

The First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics: Western Austronesian

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THIS article forms one of two reports on the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics, held in Honolulu, Hawaii from January 2 to January 7, 1974. A second article, elsewhere in this issue, discusses those papers treating subjects in Eastern Austronesian, or Oceanic, languages.

Contained in the present report are summaries of thirty-seven papers. This includes all of the papers, either read personally or by proxy, for which a complete draft was ready at the time of the conference. The names and addresses of the authors are given so that further comments and requests may be sent directly to them. [The full texts of many of the papers summarized here will be published in volumes 12 and 13 of the journal *Oceanic Linguistics*.]

Of the papers, eight relate specifically to the phonological reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian, five to syntactic reconstruction, eight to problems of subgrouping, seven to phonological, morphological, or syntactic problems in specific languages, three to sociological considerations, two to contact phenomena between Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages, three to non-Austronesian languages, and one to a general hypothesis of the origin and dispersal of Austronesian peoples.

This article is divided into eight sections, the headings reflecting the groups discussed above: Reconstruction—Phonological (1.1) and Syntactic (1.2), Subgrouping (2), Specific Problems (3), Sociological Considerations (4), Contact Phenomena (5), non-Austronesian Languages (6), and Dispersal (7). Within each section, articles are arranged alphabetically by the last name of the author. Presented in Section 8 is a list of contributors with their addresses.

1 RECONSTRUCTION

1.1 *Phonological*1.1.1 *Robert A. Blust* 'The Proto-North Sarawak Vowel Deletion Hypothesis'

Two sets of reflexes for Proto-Austronesian (PAN) *b, *j, and *d are exhibited by many of the languages of western Borneo. In Bario Kelabit, an apparently unconditioned split can be shown not only for the above phonemes, but also for *D and *Z. The less common reflex is always a voiced aspirated stop, *b^h*, *d^h*, and *g^h*, occurring only in intervocalic position. The assumption proposed by Blust is that items containing such reflexes may be associated with proposed Proto-Austronesian etyma on the basis of the following: "A vowel in the environment following a voiced obstruent and preceding the reflex of PAN *S was lost through a regular change in the history of Kelabit, with subsequent addition of prothetic schwa and shift of *S to *h* (aspiration)."

The following changes would then have applied to PAN *baSaq:

- *baSaq > *bSaq
- *bSaq > *əbSaq
- *əbSaq > *əb^haq

An assumption is made that what occurred in Kelabit occurred as well in other languages of the area.

1.1.2 *Robert A. Blust* 'The Proto-Austronesian Word for "two": A Second Look'

When Dempwolff reconstructed the word for "two", *Duwa, he was forced to consider the vowels in the Javanese *loro* and Tagalog *dalawa* as being irregular reflexes. In an attempt to explain this irregularity, Dyen changed the reconstruction to *Dewha (now *DewS₃a), introducing the nonfinal sequence *-ew-*.

Blust presents evidence in this paper to show that such a sequence may not be necessary. The Javanese reflex may come from *ua* or *uha* and therefore need not be postulated as necessarily coming from *-ew-*. The Tagalog form may have come from a second set of numerals reconstructed as *DaDuS₃a, giving rise to an earlier *darwa*. With *a*-epenthesis this form then became *darawa*, and a later change from *r* to *l* produced *dalawa*. If this development is correct, then the evidence for the postulation of a new protophoneme is further weakened. Also discussed in the paper is Dyen's evidence for the protophoneme *-ey-*.

1.1.3 *Mathew Charles* 'Problems in the Reconstruction of Proto-Philippine and the Subgrouping of the Philippine Languages'

The main problems discussed by Mathew Charles in his paper are the following: medial consonant clusters—some may be inherited directly from Proto-Austronesian (PAN) while others may be syncopated forms of PAN polysyllables; mergers of Proto-Philippine *j and *R as criteria in subgrouping; the status of *G and *r as Proto-Philippine phonemes; and the status of the Proto-Philippine voiced obstruents *b, *d, *j, and *R.

1.1.4 *Raleigh Ferrell and Patricia Stanley* 'Problems in Proto-Formosan Phonology: Clusters and Continuants'

This is a summary of current research involving medial consonant clusters and the establishment of a complete continuant series for Proto-Formosan. The work is directed toward morphemes which, from language to language, show clear semantic relationships and similar, but not necessarily exact, phonological correspondences.

