

Beyond a two-way typology of Western Austronesian

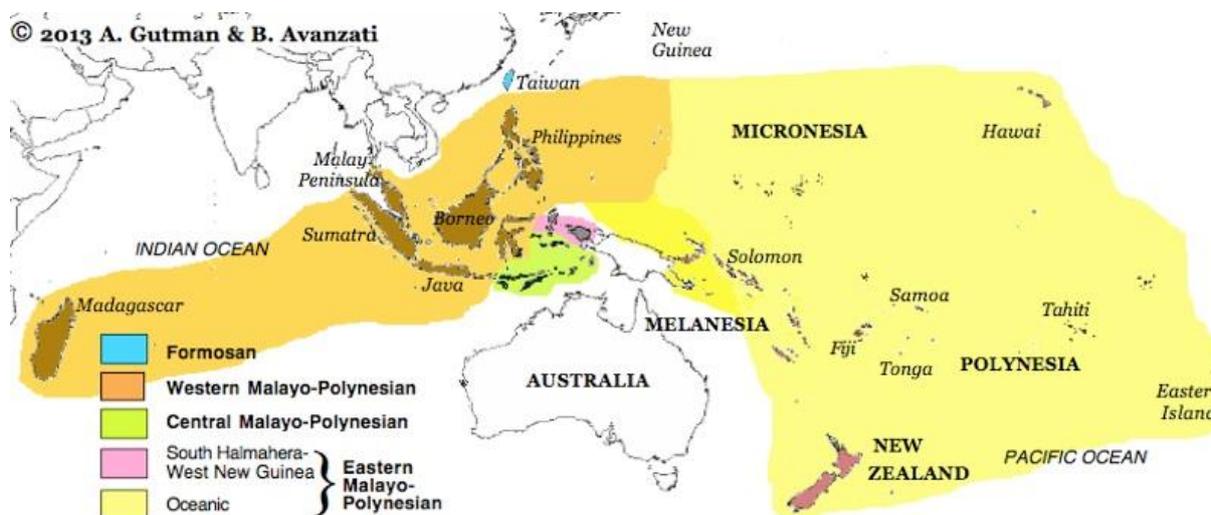
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1. Introduction

- ❖ This talk re-examines the two-way classification of Western Austronesian languages as either Philippine-type or Indonesian-type on the basis of differing structural properties.
- ❖ It demonstrates that a two-way typology is insufficient for two reasons: (1) there is significant internal variation among both Philippine-type and Indonesian-type languages and (2) there are a number of languages that do not fit neatly into either of the typological groups.
- ❖ This can be seen by looking at two phenomena that are said to differ between Philippine-type and Indonesian-type languages: voice alternations and word order.
- ❖ Given the variation, I argue that a more fruitful approach would be to compare a wide range of languages in order to determine the full extent (or parameters) of variation.
- ❖ This enables a richer model of syntactic variation in Western Austronesian that could help to clarify paths of historical change and offer new insights into theoretical debates.

1. The two-way typology of Western Austronesian

- ❖ Western Austronesian is understood as a typological label that groups Austronesian languages with symmetrical voice alternations.¹ This includes both Formosan and Western-Malayo Polynesian languages:



- ❖ Symmetrical voice alternations involve alternations in the mapping of arguments to functions with no asymmetries in syntactic transitivity or morphological markedness.

¹ Nb. the term is sometimes used as a geographical label to include the languages of Asia and Madagascar (see Himmelmann 2005). This also includes so-called preposed-possessor languages in Eastern Indonesia that do not have symmetrical voice alternations and are not under discussion in this talk.

