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Beyond a two-way typology of Western Austronesian

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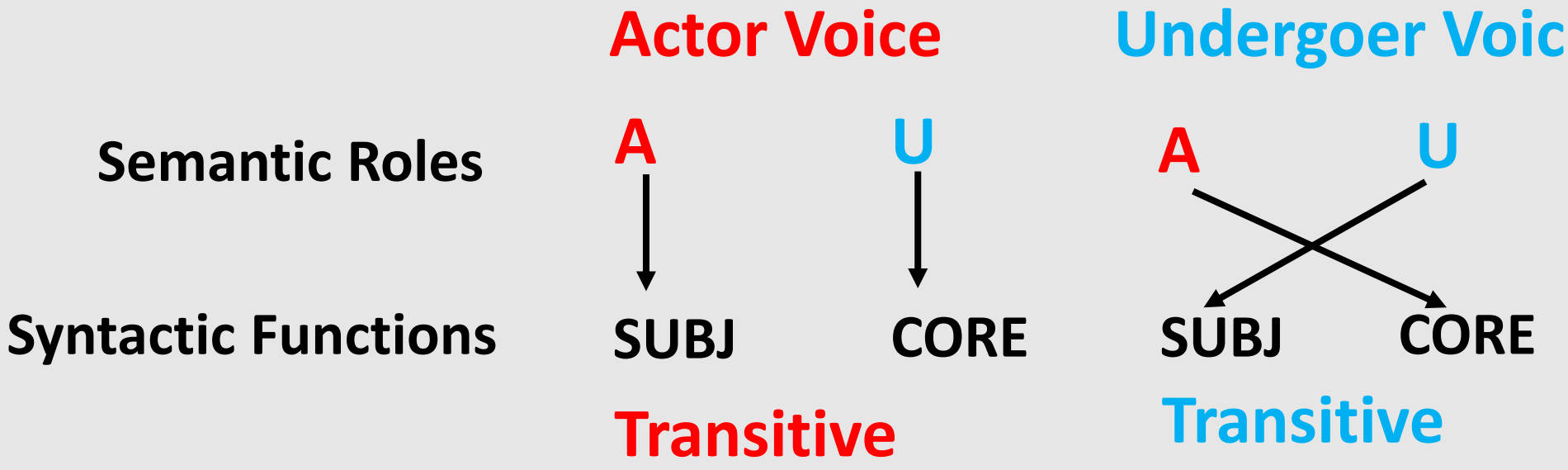
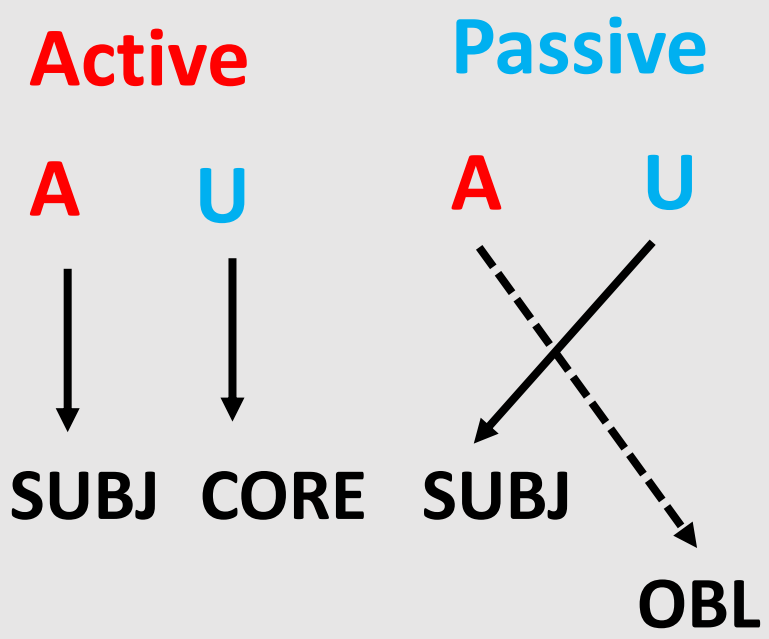
Western Austronesian

