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潘家榮

論文題目：台灣南島語言沙阿魯阿語參考語法（A Grammar of Lha'alua, an Austronesian Language of Taiwan）

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論文貢獻

本博士論文是以描述沙阿魯阿語的語法為主題，內容涵蓋音韻、構詞、句法等各方面。沙阿魯阿語是台灣原住民語言中極度瀕危的語言之一。在此時能有一本博士論文專門探討沙阿魯阿語，實為南島語言學界值得慶幸之事。本論文的研究方法是傳統的田野調查蒐集語料並加以描述分析。作者所蒐集的語料並不侷限於單句、同時也包括了自然語料（4 個小時的口語語料），因此例句的內容看起來相當充實。本論文共分為十個章節，不含附錄及參考文獻的正文部分約 364 頁。

在描述的主題及其深度方面大至對稱平均，從文化背景到音位、音韻規則、構詞手段、數字系統、基本句型及複雜句型、語用及語調等，均有所探討。作者在論文中描述的口吻相當平實，通常是先介紹語言學基本概念（例如詞綴與依附詞的差別），而後描述沙阿魯阿語中的現象（例如沙阿魯阿語有哪些詞綴與依附詞），再佐以沙阿魯阿語的實例。因此，本論文可說是相當典型的參考語法，對於想要一窺這個語言全貌的學者，是一本容易閱讀吸收的書籍。

Abstract

This PhD dissertation is a grammar of Lha'alua (known as Saaroa), an Austronesian language of Taiwan. Lha'alua is spoken in Taoyuan Village and Kaochung Village, Taoyuan District, Kaohsiung City, Taiwan. There are approximately 400 people in the Lha'alua community. At the moment, less than 10 people are able to speak the language fluently. The language status of Lha'alua is moribund.

PHONOLOGY

Lha'alua has 13 consonants: /p, t, k, ʔ, s, v, ts, m, n, ŋ, r, ɾ, ɬ/ and four vowels: /i, ɨ, u, a/. Vowel length is contrastive in Lha'alua.

The basic syllable pattern is (C)V. Underived roots carrying the basic meaning of words usually consist of more than two syllables in a (C)V.(C)V.(C)V pattern. A disyllabic (C)V.(C)V pattern is relatively rare. Grammatical morphemes are usually a single syllable, e.g. construction markers.

Lha'alua distinguishes primary stress and secondary stress. Primary is not contrastive, nor is secondary stress. Primary stress within a word typically falls on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable. A vowel with primary stress is characterised by higher pitch and greater intensity.

WORD CLASSES

The two major word classes are verb and noun, with rich morphology marking. The distinction is primarily made by morphological and syntactic features. The two word classes both comprise of further subclasses, in terms of distinct semantic, morphological and syntactic characteristics.

Despite some grammatical distinctions differentiating adjectival elements from dynamic verbs and noun, 'adjective' is not recognisable as an independent word class. Adjectival elements are treated as stative verbs in that they exhibit the same morphosyntactic properties.

Other word classes are subsumed under closed word classes, including numerals, closed classes of shifters (i.e. pronouns, interrogatives, and demonstratives), and closed grammatical systems (i.e. construction markers and phrasal and clausal linkers).

MORPHOLOGICAL UNITS AND MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

Lha'alua belongs to the morphological type of synthetic-agglutinating; usually a

word consists of a largish number of morphemes (roots, affixes and clitics) but by and large morpheme boundaries are clear. Prefixation is productive, whereas other affixations are not.

Reduplication is widely deployed in deriving a variety of meanings, e.g. 'the PLACE where something gathers or is gathered', plurality, collectivity, distributivity, irrealis, diminutive/attenuative, iterative, continuous, progressive, intensification and 'do something MORE'. Lha'alua exhibits a large array of reduplication patterns, applying more prolifically to verbs than to nouns. Patterns of reduplication include lexicalised reduplication, full reduplication, (C)a- reduplication, (C)V- reduplication, CV:- reduplication and (C)V(C)V- reduplication. In addition to reduplication, there are some examples of triplication, quadreduplication and serial reduplication.

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY AND VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Nouns can be divided into several categories: common nouns, kinship terms, person names, and family names, locative nouns and temporal nouns. These are all subclass of noun, based on their distinct morpho-syntactic characteristics. Plurality and distributivity meanings are acquired via reduplication.

Lha'alua exhibits an elaborate set of concepts morphologically marked on the verb. These consist of markers of verb classification (including stative marker and inchoative marker), non-spatial setting (including reality status, aspect, evidentiality and modality), voice (including Actor voice, patient voice and locative voice), imperatives, negators (including general negator, existential negator and imperative negator), third person agreement marking and lexical prefix copying.

CONSTITUENT ORDER

Lha'alua is a right-branching and predicate-initial language. The basic constituent order is VAO, if transitive, or VS(E), if intransitive.

THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

The pronominal system consists of bound pronouns and independent pronouns. The bound pronoun is a core argument in S function or A function, whereas the independent pronoun is a core argument in S (when topicalized), E, A or O function. The bound pronouns can be divided into two sets: nominative pronouns, marking arguments in S function, and genitive pronouns, marking arguments in A function and possessor function.