- ❖ This can be seen in the contrast between an asymmetrical voice system like English (1) and symmetrical voice systems like Madurese (2) and Tagalog (3):

- (1) *English*
- a. **Active**
I hit Alwi
- b. **Passive**
Alwi was hit (by me)
- (2) *Madurese (Davies 2005: 201)*
- a. **Actor Voice (AV)**
Sengko' mokol Alwi
 1SG AV.hit Alwi
 'I hit Alwi'
- b. **Undergoer Voice (UV)**
Alwi e-pokol sengko'
 Alwi UV-hit 1SG
 'I hit Alwi'
- (3) *Tagalog (Arka 2002)*
- a. **Actor Voice (AV)**
 bumili ang lalaki ng isda sa tindahan
 AV.buy NOM man GEN fish DAT store
 'The man bought fish at the store'
- b. **Undergoer Voice (UV)**
 binili ng lalaki ang isda sa tindahan
 UV.PFV.buy GEN man NOM fish DAT store
 'The man bought the fish at the store'
- c. **Locative Voice (LV)**
 binilihan ng lalaki ng isda ang tindahan
 LV.PFV.buy GEN man GEN fish NOM store
 'The man bought fish at the store'
- d. **Instrumental Voice (IV)**
 ipinambili ng lalaki ng isda ang pera
 PFV.IV.buy GEN man GEN fish NOM money
 'The man bought fish with the money'
- b. **Benefactive Voice (BV)**
 ibinili ng lalaki ng isda ang bata
 BV.PFV-buy GEN man GEN fish NOM child
 The man bought fish for the child'

- ❖ Although the alternations in (2) and (3) are both symmetrical, there are important differences in word order, case-marking and the number of alternations (among other factors discussed below).
- ❖ Consequently, alternations like (2) are often described as Indonesian-type and alternations like (3) as Philippine-type.

2.1 Philippine-type versus Indonesian-type

- ❖ The two terms are prevalent in the literature although they are often not well defined.
- ❖ Most attempts at definition focus on structural differences:

Philippine-type

Languages with **multiple voice types**, marked by verbal morphology and often accompanied by **case marking** of free nominal arguments. There is always one actor voice, which is either intransitive or lower in transitivity than the other voices, which are conveniently grouped as undergoer voices. [They] allow noun phrases with a variety of semantic roles to become subject: patient, theme, location, instrument, beneficiary etc. (Arka & Ross 2005: 7)

Indonesian-type

Languages conventionally analysed as having **two voices**, actor and undergoer, supplemented by **applicative suffixes** which allow locations, instruments, beneficiaries and noun phrases of other semantic roles to become the undergoer. (Arka & Ross 2005: 7)

Table 1. Syntactic Variation in Western Austronesian

	Indonesian Type	Philippine Type
Symmetrical alternations	Y	Y
True Passive	Y	N
Applicative suffixes	Y	N
Micro roles with voices	Y	N
Mood marking morphology	N	Y
Case marking	N	Y
Word order	SVO	verb-initial

- ❖ Q: does the two-way typology really reflect the full extent of variation? (see Himmelmann 2002: 8 for discussion)
- ❖ The rest of the talk will explore this question by comparing a number of Western Austronesian in terms of their voice systems and word order properties.

3. Voice

- ❖ A key prediction of the definitions in section 2.1 is that the number of voices (or the inclusion of micro-roles in the voice system) correlates with other properties, such as case-marking and applicative systems.
- ❖ In fact, there is variation in the number of voices in Western Austronesian and the properties associated with them.
- ❖ Although multi-voice systems are prevalent in Formosan and Philippine languages and reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian (see Adelaar 2005: 6, Ross 2002), a number of

languages with typical Philippine-type characteristics (e.g. verb-initial order, case marking) have reduced, three-way voice systems.

