

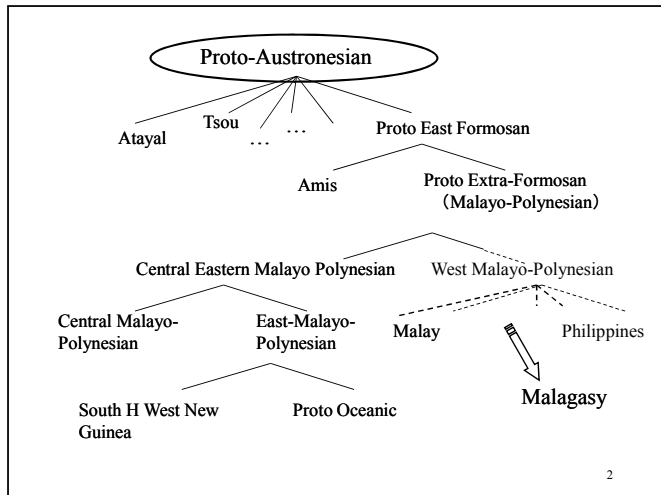
Methodologies in Determining Morphosyntactic Change (5-6 March 2009)

Integrating the Comparative Method and Pattern Classification of Sentence Structures for Morphosyntactic Reconstruction

KIKUSAWA Ritsuko

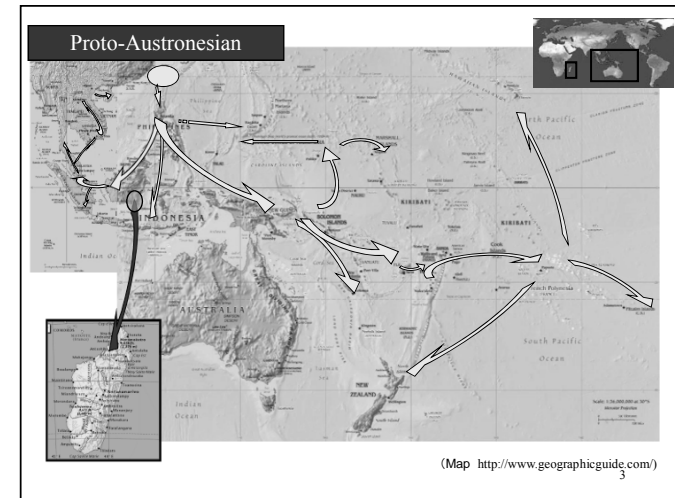
The National Museum of Ethnology, Japan

1



2

1



In this talk...

Three typologically different systems in Austronesian languages

Philippine type (focus, pivot, etc.)

Malay type (active/passive, voice, etc.)

Oceanic type (short/long transitive, etc.)

- 1) Comments on the pattern description for morphosyntactic reconstruction

4

2

In this talk...

Three typologically different systems in Austronesian languages

Malay type (active/passive, voice, etc.)

- 2) Case A
The identification of cognate structures

5

In this talk...

Three typologically different systems in Austronesian languages

Oceanic type (short/long transitive, etc.)

- 2) Case B
Finding out motivation and scenario of ergative to accusative change

6

In this talk...

Three typologically different systems in Austronesian languages

Philippine type (focus, pivot, etc.)

Malay type (active/passive, voice, etc.)

Oceanic type (short/long transitive, etc.)

- 2) Case C
Identifying how multiple applicative constructions developed

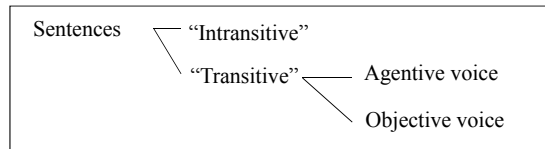
7

**Methodology:
Describing Basic Sentence Structures**

8

Typological Description of Sentence Structures in Malay-type Languages for Historical Comparison

1. Classify sentence structures according to the number of the “core NPs” in a sentence.
2. Classify each structure according to the relative positions of the NPs.



9

Two Basic Systems in Malay-type Languages

a. “Two-transitive” system

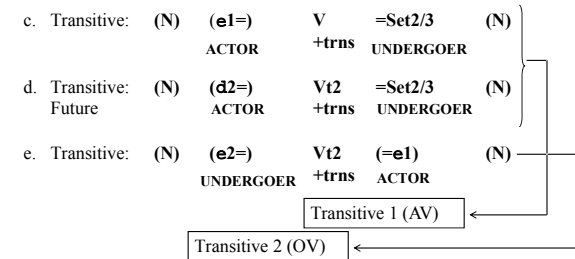
Intransitive:		
	V	N
	-trns	
Transitive 1 ('AV'):		
N	V	N
ACTOR	+trns	UNDERGOER
Transitive 2 ('OV'):		
N	V	N
UNDERGOER	+trns	ACTOR

b. “Single-transitive” system

Intransitive:		
	V	N
	-trns	
Transitive:		
N	V	N
ACTOR	+trns	UNDERGOER

10

Mori (Central Sulawesi)



11

Kéo (Flores)

a. Intransitive:	NP	V	NP
		-trns	
	ACTOR		UNDERGOER
b. Transitive:	NP	Vt2	NP
		+trns	
	ACTOR		UNDERGOER

12

Typological Description of Sentence Structures in Malay-type Languages for Historical Comparison

- Æ Examine only “unmarked” structures.
- Æ Between corresponding two “pronominal” forms, take the more conservative one and ignore the other.