THE CASE SYSTEM

The case system includes core, oblique and genitive. The core case covers

arguments in S, A and O functions. The oblique case marks extended arguments (i.e. E function) and peripheral arguments, e.g. location. The genitive case is used to encode possessor function.

ARGUMENT STRUCTURES

In Lha'alua, there are three grammatical mechanisms to mark core and peripheral arguments: (i) constituent order, (ii) construction markers (including topic markers, linkers, and case marking system), (iii) personal pronouns and agreement systems.

There are three verbal clause patterns in Lha'alua: (i) Pattern 1: monovalent intransitive clauses, marked by the Actor voice marker (*um-/<um>/u-/m-/ø-*), (ii) Pattern 2: bivalent intransitive clauses, marked by the Actor voice marker (*um-/<um>/u-/m-/ø-*), and (iii) Pattern 3: (a) bivalent transitive clauses, marked by the patient voice marker (*-a/-ø*), and (b) bivalent applicative clauses, marked by the locative voice marker (i.e. *-a(na), -i* or *-ani*).

PATTERN 1:	*um-/<um>/u-/m-/ø-*-V	(*a/ka*) N		((*na*) N)
	Intransitive	CORE		OBL
		S		
		Actor-like/patient-like		
PATTERN 2:	*um-/<um>/u-/m-/ø-*-V	(*a/ka*) N	(*na*) N	((*na*) N)
	Extended intransitive	CORE	OBL	OBL
		S	E	
		Actor-like	patient-like	
PATTERN 3a:	V-*a/-ø*	(*a/ka*) N	(*a/ka*) N	((*na*) N)
	Transitive	CORE	CORE	OBL
		A	O	
		Actor-like	patient-like	
PATTERN 3b:	V-*a(na)/-i/-ani*	(*a/ka*) N	(*a/ka*) N	((*na*) N)
	Applicative	CORE	CORE	OBL
		A	O	
		Actor-like	location	

Figure 1: Verbal clause patterns and argument structures in Lha'alua

COORDINATION

In Lha'alua, coordinators are used in syntactic constructions where two or more units of the same type are conjoined together into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements. There are two types of coordinators

in Lha'alua: conjunctive coordinators and disjunctive coordinators.

Conjunctive coordinators consist of (i) *nuka*, (ii) *nua*, and (iii) *lha*. The three coordinators, serving to link the constituents of a coordinate construction, are particles. Coordinate constructions may have some overt linking device (i.e. syndetic coordination) like (i) *nuka*, (ii) *nua*, (iii) *lha*, or may lack an overt coordinator (i.e asyndetic coordination). Syndetic coordination always has a single coordinator, and the coordinator is prepositive (i.e. preceding the second coordinand A co-B).

The particle *alha* functions as a coordinator marking disjunction.

SUBORDINATION

In Lha'alua, there are a set of bi-clausal constructions, in which one clause is used to modify the other in a way parallel to the way in which an adverb modifies a proposition. Three types of dependent (i.e. subordinate) clauses can be identified in Lha'alua: those which function as modifiers of nouns (i.e. relative clauses), those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions (i.e. adverbial clauses), and those which are an alternative to an NP for filling a core argument slot (i.e. complement clauses).

COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES

Lha'alua has a restricted set of complement-taking predicates (i.e. CTP) which may have either an NP or a complement clause corresponding to a core argument slot. There is no overt complementiser in Lha'alua. Complement clauses are zero-marked.

Lha'alua exhibits 8 complementation strategies whereby a clause occupies an argument slot in the structure of another clause, in terms of the classes of CTPs: utterance predicates, knowledge predicates, perception predicates, predicates of fear, desiderative predicates, manipulative predicates, modal predicates and phasal predicates. None of these can form an independent clause type, thus labeling as complementation strategies.

NUMERALS AND THE COUNTING SYSTEM

Lha'alua distinguishes serial counting, nonhuman, and human numerals. The distinction can be established in cardinal numerals, interrogatives 'how many/how much' and other derived numerals. Speakers of Lha'alua are 'number-proud'; that is, they value competence in this lexical field. This lexical field is also remarkably well preserved by the speakers who are highly competent in it.

Numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by addition, namely 10+1, 10+2, etc. Numerals from 10 to 90 are formed by multiplication, namely 10x1, 10x2, etc, indicated by addition of the circumfix *ma-…-lhe*. Numerals from 100 to 900 are

formed by multiplication, namely 100x1, 100x2, etc, indicated by the word *lhimi'ungu* 'hundred'. Numerals from 1,000 to 9,000 are formed by multiplication, namely 1,000x2, 1,000x3, etc, indicated by the word *lhimi'a'ili* 'thousand'. There is no word for '10,000' in Lha'alua. The formation of numerals from 10,000 to 90,000 is formed by multiplication, namely 10x1x1000, 10x2x1000, 10x3x1000, etc.

Ordinal numerals are formed by addition of the prefix *siia-*. Distributive numerals are formed by reduplication. *CV-* reduplication is used for numerals referring to human participants, whereas *CVCV-* reduplication is adopted for numerals referring to nonhuman referents.