# 11·ICAL

## Eleventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics

## *Onzième Conférence Internationale de Linguistique Austronésienne*

*Aussois, France*

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# RESUMES

# ABSTRACTS

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# *11·ICAL*

# ELEVENTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

# ON AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS

**Aussois, 22-26 June 2009**

http://www.vjf.cnrs.fr/11ical

The Organising Committee of *11·ICAL* is happy to present today as many as 140 different presentations, all dealing with various aspects of language or linguistics among Austronesian languages.

The present volume contains the abstracts of all these presentations, ranked by alphabetical order of their first author. Many of the presentations will be distributed into seven panels. While the titles and programmes of these panels appear in the last section of the book (p.131), the abstracts of individual papers are to be found in the main section. The three keynote presentations form a separate section, at the beginning of this volume.

We wish all the participants a pleasant and fruitful conference.

The *11·ICAL* Organising Committee

(Laurent Sagart, Isabelle Bril, Alexandre François)

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A. François

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## The Greater North Borneo hypothesis

### Prof. Robert BLUST

University of Hawai'i

A North Sarawak subgroup of Austronesian languages has been recognized, initially under the name 'West Borneo', since Blust (1969). In addition, the claim that North Sarawak forms part of a larger 'North Borneo' group which includes the indigenous languages of Sabah has been in circulation since Blust (1974). Surprisingly, this proposal has been largely ignored in broader discussions of Austronesian subgrouping, which sometimes stress the absence of well-established large subgroups in western Indonesia. A number of lexical innovations suggest that the North Borneo subgroup is part of a still larger collection of languages that encompasses most of Borneo, as well as the Malayo-Chamic (or Malayo-Sumbawan) languages, spoken elsewhere in western Indonesia and on the Asian mainland. It is proposed that the name 'Greater North Borneo' be used to designate this wider group.

## Prosodic Phrasing in western Austronesian languages

### Prof. Nikolaus HIMMELMANN

Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster

Recent work on the prosodic systems of a number of western Austronesian languages, including varieties of Malay, Javanese, Totoli, and Waima'a, is beginning to unravel systems of prosodic organization which resemble French in important regards but differ significantly from the better-known prosodic systems of other major European languages. Using data from Totoli and Waima'a as the main examples, this paper will illustrate some major features of these systems. The focus will be on the principles for organizing intonation units into

smaller, phrase-level units called intermediate phrases. While many (all?) western Austronesian languages appear to make use of prosodically marked phrases of this type, they differ significantly with regard to the frequency with which this phrasing option is used and the parameters governing the segmentation of intonation units into intermediate phrases. In Totoli, for example, subjects are regularly phrased in an intermediate phrase of their own, even if pronominal, while in the other languages investigated arguments represented by a pronoun tend to be phrased with the verb, regardless of syntactic function.

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# Hide and Seek in the Deer's Trap:
## Language Concealment and Linguistic Camouflage in Timor Leste

**Dr Aone VAN ENGELENHOVEN**

Leiden University

This contribution discusses the original language of East Timor's easternmost sub district Tutuala. Its speakers do not have a name for their language nor for their own ethnic identity. Nowadays, all inhabitants speak Fataluku, 'the correct speech', a non-Austronesian language of which the introduction in the region was only completed in the 1960's.

Their original language became known in the literature through its Fataluku exonym Lovaia epulu 'language of the Civet Cat's Oil' (Lovaia epulu). The location called Lovaia later became known as the 'Deer's Trap' (Porlamanu) of which the inhabitants were referred to in Fataluku as Makuva 'idiots'.

This paper intends to provide an anthropological linguistic insight in the strategies with which speakers attempt to safeguard their language from extinction in a society that only acknowledges one 'correct speech'.

# Javanese –*aké* and –*akən*: a short history

## Dr Alexander ADELAAR

University of Melbourne

In this paper I present evidence from various Javanese dialects to show that the standard Javanese suffixes –*aké* and –*akən* have only recently become part of the Javanese morpheme inventory and have replaced an earlier transitive suffix *-(ʔ)ən. This contradicts to some extent the Proto Austronesian morphosyntax proposed by Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982), which is based, among others, on the existence of *i and *akən (as prepositions if not as suffixes) adding definiteness to certain non-actants and raising them to direct object position. It also gives a new perspective on the position of Old Javanese in the classification of Javanese dialects: this is most likely not a direct predecessor of standard Javanese but a sister dialect.

This presentation is part of the panel
**Reconstruction of PAn morpho-syntax and implications for the An settlement on Taiwan**
organised by
**John Wolff and Daniel Kaufman**

# Extreme Analyticity and Complexity in Argument Realisations: Evidence from the Austronesian Languages of Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia

**Dr I Wayan ARKA**

Australian National University

This paper will explore the question whether there is a positive correlation between extreme analyticity and radical simplification of grammar, with special focus on multiple argument realisations. Multiplicity of argument realisations can be thought of as an indicator of grammatical complexity. I propose that multiplicity of argument realizations be measured horizontally and vertically. A horizontally complex argument realization system is the one where more than one coding strategy is involved, e.g. verbal morphology plus a fixed structural position and/or case marking on the argument. A vertically complex argument realisation system is the one which allows more than one possibility of 'linking' semantic role arguments to surface grammatical functions, e.g. the A argument of a transitive verb can alternatively surface as grammatical subject or oblique.

The discussion in this paper is based on fresh fieldwork-based data on Flores languages and is set in a broader regional context of the languages of Nusa Tenggara Indonesia. I will argue that complete reduction in verbal coding resources is not always followed by complete simplification in argument realisation systems. That is, there is no 4 correlation between the complexity of horizontal argument realisations and the complexity of vertical argument realisations. Extremely isolating languages of central Flores show a radically simplified horizontal argument realisation system but not all of them exhibit simple vertical argument realisation systems. Rongga (Arka, Kosmas, and Suparsa 2007) and also Manggarai (Arka and Kosmas 2005; Semiun 1993) have grammatical subject and exhibit a passive. As in other Austronesian languages which show a unique privileged subject NP (e.g. Balinese and standard Indonesian), only subject can be relativised in these languages (examples from Rongga in (1)). They can be classified as exhibiting complex vertical argument realisation systems.

Other languages to the east in Flores, e.g. Keo (Baird 2002), Palu'e (Donohue 2005), Endenese, Sikka (Sedeng 2000) and Lamaholot (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007; Japa 2000) show different characteristics. Keo and Endenese are like Rongga in that they are highly isolating but, unlike Rongga, they show no clear evidence of vertically complex argument realisation systems. The grammatical constraint of a unique privileged subject function appears to have diminishing or completely lost. For example, the Actor (or logical subject) argument of a transitive verb in Endenese has a fixed (preverbal) position, and has no alternative Oblique post-verbal PP realisation (as found in Rongga). When absent, the Actor is understood as a generic zero pronoun (example (3c)). The 'logical' object can be relativised and clefted (using the same marker *ata*, glossed as REL in (3)). This relaxation of subject constraint is also observed in Sasak (Austin 2001; Shibatani 2007).

Languages of eastern Flores (Sikka, Muhang and Lamaholot) show horizontally complex argument realisations with certain verbs having pronominal agreement. Muhang and Lamaholot are more complex than Sikka in this respect, e.g. existence of co-occurrence of prefix and suffix agreement on the verb in Muhang, examples (4). Agreement morphology is, however, not part of vertically complex argument realisation systems in these languages because the agreement typically expresses a fixed linking of semantic roles (e.g. encoding an actor), often with certain additional aspectual meaning. Passive-like meanings are typically encoded by constructional/ analytical means in Flores languages, e.g. using verbs 'get' as in Muhang (example (5)). Implications of the findings will be discussed in terms of the typology of (Austronesian) argument realisations, theory of grammatical relations, and patterns of past dispersal and contacts, particularly in central Flores.

**Data**

(1)     Passivisation in Rongga:

a.     *Ardi   ponga  ana    ndau.*                   b.  *Ana   ndau  pongga  ne   Ardi.*
       Ardi    hit    child   that                       child  that  hit      by   Ardi
       'Ardi hit the child.'                             'The child was hit by Ardi.'

(2)     Relativisation in Rongga:

a.     *\*Ana [ata  Ardi   pongga  __]    ndau  bhako    ja'o.*
       child  REL   Ardi   hit             that  nephew   1s
       'The child that Ardi hit is my nephew.'

b.     *Ana [ata   pongga   ne  Ardi]   ndau  bhako    ja'o*
       child  REL   hit       by  Ardi    that  nephew   1s
       'The child who was hit by Ardi is my nephew.'

(3)     Cleft in Endenese:

a.     *ja'o  iva   e          kau*              b.  *kau  ata  ja'o  iva   e*
       1s    NEG   remember   2s                    2    REL  1s    NEG   remember
       'I don't remember you.'                       'It is you that I don't remember.'

c.     *kau  ata    __      iva   e*
       2    REL            NEG   remember
       'It is you that people don't remember.'

(4)     Verbal agreement in Muhang:

a.     *Go' k-awa-hak'*          b. *na  n-awa-ha'*          c. *tité    t-awa-hat*
       1s   1s-lie.down-1s          3s  3s-lie.down-3s          1p.i   1p.i-lie.down-1p.i
       'I'm lying down.'           'S/he is lying down.'        'We (incl) are lying down.'

(5) a. Ali boŋol a:naʔ e:teʔen     b. A:naʔ e:teʔen teka boŋol i:a Ali
     Ali hit child that        child that get hit LOC A
     'Ali hit the child.'        'Ali got hit by Ali.'

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> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Isolating Austronesian Languages***
> organised by
> **David Gil and John McWhorter**

# Attrition of voice morphology and fronted content questions in the AN languages of Nusa Tenggara

**Dr I Wayan ARKA**

Australian National University

This paper will investigate the complex syntactic and pragmatic constraints of fronted content questions. It will argue that the nasal (voice) prefix functionally expresses the speaker's intention to draw the addressee's attention towards the Actor argument. In certain languages, the Actor argument must also be the grammatical subject. It will be argued that this syntactic requirement is independent of the verbal (nasal) marking. It is therefore expected that in languages where the nasal prefix has been lost, the pragmatically salient argument must still be grammatical subject and that, in languages where the prefix is still present, the link between this prefix and subject status may be diminishing. It will be demonstrated that both expectations are confirmed in the Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara.

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***The Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara:***
> ***Morphological attrition and voice***
> organised by
> **Masayoshi Shibatani**

# The effect of Bikol-Legazpi intonation on the English intonation of Bikol-Legazpenos

**René RAPOSON**

**Geraldine REGINALDO**
Bicol University, Legazpi, Philippines

The study attempted to measure the effect of Bicol-Legazpi intonation on the English intonation of native Bicol Legazpenos. Specifically, it tried to answer the questions:

- ‣ 1. What are the Bicol-Legazpi intonation patterns?
- ‣ 2. What is the extent of the negative transfer of the students' Bicol-Legazpi intonation to their English intonation?

› 3. What is the closeness of the English intonation of Bicol-Legazpenos to the American-English intonation?

Selected 15 students of Bicol University College of Education SY 2008-2009 who are native speakers of Bikol-Legazpi and who have taken American-English subjects for approximately 15 years were the participants in the study. They were asked to read a set of WH and Yes/No questions in Bicol-Legazpi and their English translation. This was recorded and the recording, transferred to a computer, was analyzed using the PRAAT speech software. This software, used for analysis and reconstruction of acoustic speech signals, was developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenik at the Phonetic Sciences Department of the University of Amsterdam.

Segmentation of the utterances was performed by examining the pitch plot. With the pitch contour of the recorded utterances presented through the PRAAT software, the researchers transmitted the intonation pattern.

The researchers found out that the participants used the 2-3-2-1 intonation pattern for Bikol -Legazpi Wh-Questions and 2-3-1-2 for Yes/No Questions. They also found out that there is a profound negative transfer from Bikol -Legazpi to English intonation of Wh-Questions while there is a slight negative transfer in Yes/No Questions. In terms of the closeness of Bicol-Legazpi intonation to American-English intonation, 15 utterances of the 75 Bicol-Legazpi intonation were produced with the American- English intonation. Others produced a combination of the Bicol-Legazpi and American- English intonation patterns. The study aims to help teachers identify students' weak areas in English and develop appropriate exercises to improve their speech production.

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# Ordering pronominal and adverbial clitics in Palawanic languages

**Dr Loren BILLINGS**

National Taiwan University

**Dr Bill DAVIS**

New Tribes Mission

Research on the Greater Central Philippine languages (Blust 1991) has shown that its Central Philippine subgroup mainly shows Light-1st ordering of two pronominal clitics (i.e., monosyllabic appearing first), with adverbial clitics appearing between the two pronouns. By contrast, the Danao and Manobo subgroups overwhelmingly show ordering based on grammatical person. Several Subanen and Palawanic languages (as well as pockets of the aforementioned two subgroups) require Actor-1st ordering, with the GEN Actor preceding the NOM Undergoer. Just a few Palawanic languages—Molbog, Central (Quezon) Palawano, (Aborlan) Tagbanwa, and Central Tagbanwa—show a complex interaction of

Light-1st and Actor-1st ordering. In these languages, Actor-1st ordering is found unless both the following conditions are met: (i) the GEN pronoun is long and (ii) the NOM pronoun attests both short and long variants. If so, then the opposite order is found. This analysis relies on classifying GEN pronouns into long and short based not only on number of syllables but on their order relative to an adverbial clitic: GEN pronouns that precede an adverbial clitic are short; those that follow it are long. As in one Danao language, according to Kaufman (to appear), short/long status must be lexically specified because it is not reducible to inherent prosodic weight. Two additional Palawanic languages also show interesting cluster-external ordering. In Batak the NOM pronoun and the adverbial clitic, but not the GEN pronoun, precede a negated verb. Southwest Palawano requires any adverbial clitic to precede a negated verb, with the only the GEN pronoun preferably doing so.

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> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Pronoun-ordering typology***
> organised by
> **Loren Billings**

# The origin of names for wild fauna in Malagasy

## Dr Roger BLENCH

Kay Williamson Educational Foundation

Madagascar is almost unparalleled in terms of the high degree of endemicity in its fauna and flora. As a consequence, the Austronesian migrants who populated it from the 5th century onwards were compelled to construct an innovative vocabulary to describe animals and plants. The paper identifies the etymological sources of Malagasy faunal names, which are almost entirely from the Bantu languages of the coast rather than from Austronesian. The origins of plant names are less clear, but many are neologisms. The paper speculates on why the original migrants drew so little on their memories of fauna in island SE Asia.

# New Austronesian-Ongan Comparisons

## Prof. Juliette BLEVINS

Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology

Application of the comparative method by Blevins (2007) suggests that Onge and Jarawa, two languages of the Andaman Islands, might be distantly related to Proto-Austronesian. In that paper, Blevins demonstrates a range of regular sound correspondences between Proto-Ongan and Proto-Austronesian, suggests numerous cognate sets, and reconstructs a number of basic vocabulary items for Proto-Austronesian-Ongan. Most of the reconstructions in Blevins (2007) are concrete nouns and verbs, but there are also two pronouns, three bound morphemes, and one numeral. In this paper, new lexical and grammatical material is presented, providing further support for a genetic relationship between Proto-Ongan and Proto-Austronesian. Cognate sets range from new basic vocabulary to plant names, and quantifiers.

# Disjunction and disjunctive markers
# in (mostly) Austronesian languages

## Dr Isabelle BRIL

CNRS, France

This paper will present on-going research on a typology of disjunctive markers and their functions in Austronesian (and some Papuan) languages. The paper will be concerned with the distribution and origin of these morphemes (dedicated conjunctive morphemes, grammaticalised cognitive verbs, polarity particles, particles with illocutionary force, epistemic morphemes, etc.). It will investigate their semantics, in particular the possible distinction between inclusive (and/or) and exclusive disjunction (of the 'either...or' type) or between multiple or dual alternatives (see Korafe). Their distribution and interaction with negative and interrogative morphemes and with affirmative, negative and interrogative alternative clauses (see Malagasy) will be investigated, as well as their various functions: junctive, discursive (as focus or topic markers, see Hoava), or modal (epistemic).

In Korafe (Papuan, Farr 1999: 260), the distinction between inclusive and exclusive disjunction 'or' is marked morphologically; besides, the exclusive *ai* 'or' expresses dual alternatives, while the inclusive *o* 'or' expresses multiple alternatives.

*(1) a.* *Demusi=ri      o,   Evertius    y-arira.*
Demus=COP.AQ   or   Evertius    go.DUR-F.3S.FN
[aq : Indicative assertion, information question]
'Will it be Demus or will Evertius go (too) ?'
(inclusive)

*(1) b.* *Demusi=ri      ai,  Evertius    y-arira.*
Demus=COP.AQ   or   Evertius    go.DUR-F.3S.FN
'Will it be Demus or will Evertius go ?'
(exclusive: either Demus or Evertius )

In Malagasy (Paul 2005), *na* is the all-purpose disjunction marker, while *sa* is reserved for alternative questions.

*(2) a.* *Manorata   na   mamakia   boky.*
write        or   read         book
'Either write or read a book.'

*(2) b.* *Hijanona   ianao     sa   handeha?*
stay        2SG.NOM   or   go
'Will you stay or go?' [Rajemisa-Raolison 1971: 148-149]

In Hoava (Austronesian, Solomon Islands), the disjunction marker *ba* 'or' can have focal, contrastive functions.

*(3) a.* *Va-nahu-a,            va-labe-a            ba  teqe  va-boboko ?*
CAUS-be.sharp-TR.3SG   CAUS-be.flat-TR.3SG   or   cut   CAUS-be.round
'Make it pointed, make it flat or cut it in a round shape ?' (Davis 2003: 265)

*(3) b.* *Kolomao,  mae    goe ?   –  Ao,  mae   ba   rao    ni.*
friend       come   PRO.2SG     yes  come  EMPH  PRO.1SG  DEM
'Friend, have you come? –   Yes, I have *come*.' (Davis 2003: 301)

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# Metathesis in Helong

## Dr John BOWDEN

Department of Linguistics, Division of Society and Environment

Helong is an Austronesian language spoken in the vicinity of Kupang city at the western end of Timor Island. Helong is noteworthy for the fact that it exhibits highly productive methathesis in nearly all its major lexical roots. A number of other languages in the Timor area also exhibit highly productive metathesis. Best known of these are Uab Meto (also known as Dawan and Atoni) and Letinese. Other languages in the area have less productive metathesis but do exhibit the phenomenon nevertheless. Further languages show signs that metathesis was productive in the past but has since been lost. Most work on metathesis in languages of the Timor area has concentrated on the formal properties of metathesis shown by individual languages, but little work has been published on the motivations that drive metathesis in the first place. In this paper I look at both at the formal properties of metathesis and at the functional motivations that drive the phenomenon in Helong providing some comparative notes from neighbouring languages as well.

# Pragmatic functions of the Paiwan voice system in declarative clauses

## Dr Hsiou-chuan Anna CHANG

Tajen University, Taiwan

This paper aims to examine the voice system of Paiwan, a Formosan language, in declarative clauses in terms of definiteness and topicality in order to find out which factor determines the choice of patient argument of Paiwan Actor Voice (AV) verbs and the nominative argument of Non-actor Voice (NAV) verbs. It is found that both kinds of arguments can be either definite or indefinite, which shows that definiteness is not the determining factor for voice choice. We then argue that topicality plays a decisive role in choosing voice constructions. If a non-actor argument is more topical, it will be chosen in preference to the actor to be in nominative case and the construction is thus NAV.

# Vowel length in Saisiyat revisited:
# Evidence from acoustic studies

## Prof. Yueh-chin CHANG

National Tsing Hua University,
Graduate Institute of Linguistic, Hsinchu, Taiwan

Previous studies claim that vowel length is contrastive in Saisiyat, an Austronesian languages spoken in Northern Taiwan. Historically speaking, long vowels are derived from loss of the voiced flap, conventionally transcribed as L (Tsuchida 1964, Li 1978, Yeh 1991, Zeitoun and Wu 2005, Deng 2007, Hsieh 2007). More precisely, Deng (2007) proposes that the following phenomena are motivated by the diachronic loss of L: (1) L loss in onset positon result in i) the occurrence of onsetless syllables and vowel clusters; ii) glide formation; iii) resyllabification and (2) L loss in coda position triggers compensatory lengthening, hence the short vs. long vowel contrast.

The goal of this paper is to investigate the phenomena in question from acoustic perspectives. Our main conclusion is that there is no such vowel length distinction in this language, based on the following findings: i) the impressionistically transcribed "long vowels" in word-medial position are better treated as a single vowel with a rising contour on it, for example, <ra:an> 'road' should be transcribed as [ra$^R$an$^F$]; ii) the so-called word-final long vowels are diphthongized vowels (cf. vowel gliding in English tense vowels). More evidence will be provided in the presentation.

# Reduplication and Intensionality:
# Evidence from the Rukai Progressive and Comparative

## Dr Cheng-fu CHEN

University of Texas at Austin

This paper examines morphological reduplication and its association with semantic intensionality by drawing evidence from Rukai, an Austronesian language spoken in the southern and southeastern parts of Taiwan (Formosan) (Li 1977). It is argued that morphological reduplication on predicates creates intensional contexts for the sentences to be interpreted.

Reduplication applies in the domain of aspect, realized as the progressive, and in comparative constructions. That the resulting sentences are intensional can be seen from the entailment pattern between the reduplicated forms and their non-reduplicated counterparts, especially for predicates of achievements and

accomplishments (Dowty 1979, Parsons 1990, Asher 1992, Landman 1992, Smith 1991, Zucchi 1999). Consider the progressive in (1). Sentences with telic predicates are subject to the entailment pattern such that the progressive forms do not entail the simple counterparts; thus (1b) entails (1a) in the way that when a vehicle was parked, there must be an interval during which the vehicle was being parked, whereas the reverse does not hold. Roughly speaking, the progressive induces a reading of 'irrealis' such that the eventualities in discussion have not been realized, or their final endpoint has not been reached, while they might be realized at some future time (Palmer 2007). Consider the comparative in (2). Like the progressive, the entailment does not go from the reduplicated form (2a) to the simple form (2b) - Given the fact that today is colder than yesterday, it does not follow that today is necessarily cold. By considering the interpretation of the progressive and the comparative forms in Rukai, it is argued that the reduplicated forms bear on intensionality.

(1)     Progressive

   *a.*     *I-a-dengedengere          ka          didiusa.*
        PARK-NFUT-park/PROG   NOM     vehicle
        'The vehicle was/is being parked.'

   *b.*     *I-a-dengere               ka          didiusa.*
        PARK-NFUT-park           NOM     vehicle
        'The vehicle was/is parked.'

(2)     Comparative

   *a.*     *Ma-kekecele          kai          kameane     ku     iya.*
        NFUT-cold/red      today      yesterday
        'Today is colder than yesterday.'

   *b.*     *Ma-kecele     kai          kameane.*
        NFUT-cold      today
        'Today is cold.'

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# Complementation in Amis

## Dr Yi-ting CHEN

Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages

Wu (1995) analyzed fours types of complement clauses (SVC, pivotal, cognition, and utterance) in Amis and ranked all possible structures in a tight-loose continuum correlated by the semantic bond of the matrix verb and the event in the complement clause, and the sentential integration of matrix and complement clauses. Starting from a more syntactic perspective, this study analyzes control, believe-verb, indicative, and direct perception constructions in Amis and proposes that there are two levels of complementation in Amis. That is, basically, Amis complement clauses can be grouped into two categories in the complementation continuum.

This paper finds that there are two possible complementizers, *u* and *a*, in Amis. The embedded verb must be finite if *u* appears. On the other hand, except few examples in the indicative complements, embedded verbs must be unmarked by the other temporal, aspectual, and modal markers (TMA) when a occurs. Additionally, only two types of complement clauses, believe and indicative complements, allow u to appear between the matrix and the complement clauses. On the other hand, embedded verbs of control and direct perception constructions must be marked by an actor voice. Also, *a* is the only C element to appear in control (Chang and Tsai, 2001; Liu, 2003) and direct perception constructions in which their embedded verbs are resistant to be marked by TMA markers. Based on syntactic evidences, this study proposes that complements of believe-verb and indicative construction should be grouped together and they are full CP. On the contrary, control and direct perception constructions are in one group with an infinite inflectional phrase. To conclude, Amis complementation is presented on two extreme sides of continuum without intervals, shown in Figure (1) and compared with English in Figure (2).

Amis is a Formosan language, an Austronesian language, spoken in Taiwan.

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# Espiritu Santo as a linguistic area

## Dr Ross CLARK

University of Auckland

Espiritu Santo is the largest island of Vanuatu, and has, according to Tryon (1976), some twenty-six languages, though the number has been somewhat reduced by Lynch & Crowley (2001). These have been subdivided by previous writers into three groups (Northeast, Northwest, and South), of which the Northeast has been regarded as related to the others only at the pan-Vanuatu level (Tryon). An attempt is made here to show by means of lexical, phonological and grammatical data how the diversity of these languages has been produced for the most part locally rather than by invasion, migration, or contact with outside languages.

# Javanese Dialects and the Typology of Isolating Languages

## Dr Tom CONNERS

Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Jakarta

As a general typological feature, the morphology of the languages of Southeast Asia is often described as typically isolating, that is, independent words are generally monomorphemic. The Austronesian languages are often listed as an exception to this geographical tendency (except perhaps the Chamic languages). Standard Javanese is often thought of as comparatively rich in inflectional morphology, especially in its verbal paradigm which has distinct forms for various applicative, active and passive voices, in addition to indicative and imperative moods, and even a morphologically distinct subjunctive form (under some analyses there are at least 30 distinct verbal markers in standard Javanese (Uhlenbeck 1978) (27 for Ogloblin 2005)). However, in this paper I argue that the pattern found in the 'standard' language (the dialects of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, henceforth Y/S), is actually far more complex than that found in most other dialects of Javanese, and in fact the Y/S dialects have undergone significant complexification. The majority of Javanese dialects displays a much simpler verbal paradigm and in fact has a much stronger tendency towards isolating as opposed to polysynthetic morphology.

Most dialects of Javanese, including Tengger, Banten, Osing, Banyumas, inter alia, have remarkably little inflectional morphology—although they have a good deal of derivational morphology. There is a cline in the in the geographic region

comprising southeast Asia, with the languages of mainland southeast Asia, such as Vietnamese and Thai being almost purely isolating. As one moves east and south into insular Southeast Asia (and on to Papua and Australia) languages tend to become increasingly polysynthetic. The evidence from Javanese dialects actually lends support for this characterization, as they have more complex inflectional morphology than, say, Khmer, but are still remarkably impoverished even when compared to many other Austronesian languages found further east.

Further, I show that many of the affixes which appear on the Javanese verb are in fact optional, and they are not necessary to license the appearance of other arguments in a clause. Both the strong isolating nature and the native simplicity of most Javanese dialects have significant implications for questions of language complexity, here I address specifically the Compensation Hypothesis, arguing that Javanese dialects—as opposed the 'standard' may display greater overall simplicity.

This presentation is part of the panel
***Isolating Austronesian Languages***
organised by
**David Gil and John McWhorter**

# Complexity and complexification in 'standard' Javanese

## Dr Tom CONNERS

Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Jakarta

Javanese, broadly defined, often refers specifically to the dialects of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. This is surely the basis for the language described in almost all grammars and dictionaries of Javanese, both monolingual and bilingual. Throughout the Javanese speaking parts of Indonesia, this is the language which is taught in schools. In this paper, I examine two distinct but related questions. The main focus is to explore the possibility of either an Austronesian or a non-Austronesian substrate lexifier language to Javanese. To do this I will examine a number of lexical items from 'peripheral' Javanese dialects. First, though I will define what is meant by peripheral dialects, and how they show great similarities, though geographically discontiguous.

Based on morphological and phonological evidence, I demonstrate that the Yogyakarta and Surakarta dialects are in fact the most innovative dialects of Javanese. Vowel harmony, vowel raising, and morphosyntactic complexification, which are often thought of as prototypically Javanese, especially in differentiating Javanese from surrounding Austronesian languages, are in fact recent developments which occurred in these central dialects and then spread out

radially. The changes, though have spread out unevenly. The phonological changes are present in the 'standard' East Javanese dialects of Surabaya, Pasuruan, and Malang. However, the morphosyntactic changes are not. In the truly peripheral dialects of Banten, Osing, Tengger, Pesisir Lor, and Banyumas, none of these changes have taken hold.

Among these peripheral dialects are a number of shared lexical items which are not found in the central (and often eastern) 'standard' dialects. This is striking as they are very distant geographically, and in most cases have been separated/isolated for centuries. The evidence seems to point to an earlier substratum language which has now been lost. None of these lexical items appears in Old or Middle Javanese, which were literary languages based around the 'standard' dialects (both Central and East Javanese). Interestingly, many have no Austronesian root reconstructed, and I have not been able to find any cognates. This would indicate, that if in fact there were such a substratum, that it was not Austronesian.

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# True, False and Not-So-Obvious Cognates in Samoan and Hawaiian

## Dr Kenneth William COOK

Hawai'i Pacific University

There are many, perhaps thousands of **true cognates** shared by the Polynesian languages Samoan and Hawaiian. In some cases, the two languages share the exact same word, for example, *inu* 'drink' and *'ai* 'eat'. In other cases, the two words, one in Samoan and the other in Hawaiian, are phonetically and semantically similar: *fale/hale* 'house', *fanua/honua* 'land', *tupuga/kupuna* 'ancestor', *solo/holo* 'slide'. In these cases, most segmental differences can be explained by systematic rules of sound correspondences. There are other cases, however, where metathesis (at times in combination with sound changes and/or semantic drift) disguises the cognation. Examples include Samoan *fa'alavelave* 'important occasion (e.g. birth, wedding or funeral)' and Hawaiian *ho'olewa* 'funeral'; *matagâ* 'ugly' in Samoan and *manakâ* 'boring' in Hawaiian, as well as *ahu* in Samoan and *hou* in Hawaiian, which both mean 'sweat'. There are, however, **false cognates** like *maile*, for example, which means 'dog' in Samoan but refers to a particular "native twining shrub" in Hawaiian. In these cases, there does not seem to be any way to relate the semantics of Samoan *maile* and Hawaiian *maile*.

# Serial Verb Constructions in Northern Subanen

## Dr Josephine DAGUMAN

Applied Linguistics Program at Alliance Graduate School

While serial verb constructions are well documented in Oceanic and Formosan languages, their existence in Austronesian languages spoken in the Philippines is relatively unknown. This paper will present evidence of verb serialisation in Northern Subanen, an Austronesian language spoken in Zamboanga Peninsula in Mindanao, southern Philippines.

