

Interpreting the geography of TA(M) marking across Indonesia

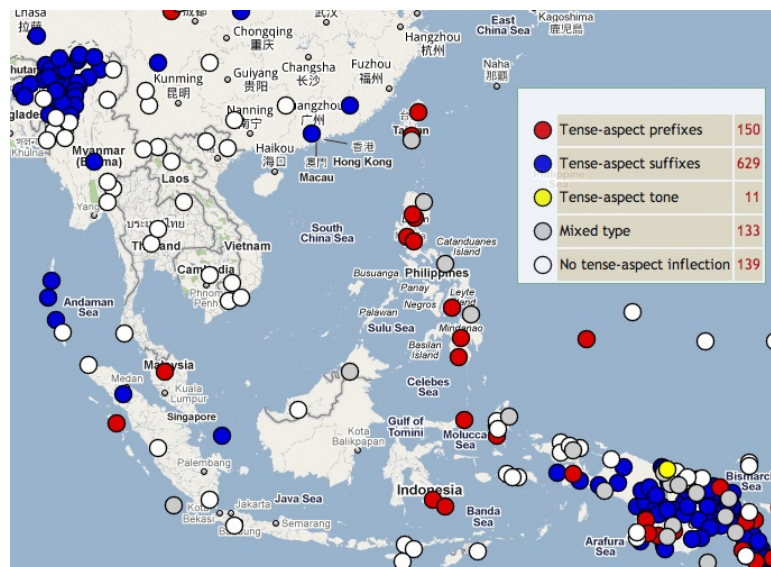
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Overview

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1 TAM marking in Proto-Austronesian: an overview

- Brandstetter (1916) on verbs in Indonesian languages: “three means of forming tenses: formatives, auxiliary words of form, and reduplication.”
- Almost a century later, we can now state the basic distribution more precisely:
 - “Northern” (Philippine and Formosan) languages: <in> affixation and 1σ/mora reduplication & inflected auxiliaries
 - “Southern” (elsewhere) languages: free and clitic aspectual adverbs (uninflected auxiliaries)
 - This generalization is almost captured by WALs:



- Gonda (1954, p.250) was the first to marshal data against a tense interpretation of Indonesian temporal marking,

“A careful investigation into all devices used in the IN. languages to express what is generally regarded as tense categories will no doubt deepen our insight into the originally, or essentially, non-temporal, character of the relevant forms and phrases.”
- Gonda (1954, p.241) was also the first to note the problem of reconstructability of TAM markers in Indonesian languages:

“The very diversity of these elements in the historical period may point to a comparatively recent origin of the phenomenon.”
- Here, we will try to further refine the notion of aspect most commonly at play in Indonesian languages and discuss why modern Indonesian TAM auxiliaries are un-reconstructable.

1.1 Some key notions in Aspect and Tense

- Reichenbach (1947), three temporal pivot points:
 - S** – point of speech (Tense)
 - E** – point of event (Tense, Aspect)
 - R** – point of reference (Aspect)
- An important distinction between two types of aspect markers:

Tense: Relation of event time to speech time, e.g. PAST, REMOTE PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE, REMOTE FUTURE.

Inner aspect: Relation of event time to reference time, e.g. PERFECTIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, PROGRESSIVE, INCIPIENT

Outer aspect: Relation of event time to *expected* reference time, e.g. ALREADY, STILL
- Cf. the controversial PERFECT, encountered in the aspect literature.
 - Bybee (1985, p.159): ‘a situation that is relevant to another situation’.
 - Li, Thompson & Thompson (1982, p.21): perfect has a ‘deictic function’.
 - Boutin (1991, p.21) refers to Bonggi *na* as PERFECTIVE-PERFECT and *pa* as IMPERFECTIVE-PERFECT
- Dahl (1985) nearly makes this distinction although it doesn’t figure prominently in his study.¹
- The inner/outer distinction is often confounded in the literature. For instance, in (1), there is an expectation that the subject would get injured but it happened earlier than presumed.

- (1) *Indonesian*
- dia **sudah** luka!
 3SG ALREADY wounded
 ‘He’s already wounded!’ (Gonda, 1954, p.253)

- There is no such expectation in (2). This is the major difference between the so-called PERFECTIVE in Indonesian-type and Philippine-type languages, respectively.

