide an overview and an assessment of the indigenous proficiency tests.
Indigenous language teaching in Taiwan: From preschool to university

Hong-ming Po

Indigenous language teaching can be traced back to 1990s at the New Taipei Municipal Wulai Elementary and Junior High Schools. In 2001, Indigenous language teaching was included in the grade 1-9 curriculum guidelines. Courses were carried out in elementary schools one hour a week. As for high schools, courses were running as alternative courses or at students’ clubs. In addition to school courses, a language nest project (equivalent to ‘Kohanga Reo’ in New Zealand) was also held by Indigenous People Commission, Taipei City Government during weekends. In 2004, a regional indigenous language teaching assistant selection policy was proposed by the education department at the New Taipei City Government. This policy not only solved the problems of recruiting indigenous language teachers, but also reduced the commuting difficulty teaching assistants faced and increased total teaching hours. Most of all, it ensured the indigenous students’ right to learn their native languages. In 2006, the “Native language instructor regulation” was promulgated by the Ministry of Education. According to the number of schools in each county, 1-4 native language instructors started to be employed through selection, appointment, and transference from the consultants of Min, Hakka, and indigenous languages in each county. They are in charge of supervising and evaluating each school, and helping and improving the quality of native languages teaching. In 2008, the first stage of language revitalization project was proposed by the Council of Indigenous Peoples. The language nest project was expanded as a nationwide project. 260 classes are held each year. A total number of students attending the classes is up to 4000. In 2010, a summer camp for indigenous languages teaching was held by the Indigenous People Department, New Taipei City Government, hoping to adopt immersion program and form a short-term language camp. Moreover, training courses of language teaching and content were also provided to improve instructional system. A voluntary learning community of innovative teaching was also formed to encourage a bottom-up union of indigenous language teachers. In 2014, a language-immersion preschool program was launched by the Council of Indigenous Peoples, hoping to create an appropriate environment for preschoolers to acquire their native languages. Meanwhile, indigenous languages were also taught as second languages. Experimental classes were held at students’ clubs for indigenous cultures at NTU, NCCU, FJU, and so on. The development of indigenous language teaching in Taiwan has established an integrated system, expanding from preschools to universities, from inside to outside the governmental system, and from required to voluntary. It is thus moving toward a voluntarily, organizational, systematic, and professional system. The goal of this presentation will give to provide an overview of the progress made in the past twenty years or so in indigenous language teaching in Taiwan.

Indigenous mobile museum in Taipei, Taiwan

Sukudi Martukaw

In 2001, indigenous language teaching was included in the grade 1-9 curriculum guidelines and aboriginal research centers were created in different counties and cities by the Ministry of Education and the Council of Indigenous Peoples. In 2014, teachers of the Taipei indigenous language teachers’ association started a mobile exhibition activities that was well received among indigenous teachers. This led to the establishment of an indigenous mobile museum in Taipei in March 2015, which I will discuss in this talk.
Community-based language revitalization in Saisiyat
Ching Chu Gao
Donghe Elementary School

Listed in 2009 in the UNESCO Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger, Saisiyat was described as a “severely endangered language”. Since 2012, the Council of the Indigenous Peoples has instituted financial aids to projects to help preserve and revitalize severely endangered languages since 2012. In different ethnic tribes, indigenous peoples have started to participate actively in these projects, which are carried out with the aim to raise language awareness and language preservation, and re-intice the habit of speaking indigenous languages to younger generations. In order to carry these projects, lexical flash cards, picture books, pocket editions and thematic dictionaries were designed and distributed at no charge; slogans encouraging everyone to speak their languages were shown in the villages. In 2014, the 4th-scale proficiency test was launched, drawing a great number of indigenous people who do not just want to evaluate their language competency, but also want to join the indigenous languages’ teaching task force. Along with these projects, there have been an influx of language courses and cultural activities, among others on Saisiyat. An Indigenous Community College was established in Wufeng township, Hsinchu county and in Nanchuang and Toufen townships in Miaoli county that provides a variety of traditional activities. This paper provides an overview of the preserving and revitalization measures that have been taken in recent years in the Saisiyat tribe.

Reference

kai na kacalisiyan : Report on the current situation of indigenous languages in Taiwan
Yedda Palemeq
Indigenous Languages Research and Development Center

Until May 2015, registered indigenous population reached 542,460, occupying 2.3% of Taiwan’s total number at 23.37 million; 55% of them live in indigenous regions, while 45% have moved to urban areas. Official statistics tell Taiwan’s indigenous peoples speak sixteen languages, which branch into 42 language varieties or dialects, exclusive of plains aborigines and languages such as Siraya, Pazih or Kahabu.

According to 2005, 2012 and 2014 indigenous languages surveys commissioned by Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP), the fluency, use and transmission of indigenous languages in Taiwan are low. Even with the establishment of CIP in 1996 and the various language revitalization policies it has been launching since, indigenous languages continue to show signs of vulnerability and extinction under the UNESCO standard, despite rescuing efforts from nongovernmental organizations such as churches.

This report seeks to show through the intricacy of history, language policies and language contact how indigenous languages come from being dominant to minor as mirrored by vocabulary choice and attitude. It will also show how such changes create a type of ambivalence among native speakers that every revitalization work should take the first notice of in order to be successful.