The paper will first discuss the properties of serial verb constructions found in Northern Subanen and distinguish them from other multi-verb constructions that likewise occur in the language. Then it will classify the serial verb constructions into three main semantic types, namely: modification, permission and racing. Various subtypes of modification serial verbs will be examined. The paper will end by tracing the grammaticalisation path of one subtype of modification serial verb and by arguing that certain constructions similar to this kind of serial verb should not be classified as such.

# Kohau Rongorongo Script of Easter Island as a logo-syllabic writing system

## Dr Albert DAVLETSHIN

Russian State University for the Humanities
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The celebrated Kohau Rongorongo script of Easter Island remains undeciphered. Kohau Rongorongo is to be represent a hieroglyphic writing system and meant for writing down Rapanui language. All known hieroglyphic writing systems are logo-syllabic in nature, i.e. consist in logographs (word-signs that spell a word and denotes its meaning) and syllabograms (abstract phonetic signs that spell a syllable). In spite of numerous claims, Kohau Rongorongo has not received attention as an example of logo-syllabic writing system. Using structural analysis, distributional characteristics and patterns of sign substitution, it is possible to demonstrate even in the case of an undeciphered script that certain signs are either logographs, or phonetic signs. The paper discusses independent safe examples of logographs, phonetic signs, phonetic complements and allographs in Kohau Rongorongo. The obtained results of such approach seem to be promising.

# Isolation?

## Dr Mark DONOHUE

Australian National University

Isolating languages are, at their most prototypical, those which have no bound morphology. Numerous languages of East and Southeast Asia approach this extreme (eg., Vietnamese, Chinese languages), and those that do overwhelmingly have contrastive tone in their phonologies. The other major 'block' of languages that approach the isolating extreme are some (but by no means all) of the pidgins and creoles around the world, languages for which tonal phonologies are generally not reported (2). The only area in which isolating and non-tonal languages are reported is Flores. I question the basis for the reports of isolating behaviour, describing how both diachronically and synchronically the languages of Flores do not show isolating behaviour, (3) (4), and show the kind of suprasegmental phenomena that are typical of mainland Southeast Asia (5), or else developments from such systems.

Mandarin

(1)    *Ta   bu   chi   wo    chao   de    mian.*
       3SG   NEG   eat   1SG    fry     REL   noodles
       'He didn't eat the noodles that I fried.'

Tok Pisin

(2)    *Man-ya    em=i-raus-im          ol-manki=nambaut.*
       man-REF    3SG=PRED-depart-TRANS    PL-youth=etc.
       'The man is clearing all of the kids out.'

Palu'e

(3)    *Akpha'u               lau        va        Lu'a.*
       Ak=<h>va='u             lau        va        lu'a
       1SG=<INSTR>paddle=PERF    seaward   westward   Palu'e
       'I have paddled to Palu'e.'

(4)    *Khasainolonma            mukugune.*
       kha=sai=nolo=nma         muku=gu=n=e
       eat=IMPER=FIRST=IMMEDIATE    banana=1GEN='3GEN'=EMPH
       'Just eat the banana that's mine first!'

Palu'e *-h-*

(5)    aspiration (but not enough to consistently perceive)
       vowel length (on all vowels of the word, but less than is contrastive)
       amplitude (less drop-off after the stressed syllable, higher Ar preceding)

The *-h-* represents a word-level contrast, cued by a range of different signals.

# The Evolution of Phonological Complexity in Austronesian

**Dr Michael DUNN**

Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen

**Dr Simon GREENHILL**

University of Auckland

Common sense tells us that there must be correlations between aspects of the phonological and phonotactic organisation of languages, and that increased complexity in one area of a language correlate with reduced complexity in another. It has been suggested, for example, that mean word length might correlate (negatively) with the size of the phonological inventory, or that the number of consonants correlates (negatively again) with the number of vowels. These have a functional motivation: languages with many phonemes can make many lexical distinctions with short words, whereas languages with few phonemes must have longer words in order to make the same number of distinctions. This particular correlation has been proven (e.g. Nettle 1995) and disproven (e.g. Maddieson 1984) several times, depending on the database and statistical approach used. More recently, Trudgill has made another proposal (with particular reference to Polynesian; Trudgill 2004) that sociolinguistic parameters, such as speech community size, might provide a motivating factor underlying some of this variation. In any case, there are good reasons to reserve judgment on the question of functional motivation for variation in phonological and phonotactic complexity.

This study approaches this question from another angle, measuring the coevolution of different linguistic features within the Austronesian language family. Genealogical issues form a confound in any attempt to formulate statistical universals. Current best practice to deal with this is to appeal to a genealogically independent cross linguistic sample. While in general independent sampling is a good solution to the problem of genealogical dependencies, it has weaknesses too, especially in terms of statistical power. But more importantly in our case, it overrepresents linguistic isolates and languages from small families, the very languages which tend to embody the sociolinguistic parameters that Trudgill has predicted will drive particular patterns of linguistic complexity. Instead of trying to remove the phylogenetic structure of the data, the coevolutionary approach builds known phylogenetic structure into the analysis. If phonological complexi-

ty is negatively correlated with word length, then over the entire phylogenetic tree of Austronesian we would expect that a change in complexity of the reconstructed phonological system at any node of the tree would be (probabilistically) coupled with a change in reconstructed mean word length. If the hypothesis is false, then changes in complexity and word length should vary independently. With a rich database, as is available from the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database, each of these states of affairs can be modelled and the relative likelihood of each can be calculated.

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This presentation is part of the panel
***Taking phylogeny seriously:***
***New computational methods and results***
organised by
**Russell Gray**

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## Documenting and Preserving Cuyonon

### Dr Ester Timbancaya ELPHICK

### Dr Virginia HOWARD SOHN

Cuyonon Language and Culture Project, Inc.

This paper will be presented jointly with Mrs. Virginia Howard Sohn, my fellow lexicographer. It will recount the attempts of the Cuyonon Language and Culture Project, Inc.(CLCP) to document Cuyonon, the majority language of Palawan Province in the Philippines, and to encourage the use of Cuyonon as a spoken and written language. Neither of the principal workers in CLCP are professional linguists: I am a native speaker of Cuyonon with an advanced degree in linguistics, and Mrs. Sohn is a former missionary who is fluent in Cuyonon. Under the mentorship of Leonard Newell, the distinguished lexicographer of Philippine languages, we have devised an orthography, collected more than 3,000,000 words in oral text, parsed about 2,000,000 words in Toolbox, and are about to begin writing a dictionary. A CLCP website is under construction, and the project is advised by a panel of distinguished Cuyonons in Palawan.

The paper will tell the story of this attempt to save an endangered language much under stress from Tagalog and English. It will focus largely on issues of orthography, including the indication of diphthongs (common in Cuyonon but a rarity in most Philippine languages), the glottal stop, and the semi-vowels *w* and *y*.

# Conditionals as framing devices in Javanese

## Dr Michael EWING

The University of Melbourne

Conditional constructions are a ubiquitous feature of informal Javanese. In this paper I explore these constructions in a corpus of conversational Javanese. As researchers have often observed for other languages, in Javanese the same particle marks both conditional and topic-comment constructions, suggesting an overall framing function. Grammatically, a variety of elements are found to occur in the protasis, ranging from nouns to prepositional phrases, and clauses. Pragmatically, the protasis may introduce or re-establish referents, set the scene in time and/or space or establish an event or activity as context. It is common for multiple framing devices to occur before the final assertion, forming intonationally complex clusters. Usually the conditional marker occurs with only one of these framing phrases. There are also examples of framing constructions in which no element is marked with a conditional particle. This suggests that it is juxtaposition, intonation and inference that set up the frame-assertion relationship, rather than the conditional particle. In the corpus, unmarked juxtaposed framing constructions occur with roughly equal frequency to those which have explicit conditional marking. The larger and more complex these intonational clusters, the more likely a conditional particle will be used. This suggests that the function of these particles is not so much as grammatical markers of conditionality, but as interactional markers that aid hearers comprehend more complex sets of juxtaposed framing elements. These findings both shed light on the grammar of Javanese conversational practice and also add to our growing understanding of how structure emerges from language in use.

# Conservative Constructs:
## the terminology and techniques
## related to the loincloth of Madagascar

## Dr Sarah FEE

Smithsonian Institution and Musée du Quai Branly

## Prof. Narivelo RAJAONARIMANANA

INALCO

Scholars have consistently expressed the hope that a comparative study of weaving terminology and techniques will help to unlock the historic relations of

the Malagasy with the Austronesian world and the Indian Ocean. To this end, a team of French and American scholars – linguists, anthropologist and textile specialists – is compiling a comprehensive lexicon of Malagasy textile terms and usages for all the island's dialects. This communication will present the first findings for one particular type of textile, the loincloth. The historic dress of men throughout Madagascar, this humble artefact reveals a wealth of linguistic and cultural information for comparative purposes.

<div align="center">*</div>

## Une construction conservatrice: Terminologie et techniques liées au cache-sexe de Madagascar

Un certain nombre de chercheurs ont fortement exprimé l'espoir qu'une étude comparative sur la terminologie relative au tissage et aux techniques y afférantes aiderait certainement à mieux comprendre les relations historiques entre Madagascar et le monde austronésien et l'océan indien occidental. Dans cette perspective, une équipe de chercheurs français et américains (ethnologues, linguistes, spécialistes de textiles) se sont groupés pour compiler un vocabulaire systématique et extensif de la terminologie liée au tissage et au port des tissus, à travers tous les dialectes malgaches. Cette communication donne quelques résultats préliminaires concernant un style précis, le cache-sexe (autrement dit ceinture-tablier). Cet objet simple, l'habit historique d'homme à travers l'île, révèle une abondante information linguistique et culturelle, utile aussi dans une perspective comparatiste.

## Les premières expansions austronésiennes

### Dr Michel FERLUS

Retraité du CNRS

Selon la théorie dominante actuelle, Taiwan est le centre de diversification et d'expansion des langues austronésiennes. Cette idée est si fortement ancrée chez les spécialistes qu'il pourrait paraître provocateur de proposer une autre vision. Sur les dix taxons AN identifiés, seul le malayo-polynésien s'est répandu hors de l'île. Les spécialistes situent l'arrivée des premiers locuteurs formosans venant du continent vers 3500-3000 av. notre ère. Le 'out of Taiwan' se serait produit un peu plus tard vers –2000. Ce qui signifie que pendant 5000 ans le formosan des origines se serait diversifié en quelques dix taxons sur un espace restreint tandis

qu'un seul taxon, le MP, aurait occupé tout le reste de l'espace AN en quatre millénaires. Malgré les incertitudes sur les dates, il y a une contradiction flagrante.

Nous proposerons de situer la diversification des langues AN sur le continent, chaque taxon correspondant à un sommet de vague du peuplement de Taiwan, ce qui n'interdit pas une certaine diversification sur place. Cependant, l'origine du MP reste un sujet de débat.

Pour expliquer le 'out of Taiwan' les spécialistes ont raisonné d'une manière simpliste en imaginant une voie idéale partant de l'île et desservant les archipels sans penser que cette voie pouvait être à double sens. Quant aux archéologues, et un peu les généticiens, ils ont plus ou moins cherché à justifier les théories prématurées des linguistes.

En reprenant les arguments des linguistes nous montrerons qu'à chacune de leurs démonstrations une autre explication est possible. Nous proposerons un autre modèle des premières expansions austronésiennes.

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# A Unified Analysis of Indonesian *wh*-questions

## Dr Catherine R. FORTIN

Carleton College (Northfield, MN, USA)

Indonesian is typologically unusual in permitting both *wh*-fronting and *wh*-in-situ, a challenge to unified analyses of Indonesian questions (e.g. Cheng 1997's Clausal Typing Hypothesis) which I propose to resolve in this paper. Quite generally, a *wh*-phrase has the choice of moving overtly to the left periphery, where it is optionally marked with the question marker *–kah*, or remaining within the TP, where *–kah* cannot appear. It is not, however, the case that both options are always available, and there are several *wh*-argument/adjunct asymmetries to be explained, including the restricted distribution of the complementizer *yang* in *wh*-fronted forms. Considering a range of data, including constituent questions, *yes-no* questions, sluicing, and focus constructions, I argue that these asymmetries can be accounted for in the most principled way by appealing to the finely-grained CP framework proposed in Rizzi 1997. Exploiting a parallel observed in Cole, Hermon, and Aman 1999, I argue that *–kah*, analogous to *–lah*, is an instance of Foc, rejecting Saddy's (1990) view that *yang* encodes focus. Ultimately, I defend a unified analysis of all instances of Indonesian *wh*-fronting as focus movement.

# Alternances de voix en tagalog

**Dr Jean-Michel FORTIS**

CNRS France, Université Paris Diderot, Paris VII

Le système de voix du tagalog est connu pour sa complexité. Les affixes de voix ont souvent été corrélés aux rôles thématiques "classiques" des arguments en position de sujet. Le patient, par exemple, déclencherait l'affixation en *-in* du verbe lorsqu'il est en position de "sujet" (s'agissant du tagalog, la notion de sujet est controversée, mais adoptons-la ici). De même pour le but / lieu, le thème ou l'agent.

Or, un même rôle thématique classique peut être associé à plusieurs voix d'un même verbe, et certaines voix peuvent correspondre à plus d'un rôle thématique classique. En d'autres termes, on observe des alternances de voix qui laissent inaltérée le rôle thématique de l'argument sujet (et parfois même celui des autres arguments). Ce problème a bien sûr été reconnu. Dans leur grammaire classique, Schachter et Otanes le traitaient par la notion d'*affix set.* Selon leur analyse, une même base verbale peut appartenir à plusieurs systèmes d'affixation parallèles : tel affixe actif étant associé à tel(s) autre(s) affixe(s) non-actif(s), et tel autre affixe actif étant associé à tel(s) autre(s) affixe(s) non-actif(s). C'était là décrire le problème plutôt que le résoudre. D'autres approches ont été proposées et se sont engagées sur le chemin d'une redéfinition sémantique de certains affixes de voix (voir par exemple les travaux de Lemaréchal, ou l'introduction de la notion de *conveyance voice* par Himmelmann). Notre propos sera ici de prolonger ces approches, en montrant l'inadéquation des rôles classiques, et en tentant de débrouiller les facteurs qui peuvent conditionner ces alternances de voix. Ces facteurs sont d'ordre thématique, modal, valenciel, et aspectuel (au sens où ils concernent le rapport entre les décours temporels des procès des divers actants). Ils enveloppent aussi des interactions avec d'autres affixes (*pag-*, *ka-*, *ma-* et *pa-*), eux-mêmes polyfonctionnels.

# Verbal number and Suppletion in Hiw (Vanuatu)

**Dr Alexandre FRANCOIS**

CNRS, France
Australian National University

While several recent typological studies (e.g. Veselinova 2006, Corbett 2007) have renewed interest on the issue of morphological suppletion, Austronesian languages have so far played little contribution in these reflections. Suppletion takes place when a grammatical function is encoded by a change of lexical root,

rather than through mere inflection or grammatical morphemes. The domain involved may be Tense-Aspect-Mood (Eng. *go* vs *went*), adjectival morphology (Eng. *bad* vs *worse*), number of nouns (Eng. *person* vs *people*), among others. Some languages scattered around the world – especially in north America or among Papuan languages – show a pattern sometimes described as suppletion, whereby some verbs change their form according to the number of participants and/or the plurality of the event (Durie 1986, Mithun 1988). The only Austronesian languages which have so far been reported to follow this pattern are Polynesian, e.g. Samoan (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992) or Kapingamarangi (Lieber & Dikepa 1974).

Lo-Toga and Hiw, two non-Polynesian languages spoken on the Torres Is at the extreme north of Vanuatu, have innovated such a system of verbal suppletion based on the number of participants. Thus in Hiw, 'die' will translate as *mët* with a singular subject, but *qetqēt* with a plural; 'cut' will be *taře* if the object is singular, but *řōt* if it is plural. While Lo-Toga applies this principle to 14 verbs, Hiw has increased its inventory of number-sensitive verbs up to 30 – a high figure by typological standards.

I propose to present and discuss the characteristics of the system in Hiw, both semantic and morphosyntactic. Based on the typological debate, I will especially ask whether we are dealing here with *suppletion* proper; whether this is an instance of *agreement*; and whether each verb pair must be seen as one lexeme, or two separate words.

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# Les affixes verbaux dans la syntaxe malgache

## Prof. Huguette FUGIER

Université Marc Bloch, Stasbourg, France

La communication montrera l'importance des affixes verbaux dans la syntaxe malgache, en tant qu'ils interviennent dans le fonctionnement du verbe affixé, et par conséquence dans celui de la phrase entière. Les 3 affixes considérés: *-amp-*, *man(a)-* et *maha-* se singularisent par leur mode d'insertion et par leur effet syntaxique*.*

- **1.a.** *-amp-* est un **in**-fixe. Il s'insère à l'intérieur du verbe/adjectif d'état, entre le *m-* initial (marquant en malgache l'aptitude à la fonction prédicative) et le radical. La forme complexe *mampiditra* s'analyse *m-amp-iditra* (sur *m-iditra* "entrer"*).*

- **1.b.** *man(a)-* est un **pré**-fixe. Le *m-* initial lui appartient en propre. La forme complexe *manala* s'analyse: *man-ala* (sur radical *ala* "s'en aller")*.*

- **1.c.** *maha-* est un **ad**-fixe. Son *m-* initial coexiste avec la seconde occurrence de ce *m-* qui ouvre le terme ad-fixé: *maha-masina* (sur *masina* "(être) saint")*.*

- **2.** C'est un fait que les 3 affixes soutiennent des phrases causatives, selon le schéma de la construction "à pivot":

| A | fait | B | accomplir le procès de... |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sujet premier | opérateur | objet<br>= suj.second | prédicat du sujet second |
| a) *Ny vazimba*<br>= "Les vazimba | *-amp-*<br>font | *ny olona*<br>les gens | *(ma)tahotra*<br>avoir peur" |
| b) *Ny mpanjaka*<br>= "Le roi | *mana-*<br>fait | *ny fahavalo*<br>les ennemis | *(mi)paritaka*<br>se disperser" |
| c) *Ny varatra*<br>= "La foudre | *maha-*<br>fait | *ny olona*<br>les gens | *(ma)-tahotra*<br>avoir peur" |

Mais cette construction commune aux 3 phrases différemment affixées résulte chaque fois d'une organisation distincte, où l'affixe intervient de façon décisive. Car:

- **En a)** l'infixe *-amp-* porte sur la relation entre les 2 sujets premier et second : *les Vazimba* agissent sur *les gens* de façon à les amener à *avoir peur*. Des 3 affixes, *-amp-* est le seul qui soit de façon propre et directe un opérateur de causativité.

- **En b)** le préfixe *man(a)-* porte sur le lexème verbal *-paritaka* pour le transitiver. Et c'est seulement parce que le transitif s'interprète, par une induction naturelle, comme causatif que *man(a)-* se prête finalement à une construction causative.

‣ **En c)** l'ad-fixe *maha-* porte sur l'ensemble (sujet second + prédicat second), soit: *Ny olona matahotra* "Les gens ont peur". *Maha-*, qui exprime littéralement le "mouvement poussé jusqu'au terme visé", fonctionne ici comme opérateur de "procès accompli". Et c'est seulement par conséquence que "pousser le procès vers son terme" aboutit soit à un potentiel ("<u>pouvoir</u> effrayer les gens"), soit plus souvent à un <u>causatif</u> ("faire que les gens aient peur").

Les 3 énoncés du tableau ci-dessus réalisent effectivement des constructions causatives, et il est légitime de les décrire comme telles. Il n'empêche que c'est par le jeu de l'affixe que chacune d'entre elles se trouve distinctivement organisée: ce qui illustre et confirme le rôle des affixes dans l'élaboration d'une syntaxe.

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# Isolating Austronesian Languages in Typological Perspective: A Cross-Linguistic Experimental Study

## Prof. David GIL

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Although mainland Southeast Asia and West Africa are the two regions of the world most commonly associated with isolating languages, it is the Austronesian language family which, arguably, provides the largest number of the world's isolating languages, as well as some of the most extreme exemplars thereof. This paper presents the results of an ongoing experimental study of clause structure in isolating languages, focusing on the following two structural features: (i) the availability of OV(S) as an alternative to the generally more common basic (S)VO word order; and (ii) the availability of a zero-marking option (ie. absence of a preposition) for a variety of oblique and otherwise peripheral noun phrases. As argued elsewhere, the availability of alternative word orders and zero-marked oblique and peripheral noun-phrases are two manifestations of a single deeper property of languages, that of being *associational*. A language may be considered associational to the extent that it is lacking in distinct construction-specific rules of semantic interpretation, such as those which make reference to word order, or to the presence of semantically specific adpositions. Instead, in associational languages, most of the compositional semantics is based on a single general rule of association, formulated in terms of an association operator A, as follows. If X and Y are expressions with interpretations M and N respectively, then the meaning of the derived expression XY is A(M,N), the result of the association operator applied to M and N. In plain English, what this says is that the meaning of XY is associated in some way with the meanings of X and of Y; but nothing more than that. The meaning of XY is thus vague, or underspecified; in actual language use, additional layers of meaning may be provided by context.

The goal of the experiment is to test the availability of *apparently associational*

*interpretations*, involving alternative OV(S) word order and zero-marked oblique and peripheral noun-phrases. The experiment thus measures the extent to which various languages approach the idealized associational language type. In the experimental study, isolating Austronesian languages are compared with isolating languages from other parts of the world, as well as with non-isolating Austronesian languages, and a control set of non-isolating non-Austronesian languages. At the time of writing, the experiment had been conducted on the following languages:

(1) (a)  Isolating Austronesian Languages:

*Malay/Indonesian:* Standard Indonesian, Kuala Lumpur Malay, Kuching Malay, Siak Malay, Riau Indonesian, Bengkulu, Jakarta Indonesian, Kupang Malay, Papuan Malay
*Other:* Minangkabau, Sundanese, Nage

 (b)  Isolating Non-Austronesian Languages:

Meyah (East Bird's Head), Vietnamese, Thai, Cantonese, Twi, Fongbe, Yoruba, Ju|'hoan, Papiamentu, Sranan, Bislama

 (c)  Non-Isolating Austronesian Languages:

Mentawai, Roon

 (d)  Non-Isolating Non-Austronesian Languages:

English, Hebrew

Additional languages are planned to be added to the sample by the time of the conference.

The experiment is a truth-conditional one containing 40 stimuli. Each stimulus consists of a sentence in the target language together with two pictures; subjects are asked which of the two pictures is correctly described by the given sentence. For each language, 30 or more subjects are tested, conforming to a *Baseline Sociolinguistic Profile*: uneducated, low-to-middle class, over 12 years of age, living in a community where the test language is spoken, and tested in their home community in a natural setting. Moreover, for selected languages, the experiment is also run on additional populations outside the Baseline Sociolinguistic Profile.

The results of the experiment show that isolating languages tend to be more highly associational than their non-isolating counterparts. The results thus demonstrate that isolating languages do not compensate for the paucity of morphology by more highly elaborated syntactic strategies such as rigid word order and adpositions. Nevertheless, the results of the experiment reveal a considerable amount of variation with respect to the availability of apparently associational interpretations. Much of this variation can be accounted for in terms of the interaction of two factors, one grammatical, the other sociolinguistic:

(2) (a) Articulation Index:

The availability of apparently associational interpretations is inversely related to the articulation index, which represents the amount of

obligatory overt marking of grammatical categories such as number, definiteness, tense, aspect and so forth

(b) Number of Speakers:

The availability of apparently associational interpretations is inversely related to the size of the speech community. In conjunction, the above two factors predict that the highest degree of availability of apparently associational interpretations will be found in languages with low articulation index and a small number of speakers. And indeed, one of the languages with the highest degree of availability of apparently associational interpretations is the Central-Malayo-Polynesian language Nage, which is one of the most highly isolating languages in the sample, and spoken by a mere (estimated) 50,000 people.

In general, some of the languages with the highest degree of availability of apparently associational interpretations in the sample are Austronesian ones. At least in part, this is because Austronesian languages provide some of the most extreme instances of isolating languages, with low articulation index. The question remains, however, whether the two factors in (2) are the whole story, or whether there exist additional factors governing the availability of apparently associational interpretations. In particular, we shall examine the question whether the isolating languages of the Austronesian family, or a subset thereof, exhibit a particular propensity for highly associational interpretations above and beyond that resulting from the two factors in (2), and, if so, what other characteristics of these languages might be responsible for such an effect.

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Isolating Austronesian Languages***
> organised by
> **David Gil and John McWhorter**

# Agreement and Categories in Roon

## Prof. David GIL

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Roon is a hitherto undescribed South-Halmahera-West-New-Guinea language spoken by some 1100 people on the eponymous island just off the Wandamen peninsula, in the Cenderawasih bay in West Papua. Roon is closely related to Biak, described in a number of recent studies, but differs from it in a number of important respects relevant to the present paper.

This paper is concerned with agreement and what it reveals about grammatical categories of various kinds in Roon. Agreement markers in Roon are

based on the independent pronouns, but occur as prefixes attached to their hosts, the targets of agreement. Agreement markers bear features of *person* (1st, 2nd, 3rd, further distinguishing in the 1st non-singular between inclusive and exclusive), *number* (singular, dual and plural), and, within 3rd person, *gender* (animate, inanimate). The primary syntactic domain of agreement is clausal, between the subject as controller and the verb as target, as in the following example:

*(1) (a)* *Amos-i*      *i-farar*
      Amos-PERS    3:SG:ANIM-run
      'Amos is running'

  *(b)* *Ya*   *kuker*   *Amos-i*    *ku-farar*
      1:SG   with   Amos-PERS  1:DU:INCL-run
      'Amos and I are running'

In the above example, the verb *-farar* 'run' is prefixed with the 3rd person singular animate *i-* in (1a), and the 1st person inclusive dual *ku-* in (1b).

However, agreement also occurs phrase-internally. In the following example, the subject phrases in (1) are replaced with the common noun *romau-* 'child':

*(2) (a)* *Romau=i-ya*      *i-farar*
      child=3:SG:ANIM-DET   3:SG:ANIM-run
      'The child is running'

  *(b)* *Romau=ku-ya*     *ku-farar*
      child=1:DU:INCL-DET   1:DU:INCL-run
      'Us two children are running'

In general, subject phrases must be marked as definite, and the most common way of doing so is, as in (2) above, by means of the definite marker *-ya*, which attaches as an enclitic to the right edge of the phrase. However, as evident above, the definite marker *-ya* also agrees with its host. In fact, *-ya* displays an agreement paradigm that is completely identical to that of verbs, with the same grammatical features expressed with the same forms. Thus, in (2a), the same *i-* marks both *-ya* 'the' and *-farar* 'run' as 3rd person singular animate, while in (2b), the same *ku-* marks both *-ya* and *-farar* as 1st person inclusive dual. The above examples show how Roon violates a proposed universal to the effect that common nouns are never marked for person.

Morphologically, the definite article *-ya* 'the' thus seems to be a regular verb. Syntactically, however, its behaviour differs in important respects from that of verbs. First, whereas forms such as *ifarar* have the properties of independent words, forms such as *iya* are not independent words but rather enclitics which attach to the right edge of a phrase. Secondly, whereas forms such as *ifarar* may constitute complete sentences, either on their own or with construction with an argument, forms such as *iya* do not: thus, in (2a), *romauiya* cannot occurs as a complete sentence with a meaning such as 'The child is definite'.

Agreement in Roon thus highlights the importance of distinguishing between grammatical categories of different kinds: morphological, syntactic, and semantic. This paper presents a preliminary inventory of the morphological, syntactic and semantic categories of Roon, showing how they cross-cut and

overlap in ways very different from those familiar from other languages. Morphologically, the main distinction is between words that host the agreement markers (eg. *ifarar* 'run' and *iya* 'the') and words that do not (eg. *Amosi* 'Amos' and *ba* EXCL). Syntactically, the primary distinction is between words that may stand alone as complete non-elliptic sentences (eg. *ifarar* 'run' and *ba* EXCL) and words that may not (eg. *iya* 'the' and *Amosi* 'Amos'). These two categories are logically independent of each other, as well as of various semantic categories such as thing, property, activity and so forth.

# L'intransitivité duale en lamaholot (Florès Est, Indonésie)
# Split intransitivity in Lamaholot (East Flores, Indonesia)

## Dr Philippe GRANGÉ
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Une particularité du lamaholot, langue malayo-polynésienne centrale, est l'accord en personne entre le sujet et le verbe. Les descriptions de trois dialectes lamaholot, par Keraf (1978), Pampus (2001), Nishiyama & Kelen (2007), classent les verbes selon que l'accord avec le sujet est obligatoire, impossible, ou facultatif. Cependant l'observation du dialecte d'Adonara montre que pour de nombreux verbes intransitifs, le choix de l'accord ou du non-accord exprime une valeur sémantique.

On doit laisser à part les quelques verbes à initiale vocalique, pour lesquels la marque d'accord proclitique est obligatoire et le pronom sujet facultatif. Quant aux bases verbales à initiale consonantique, l'éventuel accord a une marque enclitique : \**hopã* "essoufflé" > *go hopa=nek* "je suis essoufflé(e)", *mo hopa=no* "tu es essoufflé(e)", *na hopa=na* "il/elle est essoufflé(e)", etc. Dans la morphologie de la marque d'accord, on reconnaît aisément un phonème du pronom personnel correspondant. En outre, deux autres classes de mots s'accordent : le nom possédé et l'adverbe.

Dans une structure intransitive, l'absence d'accord sur le verbe ne distingue guère le sujet (S) de celui d'une phrase transitive, au rôle d'agent (A). En revanche, lorsque le verbe d'une structure intransitive est accordé, la marque de l'accord est exactement la même que celle du patient (P) dans une phrase transitive ou ditransitive (i.e. le bénéficiaire), ex. *go tobo=nek* (1SG asseoir=1SG) "je m'assois, je suis assis" ; *na péhé=nek* (3SG toucher=1SG) "il me touche" ; *na soro=nek buku* (3SG donner=1SG livre) "il me donne un livre". Dans une phrase intransitive, tout se passe comme si S était présenté soit comme A, soit comme P. Il s'agit d'un phénomène d'intransitivité duale (*split intransitivity*) que l'on rencontre dans d'autres langues de cette région, voir Klamer (2006).

La difficulté est de comprendre pourquoi le sujet d'une phrase intransitive est assimilé plutôt à A ou plutôt à P. L'exemple des verbes intransitifs à accord "facultatif" montre que le locuteur a la liberté d'exprimer le caractère "plutôt P"

du sujet en accordant le verbe : *mo pékot* "tu tournes", *mo pékot=o* "tu te retournes, tu fais demi-tour" ; *mo pélaé* "tu cours", *mo pélaé=ko* "tu t'es enfui" ou "enfuis-toi!"

