Ten years of synchronic Austronesian linguistics (1991-2001)

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Abstract

This paper presents a summary of developments in Austronesian linguistics during the period 1991–2002. The aim is to introduce a general linguistic public to the synchronic study of Austronesian languages. General typological characteristics and interesting features of Austronesian phonology, lexicons, morphology and syntax are discussed, followed by a summary of how these characteristics, or issues related to them, have featured in recent theoretical debates. The paper also summarises work on Austronesian sociolinguistics, speech levels, language shift and mixed languages. © 2002 Elsevier Science B.V. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

Estimates about the number of Austronesian languages range between 900 and 1200 (cf. Blust, 1997: 408). The inventory of Austronesian languages given in *The Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* (Tryon, 1995b, Chapter 4) lists a total of 1202, with the following breakdown by major subgroup or region: Formosan (14), Western Malayo-Polynesian (529), Central Malayo-Polynesian (150), South Halmahera-West New Guinea (39), Oceanic (468) plus two unclassified languages. If correct, these figures indicate that Austronesian is the world's largest language family in number of languages.

Austronesian languages extend from the island of Mayotte in the Comoro group off the coast of Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the eastern Pacific, a

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distance of some 15,000 kilometers. Austronesian languages are spoken in Mada-gascar, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, East Timor, southern Vietnam and Cambodia, Taiwan and throughout the Philippines. Further to the east, they are spoken in the coastal areas of New Guinea and on its offshore islands, in the Bismarck Archipelago, on Bougainville, the Solomon islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Polynesia, and Micronesia. The total number of Austronesian speakers today is estimated at around 270 million (Tryon, 1995a: 6).

Any attempt to present a survey of scholarly work that has been done on this enormous language family in a single journal article is surely bound to fail. This article is therefore no such attempt. It is a survey of a restricted set of Austronesian studies, and has the following limitations in scope.

Firstly, the survey is limited to work that has appeared within the last decade—1991–2002—, or is to appear soon. References to published work on Austronesian languages from before 1991 can be found in Carrington and Grimes (1995). This bibliography is a selected list of the linguistic publications on Austronesian (and some major non-linguistic ones) that appeared up to 1991.

Secondly, historical linguistics has been, and perhaps still is, the major field of interest in Austronesian linguistics. A great deal of fruitful research is done in this field. Important issues concern the reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian phonology and morphosyntax, and the internal and external genetic relationships of Austronesian languages. The present survey, however, is limited to synchronic linguistics only. Readers with an interest in diachronic issues in Austronesian linguistics are referred to the excellent overviews by Pawley and Ross (1993) and Ross (1995).

Thirdly, this survey does not generally include work that has appeared in *Oceanic Linguistics* (*OL*). OL is the only journal with a particular focus on Austronesian languages and linguistics, and is published by the University of Hawaii Press. Space limitations forced me to chose between the available sources. Since the content of OL is relatively easy to access electronically, I have chosen to focus on work that appeared in other, more scattered places. Recent issues of *OL* are available online at http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/ol/, and can be searched at http://muse.jhu.edu/search/search.pl. An index to Volumes I–XXX (1962–1991) can be found in the 1992 issue of OL [31(1): 139–157]. This index is a unified listing of (i) authors of articles and reviews, (ii) authors or editors of books reviewed, (iii) titles of articles, and (iv) titles of books reviewed.

Fourthly, another major source on Austronesian languages and linguistics is the series *Pacific Linguistics* (*PL*), published by the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies of the Australian National University in Canberra, Australia. Some works are discussed here, but the content of all recent issues of *PL* can be found online at http://pacling.anu.edu.au/books/. Indexes to earlier volumes of *PL* have appeared as separate issues of *PL*: Index to Pacific Linguistics, Series A-D [*Pacific Linguistics Series D-No. 9* (1971), Carrington and Curnow, 1981; Carrington, 1987. The latter volume contains an Author/Title index, a Language index, a Topic index, a Map index, and a Detailed catalogue of all Pacific Linguistics Publications from 1961–1987.

In the fifth place, in this paper, references to Oceanic languages will be haphazard and sketchy. Oceanic languages constitute the largest subgroup of the Austronesian

family: between 450 and 600 Austronesian languages are classified as Oceanic (for example, Polynesian is a small subgroup of Oceanic), and Oceanic linguistics is often treated as a separate field of study. The reader interested in following up work on Oceanic languages is referred to Pawley and Ross (1995) and to Lynch et al. (in press). The latter work, a handbook on Oceanic languages, places the Oceanic languages in their geographic, demographic and social context. It also deals with the place of the Oceanic subgroup within the wider Austronesian family, and with the internal subgrouping of Oceanic itself. It provides a typological overview of Oceanic languages, and outlines the reconstructed phonology and morpho-syntax of Proto Oceanic. The second part of the book consists of sketch grammars of about 40 Oceanic languages.

Finally, given the general linguistic readership of Lingua, I have made a particular attempt to include work which relates Austronesian data to issues of general theoretical interest. I have, however, tried to avoid theory-specific terminology and technical discussions. Admittedly, the choice as to what is (and is not) included in this survey is subjective and personal. This is inevitable: it is a product of one person's experience in the Austronesian field, and this person's exposure to the theoretical issues have been raised during the last decade. For a more in-depth introduction to Austronesian languages, the reader is especially encouraged to consult Adelaar and Himmelmann (to appear). This handbook on Austronesian languages will contain introductory articles on the Austronesian history, typology, and ritual languages, while the second part of the volume consists of ca. 20 articles on individual languages that provide quite detailed information on the phonology, morphology and syntax of these languages, plus further references.

Recent surveys of morpho-syntactic issues in Austronesian are Massam (1998) and Musgrave (to appear). Massam (1998) focuses on recent syntactic work in the generative tradition. Issues addressed by her include the notion subject, the relation between thematic and aspectual roles and surface argument structure and inflection, and variations in Wh-structures and word order. Musgrave (to appear) is a discussion of the problem of voice and grammatical functions in western Austronesian languages in terms of a lexicalist model with parallel representations, i.e. Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG).

What the work treated in the present paper has in common is that it connects empirical issues in Austronesian languages with general theoretical issues. This implies that this survey does not discuss descriptive work as such. Yet, descriptive Austronesian linguistics is a very important, rich and productive field. Over the last decade an impressive amount of new data has become available, often from little-known languages. The reference grammars and monographs on Austronesian languages that appeared between 1989–2002, which have been listed separately in the References section, are illustrative of this trend. Typological descriptions of some 20 Austronesian languages (limited to 20–25 pages per language) can be found in Adelaar and Himmelmann (to appear). Lynch et al. (in press) contains similar chapters on about 40 Oceanic languages. The Comparative Austronesian Dictionary [Tryon, 1995b] contains short (1–5 pages) descriptive statements (of varying quality) on 80 Austronesian languages.

With the above limitations in mind, the aims of the remainder of this paper are modest. First, it intends to introduce a general linguistic public to the synchronic study of Austronesian languages. Of the 1000-odd Austronesian languages, Tagalog, with its complex 'passive'/'voice'/'focus' system, and Malay/Indonesian, as lingua franca of an immense region, are among the best known (and studied) languages. This paper wishes to raise a general awareness that Austronesian synchronic linguistics is more than the study of Tagalog or Indonesian/Malay morpho-syntax: it summarises work in other fields of Austronesian syntax too, as well as in Austronesian phonology, the study of lexical patterns in Austronesian languages, derivational and inflectional morphology, sociolinguistics, and language contact. In the appropriate sections, I first discuss some general typological characteristics of Austronesian, and then use these as a stepping stone to introduce related issues that have been the topic of recent debate.[1] The paper is organised as follows: 0. Introduction, 1. Phonology, 2. Lexicon, 3. Derivational and inflectional morphology, 4. Syntax—4.1. Introduction, 4.2. Constituent order, 4.3. Movement of nominal phrases: questions and relativisations, 4.4. 'Western Austronesian' voice morphology, subjects and ergativity, 4.5. Ergativity elsewhere in the Austronesian world—, 5. Sociolinguistics, language contact, mixed languages.