- ❖ Moreover, it is not always the same semantic roles that are included in “reduced” systems:

(4) *Kavalan* (Formosan)

a. **Actor Voice**

q-<m>aRat saku 'nay 'tu mutun.
 <AV>bite cat that OBL rat
 ‘That cat bit a rat.’

b. **Undergoer Voice**

qaRat-an na saku mutun 'nay.
 bite-UV GEN cat rat that
 ‘A cat bit that rat.’

c. **Instrumental Voice**

ti-tabu na tina-ku tu baut ya biRi.
 IV-wrap GEN mother-1SG.POSS OBL fish NOM leaf
 ‘My mother wrapped fish with the leaf.’ (Li & Tsuchida 2006: 26-27)

(5) *Kadazan Dusun* (Sabahan)

a. **Actor Voice**

Mog-ovit i _____ ama' di tanak do buuk.
 AV-bring PT father PT child PT book
 ‘Father is bringing the child a book.’

b. **Undergoer Voice**

Ovit di ama' di tanak i _____ buuk.
 bring-UV PT father PT child PT book
 ‘Father is bringing the child the book.’

c. **Benefactive Voice**

Ovit-an di ama' i _____ tanak do buuk.
 bring-BV PT father PT child PT book
 ‘Father is bringing the child a book.’ (Clayre 1991: 415)

- ❖ Thus, Blust (2013: 451) concludes that there is no dominant pattern in terms of which voices are “lost” first.
- ❖ Moreover, if we include languages in Borneo and Sulawesi, we find multi-voice systems without Philippine-type characteristics (like case-marking or verb-initial order), e.g. Lun Dayeh (6) and Tondano (7):

(6) *Lundayeh*

a. **Actor Voice**

Ieh ni'er negku.
 3SG.1 AV.see 1SG.3
 'He saw me.'

b. **Undergoer Voice**

Beli-en ku lal neh ku usin nih.
 buy-UV.IRR 1SG.2 hen DEM with money DEM
 'I'll buy the hen with this money.'

c. **Instrumental Voice**

Pimeli ku lal usin nih.
 IV.buy 1SG.2 hen money DEM
 'I'll use this money to buy the hen.' (Clayre 2014: 132-133)

(7) *Tondano*

a. **Actor Voice**

Si tuama k<um>eong roda wo ntali witu lalan.
 PT man <AV>pull cart with rope on road
 'The man will pull the cart on the road with the rope.'

b. **Undergoer Voice**

Roda keong-an ni tuama wo ntali witu lalan.
 cart pull-UV PT man with rope on road
 'The man will pull the cart on the road with the rope.'

c. **Instrumental Voice**

Tali i-keong ni tuama roda witu lalan.
 rope IV-pull PT man cart on road
 'The man will pull the cart on the road with the rope.'

d. **Locative Voice**

Lalan keong-an ni tuama roda wo ntali.
 road pull-LV PT man cart with rope
 'The man will pull the cart on the road with the rope.' (Sneddon 1975)

- ❖ We find languages with two-way voice systems without other Indonesian-type characteristics (such as applicatives or true passives), e.g. Sa'ban:

- (8) *Sa'ban*
- a. **Actor Voice**
- | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|---------|------|
| <i>Yuet</i> | <i>noknai</i> | n-toe | éek. |
| monkey | this | AV-drop | 1SG |
- ‘This monkey drops me.’
- b. **Undergoer Voice**
- | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|---------|------|
| <i>Yuet</i> | <i>noknai</i> | i-toe | éek. |
| monkey | this | UV-drop | 1SG |
- ‘I dropped the monkey.’ (Clayre 2014: 138)

❖ And languages which combine Philippine-type features such as case-marking and verb-initial order with Indonesian-type characteristics such as applicatives, e.g. *Tukang Besi*:

- (9) *Tukang Besi*
- a. No-helo'a-ako te ina-no.
- 3.R-cook-APPL CORE mother-3.POSS
- ‘They cooked (sth) for their mother.’ (Donohue 2001: 217)

❖ Hence, the distinction between multi-voice and two-way voice system doesn't necessarily allow us to make interesting typological predictions.

3.1 Comparing voice and alignment

- ❖ I propose that a more interesting approach to Western Austronesian voice systems is to consider the different morphological, syntactic, semantic and discourse properties associated with the different voice constructions.
- ❖ This allows us to address an important theoretical debate – the nature of alignment in symmetrical voice languages (see e.g. Kroeger 1993) – and a proposed historical change – alignment shift from ergative to accusative (see Aldridge 2011)



- ❖ As discussed by Kroeger (2004), determining alignment in a language with multiple transitive voices rests on identifying which of these clauses is basic: if AV is basic, alignment = accusative, if UV is basic, alignment = ergative.
- ❖ Since voice is a grammatical category that combines morphology, syntax, semantics and discourse, each of these levels can provide tests for identifying the basic clause.
- Is one of the voices less morphologically marked than 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)?