L'accord des verbes intransitifs en lamaholot (dialecte d'Adonara) dépend donc essentiellement de l'actance, même si pour bon nombre de verbes cet accord (i.e. S considéré comme P) s'est grammaticalisé, devenant obligatoire.

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# Language phylogenies reveal expansion pulses and pauses in Pacific settlement

## Prof. Russell GRAY

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Debates about the tempo and mode of human prehistory often centre on the role population expansions play in shaping biological and cultural diversity. The settlement of the Pacific provides a natural laboratory for testing these general theories. There is considerable dispute about the origin of the Austronesian settlers of the Pacific, with researchers divided between a recent "pulse-pause" expansion from Taiwan, and a more gradual "slow-boat" diffusion from "Wallacea". Here we use lexical data and Bayesian phylogenetic methods to construct the largest quantitative language phylogeny ever published – a phylogeny of 400 Austronesian languages. Contrary to the expectations of the Wallacean hypothesis, our results place the Austronesian origin in Taiwan approximately 5,200 years ago. In striking agreement with the pulse-pause scenario, the language trees reveal a major pause before the settlement of the Philippines, followed by an extremely rapid expansion pulse from the Philippines to Polynesia. The trees identify another pause in Western Polynesia and additional expansion pulses in Polynesia and Micronesia. We suggest that the expansion pulses may be linked to technological and social innovations. These results demonstrate the power of language phylogenies for resolving questions about human prehistory.

This presentation is part of the panel
***Taking phylogeny seriously:***
***New computational methods and results***
organised by
**Russell Gray**

## The Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database

### Dr Simon GREENHILL

University of Auckland

The basic comparative data on the languages of the world is often widely dispersed in hard to obtain sources. Here we outline how our Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database (ABVD) helps remedy this situation by collating wordlists from over 550 languages into one web-accessible database. We describe the technology underlying the ABVD and discuss the benefits that a "bioinformatic" approach to data and databases can provide.

This presentation is part of the panel
***Dictionary Making in Austronesian Linguistics***
organised by
**Andrew Pawley**

## Aspects of morphophonological and syntaxic processes in Kayanic languages

### Dr Antonio J. GUERREIRO

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The proposed Kayanic language group of central Borneo - distributed over a wide area in Sarawak and the Provinces of West/East Kalimantan, Indonesia -, can be divided broadly in two main lexical and phonological branches (Guerreiro 1983, 1988, 1993, 1996, 2002). In this paper, I will consider the position of Modang-Ga'ay, and possibly also of Merap (Mraa'), in contrast to the other Kayanic languages (Kayan-Busang, 'Bahau').The extreme fragmentation of the Modang-

Ga'ay speech communities in East Kalimantan, should be noted. Some morpho-phonological features are characteristic of Modang-Ga'ay isolects: deletion of initial vowel in bisyllabic nouns, producing consonant clusters in most isolects, widespread phenomenon of diphthongization, high incidence of vowel clusters, lengthening of vowels in open syllables (both in monosyllabic and disyllabic words), gemination of consonants in word-medial position. Further evidences are provided from syntaxic features such as verbal morphology showing the processes of petrification (prefixes, infixes, suffixes) in disyllabic words, contraction and the development of auxiliary verbs, in opposition to Kayan-Busang. Within Modang-Ga'ay, morphophonological peculiarities, and probably borrowings from neighboring languages, have produced bizarre sound changes and rare syntactic forms but limited lexical innovations.

# Rotuman phase distinctions: phonology and syntax (but not semantics!): A reply to den Dikken

## Prof. Mark HALE

## Prof. Madelyn KISSOCK

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This paper presents an analysis of the phase alternations in Rotuman which locates the root cause of these alternations in the interaction between phonology and syntax in the language. This will not come as a tremendous surprise to most Austronesianists, perhaps, but we will treat in considerable detail in the course of our demonstrations the theoretical analysis presented in den Dikken (2003), showing that it is inadequate empirically as well as in terms of the expansion of theoretical machinery advocated (sometimes implicitly, rather than explicitly) by the author. The paper responds to some of the criticisms of earlier work by the authors contained within den Dikken's monograph, with a view to clarifying the nature of the Rotuman facts.

# The languages of Alor-Pantar (Eastern Indonesia): A (re)assessment

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In the study of under-described languages, the lexicostatistical method has proven to be a useful tool for initial genetic classification. However, these preliminary groupings tend to persist long after new data have become available. The present paper is a reassessment of preliminary classifications of the languages of Alor-Pantar in Eastern Indonesia. We apply the bottom-up approach of the comparative method using new data from 17 eastern Indonesian languages spoken on Alor and Pantar. Our comparative data consists of an expanded Swadesh list of 260 items for each language, and of dictionaries for a number of languages.

Earlier sources (Capell 1944, Wurm et.al.) proposed that the Alor-Pantar languages were related to the West Papuan languages of North Maluku and the Bird's Head of New Guinea or to the putative Trans-New Guinea family. The first attempts to examine internal subgrouping were made by Stokhof (1975), based on lexicostatistical analysis of 117 item Swadesh lists. Based on Stokhof's and Capell's data and their conclusions, Pawley (2001) and Ross (2005) included the Alor and Pantar languages in the large Trans-New Guinea family. Recently, this classification has been questioned by Donohue and Schapper (2007) who suggest that the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages may involve an overlay of both TNG and West Papuan elements. All of this classification work suffers from a paucity of available data. In our paper, we re-assess previous work in light of the new data available to us. By applying bottom-up reconstruction techniques to our data sets we will be able to propose a sufficient quantity of shared basic vocabulary with regular sound correspondences, and evaluate the lexical evidence for a link between the AP languages and other families.

This work in turn informs our knowledge of prehistoric settlement of Alor-Pantar, complementing emerging genetic and archaeological evidence (cf. Capelli et. al. 1999; Mona et. al. 2007). Klamer (to appear) states that it is unclear "whether the Papuan languages presently spoken in the Alor-Pantar are the result of east-west migrations from the New Guinea highlands between 6,000 and 4,000 BP, or whether they are remnants of an earlier population that had migrated west-east some 20,000 years ago through the Lesser Sunda islands, with a subsequent trek into the highlands of New Guinea." The general consensus is

that although the individual languages might be results of later migrations, Papuan populations in Alor and Pantar predate the arrival of the Austronesians. There is archaeological evidence that Austronesians reached neighbouring Timor island by 4,500 BP (cf. Higham 1996:298). The genetic studies suggest a gene flow from Austronesian speaking populations predominantly via maternal line (cf. Handoko 2001), while the paternal line is characterized by Papuan haplogroup (Keyser et.al 2001).

Today, the lexical evidence for contacts between Austronesian and Papuan populations remains limited to a handful of Austronesian loans in the core lexicon of Alor-Pantar languages. Almost all of these come from Alorese, the only indigenous Austronesian language of Alor-Pantar which was plausibly spoken by immigrants arriving during the Majapahit period, some 700 years ago and later (Barnes 1973). Conversely, non-Austronesian loans in Alorese are also scarce. In our paper, we will use linguistic and non-linguistic evidence to reconstruct the linguistic history of Alor and Pantar.

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# Si Senai Ta Pucekelj: A Paiwan Wedding Song

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In this paper, we analyze a Paiwan song—*Si Senai Ta Pucekelj*—from the village of Puljeti in Pindung County, Taiwan. The song belongs to an endangered genre of wedding song, preserved only in this particular village. It is performed by female elders over a period of one month when a daughter of a noble family is to be married. Here, we discuss the song's components of communication: its vocabulary and morphosyntactic devices; the context of its production and interaction; its rhetorical structure; and its communicative functions (boasting, covertly demanding wedding gifts, emphasizing hierarchical relationships, and pointing out the superiority of the bride's family over the husband's).

# Clausal syntax and topic selection hierarchy in Tsou discourse

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This present study shows that based on evidence of clausal morphosyntax, Tsou discourse is highly sensitive to a topic selection hierarchy, and the voice constructions in Tsou are recruited to organize such discourse preference.

Previous research on Tsou (Tung 1964; Zeitoun 2000, 2005; Szakos 1994, Huang, et.al. 2001; Huang & Huang 2003, 2007, etc.) has shown that (1) its lexical NPs are marked by nominative or oblique case. (cf. Table 1); (2) its basic word order is VAO or V(E)S; (3) nominative NPs in clauses correspond to the voice marking on verbs; (4) bound pronouns attaching to clause-initial auxiliary encode A or S role. (cf. Table 3). Table 1 and Table 3 also reveal that case marking

in NPs in Tsou is conditioned by physical or psychological distance of the participants from the perspective of the speaker.

Huang & Huang (to appear) show that pronominals in Tsou discourse exhibit a surprisingly skewed distribution. Use of pronouns is strongly regulated by the morphosyntax of the language, in that not all nominal arguments in A or S role can be coded by a bound pronoun attaching to the predicate-initial auxiliary verb; only As or Ss that obey the restrictions displayed in Table 3 are coded with overt bound pronouns. On the other hand, independent pronouns as shown in Table 2 are rarely used in discourse data. That is, except in A or S role, pronouns, bound or independent, are very rarely found in other valency roles. This means the use of pronouns in Tsou is not just conditioned by the pragmatic use in discourse. In fact, the speaker's interpretation of physical or psychological distance of the participants in discourse has been grammaticalized in the morphosyntax of the language. In this study we demonstrate the language-specific ways in which Tsou packages discourse-pragmatic information into its morphosyntax.

Syntactically, NPs capable of appearing as topics in the main storyline are usually ranked as follows: humans that are psychologically closely related to speech act participants> humans that are psychologically more distant from the speech act participants > animate action initiators > inanimate action sources > inanimate objects. Pronouns attaching to the clause-initial auxiliary verb, namely A/S, mark the most topical role. In addition, bound pronouns, regulated by the bound pronoun paradigm shown in Table 3, necessarily encode the speaker's sense of the physical or psychological distance of the A/S. In Tsou discourse, NPs ranked higher on the topic ranking hierarchy tend to be maintained longer; and those ranked lower usually appear once and then are dropped from discourse (Example 1).

NPs appearing in O or E role are participants immediately relevant to the current discourse scene, and are always expressed explicitly in lexical NP. The lexical Os marked by nominative, are usually definite and are there for purposes of identification (Example 2). By contrast, the E argument expressions appear in a clause simply because they are needed to fulfil the conceptual requirements of verb semantics, and they play little role in discourse. This is why Es in Tsou are usually indefinite and marked with oblique case (Example 3; also cf. S. Huang (to appear)). The four types of voice construction in the language (Actor voice, Patient voice, Locative voice, and Benefactive voice)(cf. Huang and Huang 2007) are also recruited for essentially the same discourse functions—to help, along with the bound pronoun paradigm in Table 3, to differentiate NPs in terms of how important they figure in discourse. Tsou is thus a language that in a special way packages discourse-pragmatic information in its syntax.

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This presentation is part of the panel
*Emergence of grammar from discourse:*
*A Formosan/Philippine perspective*
organised by
**Shuanfan Huang**

# BV construction in Tsou and the coding of adjunct NPs

**Huei-ju HUANG**

National Taiwan University

**Prof. Shuanfan HUANG**

National Taiwan University and Yuanze University

For syntactic and discourse purpose, languages often provide alternative devices for altering argument structure, such as passive and antipassive constructions,

which code an original core argument as syntactically oblique, and applicative construction, which codes semantically peripheral arguments as syntactically core argument (Mithun 2005, etc.) BV (Benefactive voice) in Tsou, a Formosan language spoken in the southwest Taiwan, usually thought to mark various more 'peripheral' arguments, such as Beneficiary, Instrument, Companion, Reason, etc., as nominative NP.

In this study, we demonstrate that the argument realization patterns in Tsou are determined in part by how verbs lexically define their participants, and in part by the language-specific discourse-pragmatic constraints on how many participants can appear in a clause. In Tsou, most types of what are known as 'peripheral' nominals in a language like English must be treated structurally as obligatory core arguments. Tsou has no adpositions and thus, with the exception of temporal and spatial expressions, 'peripheral' participants can only appear in one of two ways. First, if they refer to goals of motion or recipients, they can appear as obliques (coded as Es, following Dixon 1994, 2000) in EICs (Extended Intransitive clauses, a type of AV clauses) and ETCs (Extended Transitive Clauses, usually LV and BV clauses). Second, 'peripheral' participants such as beneficiary, reason, companion, and, in certain highly restricted cases, instrument, can also appear in BV clauses and are always marked by nominative. In our corpus data, these 'peripheral' participants always appear as core argument nominals in BV clauses, but never as optional adjuncts in either AV or PV clauses.

Choice of an appropriate semantic role as the nominative NP of a BV construction is defined by verbal semantics. That is, only those 'peripheral' arguments relevant to the proper interpretation of an event can become the nominative NP of a BV clause, and not just any type of peripheral argument, as shown in Table 1.

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Table 1. Verb type and nominative NPs in Tsou clauses
(cf. Huang & Huang 2007:438)

|   | *Verb type* | *AV* | *PV* | *LV* | *BV* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Action A | Agent | Patient/Goal | — | Benefactive/ Goal/Instrument |
| 2 | Action B | Agent | — | Patient/Goal | Beneficiary |
| 3 | **Placement** | **Agent** | **Patient** | **Goal** | **Beneficiary** |
| 4 | Ditransitive | Agent | — | Goal | Transported Theme |
| 5 | Emotion A | Experiencer | Stimulus | — | Cause/ Beneficiary |
| 6 | Emotion B | Experiencer | — | — | Cause/ Beneficiary |
| 7 | Saying A | Agent | Content | — | Benefactive/ Content |
| 8 | Saying B | Agent | Content/Goal | — | Content/ Transported Theme |
| 9 | Saying C | Agent | Goal | — | Content |
| 10 | Saying D | Agent | — | Content/Goal | Beneficiary |
| 11 | Perception & cognition A | Experiencer | — | Percept/Concept | — |
| 12 | Perception & Cognition B | Experiencer | Percept/ Concept | — | — |
| 13 | Motion A | Agent | — | — | — |
| 14 | Motion B | Agent | — | Goal | Cause |
| 15 | Motion C | Agent | Goal/Cause | — | Cause/Beneficiary |
| 16 | Sociative action | Plural agents | — | — | Comitative |
| 17 | Location | Agent | — | Location | — |
| 18 | Property | Theme | — | — | — |

# A Study of the Atayal Creole

## Prof. Lillian M. HUANG

Shih Chien university, Taiwan

Atayal is one of the Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan. It is normally considered to contain two dialects, namely, Squliq and C'uli'. However, a group of Atayal people living in Hanxi (*kangke* in their language), I-lan Prefecture seem to speak a mixture of Japanese, Chinese and Atayal languages, which probably started during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, between 1895-1945, and continued to develop after the Nationalist government arrived. The creole speakers are around 20 to 60 years old, whereas the older people in their village are speaking Squliq Atayal in their daily life, and the younger ones are leaning Squliq Atayal at school now. Most Atayal speakers prefer not to include it as a variety of the Atayal language, and would like to call it Hanxi Yu (Hanxi Language) instead of Hanxi Atayal.

The present paper attempts to present a sketch of syntax of the Atayal creole. Most of its words are identical or somewhat related to Japanese, not Atayal origin, and its sentence structures pattern either like Japanese, with verbs occurring sentence finally, or like Chinese, with verbs occurring sentence

medially, but not sentence initially. A few examples are given below for illustration, with main verbs underlined:

|  | CREOLE |  | SQULIQ |
|---|---|---|---|

(1) a. *waha no ngasan mayah <u>aru</u>.*
[1S Gen house mountain be:at]
'My house is on the mountain'

b. *<u>cyux</u> rgyax ngasal mu.*
[be:at mountain house 1S.Gen]
'My house is on the mountain'

(2) a. *waha asta rato <u>iku</u>.*
[1S tomorrow Luo-tung go]
'I am going to Luo-tung tomorrow'

b. *<u>musa</u> saku qzyawan suxan.*
[go 1S Qzyawan tomorrow]
'I am going to Qzyawan'

(3) a. *waha <u>ski yugi</u> suru no.* (SVC)
[1S like dance ]
'I like dancing'

b. *<u>smoya</u> saku <u>mzyugi</u>.* (SVC)
[like 1S dance]
'I like dancing'

(4) a. *waha <u>'may uta</u> suru no.* (SVC)
[1S can sing]
'I can sing'

b. *<u>baq</u> saku <u>mqwas</u>.* (SVC)
[can 1S sing]
'I can sing'

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# The grammar of causation and benefaction:
# Toward a new understanding of the syntax
# of the benefactive construction in Formosan languages

**Prof. Shuanfan HUANG**

National Taiwan University / Yuanze University

(no abstract)

This presentation is part of the panel
***Emergence of grammar from discourse:***
***A Formosan/Philippine perspective***
organised by
**Shuanfan Huang**

# Topicality and pronominal ordering in two Manobo languages

**Silvia Yu-ju HUNG**

**Dr Loren BILLINGS**

National Chi Nan University

Approximately fifteen Manobo languages are spoken around the southern Philippines. Most of these require a single relative order of two personal pronouns. In Obo Manobo and (with most combinations) in Kagayanen there is an ordering choice in the combinations of two pronouns. While the order with the more person-prominent pronoun first is unmarked, the opposite order is also found. Building on work by Brainard & Vander Molen (2005) and Pebley & Brainard (1999) on these two languages, respectively, we formalize a constraint that requires the more topical of two pronouns to appear first. Topicality is influenced by prominence in terms of both grammatical person and semantic roles. This talk also adds to the empirical picture, incorporating elicited data and other published material, supplying two additional pronominal orders in Kagayanen and ten more in Obo Manobo.

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> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Pronoun-ordering typology***
> organised by
> **Loren Billings**

# Three place verbs in Amis

## Kazuhiro IMANISHI

*Department of Dynamic Linguistics, University of Tokyo*

The paper deals with three place verbs in Amis. Amis is one of the Formosan languages, which all belong to the Austronesian family. We examine semantic three place verbs, which include 'to teach, to show, to give, to lend, to borrow, to sell and to buy'. If we compare these verbs with productive causatives and two place verbs, we can observe the following morphosyntactic characteristics: (a) the verb 'to teach' is similar to productive causatives, (b) the verbs 'to buy, to sell and to borrow' have the same morphosyntax as two place verbs like 'to hit', (c) other verbs ('to show, to give and to lend') shares both characteristics of causatives and two place verbs. Consequently, they form the following continuum: productive causatives – to teach – to show, to give and to lend – to borrow, to sell, to buy and other two place verbs. We can regard the verbs 'to teach, to show, to give and to lend' as three argument verbs, and 'to borrow, to sell and to buy' as two argument verbs. The distinction between three argument verbs and two argument verbs might be due to the importance of the recipient phrase of each verb.

# Spatial Deixis as Motion Predicates and Aspect Markers: the Case in Kavalan

## Haowen JIANG

*Rice University*

Spatial deixis has long been the locus of concentrated research due to its propensity to assume multiple functions in spatial-temporal domains. This study investigates the interconnections among spatial deixis, Motion predicates, and aspect markers in Kavalan, an endangered Austronesian language. Specifically, the proximal near-hearer demonstrative (*yau* 'that') may function as a Motion predicate, indicating the referent of the subject either located within or coming into speaker's proximal sphere. The same demonstrative also conveys progressive aspect when followed by a verb. On the other hand, the distal demonstrative (*wi'u* 'that yonder') is morphologically related with the Motion verb *wi(ya)*, which predicates the referent of its subject as either located outside or going out of speaker's proximal sphere. In addition, this verb is associated with inchoative or continuous aspect when followed by another verb, depending on the semantics of the second verb. Therefore, the distal demonstrative shares a parallelism with the proximal near-hearer demonstrative, both linking spatial reference, Motion

predication, and temporal contouring functions, which can be ultimately attributed to the conceptual analogy between space and time.

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## Population size and language change: Do evolutionary laws hold for culture?

### Dr Fiona JORDAN

University College London

Aspects of language vary in their rates of evolution and subsequently different languages may accumulate different amounts of lexical change once they split from a common ancestor. Linguists propose a number of driving factors for differences in rates of change. Here, following simple theoretical models borrowed from population genetics, I test for an association between lexical change and a demographic variable, language population size, in the Austronesian languages. Conventional correlation analyses reveal a significant inverse relationship, suggesting that as population size increases, lexical change decreases. However, phylogenetic comparative methods that control for shared descent produce different results, demonstrating once again that history matters

This presentation is part of the panel
***Taking phylogeny seriously:***
***New computational methods and results***
organised by
**Russell Gray**

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## Langues de substrat et transferts des catégories sémantiques des termes de parenté dans le Pijin des Iles Salomon

### Prof. Catherine JOURDAN

University College London

Les rapports entre les langues vernaculaires de substrat et les langues pidgins/ créoles font l'objet d'un grand débat au sein des études créoles. La communication présentée ici se propose d'ajouter une pierre supplémentaire à ce débat en considérant les relations entre les terminologies de parenté de certaines langues

vernaculaires des Iles Salomon et le pidgin, appelé localement Pijin, qui y est parlé.

La terminologie de parenté utilisée en Pijin, la langue véhiculaire des Iles Salomon, est une version simplifiée du système de parenté de type hawaïen et est, en général, plus simple que les systèmes de parenté trouvés dans les sociétés salomonaises. Deux observations sont faites : premièrement, les catégories de parenté du Pijin ne semblent pas être calquées complètement sur celles des langues vernaculaires. Deuxièmement, cette terminologie a subi des change-ments récents, particulièrement en ville. Une série de questions servira de guide à l'analyse présentée dans cet article : Quelle est la nature des ressemblances et différences existant entre les terminologies de parenté du Pijin et des langues vernaculaires locales ? Comment peut-on rendre compte de ces différences et ressemblances ? Quels sont les changements sociaux culturels qui sous-tendent les changements dans la terminologie de parenté du Pijin ? Finalement, à la lumière de l'étude de cas présentée ici, quelle est la place de la dimension culturelle dans le transfert des catégories sémantiques entre les langues de substrat et le pidgin?

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# More Moor

## David KAMHOLZ

Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology

Moor is a West New Guinea language spoken on the Moor and Haarlem Islands in southeast Cenderawasih Bay (ca. 3000 speakers). It lies in an important position for understanding the history of Austronesian migration into New Guinea: in historical phonology and vocabulary it is not particularly similar to other languages of the area, and may well represent a first-order descendant of Proto-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian. So far Moor is rather poorly documented, the main source being Laycock (1978). This paper significantly expands our knowledge of Moor and its history, based on six weeks of fieldwork in 2008. The presentation will have two main components: a grammatical sketch, focusing the tonal system and the syntax (the biggest gaps in Laycock's description), and an updated analysis of the historical phonology, including tones, based on the much expanded known lexicon. Dialect variation will also be discussed.

# Topic choice and word order variation in Tagalog and some related languages

## Prof. Masumi KATAGIRI

Okayama University

As well known, Philippine-type languages are characterized by their rich focus constructions. In Tagalog, for example, one of the nominal elements in sentences is chosen as 'topic' (in traditional terms), marked by prepositional *ang*, and its semantic role is marked on the verb as 'focus'. Meanwhile, Tagalog has an inverted word order in which one of the elements in sentences, typically an *ang*-marked nominal, is preposed before the verb. Although the grammatical status of the *ang*-marked nominal and its consequences have long been under debate, this paper rather focuses on its behaviors in text, e.g. how the choices are made, what kind of nominals are likely to be preposed, what a preposed element marks, etc., in comparison with corresponding constituents and constructions in some other languages, such as Japanese, a typical topic-prominent languages, or Rukai, a Formosan language with a reduced form of 'focus' alternations. I hope this approach will shed new light on some central issues surrounding so-called Philippine-type languages, specifically voice and ergativity.

# On the scope and function of PAN *<R> and *<ŋ>

## Dr Daniel KAUFMAN

Cornell University and CUNY

The verbal prefixes *paR- and *paŋ- have been commonly claimed to be PMP innovations (cf. Ross 2002). In this paper, I explore the idea, suggested by earlier authors, that <R> and <ŋ> were autonomous affixes which have come down to us as frozen morphs within other prefixes in many MP languages but which may have had a life of their own in pre-PMP stages (cf. Wolff 2005). Evidence in favor of this can be found in the large variety of plural and pluractional marking morphology containing *ŋ and the large number of prefixes containing *R that are not derived from *paR- (e.g. *kaR-, *taR-). The corollary of this hypothesis is that *paR- and *paŋ- contain the PAn causative pa- prefix, in addition to the *<R> and *<ŋ> affixes. Alternations between verbs taking *<um> and *maR- in Philippine languages shows that this is indeed a plausible state of affairs but that the valency increasing nature of the causative morpheme could have been countered by the function of the *<R> affix, possibly a valency decreasing reflexive.

# Towards a history of the Eskayan auxiliary language and script of Bohol, Philippines

**Piers KELLY**

The Australian National University, Canberra

Ever since the Eskayan language came to public attention in the early 1980s there has been widespread speculation about its authenticity as an indigenous Austronesian language. Its core vocabulary shows no consistent relationship with any neighbouring language both presently or historically while its morphosyntax maps closely to Boholano-Visayan, the dominant regional language. Further, the two languages share the same phonological inventory but different phonotactic patterns, while the Eskayan syllabic script bears no relationship to known scripts of the region. All this suggests a conscious creative effort on the part of the community to produce a new 'language' through a relexification and re-representation of Boholano-Visayan. Today the domains of the language are limited to the weekend schools, prayers, songs and formal speeches. I hypothesise that the language emerged as part of a broader strategy of post-colonial resistance under the leadership of the insurgent Mariano Datahan in the early twentieth century. In the years following the American infantry's attack on the south and west lowlands of Bohol, Datahan and his followers defied the authorities, creating a micro-republic in the southeast highlands with its own flag and system of laws. This accords with oral histories, war diaries, parish records, and genealogies. Although earlier strictures of dress, behaviour and communal farming are no longer universally observed in the community, the language is still taught, spoken and celebrated.

# A Talking Dictionary of Khinina-ang: The Language of Guina-ang, Bontoc, Mountain Province, the Philippines

**Dr Ritsuko KIKUSAWA**

National Museum of Ethnography, Osaka, Japan

**Prof. Lawrence A. REID**

University of Hawai'i

This on-line, multi-purpose dictionary is the current stage of some fifty years of dictionary development beginning with initial data collections beginning in 1959 and a hard copy publication in 1976, one of the first dictionaries to be prepared using computer technology and software developed at the University of Hawai'i, with funding from the National Science Foundation (Reid 1976). In 1998, an early on-line version with some 10,000 sound files potentially accessible for every word and many example sentences, and pictures of cultural objects and events was developed at the *Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa*, in Tokyo, but was never successful because of the memory resources required and slow access time. Subsequent leaps in memory size, processing speed and technical expertise in the management of large databases and the availability of Unicode fonts provided the impetus to completely reprogram the dictionary and streamline its functions. This will be completed in 2009 under the auspices of the National Museum of Ethnography in Osaka, Japan, and will provide a framework for continued expansion and development, including the potential for replacing the present data with data from any other language or dialect.

The presentation will outline the historical development of the present dictionary, some of the lexicographical and orthographic issues faced and solutions developed, along with a discussion of some of the theoretical and technical aspects of the relational database upon which it is based. It will also cover some of the searchable functions currently available, and as time allows (either in the session or at some other time during the conference) will give a practical demonstration of the dictionary.

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This presentation is part of the panel
***Dictionary Making in Austronesian Linguistics***
organised by
**Andrew Pawley**

# Complementation with the determiner *ing* in Kapampangan

## Prof. Hiroaki KITANO

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## Mr Michael PANGILINAN

Pampanga Arts Guild

In this paper, we will focus on one complement type observed in Kapampangan (Central Luzon, the Philippines). In the following example, the complement is marked by the deteminer *ing* (singular specific marker).

*(1)*    *Mayap*    *[ing*    *lalakad*    *ya*    *i*    *Pedru].*
     good    DET.SG    walking    ABS.3SG    DET.SG    Pedro
     'It is good that Pedro is walking.'

Unlike languages such as Tagalog and Ilokano, which have gerundive affixes used for complementation, Kapampangan has no such affix. The complement clause without *ing* can be a full-fledged, independent sentence (i.e., *Lalakad ya i Pedru.* 'Pedro is walking.'). Furthermore, the form *ing lalakad* (without an argument) can still function as a 'reduced' complement, as in

*(2)*    *Kapad*    *na*    *[ing*    *lalakad].*
     liking    ERG.3SG    DET.SG    walking
     'He likes walking.'

The complement use of the form *ing lalakad* is distinguishable from the one as an agentive nominal ('the one walking') on the basis of distribution and semantics. Syntactic and semantic properties of this complement type make Kapampangan rather unique in having several different types of complementation.

# Syllabic Verse and Vowel Length in Polynesian Languages

## Dr Artem KOZMIN

Research fellow, Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow, Russia

In the paper a new statistical approach is proposed for Polynesian verse study (Tongan, Hawaiian, Rapanui, Mangarevan etc. verse). A typology of Polynesian syllabic verse have been discovered using the variance coefficient. This typology reflects transformation of phonological systems of Polynesian languages (emerging of secondary vowel length in Hawaiian, disappearance of phonological vowel length in Rapanui etc.).

# The forms and functions of Instrumental Voice in Northeast Borneo languages

## Dr Paul KROEGER
SIL International

This paper looks at the various morphological strategies employed to compensate for the loss of *i-* (< *\*Si-* 'instrumental voice') within the Northeast Borneo Group (Wurm, 1983). Three basic semantic functions are associated with *\*Si-* in Formosan languages: instrumental voice, conveyance voice, and benefactive voice. In Northeast Borneo languages the benefactive function is taken over by a suffix. The most common function of the *i-* prefix is conveyance voice, but in at least some of these languages it also occurs in an "affected instrument" construction.

Of the major subgroups within Northeast Borneo, the *i-* prefix is attested in Dusunic, Bisayan, and Paitanic languages, but not in Murutic. In Timugon Murut, conveyance voice and "affected instrument" are marked with a "Referent Focus" suffix *-in* (Prentice 1974). This same suffix is also used for benefactive voice, so it covers essentially the same range of semantic functions reconstructed for PAN *\*Si-.*

In Dusunic languages where *i-* has been lost, conveyance voice and "affected instrument" are expressed by the circumfix *po-ROOT-on.* This form is also found in free variation with *i-* in a number of other languages, and in Timugon Murut the circumfix varies with *–in.* The prefix part of this circumfix is identical to the causative prefix, *po-* or *pa-*; but the circumfix as a whole does not have a causative meaning. In some (at least) of the Dusunic languages, non-causative *po-* also occurs as a marker of "transitivity" in the Actor Voice forms of certain verbs, which may be a generalization from the use of *po-ROOT-on* as a non-causative Instrumental Voice marker.