Note: The following central-eastern Indonesian languages feature occasionally in the discussion below. Unless indicated otherwise, the data on these languages is from the sources mentioned here: Muna (South East Sulawesi; Van den Berg, 1989), Tukang Besi (South East Sulawesi; Donohue, 1999), Kambera (spoken on Sumba; Klamer, 1998a), Alune (spoken on Ambon; Florey, 1997, 2001), Taba (spoken on Taba, in Halmahera, Bowden, 2001), Tetun Fehan (spoken on Timor, Van Klinken, 1999), and Leti (spoken on Leti, near Timor, Van Engelenhoven, 1995).

2. Phonology

In general, Austronesian languages have a 'small to average-size segment inventory' (Clark, 1990: 179). Most have five cardinal vowels (Foley, 1998), and less than 20 consonants. That is, the segmental inventory is usually rather simple. Languages with larger sets of consonants include implosive and/or prenasalised stops, and languages with larger sets of vowels include at least lengthened cardinal vowels. Madurese (Cohn, 1993; Cohn and Ham, 1999) and Acehnese (Durie, 1985) are examples of Austronesian languages with complex segmental inventories. Acehnese, for example, has 27 vowels (15 oral, 12 nasal) and 20 consonants.

Within the Austronesian family, the phenomenon of consonant mutation is quite rare, though it is reported to occur in the Huon Gulf in New Guinea (Ross, 1988), in languages of Vanuatu (Brown, 1997: 397), Kambera (Klamer, 1998a: 262) and Nias (island of Nias, west of Sumatra, Brown, 1997, 2001). In the former two languages it is restricted to verbal paradigms, whereas in Nias it occurs both in the verbal and

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[1] Other typological overviews of Austronesian languages are Clark (1990) and Tryon (1995a); the remarks below may be seen as building on, or complementary to those.

nominal domain. Nias nouns have two forms: one 'citation form', and a 'case form'. The 'case form' has an mutated initial consonant. For example, a voiceless obstruent becomes voiced (*tödo > dödö* 'heart'; a glottal stop becomes /g/: *'adulo > gadulo* 'house'. The phonological mutation is conditioned by the position of the nominal in a given syntactic phrase.

Also fairly rare in Austronesian are languages with tone distinctions: no more than 14 AN languages have been reported to feature lexical tone: five languages of New Caledonia, the Chamic languages of Eastern Cham and Utsat, Mor, the North Huon Gulf languages Yabem and Bukawa, Kara, Barok, and Patpatar, all three in New Ireland, and Ma'ya, west of the Bird's Head (Papua) (see Edmondson and Gregerson, 1993; Remijsen, 2002, and the references given there). Remijsen analyses Ma'ya as a tone language which also features lexically contrastive stress.

Stress in Austronesian languages is generally penultimate, whereby the domain of stress may be the foot or the prosodic word. Van Zanten et al. (to appear) is an overview of stress types in Austronesian languages. Of the 117 languages in this overview, 92 have penultimate stress, 14 languages have final stress (e.g., Acehnese, Lampung, Balinese, Kei, Kilivila, Fijian), six have initial stress (Arosi, Dehu, Iaai, Maori, Roro, Tigak; all six of them Oceanic languages), and some languages have final or penultimate stress (e.g. Leti, Tarangan, Selaru, Rotuman, Tongan). Indonesian and a number of Philippine languages arguably have variable stress. As pointed out by Goedemans and Van Zanten (to appear), the analysis of Indonesian stress is complicated by the fact that it is a lingua franca, with substrate languages causing confusing variation in its stress patterns.

In the morpho-phonological domain, many Austronesian languages have some version of the morphological derivation cum nasal assimilation similar to the well-known from Malay/Indonesian prefix *meN*-with its allomorphs *mem-, men-, meny-, meng-* and *me-*. Nasal substitution in Tagalog is irregular, but there are sub-regularities (for example, it is less common for voiced stops than for voiceless ones). Zuraw (2000) reports on experiments with native Tagalog speakers who reproduce these subregularities for nonsense words.

Also fairly widespread across Austronesian languages is a ban on sequences of a nasal followed by a voiceless consonant. Different languages employ different strategies to avoid these illegal sequences. Pater (1999, 2001) accounts for nasal substitution in Indonesian in terms of fusion of a nasal and a voiceless consonant. Bhandari (1998) argues against a nasal substitution account for Makassarese and proposes that Makassarese nasal substitution is driven by the need to satisfy alignment constraints on the stem and the prefix without violating syllable structure constraints.

Most of the lexical roots in Austronesian languages are bisyllabic. In western Austronesian languages, CC clusters are allowed more often than towards the east. Tsou, spoken in Taiwan, is an extreme example: it permits an unusually large number of word onset consonant clusters and comparable word internal clusters: nasal + stop, fricative + stop, nasal + nasal, fricative + fricative, stop + stop, glottal fricative + C, glottal stop + C (Wright, 1999). Roots tend to become phonotactically simpler the further east one goes. Many of the consonant clusters that do appear in

languages east of Sulawesi (Indonesia), are (diachronically) multi-morphemic or the result of a phonetic process of vowel 'deletion'. Examples are, respectively, Taba (Bowden, 2001: 41) and Tetun Fehan (Van Klinken, 1999, section 2.7). In languages with productive processes of metathesis and/or fusion, consonant clusters have been analysed as the phonetic effects of such processes. An example is Leti (Van der Hulst and Van Engelenhoven, 1995). Constraints on consonant clusters have also been mentioned as conditioning the *um-* prefixation (versus infixation) in Toba Batak (Crowhurst, 1998, see also Crowhurst, 2000).

Most western Austronesian languages allow all sorts of consonant-final roots. Examples include Tagalog and other Philippine languages, Toba Batak, Minangkabau, Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese, and Sasak. Towards the east of Indonesia one finds more and more languages with a preference for open syllables (Clark, 1990; Tryon, 1995a; Foley, 1998; Sneddon, 1993), especially at the end of a root. Some of the eastern languages do allow coda consonants, but then the set of those consonants is a (small) subset of the entire set of consonants of a language. This is for example the case in Tetun, where only five consonants (/t, k, s, r, n/) out of the total set of 13 are allowed root-finally. Oceanic languages generally have open syllables.

The preference for open syllables may result in the 'repair strategy' of adding a 'paragogic' or epenthetic vowel, or the drop of a root-final consonant. Both strategies are used in Sulawesi (Sneddon, 1993). Paragogic vowel insertion in the Northern Central Sulawesi language Lauje is discussed in Himmelmann (1997). A paragogic vowel is also found in Kambera (Sumba, eastern Indonesia), and this language also drops root-final coda's of loanwords. Given that root-final vowel epenthesis and consonant drop are driven by the wish to have open syllables, these processes are attested less frequently in western Austronesian languages, since these languages generally allow syllables to be closed. On the other hand, many eastern Austronesian languages do not employ them either. The reason is that these languages disallow closed syllables altogether, so that they do not need to employ these repair strategies—except perhaps to incorporate loanwords in their phonotaxis.

Most Austronesian languages show rich reduplication patterns with reduplicants of various shapes: (1) a syllable [the first CV(C) of the root, or the first C of the root with a default vowel], (2) a root or a foot (CVCV) and sometimes also (3) a full prosodic word. Reduplicative morphology marks a variety of nominal and verbal functions, including the following: (a) it derives nominals from verbal roots, (b) it marks plurality, diversity, variety, distribution, diminutive of nominal root (c) it derives verb with (explicit) agent argument, (d) it derives verbal aspects (such as 'iterative', 'repetitive', 'durative', 'continue to be'), and (e) it derives adverbials modifying the predicate, with meanings such as 'rather', 'pretend to', 'act as if', 'for fun', 'a little', 'heedlessly'.