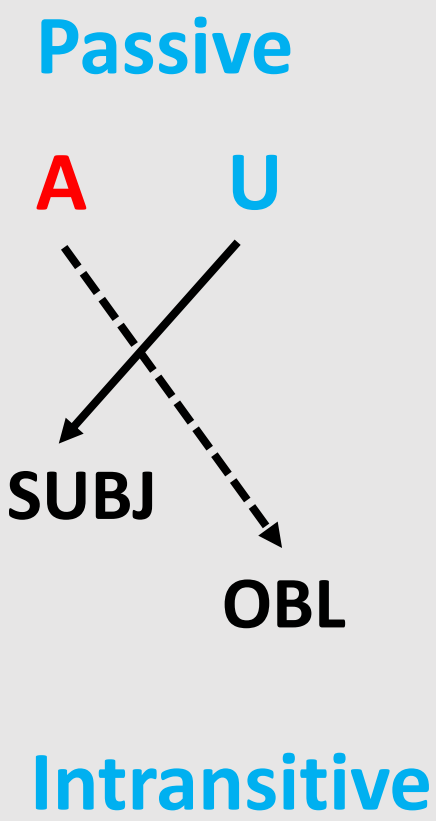
- Western Austronesian languages are known to have **symmetrical voice alternations**
- I.e. morphologically encoded alternations in the mapping of semantic roles to syntactic arguments that are **equally transitive**

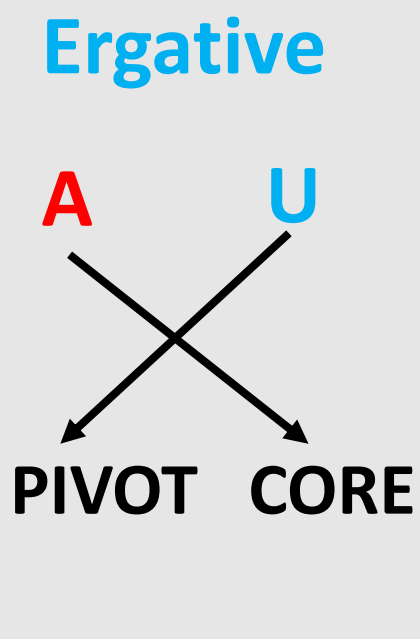


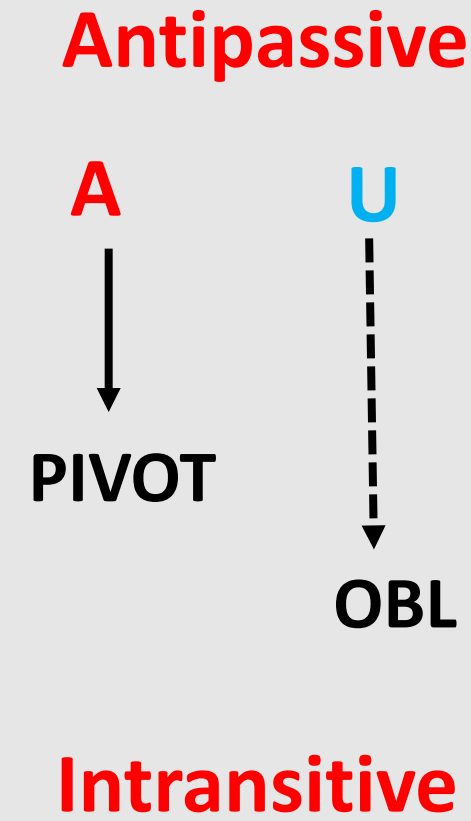
Active/Passive and Ergative/Antipassive

- Both active/passive and ergative/antipassive alternations are **asymmetrical**









Philippine-type vs Indonesian-type

Aims

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(1) Demonstrate that the two-way typology is **insufficient** to capture the full extent of variation in WAn symmetrical voice languages

(2) Propose an alternative way of looking at symmetrical voice languages that allows us to enter into **theoretical debates** and **theories of historical change**

Overview

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- Review **syntactic differences** that lead to the Philippine-type/Indonesian-type distinction (particularly in regards to voice and word order)
- Illustrate **aspects of variation** that suggest the situation may be more complex than predicted by the two-way typology
- Propose an **alternative** means of analysing symmetrical voice languages
- Present a **case study of Kelabit** – a WAn language spoken in N. Sarawak

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Philippine-type vs Indonesian-type

Some important differences

Philippine-type Voice System (Tagalog)

(1a) **Actor Voice**

B<um>ili *ang* lalaki ng isda sa tindahan.
<AV>buy NOM man GEN fish OBL store
'The man bought fish at the store.'

(1b) **Undergoer Voice**

B<in>ili ng lalaki *ang* isda sa tindahan.
<PFV.UV>buy GEN man NOM fish OBL store
'The man bought the fish at the store.'

(1c) **Locative Voice**

B<in>ilih-an ng lalaki ng isda *ang* tindahan.
<PFV>buy-LV GEN man GEN fish NOM store
'The man bought fish at the store.'