# Parts of Speech as Radical Constructions in Amis

## Cheng-chuen KUO
Academia Sinica

Parts of speech in most Austronesian languages are notorious for they do not construct as neatly as in Indo-European languages. Examination as to how a lexicon manifests itself requires extreme caution (Himmelmann 2005). It is generally believed that most Formosan languages do not possess an independent adjective category. Take Amis for example. Wu (2006) categorizes putative adjectives as a subclass of verb, since these 'adjectives' have almost the same

morpho-syntactic behavior with typical verbs. Kuo (2008) argues that there is no typologically unmarked structure with respect to the modification function (i.e. prototypical adjectives).
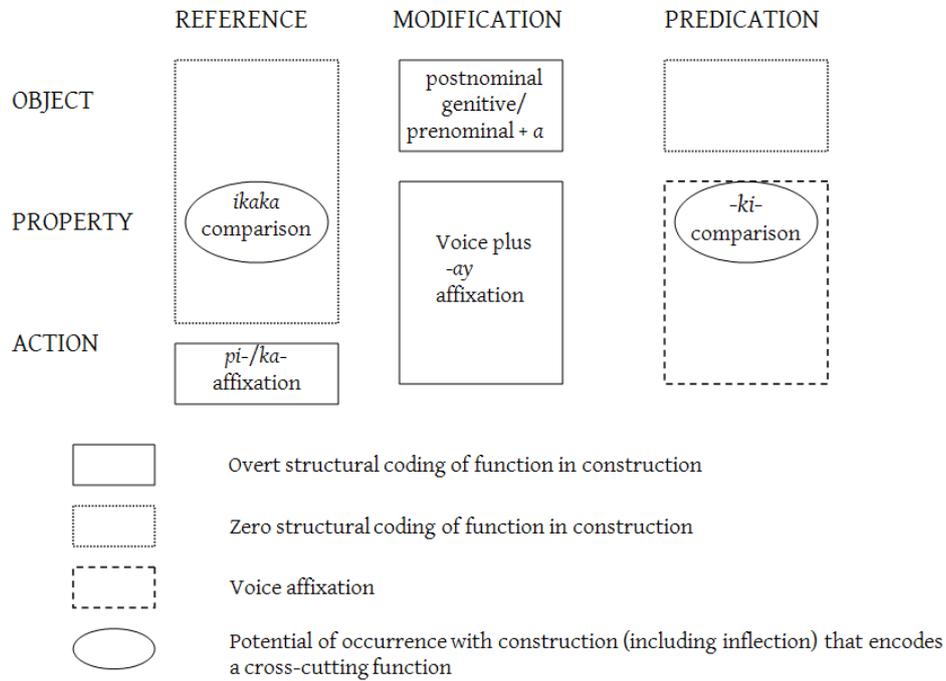


Figure 1. Semantic map of Amis parts of speech constructions

The alleged absence of certain part of speech, however, is considered improper by Croft (2001), who regards parts of speech alternatively within the Radical Construction Grammar approach: "Noun, verb, adjective are not categories of particular languages; they are language universals." Within this framework, this study re-investigates Amis parts of speech by examining the structural codings of the mappings between the semantic classes — Object, Property, Action and propositional act functions — Reference, Modification, and Predication. As shown in Figure 1, the Semantic Map characterizes the Amis parts of speech on a universal basis (e.g. the zero coding construction in Object-Reference mapping (i.e. prototypical nouns) and Action-Predication mapping (i.e. prototypical verbs)). It also provides language particular observations such as the overt structural coding (i.e. *pi-/ka-* affixation) in a specific type of action references, the uniqueness of the structural coding of modification constructions (e.g. all overt coding regardless of semantic classes), and the intricate distinction between three semantic classes.

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# The Proto-Asian Hypothesis Revisited:
# The Mechanics of the Geo-Ethnolinguistic Time Machine

## Dr Michael David LARISH

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Large-scale research questions such as the Proto-Asian (PAsn) and Proto-Austric hypotheses, whether *tenable or not*, should prove productive in generating new algorithms in the domain of historical-comparative computational linguistics. Future human scholars and poly-lingual AI robots will correlate lines of geo-ethnolinguistic evidence by means of large integrated databases and advanced information retrieval software. To develop computer-assisted models that will help us reconstruct history, an inter-disciplinary team will seek connections between geography, anthropology, linguistics, epigraphy, history, computational sciences, statistics, biology, and other academic fields. Working toward this end, we must examine what types of algorithms and natural language query methods in searching electronic language corpora and other large databases will produce cross-disciplinary results.

The main issue becomes how the conclusions in various fields can be made comparable. In other words, how will linguists correlate their reconstruction and subgrouping hypotheses with maps of cultural diffusion and archaeological assemblages on top of the human migration maps generated by the biological sciences? Furthermore, how can the output of our research be made applicable to scholars in other fields? In this paper, I discuss such questions in the context of the continued search for possible PAsn cognates. Furthermore, I develop the terminology set forth in my ICAL-10 paper, entitled *Possible Proto-Asian Archaic Residue and the Statigraphy of Diffusional Cumulation in Austro-Asian Languages*, and extend the PAsn hypothesis into semantic and ethnolinguistic domains. The data and methods focus on relating proto-language to proto-language comparison within future integrated databases. In particular, emphasis is placed on Vertical Genetic Retentions (VGR), Lateral Loan Relationships (LLR), ranking innovations, and cognate hunting using *allofams* or "variant forms of the same word-family," as defined in Matisoff's *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction* (2003:3). More specifically, three levels of Austronesian reconstructions (Pan, PMP, and PWMP) in Blust's (1988) *Austronesian Root Theory* will be compared with Ancient Chinese reconstructions in Karlgren's (1974/1923) *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese.*

# Levels of prominence & voice marker selection: the case of Tagalog

## Anja LATROUITE

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The notion of prominence is often invoked by linguists trying to explain what exactly triggers voice choice in P-type languages, respectively how grammaticality judgments with respect to voice choice are motivated. Voice choice triggering 'prominence' has been defined (i) in terms of a correlation of specificity and thematic role, i.e. in terms of referential properties of the participants, (ii) in terms of affectedness (e.g. Nolasco 2006)/ centrifugality vs./ centripetality (e.g. Paz Buenaventura), i.e. in terms of event semantic considerations and/or (iii) in terms of orientation (e.g. Himmelmann), i.e. a mixture of semantic and pragmatic considerations. Quite obviously all of these three levels, referentiality of the event participants, verb semantics and pragmatics, play a role in voice choice, and they seem to do so in this very order; i.e. information structural considerations outrank event semantic considerations, while verb/event semantic considerations outrank the referential properties of event participants as a trigger for voice choice. This is exemplified by the following sentences: Specific Undergoers are said to require Undergoer voice in general - even more so, if the Undergoer is strongly affected by the event. This is said to be the reason why Actor voice in the basic sentence in (1a) gets rejected. Interestingly, for a particular group of verbs to which this verb belongs, Actor voice gets also rejected, if the Undergoer is non-specific (1b). However, if the Actor exhibits certain properties that are relevant for the event denoted by the verb, Actor voice is acceptable to many speakers, even if the Undergoer is specific, as shown in (2). It is a well-known fact that, regardless of specificity, affectedness or other semantic considerations, Actor voice is always fine if information-structurally the Actor is the focus of the sentence (3).

(1) a.  *Tumakot siya kay Juan. '
    Intended: 'He frightened Juan.'

   b.   *Tumakot siya ng mga bata. '
    Intended: 'He frightened children.'

(2)   Tumakot ang higante kay Juan.
    'The giant frightened Juan.'

(3)   Siya ang tumakot kay Juan.
    'He is the one who frightened Juan.'

In my talk I will discuss data to exemplify how prominence considerations compete on different levels. The most interesting level to be studied in more detail is probably the event level. Questions like which properties does an NP

need to be eligible as prominent? What is the relationship between these properties and the event denoted by the verb? How can shifts in verb meaning that are frequently observed between Actor and Undergoer Voice forms be explained based on the notion of event prominence? And why do these differences in meaning seem to vanish in focus construction forms like in (3)? These and related questions touching on crucial issues for every approach to lexical semantics will be addressed in my talk.

# Reduplication and Odour
# in some Formosan Languages

**Dr Amy Pei-jung LEE**

Dept. of Indigenous Languages and Communication,
National Dong Hwa University, Taiwan

This paper is a morpho-semantic study on olfactory terms and linguistic expressions for describing odour in some Formosan languages, including Kavalan, Truku Seediq, Paiwan, and Thao, based on the author's first-hand data. It shows that apart from very limited olfactory terms, reduplication is the most common means for manifesting the meaning of '(have) a smell/ an odour of X' in these languages. The formation usually involves a prefix which is found similar in these languages, in Kavalan as *su-* (Li and Tsuchida 2006), Truku Seediq as *sə-*, Paiwan as *sa-* (Chang 2000), and Thao as *tu-* (Blust 2003). Two parameters are taken into consideration: first, the selective restriction on the relevant lexicon for the reduplicative construction, and secondly, the reduplicative patterns in each language. It is proposed that the reason why the meaning is manifested by reduplication is due to its association with both iterative aspects and plurality. Having a smell is a continuous process, and it is mentally perceptible that there should be enough entities in order to produce the persistent smell. Inspired by experimental studies in psychology on odor recognition and identification, which suggest a poverty of linguistic representation for odor perception (cf. Cain 1979, 1982, Engen 1987, Dubois and Rouby 2002), this paper discusses the similarities and differences regarding how each language indicates the meaning, as well as the semantic implication drawn from the comparison.

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# Clitic pronouns in Romblomanon

## Celeste Chia Yen LEE
Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages

This study aims at showing the placement of pronominal clitics in Romblomanon, continuing previous studies on Central Philippine languages (Lee 2004, forthcoming; Lee & Billings 2005, 2008). The primary empirical basis is Newell (2006). The main issues discussed are the external positioning of clitics (relative to nonclitic elements of the clause) and their internal ordering (relative to each other in the cluster).

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This presentation is part of the panel
***Pronoun-ordering typology***
organised by
**Loren Billings**

# A typology of pronominal disformation
# using data from Bunun dialects

## Celeste Ho-ling LEE

## Dr Loren BILLINGS

National Chi Nan University

Disformation describes the requirement commonly found in languages of the central and southern Philippines, as well as Sabah, Malaysia, in which a personal pronoun changes into a long/free form just in case it co-occurs with another personal pronoun. It is always the latter of the two pronouns that disforms. In Taiwan, disformation is found only in North-Central Bunun. Outside of Bunun, disforming languages allow pairs of personal pronouns only in non-Actor voices. Similarly, in the Northern Bunun dialects the Undergoer pronoun in an Actor-voice clause must take an invariably long/free oblique form. Thus, only Central Bunun is known to allow disformation regardless of the voice. The proposed talk presents data from the three main dialect areas of Bunun, showing in a single language the typological spectrum of disformation.

# Pronominal ordering in Bunun dialects

## Celeste Ho-ling LEE
National Chi Nan University

## Lilian Li-ying LI
National Chi Nan University

Southern (=Isbukun) Bunun is unique among its neighbors in allowing clusters of bound pronouns in all voices. Several studies report that, regardless of the voice, it is the Agent pronoun that appears first in the cluster: (1) *verb Ag Pt* [Huang 1997:370; Huang et al. 1999:186-188; Li 1997:319; Zeitoun 2000:68]. Furthermore, in a negated clause: (2) *neg Ag verb Pt* [Huang 1997:371]. We have found that neither type of ordering depends on semantic roles. Beginning with (2), the crucial property is grammatical relations. Only the subject (NOM in Isbukun) can precede a negated verb, regardless of voice. And statement (1) above has been confirmed only in the Actor voice. In the other voices both relative orders of pronouns after the initial verb are acceptable. These findings about pronoun ordering were also observed in Takituduh, a Northern Bunun dialect (despite substantial differences in the dialects' case-marking systems).

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Pronoun-ordering typology***
> organised by
> **Loren Billings**

# The core status of arguments in Mandar

## Jason Kwok Loong LEE
Australian National University

Problems in the categorisation of voice and transitivity in Austronesian languages often boil down to one issue, the identification of arguments as being core. The coreness or core status of arguments in a language can be considered a cline, from core at one end, through oblique and with adjuncts at the other end. Arka's concept of language specific core indices to identify the core status of arguments is here applied to Mandar, a South Sulawesi language.

# Serial verb constructions and grammaticalization:
# A verbal etymon (*aR-i "come, let's go")
# for the PAN prefix *aR-?

## Prof. Alain LEMARÉCHAL

Université Paris-Sorbonne; LACITO-CNRS

A subset of the Austronesian languages show markers which reflect *aR-*, *maR-*, *naR-*, *paR-*, etc. Comparison between languages of the Tagalog vs. Ilokano vs. Bugis types leads, within the framework of rigorous morphemics (rather than morphologies more or less directly derived from "words and processes" models) to positing the protomorpheme *aR-* rather than *paR-*. We will suggest that this morpheme retains traces of a former V1 position verb in a serial verb construction. If one examines the semantic typology of verbs susceptible of evolving into objectivization morphemes (Givón 1984: 179 sqq., Lemaréchal 1998: 210 sqq.), one often finds the verbs "take" or "put", probably in the metaphorical sense of "use such and such an object for a given action". Following the hypothesis where *aR-* would derive from a verb, which verb could be at the origin of *aR-* which serves, among other meanings, to transitivize movement verbs (in -um-) into displacement verbs (in *m-ag-* for example), or to detransitivize (in the sense of using an object for a given action without having to mention it explicitly, cf. Bugis *-ar-uki(r)-* "write" vs. *-uki(r)-* "write something")?

In Blust's dictionary, one finds the term *aRi* glossed as "come, let's go!" (term which has also given rise to the directional *mai*); in fact, although *um-aRi* can have the meaning "come, come along, arrive" when used as a movement verb (with the middle voice *-um-*), it can also mean "ask someone to accompany oneself" in Paiwan, i.e. as a displacement verb; but, more importantly, one finds, accompanied by the *(S)i-* which serves to promote a displaced object, *i-aRi* "bring" (Kankanay and Bontok). As for the *-i* in *aRi*, given its injunctive uses, it is very probably the IRREALIS "referent" or "locative focus" marker. We believe that this is our *aR(-)* meaning: "V$_{*aR}$ 'bring'(x,y): V(y)", i.e. "use an object within the process V such that it be affected by the process V or participates in the process V". Such an etymology would obviously have significant consequences for the prehistory of the Austronesian languages and for their subgroupings.

# The Linguistic Value of an Extinct Formosan Language: Favorlang

## Dr Paul Jen-kuei LI

Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica

It is generally recognized that (1) Formosan languages are the most diverse and (2) that they retain many archaic features. Yet there are only 14 extant Formosan languages, whereas many others have become extinct. There is scanty language data for most of the extinct languages. Fortunately we have a fair amount of written documents for three of them, including Basay in northern Taiwan, Favorlang in western plains, and Siraya in southwestern plains. The Biblical translations recorded by the Dutch missionaries in the mid-17th century provide us with valuable texts for both Favorlang and Siraya. Asai recorded some 800 lexical items and 12 texts from the last two speakers of Basay in 1936-37. Adelaar and Tsuchida have made extensive study of the Siraya texts. Yet no one has done any work on Favorlang or Basay grammar except the brief descriptions given by myself. Language data for all the other extinct plains languages varies from 10 lexical items (in Qauqaut) to less than 400 items, as in Taokas, Papora, Babuza and Hoanya.

In this paper I shall study Favorlang texts, work out their grammatical systems, and show how they resemble and/or differ from the other Formosan languages. It is most likely we shall find some divergent linguistic features in this extinct language.

# Yet More Proto-Austronesian Infixes

## Dr Paul Jen-kuei LI

## Dr Shigeru TSUCHIDA

Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica

Compared to prefixation and suffixation, infixation is a rare morphological process in language. Yet it is commonly found in Austronesian languages. Two infixes, *-um- and *-in-, have been reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian (PAn). They are productive and widespread in Formosan and western Austronesian languages. So their reconstruction is generally accepted. Dempwolff (1934-38) reconstructs some lexical forms containing nonproductive infixes called "erstarrte Infixe" (petrified infixes), including *-al-, *-ar- and *-aR-, without further comment. Lopez (1977) discusses this problem in some detail and proposes to add *-el- and *-er- to Dempwolff's *-al-, *-ar- and *-aR-. In this paper

we shall reassess the reconstruction of these nonproductive infixes by providing as many examples from various Formosan languages as possible and some examples from extra-Formosan languages. While we agree with Dempwolff and Lopez in reconstructing *-al- and *-aR-, we disagree with them in reconstructing *-ar-, which is attested in only one Formosan language, Paiwan. Moreover, we propose to reconstruct *-aN-, whose reflexes are found in most Formosan languages. These nonproductive infixes appear mostly in fossilised forms attested in most, if not all, Formosan languages that belong to different major subgroups. We may conclude that these three nonproductive infixes, *-al-, *-aR-, *-aN-, can be reconstructed for PAn, but not the others.

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Reconstruction of PAn morpho-syntax and***
> ***implications for the An settlement on Taiwan***
> organised by
> **John Wolff and Daniel Kaufman**

# When a first person participant
# meets a second person participant:
# Irregularities in personal pronoun systems
# in Philippine languages

## Dr Hsiu-chuan LIAO

National Tsing Hua University

In studies on comparative Austronesian linguistics, the Proto-Austronesian (PAN) (and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP)) first person singular genitive pronoun has commonly been reconstructed as forms containing a formative *(-)ku*: *-ku/*-ŋku (Dyen 1974); *ku (Dahl 1976 [1973]); *iku/*niku (Blust 1977; Reid 1999); PAN *=[a]ku (GEN$_1$)/ *(=m)-aku (GEN$_2$)/ *n-aku (GEN$_3$) and PMP *=ku (GEN$_1$)/ *=n(a)ku (GEN$_2$) (Ross 2006). Although reflexes of the PAN/PMP first person singular genitive pronoun in Philippine languages typically contain a formative *(-)ku*, not all situations involving a first person singular participant will take a *ku*–related form.

This paper explores situations where an unexpected personal pronoun form (typically reflexes of PAN and PMP first person plural inclusive genitive pronoun *ita/*nita (Blust 1977) or PAN *=(i)ta/PMP *=ta (Ross 2006:534)) is employed in place of a first person singular genitive pronoun form in Philippine languages. A special focus of this study will be on situations involving a first person singular participant acting upon a second person (singular and/or plural) participant (e.g.

Karao *Niman bejoen=ta̱ha.* 'Now I will pound you (sg.).' (Brainard 2003:55); Tagalog *Sásamahan=kitá.* 'I will accompany you (sg.)' (English 1987:340)).

On the basis of available data from different microgroups of Philippine languages, it is hoped that the following questions can be answered. First, is the unexpected use of reflexes of a first person plural inclusive genitive pronoun due to *direct inheritance* from their ancestral language, *parallel independent developments* occurring in different Philippine microgroups, or *developments under mutual influence*? Second, what might motivate the use of a first person plural inclusive genitive pronoun in place of a first person singular genitive pronoun in Philippine languages?

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# Attributive possessive constructions
# in Oceanic and elsewhere in Austronesian

## Dr Frank LICHTENBERK

University of Auckland

Pawley (1973) reconstructed a system of attributive possessive constructions for Proto Oceanic (POc) that involved, in recent terminology, a contrast between a direct construction, typically used to express inalienable possession, and two subtypes of indirect possessive construction, typically used to express alienable possession. He considered this possessive system to be an innovation of POc.

However, grammatical distinctions between inalienable and alienable possession are found in some non-Oceanic Austronesian languages, some of which have a binary distinction in alienable possession semantically comparable to that reconstructed by Pawley for POc.

The present paper addresses two issues. First, in spite of the existence of multiple possessive construction types outside of Oceanic, the POc possessive system, as currently reconstructed, does provide evidence for the Oceanic subgroup. Second, there has been a progressive elaboration of the possessive systems: (i) no inalienable-alienable contrast, (ii) inalienable-alienable contrast, (iii) binary alienable contrast, (iv) three-way alienable contrast in POc. There has been no parallel elaboration in the inalienable-possession category. The paper will offer an explanation for this.

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# Vowel Insertion in Paran Seediq

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Students of Seediq, especially of the Paran dialect, owe much of their under-standing of its phonology to Yang (1976) and Li (1991). Their detailed and comprehensive observations and descriptions have made clear its complex phonological system. Based on their findings and the phonological rules they formulated, the present study suggests that there is a vowel insertion that escaped their attention. Such insertion is dubbed '*é*-insertion' by the present

author. The insertion in question introduces a stressed vowel /e/ between the shunned word-internal consonant cluster. It occurs exclusively in a reduplicated /$C_1VC_2C_1VC_2$/ word pattern and cannot be easily observed because of the complex word-final coda condition that adjusts word-final $C_2$. For example, the underlying form of *blébun* 'banana' is /bulbul/ (*belbel* PFN, proto-Fomosan (Li 1995:655)) and that of *blébin* is /bilbil/ respectively. The word *smmesuN* 'to worship; to celebrate' is another example—the underlying /*s-m-emesem*/ (cf. *masumsum* 'to worship' in Bunun) is phonetically realized as [su.mu.me.suN] via the insertion of /e/ vowel plus a word-final adjustment of /m/ to velar nasal /N/.

Subsumed under the correspondence theory (McCarthy and Prince 1995) in OT (Prince and Smolensky 1993), we argue that the output-oriented OT perspective offers a coherent account to *é*-insertion. It helps account for the variations across dialects, e.g. *l-m-ngelung* 'to think'(Paran Seediq) and *l-m-englung* (Taroko Seediq) due to different rankings of violable constraints. Furthermore, *é*-insertion also sheds light on the reconstruction of words such as *qbh-e-niq* 'bird' and *peh-e-pah* 'flower' (cf. *puah* in Bunun, /a/ is introduced by uvular /h/.); stressed *e* in both examples is phonologically inserted and innovative in Paran Seediq and should be ruled out in comparative light.

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# Revisiting the 'poetic language' of the Hanunoo-Mangyan: Is it a 'ritual language'?

## Dr Elisabeth LUQUIN
INaLCO & CASE

After a short general presentation of the Minangyan language of the South-East of Mindoro (Philippines), the paper recapitulates the ethnolinguistic literature on the specific language the Hanunoo-Mangyan employ for their poems (*'ambahan*). According to Postma (1992) and to my own research on the Mangyan rituals, this language is also used by the ritual specialists when dealing with invisible beings (like the life-principle, the dead, or ancestors and malevolent spirits) during the ubiquitous ritual *dāniw*. In fact, the technique of communicating with these beings consists in "humming the words" (*mag-panangbayon*) and the metaphor for this action is "to recite a poem" (*mag-'ambahan*). In analysing some aspects of this 'ritual' language I will try to show that the two are likely to be variants of each other. My hypothesis is that the 'language of poems' is not only a different language for the sake of poetry but probably a socio-cosmic language expressing the relationships between the different beings – humans, malevolent spirits and ancestors – that constitute this society.

# Some obscure Austroasiatic borrowings into Indonesian and Old Malay

## Waruno MAHDI
free-lance

Russell Jones' recent etymological lexicon of Extra-Nusantaran loan-words in Malay/Indonesian (KITLV-press, Leiden, 2007) left out loans from Austroasiatic (AA) languages, indeed for quite understandable reasons. Regardless of still debated aspects of earliest relations between AA and Austronesian, and their bearing on the nature of the oldest stratum of cognate sets as either borrowing or shared inheritance, AA borrowings were apparently acquired over the entire period from that of Proto-Austronesian till Old Malay and later.

The present paper discusses a number of AA loan-words in Malay, particularly rarely or not yet considered ones, of Mon-Khmer (also specifically Old Mon, Old Khmer), Aslian, and other origin, as well as a hitherto not identified early Malay calque from Old Khmer, borrowed in turn into Old Javanese as *ra-kryan* 'a high title'.

It considers the various time-levels at which the respective loans took place (into which proto- or meso-language), and the various routes over which the items were

transported, e.g. by a northern one over SE China and Taiwan southwards through the Philippines, or a southern from Indochina to insular SE Asia, in part with subsequent northward distribution through the Philippines. Historico-phonological criteria for a chronological periodization of the borrowings will be inspected, particularly to distinguish between loans of the Funan period (e.g. *pérak* 'silver, money') and pre-Funan acquisitions (e.g. *kerbau* 'water buffalo').

# Grammatical Simplification in Indonesia

## Prof. John McWHORTER

Manhattan Institute

This paper will address the proliferation of languages in Indonesia that are markedly less grammatically complex than most of the world's languages, to an extent that parallels creole languages. Many authors assume that the relative grammatical simplicity of creoles is due to their origin in pidgin languages. The question is why languages such as many colloquial Malay varieties, many of the languages of Timor, and some languages of Flores would, if examined without identification, be readily supposed to be creole languages themselves. I will outline complex aspects of the relevant grammars despite their paucity of inflectional affixation, and argue that current sociohistorical and linguistic evidence suggests prevalent and heavy second-language acquisition at earlier stages of these languages' histories, which would explain their pidgin/creole-like character despite being unconnected with the circumstances traditionally associated with creolization.

This presentation is part of the panel
***Isolating Austronesian Languages***
organised by
**David Gil and John McWhorter**

# Linguistic feature parallelism in early Tahitian oral poetry

## David MEYER
University of Edinburgh

Tahitian oral poetry had an important, primarily religious role in pre-Contact Tahitian society. It was generally composed by a professional *tahu'a* poet, whose function was abandoned after the society's conversion to Christianity.

Assisted by automated pattern analysis, a corpus of 73 early oral texts was analyzed for linguistic feature parallelism. Assonance, consonance, and the repetition of part-of-speech patterns were the most common poetic structures encountered. This paper will provide examples of their use and distribution, as contrasted to their occasional use in prose.

# West Coast Bajau as a symmetrical voice language

## Dr Mark MILLER
SIL International, Malaysia Branch

West Coast (WC) Bajau is a Sama-Bajaw language spoken along the western and northern coasts of Sabah, on the island of Borneo. Unlike most Sabahan languages, which tend to be of the Philippine type, WC Bajau patterns as an Indonesian-type language. In this paper, I argue that WC Bajau has a SYMMETRICAL VOICE system (Ross 2002, Himmelman 2002) featuring two primary voices (actor and undergoer) with applicative suffixes—an important criterion for an Indonesian-type language, according to Arka and Ross (2005:7). In a symmetrical voice language, the actor and undergoer in both primary voices are treated morphosyntactically like core arguments. In WC Bajau the actor voice (AV) shows both syntactic and semantic transitivity: the AV undergoer behaves syntactically like a core argument, and AV is often used to express a definite and referential undergoer. In its voice system as well as other typological features such as case-marking on NPs, pronoun sets, and rigidity of word order, WC Bajau appears to align more closely with the languages of Sarawak and southeast Kalimantan than it does with the languages of Sabah.

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# Lexical flexibility revisited

## Prof. Ulrike MOSEL

University of Kiel, Germany

Several typologists and Austronesianists – among them Biggs, Broschart, Hengfeld, Himmelmann, Lazard, Mosel and Rijkoff – have claimed that at least some Austronesian languages show a high degree of lexical flexibility as one and the same lexeme can be used as the head of verb phrases, the head of noun phrases and as adnominal modifiers without significant changes in meaning because any differences in meaning are not lexical but can be attributed to the grammatical construction. Others like Evans, Besnier and Vonen reject the notion of lexical flexibility and assume widespread derivation by conversion. A related issue is the classification of adjectives as a subclass of verbs because these words do not only modify nouns, but also combine with TAM particles and form the head of verb complexes.

Until now word class studies relied elicited sentences and on examples found in texts that could prove unexpected uses of lexemes that would prove lexical flexibility. The present paper takes a different approach. On the basis of a corpus of 170 000 words of an Oceanic language it investigates the frequency of selected lexemes in the function of NP heads, VC heads and adnominal modifiers. The selected lexemes are the translation equivalents of the lexical universals proposed by Goddard and Wierzbicka, e.g. 'do', 'think'. 'know', 'feel', 'say'; 'person', 'thing', 'good', 'bad', 'big', and 'small', and in addition 'go', 'be at a place', 'man' and 'woman'. The quantitative investigation reveals that in this language lexical flexibility does indeed occur, but that it is restricted to certain constructions – the lexeme 'person', for example, only occurs in negated VCs, and that each lexeme clearly shows a preference for nominal, verbal or adjectival constructions, respectively.

In conclusion, the paper suggests that lexical flexibility is a matter of degree and that the degree of flexibility of lexemes varies and is restricted to certain constructions. These findings are, in my view, highly relevant for corpus based lexicography in Austronesian languages.

# Information structure and argument markers in Fagauvea/West Uvean

## Dr Claire MOYSE-FAURIE
CNRS, France
## Alexandre DJOUPA
INALCO, France

Fagauvea/West Uvean (Uvea, Loyalty islands) is one of the few Polynesian Outliers which has totally lost the Proto-Polynesian ergative marker (PPn \**e*).

For those Outliers which have preserved this marker, we will discuss the constraints (word order, verb valency, role and syntactic category of arguments) as well as the advantages (disambiguation, focus on the agent) associated with this preservation.

For Fagauvea, we will describe how other expressions such as the personal article *a* (1) or the predicative marker *go* (2), a reflex of PPn \**ko*, seem to have taken over the role of the ergative marker to avoid the ambiguity resulting from its loss whenever the optional word order VOS or OVS is used:

(1)  *Goa oti      kaina de ulu-ika    **a**    de   kovi*
     PFV  finished  eat.TR ART head-fish  **PERS**  ART  human.being
     'The man has finished eating the fish head.'

(2)  *Na   sunua  anāfi      de   vaka a    Vito  **go**   Sele.*
     PAST burn.TR yesterday  ART  boat POSS Vito  PRED  Sele
     'Sele set fire to Victor's boat yesterday.'

The Fagauvean information structure will also be discussed in the light of the new actancy reorganisation.

# Subject and topic in Lamaholot, Eastern Flores

## Naonori NAGAYA
Rice University

This paper will examine Lamaholot from the eastern end of the island, where some traces of the earlier morphology as well as what appears to be innovative morphology is seen. For example, Lamaholot has several distinct ways of marking a grammatical subject: agreement enclitics, prefixes, and irregularly inflecting verbs. In addition to exploring the forms and functions of these markers, I will discuss the aspects of the AF/PF contrast in different syntactic contexts (e.g. serial verb constructions, control constructions, etc.).