Recent developments in phonological theory, such as Non-linear Phonology, Prosodic Morphology, and Optimality Theory, have given rise to new interest in the formal properties of the prosodic and morphemic structure of Austronesian languages. In particular, patterns of reduplication and metathesis have been analysed in

this context. The following papers present analyses of reduplication patterns in individual Austronesian languages against the background of recent phonological theory. Zaharini Ahmad (1998) gives an OT-account of Malay reduplication. Keenan and Razafimamonjy (1998) present a comprehensive description of Malagasy reduplication, where the reduplicant is characterised in prosodic terms [(core, light, heavy) syllable, foot, prosodic word] but does not satisfy a template of any sort. Chamorro reduplication is discussed in Klein (1997), and Klein and Harris (2000). Reduplication in Makassarese is analysed in Aronoff et al. (1987). Selayarese reduplication is the topic of Basri and Chen (1999), and reduplication in Madurese reciprocals is analysed by Davies (2000b). Leti reduplication is discussed by Van der Hulst and Klamer (1996). Finally, De Lacy (1999) presents evidence for the existence of a haplologizing reduplicant in Maori; a reduplicative morpheme which coalesces with phonological material rather than copying it.

Metathesis is much less wide-spread in the Austronesian world than reduplication. In eastern Indonesia it is attested in Leti (Van Engelenhoven, 1995, 1996; Van der Hulst and Van Engelenhoven, 1995; Hume, 1997, 1998; Blevins and Garrett, 1998) and Dawanese (Steinhauer, 1996). Campana (2000) discusses metathesis of verbal morphemes in Palauan (Palau, western Pacific), and analyses this as partly phonologically, and partly morpho-syntactically determined. Metathesis is also part of the grammar of the Oceanic language Rotuman, where it marks 'phase' distinctions, the analysis of which has been the topic of long-standing debates. These debates continue in e.g. Hale and Kissock (1998) and McCarthy (2000). Phonologically, the phase alternation in Rotuman is remarkable because, first, the shape differences between phases are quite diverse, involving resyllabification, deletion, umlaut, and metathesis, and second, the phase alternation produces prosodic structures that are otherwise unattested in this language, replacing simple (C)V syllables with closed and diphthongal ones.

Another domain where syntax and phonology often interact is in cliticisation. In general, Austronesian languages have fairly simple cliticisation processes. Kambera is an exception: this language employs a clitic cluster of up to nine slots. Klamer (1997) presents an analysis of the cluster and argues that they are morpho-syntactic feature bundles spelled out at the end of the syntactic derivation. Chang (1999) addresses the question whether Seediq bound pronouns are clitics or affixes, and argues for the latter. The distinct prosodic properties of clitics and affixes in Makassarese are analysed in Basri et al. (1999), while Finer (1999) analyses the distribution of absolutive clitics in Selayarese. The distribution of absolutive clitics in Selayarese appears to be governed by spell-out constraints that yield a second position effect, prior to some cases of overt movement. The implication is that aspects of syntax derivationally follow aspects of spell-out, and this paper presents a suggestion as to how this conclusion can be accommodated within current derivational models of grammar. Zribi-Hertz and Mbolatianavalona (1999) present an analysis Malagasy personal pronouns, which surface either as independent words or as suffixes. They argue that morphological deficiency (caused by suffixation), is independent from both phonological deficiency (caused by the lack of word-stress), and from syntactic deficiency (caused by the lack of some syntactic projection).

3. Lexicon

With respect to the open lexical classes, making a clear distinction between verbal and nominal roots can be problematic in Austronesian languages with 'multifunctional' words or 'precategorial' roots. Tongan (Broschart, 1997b) and Tagalog (Himmelmann, 1991; Gil, 1993; Naylor, 1995) and Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen, 1992) are languages of which it is said that they lack a distinction between nouns and verbs. In other words, every content word can head a phrase appearing in either a predicate or an argument slot. In a similar vein, Foley (2000) claims that Austronesian roots were precategorial, and required derivation to function referentially or predicationally.

Himmelmann (to appear) analyses Tagalog rather as a language that does have distinct morpholexical categories, but lacks distinct terminal syntactic categories. This implies that content words in Tagalog do belong to distinct lexical categories after all, but these categories have fewer syntactic repercussions than we are used to.

As is well-known, grammatical elements may also be 'multifunctional'. In many cases the multifuntionality of an item is the result of grammaticalisation, and has involved syntactic reanalysis and semantic bleaching. Examples are multifunctional 'complementisers'. Complementisers in Paiwan (Taiwan) share properties with 'case markers', 'infinitival markers' or 'linkers', and are described in Tang (1999). The multifunctional items *fen* in Buru and *kua* in Tukang Besi function as complementiser, quote marker, speech verb (and *kua* also as preposition) but are in fact single lexical items (Klamer, 2000b). In Bislama, an English-lexified creole spoken in Vanuatu, a multifunctional item *olsem* 'like' functions syntactically as a preposition, complementiser, demonstrative and a discourse marker (Meyerhoff and Niedzielski, 1998).

In some cases, prepositions may also have other functions: in Muna and Tetun Fehan prepositions also function like verbs and auxiliaries, and in Leti, prepositions may have additional complementiser, verbal, and adverbial functions. Austronesian languages do not have large classes of prepositions—many have even less than five simple prepositions. If they are historically derived from major lexical items, they tend to derive most often from nouns (cf. Bowden, 1992). Nominal items of a special noun class (the so-called 'locational', 'locative' or 'prepositional' nouns) combine with prepositions to function as 'complex prepositions'. The existence of locational noun classes is mentioned as typical for Austronesian in Tryon (1995a: 37). Clearly, this is correlated with the fact that many Austronesian languages have a very restricted set of simple prepositions.

Closed lexical classes that are found scattered across the Austronesian world are the sortal numeral classifiers based on noun class distinctions, such as human vs. non-human and shapes (cf. Senft, 1996, 2000; Aikhenvald, 2000). Austronesian languages that have articles often use them to distinguish common nouns from proper or uniquely referring nominals. Articles marking this distinction in Kapampangan (Philippines) are illustrated in (1):

(1) Kapampangan (Mithun, 1994: 250)

a. king	common noun article + oblique
a′. king palenki	'…to the market'

b.   kareng   plural common noun article + oblique
b′. kareng mestra   '…than the teachers'

c.   kari   plural proper noun article + oblique
c′. kari Inda Maryang Tungul '…with the family of Aunt Maria Tungul'

In many Austronesian languages, numerals act like verbs (Tryon, 1995a). That is, numerals function as the head of a clausal predicate, or they can be inflected. Examples of languages with verb-like numerals are Tetun Fehan, Tukang Besi, and Kambera.

Deictic and directional systems in Austronesian languages are known for their potential complexity. Senft (1997) is a collection of papers on directional systems in Austronesian and Papuan languages. In this book, Adelaar describes the nature and origins of various directional systems in West Indonesia (Madurese, Balinese, Sasak, Malay, Achenese, Central, East and West Javanese), the Chamic area, and Madagascar (Malagasy). Bowden analyses directionals in Taba and Broschart describes locative classifiers in Tongan. Hill and Keesing analyse the spatial deictics of two languages of the Solomon Islands, Longgu and Kwaio. McKenzie and Van den Berg discuss the same for two Sulawesi languages, Aralle-Tabulahan and Muna. Finally, Ozanne-Rivierre provides descriptive sketches of systems of orientation and spatial reference in New Caledonian languages, with a special emphasis on sets of non-deictic and deictic directionals and on locatives.