¹Dahl (1985, p.134) states:

“...a statement containing a ‘perfect of result’ should rather be characterized as being made against a background state of affairs in which the event referred to in the sentence has not yet taken place. What is said then would be that the present state of affairs differs from the background one by the event’s taking place. Words like *fortfarande*, ‘still’, on the other hand, also presuppose a background state of affairs but are used precisely to indicate the lack of a difference between the state-of-affairs and the actual one.”

(2) *Tagalog*

na-sugát-an=siya!
 PV.ABIL.BEG-wound-LV=3S.NOM
 ‘He’s wounded!’

- *Background expectations* are the key:

(3) *Tagalog*

- Nandito=pala ang=asawa=ko!
 here=SURP NOM=spouse=1S.GEN
 ‘My wife is here!’ (completely unexpected)
- Nandito=na=pala ang=asawa=ko!
 here=ALREADY=SURP NOM=spouse=1S.GEN
 ‘My wife is here already!’ (earlier than expected)

- Another difference between inner and outer aspect in Philippine languages is that the former is implicated in finiteness distinctions while the latter is not.

(4) *Tagalog*

- ‘want’ type complements require infinitives:
 - Gusto=ko=ng mag-tanong
 want=1SG.GEN=LNK AV-ask
 ‘I want to ask.’
 - *Gusto=ko=ng mag-ta~tanong
 want=1SG.GEN=LNK AV-IMPRF~ask
 - *Gusto=ko=ng nag-ta~tanong
 want=1SG.GEN=LNK AV.BEG-IMPRF~ask
- Aspectual clitics are permitted in infinitive contexts:
 - Gusto=ko=ng mag-tanong=pa
 want=1SG.GEN=LNK AV-ask=STILL
 ‘I want to ask more.’

- Marking of inner aspect is obligatory on matrix declaratives:

(5) *Tagalog*

- S<in>ulat=ko ang=lahat
 <BEG>write(PV)=1S.GEN NOM=all
 ‘I wrote everything.’
- S<in>u~sulat=ko ang=lahat
 <BEG>IMPRF~write(PV)=1S.GEN NOM=all
 ‘I’m writing everything.’
- Su~sulat-in=ko ang=lahat
 IMPRF~write-PV=1S.GEN NOM=all
 ‘I’ll write everything.’
- %Sulat-in=ko ang=lahat
 write-PV=1S.GEN NOM=all
 (infelicitous in declarative context)

- Informal definitions:
 ALREADY : Onset of event time precedes expected reference point
 STILL : Termination of event time follows expected reference point

1.2 Reconstructing the morphology of inner aspect

- Previous work on Austronesian inner aspect: Reid (1992) Ross (2002)
- Two primary morphemes:
 - 1σ -reduplication – IMPERFECTIVE or PROGRESSIVE
 - $\langle in \rangle$ – PERFECTIVE or BEGUN (more doubtfully, REALIS)

	ACTOR	PATIENT	LOCATIVE	CONVEYANCE
Realis (V/N)	*M-STEM *k<um>iRim	*STEM-en *kiRim-en	*STEM-an *kiRim-an	*Sa-/Si-STEM *Sa-/Si-kiRim
Realis perfective (V/N)	*M-<in>STEM *k<um-in>iRim	*<in>STEM *k<in>iRim	*<in>STEM-an *k<in>iRim-an	*Sa-/Si-STEM *S<in>a-/S<in>i-kiRim
Realis imperfective (V/N)	*M-Ca-STEM *k<um>a-kiRim	*M-Ca-STEM-en *ka-kiRim-en	*M-Ca-STEM-an *ka-kiRim-an	*Sa-/Si-Ca-STEM *Sa-/Si-ka-kiRim
Irrealis (V/N)	*Ca-STEM *ka-kiRim	*M-Ca-STEM-en *ka-kiRim-en	*M-Ca-STEM-an *ka-kiRim-an	*Ca-STEM *ka-kiRim
Optative/hortative (V/N)	*M-STEM-a *k<um>iRim-a	*STEM-aw *kiRim-aw	*STEM-ay *kiRim-ay	*an-ay+STEM *an-ay kiRim
Imperative (V/N)	*STEM *kiRim	*STEM-u *kiRim-u	*STEM-i *kiRim-i	*an-i +STEM *an-i kiRim
Dependent (V/N)	*STEM *kiRim	*STEM-a *kiRim-a	*STEM-i *kiRim-i	*an-i +STEM *an-i kiRim