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***The Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara:***
> ***Morphological attrition and voice***
> organised by
> **Masayoshi Shibatani**

# Space and motion in Lamaholot

## Naonori NAGAYA

Rice University

Lamaholot (Central Malayo-Polynesian, eastern Indonesia) has directionals, namely, grammatical devices for referring to space and motion relative to geographical reference points such as a mountain and the sea. In the Nurabelen dialect of Lamaholot, with which the present paper is concerned, there are five directionals: *rae* 'toward a mountain', *lau* 'toward the sea', *wəli* 'at the same level along the mountain-sea axis', *teti* 'toward the sky' and *lali* 'toward the ground'.

The present paper describes the way Lamaholot speakers express space and motion using these directionals, and discusses the interaction of the directionals with other aspects of Lamaholot grammar. After providing an overview of the directional system, I make the following claims. First, the directionals in Lamaholot are organized along two geographical axes: the mountain-sea axis and the sky-ground axis (Figure 1). Attention is



Figure 1

also drawn to locative nouns such as *onə̃* 'inside' and *wohoʔ* 'outside'. The combination of directionals and locative nouns enables a fine description of space and motion.
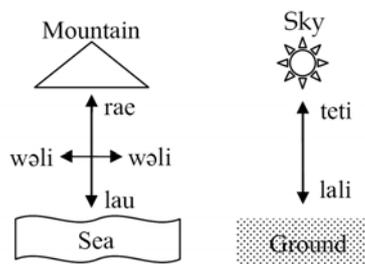
Second, the directionals have several different syntactic functions, that is, predicative, prepositional, adverbial, attributive, and referential functions, their spatial conceptualizations remaining the same. For attributive and referential uses, nasalized forms are employed: *rəẽʔ, laũʔ, wəlĩʔ, tetĩʔ*, and *lalĩʔ*.

Third, the directionals can be used to indicate a direction of motion. I examine three different types of motion events here: non-agentive motion (1), agentive (causative) motion (2), and fictive (abstract) motion (3) (cf. Talmy 1985, Matsumoto in preparation).

Lastly, the directionals form an integral part of spatial expressions in this language, being differentiated from other space-related grammatical elements such as demonstratives and prepositions. Demonstratives are used to indicate a

location or direction deictically, namely, with reference to speech-act participants, while prepositions encode spatial relations without mentioning geographical landmarks or speech-act participants that can serve as reference points.

(1)  *Hugo  n-aʔi-aʔ      rae            laŋoʔ   n-ai.*
     Hugo  3SG-go-3SG  toward.mountain   house   3SG-go
     'Hugo went toward the mountain to the house.'

(2)  *Hugo   sepa   bal   lau          n-ai.*
     Hugo   kick   ball   toward.sea   3SG-go
     'Hugo kicked the ball toward the sea.'

(3)  *Hugo    notõ   rae            n-ai.*
     Hugo    look   toward.mountain   3SG-go
     'Hugo looked toward the mountain.'

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# Two types of content questions in Central Bunun:
# Why is *Via* 'Why' different?

## Motoyasu NOJIMA

Sagami Women's University

This paper discusses content questions in Bunun. A special focus is placed on the distinction between *Via* "why" questions and other content questions involving *simaq* "who", *laquaq* "when", *'isaq* "where", etc. The former are different from the latter in four respects:

- (A) *Via* "why" has no *-q* ending. In contrast, other ordinary interrogative words have *-q* ending;
- (B) *Via* "why" requires a complement clause, whereas other ordinary interrogative words do not;
- (C) *Via* "why" sentences almost always require the particle *i'*, whereas ordinary content questions take the particle *tu* sentence-finally; and
- (D) *Via* "why" sentences optionally allow the verb in its complement clause to take a special interrogative form marked by the suffix *-av.*

These grammatical distinctions in Bunun seem to reflect universal semantic difference between the two types of content questions: ordinary content

questions query the identity of an element within a single proposition, whereas "why" interrogates the causal link between two propositions. Thus "why" questions are more apt to be expressed by bi-clausal constructions.

To support this claim, I will show examples of typologically diverse languages which distinguish "why" questions from other types of interrogative word questions grammatically.

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# A description of Bunun lexical prefix *makis-/pakis-* — morphological reflexes of PAN *\*makiS-/pakiS-*

**Motoyasu NOJIMA**

Sagami Women's University

This paper describes a verbal prefix *makis-/pakis-*, one of the lexical prefixes, meaning "to request, ask for" in Southern Bunun (Taiwan). The prefix *makis-/pakis-* is so far attested in Southern Bunun only with nine bases (e.g. *makis-dangaz* [AF.LP(request)-help] "to help someone to do requesting"). This paper describes the morphological, syntactic, and semantic aspects of the prefix. In addition, an attempt to reconstruct PAN *\*makiS-/pakiS-* is made in this paper by investigating the historical relationship among the lexical prefix *makis-/pakis-* in Bunun, *ki-* in other Austronesian Taiwan languages, and *maki-/paki-* found in Philippine languages such as Ilokano and Tagalog. As far as I know, such a reconstruction has never been proposed in the previous studies of Proto-Austronesian verb morphology.

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# The fish and the loom – an attempt at a semantic reconstruction

**Prof. Bernd NOTHOFER**

Retired (Goethe Universität, Frankfurt/Germany)

Dempwolff (1938) reconstructs *\*bali[dD]a* 'name of fish' and *\*balija* 'part of the loom'. Blust (2001) suggests the reconstruction of *\*baRija* for the second etymon. Blust does not deal with the first form in his Austronesian Etymologies, since Dempwolff (1938) does not suggest a reconstruction for a higher-order proto-language (citing reflexes for Malay and Ngaju-Dayak only) . The paper will show that the reconstruction of the second item suffices to explain the Malay and Ngaju-Dayak forms, since the similarity between the shapes of the tool and the fish (in most cases the Notopterus notopterus) speak in favour of a metaphorical relationship between the tool and the animal.

# Les épopées *iko-iko* chez les Bajos d'Indonésie

## Dr Chandra NURAINI

Université de La Rochelle, France

Le sama-bajau est un groupe de langues austronésiennes parlées par une population installée généralement sur le littoral en Malaisie (Sabah), aux Philippines (Sulu) et sur de très nombreux rivages de l'est indonésien. Notre terrain est l'archipel Kangean, à l'est de Madura.

Les *iko-iko* sont des œuvres de littérature orale, transmises de génération en génération. Ces longues épopées sont chantées de nuit par un homme seul, sans accompagnement musical. Ce genre littéraire est propre à la culture Bajo (ou Sama-Bajau), et comme beaucoup d'œuvres de littérature orale, il est menacé et a même totalement disparu de nombreuses de communautés Bajo.

Indépendamment de l'ancrage des *iko-iko* dans la culture de la "diaspora" Bajo, nous définissons ce genre par ses caractéristiques formelles. Les *iko-iko* narrent des aventures héroïques, un récit d'aventures dont le héros est un jeune homme. On y trouve des éléments merveilleux, c'est-à-dire l'intervention de forces surnaturelles, par l'intermédiaire du *Mbo'*, l'ancêtre. Chaque *iko-iko* combine un voyage ou quête initiatique par laquelle le héros adolescent devient un homme, une quête amoureuse impliquant autant la jeune fille que le jeune homme, et un combat contre des opposants, rivaux amoureux et/ou pirates. Les pirates sont omniprésents dans les *iko-iko*, ennemis féroces vaincus par le héros.

Les *iko-iko* sont des œuvres à multiples facettes : le héros n'est pas toujours très moral, le monde représenté est à la fois familier (éléments du quotidien) et merveilleux (éléments surnaturels). Une circonstance pathétique peut être suivie d'une situation comique, d'une péripétie épique ou d'une allusion érotique. Ce mélange des registres, ce "spectacle total" évoque irrésistiblement le théâtre. Nous pensons que, comme la tragédie antique était supposée le faire, le *iko-iko* a pour but de "purger" le public de ses tensions et de ses soucis.

# Particules énonciatives et ordre des mots en betsileo : L'expérience d'une apprenante du betsileo

## Louise OUVRARD

CEROI, France

Ce travail se propose de démontrer qu'en betsileo comme dans toute autre langue, les locuteurs disposent de différents moyens pour adapter au mieux leurs énoncés à leurs intentions communicationnelles. Il s'intéresse plus particulière-

ment à deux caractéristiques de l'oral, les variations de l'ordre des mots et l'emploi de particules énonciatives.

L'analyse, qui se situe dans le cadre de la théorie sur la structure information-nelle, s'appuie uniquement sur un corpus oral constitué de textes issus de vraies situations de communication.

Cette analyse permet d'établir que, bien que cette langue soit présentée comme étant à ordre des mots fixe, le locuteur y dispose d'une certaine latitude pour marquer l'ordre des mots de son énoncé.

L'analyse permet également de mettre en évidence l'utilisation en tant que particules énonciatives de six mots de la langue. Ces six mots sont plus spécifiquement étudiés et leur emploi en tant que particule énonciative, *démontré.*

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# The Malay Varieties of Eastern Indonesia: How, When and Where They Became Isolating Language Varieties

**Dr Scott PAAUW**

University of Rochester

The Malay language has been spread throughout the Indonesian archipelago through trade and language contact over the past two millennia, and several significant communities speaking Malay have arisen in eastern Indonesia, far from the Malay homeland, in locations such as the North Moluccas, Ambon, Manado, Kupang and Papua. These varieties developed from trade languages into the native languages of their communities without sustained contact with the homeland, and, until Indonesian independence, without a morphologically complex "high" variety of the language available. The Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia make little use of affixation, although reduplication remains a highly productive morphological process, and have a distinctive isolating character in common with Low Malay varieties of western Indonesia and modern colloquial Indonesian varieties which have developed throughout the archipelago. The isolating nature of the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia can be attributed not to language contact and the process of creolization, but rather to the nature of the source varieties of Malay which brought the language to the region. These varieties are collectively known as Vehicular Malay and were themselves isolating languages which featured a distinct lack of affixation. This study presents the morphological character of the eastern Indonesian Malay varieties, and posits that these varieties all developed (with the notable exception of Larantuka Malay), in eastern Indonesia, from a single variety, which itself grew out of the Vehicular Malay brought to the region by traders from western Indonesia and the Malay peninsula. The typological and morphological character of this original eastern Indonesian variety, as well as the typological and morphological character of Vehicular Malay can be largely reconstructed from

the features shared among the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, and a possible reconstruction is presented. If the isolating nature of the Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia are not attributable to language contact and creolization, then the ultimate source of the development of the loss of affixation in low varieties of Malay must be traced back to the homeland. This issue is discussed, and several possible scenarios are presented which might have led to the original "undressing" of Malay, an event which occurred before the language was brought to eastern Indonesia.

This presentation is part of the panel
***Isolating Austronesian Languages***
organised by
**David Gil and John McWhorter**

# VSO order and the VP in Oceanic

**Dr Bill PALMER**

University of Newcastle

In this paper I argue that Kokota and Roviana, two Oceanic languages analysed as displaying VSO order, are in fact VOS and therefore display a true VP, but that no movement is required to account for this.

Any theory of grammar postulating universal underlying structures must somehow account for configurational languages that appear to lack a VP by failing to collocate the verb and its complement. Languages with apparent VSO structure therefore pose a particular problem for such theories. Of the 1228 languages surveyed by Dryer (2005), only 85 (6.9%) are given as displaying VSO order. Of these, 20, or almost one quarter, are Austronesian. In this respect, therefore, Austronesian languages are highly significant in understanding the architecture of clause-level syntax. Of the Austronesian VSO languages surveyed by Dryer, 11 are Philippine type languages and one is Sulawesi. The remaining eight are Oceanic. These include Yapese, the five Polynesian languages in the sample, and Kokota and Roviana, two languages of the Northwest Solomonic subgroup.

Attempts have been made to account for VSO order in the Philippines type, primarily Chamorro (Chung 1998, 2005), and in Polynesian, primarily Niuean (Massam 2000, 2005; Otsuka 2005). In keeping with the theoretical frameworks of these studies, VSO results from movement, with an underlying structure assumed to be SVO (Massam 2005; Otsuka 2005), or VOS (Chung 1998:129-141; 2005). In this paper I investigate apparent VSO structure in Kokota (Palmer 2002, 2008) and Roviana (Corsten 1996, Corsten-Oliver 2002), concluding that they are in fact VOS

with a VP, but that in this case no movement is needed to account for their surface structures.

In these languages transitive clauses appear to display object agreement (1), while indefinite objects appear to be incorporated in a construction lacking agreement (2). I argue instead that, as in Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987), object forms like those in (1) are weak pronouns and are the argument, while the accompanying doubled full NP is not the complement but an adjunct present when required for referent tracking. This accounts for the fact that pronominal forms in apparently VSO clauses like (1) are not omissible while the doubled NP is (3), that they occur outside inflection (4), and that themselves may (but need not) carry demonstrative clitics (1). I further argue that 'incorporated' objects as in (2) are not morphologically incorporated, and do not even represent noun stripping (Miner 1986, 1989) or composition by juxtaposition (Mithun 1984: 849-852), as they comprise constituents larger than bare N (5), and occur outside inflection (4). Instead they are indefinite object NPs in a transitive construction, lacking a definite article in SPEC. Unlike Chichewa, these alternate with definite pronominal objects in a single complement position, outside inflection (4), but inside VP.

I conclude that Kokota and Roviana lack true object agreement, but do have a VP after all. They display VOS clause structure, not VSO, but no movement is needed to account for the data. Objects are base-generated in-situ, and comprise an NP with empty SPEC if indefinite, or a weak pronoun optionally accompanied by an NP adjunct if definite. Kokota and Roviana therefore satisfy a requirement for a tight syntactic link between the verb and its complement without the need for an underlying structure distinct from that observed on the surface.

**Data**

Kokota

(1) a. ka    hei    n-o-ke        hodi=ri=re          aɣo      **kaku**     **are**
    LOC   who    RL-2S-PFV   take=3PLO=those   youSG   banana   those
    'Who did you get those bananas from?'

   b. n-e     hoda    mai=**ni=na**            manei   **naṃari**     **ana**
    RL-3S   take    come=3sGO=that    he         fish          that
    'He brought that fish.'

(2) a. n-e     hoda    **naṃari**     manei
    RL-3S   take    fish         he
    'He took fish.'

(3) a. vaka    dou      ana      hodi=**ri**     g-e       age     rasalo
    ship    be.big   thatN   take=3PLO   NT-3S   go       PNLOC
    'That big ship took them and went to Russell.'

   b. *n-e hoda manei **naṃari**

(4) a. *n-e-ke* *ŋau* **ɣe-na** **naɱari** *manei*
RL-3S-PFV eat IPFV-3SGS fish he
'He has just been eating fish.'

   b. *n-a* *hoda* **no-gu=di** *ara* *palu* *kokorako* *ide*
RL-1EXCS take IPFV-1SGS=3PLO I two chicken theseR
'I'm taking these two chickens.'

(5) a. *n-o* *hoda* **tehi** **kaku**
RL-2S take many banana
'You took many bananas.'

   b. *n-a* *hoda* **ɣe-gu** **kaku**
RL-1EXCS take CNSM-1SGP banana
'I'm taking my bananas (to eat).'

   c. *n-a-ke* *friŋe* **suga** **tetena**
RL-1EXCS-PFV work house sago
'We built sago-thatch houses.'

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# Kapampangan Lexical Borrowing from Tagalog:
# Endangerment rather than Enrichment

## Michael PANGILINAN

Pampanga Arts Guild

It has sometimes been argued that the Kapampangan language will not be endangered by lexical borrowings from other languages; and that lexical borrowings help enrich a language rather than endanger it.

This paper aims to prove otherwise. Rather than being enriched, the socio-politically dominant Tagalog language has been replacing many indigenous words in the Kapampangan language in everyday communication. A number of everyday words that have been in use 20 years ago – *bígâ* (clouds), *sangkan* (reason), *bungsul* (to faint) and *talágâ* (artesian well) just to name a few – have all been replaced by Tagalog loan words and are no longer understood by most young people.

This paper would present a list of all the words that have been replaced by Tagalog, and push the issue that lexical borrowing from a dominant language leads to endangerment rather than enrichment.

# Assessing the current status of the Kapampangan "pre-Hispanic" script

## Michael PANGILINAN

Pampanga Arts Guild

The term "pre-Hispanic" in referring to the indigenous non-Roman script that is used to represent the Kapampangan language is a bit problematic. Although it is in fact a script that was in use prior to the Spanish conquest of Luzon in 1571, it also connotes the idea of something that ceased to exist at the onset of Spanish colonisation. The indigenous script is still in use today, ironically among a growing number of Kapampangan youth.

Though considered an "antique" by the time of Marcilla (1895), it was also said to have been revived around this time and brought over to the 20th century by no other than Aurelio Tolentino, a Kapampangan writer of the Wáwâ tradition and a celebrated ultranationalist who was known to be one of the first thirteen members of Andres Bonifacio's anti-Spanish revolutionary society, the Katipunan. Tolentino has had a profound influence on a number of Kapampangan nationalists, mystics and intellectuals. Among them was Zoilo Hilario, founder of the Akademyang Kapampangan, who used the indigenous script as a basis for his campaign to change the Spanish style Kapampangan orthography. In the 1990s, a group of Kapampangan advocates once again began to revive and popularise the Kapampangan script.

This paper will present the indigenous non-Roman Kapampangan script as it is being used today, including an instruction on how to read and write them, a comparison to other existing indigenous scripts, a brief history and assessment.

# An unlikely retention

## Hugh J. PATERSON

## Kenneth S. OLSON

SIL International

The (inter)dental approximant [ð̞] of the Philippine language, Kagayanen[1] has recently been claimed to be both phonemic and a retention from a proto language (Olson et al. 2007). It is the goal of this paper to demonstrate how the (inter)dental approximant compares with the *R of Proto-Austronesian and to give a possible explanation for the variety of reflexes of *R seen in the Philippine Languages[2] (PL). Much has been written about PAn *R and its role in the

subgrouping of PL. Unfortunately, less has been published on the possible phonetic properties of *R. My suggestions in this paper for the phonetic value of *R are based on phonetic detail of the (inter)dental approximant described by Olson & Mielke 2007 and other descriptions from Northern Philippine Languages.

In historical linguistics, our assumptions about a proto-language's phoneme inventory are limited by our understanding of the phoneme inventory of the daughter languages. Without the right observations on the daughter languages, we are liable to make invalid conclusions about their proto forms. There has been a lack of attention given to the phonemic status of the (inter)dental approximant because of its mis-categorization as an allophone of [l] or [r]. This oversight has affected the perceived options available in the reconstruction of the phoneme inventory of PAn.

[1] The ISO 639–3 code for Kagayanen is [CGC].
[2] The term "Philippine languages" in this paper will follow Blust (1991).

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# On the treatment of plant and animal names in bilingual dictionaries: Lessons from Oceania

## Prof. Andrew PAWLEY

Australian National University

*The Lexicon of Proto Oceanic* is an in-progress series of volumes seeking to reconstruct the way culture and environment is represented in the language immediately ancestral to the large Oceanic subgroup. The shortcomings of existing dictionaries of Oceanic languages have been a serious handicap in this project. This paper will reflect on desiderata for the dictionary treatment of terms for plants and animals, which typically make up more than ten percent of the headwords in dictionaries of Oceanic languages and represent major domains of traditional knowledge. Adequate description of terms for biological taxa needs to be underpinned by systematic research into their lexical semantics as well as providing scientific IDs and information about cultural uses and associations. The task of making dictionaries of little-described languages has for too long been left to individual scholars poorly trained in systematic lexicography. It is time the movement for documenting endangered languages recognised that making a good dictionary is a huge and technically complex enterprise that requires a

research team that includes a range of supporting specialists in various fields as well as scholars expert in lexical semantics.

This presentation is part of the panel
***Dictionary Making in Austronesian Linguistics***
organised by
**Andrew Pawley**

# Polynesian paradoxes: Subgroups, wave models and the dialect geography of Proto Polynesian

## Prof. Andrew PAWLEY

Australian National University

Two puzzles associated with the early development of the Polynesian languages will be addressed. (1) How did the ancestral Polynesian language continue to evolve as a unity after it had split irrevocably into two subgroups? It is clear, from the vast number of innovations that they share, that the Polynesian languages underwent many centuries (perhaps a millennium) of relatively unified development after separating from their nearest relatives. Yet it is also evident that, quite early in this period of common development, Polynesian split into a Tongic branch (from which stem Tongan and Niuean) and a Nuclear Polynesian branch (ancestral to all other Polynesian languages). (2) The Tongic/ Nuclear Polynesian split is not reflected in lexicostatistical comparisons, which suggest a first split between a Western Polynesian group (plus certain Outliers) and an Eastern Polynesian group. It seems that the relatively high lexico-statistical percentages shared by languages of western Polynesia cannot (in most cases) be attributed to lexical borrowing after the divergence of Eastern Polynesian. How, then, can this conflict between innovation-based and lexicostatistical groupings be resolved?

Building on the work of Marck (2001) and others, this paper seeks to throw light on the sequence of events by investigating early Polynesian dialect geography, focusing on the distribution of particular innovations and the direction and relative chronology of their spread. I will argue against the view of Rensch (1987) that in western Polynesia waves of diffusion spread so erratically and continuously across a network of communities as to make subgrouping impossible. When we add relative chronology to the isoglosses we are led back to the standard family tree interpretation. The higher lexicostatistical percentages found in western Polynesia mainly reflect slower rates of lexical replacement than in Eastern Polynesian, which underwent an initial burst of relatively rapid change in basic lexicon.

# Austronesian Etyma and Proto-Tai sesquisyllabicity

## Pittayawat PITTAYAPORN

Cornell University

The relationship between Austronesian and Kra-Dai (generally known as Tai-Kadai) became a subject of serious controversy when Benedict (1942, 1975) proposes that the two families form a phylum known as "Austro-Thai." Although his evidence and methodology are usually viewed as seriously flawed (Gedney 1976; Diller 1998), a connection of some kind cannot be denied, especially in the light of work by Ostapirat (2005) and Sagart (2004). One major challenge in clarifying that connection is how to relate the polysyllabic Austronesian to the monosyllabic Tai branch of Kra-Dai. On the bases of Kra-Dai internal evidence, I propose that Proto-Tai (PT) in fact possessed sesquisyllabic etyma. Contra Li (1977), I argue that reconstructing only monosyllabic etyma for PT cannot account for the range of existing initial correspondences. Furthermore, I show that many of these sesquisyllables have correspondences in Austronesian, and provide tentative reconstruction for these etyma. Examples include PT *p.qa:$^A$ ~ PAN *paqa, PT *t.ha:j$^C$ ~ PAN *Caŋis, and PT *C.dip$^D$ ~ PAN *qudip.

# Tracking Agutaynen language vitality (1984-2009)

## Dr J. Stephen QUAKENBUSH

SIL International

Smaller languages of the Philippines have evolved and persisted over the centuries in an environment of multilingualism, sometimes in spite of predictions regarding their sure demise. On the basis of over 200 face-to-face interviews in the mid-1980s, Quakenbush (1987) characterized the vitality of the Agutaynen language as relatively robust. The vast majority of Agutaynen speakers at that time used the Agutaynen language exclusively and extensively for in-group communication, while using Cuyonon, Tagalog, or English for other purposes. On the whole, they spoke Agutaynen more and better than any of these other languages. What is the situation like now, twenty-five years later? Have behavior and attitudes toward the language changed appreciably? Were predictions accurate about the immediate future of the Agutaynen language? Are young parents still using it with their children? What might happen in the next generation? This paper compares two snapshots of Agutaynen language vitality

taken a generation apart. It summarizes intervening and current local language revitalization efforts.

## The Function and Origin of the Saaroa Morpheme *sa(a)-*

### Prof. Paula RADETZKY

Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University

Although the Saaroa morpheme *sa(a)-* has been mentioned in the literature as a « Special Focus » marker (Tsuchida 1976) or a « Referential Focus » marker (Li 1997), its function and origin have remained a mystery. Here, I analyze its contemporary role as a device to overtly mention two third-person participants in a single clause by backgrounding one participant and foregrounding the other. I offer evidence in support of this from a discourse-analytic standpoint as well as from *sa(a)-*'s grammatical distribution. Finally, based on its form and function, I propose that *sa(a)-* is historically derived from a third-person pronoun.

## Musical idioms and linguistics in Eastern Indonesia (Lamaholot linkage)

### Dr Dana RAPPOPORT

CNRS, France

Lamaholot (formerly called *bahasa* Solor) is one of the main language of Eastern Flores, Adonara, Solor and Lembata islands, with some speakers in Pantar and Alor's coasts. It is Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian; it is probably spoken by more than 300 000 speakers. Sometimes, Lamaholot is considered be a lingua franca. However, linguists do not agree about the boundaries of this Lamaholot chain.

A striking aspect of music in this area is the great variety in singing styles found in a comparatively narrow geographical compass. This variety is particularly acute in the organization of polyphonic singing. A one year ethno-musicological fieldwork in the area (2006-2007) shows a precise mapping of singing styles that does not match the linguistic subgroups. This paper will question the gap between musical idioms and linguistic in the Lamaholot chain.

# The identity of Oceanic as a subgroup of Austronesian

**Dr Ger REESINK**

Radboud University Nijmegen

The Oceanic languages form a well-established daughter node in the AN tree of descent (Ross 1988; Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002), based on a number of phonological and morpho-syntactic innovations, which have allowed a reconstruction of Proto-Oceanic.

Proto-Oc and its immediate sister, SHWNG, are language families that are found within the Papuan expanse. A few publications have compared typical - in the sense of predominant frequency - AN and Papuan features in all domains of grammar (Foley 1998, 2000; Ross 2001).

More than 150 binary structural features of individual Papuan and Austronesian languages yield typological profiles that can be assigned to a small number of different linguistic populations. The bioinformatic program structure (Pritchard et al. 2000) uses a Bayesian clustering algorithm to reveal population structure of a large number of individuals on the basis of shared presence or absence of abstract structural features. Comparison of the set of defining alleles of these linguistic populations allows us to identify to what extent Papuan influences have caused Oceanic languages to be a separate lineage within the AN family.

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Taking phylogeny seriously:***
> ***New computational methods and results***
> organised by
> **Russell Gray**

# Farming Terminologies in Four Bicol Dialects

**Ms Jane Denisse RELLETA**
**Ms Scel BENDITAHAN**
**Dr Angela LORENZANA**
Bicol University, Legazpi, Philippines

This study intends to explore and seek answers to the following problems:

1. What are the farming terms in the Eastern Bikol dialects which are Bikol-Legazpi and Bikol-Tabaco and the Western Bikol dialects which are Bikol-

Camalig and Bikol-Daraga in terms of:
- o   Common Names of Plants
- o   Planting terms
- o   Harvesting Terms
- o   Kinds of Pests
- o   Common Tools and Equipment

2. What are the lexical similarities and differences of these four dialects?

3. What is the degree of mutual intelligibility between the Eastern dialects, between the Western dialects and between the Eastern and the Western dialects?

The respondents of this study are the farmers aged 30 and above and residents of neighboring towns of Albay province which include Tabaco, Legazpi, Daraga and Camalig. This study makes use of interview.

# The verbal art of Palawan highlanders: an archive

## Dr Nicole REVEL

CNRS, France

The monographic work on the Palawan, a national community of Central Philippines and its culture, began in 1970. Parallel to investigations in ethnoscience, it encompasses the structural analysis of the language, its poetics, rhetoric, the ethnography of speaking and music.

It is now time to construct a multimedia archive of this intangible heritage, to transmit its memory by way of modern supports, which I have followed and explored as they progressively appeared.

First the architecture of this archive will be presented. Based on the relevant vernacular categories and the various levels of contrasts, it governs the integration of texts transcribed from the oral performances as they have been observed, taped, videotaped and photographed. Translations are in French and partly in English.

In order to introduce this work in progress, we shall focus on two highly contrasted forms of oral compositions with musical accompaniment. On the one hand, *Karang ät Kulilal,* love song debates, an invitation to a joust between men and women, and on the other hand, *tultul,* the song of long tales, sometimes with the accompaniment of a tiny ring flute, *bäbäräk.*

Distinct from the Philippines Oral Epics Archives sheltered in Ateneo de Manila, this digitized archive is being processed in Paris. However it is done with the Palawan of the Mäkägwaq and Tämlang Valleys. In the context of today threats to their ancestral lands, it is primarily dedicated to them.

# Hospitality and confrontation:
# Transforming the translinguistic system in the Marquesas, F.P.

**Dr Kathleen C. RILEY**

Concordia University

Contrasts in the code-switching practices of children and adults can be analyzed as both symptoms and facilitators of sociohistorical shifts in the cultural and translinguistic systems of a multilingual population. For several generations, the inhabitants of the Marquesas, French Polynesia, have acquired not only their Eastern Polynesian language and French, but also some Tahitian and English, and have confronted code choices in their daily lives that were primarily resolved as a reflex of the speech situation and the needs of their interlocutors. However, the last two decades have seen a growing use of conversational code-switching that cannot be ascribed to context or participants alone. Instead, an analysis of the form, functions, and meanings of particular code-switches reveals that the code-switching of the young is mediated by a far more complex array of metapragmatic parameters, some of which represent interesting transformations on the usage and ideological underpinnings of adults. In fact, young Marquesans appear now to be forging a syncretic code-switching register as a resource for marking their ambivalent identification with both Marquesan and Western cultures. Using natural discourse data from the ethnographic study of language socialization in the Marquesas, this paper contrasts the code-switching practices of children and adults at two points in time (1993 and 2003) and explores the ways in which these both reflect and help effect shifts in the practice and valuation of hospitality and confrontation, two values with deep roots in pan-Polynesian cultures and the historic responses of particular populations to the impact of the West.

# Proto Austronesian verbal morphology:  a reappraisal

## Prof. Malcolm ROSS

Australian National University

In this paper I suggest that the system of verbal morphology hitherto reconstructed for Proto Austronesian (PAn) did not yet exist in PAn. Instead, the PAn system more closely resembled the pre-PAn system reconstructed by Ross (1995). Evidence in support of this suggestion is drawn mainly from the Formosan language Puyuma, which reflects the alleged pre-PAn system rather than the system previously reconstructed for PAn. Additional support is found in Tsou and Rukai, two other Formosan languages whose verbal systems are more readily derived from the pre-PAn system than the PAn system.

A corollary of demoting the reconstructed PAn system to a lower node in the Austronesian tree is that the languages that reflect it belong to a subgroup which excludes Puyuma, Tsou and Rukai. This subgroup, which I dub 'Nuclear Austronesian', includes all other Austronesian languages. That is, I claim (somewhat tentatively) that Proto Austronesian underwent a primary four-way split into Puyuma, Tsou, Rukai and Proto Nuclear Austronesian. This claim entails only a minor conflict with the subgrouping proposals made by Blust (1999), who classifies the Formosan languages into nine subgroups. The proposal here calls into question just one of these subgroups, Tsouic, as it treat Tsou as a single-member offshoot of PAn but assigns the other two members, Kanakanavu and Saaroa, to Nuclear Austronesian.