In western Austronesian languages, transitive emotion and cognition verbs (e.g., *like, remember*) express the Stimulus argument in an oblique phrase. That is, the preposition used to mark Recipients also marks Stimuli (i.e., not only 'I give *to* you', but also 'I remember *to* you'). This pattern occurs in Malay/Indonesian, Sundanese, Tagalog, Javanese, and Balinese and is analysed in Musgrave (1999). The pattern does not occur in the Sulawesi languages Muna and Tukang Besi, nor in the more eastern languages Taba, Leti, Alune, or Kambera. Some of the eastern languages employ an entirely different strategy to express emotional concepts: they derive intransitive emotion verbs (*be sad, be happy, be angry*) by collocations of verb and body part nouns (see also Senft, 1998). The Experiencer of the emotion is expressed as the possessor of the body part. The following examples are from Tetun Fehan, Kambera and Buru, respectively:

(2) Oan   ne'e   n-alo   ha'u   nawan mohu   liu
     child   this   3s-make   1s   breath finished further
     'This child makes me furious' (lit. This child makes my breathfinished)

(3) Mbaha   -nanya -ka   na   eti-na   na   maramba
     be.wet   -3s.Subj -Perf Art   liver -3s.Poss Art   king
     'The king is pleased' (lit. The kings liver is wet)

(4)   Da   lale   -n   dofo
        3s   inside   −3sPoss   be.straight
        'S/he is just' (lit. Her/his inside is straight)

On the one hand, such verb-noun collocations are expressed as syntactically separate phrases, as in the examples above. At the same time, the noun and the verb also behave like a single lexical unit in morphological derivation, and may surface as one compound predicate. Klamer (2001a) addresses the issue how to analyse these phrasal lexical units.

Another type of conventionalised collocation of lexical items is found in ritual languages. Ritual languages among Austronesian speakers are generally characterised by some form of parallelism (Fox, to appear, and earlier work). Parallelism is a strongly structurally defined verbal art form, which functions as a stylistic device in the ritual language that is used for religious performances, prayer, oration, poetry and song. We find parallelism mainly in eastern Indonesia (Roti, Kodi, Weyewa, Anakalang, Kambera, Leti, Kisar, Wetan, Tetun, Taba, Nage, Ata Tana 'Ai, Sika, Alune and Buru), but also in scattered places elsewhere (Malagasy, Manobo, Hawaiian, Dayak, Batak, Bugis, Bare'e). An overview and further references are given in Grimes et al. (1997) and Fox (to appear). In paralellism, semantically synonymic words or phrases are combined in (minimally two) parallel utterances. An example is the Rotinese mortuary chant in (5) taken from Fox (to appear), in which each parallel element is marked (a1/a2), (b1/b2), etc. In this example, the verbs *soku/ifa*, 'to carry/lift and *sao/tu*, 'to marry/wed' form dyadic sets:

(5) Soku-la (a1)   Pinga (b1)   Pasa (c1)   'They carry Pinga Pasa
     carry   name   name

     Ma ifa-la (a2)   So'e (b2)   Leli (c2)   (and) they lift So'e Leli
       lift   name   name

     De ana sao (d1)   Kolik (e1)   Faenama (f1)   she marries Kolik Faenama
        marry   name   name

     Ma tu (d2)   Buna (e2)   Tunulama (f2)   (and) weds Buna Tunulama'
       wed   name   name

In other words, dyadic sets of words or phrases are obligatory pairings; there is generally not much variation allowed as to which words/phrases make a proper pair. This implies the existence of a mental lexicon with pairs of synonymic words/phrases (which often share grammatical and phonological properties as well) that must be learned as such by speakers. For example, a speaker of Tetun Fehan must simply learn that the following words are proper pairs: *akitou* 'dove' and *kowaa* 'crow' (no other bird), *taha* 'knife' and *balium* 'axe' (no other instrument), *lolo* 'stretch out' and *bi'i* 'stand on tiptoe'(no other bodily position) (Van Klinken, 2000).

In terms of their lexical representation, word pairs may thus be comparable to compounds, while paired phrases are stored as idiomatic expressions. There are, however, additional interrelations between the *sets* of lexical pairs. Fox (to appear) suggests that these interrelations can be represented as a complex network: a large configuration in which most words have one or two specific pairings, while a small number of lexical items function as critical nodes in this network. For example, in Rotinese, a lexicon of approximately 1400 items has such a 'core' set of just 21 words (Fox, 1975, to appear). In ritual language, then, the lexicon is metaphorically extended by using multiple synonyms.

Lexical extension is also involved in languages with word taboo (also referred to as 'avoidance register'), or in languages with special purpose registers (Fox, to appear). In languages with word taboo it is often prohibited to use the names for particular categories of relatives, or for those who have died. In Austronesian societies parent-in-law/children-in-law name tabooing is the most widespread (see the references in Fox, to appear). Since one of the consequences of the taboo is that individuals or groups are required to adopt acceptable lexical substitutes for prohibited names, word tabooing may lead to a significant amount of lexical substitution. In addition, words that are phonologically or morphologically similar to taboo words may be/become prohibited as well, and must also be substituted. This can be done by coining various words for the same referent, or by adopting loan words from other languages, resulting in lexical extensions. Languages with special registers for hunting, fishing and other activities (e.g. Tetun Fehan) may use these registers to 're-portray' particular risk-prone activities through the systematic use of an alternate vocabulary comprised of synonyms and euphemisms. In such cases, too, the result is a lexicon that is extended to a significant degree. Diachronically speaking, then, parallelism and special registers can cause significant changes in content, size and organisation of the lexicons of individual Austronesian languages.

For a number of Austronesian languages it has been observed that there is considerable iconicity in the lexicon, especially for expressive words. Blust (1988) describing the structure of Austronesian roots, also presents an analysis of the sound symbolism of their vowels and consonants. In his study of Javanese morpheme structure, Uhlenbeck (1949, 1978) observed that functionally 'peripheral elements' such as expressive morphemes, abbreviations of personal names, onomatopoeia [..], and names of plants and animals have 'peculiar' structures (Uhlenbeck 1978: 32). Clynes (1995, 2000) takes up this issue and argues that expressive elements in Balinese are structurally marked forms, and that this correlation between expressiveness and formal markedness is statistically significant. Subsequently, the same has been pointed out for expressive forms in Tetun Fehan, Ilocano and Kedah Malay (Klamer, 2000a, 2001b) and in Kambera (Klamer, 2002). The latter paper argues that one out of four lexical items in Kambera is 'iconic' in the sense that their outer form is clearly semantically motivated.