(1d) **Benefactive Voice**

I-b<in>ili ng lalaki ng isda *ang* bata.
BV<PFV>buy GEN man GEN fish NOM child
'The man bought fish for the child.' (Arka 2002)

Philippine-type Voice System

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- Preserve features of PAn
- Conservative verbal morphology
- A **four-way** system of alternations
- Definiteness restriction in AV
- Nominal **case marking**
- **Mood marking** morphology
- **Verb-initial** word order

	Past/Perfective	Non-Past
AV	*-in-um-	*-um-
UV	*-in-	*-in
LV	*-in-, -an	*-an
CV	*(S)i-, -in-	*(S)i-

Proto-Austronesian Voice Markers (Blust 2013)

Language	Actor Voice	Undergoer Voice
Mayrinax Atayal (Taiwan)	-um- (ma-)	-un
Kavalan (Taiwan)	-m-	-an
Illokano (Philippines)	-um- (maŋ-, ag-)	-ən
Tondano (Sulawesi)	-um-	-ən

Verbal Morphology in Philippine-type languages (non-past)

Indonesian-type Voice System (Balinese)

(2a) **Actor Voice**

Tiang nyepak cicing-e.
1SG AV-kick dog-DEF
'I kicked the dog.'

(2b) **Undergoer Voice**

Cicing-e sepak tiang.
dog-DEF UV.kick 1SG
'I kicked the dog.' (Artawa 1998: 8)

(2c) **Passive**

Buku-ne jemak-a teken Wayan
book-DEF take-PASS by Wayan
'The book was taken by Wayan' (Arka 2003: 8)

Indonesian-type Voice System (Balinese)

(3a)	**Actor Voice**	Ia	meli	baas	(sig	dagang-e	ento)
		3	AV.buy	rice	at	trader-DEF	that
		‘(S)he bought rice (from the trader)’					
(3b)	**Actor Voice**	Ia	meli-nin	dagang-e	ento	baas.	
	+ -*in* applicative	3	AV.buy-APPL	trader-DEF	that	rice	
		‘(S)he bought rice from the trader’					
(3c)	**Actor Voice**	Tiang	ngadep	siap	sig	anak-e	ento
		1	AV.sell	chicken	to	person-DEF	that
		‘I sold a chicken to the person’					
(3d)	**Undergoer Voice**	Anak-e	ento	adep-in	tiang	siap	
	+ -*in* applicative	person-def	that	uv.sell-appl	1	chicken	
		‘To the person, I sold a chicken’ (Arka 2014)					

Indonesian Type

- Assumed to have undergone historical innovation
- Typically use a nasal prefix for AV and an oral prefix for UV
- **Two-way** system of voice alternations
- Plus true **passive**(s) and **applicatives**
- No definiteness restriction in AV
- **No case/mood** marking
- **SVO** word order

Language	Actor Voice	Undergoer Voice
Standard Indonesian	meN-	di-/ bare construction with 1/2 actors
Javanese	N-	di-/ bare construction with 1/2 actors
Madurese	N-	e-

Verbal Morphology in Indonesian-type languages

Summary

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	Indonesian-Type	Philippine-Type
Symmetrical Alternations	Y (two-way)	Y (multi-way)
True Passive	Y	N
Applicative suffixes	Y	N
Micro roles with voices	N	Y
Mood marking morphology	N	Y
Case marking	N	Y
Word order	SVO	Verb-initial

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Aspects of Variation

Why the system is more complex…

- Although the distinction between **Philippine-type** and **Indonesian-type** captures some important distinctions between WAn languages, the reality is much more complex

- Firstly, there is **internal variation** within both the Philippine-type and Indonesian-type categories

- Secondly, there are **languages** – particularly in transitional areas in Borneo and Sulawesi – **that cannot be neatly characterised** as one group over the other but seem to have a mixture of properties.

Variation in definiteness restriction

- Philippine-type languages vary in the extent to which AV undergoers are **indefinite**:

- In Tagalog, it is ungrammatical to have **definite** marking on AV undergoers or to use AV when undergoers are **inherently affected**

(4a)	Nagluto	ang	babae	ng/*sa	manok.
	AV.PFV.cook	NOM	woman	a/*the	chicken
	'The woman cooked a/*the chicken.'				

(4b)	*Pumatay	si	Juan	ng	aso.
	AV.PFV.kill	NOM	Juan	GEN	dog
	For: 'Juan killed a dog.' (Katagiri 2005: 167-169)				

Variation in definiteness restriction

- However, in Cebuano, both of these are possible:

(5a) **Actor Voice**

Miluto	ang	babaye	ug/sa	manok.
AV.PFV.cook	NOM	woman	a/the	chicken

'The woman cooked a/the chicken.'