This presentation is part of the panel
***Reconstruction of PAn morpho-syntax and implications for the An settlement on Taiwan***
organised by
**John Wolff and Daniel Kaufman**

# PAn morphology in phylogenetic perspective

## Dr Laurent SAGART

Centre de Recherches Linguistiques sur l'Asie Orientale, EHESS, Paris

This paper will describe the mainland origins of some of the PAN focus affixes: it will be argued that the PAN Patient focus marker *-en is cognate with the Sino-Tibetan -n nominalizer suffix, and that the PAN Si- instrumental focus marker is cognate with the Sino-Tibetan s- prefix, one function of which is to derive names of circumstants (locative, instrumental).

The paper will further discuss the development of verbal morphology between PAN and PMP in connection with Formosan subgrouping. Two important innovations will be discussed: (1) the interdiction of verbal forms combining the *-en patient focus marker and the perfective marker *ni-/-in- and (2) the extension of *ki- derivations to verbal roots. It will be shown that these two innovations are mutually compatible, and further, that they are broadly compatible with the innovations in the numerals system already presented by the author.

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Reconstruction of PAn morpho-syntax and
> implications for the An settlement on Taiwan***
> organised by
> **John Wolff and Daniel Kaufman**

# Les combinaisons affixales *ter-/-kan* et *ter-/-i*
# en indonésien contemporain

## Dr Jérôme SAMUEL

INaLCO et CASE

Le développement du système affixal indonésien, qu'il s'agisse de la multiplication des formes affixées ou de l'apparition de nouveaux affixes et de nouvelles combinaisons affixales, est l'une des caractéristiques les plus frappantes de l'indonésien contemporain, même lorsqu'on le compare à des états de la langue peu anciens (années 1940 et 1950).

Parmi ces combinaisons, nous nous intéressons ici à celle des affixes verbaux *ter-, -kan* et *–i* : *ter+kan* et *ter+i*. En effet, si les affixes considérés ont été individuel-

lement bien étudiés, leur combinaison est mal connue, malgré sa fréquence croissante. Le rôle des suffixes, en particulier, n'est pas encore expliqué de manière globale et satisfaisante; d'ailleurs, l'avis des locuteurs sur l'acceptabilité ou la nécessité de l'un ou l'ou l'autre des suffixes associé à *ter-* pour une base donnée est parfois trés variable.

Nous nous proposons de d'examiner la question dans son ensemble, en mettant l'accent sur le rôle modal joué par les suffixes verbaux. Nous incluons dans le corpus réuni pour cette étude des formes peu lexicalisées, soit proposées dans des dictionnaires prescriptifs de l'agence indonésienne d'action linguistique, soit non attestées mais admises par des locuteurs natifs.

# Genetic evidence for the peopling of Taiwan

## Prof. Alicia SANCHEZ-MAZAS

University of Geneva

Taiwan is peopled by a number of aboriginal populations whose languages belong to the Austronesian family. How and when Austronesian-speakers settled this island and the role of Taiwan in the colonization of the Pacific are still a matter of dispute among geneticists, despite convincing evidence in other disciplines, like archaeology and linguistics. Here we investigate the genetic diversity and relationships of a large set of populations from East Asia and Taiwan tested for several genetic markers related to the immunoglobuline gene family (GM and several HLA loci). The results indicate a close relationship between western Taiwanese and continental Asian populations, as well as a loss of genetic diversity within populations from western to southern and south-eastern Taiwan. This pattern is compatible with a colonization of Taiwan from China to the west of the island and population dispersal towards the south and east, as advocated by the Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian linguistic theory proposed by Sagart. Alternative scenarios on the peopling history of Taiwan are discussed in relation to the overall results from genetic and linguistic research fields.

This presentation is part of the panel
***Reconstruction of PAn morpho-syntax and***
***implications for the An settlement on Taiwan***
organised by
**John Wolff and Daniel Kaufman**

# Isolating Timor: Analyticity, Contact and Linguistic History

**Antoinette SCHAPPER**

Australian National University

The Austronesian languages of Timor are largely isolating, rarely evidencing productive morphology beyond a set of subject prefixes on verbs, possessor suffixes on inalienable nouns and perhaps a causative prefix. By the same token, of these languages, some also possess productive processes of consonant-vowel metathesis, a typologically striking characteristic. Yet Timor is not only home to Austronesian languages, but also has several non-Austronesian languages: Bunaq in the central mountainous region and Makasai, Makalero and Fataluku occupying the much of the eastern most portion of the island. These languages also evidence little morphology and extensive structural analyticity. This paper examines the role of contact with non-Austronesian languages in shaping the profile of the Austronesian languages in Timor.

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Isolating Austronesian Languages***
> organised by
> **David Gil and John McWhorter**

# Possession in Kemak

**Antoinette SCHAPPER**

Australian National University

Generalisation of the PAn 3rd person singular possessive suffix *-*nia* to plural contexts can be observed widely but sporadically across the Austronesian language family. In the region of Timor this generalisation is particularly common. In Uab Meto possessor suffixes mark person only with no singular and plural distinction being maintained at all (1); in Waima'a only 3rd person singular and plural possessors are marked with a suffix, *-n*, but no other person (2), and; in Tetun inalienable possessors of all persons are typically marked with *-n* regardless of the number of the possessor, but are occasionally found with *-r*, reflecting PAn 3rd plural possessive suffix *-*da*, where there is a plural possessor marked by a pronoun (3).

Uab Meto

Waimaqa

*(1)*   naka-k   *head-1.POSS*
       naka-m   *head-2/1PL.IN.POSS*
       naka-n   *head-3.POSS*

*(2)*   umo-n   *house-3.POSS*

Tetun

*(3)*   oa-n   *head-POSS*
       oa-r   *head-PL.POSS*

   By contrast, Kemak, an undescribed Austronesian language spoken in central Timor, has generalised not the singular but the plural *–r* to all numbers in the 3rd person. This paper provides a description of possession in Kemak and posits its aberrant behaviour as being the result of contact and influence with speakers of the non-Austronesian language, Bunaq neighbouring Kemak.

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# The AF/PF contrast in the languages of Western Flores

## Christopher K. SCHMIDT

Rice University

This paper will discuss the languages of Western Flores, in an area between Riung on the northern coast of Ngada and Ruteng in the highlands of Manggarai. This constitutes an area of transition from the morphologically richer languages to the west to the isolating languages in central Flores. We will compare how grammatical relations are marked and how the AF/PF contrast is expressed in these languages.

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***The Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara:***
> ***Morphological attrition and voice***
> organised by
> **Masayoshi Shibatani**

# The Trobriand Islanders' Ways of Speaking

## Prof. Gunter SENFT

Max Planck Institute Nijmegen

It has always been highly problematic to classify text genres for non-Indo-European languages, especially if this classification is based on the tradition of, and the technical terms defined in, European philology and text or discourse analysis.

After a discussion of the technical term 'genre' and the function the various 'genres' are claimed to fulfill, this talk presents a first emic typology of genres in Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders (Papua New Guinea). The typology is not only based on the Trobriand Islanders' own metalinguistic terms for these genres, but also on the relationship these genres have with special non-diatopical registers of Kilivila, the so-called 'situational intentional varieties' which are also distinguished - and labeled - by the native speakers of this language.

The typology is based on the corpus of Kilivila data which I have been collecting over the last 25 years, but it also refers to Bronislaw Malinowski's oeuvre and to a few other published materials on Kilivila.

\*

## *Façons de parler des insulaires de Trobriand*

Il a toujours été problématique de classer les genres de textes dans les langues non-indo-européennes, en particulier si cette classification est basée sur la tradition et les termes techniques définis par la philologie européenne et sur l'analyse des textes et du discours.

Après une discussion du terme technique 'genre' et de la fonction que les différents 'genres' sont supposés de remplir, cette contribution présente une première typologie émique des genres en kilivila, langue parlée par les habitants de l'île de Trobriand (Papouasie Nouvelle Guinée). Cette typologie est basée non seulement sur les termes métalinguistiques propres des insulaires de Trobriand, mais aussi sur la relation que ces genres entretiennent avec les registres non-diatopiques du kilivila connus comme 'variétés situationnelles-intentionnelles', celles-ci étant également distinguées et nommées par les locuteurs de cette langue.

La typologie est essentiellement basée sur un corpus de données kilivila que je collecte depuis 25 ans, mais elle fait également référence à l'œuvre de Bronislaw Malinowski et à quelques travaux publiés sur le kilivila.

# A Corpus-based Study of Discourse Particles in Sakizaya

**Wen-chi SHEN**

National Taiwan University

**Dr Li-May SUNG**

National Taiwan University

This paper provides a preliminary study of discourse particles in Sakizaya, one of the endangered Formosan languages in eastern Taiwan (Shen 2008), using corpus data from the *NTU Corpus of Formosan Languages.* For the past few years, there has been fairly extensive research into the syntax of Formosan languages, but only little work focuses on the discourse analyses in these languages. Besides, although discourse particles are rarely found in written texts, they are frequently used in spoken naturalistic data, especially in narratives and conversations. As a result, the subsequent analyses on discourse particles in Sakizaya are mainly based on 2 conversations and 4 narratives, with a total length of 23 minutes and 54 seconds.

In this paper we will show that discourse particles in Sakizaya can be categorized as various distinct types: minimal responses, interjections, discourse particles and connective complementizers (Massam et al. 2006). First of all, minimal responses, which seem to have much freer order than other types, occur within the clauses. Such minimal responses imply that the speaker attempts to do self-correction or extra processing time is required (Massam et al. 2006), as presented in example (1). Second, interjections perform various communicative functions (Ameka 1992a, 1992b, Lin 2006). For example, they might be associated with the speaker's mental state, as suggested in (2), or aim at getting someone's attention, as presented in (3). Third, many typical discourse particles occur rather frequently in sentence-final position, which express the speakers' affective stance toward the utterance (Hsieh 2006, Lin 2006), as indicated in (4). Last but not least, connective complementizers usually occur among clauses, which are explained as cause-and-effect transition such as 'so', as shown in (5).

To sum up, this paper attempts to investigate various types of discourse markers in Sakizaya, in terms of syntactic behaviors, semantic meanings and pragmatic functions. And such a finding is attempted to shed some light on how discourse particles are used in such "precious" Formosan spoken data.

(1) skzy_YDX_story (IU 1-4)

1.      *.. a==,\*
        PART

2.      *.. haw    aca,\*
        PART    again

3.      *.. sa-kamu   hatu==,_*
        do-words    and

4.      …(0.9)   *kakaw*   *nu*     *niam*        *i*      *taw==yahnay.\*
                  thing    GEN    1EPL.POSS    LOC    past
        'I will talk about lives in the past.'

(2) skzy_YDX_YDM_ox (IU 156-159)

156.    YDX: .. **_yah_**
        INT
        'yeah…'

157.    **_yah_**   [ma-kamu] …
        INT     AV-speak
        'I said that…'

158.    YDM:   [na=mahiza=ay        kia     maliyoh]     ma-uzip…
               PFV=that.way=FAC    this    AV.cannot    AV-live

159.    .. (p)=ay-hen
        =NMZ-HEN
        'Every human being should know it'

(3) skzy_YDX_YDM_ox (IU 155)

155.    X: …   **_yah_**   na=ma-tineng=tu        mahiza=ay      haw      walu
               INT     PAST=AV-know=PFV      that.way=FAC   HAW     isn't it
               'You have known it, haven't you?'

(4) skzy_LCW_LFM_new year (IU 52-55)

52.     M: …   nu    ta-lumah    **_sa,_**\
               NU    go-house    PART

53.     …(0.8)   anu     isu
                 If      2SG.GEN

54.     …   ku    mi-sa-lami'-ay        **_haw_**?\
             NOM   AV-do-vegatable-AY   PART
             'If (we) go home, you can cook, right?'

55.     W:… (1.3)   talaw    heni._
                    fear     this
        'That's what I fear.'

(5) skzy_LWY_festival (IU 87-90)

…   **_saka,_**\
    so

…   a       hican    aca-ay        satu,\
    LNK    what     again-FAC    say.so

…   a       ma-tineng    ku      pancah,\
    LNK    AV-know      NOM    Amis

…   tuni        kawaw    ca'ay     saka-tatungus    kuini        sa.\
    this.OBL    thing     NEG     IV-KA-suitable    this.NOM    PART
'Thus, what can we do? Only the Amis knows what is suitable.'

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# Focus constructions without focus morphology in the AN languages of Nusa Tenggara

## Prof. Masayoshi SHIBATANI

Rice University

This presentation is part of the panel
***The Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara: Morphological attrition and voice***
organised by
**Masayoshi Shibatani**

# Progressive aspect in a partly Dravidianized Austronesian language

**Dr Peter SLOMANSON**

City University of New York

Austronesian languages have been in contact with genetically and typologically unrelated languages for hundreds of years. The outcome in some cases has been profound structural change in those Austronesian languages, the study of which enhances our understanding of potential interactions between dissimilar grammars, and of their contribution to the genesis of new grammars. Linear parallels between a contact language and its morphosyntactic substrate may mask significant diachronic facts and contrasts. Sri Lankan Malay (SLM) conservatively retains pre-verbal functional markers, however the distribution of aspect markers varies based on syntactic context. The invariantly post-verbal morpheme *ambe(l)*, meaning 'take' in Malay, appears to have been grammaticalized as a calque of a progressive aspect suffix in Muslim Tamil (MT). This is the interpretation found in Smith & Paauw (2007). However if ambe is indeed a suffix, this then violates the morphosyntactic rule that otherwise applies in SLM, which requires aspect markers to be pre-verbal in non-finite contexts. (In finite contexts, the linear order is normally tense-verb-aspect.) Ambe appears both in adjunct clauses and in biclausal periphrastic constructions, which is in keeping with the syntax of temporal complementizers in SLM. SLM complementizers are now predominantly left-branching. The presence of post-verbal ambe in embedded non-finite clauses constitutes evidence that ambe is etymologically neither an affix nor an auxiliary, but is derived from the left-branching aspectual complementizer sambil ('while'), which was still heard vestigially in Sri Lanka in the first half of the 20th century.

# Morphosyntax of Penan and Kenyah languages in Borneo

**Dr Antonia SORIENTE**

Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology

As pointed out by Claire (1996), the voice system in Bornean languages is much reduced in comparison to the Philippine-type languages. Indeed there is a wide range of voice systems, from very complex ones like in some languages in Sabah where ablaut, affixation, nominal marking and word order play a relevant role, to much simpler systems like Kayan and Kenyah where a very simple morphological process is employed and only personal pronoun and word order play a role. Penan Benalui uses only the –EN- infix to mark the undergoer voice while some Kelabitic languages go further, displaying both –EN- and ablaut.

This paper will focus on the morphosyntactic features of some Kenyah languages spoken in East Kalimantan, comparing them to a Western Penan variant, Penan Benalui. Penan languages are generally classified as belonging to the Kenyah language family though actually the languages have different behavior. I present a description of the morphosyntax of Kenyah and Penan Benalui from naturalistic and elicited data and also will use some secondary source data from Kayan and Kelabit to shed light on the typological morphosyntactic features of the area.

In Penan Benalui the undergoer focus is productively marked by the –EN-infix as exemplified by 1) although some examples with bare verbs have been recorded. On the other hand, in most Kenyah languages there is no specific passive morphology, but thematic roles are expressed pragmatically or analytically through the word order or the use of words like *kè'en* 'by', like in the example 2) from Òma Lóngh where the verb is in the bare form.

1)  *balak    yaq pengau senuaq    pengah kinan*
    banana  REL  new       -EN-buy  PFCT      -EN-eat
    "The bananas that were just bought were eaten up"

2)  *udeq  jé    kè'en dévó fadi    jé    metóngh te zómó laminy*
    dog    that   by      two  relative that  hit        at  front  house
    "That dog was his by the two siblings in the front of the house"

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# Documentation and Dictionary making:
# Experiences and Challenges with the Tsou language

## Dr Jozsef SZAKOS

Dept. of Chinese and Bilingual Studies, Hong Kong Polytechnic University

In spite of decades of work on a dictionary of the Tsou language of Taiwan and about 30.000 entries, the work is still in a developmental stage. Many idiosyncrasies of the Tsou grammar can only be understood on the backdrop of a comprehensive dictionary which gives semantic explanations for grammatical irregularities, as preserved by the native speakers.

I will point to seven problematic areas in work on the Tsou dictionary and review the process of dictionary making for languages with recently developing writing systems:

Speech **Corpus use**, questionnaires and meaning disambiguation, especially in the verbal prefix and suffix morphemes of Tsou: Word-for-word elicitation

created a grid, expanded by corpus examples. Since the corpus has yet to reach 700.000 words, the frequency gives some indication of the word-formation rules of Tsou. There is a need to mark the frequency of some lexemes, while further elicitation from natural speech or from translations is necessary.

Words attested by a **single occurrence**, idiolectal and dialectal elements need to be recorded and verified. We have recorded all lexemes coined in the context of a story, by particular individuals.

**Lexical categories** of Tsou are problematic inasmuch they differ from those of English or Chinese and much of this will be settled by typologists (e.g. category of adjectives, verbs, nouns).

**Equivalence and explanation** in bilingual dictionary context: In creating the English-Tsou finder lists both the derivational basis and the semantic fields were taken into account. Since the languages display great semantic diversity, we adopted a semi-automatic processing of lexemes from our corpus, keeping the upward link.

**Treatment of loanwords**: shall we create new combinations or accept the Japanese or Chinese loans? In the long run, this group of words will be replaced by new arrivals through cultural change.

How much **diachrony is** welcome **in an essentially synchronic dictionary**, covering the interests of linguists and native speakers at the same time?

**Technical issues** of recording, indexing and referencing the corpus (printed and electronic publication), and durability.

# From Agglutinative to Isolating:
# The Development of Nonthaburi Malay

**Dr Uri TADMOR**

Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Jakarta

Nonthaburi Malay is an obsolescent Malay dialect spoken by descendants of war captives brought to central Thailand in the 18th century. It is based mostly on Kelantan- Patani Malay, a highly divergent dialect spoken in the northeastern Malay Peninsula and southern Thailand. Kelantan-Patani Malay already exhibits more isolating tendencies than southern peninsular varieties of Malay and especially in comparison to standard Malay (which is the modern variety closest to Proto Malayic). However, in Nonthaburi the process was carried further and culminated with the near-total disappearance of productive morphology. The process was probably due to drift, the effects of obsolescence, and influence from Thai, which had become the dominant language of the community in the middle of the 20th century.

# Mon-Khmer loanwords in Malay-Indonesian: Linguistic and Historical Implications

## Dr Uri TADMOR

Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Jakarta

In addition to numerous parallel loans from old Indic languages, Malay-Indonesian and Mon-Khmer languages also share a number vocabulary items that do not appear to be of Indic origin. Even if one believes that Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian are ultimately related, some words are too close phonetically and semantically to be the plausible results of shared retention from a proto language after many thousands of years of separation. They are also too numerous to be the products of chance resemblance. A more convincing explanation for these lexical similarities would be borrowing.

This paper deals specifically with words which have been borrowed from Mon-Khmer into Malay-Indonesian (rather than the other way around). One such word is *semut* 'ant'. The reconstructed Proto Malayo-Polynesian form for 'ant' is *\*me-(n)tik/ha-(n)tik*, clearly not the predecessor of *semut*. Within Austronesian, *semut* and its cognates are monomorphemic and only occur in languages that are genealogically or geographically close to Malay-Indonesian. Within Mon-Khmer, however, the etymon can be shown to derive from a root meaning 'to sting' which is represented in all major branches of the group (as well as in other Austro-Asiatic languages). The direction of borrowing was thus clearly from Mon-Khmer into Austronesian, and the source word was probably an early form of Khmer *srəmaoc* 'ant'.

This paper discusses this and other examples of Malay-Indonesian words which appear to have been borrowed from Mon-Khmer, such as *dian* 'oil lamp', *cam* 'recognize', *dan* 'manage to', *banci* 'census', *puak* 'group', *gerai* 'platform', *kemenyan* 'benzoin', *lenga* 'sesame', *seronok* 'enjoyable', and *tera* 'seal, stamp'. It then ventures to correlate the borrowings to historical contact situations.

# Realis, Irrealis, and Modality in Cebuano Discourse

## Michael TANANGKINGSING

National Taiwan University

In this paper I attempt to inquire into the distinct functions of the various verb forms in Cebuano on the basis of conversational data. I will look into the verb complexes and examine the interaction between tense, aspect, voice, and modality.

As shown in Table 1, Cebuano has three verb forms aside from the root form, namely, the non-future form, the future form, and the dependent form. Each of these forms can have at most four voice forms, depending on the verb, and three aspect/mood forms.

Based on my preliminary findings, the future form and the dependent form are generally used to refer to future and hypothetical events, while the non-future (past) form is exclusively used for events that have occurred. Table 2 shows that the following types of subordinate clauses, namely, deontic and epistemic clauses, purpose clauses, and utterance complement clauses, employ the future form, while there is a choice between the future form and the dependent form in imperative and negated clauses. As for other clause types, the choice between the future form and non-future form depend on whether the event referred to is in the past or in the future. In this paper I want to investigate what features the clause types and the events that trigger a future/dependent verb form have in common.

Table 1. Verbal affix paradigm in Cebuano (simplified)

| Tense \ Aspect/Mood | | Volitional | Progressive | Abilitative / Potential |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Indicative Non-future | AV | *ni-* | *nag-* | *naka-; na-* |
| | PV | *gi-* | *gina-* | *na-* |
| | LV | *gi-...-an* | *gina-...-an* | *na-...-an* |
| | IV | *gi-* | *gina-* | *gika-* |
| Indicative Future (Infinitive) | AV | *mo-* | *mag-* | *maka-; ma-* |
| | PV | *-on* | *pa-ga-...-on* | *ma-* |
| | LV | *-an* | *pa-ga-...-an* | *ma-...-an* |
| | IV | *i-* | *iga-* | *ika-* |
| Dependent (Imperative and Negation) | AV | *pag-* | *pag-* | - |
| | PV | *-a* | *pa-ga-...-a* | - |
| | LV | *-i* | *pa-ga-...-i* | *ma-...-i* |
| | IV | *i-* | *ipag-* | *ika-* |

Table 2. Distribution of Non-future, Future,
and Dependent forms in Cebuano

| Verb form / Clause type | Non-future form | Dependent form | Future form |
|---|---|---|---|
| Imperative clauses | | √ (direct imperative) | √ (polite imperative) |
| Negated clauses | | √ (NAV Non-future) | √ (NAV Future; AV) |
| Purpose clauses | | | √ |
| Habitual (non-specific events) | | | √ |
| Utterance complement clauses | | | √ |
| Deontic modality | | | √ |
| Epistemic modality | √ (mora 'seem like') | | √ (basi 'maybe') |
| Hypothetical / Conditional | √ | | √ |
| Reason clauses | √ | | √ |
| Interrogative clauses | √ | | √ |

This presentation is part of the panel
***Emergence of grammar from discourse:***
***A Formosan/Philippine perspective***
organised by
**Shuanfan Huang**

# On Extended Locative Voice Constructions in Cebuano

## Michael TANANGKINGSING

National Taiwan University

This study investigates Extended Locative Voice (ELV) constructions in Cebuano, *-an* marked constructions that encode the "transfer" of a Theme from an Agent to a human Goal (1a), a human Benefactee (1b), or an inanimate Location (1c), that is highlighted by means of a nominative marking. These constructions, corresponding to double-object constructions in English, also contain a genitive Agent and an oblique but obligatory Theme, a pattern categorized as the "T-type oblique/ adjunct" strategy (Margetts and Austin, 2007). The oblique Theme, like its counterpart in an extended intransitive construction (EIC), a separate clause type in Cebuano as well as in other Formosan and Philippine languages (Reid and Liao, 2004; Liao, 2004), as the core vs. oblique distinction in these languages is pretty robust (Huang, to appear), is marked by oblique *ug*, as in 1b, or *sa*, as in (1d).

My data, consisting of five conversational texts totalising approximately two hours and 30 minutes compiled between 2001 and 2005, show that ELV constructions are a distinct construction from the ordinary Locative Voice (LV) constructions, also *-an* marked transitive constructions in the language. These LV

constructions contain a genitive Agent and a nominative nominal, a benefactee (2a), a patient (2b), a goal (2c), an addressee (2d), or a source/percept (2e), viewed as a kind of location. In these constructions, there is neither a semantic Theme to be transferred nor a syntactic Theme to be marked oblique, not like in an ELV construction. Previous studies to date on *-an* constructions in Cebuano have not distinguished between these two constructions.

Furthermore, ELV constructions can be distinguished from Agent Voice (AV) and Patient Voice (PV) clauses. AV constructions even of three-place verbs focus on the activity expressed by the verb, with no interest at all placed on the Theme argument, if any (therefore encodes no "transfer"), as in the English sentence *I always give to the Salvation Army* (example taken from Margetts and Austin 2007). On the other hand, if three-place verbs are used in the highly-transitive PV constructions, the focus is on the theme argument, with similarly very little interest placed on its transfer to any recipient or goal, marked oblique if expressed at all (and therefore also encodes no "transfer"; see 3a and 3b). The ELV construction in Cebuano thus conveys the concept of "transfer."

**Data**

(1a)  *ig-abot     sa    katapusan    **taga-an**=ra=gyud=**ka=niya***
      *ig-abot     sa    katapusan    **hatag-an**=ra=gyud=**ka=niya***
      temp-reach   loc   end          give-lv=only=emph=2s.nom=3s.gen
         'At the end (of the month), he'll just give you (an allowance).'

(1b)  *unya  **amo**-ng    **himo-an**    ug    travel document*
      then   1ep.poss-lk   make-lv       obl   travel document
      'Then, we process a travel document for [to give to] him.'

(1c)  *ma?o=bitaw   nga   di?   **butang-a-g**    map   kahibawo=na=man=ka   mo-lakaw*
      *ma?o=bitaw   nga   di?   **butang-an-ug**   map   kahibawo=na=man=ka   mo-lakaw*
      ident=par    comp   neg   place-lv-obl      map   know=pfv=par=2s.nom   av.inf-walk
      'That's why (they) don't provide maps, because if they do,
      you'll know how to go (on your own).'

(1d)  *ako?   **siya**-ng    **gi-ingn-an**    sa    **amo**-ng     disisyon*
      *ako?   **siya**-nga   **gi-ingon-an**   sa    amo?a-nga     disisyon*
      1s.poss   3s.nom-lk    pfv-say-lv       loc   1ep.poss-lk   decision
      'I told him our decision.' (constructed)

(2a)  ***iya**=gyud    **ko**-ng         **gi-tabang-an***
      3s.poss=emph    1s.nom-lk        pfv-help-lv

      *na?a=gyud=siya       diha?   sa    ako-ng      tupad*
      exist=emph=3s.nom     there   loc   1s.poss-lk   side
      'He really helped me; he was there by my side.'

(2b)  ***kwarto**=ra=sad    **amo**-ng      **gi-abang-an**    kay-*
      room=only=also      1ep.poss-lk    pfv-rent-lv        because

      *usahay        mo-pa-uli=man=sad=mi*
      sometimes     av-cau-return=par=also=1ep.nom
      'We're renting only a room since-, sometimes we go home.'

*(2c)* **kana?**=ra **ako**-ng **na-adto-an** *sentosa* *naka-adto=man=ko*

that=only   1s.poss-lk   spont-go-lv   pn      spont-go=par=1s.nom  pn  two

times

    *... Singapore   two times*

      pn            two times

'That's the only place I've been to, Sentosa; I've been to Singapore twice.'

*(2d)* *ako?*   *gi-ingn-an*   *ako?*   *igso?on,*   *di?=ko*     *mo-sugot*

1s.poss   pfv-say-lv   1s.poss   sibling     neg=1s.nom   av-agree

'I told my brother (that) I won't agree.'

*(2e)* *W*  *dealer=ra=ta,*         *sila,*     *na?a=na=gyud=sila=y*       *factory*

      dealer=only=1ip.nom   3p.nom   exist=asp=emph=3p.nom-neut   factory

    *T*  *ma?o=lagi*  *dako?=ka?ay*   **na-kit-an=nako?**

      ident=par   huge=emph     spont-see-lv=1s.gen

    W: 'We're only dealers; them, they already have a factory.'

    T: 'Right, really huge. I saw it.'

*(3a)* **mo-hatag**   **siya**-g      *kwarta*   *sa*   *imo-ng*     *g<in>ikan-an/*

av.fut-give   3s.nom-obl   money   loc   2s.poss-lk   from<pfv>-lv

'Does he give money to your parents?'

*(3b)* *pero*  *sa*  *usa*  *ka*  *bulan*   **pila**=ma=y   **i-hatag**   *sa*   *imo*

but   loc   one   lk   month     q=par=neut   iv-give   loc   2s.poss

'But in a month, how much does he give you?'

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# Complementizer *ka* in Seediq

## Prof. Naomi TSUKIDA

Aichi-Prefectural University

When one embeds a nominal clause in a Seediq sentence, *ka* may appear as a complementizer. Interestingly, *ka* is homophonous with the nominative marker.

Though the complementizer and the nominative marker are quite different in function, the surface identity affects their behavior very much. This paper introduces their very interesting interaction. There seems to be a tendency to avoid multiple occurrence of the same item (in this case *ka*) at least within a certain length of utterance. It is like a haplology at the sentence level.

Complementizer *ka* may be omitted. The possibility of omitting the complementizer *ka* is often affected by whether the sentence contains a nominative marker *ka* and where that *ka* is. The distance between the nominative marker and the complementizer seems to influence the occurrence of *ka* also.

The presence or the absence of the complementizer *ka*, on the other hand, affects the nominative marking on the subject of the matrix clause and that of the embedded clause. The subject usually appears in independent nominative form, with nominative marker *ka*, but nominative marking on the subject tend to be omitted when a complementizer appears. Thus they interact.