Table 1: Proto-Nuclear Austronesian verbal morphology following Ross (2002)

	Underlying form		PMP form		Common modern forms
ACTOR VOICE	*p<um>a<R>- CAUS<AV><MID>-	→	*maR-	→	*maR-
ACTOR VOICE PERFECTIVE	*p<um><in>a<R>- CAUS<AV><PRF><MID>-	→	*minaR-	→	*naR-/*miR-
PERFECTIVE	*p<in>a<R>- CAUS<PRF><MID>-	→	*pinaR-	→	*pinaR-

Table 2: Some aspect/voice paradigms with *paR- CAUSATIVE MIDDLE

	Underlying form		PMP form		Common modern forms
ACTOR VOICE	*p<um>a<N>- CAUS<AV><DIST>-	→	*maN-	→	*maN-
ACTOR VOICE PERFECTIVE	*p<um><in>a<N>- CAUS<AV><PRF><DIST>-	→	*minaN-	→	*naN-/*miN-
PERFECTIVE	*p<in>a<N>- CAUS<PRF><DIST>-	→	*pinaN-	→	*pinaN-

Table 3: Some aspect/voice paradigms with *paN- CAUSATIVE DISTRIBUTIVE

1.3 Reconstructing the morphology of outer aspect

- Previous reconstructions of Austronesian outer aspect: Dempwolff (1934-38) *pa ‘still (temporal)’ and Wolff (2010) PAn *ɬa ALREADY and *pa STILL

	Correspondences	PAn *=daɬa	PAn *=pa
Formosan			
Seediq	(*d>d)	=da ‘new situation’	
Kavalan	(*p>p)		=pa ‘future’
Bunun	(*ɬ>n)	=ɲn ‘already’ (*ɬ > n)	
Puyuma	(*ɬ>ɬ)	=ɬa ‘already’	
Tsou		=da PRF	
Kanakanavu	(*p>p)		=pa ‘still’
Paiwan	(*ɬ>ɬ but *ɬ>n attested)	na= ‘already’	
Rukai	(*d>ɖ; *ɬ>ɬ)	=ŋa PRFV (irreg.) na= PRF (irreg., from Paiwan?)	
Pazih	(*ɬ>l)	=la ‘already’	
Philippine			
Batanic (Ivatan, Yami)		=dana ‘already’	=pa ‘still’
Yogad	(*d>r)	=ra/=da ‘already’	=pa ‘also’
Ilokano		=en ‘already’	=pay ‘still’
Kapampangan		=na ‘already’	=pa ‘still’
Tagalog		=na ‘already’	=pa ‘still’
Maranao		=den ‘already’	
Yakan		=ne ‘already’	=pe ‘still’
Malaysia/Indonesia			
Timugon Murut	(*a>o)	=noh ‘already’	=poh ‘still’
Karo Batak		=nai ‘already’	
Bolaang-Mongondow	(*a>o)	=don ‘already’	
Buol	(*a>o)	=lon ‘already’	=po ‘still’
Mamuju		=do ‘already’	=pa ‘still’
Mori Bawah			=po ‘still’

(6) *Kavalan*

qan=**pa**=ita tu ɲaq
eat=FUT=1.PL.INC.NOM ACC wine

‘We (let’s) drink wine.’ (expected: ‘Let’s keep drinking wine.’) (Lee 1986 p.65)

- (7) *Yami*
 ko=k<om>an=**rana** so=wakay
 1SG.NOM=<AV>eat=ALREADY OBL=sweet.potato
 ‘I am eating a sweet potato already.’ (Rau 2005, p.88)

- (8) *Iskubun Bunun*
 hud=**in** saikin danum
 drink=ALREADY 1S.NOM water
 ‘I have been drinking water.’ (Nojima Motoyasu p.c.)