Tentative conclusions show that Proto-Formosan medial consonant clusters were simplified to a single segment, or broken up by epenthesis, and that there was a complete series of fortis and lenis continuants parallel to the stop series.

1.1.5 *Jo-Ann Flora* 'The Palauan /m/ Affix'

Jo-Ann Flora attempts internal reconstruction in Palauan, discussing the verb marker /m/ and phonological rules applying to it. The affix /m/ is described as an underlying representation which appears on the surface in various phonetic shapes. It appears in two positions, either as a prefix or as an infix to the left of the first vowel.

The conclusion is drawn that this marker represents a merger of two affixes which still remain distinct in many related languages, one of these very possibly the prefix *mv-*, usually *ma-*, and the other an infix, *-Vm-*, usually *-um-*. In Palauan, the meaning of the affix has been simplified to the point where it is almost semantically empty, and the phonological rules of the language have rendered it almost unrecognizable on the surface.

1.1.6 *Paul Jen-kuei Li* 'Alternations Between Semiconsonants and Fricatives (or Liquids)'

The morphophonemic alternations between semiconsonants and fricatives have a bearing on the interpretation of PAN phonemes *j and *v as represented by Dempwolff and *y and *w as represented by Dyen. Evidence from Formosan and Philippine languages points to a reconstruction as semiconsonants with a later change to fricatives.

The evidence in this paper is drawn mainly from the Tanan dialect of Rukai. Here there is an alternation between *y* and *ɖ* and *w* and *v*, with *y* and *w* having the greatest contribution. Because of this and other evidence presented, the author concludes that the semiconsonants are basic and the fricatives are derived. He feels this may also reflect a diachronic process in the language whereby PAN *y became *ɖ* and PAN *w became *v*.

1.1.7 *D. J. Prentice* 'Yet Another PAN Phoneme?'

Prentice's hypothesis is that PAN *b embraces two sets of correspondences, *b₁ and *b₂. Evidence from the Kadazan dialect of coastal Dusun, and the Timugan dialect of Lowland Murut, members of the Idahan group of languages of Sabah, shows that PAN *b reflects in Proto-Idahan (PID) as *b or *w. No phonological or morphological influences can be found to account for the split of PAN *b.

Evidence from Javanese also shows this split in initial and medial position. Excluding borrowing on geographical and historical grounds. Prentice concludes

that the correspondences must be regarded as genetic in origin and attributable to the protolanguage. His conclusion is that PAN *b should be two protophonemes. PAN *b₁ became invariably *b* in the daughter languages under discussion. PAN *b₂, however, became *b*, as in Tagalog and Malay, and *w*, as in Proto-Idahan and Javanese.

1.1.8 John Wolff 'Proto-Austronesian *r and *d'

John Wolff attempts to prove that certain PAN phonemes reconstructed by Dempwolff did not exist. The evidence for such a reconstruction can be attributed to borrowing or to other well established phonemes. The discussion deals with *r and *d, examining evidence for these first in initial and medial position, and then in final position.

Wolff eliminates two classes of forms which he feels cannot serve as evidence for a feature of the protolanguage. These are forms for flora and fauna, which he feels are known only to a specialized segment of society, and are subject to replacement and known borrowings. Once this is done, evidence shows that PAN phonemes *r and *d need not be reconstructed in final position because other PAN phonemes are sufficient to account for the contrast. Further evidence may show they need not be reconstructed at all.

1.2 Syntactic

1.2.1 Robert A. Blust 'Proto-Austronesian Syntax: The First Step'

This is an attempt to reconstruct the genitive marker *ni* for Proto-Austronesian. Justification is offered on the basis of 'perfect comparisons' between Toba Batak and Fijian, and supported by other 'imperfect comparisons' in which function, if not form, can be shown to be cognate. For example, Toba Batak contains a phrase *mata ni aŋin* 'point of a compass' corresponding to Fijian *mata ni c-aŋi* 'direction of the wind'. Malay, while it lacks *ni*, has cognates of the *ni* phrases in the above languages: *mata aŋin* 'point of the compass.'