(5b)

Mipatay	si	Juan	ug/sa	ero.
AV.PFV.kill	NOM	Juan	a/the	dog

'Juan killed the dog.' (Katagiri 2005: 167-169)

- Hence, Philippine-type languages **differ in their treatment of AV** and the extent to which it can convey active-like semantics.

Variation in word order

- Many Indonesian-type languages have basic **SVO word order** – however word order choice may differ according to voice - e.g. Balinese

	SVO	VOS	VSO
AV	✓	✓	✓
UV	✓	✓	**X**

Word order in Balinese (Artawa 1998)

- Moreover, Pastika (1999) found that **90% of AV clauses had SVO** order (or AVU) – whereas **UV clauses showed no such preference** (UVA and VAU equally likely)

Variation in word order

- Similarly, we could further distinguish between Philippine-type languages with **fixed VOS** order (e.g. Seediq) and **flexible VOS/VSO** order (e.g. Tagalog).

- These differences appear to correlate with the ability to **question adjuncts initially**:

(6a) Seediq

*Inu	m-n-ari	patis	Ape?
where	AV-PFV-buy	book	Ape

For: 'Where did Ape buy books?' (Aldridge 2002: 395)

(6b) Tagalog

Saan	b<in>ili	ni=Maria	ang=libro?
where	<PFV.UV>buy	GEN=Maria	NOM=book

'Where did Maria buy the book?' (Aldridge 2006: 1)

Languages with mixed properties

- There are languages with multi-voice systems but no case marking and/or SVO word order – e.g. Lun Dayeh

- There are languages with two-way voice systems but no true passive and no applicatives – e.g. Sa’ban

- Finally, there are languages with a mixture of Philippine-type and Indonesian-type characteristics – e.g. Tukang Besi

Languages with mixed properties

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	Indonesian Type	Sa'ban	Tukang Besi	Lun Dayeh	Philippine Type
Symmetrical	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
True Passive	Y	N	Y	N	N
Applicatives	Y	N	Y	N	N
Micro role voices	N	N	relativisation?	Y	Y
Mood marking	N	N	pronouns?	Y	Y
Case marking	N	N	Y	N	Y
Word order	SVO	SVO/ v-initial	verb-initial	SVO/ v-initial	verb-initial

Summary

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- There are important aspects of variation within Philippine-type and Indonesian-type:
  - In terms of **voice systems** (e.g. the extent to which the definiteness restriction holds)
  - And in terms of **word order** (e.g. the extent to which word order is flexible and affected by the voice construction)

- Moreover, there are languages that have multi-voice systems but lack other Philippine-type characteristics and languages with two-voice systems that lack other Indonesian-type characteristics

- Hence, a strict two-way typology doesn't capture the extent of variation…

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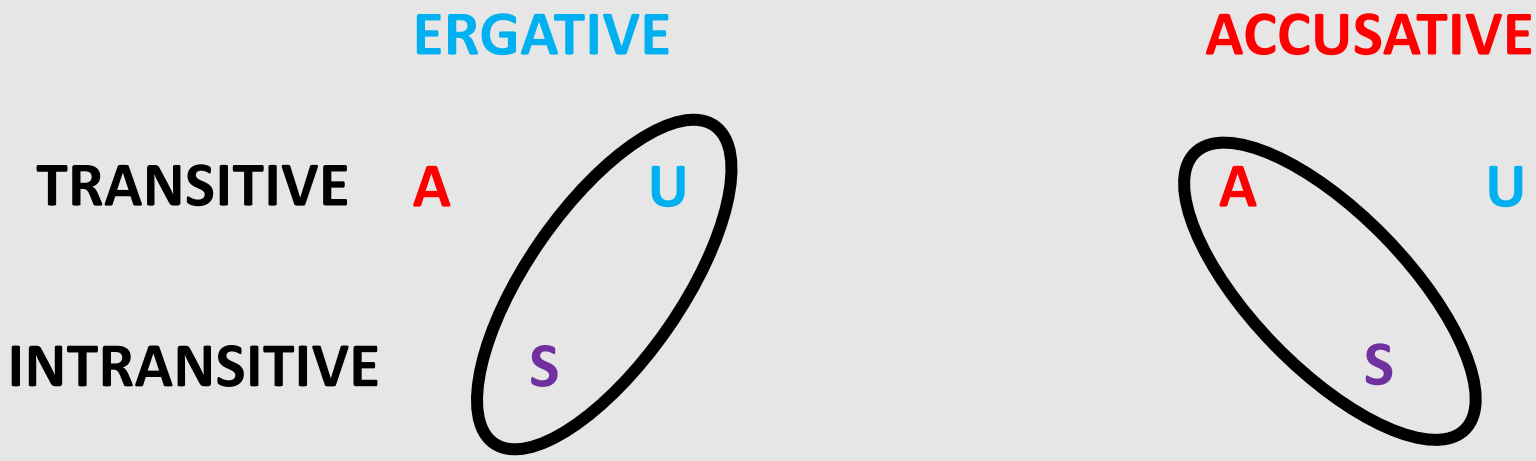
An Alternative Proposal