# Semantic Roles and the Voice Systems of Sangiric Languages

**Dr Atsuko UTUSUMI**

Meisei University, JAPAN

Sangiric languages belong to Philippine group, which show 'symmetrical voice system'. In this paper, I will focus on two of them, Talaud and Bantik, and present detailed description and comparison of the relation between semantic roles and syntactic voice phenomena in the two languages. Apparently they are similar, but a close look at them reveals crucial differences. Both have active voice, patient voice and conveyance voice, and every core argument of a verb can be a subject of one of these voices. Subjects of active voice require the same semantic roles in the two languages, but those of undergoer voices are different between them. Talaud shows a strong correspondence between a voice form and semantic roles of its subject, but Bantik does not. In Talaud, PATIENT, RECIPIENT and LOCATION always fill the subject position of patient voice while COVEYED THEME, INSTRUMENT and CAUSEE fill that of conveyance voice. Semantic roles for two undergoer voices are clearly divided in two groups. If two arguments of a verb belong to the same group, they fill a subject position of the same voice. In Bantik, this is not allowed; each core argument is assigned a subject position of respective voices. On the other hand, the same semantic role can occupy a subject position of different voices, depending on the lexicon. Thus, some verbs require COVEYED THEME as a subject of patient voice while others require it as a subject of conveyance voice. Bantik voice system is syntactically determined, while a semantic feature of a subject nominal affects the choice of voices in Talaud.

## Dictionary making on the field:
## Experiences of SIL in Papua New Guinea

### Dr René VAN DEN BERG
SIL International

In spite of the large number of Oceanic languages spoken in PNG (200+ out of over 800 languages in total), the number of published dictionaries from this part of the Austronesian world is surprisingly small. This paper looks at past and current practices of dictionary making within the context of SIL's language-based development. Specifically, the following topics will be addressed:

o challenges of doing lexicography in PNG;

o ways of involving native speakers through dictionary workshops;

o a brief look at WeSay, new lexicography software for native speakers;

o publication strategies (paper and website);

o examples of various types of dictionaries which have been compiled, including full academic dictionaries (Mbula), picture dictionaries (Ubir), school dictionaries (Misima) and a fish dictionary (Bwanabwana).

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Dictionary Making in Austronesian Linguistics***
> organised by
> **Andrew Pawley**

## Did Proto Oceanic have a passive?
## A look at Bola *ni-* and its implications for Proto Oceanic

### Dr René VAN DEN BERG
SIL International

Bola is a poorly described Western Oceanic language (of the Meso-Melanesian subgroup), spoken in West New Britain, Papua New Guinea. The first part of this paper discusses the functions of the Bola prefix *ni-*, one of which is to create nominalisations, e.g. *ni-ngaru* 'desire' (n) < *ngaru* 'to desire'; *ni-bele* 'arrival' < *bele* 'to arrive'. Ni- is also employed to create gerund-like formations, and occurs in complement and purpose clauses as well. From a comparative perspective,

however, the most interesting aspect of *ni-* is its use as a prefix in obligatorily agentless passive clauses, as in the following example, taken from a text on house building:

> Muri   ni-vaka-pesi        a      maka     taga-na.
> later   pass-caus-stand    art    plur     side-3s
> 'Then the walls are stood up.'

The second part of the paper looks at the possible implications of these Bola data for Proto Oceanic (POc). The current consensus is that POc did not have a passive and that the complex voice system of Western Austronesian languages and its concomitant morphology had been lost by the time of POc. The presence of a real passive in an Oceanic language, marked by an apparent cognate of PMP *-in- ~ ni-, weakens this position and appears to necessitate a rethinking of the POc voice system. The paper ends by spelling out these possible implications, but also explores alternative explanations.

# Comparing Savosavo (non-Austronesian) and Gela (Austronesian)

## Dr Claudia WEGENER
University of Manchester

## Aurélie CAUCHARD
University of Manchester

The non-Austronesian language Savosavo, spoken by most inhabitants of a small island with ab. 6 km diameter in the central Solomon Islands, has been in close contact with a number of Austronesian languages for a long time. One of them, Gela, is even the main language of one of the twelve districts on Savo Island. Nonetheless Savosavo has retained much of its original character, so much so that speakers of other languages are unable to understand it and regard it as being very hard to learn. But how different is Savosavo really? How much has it taken on board from Gela, maybe in a covert form? And what, if anything, did it give back in return? Based on primary fieldwork on both languages as well as available sources on Gela (von der Gabelentz (1873), Codrington (1885), Fox (1955) and Crowley (2002)), we will present a comparative overview of Savosavo and Gela syntax, morphology and lexicon, paying particular attention to metatypy, i.e. "changes in structural typology" (Ross 1996), as well as the semantic areas in which most loan words are found. We will point out some intriguing similarities, and determine the direction of borrowing where this is possible.

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# Double Agent, Double Cross?
# Or how a suffix changes sides in an isolating language:
# *dór* in Tetun Dili

## Dr Catharina WILLIAMS-VAN KLINKEN
Dili Institute of Technology, Timor Leste

## Dr John HAJEK
University of Melbourne, Australia

Tetun Dili, one of the two official languages of East Timor, is based on the Austronesian language Tetun Terik. It has lost most of Tetun Terik's few productive affixes, retaining only a causative prefix and limited reduplication. Tetun Dili also shows extensive influence from Portuguese, as a former colonial language and the other official language of the country, to the extent that it has even incorporated a Portuguese suffix *-dór*, which is now also used productively with native roots. This paper looks at how this suffix, the only Portuguese affix to cross over into the native lexicon, has fared under the competing influences of an isolating creoloid Austronesian language and an affix-rich Romance language.

Within Tetun Dili, Portuguese morphology is normally rigorously restricted to Portuguese loans. *dór* however has a dual nature: While it appears frequently on loans, it has also been productively extended to native roots, in which case it behaves very differently. Within Portuguese loan words (e.g. *administradór(a)* 'administrator' from *administrar* 'administrate'), *-dór* follows Portuguese rules, being a suffix with masculine (*-dór*) and feminine (*-dora*) forms for human nouns, and for some speakers also distinguishing singular and plural (*-dores, -doras*)

forms. In these loans it mainly derives work designations, but can also derive inanimate nouns (e.g. *gravadór* 'tape recorder' from *gravar* 'record').

When applied to Tetun verbs, however, *-dór* follows Tetun Terik patterns of phonology, gender and number marking, and semantics. It is typically analysed by native speakers as a separate word, has no feminine or plural forms, and is used to describe people who habitually behave as per the root verb (e.g. *haluha dór* 'forgetful person' from *haluha* 'forget'). It also readily occurs in three-word compounds which semantically match the three-morpheme compounds of the Tetun Terik agentive circumfix *mak- -n.* In some, the *dór* precedes the object (e.g. *baku dór ema* 'bash one.who person' = 'someone who likes bashing people up'), while in others it occurs finally (e.g. *futu manu dór* 'tie bird one.who' = 'cockfighter').

An additional and unexpected complication is that the behaviour of a small number of Portuguese loans ending in *-dór* suggests that the verbal roots in question are now fully nativized and are no longer treated as borrowed by speakers.

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Isolating Austronesian Languages***
> organised by
> **David Gil and John McWhorter**

# Real-time language contact and change in the Austronesian world: Tetun as a new media language

## Dr Catharina WILLIAMS-VAN KLINKEN

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University of Melbourne, Australia

The end of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor in 1999 was a turning point in East Timor's linguistic history. From that moment, Tetun moved from being the preferred spoken lingua franca into high status domains previously closed to it. In 2002 Tetun and Portuguese were declared the official languages under the newly promulgated constitution. Given these changes, East Timor provides us with an interesting and unusual laboratory setting, operating in real time, that shows how an Austronesian language, previously oral for most speakers, behaves in new public domains.

Amongst Tetun's many achievements since 1999 has been its significant entry into the world of mass media, including radio, television and the press. Although there have been efforts at standardization, the form of Tetun used in the media shows considerable flux, as well as a number of unusual characteristics, the result both of its new setting and of language contact with the former colonial languages, Portuguese and Indonesian.

In this paper, we look specifically at the nature of Tetun in East Timorese newspapers and news broadcasts. A major theme is the impact of renewed direct contact with Portuguese (largely halted during Indonesian rule from 1975 to 1999). This is evident in the lexicon (with mass borrowing), in syntax (with word order changes and new passive-like constructions in a language with no inherited passive), and in morphology (with complex patterns of number and gender agreement in Portuguese loans). Indonesian influence is also noted. All of these effects are much more marked in journalistic Tetun than in the spoken everyday variety of the language. Perhaps even more striking is the fact that change in Tetun press writing is so rapid that it has significant consequences for comprehension for many Tetun speakers, most of whom were educated in Indonesian only.

# Reconstructing PAN morphology by analyzing commonalities between Pazih and Tagalic languages

## Prof. John WOLFF

Cornell University

I propose to analyze morphological commonalities between Pazih and Tagalog or Visayan languages—that is, find morphemes or processes that correspond in their sounds and in their meaning or function or that provide some other evidence of deriving from the same source. These will be of two types: (a) those that developed independently in Pazih and in the other languages and (b) those that have been inherited from the protolanguage from which Pazih and the Tagalic languages derived. The paper will list these and discuss the probabilities that each given morpheme or morphological process be of type (a) or type (b).

Under the assumption that the An languages originated in northwest Taiwan and spread southwards to the Philippines in the course of the years, and further, that Pazih is the descendant of a language that has remained in northwest Taiwan since proto-Austronesian times, the conclusion to be drawn is that morphemes and processes of type (b) are descended from proto-Austronesian.

> This presentation is part of the panel
> ***Reconstruction of PAn morpho-syntax and
> implications for the An settlement on Taiwan***
> organised by
> **John Wolff and Daniel Kaufman**

# Lessons to be drawn from experience
# in preparing a dictionary of Indonesian
# and a dictionary of Cebuano-Visayan

## Prof. John WOLFF

Cornell University

In this talk I will discuss considerations in preparing a dictionary that affect the form and the content. I further discuss future developments, bringing the dictionary up-to-date and adapting it to the computer. My talk will compare the two languages with respect to the following considerations:

- Aims: what is the aim of the dictionary: serve a specific group of users? Document a language that is otherwise undocumented? Prepare a better resource for people who use the language than any available? And others.

- Coverage: which forms in the language should be listed and which left out?

- Handling grammatical complexity: what sort of grammatical information need be given; Is there a way to imply the existence of given forms without writing them out.

- Arrangement of the materials: if listing is entirely by root, what sort of cross-referencing is needed; what are the problems of orthography and how can they be handled?

- Type of information given: what kind of social, stylistic or information on regional usage should be given?

- Sources: what are the sources for the information given in the dictionary?

- Practical consideration of volume and cost of production

- How can the accuracy of the information given be guaranteed? The role of the informant for native speakers and for nonnative speakers.

- What can be done with the contents of a dictionary to adapt it for use with a computer

# Discourse distribution of clause types
# in Nusa Tenggara narratives

**Dr Fay WOUK**

University of Auckland

This paper takes a close look at the discourse distribution of different clause types in narratives (and for Sasak also in conversational data.) It will report on the relative frequency of the constructions under investigation in three groups of languages: (1) those which still retain some verbal marking, (2) those which have lost verbal marking but still mark a distinction between agents as direct arguments of the verb and oblique agents, and (3) those languages of central Flores in which the only difference between clause types is constituent order. Additionally, I will investigate possible correlations between different clause types and both discourse transitivity and information structure.

# A Case Study on the Linker Construction 'V-*ʔiʔ*-V'
# in Mayrinax Atayal

**Chunming WU**

National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan

The study examines and explores the Linker Construction **'V-ʔiʔ-V'** in Mayrinax Atayal, a Formosan language spoken in Northern Taiwan. The *ʔiʔ*-construction

has been regarded as Serial Verb Construction (SVC) (Huang 1997). Taking a closer look at its structure, however, *?i?*-construction can not be simply treated as SVC since (i) verb serialization does not involve the intervening linker between verbs (Foley and Olson 1985, Chang 2007); (ii) not only structures of Control, but also Raising and Middle are expressed in terms of *?i?*-construction in Mayrinax Atayal. In Mayrinax Atayal, *?i?*-construction can be divided into 4 subtypes.

- o Type A *?i?*-construction involves structure of control. A NAF (Non-Agent Focus) manipulation or control verb selects as its complement a default-marked *?i?*-clause wherein the embedded verb observes AF-only restriction, as in (1). Type B and Type C *?i?*-constructions involve raising.

- o In Type B, NAF adverbial verbs (manner/subject-oriented) impose AF-only restriction on the *?i?*-clause, and they trigger raising of both the embedded clitic agent and oblique arguments, as in (2b-c).

- o In Type C, adverbial auxiliaries (epistemic/ deontic/ aspectual) do not exert AV-only restriction on the *?i?*-clause, and they trigger raising of only the embedded clitic agent, as in (3).

- o Type D involves middle construction where the highest 'voiceless' heads prohibit clitic attraction and are ineligible for argument raising from the embedded *?i?*-clause, as in (4a-b).

The study has the following implications. (i) In Mayrinax Atayal the Linker *?i?* is structurally distributed from low to high. The infinitival (low) linker bypasses both argument controlling and argument (clitic agent/oblique) raising, as in (1-2). The mid-linker bypasses only the clitic raising, as in (3a) but blocks oblique raising, as in (3b). The high linker blocks any movement from the embedded clause, as in (4). (ii) According to Tsai (2007), clausal complementation can be reduced from clausal conjunction in Tsou and Amis. However, it is not the case in Mayrinax Atayal whereby clausal complementation does not originate from conjunction, as in (5a-b) and its origin should be reconsidered.

## Examples

*(1) a.* [ta-talam-un   ni? tapas $_i$   [PRO$_i$   *?i?*   m-aniq   cku? qulih   ka? hani]
CaRED-try-PF   GEN Tapas         LNK   AF-eat   OBL   fish   RL   this
'Tapas will try to eat the fish.'

*b.* [qihl-un=mi?      (?i?)   watan$_i$   [PRO$_i$ *?i?*   m-usa? [PRO$_i$ *?i?*   q<um>aluap]]]
force-PF=1S.GEN NOM Watan         LNK   AF-go         LNK   hunt<AF>
'I force Watan to go hunting.'

*(2) a.* [ m-(?a)na-hiya-hiyaw=ci?$_i$      [ (?i?)   m-aniq=t$_i$   cu?   qulih ] ]
AF-ANA-RED-be slow=1S.NOM   LNK   AF-eat   OBL   fish
'I eat fish slowly/carefully.'

*b.* [?a-?an(a)-hi-hiyaw-un=mi? $_i$         [(?i?)   m-aniq=t$_i$ t$_j$]   ku?   qulih $_j$]
CaRED-ANA-RED-be.slow-PF=1S.GEN   LNK   AF-eat         NOM   fish
'I will slowly/carefully eat the fish.'

c. [ si-ʔ(a)na-hiyaw =miʔ*ᵢ*    [ (ʔiʔ)    h<um>akai=t*ᵢ* t*ⱼ*]    kuʔ    ulaqiʔ*ⱼ*]
   BF-ANA-slow=1S.GEN        LNK    walk<AF>            NOM    child

'I walk slowly with the child.'

(3) a. [ kiʔi=miʔ*ᵢ*            [(ʔiʔ)    ʔusal-an t*ᵢ*    [ʔiʔ    c<um>buʔ =t*ᵢ* t*ⱼ*]    kuʔ    bauwak*ⱼ*]]
       probably=1S.GEN    LNK    go-LF        LNK    shoot<AF>            NOM    pig

'I will probably go to shoot wild pigs.'

b. *[kiʔi-an=miʔ            [ʔiʔ    m-usaʔ    [ʔiʔ    c<um>buʔ t*ⱼ*] t*ⱼ* ]    kuʔ    bauwak*ⱼ*]
   probably-LF=1S.GEN    LNK    AF-go    LNK    shoot<AF>                NOM    pig

(4) a. [nahliq    [ **ʔiʔ**    ini=muʔ        niq-i        kuʔ    qulih]]
       pity        LNK    NEG=1S.GEN    eat-PF.AT    NOM    fish

'It is a pity I did not eat up the fish.'

a'.    *[nahliq-un=miʔ    [ **ʔiʔ**    ini    qaniq ]    kuʔ    qulih]
       pity-PF=1S.GEN        LNK    NEG    eat        NOM    fish

b. balayiq    ʔiʔ    tal-an    kuʔ    [ la-langui        niʔ    yumin]
   good        LNK    see-LF    NOM    CaRED-swim    GEN    Yumin

'The way that Yumin swims looks good.'

b'. *balayiq-an    ʔiʔ    m-ital    ku ?    la-langui        niʔ    yumin
    good-LF        LNK    AF-see    NOM    CA-RED-swim    GEN    Yumin

(5) a. m-usaʔ=ciʔ        (ʔiʔ)    papatasan    **ruʔ**    m-uwah ʔiʔ    claq    la
       AF-go=1S.NOM    LOC    school        CONJ    AF-come LOC    field    PART

'I go to school and then come to the field.'

b. qihl-un=miʔ        (ʔiʔ)    watan    **ʔiʔ** /*ruʔ    m-usaʔ ʔiʔ    q<um>aluap
   force-PF=1S.GEN    NOM    Watan    LNK/*CONJ    AF-go    LNK    hunt<AF>

'I force Watan to go hunting.'

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# On the Optative Mood Constructions
## *Sa-...-an* and *Sa-...-aw* in Amis

### Dr Joy WU
National Taiwan Normal University

Amis, a Formosan language spoken in east coast area of Taiwan, exhibits two common case patterns: nominative-dative (or oblique) for the actor voice (AV) constructions, and genitive-nominative for the undergoer voice (UV) constructions. Nevertheless, the optative mood constructions, introduced by the predicates *sa-...-an* or *sa-...-aw*, display rather unusual case patterns. While *sa-...-an* shows the canonical AV pattern of nominative-dative (or oblique), *sa-...-aw* shows a genitive-dative (or oblique) pattern; in other words, the nominative case-marked participant does not show up in a *sa-...-aw* sentence, as shown in (1):

*(1)*   *Sa-pi-nanum-aw   nu       wawa tuni/*k-u-ni             sayta.*
       SA-PI-water-AW    GEN.CN   child   DAT.CN.this/NOM.CN.this   soda
       'The child wants to drink this soda.'

In this paper, I try to account for the unusual case pattern of *sa-...-aw* by treating *sa-* as an instrumental applicative marker. This analysis explains why the apparent patient NP (e.g. *sayta* 'soda' in (1)) cannot be marked by the nominative case, as it is not an instrument and therefore gets the dative (or oblique) case, just like other patient NPs in an instrumental applicative construction. In addition to fleshing out the analysis of *sa-*, I will also discuss the possible voice and mood marking functions of *-an* and *-aw* in these constructions.

# On the interaction between TAM, voice constructions, and morphology in Squliq Atayal

### Maya Yuting YEH
National Taiwan University

L. Huang (1993, 1995) examined the interaction between tense/aspect and voice constructions in Squliq Atayal and concluded that the PV *–un* verbs and the LV *–an* verbs differ in realis/irrealis interpretation, with the former being generally interpreted as irrealis, and the latter as realis. On closer scrutiny, however, the interaction between TAM and voice constructions has turned out to be much complex than previously thought. In this paper we explore the complex relationship between tense/aspect, voice constructions, and voice morphology in simple affirmative Squliq Atayal NAV (non-actor) clauses. We demonstrate that

five patterns of the interaction must be distinguished (See Table 1). When aspectual auxiliaries (*wal* in (A)) or temporal adjuncts (*kira'* in (B)) are thrown into the mix, then further unexpected complexity arises in ways that remain to be sorted out.

Pattern 1 says that verbs can appear in PV1 form and LV1 form, and the semantic roles of their NOM NPs in the two clausal types are identical, but there is an aspectual distinction between the two voice constructions ((1)); Pattern 2 says that all voice forms of PV and LV verbs can act as the main predicate in a clause, but the NOM NPs in these two voice types have different semantic roles, and there is also an aspectual distinction between the two voice forms in either PV or LV clauses ((2)); Pattern 3 says that, except for its PV2 form, a verbs can appear in PV1, LV1 or LV2 form, and the semantic roles of the NOM NPS are the same, and these voice constructions differ in aspect interpretation. While PV1 voice constructions describe a remote irrealis event (*hnyal*), LV1 voice constructions express an immediate irrealis event (*twahiq*), and LV2, a realis event ((3)); in Pattern 4, verbs appear only in two voice forms, and the semantic roles of their NOM NPs are identical, but there is a distinction in aspect ((4)); Pattern 5 says that all voice forms of PV and LV verbs can act as the main predicate of a sentence and their NOM NPs in these clauses encode the same semantic role, but these four voice constructions differ in aspect interpretation: the PV1 form encodes a remote irrealis event, the LV1 form an immediate irrealis event, the PV2 form an immediate realis event, and the LV2 form a remote realis event ((5)).

Further complication arises when the perfective aspectual marker *wal* appears in a clause, or if the main predicate is a stative. A LV1 verb can appear in an interrogative sentence ((6)); and, a PV1 verb and its RV form can co-exist with a perfective aspectual marker *wal* in a clause ((7) and (8), respectively). Furthermore, the LV *–an* form of a stative verb usually locates states in the present ((9)) and ((10)). In all these verbs, their aspectual interpretations differ from any of the five patterns proposed above and new patterns must be countenanced.

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This presentation is part of the panel
*Emergence of grammar from discourse:*
*A Formosan/Philippine perspective*
organised by
**Shuanfan Huang**

# Vowel/glide distinction and syllabic position in Southern Paiwan

## Stella Shih-chi YEH

National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan

Southern Paiwan is an endangered Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan. Ho (1977, 1978) posited the phonemic distinction between vowels and glides in Paiwan but details still await further investigations. Although glides in a radical view are treated as non-phonemic if vowel/glide alternation is predictable (Levin 1985, Rosenthall 1994, among others), Levi (2004) argues that phonemic glides do exist in some languages. This paper examines the behavior of vowels and glides at surface and concludes there should be such phonemic contrast in Southern Paiwan, based on morphophonemic alternations, stress and syllabification.

A morphophonemic alternation discriminates glides coming from various sources. Word-final /w/ becomes [v] when preceding monosyllabic suffixes but the rule does not apply to derived [w]. As for stress, a set of words with a final CVG syllable at surface carries the general penultimate stress (e.g. *quʎaw* [qú.ʎaw] 'color'); while the other set attracts the stress to the ultima (e.g. *sikau* [si.káw] 'net-bags'). The seeming inconsistency can be resolved by the phonemic vowel/glide contrast along with glide formation which changes high vowels into glides when adjacent to low vowels. Stress thus regularly falls on the penult mora. Syllabification shows similar patterns, too. The phonemic glides, like consonants, are syllabified as onset before V-initial suffixes (e.g. *pu-vaʎaw-aŋa* [pu.va. ʎa.wá.ŋa] 'get married') while glides derived from vowels create geminate glides at surface (e.g. *san-sikau-aʔən* [san.si.kaw.wá.ʔən] 'I make net-bags' ). The converging phonological evidence suggests such distinction as in Levi's (2004) study, clarifying the duality of surface glides. Moreover, this paper discusses the distribution and syllabic status of vowels and glides. The syllabic positions of them are confined to the moraicity, showing the dominance of syllable constraints in Southern Paiwan: vowels and derived glides affiliate with the nucleus but phonemic glides fall outside the syllable core.

# Bound and free numeral forms in Formosan languages

## Dr Elizabeth ZEITOUN

Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica

The present paper shows that there is a dichotomy between two sets of numeral forms (cf. free vs. bound numerals): under 10, all numerals are free forms; bound and free numerals may occur together to form higher numerals. Such a distinction cannot be accounted for in terms of 'humanness' as argued diachronically by Blust (1998, 2003) and synchronically by Li (2006).

This analysis has repercussions on both diachronic and synchronic levels:

On the diachronic level, we show that two sets of numerals forms (free vs. bound) must be reconstructed in PAN. We follow Ossart (2004) and Li (2006) in positing PAN *ma-...N for 'decade', and further argue that PAN *puSa- should be reconstructed as a bound form meaning '2' equivalent to *duSa in contra-distinction with Blust's reconstruction of *ma-pusaN '20'.

On the synchronic level, we show that numerals in Formosan languages form a very complex system that has been unexplored in the past, with (i) nominal classifiers, and (ii) composite numerals; composite numerals are made up of an affix (or a noun) which combines with a bound numeral form and usually function as verbs. These different types of morphemes (affixes and/or nouns) are categorized as follows: (i) sortal affixes, (ii) verbal affixes, (iii) time and frequency nouns and affixes, which can further combine with lexical affixes, (iv) measure nouns and affixes, (v) ordinal affixes, which can further combine with frequency affixes.

*Note*: Each panel is represented below by a title and a general abstract. Abstracts of individual papers can be found in the main section of the present book, following alphabetical order of authors.

## Pronoun ordering typology

### Dr Loren BILLINGS

National Chi Nan University,Taiwan

This panel continues the panel of the same name from the preceding conference (10-ICAL) by the same organizer. The papers deal with issues in languages where clausal clitic pronouns co-occur: mainly their order and form.

### Contents

1. *Loren BILLINGS*
   *Bill DAVIS, National Chi Nan University*
   "Ordering pronominal and adverbial clitics in Palawanic languages"

2. *Silvia Yu-ju HUNG*
   *Loren BILLINGS, National Chi Nan University*
   "Topicality and pronominal ordering in two Manobo languages"

3. *Celeste Chia Yen LEE , Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages*
   "Clitic pronouns in Romblomanon"

4. *Celeste Ho-ling LEE*
   *Loren BILLINGS, National Chi Nan University*
   "A typology of pronominal disformation using data from Bunun dialects"

5. *Celeste Ho-ling LEE*
   *Lilian Li-ying LI, National Chi Nan University*
   "Pronominal ordering in Bunun dialects"

# Isolating Austronesian Languages

## Prof. David GIL

Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig

## Prof. John McWHORTER

Manhattan Institute

Austronesian languages are renowned for their rich morphological systems. One of the most characteristic grammatical features of Austronesian languages is the voice system, expressed with verbal affixation; other morphological features include the ligature marking nominal attribution, and the expression of a wide range of grammatical functions by means of reduplication. In addition, Austronesian languages are also host to a variety of cross-linguistically unusual or quirky morphological processes, ranging from case prefixes in Nias through plural infixes in Sundanese to the expression of a variety of grammatical relations by means of metathesis in Leti.

Against this background of generally rich and interesting morphological systems, it is often insufficiently acknowledged that there are also a significant number of Austronesian languages with relatively little word-internal structure, thus meriting the characterization as **isolating**. Examination of Dryer's (2005) map in the *World Atlas of Language Structures* shows that whereas worldwide, the proportion of languages with "little or no affixation" is 14% (122 out of 894 languages in his sample), within Austronesian the proportion of such languages rises to 47% (45 out of 95). Although not all of Dryer's languages with "little or no affixation" are appropriately considered to be isolating, the figures still bear witness to a propensity, within the Austronesian language family, for simpler-than-average morphological structures, which, in many cases, do result in languages that may warrant the appellation of isolating. Indeed, a map of the Austronesian languages suggests the existence of an **Isolating Crescent**, stretching — with the inevitable bumps, gaps and wiggles — from Hainan and mainland Southeast Asia down the Malay peninsula into Sumatra and Java and then along the lesser Sunda islands of Nusa Tenggara and up into the Bird's Head of New Guinea.

At the northwest tip of the Isolating Crescent are the Chamic languages of Hainan and Indochina, relatively new arrivals to the region. Most of the Isolating Crescent, however, is dominated by numerous varieties of colloquial Malay and Indonesian exhibiting a variety of sociolinguistic types, among which are transplanted dialects such as Nonthaburi Malay (Tadmor 1995), heartland varieties such as Riau Indonesian (Gil 1994), urban koinés such as Jakarta Indonesian (Sneddon 2006), and post-creole varieties such as Papuan Malay (Donohue and Sawaki 2007). Alongside these are a wide variety of indigenous Austronesian languages sharing the isolating profile to differing degrees. These

include, but are not limited to, central Sumatran languages such as Minangkabau (Crouch in preparation), regional varieties of Javanese (Conners 2008), languages of Flores such as Keo (Baird 2002) and Rongga (Wayan Arka, Kosmas and Nyoman Suparsa 2007), languages of Timor such as Tetun Dili (Williams-Van Klinken, Hajek and Nordlinger 2002), as well as some of the lesser-known Austronesian languages of the Bird's Head region such as Sekar (Yusuf Sawaki p.c.).

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## Contents

# Taking phylogeny seriously:
# New computational methods and results

## Prof. Russell GRAY

University of Auckland

History matters. Phylogenetic methods provide the most explicit way of taking history into account and are increasingly being used in historical linguistics. The talks in this panel will investigate how computational phylogenetic methods can give insights into questions such as the tempo and mode of Pacific settlement, the factors that determine the size of phonological inventories and the forces that affect rates of lexical replacement.

## Contents

# Emergence of grammar from discourse:
# A Formosan/Philippine perspective

## Prof. Shuanfan HUANG

National Taiwan University
Yuanze University

Linguistic structure emerges from discourse. This is one of the most exciting contributions of functional linguistics to linguistic theorizing. In this panel we seek to understand how grammar is organized into a set of often lexically skewed grammatical constructions. In Tanangkingsing's paper (Pivot and control in Cebuano), he shows that in Cebuano, there are both ergative and accusative alignments in coordination and purposive clauses, although an overwhelming proportion of accusative alignment in natural discourse data was found. In other words, the linking pattern of core arguments across the clauses, especially in narratives, in Cebuano reveals that the As are far more topical than the Ps and the linking between the Ss and As is still more frequent than that between Ss and Ps. It is also observed that there is more or less equal probability for pivots to occur in any of the core argument roles; that is, they can either be S, A, or P. Finally, pivot in Cebuano is determined by either semantic (which is why transitive verbs have variable pivot choices) or pragmatic considerations (which is why in interclausal linking there are both Accusative and Ergative alignment patterns, although Accusative alignment is more prominent).

Huang and Huang's paper (Clausal syntax and topic selection hierarchy) argues that Tsou is a language that packages discourse-pragmatic information in its syntax in a special way. In Tsou discourse, NPs ranked higher on the topic ranking hierarchy tend to appear as A role and to be maintained longer, and those ranked lower usually appear as O or E role, and tend to occur once and then are dropped from discourse. NPs appearing in O or E role are participants immediately relevant to the current discourse scene, and are always expressed explicitly in lexical NP. The lexical Os, marked by nominative, are usually definite and are there for purposes of identification. By contrast, the E argument expressions appear in a clause simply because they are needed to fulfill the conceptual requirements of verb semantics, and they play little role in discourse.

This is why Es in Tsou are usually indefinite and marked with oblique case. The four types of voice construction in the language (Actor voice, Patient voice, Locative voice, and Benefactive voice) are also recruited for essentially the same discourse functions—to help to differentiate NPs in terms of how important they figure in discourse.