While evidence for the reconstruction of *ni* as a syntactic marker may be found in other Proto-Austronesian daughter languages, Blust points out that reconstruction of such a marker in terms of its syntactic function is hampered by lack of clear rule descriptions in modern languages. Until such descriptions are available, all that can be reconstructed are forms with a possible indication of further syntactic function.

1.2.2 Isidore Dyen 'Proto-Austronesian Enclitic Genitive Pronouns'

The aim of Dyen's paper is to determine what pronoun forms and distinctions are to be assigned to Proto-Austronesian. An assumption is made that Proto-Austronesian can be divided into Proto-Hesperonesian (West) and Proto-Oceanic (East). A feature can be established as Proto-Austronesian if there is agreement between evidence from Proto-Hesperonesian and Proto-Oceanic.

The paper deals with the genitive enclitic pronouns and concludes that seven classes distinguished by number can be reconstructed. No evidence was found for the establishment of PAN dual or trial pronouns. These seven classes are, in the singular, first, second, and third person, and in the plural, first person inclusive and exclusive, second, and third person.

1.2.3 *William A. Foley* 'Notes Toward a Comparative Syntax of Austronesian, or Whatever Happened to Malay?'

The purpose here is to study the syntax of several Austronesian languages in order to reconstruct the order of the basic syntactic constituents of a simple sentence in Proto-Austronesian. The languages discussed are Tagalog and Maranao in the Philippines, Paiwan in Taiwan, Malay, Old Javanese, selected languages of northern Borneo, and Fijian. In conclusion, Foley asserts that Proto-Austronesian was a Verb-Subject-Object (VSO) language. The paper offers explanations for the occurrence of an alternate SVO order in Tagalog, the predominant occurrence of SVO order in modern Malay, and VOS order in Fijian.

1.2.4 *Hans Kähler* 'Relative Clause Formation in Some Austronesian Languages'

Hans Kähler divides his paper into four sections to pursue his discussion of relative clause formation. In the first section he shows how in many Indonesian languages, coordination is used where European languages might use a relative clause. Clauses are connected by means including special intonation patterns alone, intonation in conjunction with verbal marking relating to the antecedent, and by means of a connective morpheme. In the second section, discussion of the connection of antecedent and relative clause by a connective morpheme is continued. Such connective morphemes usually translate as 'relative pronouns' in European languages. In such sentences there must be an identity of subject in the nucleus and in the relative clause (for example, an actor subject must correspond with an active verb).

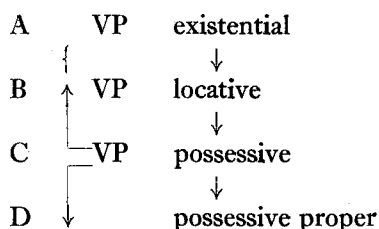
In section three, the author discusses the wider functions of connective markers in various languages in an attempt to define the original functions of the morphemes. Section four contains examples from Melanesian and Polynesian languages.

1.2.5 *Asmah Haji Omar* 'The Possessive Phrase in Six Western Austronesian Languages'

Ms. Asmah discusses the possessive phrase in Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Achehnese, Iban, and Kadazan. She finds that the concept of possession is the end result of a stage that begins with existentiality or locality. Support is given to John Lyons' hypothesis that in the deep structure, the possessive construction is a locative adverb closely related to existentiality.

Drawing evidence from the six languages under discussion, the author shows the concept of possession as possibly developing in the following stages. The verb (V) in the verb phrase (VP) is a verb meaning 'to have' or 'to possess'.

$$VP \rightarrow V + NP$$



2 SUBGROUPING

2.1 *A. Capell* 'Subgroupings in Western Austronesian'

The purpose of this paper is to present evidence for a variety of possible subgroupings within Western Austronesian, and to point out the non-Austronesian languages in the area. Structural evidence, particularly the verb phrase, is given priority. On this basis, Western Austronesian can be divided into three groups, northern, central, and southern.

The northern group extends from Formosa to central Borneo and central Celebes. These languages are characterized by focusing and infixing within the verb phrase, and special formations linking the noun phrase with the verb phrase. The central group includes languages on the Asian mainland, Java, and Lombok. Here there is minimum person marking and prefixing rather than infixing. The area of the southern group is from the islands west of Sumatra along the south to the Moluccas and New Guinea. Here there is person marking by 'short pronouns'. These languages also differ by showing a different possession marking, different syntax rules, and a reversed genitive.