2 Tense/Aspect across Indonesian time and space

2.1 Old Malay

- The changes found throughout present day Indonesia are already well attested in the oldest Malay inscriptions. Note the lack of any aspect marking, uncharacteristic of more conservative languages:

- (9) *Old Malay*
 ni-vunuh k̄amu sumpah ni-minu[m]=m̄amu
 PV-kill 2PL curse PV-drink=2PL.GEN
 ‘You will be killed by the curse which is drunk by you.’ (Mahdi, 2005)

- All of the inherited aspect markers were abandoned in Malay and replaced (functionally) by lexical items meaning ‘want’, ‘desire’, ‘towards’, ‘finish’, etc.

2.2 Sabah

2.2.1 Kimaragang Dusun (MP, North Borneo, Sabahan, Dusunic, Dusun)

Inner aspect: 1σ-REDUP > 1σ-REDUP; *<in> > <in>

Outer aspect: *=*data* > =*noh*; *=*pa* > =*poh*

- (10) ti-t<in>anom
 PROG-<BEG>plant
 ‘being planted’ (Kroeger 2002)

2.2.2 Timugun Murut (MP, North Borneo, North Sarawakan, Dayic, Murutic, Murut)

Inner aspect: 1σ-REDUP > ∅; *<in> > <in>

Outer aspect: *=*data* > =*noyo*; *=*pa* > =*poyo*

- (11) a. kalo=**poyo** ma-ragu gili b. kalo=**noyo** ma-ragu gili
 NEG=STILL AV.STA-discuss that NEG=ALREADY AV.STA-discuss that
 ‘That can’t be discussed yet.’ ‘That can’t be discussed anymore.’
 (Prentice, 1971, p.93)

2.2.3 Banggi (MP, North Borneo, Sabahan, Paitanic)

Inner aspect: 1 σ -REDUP > \emptyset ; * <in> > <in> “detached” anterior TA

Outer aspect: * = *daŋa* > = *na*; * = *pa* > = *pa*

Innovated aspectual adverbs: *bas* ALREADY; *kahal* STILL

- (12) sia nda' pa m-ohodn
3SG NEG STILL AV-eat
'He has not eaten yet.' (Boutin, 1991, p.21)
- (13) Bas=nu m-ohodn
ALREADY=2SG AV-eat
'Did you eat already?'
- (14) a. Bas=ku=na m-ohodn
ALREADY=1SG=PRF AV-eat
'I already ate (and am done eating).'
b. Bas=ku m-ohodn
ALREADY=1SG AV-eat
'I already ate (but may eat more).' (Boutin, 1991, p.20)
- (15) Sia kahal m-ohodn=pa
3SG STILL AV-eat=still
'He is still eating.' (Boutin, 1991, p.20)

2.3 Sumatra

2.3.1 Acehnese (MP, Malayic, Achinese-Chamic, Achinese)

Inner aspect: 1 σ -REDUP > \emptyset ; * <in> > <eun> NMLZ

Outer aspect: * = *daŋa* > \emptyset ; * = *pa* > \emptyset

- (16) t<eun>ulêh
<NMLZ>write
'writing'
- (17) ka=geu-jak
INCP=3SG-go
'He went.' (Durie, 1985, p.111)

2.3.2 Gayo (MP, Gayo)

Inner aspect: 1 σ -REDUP > \emptyset ; * <in> > \emptyset

Outer aspect: * = *daŋa* > = *nè* ‘anymore, evermore’; * = *pa* > = *pè* ‘also, even’

Innovated aspectual adverbs: *nge* ALREADY; *ilen* STILL

- (18) enti **nè** ara berhawa-napsu
PROHB ALREADY EXT have.desire-lust
'Don't let (yourself) be lustful anymore.' (Eades, 2005, p.247)
- (19) banan kucak **ilen**, kècos-kècos **ilen**
female small STILL REDP-speak.imperfectly STILL
'The girl is still young, she still speaks imperfectly.' (Eades, 2005, p.246)

- (25) si l<im>aa=mow mana m=Bēnang sē patuari=ku
 3SBJ <AV.PRF>walk=ALREADY to DET=Manado 3PL.SBJ sibling=1SG.GEN
 ‘My siblings already went to Manado.’ (Watuseke 1985:88)

- But does =*mo* functionally replace *=*data*? Adriani identifies -*mo* as a focus marker in Pamona (Bare’e):
 “De kracht van dit -*mo*, dat aan allerlei woorden kan gehecht worden, is de beteekenis van het woord te versterken, het meer nadruk te geven, het op de plaats en in de functie die het in den zin heeft meer te doen uitkomen.” (Adriani 1931:479)
- The same can be said about the primary meaning of -*mo* in most of the other languages of Sulawesi which also display it.

