Abstract Title: A Typology of Metathesis in Formosan Languages

Abstract Category: Oral

As a common phonological process in language, metathesis has been described in several Formosan languages, including Atayal (Li 1977, 1980, Chen 2011), Bunun (Li 1977, Lin 2008, de Busser 2009), Thao (Blust 2003), Tsou (Tung 1964, Li 1977), and Seediq (Tsukida 2009, Lee 2010, Lee 2012). Despite being a common phonological process, metathesis in these languages appears to be less studied or understood from both typological and theoretical perspectives.

The aim of this paper is thus two-fold: first, metathesis found in Formosan languages is studied from a typological perspective, based on the typology by Blevins & Garrett (1998, 2004), in order to determine to what type the process found in a given language belongs. The cases of metathesis occurred in other languages as discussed in the literature are compared typologically with those found in Formosan languages in order to obtain a generalized view. Secondly, based on the observations above, this paper attempts to investigate whether the process in a given language is phonologically-driven and/or morphologically-conditioned, and most importantly, what linguistic factors motivate the process in these languages.

A preliminary observation reveals that four types of metathesis are found in Formosan languages: perceptual metathesis (Atayal, Seediq), coarticulatory metathesis (Thao, Atayal), vowel metathesis (Bunun, Tsou), and complementary metathesis (Tsou). Coarticulatory and perceptual metathesis are phonologically-driven by phonotactic and syllable constraints. Vowel and complementary metathesis, though involving hetero-morphemic boundaries, are also motivated by prosodic requirements.

This paper not only provides a typological approach on metathesis in Formosan languages but also tries to explain the reason why metathesis occurs in certain contexts in a given language, as well as how these different types of metathesis can fit into current theoretical frameworks (cf. Hume 1998, 2001, 2004).

References

Blevins, J. and Garrett, A. 1998. The origins of consonant-vowel metathesis. *Language* 74.3: 508-555.

Blevins, J. and Garrett, A. 2004. The evolution of metathesis. *Phonetically-based Phonology*, ed. by Bruce Hayes, Robert Kirchner, and Donca Steriade, 117-156. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blust, R. 2003. *Thao Dictionary*. Language and Linguistics Monograph Series, No. A5. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics (Preparatory Office), Academia Sinica.

Chen, Yin-ling. 2011. *Issues in the Phonology of Ilan Atayal*. Hsinchu: National Tsing Hua University PhD dissertation.

De Busser, R. 2009. *Towards a Grammar of Takivatan Bunun: Selected Topics*. Victoria: La Trobe University Ph.D. dissertation.

Hume, E. 1998. Metathesis in phonological theory: the case of Leti. *Lingua* 104: 147-186.

Hume, E. 2001. Metathesis: Formal and functional considerations. *Surface Syllable Structure and Segment Sequencing*, ed. by Elizabeth Hume, Norval Smith & Jeroen van de Weijer, 1-25. Leiden: HIL.

Hume, E. 2004. The indeterminacy/attestation model of metathesis. *Language* 80.2: 203-237.

Lee, Amy P. 2010. Phonology in Truku Seediq. *Taiwan Journal of Indigenous Studies*. 3.3: 123-168.

Lee, Amy P. 2012. Contact-induced sub-dialect in Toda Seediq. Paper presented at the 12th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, July 2-6, Udayana University, Bali, Indonesia.

Li, Paul J. 1977. Morphophonemic Alternations in Formosan Languages. *BIHP* 48.3: 375-413.

Li, Paul J. 1980. The phonological rules of Atayal dialects. *BIHP* 51.2: 349-405.

Lin, Hsiu-hsu. 2008. Morphologically-conditioned Metathesis in Bunun. Taipei: National Science Council Report NSC 97-2410-H-324-016. [In Chinese]

Tung, T. 1964. *A Descriptive Study of the Tsou Language, Formosa*. Taipei: Institute of History of Philology, Academia Sinica Special Publication, No. 48.

Tsukida, N. 2009. *The Grammar of the Seediq Language (Taiwan)*. Ph.D. dissertation, Tokyo: University of Tokyo. [In Japanese]