- ❖ If we adopt this sort of approach, we can see asymmetries between the voices (at least in semantic and discourse terms) which support the idea of a shift from ergative to accusative via the reanalysis of AV from antipassive to active (see Aldridge 2011, Hemmings 2015)
- ❖ We can also identify languages that appear to represent possible intermediate stages in the transition.

3.1.1 Morphosyntax

- ❖ As argued in section 2, Western Austronesian languages are (by and large) morphologically and syntactically symmetrical.
- ❖ Nonetheless, there are morphosyntactic asymmetries in some Western Austronesian languages. For example, Pangutaran Sama has morphologically unmarked UV constructions in contrast to AV which might suggest that these are more basic (though note that this is also true of Indonesian-type languages like Balinese):

(10) *Pangutaran Sama*

a. **Undergoer Voice**

Tigad onde' so.
 UV.cut child snake
 'The child cut the snake.'

b. **Actor Voice**

Mag-tigad onde' so.
 AV-cut child snake
 'The child cut a snake.' (Kroeger 2004: 302)

- ❖ Furthermore, cross-referencing or person marking particles in Kapampangan reference two distinct participants in UV but only one in AV which supports the identification of AV as less transitive than UV and hence alignment as ergative:

(11) *Kapampangan*

a. **Actor Voice**

Mamangan	ya=ng	bayabas	ing	anak.
AV.eat	3SG.NOM=LNK	guava	NOM	child

'the child ate guavas.'

b. **Undergoer Voice**

Pengan ne	ning	pusa	ing	asan.		
UV.eat	3SG.GEN (na)+	3SG.NOM (ya)	GEN	cat	NOM	fish

'the cat ate the fish.' (Nolasco 2005)

- ❖ In contrast, in Balinese secondary predicates can modify both actor and undergoer in AV but only the undergoer in UV, which might support an identification of UV as less transitive than AV and hence alignment as accusative:

- (12) *Balinese*
- a. **Actor Voice**
 Tiang nguber i Nyoman ibi malalung.
 1 AV.chase PERS Nyoman yesterday naked
 ‘I chased Nyoman yesterday and I was naked.’
 Or: ‘I chased Nyoman yesterday and he was naked.’ (Arka 2003: 56)
- b. **Undergoer Voice**
 I Nyoman uber tiang malalung.
 Pers Nyoman UV.chase 1 naked
 ‘Nyoman was chased by me and he was naked.’
 *‘Nyoman was chased by me and I was naked.’ (Arka 2003: 57)
- c. **Obliques**
 Ia matakon teken anak-e ento ibi punyah.
 3 question to person-DEF DET yesterday drunk
 ‘He_i asked the person_j questions yesterday and he_{i/*j} was drunk.’
 (Arka 2003: 57)

- ❖ Though Riesberg (2014) argues that Balinese UV should still be considered syntactically transitive, this seems to support the notion that morphosyntactic symmetry could be a matter of degree.
- ❖ The more interesting levels of comparison in symmetrical voice languages, however, are semantics and discourse.