18 Part of this abstract is based on Chu (In press).
Preliminary results of a community-based language revitalization initiative in Truku Seediq

Apay Ai-yu Tang
National Dong Hwa University

This paper provides a deeper understanding of the youths’ experiences of participating in this language revitalization project in an indigenous setting. Emerging from a community-based language revitalization initiative that is part of a micro-level language planning project in a Truku Seediq community, this study explores whether the community-based language revitalization initiative has contributed to the goal of stemming further indigenous language erosion at this critical point in the ongoing process of language shift. The project centers on five activities: (i) community theater and interviews, (ii) culture-based and domain-oriented weekly language classes, (iii) a master-apprentice program, (iv) language documentation and archiving, and (v) university-community partnerships. Examples of different ways to present data from surveys, questionnaires, focus group interviews, and observations are included in this report. The results of the study show the significance of motivation and suggest four main factors that can contribute to maintaining youths’ motivation for learning an endangered language: a strong sense of holistic identity, a culturally-based and domain-oriented language curriculum, an affective and relational language learning environment, and the positioning of the youth as crucial agents of the community-based language revitalization initiative.

Screening of Tongues of Heaven

Anita Wen-Shin Chang

Tongues of Heaven (60 mins., Taiwan/US, 2013) is the latest film by Anita Wen-Shin Chang. Set in Taiwan and Hawai'i, territories where languages of the Austronesian family are spoken, this experimental documentary focuses on the questions, desires and challenges of young indigenous peoples to learn the languages of their forebears—languages that are endangered or facing extinction. Using digital video as the primary medium of expression, four young indigenous women from divergent backgrounds together collaborate and exchange ideas to consider the impact of language on identity and culture. With 96% of the world’s population speaking only 4% of the world’s languages, what does it mean to speak your mother tongue in this age of language homogenization? As part of the production process, emerging filmmakers An-Chi Chen, Leivallyn Kainoa Kaupu, Monica Hau'oli Waiau and Shin-Lan Yu participated in intensive videomaking workshops with independent filmmaker Anita Chang. After the workshop exercises, the women, with camera in hand, ask themselves, their families and peers questions—one of which is, “What do you lose when you lose your native language?” During a culminating workshop, collaborators met in Hawai'i to share their footage, insights, and concerns regarding the challenges of revitalizing their languages and ultimately their own relationship to their heritage languages.
The wings of the Takasago Giyutai

Futuru C.L. Tsai
National Taitung University

The Takasago Giyutai was a group of Taiwan indigenous young men who were conscripted by the Japanese colonial government during 1942-1943 in Taiwan. They were sent to the pacific war battle fields to fight for Japanese military force. Most of the members of the Giyutai were KIA in the battle fields. After almost 70 years later, a team including an anthropologist, an artist, a camera man, and a family member of a KIA Giyutai member went back to Papua New Guinea, according to a Taiwan indigenous legend which says that the soul of the dead person will return home through the wings of a certain bird. The team went to the battle field in Papua New Guinea to create a monument "The wings for the Takasago Giyutai" invoking the spirits of the Takasago Giyutai to return home.

Editing of the Puyuma-English dictionary

Josiane Cauquelin
LAPEMA-CNRS

In this talk, I will discuss how I edited the Puyuma-English dictionary (Cauquelin 2015). This book represents data collected over many years of hearing and speaking the Nanwang Puyuma dialect spoken in the southeastern part of Taiwan with an emphasis on the sorts of intimate details of everyday (and night) speech not ordinarily accessible to outsiders. In particular, I will focus on different aspects (obsolete forms, ritual forms etc.) in order to illustrate the lexical richness of this language.

References

Constructing a Yami online audiovisual dictionary

1Hui-huan Ann Chang, 1Victoria Rau, and 2Maa-neu Dong
1National Chung Cheng University and 2National Museum of Science

Applying modern information technologies to audio documentation and conservation of endangered languages is now one of the most urgent missions in documentary linguistics. The purpose of this paper is to introduce how the Yami research team applied two essential features of Lexique Pro, <Export as Web Page> and <Distribute Lexicon>, to create audiovisual supplementary material for the forthcoming publication The Teacher’s Grammar of Yami. This paper describes how to construct both personal and online versions of audio entries, as well as example sentences pertaining to the book. Not only does it offer reusable documentary records of linguistic data, but the language resources can also be openly shared with a wider audience. We are going to discuss (1) how to select suitable audio equipment for the highest possible quality recording of speech, (2) how to use a digital audio editor to edit sound recording, and (3) how to edit the audio data and integrate them with the text to construct an online audio dictionary (learning material). These procedures will offer an example of best practices for documenting endangered languages.
Development of online systems for indigenous language revitalization

Yuyang Liu
University of Taipei

In the past few years, governmental agencies, scholars and indigenous natives have worked together for the preservation and revitalization of the Formosan languages. There are different ways and methods to preserve languages, among others, digitalization, one of the most popular ways, due to the accessibility of the internet. I have been involved in digitalization work and helped developed: (i) an online dictionary of Atayal, (ii) a video archive and (iii) a picture book archive, which I will present in turn in this talk. The Atayal dictionary is an online system based solely on texts and scripts. It was developed so that it provides accurate information which can be cross-referenced and is accessible for people who understand little Atayal but want to learn this language from such an enormous database, rather than just look up at words and phrases. The video archive basically consists of videos and audio data. Sharing videos rapidly, adding correct and consistent captions and transferring them to other readable materials are the key concepts of this archive. The picture book archive is an online system based on picture books. By translating stories in different languages, it is easy to share and read them online and we can also solve publication problems since there are many indigenous languages with still very small amount of publications. These three systems are part of a broader enterprise. I will show how we can integrate these systems by combining more information from the internet in the future.
## Organizers

**List of steering committee members**

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### Keynotes and general sessions chairs

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