Analysing Voice Systems

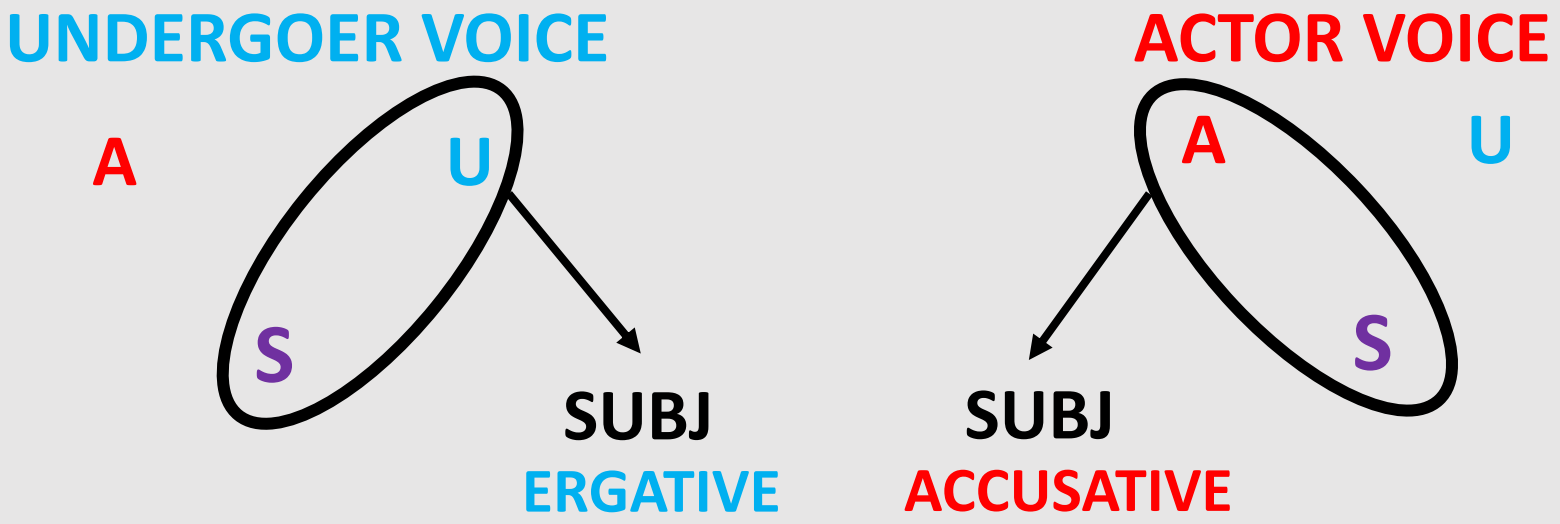
- Earlier, I mentioned that the typologically unusual voice systems have lead to debates regarding **alignment** in Western Austronesian (see Kroeger 1993).

- Indeed, Aldridge (2011) has proposed that WAn languages have undergone a **shift from ergative to accusative** alignment



Analysing Voice Systems

- In symmetrical voice languages there are **multiple transitive clauses**



- Kroeger (2004): determining alignment depends on identifying which clause is **basic**
  - A shift in alignment translates into a shift from UV being the basic transitive clause to AV

Analysing Voice Systems

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- If alignment shift has taken place then we might expect to find **intermediate stages** in the transition – i.e. more than two categories!

- Consequently, a more interesting approach is to compare the voice alternations in terms of their **morphological**, **syntactic**, **semantic** and **discourse** properties

- Each of these levels can give us tests for identifying the basic transitive clause and allow us to position languages on a scale from more proto-typically ergative to more proto-typically accusative.

Morphosyntactic Transitivity

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- Morphologically, basic transitive clauses tend to be **morphologically unmarked**
- Syntactically, transitive clauses have **two core arguments**, whilst intransitive clauses have one
- There are a range of **cross-linguistic and language-specific tests** that can be used to determined core argument status (see e.g. Arka 2005)
- However, WAn languages tend to be **morphosyntactically symmetrical**… therefore we rely on semantic & discourse properties!