2.5.2 The Pamona-Kaili languages (MP, Sulawesi, Kaili-Pamona)

Inner aspect: 1σ-REDUP > 1σ-REDUP; *<*in*> > <*in*>

Outer aspect: *=*data* > ∅; *=*pa* > =*pa/pi*

Innovated aspectual adverbs: =*mo/mi* ALREADY; *da* = FUTURE

- (26) a. Da ku-tinti siko
 FUT 1SG-hit 2SG
 ‘I shall hit you.’ (Adriani et al., 1928, p.845)
- b. Ni-tinti-ku siko
 PRF-hit-1S.GEN 2SG
 ‘I hit you.’

- The northern Pamona-Kaili languages preserve reflexes of *<*in*> as a marker of BEGUN in both the actor and undergoer voice. The southern Pamona-Kaili languages, e.g. Uma, Rampi, employ a basic unmarked form for both BEGUN and UNBEGUN (see Wolff (1996), Van den Berg (1996) and Mead (2002)).

“Unlike other languages of the Kaili-Pamona subgroup, Uma lacks a verbal prefix marking realis and irrealis. To some extent, the clitic -*pi* has assumed some of the functions of the irrealis mood.” (Martens, 1988, p.206)

- (27) a. Ku’oli ince tetu Uma
 1SG-buy rice that
 ‘I bought that rice.’
- b. Ni-oli-ku ose etu Daa
 PRF-buy-1S.GEN rice that
 ‘I bought that rice.’ (Martens p.170)

- Note that aspect marking differs in Pamona-Kaili languages from more conservative Austronesian languages in that subordinate verbs agree with matrix verbs in aspect/tense, i.e. there is no infinitive in subordinate contexts:

- (28) Ledo
- a. Gera na-kava na-rau
 3PL AV.RL-arrive AV.RL-angry
 ‘He arrived angry.’ (TBK p.66)
- b. Ngana randua hi ledo na-mala na-singgava
 child two this NEG AV.RL-can AV.RL-together
 ‘These two children could not be together.’ (TBK p.66)

- This may fit into a larger East Indonesian pattern of matrix-subordinate symmetry. Compare person marking in Nualu (Central Maluku) and Tetun (East Timor):

(29) *Nualu*

I-anei i-anamana sou Naunue
 3SG-know 3SG-speak language Nualu
 ‘He knows how to speak Nualu.’ (Bolton, 1990, p.86)

(30) *Tetun*

Ha’u k-akés la k-atene
 1SG 1SG-talk NEG 1SG-know
 ‘I don’t know how to talk about this topic.’ (van Klinken, 1999, p.205)

2.5.3 Wolio (MP, Sulawesi, Wotu-Wolio, Wolio-Kamaru)

Inner aspect: 1σ -REDUP > \emptyset ; **<in>* > *<in>* NOMINALIZER, *i*- PATIENT VOICE

Outer aspect: *=*dala* > \emptyset ; *=*pa* > =*po*

Innovated aspectual adverbs: =*mo* FOCUS/ALREADY

(31) NOMINALIZER

- a. k<in>ande
 <NMLZ>food
 ‘food, meal’
- b. t<in>auraka
 <NMLZ>leave.behind
 ‘heritage’ (Anceaux p.30)

(32) PATIENT VOICE

kamba-kamba i-tobe-na i dala
 flower-PL PV-pick-3S.GEN OBL road
 ‘flowers picked along the roadside.’ (Anceaux p.41)

2.5.4 Mori Atas (MP, Sulawesi, Bungku-Tolaki, Western, Interior)

Inner aspect: 1σ -REDUP > \emptyset ; **<in>* > *<in>*PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

Outer aspect: *=*dala* > \emptyset ; *=*pa* > =*po*

Innovated aspectual adverbs: =*mo* FOCUS/ALREADY

- (33) Na-pi do-me-hawe mia ira me-’aiwa
 NEG-INCOMP:(3SG) 3PL-PL-arrive person 3PL.FUT PL-come
 ‘the people who are to come have not yet arrived’ Esser p.202