Yeh and Huang's paper (The role of *Person* in the non-indicative forms in Squliq Atayal voice system) investigates non-indicative constructions in Squliq Atayal and argues that *person* crucially determines the forms of non-indicative constructions and their interpretation in the language. *Person* is shown to be responsible for determining a distinction between a permissive and a prohibitive reading when a 1st/3rd PERSON participant or a 2nd PERSON participant acts as the actor in the patient/locative non-indicative (*–aw/–ay*) and the referential non-indicative (*-an*, *an/ani' s-* or *s-ani'* and *anay s* (or *s-anay*)) constructions. Moreover, *person* plays a crucial role not only in the voice system in Squliq Atayal, but also in the ordering patterns of clitics: (i) the 3rd PERSON clitic always follows 1st/2nd PERSON clitics, (ii) the relative order of 1st and 2nd PERSON clitics can be 1st<2nd or 2nd <1st, depending on number or person, and (iii) the genitive 1st and 2nd PERSON singular clitics are either replaced by their free forms in natural conversation, or are generally omitted since they are speech act participants and are easily recoverable from the context.

Huang and Yeh's paper (On the interaction between TAM, voice constructions, and morphology in Squliq Atayal) shows that the interaction between TAM and voice constructions turns out to be much complex than previously thought. This paper explores the complex relationship between tense/aspect, voice constructions, and voice morphology in simple affirmative Squliq Atayal NAV (non-actor) clauses. It is demonstrated that five patterns of the interaction must be distinguished. When aspectual auxiliaries (like *wal*) or temporal adjuncts (like *kira'*) are thrown into the mix, then further unexpected complexity arises in ways that remain to be sorted out.

## Contents

# Dictionary Making in Austronesian Linguistics

## Prof. Andrew PAWLEY

Australian National University

The goal of this panel is to bring together major dictionary makers in our field from different generations to dialogue with one another. The participants have a broad range of experience: from traditional dictionary to online dictionary, from etymological dictionary/encyclopaedia to contemporary language dictionary, from lexicography to wiki dictionary, and from construction of indigenous knowledge to capacity building.

The panel begins with Andrew Pawley's "*On the treatment of plant and animal names in bilingual dictionaries: Lessons from Oceania*", followed by John Wolff's paper on "*Lessons to be drawn from experience in preparing a dictionary of Indonesian and a dictionary of Cebuano-Visayan*", and René van den Berg's "*Dictionary making on the field: experiences of SIL in PNG*". The second phase demonstrates three technology-based approaches to dictionary making. The first paper is Ritsuko Kikusawa and Lawrence Reid's "*A Talking Dictionary of Khinina-ang: The Language of Guina-ang, Bontoc, Mountain Province, the Philippines*". The second is Simon Greenhill's "*The Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database*".

## Contents

# Reconstruction of PAn morpho-syntax and implications for the An settlement on Taiwan

**Prof. John WOLFF**

Cornell University

**Dr Daniel KAUFMAN**

Cornell University

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# The Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara: Morphological attrition and voice

## Prof. Masayoshi SHIBATANI

Rice University, Houston

The Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara show different degrees of verbal morphological attrition affecting the basic Austronesian contrast between the Actor Focus (AF) and the Patient Focus (PF) constructions, on the one hand, and the Malay/Indonesian passive constructions, on the other. Based on the field research for the NSF project on the voice systems of the Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara, this panel examines various grammatical consequences of change from morphologically more elaborate languages of Lombok, Sumbawa, and Sumba to highly isolating languages of central Flores. Issues dealt with include (1) the fate of the traditional AF/PF structural distinction in the face of the loss of the focus morphology, (2) the fate of passive constructions—their losses and mergers with PF constructions, and (3) changes in the discourse deployment pattern of AF, PF and passive constructions and their variants.

Masayoshi Shibatani examines these issues in broader perspectives in terms of the relevant syntactic phenomena such as nominalization-based constructions (relative clauses, wh-questions, clefts), control and raising. He points out that all the languages in the region continue to display the structural AF/PF opposition despite the loss of the focus morphology, and examines how the loss of passive constructions may affect the nature of the PF constructions in the relevant languages. He then draws wider implications concerning the grammatical relations and the PF/passive distinction in Austronesian.

I Wayan Arka, on the other hand, investigates the complex syntactic and pragmatic constraints of fronted content questions. He argues that the nasal (voice) prefix functionally expresses the speaker's intention to draw the addressee's attention towards the Actor argument. In certain languages the Actor argument must also be the grammatical subject. It will be argued that this syntactic requirement is independent of the verbal (nasal) marking. It is therefore expected that in languages where the nasal prefix has been lost the pragmatically salient argument must still be grammatical subject and that, in languages where the prefix is still present, the link between this prefix and subject status may be diminishing. It will be demonstrated that both expectations are confirmed in the Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara.

Fay Wouk takes a close look at the discourse distribution of different clause types in narratives (and for Sasak also in conversational data.) She will report on the relative frequency of the constructions under investigation in three groups of languages, those which still retain some verbal marking, those which have lost verbal marking but still mark a distinction between agents as direct arguments of the verb and oblique agents, and those languages of central Flores in which the only difference between clause types is constituent order. Additionally she will

investigate possible correlations between different clause types and both discourse transitivity and information structure.

Two detailed studies of the relevant issues are made for the languages from the two areas of Flores Island. Christopher Schmidt discusses the languages of Western Flores, in an area between Riung on the northern coast of Ngada and Ruteng in the highlands of Manggarai. This constitutes an area of transition from the morphologically richer languages to the west to the isolating languages in central Flores. He will compare how grammatical relations are marked in these languages and how the AF/PF contrast is expressed in these languages.

Naonori Nagaya examines Lamaholot from the eastern end of the island, where some traces of the earlier morphology as well as what appears to be innovative morphology is seen. For example, Lamaholot has several distinct ways of marking a grammatical subject: agreement enclitics, prefixes, and irregularly inflecting verbs. In addition to exploring the forms and functions of these markers, Nagaya discusses the aspects of the AF/PF contrast in different syntactic contexts (e.g. serial verb constructions, control constructions, etc.).

**Contents**

*1. Masayoshi Shibatani, Rice University*
  "Focus constructions without focus morphology in the AN languages of Nusa Tenggara"

*2. Christopher K. Schmidt, Rice University*
  "The AF/PF contrast in the languages of Western Flores"

*3. Naonori Nagaya, Rice University*
  "Subject and topic in Lamaholot, Eastern Flores"

*4. I Wayan Arka, Austronesian National University*
  "Attrition of Voice Morphology and Fronted Content Questions in the AN languages of Nusa Tenggara"

*5. Fay Wouk, University of Auckland*
  "Discourse distribution of clause types in Nusa Tenggara narratives"

## 11·ICAL
## ELEVENTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS
**Aussois, 22-26 June 2009**

# Programme / Program

| Dimanche 21 juin - Sunday June 21st | |
|---|---|
| **afternoon** | *Arrivée des participants à la gare de Modane* – Participants arrive Modane Station |
| **19:30** | *Départ de la navette à la gare de Modane* – Shuttle bus leaves Modane station |
| **20:00-22:00** | *Enregistrement* – Registration |
| **20:00** | Buffet |

### Répartition des salles / Lecture Room Assignment

| Lundi 22 juin Monday June 22nd | ▪ Salle / Room 1: **La Dent Parrachée** | ▪ Salle / Room 2: **La Norma** | ▪ Salle / Room 3: **Le Rateau** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8:30 - 8:45 | Cérémonie d'ouverture - Opening ceremony | | |
| 8:45-9:35 | **Conférence plénière - Keynote speaker** **Robert BLUST** **The Greater North Borneo hypothesis** | | |
| 9:35–9:45 | Pause - Break | | |
| | **Session 1: Diachronie / Diachrony** (Chair: **John WOLFF**) | Atelier - Panel: *ISOLATING AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES* Convenors: **David GIL & John MCWHORTER** | **Session 1: Ecritures / Scripts** (Chair: **Bernd NOTHOFER**) |
| 9:45–10:15 | Paul Jen-kuei LI **The Linguistic Value of an Extinct Formosan Language: Favorlang** | Uri TADMOR **From Agglutinative to Isolating: The Development of Nonthaburi Malay** | Albert DAVLETSHIN **Kohau Rongorongo Script of Easter Island as a logo-syllabic writing system** |
| 10:20–10:50 | Andrew PAWLEY **Polynesian paradoxes: Subgroups, wave models and the dialect geography of Proto-Polynesian** | Tom CONNERS **Javanese Dialects and the Typology of Isolating Languages** | Piers KELLY **Towards a history of the Eskayan auxiliary language and script of Bohol, Philippines** |

| Lundi 22 juin Monday June 22nd | ▪ Salle / Room 1: **La Dent Parrachée** | ▪ Salle / Room 2: **La Norma** | ▪ Salle / Room 3: **Le Rateau** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10:55-11:25 | Kenneth William COOK<br>**True, False and Not-So-Obvious Cognates in Samoan and Hawaiian** | Scott PAAUW<br>**The Malay Varieties of Eastern Indonesia: How, When and Where They Became Isolating Language Varieties** | Michael PANGILINAN<br>**Assessing the current status of the Kapampangan "pre-Hispanic" script** |
| 11:25-11:40 | Pause café - Coffee break | | |
| 22 juin/june | **Session 2 : Diachronie / Diachrony**<br>(Chair: **Jean-Michel FORTIS**) | Atelier - Panel: | **Session 2 :**<br>**Austronesian linguistic anthropology**<br>(Chair: **Elisabeth LUQUIN**) |
| 11:40-12:10 | Alain LEMARÉCHAL<br>**Serial verb constructions and grammaticalization: A verbal etymon (\*aR-i "come, let's go") for the PAN prefix \*aR-?** | Catharina WILLIAMS-VAN KLINKEN & John HAJEK<br>**Double Agent, Double Cross? Or how a suffix changes sides in an isolating language: *dór* in Tetun Dili** | Kathleen C. RILEY<br>**Hospitality and confrontation: Transforming the translinguistic system in the Marquesas** |
| 12:15-12:45 | Michel FERLUS<br>**Les premières expansions austronésiennes** | Antoinette SCHAPPER<br>**Isolating Timor: Analyticity, Contact and Linguistic History** | Catherine JOURDAN<br>**Langues de substrat et transferts des catégories sémantiques des termes de parenté dans le Pijin des Iles Salomon** |
| 12:45-14:00 | Déjeuner - Lunch | | |
| | **Session 3: Austronesian in a broader context**<br>(Chair: **Roger BLENCH**) | Atelier - Panel: | **Session 3: Oral traditions, poetry, vocabulary of material culture**<br>(Chair: **Nicole REVEL**) |
| 14:00-14:30 | Juliette BLEVINS<br>**New Austronesian-Ongan Comparisons** | I Wayan ARKA<br>**Extreme Analyticity and Complexity in Argument Realisations: Evidence from the Austronesian Languages of Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia** | David MEYER<br>**Linguistic feature parallelism in early Tahitian oral poetry** |
| 14:35-15:05 | Peter SLOMANSON<br>**Progressive aspect in a partly Dravidianized Austronesian language** | Mark DONOHUE<br>**Isolation?** | Artem KOZMIN<br>**Syllabic Verse and Vowel Length in Polynesian Languages** |
| 15:10-15:40 | Michael David LARISH<br>**The Proto-Asian Hypothesis Revisited: The Mechanics of the Geo-Ethnolinguistic Time Machine** | David GIL<br>**Isolating Austronesian Languages in Typological Perspective: A Cross-Linguistic Experimental Study** | Gunter SENFT<br>**The Trobriand Islanders' Ways of Speaking** |
| 15:40-15:55 | Pause café - Coffee break | | |

| Lundi 22 juin Monday June 22nd | ▪ Salle / Room 1: **La Dent Parrachée** | ▪ Salle / Room 2: **La Norma** | ▪ Salle / Room 3: **Le Rateau** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Session 4: Oceanic syntax & phonology** (Chair: **Claire MOYSE-FAURIE** ) | Atelier - Panel: | Atelier - Panel: *EMERGENCE OF GRAMMAR FROM DISCOURSE: A FORMOSAN/PHILIPPINE PERSPECTIVE* Convenor: **Shuanfan HUANG** |
| 15:55-16:25 | René VAN DEN BERG **Did Proto Oceanic have a passive? A look at Bola *ni-* and its implications for Proto-Oceanic** | John McWHORTER **Grammatical Simplification in Indonesia** | Shuanfan HUANG **The grammar of causation and benefaction: toward a new understanding of the syntax of the benefactive construction in Formosan languages** |
| 16:30-17:00 | Claudia WEGENER & Aurélie CAUCHARD **Comparing Savosavo (non-Austronesian) and Gela (Austronesian)** | **Session 4: Formosan syntax** (Chair: **Paul LI**) Elizabeth ZEITOUN **Bound and free numeral forms in Formosan languages** | Michael TANANGKINGSING **Realis, Irrealis, and Modality in Cebuano Discourse** |
| 17:00-17:15 | Pause - break | | |
| 17:15-17:45 | **Session 5: Oceanic syntax & phonology** (Chair: **Alexandre FRANÇOIS**) Bill PALMER **VSO order and the VP in Oceanic** | Lillian M. HUANG **A Study of the Atayal Creole** | Huei-ju HUANG **Clausal syntax and topic selection hierarchy in Tsou discourse** |
| 17:50-18:20 | Mark HALE & Madelyn KISSOCK **Rotuman phase distinctions: phonology and syntax (but not semantics!): A reply to den Dikken** | Chunming WU **A Case Study on the Linker Construction 'V-ʔiʔ-V' in Mayrinax Atayal** | Maya Yuting YEH **On the interaction between TAM, voice constructions, and morphology in Squliq Atayal** |
| 18:25-18:55 | | Cheng-fu CHEN **Reduplication and Intensionality: Evidence from the Rukai Progressive and Comparative** | |
| 19h00-19:40 | *PRESENTATION OF FALS (FORMOSAN ATLAS OF LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE)* **Shuanfan HUANG** | | |
| 19:45-20:45 20:45 - 21:15 | Dîner -Dinner **Annonce spéciale - Special Announcement** | | |

| Mardi 23 juin<br>Tuesday June 23rd | ▪ Salle / Room 1: **La Dent Parrachée** | ▪ Salle / Room 2: **La Norma** | ▪ Salle / Room 3: **Le Rateau** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8:40 - 9:35 | **Conférence plénière - Keynote speaker**<br>**Dr Aone VAN ENGELENHOVEN**<br>**Hide and Seek in the Deer's Trap: Language Concealment and Linguistic Camouflage in Timor Leste** | | |
| 9:35 – 9:45 | Pause - Break | | |
| | **Session 1: Syntaxe océanienne**<br>**Oceanic Syntax**<br>(Chair: Frank LICHTENBERK) | Atelier - Panel:<br>*THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES OF NUSA TENGGARA: MORPHOLOGICAL ATTRITION AND VOICE*<br>Convenor: **Masayoshi SHIBATANI** | **Session 1: Philippine languages morphosyntax & phonology**<br>(Chair: Lawrence A. REID) |
| 9:45 – 10:15 | Ulrike MOSEL<br>**Lexical flexibility revisited** | Masayoshi SHIBATANI<br>**Focus constructions without focus morphology in the AN languages of Nusa Tenggara** | Hsiu-chuan LIAO<br>**When a first person participant meets a second person participant: Irregularities in personal pronoun systems in Philippine languages** |
| 10:20 – 10:50 | Claire MOYSE-FAURIE & Alexandre DJOUPA<br>**Information structure and argument markers in Fagauvea/West Uvean** | Christopher K. SCHMIDT<br>**The AF/PF contrast in the languages of Western Flores** | René RAPOSON, Geraldine REGINALDO<br>**The effect of Bikol-Legazpi intonation on the English intonation of Bikol-Legazpenos** |
| 10:50-11:05 | Pause café - Coffee break | | |
| | **Session 2: Oceanic syntax**<br>(Chair: Ulrike MOSEL) | Atelier - Panel: | **Session 2: Language contact**<br>(Chair: Sander ADELAAR) |
| 11:05–11:35 | Frank LICHTENBERK<br>**Attributive possessive constructions in Oceanic and elsewhere in Austronesian** | Naonori NAGAYA<br>**Subject and topic in Lamaholot, Eastern Flores** | Uri TADMOR<br>**Mon-Khmer loanwords in Malay-Indonesian: Linguistic and Historical Implications** |
| 11:40-12:10 | Ross CLARK<br>**Espiritu Santo as a linguistic area** | I Wayan ARKA<br>**Attrition of voice morphology and fronted content questions in the AN langages of Nusa Tenggara** | Waruno MAHDI<br>**Some obscure Austroasiatic borrowings into Indonesian and Old Malay** |
| 12:15-12:45 | Alexandre FRANCOIS<br>**Verbal number and Suppletion in Hiw** | Fay WOUK<br>**Discourse distribution of clause types in Nusa Tenggara narratives** | Michael PANGILINAN<br>**Kapampangan Lexical Borrowing from Tagalog: Endangerment rather than Enrichment** |
| 12:45-14:00 | Déjeuner - Lunch | | |
| | | **Atelier - Panel:** | **Session 3: Language contact**<br>(Chair: Marian KLAMER) |
| 14:00-14:30 | Isabelle BRIL<br>**Disjunction and disjunctive markers in (mostly) Austronesian languages** | General discussion | Catharina WILLIAMS-VAN KLINKEN, John HAJEK<br>**Real-time language contact and change in the Austronesian world: Tetun as a new media language** |

| Mardi 23 juin Tuesday June 23ʳᵈ | ▪ Salle / Room 1: **La Dent Parrachée** | ▪ Salle / Room 2: **La Norma** | ▪ Salle / Room 3: **Le Rateau** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14:35-15:05 | Atelier - Panel: *TAKING PHYLOGENY SERIOUSLY: NEW COMPUTATIONAL METHODS AND RESULTS* Convenor: **Russell GRAY** | **Session 3: Formosan phonology** (Chair : **Pittayawat PITTAYAPORN**) | Tom CONNERS **Complexity and complexification in 'standard' Javanese** |
| | Russell GRAY Language phylogenies reveal expansion pulses and pauses in Pacific settlement | Yueh-chin CHANG **Vowel length in Saisiyat revisited: Evidence from acoustic studies** | |
| 15:10-15:40 | Michael DUNN, Simon GREENHILL The Evolution of Phonological Complexity in Austronesian | Hsiuhsu LIN **Vowel Insertion in Paran Seediq** | Antoinette SCHAPPER **Possession in Kemak (Timor)** |
| 15:40-15:55 | Pause café - Coffee break | | |
| | Atelier - Panel: | **Session 4: Morphosyntax in West Austronesian languages** (Chair: **David GIL**) | **Session 4: Formosan syntax /semantics** (Chair: **Elizabeth ZEITOUN**) |
| 15:55-16:25 | Fiona JORDAN **Population size and language change: Do evolutionary laws hold for culture?** | Huguette FUGIER **Les affixes verbaux dans la syntaxe malgache** | Amy Pei-jung LEE **Reduplication and Odour in some Formosan Languages** |
| 16:30-17:00 | Ger REESINK **The identity of Oceanic as a subgroup of Austronesian** | Jérôme SAMUEL **Les combinaisons affixales *ter-/-kan* et *ter-/-i* en indonésien contemporain** | Cheng-chuen KUO **Parts of Speech as Radical Constructions in Amis** |
| 17:05-17:35 | **General discussion** | Hiroaki KITANO & Michael PANGILINAN **Complementation with the determiner *ing* in Kapampangan** | Motoyasu NOJIMA **Two types of content questions in Central Bunun: Why is Via 'Why' different?** |
| 17:40-18:10 | | | Haowen JIANG **Spatial Deixis as Motion Predicates and Aspect Markers: the Case in Kavalan** |
| 18:15-18:45 | | | **Steering committee meets** |
| 18:45-19:40 | | | **Réunion du comité de direction** |
| 19:45-20:45 | Dîner - Dinner | | |
| 20:45 - 21:45 | **Réunion générale - Business meeting** | | |

| Mercredi 24 juin Wedn. June 24ᵗʰ | ▪ Salle / Room 1: **La Dent Parrachée** | ▪ Salle / Room 2: **La Norma** | ▪ Salle / Room 3: **Le Rateau** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8:40 - 9:35 | **Conférence plénière - Keynote speaker** **Nikolaus HIMMELMANN** **Prosodic Phrasing in western Austronesian languages** | | |
| 9:35 – 9:45 | Pause - Break | | |
| | Atelier - Panel: *RECONSTRUCTION OF PAN MORPHO-SYNTAX AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE AN SETTLEMENT ON TAIWAN* Convenors: **John WOLFF** & **Daniel KAUFMAN** | **Session 1: Traditions orales / Oral traditions** (Chair: **Paula RADETZKY**) | **Session 1: Language documentation** (Chair: **René VAN DEN BERG**) |
| 9:45 – 10:15 | Alexander ADELAAR **Javanese –aké and –akən: a short history** | Nicole REVEL **The verbal art of Palawan highlanders: an archive** | Ester Timbancaya ELPHICK & Virginia HOWARD SOHN **Documenting and Preserving Cuyonon** |
| 10:20 – 10:50 | John WOLFF **Reconstructing PAN morphology by analyzing commonalities between Pazih and Tagalic languages** | Elisabeth LUQUIN **Revisiting the 'poetic language' of the Hanunoo-Mangyan: Is it a 'ritual language'?** | J. Stephen QUAKENBUSH **Tracking Agutaynen language vitality (1984-2009)** |
| 10:50 -11:05 | Pause café - Coffee break | | |
| | Atelier - Panel: | **Session 2: Oral traditions** (Chair: **Gunter SENFT**) | **Session 2: Morphosyntax in Western Austronesian languages** (Chair: ) |
| 11:05 – 11:35 | Paul LI **Yet more PAN Affixes** | Li-ju HONG & Paula RADETZKY **Si Senai Ta Pucekelj: A Paiwan Wedding Song** | Jason Kwok Loong LEE **The core status of arguments in Mandar (Sulawesi)** |
| 11:40-12:10 | Daniel KAUFMAN **On the scope and function of PAN \*<R> and \*<ŋ>** | Chandra NURAINI **Les épopées iko-iko chez les Bajos d'Indonésie** | Anja LATROUITE **Levels of prominence & voice marker selection: the case of Tagalog** |
| 12:15-12:45 | Malcolm ROSS **Proto Austronesian verbal morphology: a reappraisal** | Dana RAPPOPORT **Musical idioms and linguistics in Eastern Indonesia (Lamaholot linkage)** | Louise OUVRARD **Particules énonciatives et ordre des mots en betsileo: L'expérience d'une apprenante du betsileo** |
| 12:45-14:00 | Déjeuner - Lunch | | |
| | Atelier - Panel | **Session 3: Syntax of Western Austronesian languages** (Chair: | **Session 3: Formosan Syntax** (Chair: **Lillian HUANG**) |
| 14:00-14:30 | Laurent SAGART **PAn morphology in phylogenetic perspective** | Catherine R. FORTIN **A Unified Analysis of Indonesian wh- questions** | Wen-chi SHEN & Li-May SUNG **A Corpus-based Study of Discourse Particles in Sakizaya** |

| Mercredi 24 juin Wedn. June 24th | ▪ Salle / Room 1: **La Dent Parrachée** | ▪ Salle / Room 2: **La Norma** | ▪ Salle / Room 3: **Le Rateau** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14:35-15:05 | Alicia SANCHEZ-MAZAS **Genetic evidence for the peopling of Taiwan** | Josephine DAGUMAN **Serial Verb Constructions in Northern Subanen** | Huei-ju HUANG & Shuanfan HUANG **BV construction in Tsou and the coding of adjunct NPs** |
| 15:10-15:40 | **Discussants**: Robert BLUST & Andrew PAWLEY | Michael TANANGKINGSING **On Extended Locative Voice Constructions in Cebuano** | Naomi TSUKIDA **Complementizer *ka* in Seediq** |
| 15:40-15:55 | Pause café - Coffee break | | |
| | | Session 4: Indonesia, Morphosyntax and sound changes (Chair: I Wayan ARKA) | Atelier - Panel: *PRONOUN ORDERING TYPOLOGY* Convenor: **Loren BILLINGS** |
| 15:55-16:25 | **General discussion** | John BOWDEN **Metathesis in Helong** | Loren BILLINGS, Dr Bill DAVIS **Ordering pronominal and adverbial clitics in Palawanic languages** |
| 16:30-17:00 | **Session 4: Language diachrony** (Chair: **Andrew PAWLEY**) Pittayawat PITTAYAPORN **Austronesian Etyma and Proto-Tai sesquisyllabicity** | David GIL **Agreement and Categories in Roon** | Silvia Yu-ju HUNG & Loren BILLINGS **Topicality and pronominal ordering in two Manobo languages** |
| 17:05-17:35 | Paula RADETZKY **The Function and Origin of the Saaroa Morpheme *sa(a)-*** | Michael EWING **Conditionals as framing devices in Javanese** | Celeste Chia Yen LEE **Clitic pronouns in Romblomanon** |
| 17:35-17:50 | Pause - Break | | |
| 17:50-18:20 | Motoyasu NOJIMA **A description of Bunun lexical prefix *makis-/pakis-*, morphological reflexes of PAN *makiS-/pakiS-** | (Chair: **Dana RAPPOPORT**) Philippe GRANGÉ **L'intransitivité duale en lamaholot (Florès) Split intransitivity in Lamaholot (East Flores, Indonesia)** | Celeste Ho-ling LEE & Dr Loren BILLINGS **A typology of pronominal disformation using data from Bunun dialects** |
| 18:20-18:50 | Hugh J. PATERSON & Kenneth S. OLSON **An unlikely retention** | Naonori NAGAYA **Space and motion in Lamaholot** | Celeste Ho-ling LEE & Lilian Li-ying LI **Pronominal ordering in Bunun dialects** |
| 18:55-19:25 | | | General discussion |
| 19:45 | **Banquet** | | |

| Jeudi 25 juin Thurs. June 25th | ▪ Salle / Room 1: **La Dent Parrachée** | ▪ Salle / Room 2: **La Norma** | ▪ Salle / Room 3: **Le Rateau** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Session 1: West Austronesian syntax** (Chair: **Masayoshi** SHIBATANI) | Atelier - Panel: *DICTIONARY MAKING IN AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS* Convenor: **Andrew PAWLEY** | **Session 1: Formosan syntax** (Chair: |
| 8:30 - 9:00 | Paul KROEGER **The forms and functions of Instrumental Voice in Northeast Borneo languages** | Andrew PAWLEY **On the treatment of plant and animal names in bilingual dictionaries: Lessons from Oceania** | Joy WU **On the Optative Mood Constructions** Sa-…-an and Sa-…-aw **in Amis** |
| 9:05 – 9:35 | Antonio J. GUERREIRO **Aspects of morphophonological and syntactic processes in Kayanic languages** | John WOLFF **Lessons to be drawn from experience in preparing a dictionary of Indonesian and a dictionary of Cebuano-Visayan** | Yi-ting CHEN **Complementation in Amis** |
| 9:35 – 10:05 | Antonia SORIENTE **Morphosyntax of Penan and Kenyah languages in Borneo** | René VAN DEN BERG **Dictionary making on the field: Experiences of SIL in Papua New Guinea** | Kazuhiro IMANISHI **Three place verbs in Amis** |
| 10:10-10:40 | Mark MILLER **West Coast Bajau as a symmetrical voice language** | Ritsuko KIKUSAWA & Lawrence A. REID **A Talking Dictionary of Khinina-ang: The Language of Guina-ang, Bontoc, Mountain Province, the Philippines** | Dr Hsiou-chuan Anna CHANG **Pragmatic functions of the Paiwan voice system in declarative clauses** |
| 10:40–11:00 | Pause- Break | | |
| | **Session 2: Philippine Syntax** **Syntaxe des langues des Philippines** (Chair: **J. Stephen** QUAKENBUSH) | Atelier - Panel: | **Session 2: Vocabulary of material culture** (Chair: **Laurent** SAGART) |
| 11:00-11:30 | Masumi KATAGIRI **Topic choice and word order variation in Tagalog and some related languages** | Simon GREENHILL **The Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database** | Roger BLENCH **The origin of names for wild fauna in Malagasy** |
| 11:35-12:05 | Jean-Michel FORTIS **Alternances de voix en tagalog** | **Session 2: Language classification** (Chair: **Malcolm Ross**) | Bernd NOTHOFER **The fish and the loom –** an **attempt at a semantic reconstruction** |
| | | Dr Marian KLAMER, Dr Gary HOLTON, František KRATOCHVIL **The languages of Alor-Pantar (Eastern Indonesia): A (re)assessment** | |
| 12:10-12:40 | Atsuko UTUSUMI **Semantic Roles and the Voice Systems of Sangiric Languages** | David KAMHOLZ **More Moor** | Jane Denisse RELLETA, Scel BENDITAHAN Dr Angela LORENZANA **Farming Terminologies in Four Bicol Dialects** |
| 12:45-14:00 | Déjeuner - Lunch | | |

| Jeudi 25 juin Thurs. June 25th | ▪ Salle / Room 1: **La Dent Parrachée** | ▪ Salle / Room 2: **La Norma** | ▪ Salle / Room 3: **Le Rateau** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Session 3: Formosan phonology** (Chair: **Yueh-chin CHANG**) | **Session 3: Documentation of Formosan languages** (Chair: **Isabelle BRIL**) | **Session 3: Vocabulary of material culture** (Chair: **Alexandre FRANÇOIS**) |
| 14:00-14:30 | Stella Shih-chi YEH **Vowel/glide distinction and syllabic position in Southern Paiwan** | Dr Jozsef SZAKOS **Documentation and Dictionary making: Experiences and Challenges with the Tsou language** | Sarah FEE, Narivelo RAJAONARIMANANA **Conservative Constructs: the terminology and techniques related to the loincloth of Madagascar** |
| 14:35-14:50 | Cérémonie de clôture - Closing ceremony | | |
| 15:40 | Navette pour la gare de Modane -Bus to Modane Station | | |
| 16:24 | Train pour/to Paris | | |
| 17:15 | Train pour/to Lyon et/and Paris | | |
| 18:20 | Train pour/to Torino | . | |
| 19:45-20:45 | Dîner - Dinner | | |

| Vendredi 26 juin Friday June 26th | ▪ **Bus Tour of Haute Maurienne / Visite en bus de la Haute Maurienne** |
|---|---|
| 9:00 | *Pour ceux qui ne participent pas à l'excursion : transfert vers la gare de Modane* For those not taking the tour: transportation to Modane Station |
| | *Pour ceux qui participent à l'excursion : départ en bus du CPL vers Bessans, Bonneval, Mont Cenis* For those taking the tour: bus leaves venue for Bessans, Bonneval, Mont Cenis |
| 16:00 | Fin de l'excursion - Retour gare de Modane - End of excursion - Tour bus arrives Modane Station |
| 16:24 | Train pour/to Paris |
| 17:15 | Train pour/to Lyon et/and Paris |
| 18:20 | train pour/to Torino |