3.1.2 Semantics

Table 2. *Semantic Transitivity Properties (Hopper & Thompson 1980)*

Active/transitive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • two distinct participants • volitional actor & affected undergoer • punctual, telic action
Antipassive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • non-specific/unaffected undergoer • ongoing/non-punctual action
Passive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • non-specific/non-agentive actor • stative/resultative interpretation

- ❖ One of the major factors in support of analysing Philippine-type languages as ergative is the semantic similarities between UV constructions and ergative/transitive clauses and AV constructions and antipassives.
- ❖ For example, in Cebuano, UV is associated with punctual action (a high transitivity parameter following Hopper & Thomspson (1980)) whilst AV is associated with non-punctual action (a low transitivity parameter)

(13) *Cebuano*

a. **Undergoer Voice**

N-ahibalo-an ni Juan ang tinaguan.
 PST-ka.know-UV GEN Juan NOM secret
 ‘Juan discovered the secret.’ (punctual)

b. **Actor Voice**

N-akahibalo si Juan sa tinaguan.
 PST-paka.know NOM Juan GEN secret
 ‘Juan knows the secret.’ (non-punctual) (Shibatani 1988: 104)

- ❖ Moreover, in AV the non-subject undergoer is typically interpreted as indefinite, nonspecific and non presuppositional, which are cross linguistic properties of the antipassive (Cooreman 1994):

(14) *Tagalog*

a. **Actor Voice**

Nagluto ang babae ng/*sa manok.
 AV.PFV.cook NOM woman a/*the chicken
 ‘The woman cooked a/*the chicken.’

b. **Undergoer Voice**

Niluto ng babae ang manok.
 UV.PFV.cook GEN woman NOM chicken
 ‘The woman cooked the chicken.’ (Katagiri 2005: 167)

(15) *Tagalog*

a. **Actor Voice**

*Pumatay si Juan ng aso.
 AV.PFV.kill NOM Juan GEN dog
 For: ‘Juan killed a dog.’

b. **Undergoer Voice**

Pinatay ni Juan ang aso.
 UV.PFV.kill GEN Juan NOM dog
 ‘Juan killed the/a dog.’ (Katagiri 2005: 169)

- ❖ This suggests that UV should be analysed as semantically transitive and AV as semantically antipassive-like (though note that different restrictions are found in Cebuano, as shown in Katagiri 2005).
 ❖ In Indonesian-type languages, in contrast, AV can convey highly transitive events:

(16) *Balinese*

a. **Actor Voice**

Tiang nyepak cicing-e.
 1SG AV.kick dog-DEF
 ‘I kicked the dog.’ (Artawa 1998: 8)

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <p>stage 1 (ergative)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ UV = high transitivity
active ➤ AV = low transitivity
antipassive | <p>stage 2 (symmetrical)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ UV = high transitivity
active ➤ AV = high transitivity
active | <p>stage 3 (accusative)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ UV = low transitivity
passive ➤ AV = high transitivity
active |
|--|--|--|

3.1.4 Discourse

Table 3 Topicality of Arguments

	Topicality of Arguments
Active/Ergative	Actor > Undergoer
Inverse	Undergoer > Actor
Passive	Undergoer >> Actor
Antipassive	Actor >> Undergoer

- ❖ Again discourse studies support the analysis of UV as basic in Philippine-type languages and AV as basic in Indonesian-type languages (though again there is variation – see e.g. Kroeger (2014) who describes *di-* clauses in Malay being used in contexts where actors are highly topical).
- ❖ Interestingly, there are languages where both AV and UV are associated with transitive discourse structures.
- ❖ This can be seen if we compare Cebuano, Indonesian and Kelabit in terms of the referential distance and topical persistence of actor and undergoer in AV and UV clauses (Givón 1983, Walters 1994).²

Table 4. Scaled Average Topicality in Cebuano, Kelabit and Indonesian

	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

- ❖ Cebuano roughly has the topicality metrics expected of an ergative language. Indonesian has the topicality metrics expected of an accusative language and Kelabit appears discourse symmetrical.
- ❖ Nb. Kelabit has a number of typical Philippine-type properties and therefore if we adopted the two-way typology we might classify Kelabit as Philippine-type – however, this would fail to capture the fact that it differs from Cebuano in important ways!

² Cebuano results are taken from Walters (1994). The same experiment was repeated for an Indonesian blog post *I made winangun arta* (<http://winangun.blogspot.co.uk/2008/05/bilingual-story-indonesian-english.html>) and a Kelabit narrative (see Hemmings 2015 for details).