- The fact that =*mo* and =*po* can cooccur with the same scope shows that =*mo* is not a perfect semantic analog of *=*dala*:

- (34) Sii=po=mo ari
 NEG.IMPV=INCOMP=PERF only
 ‘just wait a little while!’ (as an expression of joy) (Esser, 1927, p.210)

- Mori is known for its unusual use of a special set of preposed pronominals to indicate future tense:

(35) Aku-po mo-'angga
 1SG.FUT-INCOMP PART:TRI-work
 'I am still going to work' (Esser, 1927, p.221)

(36) Ta t<in>ambua
 3SG.FUT <PASS>banish
 'he must be banished' (Esser, 1927, p.352)

- This probably resulted from 2P clisis to a future auxiliary host which was historically lost. Similar developments can be seen in Yami and Ibaloi.

2.5.5 Muna (MP, Sulawesi, Muna-Buton, Munan, Munic, Western)

Inner aspect: 1 σ -REDUP > 1 σ -REDUP? (non-productive); *<in> > *ni*- PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

Outer aspect: *=*data* > \emptyset ; *=*pa* > =*ho*

Innovated aspectual adverbs: =*mo* ALREADY

- Muna has a *true* realis/irrealis distinction:
 1. it refers to the future, or it expresses a wish, a desire or an intention;
 2. it is obligatorily used in negative clauses. (Van den Berg, 1989, p.57)
- This is indicated syncretically with the person agreement prefixes:

(37)	a. Ne-ada 3SG.RL-borrow 'She borrowed.'	b. Nae-ada 3SG.IRR-borrow 'She will borrow.' (Van den Berg, 1989, p.58)
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2.6 Maluku-Timor

2.6.1 Taba (MP, CEMP, EMP, South Halmahera – West New Guinea subgroup)

Inner aspect: 1 σ -REDUP > \emptyset ; *<in> > \emptyset

Outer aspect: *=*data* > =*do*; *=*pa* > =*hu* (Irregular correspondence. Expected: =*ho* or =*ha*)

(38) Wang=si l=mul do
 child=PL PL=return ALREADY
 'The children have returned.' (Bowden, 2001, p.103)

(39) Makwai hu
 hot STILL
 'He's still sick (with a fever).' (Bowden, 2001, p.103)

2.6.2 Kedang (MP, CEMP, CMP, Timor, Flores-Lembata)

Inner aspect: 1 σ -REDUP > \emptyset ; *<in> > \emptyset

Outer aspect: *=*data* > \emptyset ; *=*pa* > \emptyset

Innovated aspectual adverbs: *dèq* PERFECTIVE - ALREADY
mete IMPERFECTIVE
bahe, bahe deq COMPLETIVE
ramaq, nau INCOMPLETIVE
dèq mè INCEPTIVE
mai CESSATIVE

dègo INCHOATIVE
dèq nu INCIPIENT (Samely, 1991, p.89)

- Kedang has also developed a subtle aspectual distinction encoded in its agreement markers:

- (40) a. Koq senter bikil=ne
 1SG.POSS flashlight broken=3SG
 ‘My flashlight is broken.’
 b. Koq senter bikil=i
 1SG.POSS flashlight broken=3SG
 ‘My flashlight got broken.’ (Samely, 1991, p.73)

2.6.3 Bima (MP, CEMP, CMP, Bima-Sumba)

Inner aspect: 1 σ -REDUP > \emptyset ; **<in>* > \emptyset

Outer aspect: *=*data* > \emptyset ; *=*pa* > =*pu*?

Innovated aspectual adverbs: *wa’u* ALREADY; *mbui* STILL

- (41) Andou mone ra coco mbui=pu dahu=na
 child male RELT chase STILL=STILL afraid=3sg
 ‘The boy who was chased is still afraid.’ (Owens, 2000, p.126)
- (42) wa’u-ra ngaha-mu-si nggomi?
 ALREADY-EMPH eat-2-COND 2p
 ‘Have you already eaten?’ (Owens, 2000, p.32)

- Owens (2000, p.9) Shows a distinction between encliticization and procliticization which is reminiscent of Pamona-Kaili patterns.