4. Derivational and inflectional morphology

Most Austronesian languages have a prefix, the core function of which is generally seen as 'causative'. The 'causative' prefix is often a very productive morpheme that

derives transitive and intransitive verbs from nouns, adjectives/stative verbs, and numerals. The following are illustrations from Alune (Florey, 2000) and Bima (Owens, 2000b) respectively:

(6)   dila to 'fear' > a-dila to 'frighten'
(7)   lenga 'friend' > ka-lenga 'befriend', dua 'two' > ka-dua 'have two, do two'

The prefix that is used to derive causatives does not only derive verbal forms with an increased valency: in a number of languages (e.g., Leti, Taba, Tetun, Kambera) it also functions to alter the lexical semantics of the base verb and its argument(s) by adding notions such as 'increased intensity or duration' (referring to the activity denoted by the verb), or 'increased activity/agentivity' (referring to the first argument of the verb). In the following example from Taba (Bowden, 2001: 202), the second verb has a causative prefix but signals unusual, increased duration:

(8)   Manusia   maleo   lcurat,   John nasurat   tarus
        manusia   maleo   **l**=surat   John **n**=**ha**-surat   tarus
        people   other   3pl-write   John 3sg=CAU-write   all.the.time
        'Other people write, John writes (on and on) all the time'

Many Austronesian languages have at least one transitivising and/or applicative suffix. Canonically, the applicative suffix introduces to a verb an object that is not an argument of the base verb. This may result in a valency change that involves an increase with one argument, as in Indonesian/Malay (9):

(9)   membuat 'make' > membuat-kan 'make for'

A third type of affix that is found in many Austronesian languages is a prefix that at least contains a nasal, and marks one or more of the following derivations: detransitive or anticausative, stative, involuntary action, or nominalisation. The contrasting sentences in (10) illustrate that detransitives in Sumbawa Besar are derived by prenasalisation (Wouk, 2002: 300):

(10) a. Helmi   ka-**bayar**   mejang ta
         Helmi   PAST-pay   table   that
         'Helmi paid for that table'

     b. Helmi   ka-**m-(b)ayar** ko   Wayan
         Helmi   PAST-N-pay   to   Wayan
         'Helmi paid Wayan'

Malagasy is one of the languages where a stative prefix combines with a causative one: stative *ma-* and a 'causative' prefix *ha-* into one complex prefix *maha-* with an abilative and a causative reading (Phillips, 2000). The interpretation of this prefix is partly determined by the semantics of the root verb: if the verbal root has an agent argument, *maha-* is interpreted as abilative, if it has no agent argument, it is interpreted

as causative. Travis (2000) is a generative analysis of Malagasy and Tagalog causative morphology. Travis argues that these languages each have two causative morphemes: a productive and a 'lexical' one. Both are added at different levels of syntax, reflecting their different position in the syntactic tree. In other words, morphological derivation is determined by phrase structure. Keenan (2000), arguing against syntactic analyses of Malagasy verbal morphology (such as those proposed in Guilfoyle et al., 1992), claims that Malagasy verbal 'focus' morphology is not determined by phrase structure, but rather determines it. He argues that lexical items (roots, affixes) are 'functions': morphemes are pairings of a string (a phonological matrix) and a grammatical category (see for similar views e.g. Jackendoff, 1997; Stump, 2001). In Keenan's analysis, the specific focus forms of Malagasy verbs determine how the verbal arguments are going to be realised, and this in turn determines phrase structure.

Regarding the applicative construction in Austronesian, it has been observed for more than one language that the two objects in applicative (or double object) constructions are structurally symmetrical to a large extent. This is reported for Bajau in Donohue (1996). Bajau is spoken by nomadic communities throughout Indonesia, and is argued to be a 'symmetrical language' in the sense that both objects in a double object construction may be fronted, relativised, and may be the subject in passive constructions. The thematic role of the applied object is irrelevant to the object-like behaviour of the argument. This is argued on the base of data from ditransitive, causative and applicative constructions. Klamer (1994) discusses the structural properties of the two object NPs in Kambera applicative constructions, and also argues that these objects are structurally symmetrical in many respects. Donohue (1999, 2001) describes the behaviour and textual occurrences of objects in the applicative construction in Tukang Besi (South-east Sulawesi). It appears that the range of objects that can occur in applicative constructions is much larger in Tukang Besi than has been described for other languages. Patterns that have been claimed to be universal, such as that the extraction of a Beneficiary object differs in grammaticality from the extraction of an Instrumental object, are not attested in this language. Finally, Mosel and Reinig (2000) describe two types of applicative constructions in Teop (Oceanic, Bougainville, PNG): one with transitivising 'applicative' clitics, and one with incorporated prepositions.

With respect to Austronesian pronominals, it is considered a general characteristic of Austronesian languages to have an inclusive/exclusive opposition in the first person plural (Clark, 1990; Tryon, 1995a). Patterns of pronominal agreement or cross-reference are usually rather straightforward. There are exceptions, however: Muna has complex patterns of pronominal inflection that involve realis and irrealis distinctions as well as the definiteness of objects (Van den Berg, 1989, chapter 4). Kambera pronominal morphology uses five distinct case paradigms, cross-referencing three referents (subject, direct object and indirect object), while the pronominal marking of objects is also determined by their definiteness (Klamer, 1998a, ch. 3, 5).

Many Austronesian languages have 'particles', clitics or affixes marking aspect (perfective/imperfective) and mood (realis/irrealis). (References to work discussing the prosodic distinction clitic/affix are given in Section 2). The morphological expression of tense distinctions is extremely rare in Austronesian languages. Mood and aspect parti-

cles either precede or follow the verb/predicate, but the majority is probably pre-verbal/
pre-predicative. There are also languages that express aspect and mood with adverbs,
usually preceding the verb/predicate; an example is Indonesian (Sneddon, 1996).

Nominal or nominalised clauses show interesting interactions between syntax and
morphology, and are found from the Philippines to Oceania (cf. the sections on
nominal(ised) clauses that can be found in most reference grammars). In many
Polynesian languages, nominal clauses function as existential clauses, exclamatives,
and equational clauses. Hovdhaugen (1997) describes the nominal clauses of
Samoan and Tokelauan. Cablitz (2000) describes the structure of verbal clauses that
have become nominal phrases in Marquesan. In the nominal construction, the verb
has a possessive (genitive) attribute, the tense and mood markers are lost, and
nominal negation is used. Certain clausal/verbal properties are retained, however:
aspectual markers, adverbials, directionals, and case-marking object NPs. Massam
(2000a) analyses nominalisation in Niuean. While Niuean is an ergative language at
the sentential level, it has an intransitive nominative structure in the nominal clause.
Nominal clauses can be minimally different from verbal clauses, just replacing the
TAM particle with a Case/Prep particle. Finally, Sung (2000) presents a contrastive
description of nominalised clauses in Rukai and Amis, two Formosan languages.

5. Syntax

5.1. Introduction

The phrase structure of Austronesian languages is generally head-initial:

(11)   XP

            Head   Dependent/Modifier
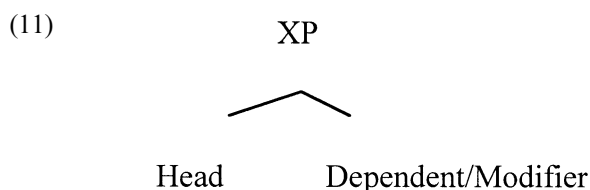
The head-initial character of the Austronesian languages is also evident in the
phrase structures that are found in the majority of Austronesian languages (Clark,
1990; Tryon, 1995a; Foley, 1998):

(12)   Phrase structures correlating with head-initiality:
            Austronesian languages generally have a VO constituent order
            Austronesian languages have prepositions, not postpositions
            Complementisers are clause-initial/preverbal/pre-predicate
            Negators are clause-initial/preverbal/pre-predicate
            Possessed nominal precedes possessor
            Articles precede nouns
            Nominal compounds are morpho-syntactically left-headed, orhead-initial

5.2. Constituent order

As variants of the 'standard' Austronesian order VO both VOS and SVO are attested. Some languages have basic VSO order. Verb final orders (SOV, OSV) and the complement-initial order OVS are a minority pattern (and perhaps absent). The following lists illustrate the variation in constituent order patterns found in the Austronesian world.