3.2 Summary

- ❖ Distinguishing between two typological groups – Philippine-type and Indonesian-type – neither captures surface level morphosyntactic differences nor more fundamental differences in alignment.
- ❖ A better approach is to identify differences in morphology, syntax, semantics and discourse and to consider the implications for how proto-typically transitive the voices are.
- ❖ This approach lends support to the idea that Western Austronesian languages have undergone a shift in alignment from ergative to accusative by providing evidence of intermediate stages.
- ❖ It also suggests that we might want to consider alignment on a scale from proto-typically ergative (where all levels of structure support an analysis of UV as basic/transitive) to proto-typically accusative (where all levels of structure support an analysis of AV as basic/transitive) via intermediate stages in which we find different degrees of symmetry.

4. Word order

- ❖ In this section, I demonstrate that a two-way typology is also inadequate when it comes to word order since (1) there is important variation among verb-initial and SVO languages in terms of how flexible word order is and (2) there are languages where basic word order differs depending on the voice construction.

4.1 Variation in word order flexibility

- ❖ Although Philippine-type languages are generally verb-initial, they are split between rigid VOS languages like Seediq and alternating VOS/VSO languages like Tagalog:

(19) *Tkdaya Seediq*

a. **Actor Voice**

Wada	m-ari	huluma	ka	Ape.
PST	AV-buy	treat	NOM	Ape

‘Ape bought a treat.’

b. **Undergoer Voice**

Wada	burig-un	na	Ape	ka	patis.
PST	buy-UV	GEN	Ape	NOM	book

‘Ape bought the book.’ (Aldridge 2006: 4)

(20) *Tagalog*

a. **Actor Voice (VOS)**

S<um>ulat	ng liham	si Juan.
<PFV.AV>write	GEN letter	NOM Juan

‘Juan wrote a letter.’

b. **Actor Voice (VSO)**

S<um>ulat si Juan ng liham.
 <PFV.AV>write NOM Juan GEN letter
 ‘Juan wrote a letter.’ (Schachter & Otnes 1972: 436)

- ❖ These differences seem to correlate with other word order patterns, such as the position in which adjuncts are questioned.
- ❖ In Seediq, it is only possible to question adjuncts *in-situ*, whilst in Tagalog it is possible to question adjuncts initially:

(21) *Tkdaya Seediq*

a. **Questioning adjuncts**

M-n-ari inu patis Ape?
 AV-PFV-buy where book Ape
 ‘Where did Ape buy books?’

- b. *Inu m-n-ari patis Ape?
 where AV-PFV-buy book Ape
 For: ‘Where did Ape buy books?’ (Aldridge 2002: 395)

(22) *Tagalog*

- c. 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)

- ❖ This has led to different theoretical accounts of word order in e.g. Aldridge (2006) and suggests that there may be important differences among the verb-initial languages not predicted by a two-way typology.
- ❖ Similarly, Indonesian-type languages also differ in their degree of word order flexibility and word order possibilities.
- ❖ For example, Madurese has fixed SVO, whilst Riau Indonesian allows all possible orders of S, V and O (see Gil 2005).
- ❖ Moreover, whilst Madurese is SVO in all voice constructions, SOV order occurs in bare UV constructions in Standard Indonesian with first/second person pronouns:

(23) *Indonesian*

c. **Undergoer Voice, 1st/2nd person actor**

Surat saya tulis.
 Letter 1SG UV.write
 ‘The letter was written by me.’ (adapted from Musgrave 2002: 38)

- ❖ Equally, VSO order in Balinese is only possible in AV and not UV:

(24) *Balinese*

a. **Actor Voice**

Icang [ngae umah].
 1SG AV.build house
 ‘I built a house.’