Semantic Transitivity

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- Hopper & Thompson's (1980) **semantic transitivity** parameters:

	HIGH	LOW
A. No. of Arguments	two or more participants	one participant
B. Kinesis	action	state
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in agency	A low in agency
I. Affectedness of U	U totally affected	U not affected
J. Individuation of U	U highly individuated	U non-individuated

Discourse Transitivity

- Assessed via frequency and discourse topicality:
  - ➢ The "basic" means of expressing transitive events is likely to be relatively **frequent**
  - ➢ In transitive clauses, both actor and undergoer are **discourse topical**

	Topicality of arguments
Active/Transitive	Actor > Undergoer
Inverse	Undergoer > Actor
Passive	Undergoer >> Actor
Antipassive	Actor >> Undergoer

(Cooreman 1987)

- Topicality can be quantified using Givón's (1983) metrics:
  - ➢ **RD**: the number of clauses backwards to the previous mention (max. 20)
  - ➢ **TP**: the number of clauses forward that the referent remains topical

Summary

- Hence, if we want to compare voice systems and address the alignment debate then we can compare the alternations using the following approach:

  - Is one of the voices less morphologically marked that the other(s)?
  - Is one of the voices syntactically transitive but not the other(s)?
  - Is one of the voices more semantically transitive than the other(s)?
  - Is one of the voices more discourse transitive than the other(s)?

- We'll now demonstrate how this works by looking at the example of Kelabit…

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Voice in Kelabit

Kelabit

- Kelabit is a WAn language spoken mainly in the Fourth and Fifth divisions of Sarawak, Malaysia (Martin 1996).

- It is part of the Kelabitic or Apo Duat subgroup of Northern Sarawak which also includes Lun Bawang/Lun Dayeh, Adang, Tabun, Tring, Kemaloh and Sa'ban (Kroeger 1998).

- Data is based on my own fieldwork in Bario during 2013 and 2014

Morphosyntax

(7a) **Actor Voice**

La'ih sineh	ne-nekul	nubaq nedih	ngen	seduk
man DEM	PFV-AV.spoon	rice	3SG.POSS with	spoon

'That man spooned up his rice with a spoon'

(7b) **Undergoer Voice**

sikul	lai'h sineh	nubaq nedih	ngen	seduk
<UV.PFV>spoon	man DEM	rice	3SG.POSS with	spoon

'That man ate his rice with a spoon'

(7c) **Instrumental Voice**

seduk	penekul	la'ih sineh	nubaq nedih
spoon	IV-spoon	man DEM	rice 3SG.POSS

'That man used a spoon to spoon up his rice'

	Realis	Irrealis
AV	neN- (ne- -um-)	N- (-um-)
UV	-in-	-ən
IV	peneN-	peN-

Kelabit Voice Markers

Morphosyntax

- There are a number of tests that demonstrate the **core argument** status of actor and undergoer in both AV and UV

Privileged Arguments	Non-privileged actors and undergoers
Relativisation	Post-verbal position
Control	Adjunct-fronting
Co-ordination	NP status
Particles	
External position	

Morphosyntax

- Only the privileged argument can be relativised on:

Actor Voice

(8a) Seni'er kuh *la'ih* [suk ne-nekul nubaq]
UV.PFV.see 1SG man REL PFV-AV.spoon rice
'I saw the man who spooned up rice'

(8b) *Seni'er kuh nubaq [suk nekul *la'ih* sineh]
UV.PFV.see 1SG rice REL AV.spoon man DEM

Undergoer Voice

(8c) Seni'er kuh *nubaq* [suk sikul la'ih sineh]
UV.PFV.see 1SG rice REL UV.PFV.spoon man DEM
'I saw the rice that the man spooned up with a spoon'

(8d) *Seni'er kuh la'ih [suk sikul *nubaq*]
UV.PFV.see 1SG man REL UV.PFV.spoon rice

Morphosyntax

- Non-privileged actors/ undergoers typically occur directly following the verb:

Actor Voice

(9a) La'ih sineh [ne-kuman buaq kaber] **ngimalem**
man DEM PFV-AV.eat fruit pineapple yesterday
'I ate pineapple yesterday'

(9b) *La'ih sineh ne-kuman **ngimalem** buaq kaber
man DEM PFV-AV.eat yesterday fruit pineapple