(13) Some Austronesian languages reported as basically VOS:
      Seediq, Malagasy, Palauan, Batak, Komodo, Tagalog, Muna, TukangBesi

(14) Some Austronesian languages reported as basically VSO:
      Atayal, Cebuano, Chamorro, Kimaragang Dusun, Samoan, Niuean, Tongan, Maori

(15) Some Austronesian languages reported as basically SVO:
      Acehnese, Indonesian/Malay, Balinese, Sasak, Muna, Bima, Keo, Kambera, Tetun, Leti, Taba

As a critical note, I would like to add that the characterisation of Austronesian languages as VSO, VOS, or SVO, is based on the assumption that there is a direct correlation between constituent order (i.e., phrasal configuration) and syntactic roles. However, in many Austronesian languages this correlation is not so straightforward. In Acehnese and Taba, for example, the correlation is argued to be between constituent order and semantic (not syntactic) role. Moreover, constituent order in many Austronesian languages is fairly flexible, in particular in those languages that are 'pronominal argument' languages (Jelinek, 1988), more on this below. The issue of Austronesian constituent order is directly connected with the problem of identifying the subject in many Austronesian languages, which will be discussed in Section 5.4.

Current syntactic theory no longer takes parametric base variation in constituent order for granted. For example, Kayne (1994) argues that all constituent orders derive from a single universal base-generated SVO structure. In his 'Antisymmetry' theory, verb-initial surface orders can only be derived by movement: VOS order is derived by moving VO as a unit leftward past S, or else V and O moving separately leftward past S (Kayne, 1994: 36). This theory has sparked new interest in the analysis of verb-initial languages, including the Austronesian languages Malagasy, Niuean, Seediq, Atayal, and Kavalan. There are two obvious possibilities how the derivation of v-initial languages would work: it may come about by upwards movement of V or VP-movement: V-movement resulting in a VSO language, VP-movement resulting in a VOS language. But determining what type of movement has occurred has turned out not to be simple. Rackowski and Travis (2000) discuss Malagasy (VOS) and Niuean (VSO) and claim that both languages are predicate fronting (rather than argument fronting, like English). The differences between Malagasy and Niuean follow from the different extent to which these predicate initial languages utilise

object movement. Massam (2000b) also assumes that the Niuean word order VSO is derived from a basic structure SVO. The VP is fronted. But in the case of an object DP, the object will move out of VP prior to its movement. In other words, SVO > > O moves out > > S[V *t*] O > > [V *t*] moves up > > [V *t* [S [*t*]] O]. In contrast to the fronting or raising of constituents, some verb-initial languages have been analysed as involving subject lowering. Chung (1998) argues that Chamorro VSO is derived by optionally lowering the subject into the verb phrase. The verb-initial Formosan languages Seediq, Atayal, Kavalan have been analysed as involving subject postposing by Holmer (1996) and Chang (1997) (SVO > > S postposed > > VOS) and, alternatively, as involving VP fronting (Aldridge, 1999) (SVO > > VO preposed > > VOS).

Carnie and Guilfoyle (2000) give an overview of issues relating to the verb-initiality of languages. Referring to Greenberg (1963), they observe that verb-initial languages have the following correlating configurational properties: they are prepositional (not postpositional), have post-nominal adjectives (not pre-nominal ones), and preverbal question or negation particles (not postverbal). They also mention a correlation between verb-initiality and the absence of a verb 'have' as argued for in Freeze and Georgopolous (2000), and the lack of a copular verb, as argued for in Carnie (1995). To evaluate whether such correlations are indeed significant, an empirical question is whether or not we find similar clusters of properties in languages that are e.g. verb-medial (SVO). Bima (Owens, 2000a, chapter 3), Keo (Baird, 2000), and Kambera (Klamer, 1998a, chapter 3) are Austronesian languages with (basic) SVO word order. Do these languages have prepositions, postnominal adjectives, preverbal question and negation particles, and do they also lack a possessive verb 'have'? The answer is positive. In other words, V precedes O in these languages, and this *head*-initiality is indeed correlated with other head-initial phrasal configurations. But the data do not support a correlation between *verb*-initiality of clauses and lack of a particular lexical item like 'have': the verb-medial languages Bima, Kambera and Keo lack the verb 'have' as well.[2]

It seems that correlating syntactic role and constituent order does not make much sense for many Austronesian languages (cf. Kroeger, 1993; Manning, 1996, for references), at least not for those in which constituent order is correlated with being 'focussed' (e.g., Tagalog, Kroeger, 1993; Tukang Besi, Donohue, 1999, see also Section 5.4 below), or Austronesian languages that have ergative or split/fluid-subject marking properties (cf. the references in Section 5.5 below). There is also no such correlation in languages where the morpho-syntactic expression of subjects is lexically determined, for example by the properties of different lexical classes of verbs, as is the case in Taba (Bowden, 2001). In addition, some Austronesian languages are 'pronominal argument' languages, where the NPs are optional adjuncts, so that constituent order is 'free' or 'variable'. In such cases, the variation does not usually depend on the syntactic function of a constituent (e.g., whether it is the subject or object of the clause),

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[2] Freeze and Georgopolous (2000, note 13) also claim that Austronesian languages that have a verb 'have' are SVO. This generalisation probably does not hold: Tukang Besi, for example, is VOS and does have a 'have' verb (Donohue, 1999). The opposite ('SVO languages have a verb 'have') also does not hold: Bima (Owens, 2000a,b), Keo (Baird, 2001) and Kambera are SVO but do not have a verb 'have'.

but rather on non-syntactic factors, such as lexical semantics, pragmatics, and discourse context. Illustrations are Atayal (Rau, 2000) and Kambera. The relation between word order and discourse and/or pragmatics is also the topic of Quackenbush (1992), and Cooreman (1992).

A related issue is, of course, the difference between 'subjects' that are (only/ mainly) expressed as morphemes attached to the verb, and 'subjects' that are (only/ mainly) expressed as independent NPs. Is the position of such distinct types of 'subjects' indeed comparable typologically? For example, Alune (Moluccas, Florey, 2001: 79–84) has a subject proclitic and an object enclitic, and both may occur with or without crossreferencing NPs (i.e., the NPs are optional, the pronominal arguments are obligatory). At the same time, subjects and objects may also be expressed by an NP *only*. In that case, the NP is obligatory. If we would want to present a constituent order typology of this language, which unit would we take to be the S (and O): the NP, the pronominal clitic, or both the NP and the clitic? In any case, the positions of the Alune S (and O) as clitics and/or free NPs are not entirely equivalent to e.g. the English S and O, since the latter are always free NPs, while in Alune, S and O may also be morphologically bound pronominals. Bound pronominals are by definition more rigid in their distribution than free-standing NPs. In sum, rather than standard constituent order typologies, a typology of the distinct ways in which S and O are expressed morpho-syntactically would be more interesting for Austronesian.

5.3. Movement of nominal phrases: questions and relativisations

Another area where the syntax of Austronesian languages provides an interesting typology is in the domain of (non-)movement of nominal phrases to (non-) argument positions, in particular question formation and relativisation.

Regarding the domain of wh-question formations, the extraction of question words in Chamorro and Palauan in particular has been a topic of recent debate. In Chamorro and Palauan, a particular kind of morphology appears on the verb when question words are extracted, and this morphology replaces the regular agreement morphology. It is referred to as 'Wh-agreement' (Chung, 1994, 1998; Georgopolous, 1991). Chamorro wh-agreement is also analysed in Richards (1997, 1998) and Bélanger (1999). Not everyone agrees to analyse it as a special type of extraction agreement: Dukes (1993) argues that it be better explained otherwise, and Richards (1997) and Donohue and Maclachlan (1999) argue that Chamorro "wh-agreement" is a type of voice morphology, like that which is typically involved in extraction strategies in Philippine languages like Tagalog. Chamorro would then be in the process of losing its Philippine-type voice system in transitive main clauses and therefore appears to exhibit special behaviour in other environments. Donohue and Maclachlan (1999) draw a parallel with the loss of voice morphology in Tukang Besi, a language of Sulawesi. Campana (2000) proposes an alternative view on wh-agreement in Palauan.

Finer (1997) discusses wh-questions in Selayarese, and shows that there are two separate constructions. One is formed by cyclic movement while the other involves a

base-generated A′-operator that binds the null resumptive element in an argument position.