- b. [Ngae umah] icang.
 AV.build house 1SG
 ‘I built a house.’
- c. Ngae icang umah.
 AV.build 1SG house
 ‘I built a house.’
- d. **Undergoer Voice**
 Siap-e [uber cicing] ke jalan-e.
 Chicken-DEF UV.chase dog to street-DEF
 ‘The/a dog chased the chicken to the street.’
- e. [Uber cicing] ke jalan-e siap-e.
 UV.chase dog to street-DEF chicken-DEF
 ‘The/a dog chased the chicken to the street.’
- f. *Uber siap-e cicing ke jalan-e.
 UV.chase chicken-DEF dog to street-DEF
 For: ‘the/a dog chased the chicken to the street.’ (Artawa 1998: 19)

- ❖ Hence, possible word orders may be affected by voice construction.
- ❖ Crucially, there are languages in Borneo, such as West Coast Bajau (Miller 2014) and Lundayeh (Clayre 2014), where the basic word order differs according to the voice construction AV = SVO, UV = verb-initial.
- ❖ The same thing is found in Kelabit, as shown by looking at word order in a selection of narratives (though different patterns occur in other genres):

Table 5. Basic Word Order in Kelabit

Voice	Word order	Frequency
AV	SVO	86%
	Verb-initial	14%
UV	SVO	18%
	Verb-initial	82%

- ❖ Hence, Western Austronesian languages differ in their word order patterns to a greater extent than predicted by the two-way typology.

4.2 An alternative approach

- ❖ Thus, instead of simply treating verb-initial order as a feature of Philippine-type, and SVO order as a feature of Indonesian-type languages, a more interesting approach is to assess variation in possible word order/word order flexibility; consider the extent to which basic word order differs depending on the voice construction and examine the possible factors that might determine word order choices, including information structure (see also Dryer 2007)

- ❖ This can help us to address another proposed historical change – the reanalysis of an SVO topicalisation construction as the basic order of grammatical functions (Aldridge 2010).
- ❖ Certainly, SVO constructions are marked in Philippine-type languages like Seediq for contexts in which the subject marks particularly newsworthy information (cleft?):

(25) *Seediq Information Structure*

a. **What did Pawan do?**

[Mnimah sino]_{comment} ka [Pawan]_{topic}.
 AV.drink wine NOM Pawan
 ‘Pawan drank wine.’

b. **Who drank wine?**

[Pawan]_{focus} ka [mnimah sino].
 Pawan NOM AV.drink wine
 ‘Pawan drank wine.’ (Karlsson & Holmer 2011)

- ❖ In contrast, SVO is the basic order in Indonesian-type languages, as indicated by discourse frequency (see e.g. Gregor 2013) and verb-initial orders have marked information structure roles, e.g. predicate focus:

(26) *Jakarta Indonesian*

Verb-initial Order

Beli aja kita di material jadi kalo pasir-nya.
 buy just 1SG LOC material become TOP sand-ASSOC
 ‘I just buy the sand at the material store.’ (Gregor 2013: 16)

- ❖ Interestingly, in languages like Kelabit SVO order in UV clauses appears to occur in contexts where the undergoer subject represents newsworthy information (focus/switch topics/contrast) (Mithun 1992):

(27) *Kelabit*

SVO in UV

Q. Enun seni’er muh?
 what UV.PFV.see 2SG.2
 ‘What did you see?’

A. [Edteh wayang]_{focus} seni’er kuh na’ah...
 one video UV.PFV.see 1SG.2 before
 ‘I just saw a video...’

(pear story, BAR31072014CH_06 00:00:09.640-00:00:15.950)

❖ And VOS order is used where both actor and undergoer are topical:

(28) *Kelabit*

VOS in UV

- a. Pakai edtan sineh nieh mey ngalap buaq nuk ineh.
 use ladder DEM PT=3SG.1 go AV.pick fruit REL DEM
 ‘He used that ladder to go and pick fruit.’
- b. Pengeh neh, eh ni’er uih, neh ieh temurun let dingi.
 after DEM eh AV.see 1SG.1 then 3SG.1 INTR.down from up.there
 ‘After that, eh I watched, then he climbed down.’
- c. Temurun ieh let dingi keyh.
 INTR.down 3SG.1 from up.there EXCL
 ‘So he climbs down from up there.’
- d. Senipa neh neh buaq nuk ineh.
 UV.PFV.pack 3SG.2 PT fruit REL DEM
 ‘And put the fruit away [in the basket].’
 (pear story, BAR31072014CH_06 00:01:24.400-00:01:38.737)