2.2 *Richard E. Elkins* 'A Proto-Manobo Wordlist'

The term 'Manobo' refers to groups whose languages are more closely related to each other than to other Philippine languages. This relationship can be shown through exclusively shared features in certain words, and in the pronoun system.

Elkins first presents a 197-item wordlist adapted from the 1962 Swadesh list. He goes on in the second half of his paper to reconstruct the Proto-Manobo phonemes and show how these protophonemes reflect in various Manobo languages through realization rules. Six of these rules, five for the reflexes of *a and one for the reflex of *e, suggest a theory of subgrouping. The assumption is that these rules represent innovations occurring subsequent to Proto-Manobo. The subgrouping is based on which of these innovations particular languages share.

2.3 *Raleigh Ferrell* 'Construction Markers and Subgrouping of Formosan Languages'

Basic to all Formosan aboriginal languages is sentence focus or topicalization. The noun phrases in such sentences may be marked in one of three ways, and these three systems may be used to group Formosan languages. In the first system, the topic is introduced by an equational construction marker (CM), the nonfocus agent by the genitive/partitive CM, and all other nontopicalized noun phrases by a nonequational CM. In the second system, the topic is introduced by the equational CM, and all other noun phrases by the nonequational CM. In the third system, the topic is indicated by word order, there being no CMs. In addition to the above functions, construction markers may also specify proximity or definiteness, and named individuals. Ferrell examines the above criteria as regards subgrouping.

2.4 *Teodoro A. Llamzon and Ma. Teresita Martin* 'A Subgrouping of 101 Philippine Languages'

This classification of Philippine languages into three groups, northern, central, and southern Philippine, is based on exclusively shared innovations (ESIs). Those

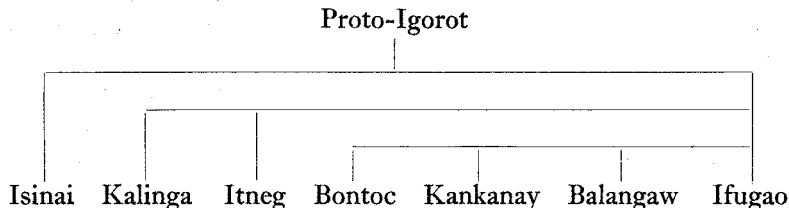
ESIs discussed are in the areas of phonology (vowels, diphthongs, and consonants), personal pronouns, numerals, and syntax (topic, possessive, locative, and indirect object markers, plurality of the topic, modification, and predication).

2.5 *Roger F. Mills* 'Proto-South Sulawesi and Proto-Austronesian: A Possible Criterion for Subgrouping'

This paper treats the final consonants primarily of the languages of South Sulawesi to examine the possibility of using certain phonological criteria as a basis for subgrouping Austronesian languages. The languages of South Sulawesi seem to be in a state of transition, showing greatly reduced final consonant inventories, yet retaining consonants in alternation with glottal stop before suffixes. This seems to put them in a position between the western languages, which retain final consonants, and the eastern languages, many of which have lost them. Mills' hypothesis, however, is that if the languages retain suffixes, then the final consonants are reconstructible. Such consonants are therefore reconstructible for the Oceanic languages. These inventories of final consonants may be used as a criterion in subgrouping.

2.6 *Lawrence A. Reid* 'The Igorot Subgroup of Philippine Languages'

Evidence is presented to show that Isinai, Kalinga, Itneg, Bontoc, Kankanay, Balangaw, and Ifugao are all part of a Philippine subgroup internally related as follows:



The paper reconstructs the phonological and morphological systems of Proto-Igorot. Included in the morphology are the pronouns, the case marking particles—genitive, nominative, oblique—and the location and time marking particles. Discussion is also included to show how each of the daughter languages is related to the protoforms. Also presented is a Proto-Igorot lexicon containing what are probably items exclusively shared within the subgroup.