“In these sentences, the correspondence of agreement encliticization to past tense orientation is near complete. So the following sentences, spoken in isolation, will be interpreted as having the past tense interpretations suggested by the English glosses:

- (43) La Halima mbali wali.na d’i rahi-na
 PN Halima return again.3 LOC husband-3
 ‘Halima has once again returned to her husband.’
- (44) Nahu bantu-ku Reho dub’a baju
 1P help-1 Reho wash clothes
 ‘I helped Reho wash the clothes.’

- Conversely, independently elicited sentences containing agreement proclitics but without emphatic enclitics correspond to future tense orientations:

- (45) Ma.nuntu la’o la Halima naisi?
 2.talk with PN Halima tomorrow
 ‘Will you talk to Halima tomorrow?’
- (46) Reho na-lao lampa d’i wub’a nci’i liro
 Reho 3-go go-along LOC jungle tear sun
 ‘Reho will be walking in the jungle at sunset.’”

3 Convergence

3.1 Austroasiatic and West Indonesia

- General evidence for convergence: Malay vs. Rengao (Eastern Mon-Khmer, Bahnaric, North Bahnaric). All data from Gregerson (1971):

- Unmarked verbs (subordinate and matrix):

(47)	<i>Rengao</i>	<i>Malay</i>
	a. aw thay vI pih phi 1SG order 3.PL pound rice 'I told them to pound rice.'	b. aku suruh mereka tunduk beras 1SG order 3.PL pound rice 'I told them to pound rice.'

- No morphological distinction between nominative and genitive:

(48)	<i>Rengao</i>	<i>Malay</i>
	a. koon aw child 1SG 'My child.'	b. anak saya child 1SG 'My child.'

- 'want' > PROSPECTIVE aspect:

(49)	<i>Rengao</i>	<i>Malay</i>
	a. waq mE boyh IMMIN/want rain COMPL 'It's about to rain.' (p.75)	b. mau hujan IMMIN/want rain 'It's about to rain.'

- Subject = Topic:

(50)	<i>Rengao</i>	<i>Malay</i>
	a. aw jIq badUk 1SG sick stomach 'I have a stomach ache.'	b. aku sakit perut 1SG sick stomach 'I have a stomach ache.'

- Outer aspect marked by optional, free-standing adverbs:

(51)	<i>Rengao</i>	<i>Malay</i>
	a. gE qway blah loong 3SG DUR chop wood 'He is still chopping wood.' (p.73)	b. dia masih belah kayu 1SG COMPL chop wood 'He is still chopping wood.'

(52)	<i>Rengao</i>	<i>Malay</i>
	a. aw saanj am gE kapO boyh 1SG COMPL give 3SG buffalo COMPL 'I have given him a buffalo already.' (p.67)	b. aku sudah kasih dia kerbau 1SG COMPL give 3SG buffalo 'I have given him a buffalo already.'

3.2 Non-Austronesian and Austronesian languages of East Nusantara

- There are several distinct typological zones in East Nusantara, some which are characterized by isolating type morphology (e.g. parts of East Timor) and some which are characterized by highly agglutinating

morphology (e.g. Alor-Pantar).

- Abui is an example of a non-Austronesian language with a highly morphologically complex TAM system. Two aktionsart distinctions are marked through verb root alternations in addition to a set of inner aspect suffixes and outer aspect adverbials:

(53) *Abui*

- a. yal ayoku do, ko di moku **do** ha-**yal**
 now two PRX soon 3A kid PRX 3II.PAT-give.birth
 ‘in two days she will give birth to the child’
- b. mayol do **wan** de-wil ha-**yar-i**
 woman PRX already 3I.AL-child 3II.PAT-give.birth.CPL-PFV
 ‘the women already gave birth to her child’ (Kratochvíl, 2007, p.211)

- Some of these morphemes show extreme similarity with nearby Austronesian languages, suggesting borrowing:

(54) *Kedang* (Austronesian)

- a. Koq senter bikil=**ne**
 1SG.POSS flashlight broken=3SG
 ‘My flashlight is broken.’
 p.73
- b. Koq senter bikil=**i**
 1SG.POSS flashlight broken=3SG
 ‘My flashlight got broken.’ (Samely, 1991,

(55) *Abui* (Non-Austronesian)

- a. na làk-**e**
 1SG leave.for-IPRFV
 ‘I’m going away’
- b. na làk-**i**
 1SG leave.for-PRF
 ‘I have gone away’ (Kratochvíl, 2007, p.82)

- If non-Austronesian languages of the same type were more widespread before the entry of Austronesians into the area, the complexities found in Muna, Bimanese, Mori Atas may be explained through metatypy in their earlier history.