❖ In contrast, SVO order is by far the most frequent in discourse for AV (and overall since AV is more frequent than UV) and doesn’t necessarily correlate with a newsworthy actor:

(29) *Kelabit*

SVO in AV

- Q: Kapeh ieh muit dih remurut, rengaq dih teluh bu’an [...]?
 how 3SG.1 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.1 AV.say 3SG.1 AV.drop fruit go low
 ‘How do I say, he dropped the fruit to the ground.’
 (pear story, BAR02082014CH_01 00:01:25.300-00:01:32.280)

❖ And VOS order is associated with predicate focus/contrast:

(30) *Kelabit*

VOS in AV

- a. Neh nieh bulat ni’er anak nuk ineh.
 DEM PT=3SG.1 wide-eyed AV.see child REL DEM
 ‘So he looked at those children with wide eyes.’
- b. Kurang-lebih tieh ngelinuh:
 less-more PT=3SG.1 AV.think
 ‘more or less, he must have been thinking.’

- c. Teyh, ken ideh teh ne-ngalap buaq kudih terun.
 EXCL Q 3PL PT PFV-AV.take fruit 1SG.POSS maybe
 ‘ah ha, was it them who stole my fruit then!’
- d. Kadiq nidih lit na’am idih.
 reason PT=DEM suddenly NEG present
 ‘Is that why it’s not here all of a sudden.’
- e. Na’am metoq bakul tu’en deh nitin metoq koq.
 NEG PT basket UV.do 3PL.2 AV.carry PT EXCL
 ‘But they aren’t carrying the baskets.’
- f. Kuman buaq ih tupu tideh.
 AV.eat fruit PT only PT=3PL.1
 ‘They are just eating fruit.’
- g. Adiq am tieh bu’uh ngedeh.
 so NEG PT=3SG.1 angry with.3PL.2
 ‘So he didn’t shout at them.’
 (pear story, BAR31072014CH_06 00:10:34.803-00:10:52.376)

- ❖ Hence, Kelabit appears again to be transitional between Philippine-type and Indonesian-type in the sense that in UV SVO word order is affected by the principle of newsworthiness, whilst in AV it appears to be the basic order of grammatical functions.

4.3 Summary

- ❖ This suggests that the reanalysis of SVO order may begin in AV, which suggests that voice is important in the historical change.
- ❖ SVO may be preferred in AV because it fits with universal tendencies to place actors/topics first and keeps the predicate as a constituent. SVO in UV, in contrast, violates both of these principles.
- ❖ Perhaps the change from antipassive to active increases discourse frequency of AV and triggers a reanalysis from pragmatically marked construction to basic order of grammatical functions?
- ❖ Perhaps reanalysing Actor Verb Undergoer as the basic order in AV constructions triggers an analysis of the verb and undergoer as a unit and therefore triggers a reanalysis of antipassive/intransitive as active/transitive?
- ❖ In any case, exploring the factors behind word order choice reinforces the idea that a two-way classification is inadequate and reveals important connections between voice and word order that could be further explored.

5. Conclusion

- ❖ The two-way typology of Philippine-type vs Indonesian-type is inadequate as a means of capturing the full extent of variation in Western Austronesian since:

1. Languages with typical Philippine-type and Indonesian-type properties are subject to variation along a range of parameters
 2. There are a number of languages that differ in a non-superficial manner from both Philippine-type and Indonesian-type languages and could be considered transitional between them.
- ❖ Hence, a better approach to categorisation is to look at different parameters of variation, drawn from a wide range of languages, rather than simply assigning a language to one of two classes.
 - ❖ This 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 allows us to address theoretical debates in a more typologically-informed manner.

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