2.7 *R. David Zorc* 'A Tentative Philippine Wordlist: The Qualitative Use of Vocabulary in Classifying Languages'

Examined here are criteria for establishing a comprehensive Philippine wordlist. Among the criteria for including a word are the following: the meaning is a language universal (shown perhaps by its inclusion in other wordlists); it is in the basic vocabulary of the target language and undergoes only infrequent replacements of form; it elicits forms which will be of phonological, historical, and cultural interest. Borrowed forms, forms for which there are no generic terms, and forms which are

culturally irrelevant should be excluded from the list. Zorc also discusses existing wordlists and presents a preliminary list of his own.

2.8 *R. David Zorc* 'Internal and External Relationships of the Mangyan Languages'

R. David Zorc discusses three criteria for determining the internal and external relationships of Mangyan languages. These criteria are lexicostatistical, morphological, and syntactic. The languages included in the discussion are Tadyawan, Alangan, Iraya, Hanonoo, and Buhid.

According to the lexical evidence, based upon shared forms when not exclusively Philippine, the Mangyan languages form a northern group, Tadyawan, Alangan and Iraya, and a southern group, Hanonoo and Buhid. Hanonoo appears more closely related to the Palawan languages than to the northern group. The northern group, however, shows a higher percentage of relationships with Hanonoo than any other language. Included in the morphological criteria is a comparison of pronouns, deictics, and verb inflection. Syntactic criteria include focus potential.

3 SPECIFIC PROBLEMS

3.1 *H. K. J. Cowan* 'Evidence of Long Vowels in Early Achehnese'

There are nine vowels and five diphthongs in modern Achehnese. The diphthongs derive from simple vowels in final, and therefore, stressed syllables. Evidence for this is shown by the existence of morpheme forms with simple and with diphthongized vowels, the former stressed, the latter nonstressed. The assumption in this paper is that stress first produced nonphonemic lengthening on simple vowels, and then diphthongization.

To find support for this hypothesis, Cowan examines loanwords mainly from Sanskrit and Arabic. He finds that, in general, long vowels in the lending languages occurring in Acheh stressed syllables tend to be diphthongized, while short vowels do not. Evidence from Austronesian material is also examined.

3.2 *Soenjono Dardjowidjojo* 'The Role of Overt Markers in Some Indonesian and Javanese Passive Sentences'

Soenjono's paper centers upon the question of what constitutes a dichotomy between active and passive sentences in Indonesian. Evidence is drawn mainly from Indonesian, but Javanese is also referred to where there are differences. On the basis of syntax, Indonesian shows a change in the morphological makeup of the verb. In a passive sentence, the prefix *di-* replaces the prefixes *meN-* and *N-*. Passives can be further subdivided into two groups, one containing a direct object subject, indicated by the further suffixation of *-an*, and one containing an indirect object subject, with the further suffixation of *-i*.

On the basis of semantics, there is a shift in focus among sentence constituents; the surface subject is definite, always containing 'old information'.

3.3 *Paz Buenaventura Naylor* 'On Contextual Aspects of Topicalization'

In Tagalog the verb, as described here, conveys new information and the surface subject old, or given, information. Ms. Naylor attempts to analyze a verbal clause

in terms of information given and new, and to show how such an analysis might affect focus (subject) selection and thematization (secondary topicalization). The first part of the paper is an investigation into the role of context in determining focus selection; the second part an investigation of the criteria of thematization.

3.4 *Joan Rosen* 'A Syntactic and Semantic Analysis of Reduplication in Bahasa Indonesia'

This paper deals with three basic semantic functions of reduplication in Bahasa Indonesia. These are distributive force or indefiniteness (diffuseness), simile, and intensiveness. In the first category, reduplication of a verb base may indicate multiple actors or multiple goals (distribution of the action), or it may indicate the lack of specific grammatical subjects, as with 'to buy', whose reduplicated meaning is 'to shop' (diffusiveness of indefiniteness).

In the second category, reduplication of adjectives and nouns indicates a pre-supposition of the negation of literal meaning: 'young' becomes 'youthful' (not really young), 'toy' becomes 'toylike' (not really a toy). Reduplication of verb bases in this category indicates an action which is pretended, or false.

The third category of intensiveness includes adverbial superlatives: 'high' reduplicated means 'too high'. Reduplications here may also convey emotional immediacy, astonishment, or surprise.