13

Typological Description of Sentence Structures in Malay-type Languages for Historical Comparison

- Æ Examine only “unmarked” structures.
- Æ Between corresponding two “pronominal” forms, take the more conservative one and ignore the other.
- Æ Ignore the relative word order of the NPs in relation to the verb.

15

Tetun (Timor)

b. *Nia n-alai ti?an.*
3SG 3SG-run already

“She has run away.”

(van Klinken 1999:179)

14

ku= V =mu
1SG 2SG

ku= V =ku
1SG 1SG

16

Identifying Cognate Structures I Basic Sentence Patterns

17

Two Basic Systems in Malay-type Languages

a. "Two-transitive" system

Intransitive:

V N
-trns

Transitive 1 ('AV'):

N V N
ACTOR +trns UNDERGOER

Transitive 2 ('OV'):

N V N
UNDERGOER +trns ACTOR

b. "Single-transitive" system

Intransitive:

V N
-trns

Transitive:

N V N
ACTOR +trns UNDERGOER

19

Two Basic Systems in Malay-type Languages

a. "Two-transitive" system

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Transitive 1 ('AV'):

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UNDERGOER +trns ACTOR

b. "Single-transitive" system

Intransitive:

V N
-trns

Transitive:

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ACTOR +trns UNDERGOER

18

Two Basic Systems in Malay-type Languages

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-trns

Transitive 1 ('AV'):

N V N
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N V N
UNDERGOER +trns ACTOR

b. "Single-transitive" system

Intransitive:

V N
-trns

Transitive:

N V N
ACTOR +trns UNDERGOER

Cognate structures

20

Identifying Cognate Structures

Reflex sets of the Proto-Extra Formosan Genitive (Ergative) set are usually identifiable, and thus provide us with a handle for postulating cognate structures.

	1SG	2SG	3SG
PAn	*(n)i-ku	*(n)i-Su *(n)i-mu	*(n)i-a
PEF	*ni-ku	*ni-mu	*nia
PSS	*-ŋku	*-mu, *-nu	*-ña
PCEMP	*ku-	*mu-	*na-
PCP	*-ŋku	*-mu	*-ña

21

Two Basic Systems in Malay-type Languages

a. "Two-transitive" system

<u>Intransitive:</u>		
	V	N
	-trns	
<u>Transitive 1 ('AV'):</u>		
N	V	N
ACTOR	+trns	UNDERGOER
<u>Transitive 2 ('OV'):</u>		
N	V	N
UNDERGOER	+trns	ACTOR

b. "Single-transitive" system

<u>Intransitive:</u>		
	V	N
	-trns	
<u>Transitive:</u>		
N	V	N
ACTOR	+trns	UNDERGOER

23

Identifying Cognate Structures

Reflex sets of the Proto Extra Formosan Genitive (Ergative) set are usually identifiable, and thus provide us with a handle for postulating cognate structures.

	ŋ/k	m/n	n
	1SG	2SG	3SG
PAn	*(n)i-ku	*(n)i-Su *(n)i-mu	*(n)i-a
PEF	*ni-ku	*ni-mu	*nia
PSS	*-ŋku	*-mu, *-nu	*-ña
PCEMP	*ku-	*mu-	*na-
PCP	*-ŋku	*-mu	*-ña

22

Two Basic Systems in Malay-type Languages

a. "Two-transitive" system

<u>Intransitive:</u>		
	V	N
	-trns	
<u>Transitive 1 ('AV'):</u>		
N	V	N
ACTOR	+trns	UNDERGOER
<u>Transitive 2 ('OV'):</u>		
N	V	=e
UNDERGOER	+trns	ACTOR

b. "Single-transitive" system

<u>Intransitive:</u>		
	V	N
	-trns	
<u>Transitive:</u>		
e=	V	N
ACTOR	+trns	UNDERGOER

24

An Earlier Ergative System

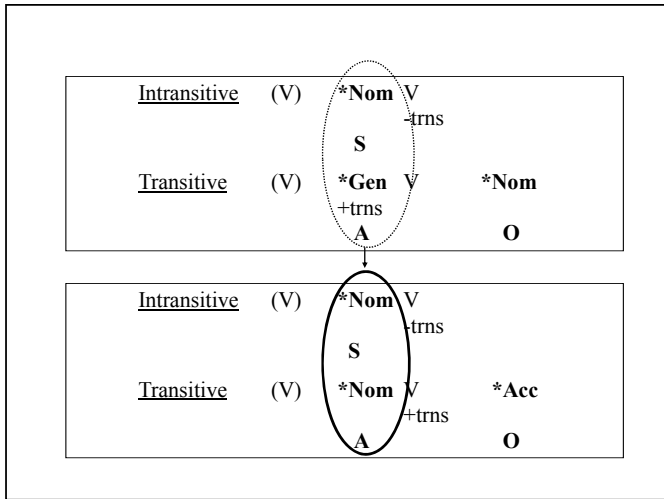
<u>Intransitive</u>	(V)	Nom	V	
		S	-trns	
<u>Transitive</u>	(V)	Gen	V	Nom
		A	+trns	O