Undergoer Voice

(9c) [Kinan la'ih sineh] **ngimalem** neh buaq kaber ih
UV.PFV.eat man DEM yesterday PT fruit pineapple PT
'I ate the pineapple yesterday'

(9d) *Kinan **ngimalem** la'ih sineh neh buaq kaber
UV.PFV.eat yesterday man DEM PT fruit pineapple

Morphosyntax

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BOTH AV AND UV ARE MORPHOLOGICALLY AND SYNTACTICALLY SYMMETRICAL

i.e. no voice is more basic than the other

Semantics

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- The data is taken from **a single text, a traditional story** about Dayang Beladan, containing 193 clauses of which **136 have a verbal predicate**

- Each of these clauses was given score out of 10 for semantic transitivity:
  - 1 for each high value and 0 for each low value in Hopper & Thompson's (1980) model

- UV on average scored highly (9.44)
  - It is associated with **high transitivity properties** – e.g. punctual, telic & dynamic action

- AV on average scored less highly (6.29)
  - Roughly 66% of examples had semantic properties associated with **antipassives** – e.g. indefinite undergoers – but 33% had active-like semantics

Semantics

(10a) **Undergoer Voice**

Nulin	neh	kuyad	sineh
UV.PFV.throw	3SG	monkey	DEM

'And she threw it at the monkey'

(10b) **Actor Voice (antipassive-like)**

Adiq	nieh	ninger	**[no object]**	keyh]
so	PT=3SG	AV.hear		PT

'So she listened'

(10c) **Actor Voice (active-like)**

Neh	nieh	muwer	ieh
DEM	PT=3SG	AV.butcher	3SG

'Then she butchered it [the yellow-throated marten]'

Semantics

- Possible to get indefinite undergoers in both AV and UV:

(11a) **Undergoer Voice**

Senaruq	neh	edteh	ruwing
UV.PFV.make	3SG	one	trap

'She made a trap'

(11b) **Actor Voice**

Dooq	tuih	naruq	edteh	ebpung
good	PT=1SG	AV.make	one	trap

'I'd better make a trap'

- Hence, **definiteness does not determine voice choice** and both AV and UV are compatible with semantically transitive readings

Semantics

UV IS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGH SEMANTIC TRANSITIVITY

AV IS ASSOCIATED WITH LOWER SEMANTIC TRANSITITY AS IT CAN HAVE BOTH ANTIPASSIVE-LIKE & ACTIVE-LIKE SEMANTICS

i.e. UV is basic but AV doesn't look as antipassive-like as Tagalog

Discourse

- The final test is discourse frequency and topicality – which can be compared with similar studies in **Indonesian** and **Cebuano.**

	Cebuano	Kelabit	Indonesian
Total voice-marked clauses	32	50	51
Total AV	8	31	38
Total UV	24	17	13
Percentage AV	25%	**62%**	**75%**
Percentage UV	**75%**	34%	25%

Discourse Frequency

Discourse

	AV		UV	
	Actor	**Undergoer**	**Actor**	**Undergoer**
Cebuano	0.41	0.18	**0.89**	**0.18**
Kelabit	0.80	0.48	0.89	0.46
Indonesian	**0.52**	**0.35**	0.26	0.52

Discourse Topicality

- **Discourse topicality** measures would suggest that UV is basic in Cebuano, AV is basic in Indonesian and that Kelabit represents **an intermediate stage** in which both AV and UV are discourse transitive.

Semantics

AV IS MOST FREQUENT AND HAS TRANSITIVE TOPICALITY PATTERNS

UV HAS TRANSITIVE TOPICALITY BUT IS LESS FREQUENT

i.e. AV is basic but UV doesn't look as passive-like as Indonesian

Summary

	Kelabit Results
Morphology	Symmetrical
Syntax	Symmetrical
Semantics	UV is basic AV is lower in transitivity (but not always typical of antipassives)
Discourse	AV is basic in frequency terms Symmetrical in terms of topicality

- Hence, Kelabit may represent an **intermediate stage in the transition** from ergative to accusative in which AV has been reanalysed as **transitive** but UV also remains so.

Summary

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ERGATIVE ⟷ **ACCUSATIVE**

UV IS BASIC ON ALL LEVELS OF MORPHOLOGY, SYNTAX, SEMANTICS AND DISCOURSE

TAGALOG ?

UV AND AV ARE MORPHO-SYNTACTICALLY SYMMETRICAL
UV IS BASIC IN SEMANTICS AND DISCOURSE

KELABIT ?