3.5 *Mangasa Silitonga* 'Some Movement Rules and their Constraints in Batak'

This is an attempt to describe three movement rules and their constraints in Toba Batak: topicalization, relative clause formation, and question. Among the constraints discovered are that a noun phrase can be reordered only if it is the grammatical subject of the sentence. "A noun phrase cannot be topicalized, related, nor can it be questioned if it is the object of a verb or the object of a preposition."

Batak is what Mr. Silitonga calls a 'verb signalling' language. The function of the preposed element of the sentence is shown by the verb. When a subject is moved to preposed position, there is no change in the verb. When the object is moved, the form of the verb is changed to passive.

3.6 *Patricia Stanley* 'Syntax of Tsou Verbs: Implications for Comparative Studies'

The purpose here is to look at the Tsouic group of languages from a structural standpoint. The discussion attempts to show that many of the apparent irregularities observable in the Tsou verb are predictable from certain underlying forms. When these underlying forms are then compared to forms of the other Tsouic languages, here Saaroa with implications for Kanakanabu, very observable parallels appear. The discussion includes inflection, phonetic shape, and morphophonemic processes.

3.7 *Stanley Starosta* 'Causative Verbs in Formosan Languages'

In addition to the actants lexically permitted by a verb's case frame, the causative construction allows an extra agent. The position in this paper is that this "causer is always grammatically the agent (or possibly the instrument)" of the sentence. The original agent is demoted "to some other case relation and is realized in exactly

the same way with a causative verb that it is with a noncausative verb of the same syntactic class."

Starosta attempts to describe and compare the morphologically marked causative verbs in Bunun, Tsou, Amis, Sediq, Saisiyat, and Rukai. The theoretical framework of the analysis is 'lexicase'. Among the conclusions are implications for subgrouping. Formosan languages can be shown to differ by whether their causative rules derive only passive causatives (Tsou, Bunun), mainly passives (Amis), actives or passives (Saisiyat, Sediq), or only actives (Rukai).

4 SOCIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

4.1 *Lutfi Abas* 'Courtesy Features in Malay and Sundanese Predicates'

Courtesy features in Sundanese and Malay have their origin in Javanese. They are not native to both languages. The purpose of this paper is to show how such features operate in relation to other grammatical rules in the production of Malay and Sundanese sentences.

Discussed are specific features and the social strata they correspond to. These may be shown in the phrase structure rules as complex symbol classifications of nouns and verbs. Also included and discussed is the manipulation of such courtesy features.

4.2 *Alton L. Becker and Gusti Ngurah Oka* 'Person in Kawi: Exploration of an Elementary Semantic Dimension'

Kawi, or Old Javanese, is examined to determine the 'cline of person' in a single Austronesian language. The attempt is to determine how "personal systems operate, what are the components and the interrelationships that seem to form the basis of Kawi grammar, and may be the basis of much of Western Austronesian grammar as well." Examined in detail here are the personal pronouns, articles, deixis, and verb inflections. The conclusions reached show a close relationship existing between "person, definiteness, and deixis, and a recurring structural contrast between close and distant, involved and detached, now and then, head and blood, mountain and sea."

4.3 *Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo* 'Indonesian and Javanese Speech Levels'

In this paper, Mr. Soepomo describes the effect in the Javanese speech community of the mingling of Indonesian and Javanese. Indonesian serves as the superimposed language and Javanese as the low language in a situation described by Ferguson as 'diglossia'. Indonesian is used in formal situations, in schools, meetings, the media, and Javanese in informal situations, among relatives and friends. This has led to the disfunctioning of Javanese from certain fields of activity, such as formal meetings, the loss of prestige of the Krama level of speech, the adoption of certain Indonesian linguistic elements, such as the phoneme /f/, and the less frequent use of Javanese forms not similar to Indonesian, such as the passive *-in-* which is giving way to the passive *di-*. Soepomo also discusses 'code switching' between the languages and what this might mean.

5 CONTACT PHENOMENA

5.1 *Christopher Court* 'Tonalized Malay Vocabulary in Satun, Thailand: Where Northern Malay Meets Southern Thai'

Satun Province, Thailand is an important contact point between tonal and nontonal languages. Here the Malays have adopted southern Thai as an active medium of communication. As a result, the Malay loanwords used in their speech have adopted long or short vowels in closed final syllables, and fixed tones on every syllable. This paper deals with the assignment of tone to such syllables. In conclusion Court finds that, of the permissible tones, tone assignment corresponds to "the melodic pattern of the words produced as one word utterances . . . with normal statement intonation."