Palauan question formation is analysed in Georgopoulous (1991), and Malay/ Indonesian wh-movement is the topic of Cole and Hermon (1998), who argue explicitly for long distance movement in Indonesian and Malay. Davies (2000a), in contrast, argues that this analysis is not tenable for Madurese.

It is a popular belief that in the Austronesian languages of Indonesia, relativisation with a gapping strategy is restricted to subjects only [see e.g. Sneddon (1996) for Indonesian and Davies (1998) for Madurese, see also Paul (1998) for Malagasy (Madagascar)]. According to this view, cases of apparent object relativisation are actually instances of subject relativisation, in which the D-structure object has first been moved to subject position via an affixless variant of passivisation. This analysis has not gone unchallenged. Voskuil (1996) gives an alternative account, based on a richer set of Indonesian data. Recently, Cole and Hermon (1998) have argued that also objects can be relativised with a gapping strategy in Indonesian, while Cole et al. (2000) argue that the same applies to Javanese. In addition, a cursory examination of the grammars of Muna (Central Sulawesi), Kambera (Sumba), Tetun Fehan (Timor), and Taba (Halmahera) suggests that the analysis summarised above would not apply to Indonesian languages in general. First, Taba, Tetun Fehan, and Kambera do not have a passive strategy to move D-structure objects to subject positions. Second, in Taba, all relativisations (of subjects, direct objects and indirect objects) employ the pronoun retention strategy, while in Muna, Kambera and Tetun Fehan, both subject and objects are relativised with a gap. The difference between Kambera and Muna is again that in Kambera, both the direct and the indirect object allow a gap, while in Muna, gapping is only possible for direct objects—the relativisation of an indirect object employs a pronoun retention strategy. In sum, relativisation patterns in theAustronesian languages of Indonesia show more variation than suggested by the 'subject-gap-only' analysis referred to above.

Data from Austronesian languages may shed new light on the nature of A and A-bar positions. This is discussed for Selayarese (SW Sulawesi) in Finer (1994). Finer argues that Selayarese has two preverbal positions that scrambled arguments may occupy. Both positions are internal to IP. One position has the mixed characteristics of both an A-position and an A′-position (the 'topic' position), and it linearly precedes the other position, which appears to be an A′-operator position (the 'focus' position, which can also be occupied by wh-elements). In Selayarese, then, A′-operator positions are not on the periphery of the clause. The nature of Tagalog A-bar positions and A-bar movement processes are discussed in Nakamura (1994, 1998), Richards (2000), and Sells (2000), those of Palauan in Georgopolous (1991), and those of Malay in Soh (1998) and Voskuil (2000). Pearce (1999) presents a structural interpretation of topicalized and focused constituents in Maori (Oceanic).

5.4. 'Western Austronesian' voice morphology, subjects and ergativity

Since Bloomfield (1917) the 'focus' or 'voice' system of the Austronesian language Tagalog has been part of traditional linguistic knowledge as a complex—and exotic—

system of so-called 'multiple passivisation'. In this system, each transitive clause contains one argument which is placed 'in focus', so that the orientation of the clause is towards this particular argument. The voice system in Philippine languages such as Tagalog differs from the canonical type of 'passive' since for any given voice, no non-subject argument need demote to oblique, or be supressed. Traditionally, it is assumed that the choice of a focus is determined by discourse considerations.

Which argument is 'in focus' is formally expressed in two ways, by (1) a set of verbal affixes which differ according to the semantic role of the focused nominal (e.g. Agent, Patient, Instrument, etc.) and (2) a set of phrase (or case) markers on NPs. The Tagalog sentences below (taken from Blust, 1996) exemplify part of the system (more constructions are possible). In these sentences, the verbal affixes -*um*-, *in*, a*n* signal whether either the Agent, or the Patient or the Location NP is 'in focus' while the focused NP itself is marked with the morphemes *si* (for proper names) or *ang* (for other nominals):

(1) a. B-**um**-ilí   **si** Maria   ng   tinapay   sa   tindahan
         buy-Ag.Focus FOC Mary   PAT   bread   LOC   store
         'Mary is buying/bought some bread at the store'

     b. B-**in**-ilí   ni   Maria   **ang**   tinapay   sa tindahan
         buy-Pat.Focus/perf   AG   Mary   FOC   bread   LOC store
         'Mary bought the bread at the store'

     c. B-in-ilh-**án**   ni Maria   ng tinapay   **ang**   tindahan
         buy-perf-Loc.Focus   AG Mary   PAT bread   FOC   store
         'Mary bought some bread at the store'

'Focus' or 'voice' systems similar to the Tagalog system can be found in the Philippines, in northern and central Borneo, northern Sulawesi and Madagascar, as well as most of the Formosan languages in Taiwan, and in more remote locations such as Micronesia (Chamorro) (cf. Ross, 2002). The analytical questions raised by the Tagalog focus/voice system are the subject of most of the current debate. One major issue is the nature of the grammatical role 'subject'. There is considerable disagreement over which noun phrase in Philippine languages has the strongest claim to being called the 'subject', if this notion is applicable at all. The discussion is summarised in Schachter (1996). Stated in descriptive terms, the problem is that the properties commonly associated with subjects may be divided between two different NP types in Tagalog. One NP, the one that is marked with the 'focus' marker *ang*, is a syntactically privileged noun phrase: it is an obligatory element of the clause, launches floating quantifiers, is the target of raising, conjunction reduction and relativisation, and it is specific. The other NP, the 'Actor' NP, is a possible antecedent of reflexives, a target for 'Equi'-deletion, and an imperative addressee (cf. Kroeger, 1993; Manning 1996: 12). Some analyses take one NP to be the 'subject' (e.g. Kroeger, 1993). Others argue that the subject properties are divided between two NPs that occupy different phrase structure positions: one NP would be a VP-internal subject, the other a VP-external subject (Guilfoyle et al., 1992); one NP

would occupy an argument position while the other is topicalised (A- versus A-bar position, Richards, 1996, 2000). Sells (2000) reaches a similar conclusion by looking at raising in Philippine languages, and Pearson (2001) discusses the A- versus A-bar status of subjects in Malagasy.

Because a Tagalog transitive clause takes the Patient (or Undergoer) as the default 'subject', and thus treats it like the single argument of an intransitive clause, Tagalog has a tradition of being analysed as syntactically ergative (cf. Maclachlan, 1996; Maclachlan and Nakamura, 1997; and these works also give references to earlier discussion). Ergative analyses of Tagalog assume that non-Actor (Undergoer) voice clauses are transitive, while Actor-voice clauses are intransitive ('antipassive', with an oblique Undergoer, Starosta, 1999), or at least less transitive than the non-Actor voices (Gault, 1999). The intransitivity of the Actor-voice clauses is a matter of debate: Kroeger (1993), for example, analyses the Actor-voice clause as transitive (i.e., as containing two core arguments), just like the non-Actor voice, and argues that neither voice can be derived from the other by antipassivisation or passivisation. In such a view, Tagalog is neither canonically nominative nor canonically ergative. As a result, it has been proposed that Philippine languages have a third type of voice system (dubbed 'P-voice' for 'Philippine voice' in Sells, 1998: 114). The issue of the place of the Philippine-type voice-system in a typology of voice systems is also addressed in Foley (to appear). As Ross (2002: 20–32) explains in detail, the basic problem is that Tagalog grammar only gives ambiguous clues about the semantic/functional and morphosyntactic transitivity of its clauses.

Apart from these analyses of Tagalog syntax, there is also considerable debate on the function, semantics, and distribution of the Tagalog voice affixes themselves (cf. Himmelmann, 1991; Voskuil, 1996; Keenan, 2000; Latrouite and Naumann, 2000; Latrouite, 2001, and the references cited there).