<u>Intransitive</u>	(V)	qu	V	
		S	-trns	
<u>Transitive</u>	(V)	qu	V	au
		A	+trns	O

An Earlier Ergative System

<u>Intransitive</u>	(V)	*au	V	
		S	-trns	
<u>Transitive</u>	(V)	*qu	V	*au
		A	+trns	O

<u>Intransitive</u>	(V)	au	V	
		S	-trns	
<u>Transitive</u>	(V)	au	V	au
		A	+trns	O



Identifying Cognate Structures III
Applicative Constructions

34

“Philippine-type” system (“ergative” pattern)

Intransitive	V =N	V		
	Aux=Nom	-trns		
Ex. Intransitive (“AF”)	V =N	V	(NP)	
	Aux=Nom	-trns	Obl	
Transitive (“GF/LF/IF/BF”)	V =N	V	NP	(NP)
	Aux=Gen	+trns	Nom	Obl

35

“Malay-type” system (“two-transitive” pattern)

Intransitive	V	N(P) ₁	
	-trns		
Transitive 1 (“AV”)	N(P) ₁	V	N(P) ₁
	actor	+trns	undergoer
Transitive 2 (“OV”)	N(P) ₁	V	=N ₂ / NP
	undergoer	+trns	actor

36

“Oceanic-type” system (“accusative” pattern)

Intransitive	N ₁ =	V -trns	(PP) Loc
Transitive	N ₁ = actor	V +trns	=N ₂ undeegoer

37

Applicative Constructions in Three Different Systems

PHILIPPINE	MALAY	OCEANIC
Ergative	≈ Ergative	Accusative
Intransitive <um> Ex. Intr. <um> <u>Transitive</u>	Intransitive Ex. Intr. <u>Transitive</u>	Intransitive (Intransitive PP) <u>Transitive</u>
Trns 1: -en Trns 2: -an Trns 3: i- Trns 4: i--an	App 1: -i App 2: -[a]kan	Suf1 -i Suf2 -akin[i]

38

Proto Austronesian Verb Derivational Forms (based on Ross 2002:33)

Sentence types	Indicative neutral	Non-indicative, atemporal
➤ (Extended) intransitive	<um>	∅
➤ { General transitive	-ən	-u, -a
Locational transitive	-an	-i
Circumstantial transitive	iSi-	án-i-

A Hypothetical Early Indonesian-type Language (based on Ross 2002:53)

Sentence types	➤ Active	∑ Passive
Patient undergoer	<um>	∅
Location undergoer	-i or <um>-i	-i
Circumstantial undergoer	-an	-an

39

Proto Austronesian Verb Derivational Forms (based on Ross 2002:33)

Sentence types	Indicative neutral	Non-indicative, atemporal
➤ (Extended) intransitive	<um>	∅
➤ { General transitive	-ən	-u, -a
Locational transitive	-an	-i
Circumstantial transitive	iSi-	án-i-

A Hypothetical Early Indonesian-type Language (based on Ross 2002:53)

Sentence types	Patient undergoer	Location undergoer	Circumstantial undergoer
➤ Active (< *Ex.Intr)	<um>	<um>-i	<um>-[a]kan
∑ Passive (< *Tr)	∅	-i	-[a]kan

40

Proto Austronesian Verb Derivational Forms (based on Ross 2002:33)

Sentence types	Indicative neutral	Non-indicative, atemporal
➤ (Extended) intransitive	<um>	Ø
➤ { General transitive	-ən	-u, -a
Locational transitive	-an	-i
Circumstantial transitive	iSi-	án-i-

A Hypothetical Early Indonesian-type Language (based on Ross 2002:53)

Sentence types	General	App1	App2
➤ < *Ex.Intr)	<um>	<um>-i	<um>-[a]kan
➤ < *Tr)	Ø	-i	-[a]kan

41

- Describing basic sentence structures
 - Typological description for the purpose of historical comparison and reconstruction
- Identifying cognate structures
 - Application of lexically reconstructed forms as the “index”

43

Summary and Concluding Remarks

42

- Clarifying the historical development of the daughter structures
 - Case systems, word order
 - Verb systems (e.g., development of passive and applicative constructions)
 - And more...

44

Syntactic comparison and reconstruction is possible

BUT

It takes (at least) double the amount of work to be able to handle the application of comparative method and typological analysis

BUT

It's fun!!

45

Thank you!

46