5.2 *Ernest W. Lee* 'Southeast Asian Areal Features in Austronesian Strata of the Chamic Languages'

The Chamic languages of South Vietnam have adjusted to conform to both phonological and grammatical structure of the older Southeast languages in the area. In this paper, Ernest Lee discusses adjustments in phonological word shape and phoneme inventories in four of these languages, Rade, Jorai, Northern Roglai, and Cham.

Phonological word shape has been changed by a shift to ultimate stress, reduction to monosyllables, and the development of consonant clusters. Phoneme inventories have been adjusted in the following manner: in presyllables vowel contrasts are decreased (there is, however, a corresponding increase in main syllables), initial stops are devoiced, and nonlabial nasals are lost. In general there is a development of preglottalized stops, voice register, reduction of the number of word-final consonants, devoicing of final stops, and in main syllables, the development of vowel length.

6 NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

6.1 *Sudhi Bhushan Bhattacharya* 'The Austric Hypothesis from a Munda Perspective'

The purpose of this paper is to relate certain basic features of Munda to features of Austronesian languages. The intent is to determine if Austronesian and Austroasiatic had a common parentage.

Some of the features discussed are in the areas of phonology and morphology relating to the formation of words from common roots. Disyllabic roots in Munda can be reduced to monosyllabic bases that may be shown developing through the addition of prefixes, suffixes, and infixes. Reduplication also plays an important role. Closing the paper is a section on sentence word-order.

6.2 *Paul K. Benedict* 'The Problem of Tone Assignment in Austro-Thai'

Benedict's hypothesis is that the Sino-Tibetan languages have had the greatest influence in reshaping the Austro-Thai languages. He believes that the original two-tone system in Sino-Tibetan became a three-tone system in Chinese, this third

one a sandhi tone. This three-tone system was then transferred to two mainland groups of Austro-Thai languages, Kadai and Miao-Yao. These three tones correspond to the level, rising, and departing tones of Chinese. The problem covered in this paper is the assignment of these tones to Austro-Thai.

6.3 *Saveros Lewitz and Philip N. Jenner* 'Proto-Indonesian and Mon-Khmer'

This is an attempt to establish a genetic relationship between Proto-Indonesian and Mon-Khmer. The research presented here began with an examination of Dempwolff's wordlist. This list was first divided into six groups on the basis of form, and then further reduced to two groups on the basis of whether the constituents were monosyllables (9.8%) or disyllables (90.14%). In terms of Mon-Khmer, the disyllabic words were viewed as consisting of a monosyllabic base and a prefix or infix. To further substantiate this analysis, the presyllables in Mon-Khmer were compared to Malay prefixes. They were similar in both form and function. This suggested, then, that the main syllables were also comparable. The position of this paper is that these main syllables, or word bases, should form the basis of comparisons between Mon-Khmer and Proto-Indonesian.

Accompanying the paper is a 317-wordlist showing possible cognate relationships. To reduce the possibility of mistaking old loanwords, extra evidence is included to show the distribution of the items under analysis in the Mon-Khmer languages.

7 DISPERSAL

Wilhelm G. Solheim II 'Reflections on the New Data of Southeast Asian Prehistory: Austronesian Origin and Consequences'

Old data on the origin and expansion of the Austronesian-speaking peoples seemed to indicate that the direction of culture was from the outside inward, as from India and China. Due to lack of accurate dating, this hypothesis could not be substantiated. In this paper, Solheim presents evidence for an island homeland for the Austronesians. Central to this hypothesis is the discovery of Sa-Huỳnh-Kalanay and Lapita pottery. These early types of pottery, the second very likely derived from the first, are not found in South China. They have been found, however, in North and South Vietnam, in Palawan, the Philippines, Sarawak, southern Sulawesi, Portuguese Timor, and Melanesia as far south as the New Hebrides. Since this is an earlier type of pottery, it stands to reason that it was possessed by an earlier civilization.

The subsequent discussion includes possible geographical developments, such as the partition of 'Sundaland', and sociological developments such as population movement and dispersal.

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