UV AND AV ARE MORPHO-SYNTACTICALLY SYMMETRICAL
UV IS BASIC IN SEMANTICS
AV IS BASIC IN DISCOURSE

INDONESIAN

UV AND AV ARE MORPHO-SYNTACTICALLY SYMMETRICAL
AV IS BASIC IN SEMANTICS AND DISCOURSE

AV IS BASIC ON ALL LEVELS OF MORPHOLOGY, SYNTAX, SEMANTICS AND DISCOURSE

Summary

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	Indonesian-Type	Kelabit	Philippine-Type
Symmetrical	Y	Y	Y
True Passive	Y	N	N
Applicatives	Y	N	N
Micro role voices	N	Y	Y
Mood marking	N	Y	Y
Case marking	N	N	Y
Word order	SVO	SVO/ v-initial	verb-initial

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Word Order in Kelabit

Analysing Word Order

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- The approach to word order is broadly similar

- There has been a change from verb-initial to SVO which is argued to have taken place via the **reanalysis of a topicalisation construction** as the **basic order of grammatical functions**

- In order to assess this – and identify possible intermediate stages – it is necessary to establish **word order flexibility** in a language and identify the factors that determine **word order choice**

Word Order in Kelabit

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- Like Balinese, Kelabit allows both SVO and verb-initial word order:

	SVO	VOS	VSO
AV	✓	✓	✓
UV	✓	✓	**X**

Kelabit Word Order

- SVO predominates in AV whereas word-order in UV is affected by genre: In **narratives**, verb-initial order is most frequent (82%) and in **news reports** SVO order is most frequent (95%)

Word Order in Kelabit

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- In UV, word order choice appears to correlate with **information structure**:
  - Verb-initial orders are used when both actor and undergoer as given topics
  - SVO order is used when the undergoer represents prominent information – e.g. focus/switch topic

- However, in AV SVO appears the basic order of grammatical functions and does not correlate with information structure to the same extent

- Hence, the change in word order also appears to begin with the reanalysis of **actor voice**

Word Order in Kelabit

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(12a) **Undergoer Voice VOS**

Senipa	neh	neh	buaq	nuk	ineh.
UV.PFV.pack	3SG	PT	fruit	REL	DEM

‘And he put the fruit away [in the basket].’ **actor & undergoer are given**

(12b) **Undergoer Voice SVO**

Q.	Enun	seni’er	muh?
	what	UV.PFV.see	2SG

‘What did you see?’

A.	[Edteh	wayang]$_{focus}$	sen’ier	kuh	na’ah…
	one	video	UV.PFV.see	1SG	before

‘I just saw a video…’ **undergoer is prominent**

Word Order in Kelabit

(12a) **Actor Voice SVO**

Q. Kapeh ieh muit dih remurut, rengaq dih teluh bu'an […]?
how 3SG AV.take DEM down if DEM three basket
'How did he get them [the fruit] down, if it's three baskets?'

A: Kapeh uih mala […], ieh nutuq buaq mey beneh.
how 1SG AV.say 3SG AV.drop fruit go low
'How do I say, he dropped the fruit to the ground.'

both actor and undergoer are given – verb presents prominent information!

- Hence, the reanalysis of SVO as basic word order rather than pragmatically marked begins in AV – which makes sense as this is **Actor Verb Undergoer**

Summary

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- Looking at **word order flexibility** and **factors that affect word order** in AV and UV shows some interesting patterns that would be missed if we tried to classify word order in Kelabit as either SVO or verb-initial

- UV appears similar to its counterpart in more **conservative** (Philippine-type languages) and AV appears similar to its counterpart in more **innovative** (Indonesian-type) languages

- This again reinforces the **inadequacy of the two-way typology** in capturing syntactic variation

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Conclusion

Conclusion

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- The **two-way typology** of Philippine-type vs Indonesian-type is **inadequate** as a means of capturing variation in Western Austronesian since:
  - Languages with typical Philippine-type and Indonesian-type properties are subject to variation along a range of parameters
  - There are languages like Kelabit that differ in a non-superficial manner from both Philippine-type and Indonesian-type

- I have proposed that a more interesting approach would be to consider the different properties of AV and UV along a **range of parameters** that could help to address theoretical and historical debates

Conclusion

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- I have suggested that Kelabit provides some evidence in support of a **shift in alignment** from ergative to accusative and **a shift from topicalisation** construction to basic order of grammatical functions

- Both of these changes appear to begin with the reanalysis of AV

- Thus, the parametric approach allows us to explore the interrelationships between **word order**, **information structure** and **voice** that can contribute to a better understanding of the historical changes that have taken place and allow us to address theoretical debates in a more typologically informed manner.

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Many Thanks!