4 Conclusions

- We can safely reconstruct two outer aspect morphemes to Proto-Austronesian: * = **daŋa** ALREADY and * = **pa** STILL.
- In many Indonesian languages, these take over for the two major inherited inner aspect morphemes 1σ-Redup IMPERFECTIVE and * < **in** > PERFECTIVE/REALIS.
- We may be able to predict the lack of a finiteness distinction in most Indonesian languages. Dahl (1985, p.188): “Still, the general feeling is that the categories PAST and PFV:IPFV tend to be obligatory when they exist in a language, whereas many of the categories assumed to be less central include several clear optional cases.” If these languages lack PFV:IPFV and PAST marking altogether, they are unlikely to grammaticalize outer aspect as an inflectional category.²

²Dahl (1985, p.185) more generally posits a strong connection between the semantics and exponence of TMA markers: “This makes it plausible to assume - as was suggested in chapter 1 - that there is indeed a close connection between the semantics of a TMA category and the ways in which it tends to be expressed. The idea - which will certainly have to be made more specific - is that only categories with a ‘Boolean’ semantics (as this notion was explicated in chapter 1) will be frequently expressed by inflectional categories. The obvious reason is that it is only ‘Boolean’ categories for which the restricted expressive power of inflectional processes is sufficient. Inflectional categories do not in general allow for iteration or alternative orders of application, phenomena that are essential for categories with an ‘operator’ logic.”

It is interesting to note in this connection that =*pa* only survives as a 2P or phrasal clitic in the periphery of its geographical

- The persistence of the original inner and outer aspect morphemes in Philippine languages compounded with the gradual nature of their replacement in Indonesian languages suggests that this was due to contact with non-Austronesian languages.
- It is likely that isolating languages from Mainland SE Asia exerted their influence on all the languages of Sumatra and Borneo at an early point, leading to the morphological simplification already evident by the time of Old Malay.
- Languages of East Nusantara are more of a mixed bag but all languages South/East of Central Sulawesi appear to have lost the original aspect marking function of PAN **<in>*.
- Pockets of complexity can be seen surrounding “aspectually” complex non-Austronesian languages (e.g. Abui). In particular, person and aspect syncretism and a true realis/irrealis distinction seem to be a possible feature of certain regions of East Indonesia.

4.1 Some remaining questions

- How significant are the counterexamples to the Southern syncretic person/TAM pattern? We do find similar patterns in two Northern languages, Yami and Ibaloy:

(56) *Yami*

- a. **ko** k-om-an so wakay
1SG.NOM <AV>eat OBL sweet.potato
'I am eating a sweet potato.'
- b. k-om-an **ko** so wakay
<AV>eat 1SG.NOM OBL sweet.potato
'I want to eat a sweet potato.' Or "I ate a sweet potato." (Rau, 2005, p.88)

“Aspectual pronouns are proclitics that act as an auxiliary marking continuative, habitual or progressive aspect. They occur in pre-predicate position and attach to the following main verb unless second-order constituents intervene between them and the dependent verb. This is because they attract any second-order item that would otherwise be a constituent of the following verb.” (Ruffolo, 2004, p.184)

(57) *Ibaloi*

- naka**=ngo man-'obda chima payew
1SG.ASP=ALSO ACTV/IPF-work LOC/DIST field
'I usually work in that field' (Ruffolo, 2004, p.184)

- How significant are the counterexamples to the TA auxiliaries in the South pattern? We do find TA auxiliaries in a few Cordilleran languages:

(58) *Guinaang Bontok*

- əśá**=ak adi uməy ad maynīla=s wákas
FUT=NOM.1SG NEG go LCV Manila=LCV tomorrow
'I will not go to Manila tomorrow.' (Reid and Liao, 2004)

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