It has been claimed that the grammar of the 'non-Oceanic languages may be broadly represented by the Philippine languages, [which are] well known for their rather complex voice systems.' (Tryon, 1995a: 34–35). Though this is correct for the Formosan languages, it is not generally true for the languages spoken in Indonesia. Indeed, the fully developed 'voice' system of the Formosan and Philippine languages is very much reduced towards the east of Indonesia. Borneo and Sulawesi appear to be a transitional area, having languages with both full and reduced 'voice' systems. Some traces of the Philippine-type 'voice' system are still visible in the varieties of Sasak, spoken on Lombok and Sumbawa (Wouk, 2002; Austin, to appear). However, the languages on the islands further towards the (north-) east, including Taba (Halmahera), Alune (Moluccas), Leti, Roti, Tetun Fehan (Timor), Bima, and Kambera (Sumba), do not have productive voice morphology, lacking even a simple canonical passive voice.

In fact, the Indonesian/Malay voice system already shows fewer oppositions than the Philippine type (cf. Himmelmann, 2002). Indonesian voice and grammatical relations are analysed in an LFG framework in Arka and Manning (to appear), and in a generative framework in Voskuil (1996). Voskuil (1996, 2000) distinguishes the 'morphological' active and passive from the 'bare' active and passive in Indonesian. The former two voices are characterised by the morphological shape of the verb (the

presence of a prefix *meN-* versus *di-*), whereas the latter two are distinguished by constituent order only (A-V-O versus O-A-V). Regarding the status of this 'passive' prefix *di-* in Indonesian, it is a popular belief that this prefix is a reduced form of the third person singular full pronoun *dia* [Cartier, 1979; Shibatani, 1985; Guilfoyle et al., 1992, see also Gil (2002: 251) for a similar proposal regarding the prefix *di-* in Riau Indonesian].[3] Musgrave (2001b) argues against the reduced-pronoun analysis by demonstrating that *di-* has different morpho-syntactic properties to the other reduced pronouns in Indonesian, while sharing morpho-syntactic properties with the voice prefix *meN-*. He also argues that, on closer inspection, there is no historical evidence supporting a connection between *dia* and *di-*.

5.5. Ergativity elsewhere in the Austronesian world

In the previous paragraph we have seen that there is considerable disagreement as to whether Philippine languages, in particular Tagalog, is ergative. Philippine languages other than Tagalog that are analysed as ergative include Sama Bangingi (Gault, 1999) and Kapampangan (Mithun, 1994). Whatever arguments apply in support of ergativity in Philippine languages also apply in support of ergativity in Formosan languages. Formosan languages that are proposed to be ergative are Atayal and Mayrinax (Huang, 1994; Starosta, 1999).

Some Austronesian languages in Indonesia are also argued to be ergative, to have a mixed ergative-accusative system, or to show traces of an ergative system such as 'split-subject' or 'fluid-subject' (Dixon, 1994). Achenese is an example of a split-subject language (Durie, 1985), and Kambera is fluid-subject marking (Klamer, 1998b). Tukang Besi has elements of split-intransitivity (Donohue, 1999), while Taba has a nominative-accusative system for human reference, and a split-s system reference to non-humans (Bowden, 2001). Selayarese is analysed as morphologically ergative language by Béjar (1999), and Nias and Bajau have ergative properties (Donohue and Brown, 1999). Balinese is also argued to be ergative, e.g. in Artawa and Blake (1997) and Artawa (1998).

In the Oceanic subgroup, some Polynesian languages, such as Tongan, are argued to be ergative (Dukes, to appear). For others, it is argued that a relatively clear ergative system coexists with a syntax organised along accusative lines (e.g, Nieuan: Sperlich, 1997; Massam, 1998, 2002), while in other Polynesian languages, like Maori, an accusative system is found.

6. Speech levels, sociolinguistics, language shift, mixed languages

A number of Austronesian languages make us of special honorific registers (also referred to as 'speech levels', 'language levels', or 'style systems'). A speech level system is characterised by the use of distinct words for the same referential entity,

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[3] Other 'beliefs' relate this prefix to the passive prefix *ni-* elsewhere (Himmelmann, personal communication) and/or the locative preposition *di* (e.g., see Gil, 2002: 253 on *di-* in Riau Indonesian).

the choice of words depending on non-linguistic factors such as the relative social status of the discourse participants, and the type of relation between them. The most prominent languages with speech levels or registers are Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese and Sasak. Of these, Javanese registers have been the subject of the greatest linguistic attention (see the references in Fox, to appear). Clynes (1994) analyses the different informal and formal register in Balinese, the formal register being borrowed from Javanese. Nothofer (2000) describes formal properties of the speech level system of Sasak, while Syahdan (2000) examines how the two varieties of Sasak (Sasak *jamaq* and Sasak *alus*, 'common' and 'refined' Sasak) are used in Sasak-Indonesian code-switching. Many Sasak speakers are bilingual, using Sasak and Indonesian alternately in both formal and informal situations. Factors constraining the Sasak-Indonesian code-switching appear to be—in relative order of importance—: intimacy, social status (i.e., age or rank), and family origin. Proficiency in Sasak *alus* is also crucial: speakers who are fluent in Sasak *alus* switch significantly less often to Indonesian than speakers who are not fluent in this variety, while the latter use Indonesian as a strategy to avoid using Sasak *alus*. This is an indication that in some contexts, Sasak *alus* is being replaced by Indonesian, at least for younger speakers. A similar development is reported in Clynes (1995), who documents the loss of 'refined' speech levels of Balinese among young people speaking the Singaraja dialect. Florey and Bolton (1997) report the loss of personal names and avoidance vocabulary in Alune. Florey (1997) compares the language shift from Alune to Ambonese Malay occurring in the Alune villages Lohiatala, Murnaten and Lohiasapalewa, with special attention to syntactic changes in the genitive construction. More information on language shift and endangerment in the Austronesian world can be found in Florey (to appear). Poedjosoedarmo (1997) discusses the decline in the use of Malay in Singapore. Sercombe (1997) discusses code-mixing/switching in the Penan language in Brunei. Dominant languages are Malay and, to some extent, Iban. The data are compared with similar phenomena in Long Buang in neighbouring Sarawak. Ross (1996) discusses contact-induced change in languages the languages Takia and Maisin (spoken in North New Guinea and the Papuan Tip).

Petjoh (or Pecok) and Javindo are mixed languages of low socio-economic status, spoken on Java in the former Dutch East-Indies before World War II. The target language was Dutch. A description of Javindo is given in de Gruiter (1994), and Petjoh is discussed in Van Rheeden (1994). De Vries (1997) discusses verbal morphology in Javindo and Petjoh.

Meyerhoff (2000) describes the alternation between overt pronominal and phonetically null subjects in the pidgin Bislama, the national language of Vanuatu. She shows how an emergent system of subject–verb agreement in Bislama interacts with functional constraints on the interpretability of a subject.

7. Conclusion

In this paper I have presented a summary of recent developments in synchronic Austronesian linguistics, focussing on work that connects empirical issues in Austronesian

languages with general theoretical issues. The picture that the last decade presents us with is a relatively crowded, and very productive field of Austronesian syntax. The peculiarities of Austronesian syntax, already observed by Bloomfield almost a century ago, clearly continue to fascinate new generations of researchers. The last decade, however, also confronted linguistic theories with a large amount of interesting and/or exceptional data on the phonology, lexical structure, and morphology, of Austronesian languages, while it also brought new developments in sociolinguistics, the study of phenomena related to speech levels, language shift and mixed languages. Finally, during these ten years, Austronesianists provided the linguistic community with more than 40 books about at least 25 different Austronesian languages.

Acknowledgements

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