An Inquiry into the Connecting-Particle or Linker/Ligature in the Philippine-Formosan Language Group and its Historical Development in the Hesperonesian Language Group

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Ⅰ．Introduction

Most of the modern languages express the relationship between modifying vs. modified with word order. But the European classical languages and Sanskrit have different grammatical markers or technique: declensions.

Agricola[1] romanus[2] est[3] sedulus[4].
　　　"Roman[2] farmer[1] is[3] diligent[4]."

Each noun and adjective in the Latin sentence above has several grammatical functions as follows;

agricola: Noun, Male, Nominative, Singular;
romanus: Adjective, Male, Nominative, Singular

Because of the inflections, the set of adjective and noun can be split or placed in the different places as shown in the Latin example below:

Magno[1] me metu[2] liberabis[3].
　　　"You will relieve[3] me of great[1] fear[2]."

But the Philippine-Formosan languages replace the function with the addition or insertion of the special particles; Linker or Ligature. Because of the particles the rule of the word order is basically irrelevant as in the following;

mabait[1] <u>na</u> lalaki[2]   "diligent[1] man[2]"
lalaki<u>ng</u> mabait   (na ~ ng[-ŋ]: Linkers)

This type of the linker is observed only in the Philippine-Formosan Language Group (PFLG) in the Hesperonesian Language Group (HLG). No linker is observed in the Indonesian Language Group (ILG). The languages in ILG express "modifying + modified" or "attributive + noun", and "subject + predicate" relationships with word orders.

Bunga[1] itu[2] tjantik[3]. (That[2] flower[1] is beautiful[3].)
bunga tjantik itu   (that beautiful flower)
bunga tjantik   (beautiful flower or Flower is beautiful.)

II. Ordinary Linking Particles in the Philippine-Formosan Language Group (PFLG)

1. Ordinary Linkers other than for Numerals and Focus or Definite Meaning in the Philippine Language Group (PLG)

① Tagalog: "-ng" [-ŋ] ~ "na"

The distribution of the linkers is as follows:

- Word ending in
  [ʔ], [n]   →   delete and suffix "-ng" [-ŋ]
  vowel   →   suffix "-ng" [-ŋ]
  other phonemes   →   place "na" after the word

  baba (ʔ)[1] <u>-ng</u> bilog[2]   "rounded[2] chin[1]"

mayama (n)[1] **-ng** tao[2] "rich[1] man[2]"
maganda[1] **-ng** babae[2] "beautiful[1] girl[2]"
mabait[1] **na** lalaki[2] "diligent[1] man/male[2]"

- Conjunction for the Relative Clause

  ang aso[1] **-ng** SI[kumain[2] ng[3] karne[4]]SI
  ang SI[kumain ng karne]SI **-ng** aso
  "the dog[1] which ate[2] meat[4]"
  (ang: Focus Mk., ng=nang: Objective Mk.)

② Cebuano: "-ng" $[-\eta]$ ~ "nga $[\eta a]$"

The distribution of the linkers is as follows:

- Word ending in
  $[\textipa{P}]$, $[n]$ → delete and suffix "-ng" $[-\eta]$
  vowel   → suffix "-ng" $[-\eta]$
  other phonemes → place "nga" $[\eta a]$

  ang iya**ng**[1] payag[2]   "his[1] hut[2]"
  nindut[1] **ng**a sinina[2]   "beautiful[1] dress[2]"

③ Ilocano: "a" ~ "nga $[\eta a]$"

According to Vanoverbergh (1955) the distribution of the linkers is:

"*A* is written whenever it is followed by a word beginning with a consonant; A-C. *NGA* is written whenever it is followed by a word beginning with a vowel: *NGA-V*"

  aso[1] **a** basit[2]   "small[2] dog[1]"
  aso[1] **ng**a umel[2]   "dumb[2] dog[1]"

④　Ivatan "a"

Ivatan has only one linker other than the one for numerals, which will be discussed in chapter V.

- Ordinary Linker
    dekey[1] <u>a</u> chito[2]　"small[1] dog[2]"
    chito <u>a</u> dekey

- Conjunction for Relative Clause

    o chito[1] <u>a</u> s1[koman[2] so asi[3]]s1.
    o s1[koman so asi]s1 <u>a</u> chito
    "the dog[1] which ate[2] meat[3]"
    　　　　　(o: Focus Mk., so: Objective Mk.)

2. Ordinary Linkers and Focus or Definite Meaning Linkers other than for Numerals in the Formosan Aboriginal Language Group (FALG)

The prewar Japanese linguists-Ogawa, Naoyoshi and Asai, Erin, have much contributed to the study of the Formosan aboriginal languages. They were trained as students of the newly born field of study at that time: Anthropology. They thought much of the fieldwork and its ethnography or research reports. Ogawa and Asai published one of the monumental achievements in linguistics: Ogawa&Asai (1935).

They chose the linker as one of the important grammatical categories. The result of their analysis is not so tremendous but very important for the linguistic study for the FALG languages. As the phenomena of the linker were separately discussed in the grammar in each language in Ogawa&Asai (1935), they are arranged into one list for convenience of the comparison,

1） Ogawa&Asai (1935)

Language Name		Linker
Atayal		ga
Saisiat		ka, a, i
Paiwan		ʔa
Puyuma		a, na, ʔi
Rukai		ka, (na)
Ami		ʔa, ʔi
Sedeq		ka, na
Bunun	(Southern)	xai; at, as
	(Central)	a, ka;
	(Northern)	a, ka; at
Tsou		tʂi
Saaroa		ka, kai
Kanakanabu		None
Yami		a, ka

In Ogawa&Asai (1935) the authors report the strange correlation between linkers and topic/focus markers in each language. But they did not carry on the further study concerning the relationship between them.

2） Puyuma Linkers by Tsuchida (1980)

Tsuchida discusses on the linkers in the introduction to the Puyuma language. He mentions the existence of two types of the linkers:

		Puyuma Linker	
		Nominative	Others
	Non-Specific	a	za̧
Non-Personal			
	Specific	na	na
Personal		i	na

Tsuchida (1980) sets the criteria "Specific vs. Non-Specific" and case marking "Nominative vs. Other Cases". These grammatical functions are very basic in the Indo-European languages, but indifferent to PFLG including Puyuma, in which the linker and the focus system are wellfunctioning for expressing the grammatical categories.

3） Northern Bunun Language

According to the field research of the Northern Bunun language by Moriguchi the language owns Ordinary/Indefinite linker and Focus/Definite linker just like in Puyuma.

① Ordinary Linker

"a" ~ "ka"
modifier → modified: (using linker)
madaing[1] **a** lomaq[2] "big[1] house[2]"
modified → modifier: (no insertion of linker)
lomaq madaing/daing "big[1] house[2]"

• Word ending in
  [ʔ] and other consonants: place [a]
  Vowel : place [ka]

dadusaʔ[1] **a** bunun[2] "two[1] men[2]"
tatini[1] **ka** bunun[2] "one[1] man[2]"

② The Ordinary/Indefinite and Focus/Definite linkers are observed in the Northern Bunun language.

	Linker
Definite	tsa
Non-Personal	

	Indefinite	a ~ ka
Personal		tsa, at~kat,

Ⅲ．Ordering Rule of the Ordinary Linker as a Clitic

1．Clitic Ordering Rule in Tagalog and Ivatan

① Tagalog Type

Moriguchi (1985) shows the clitic ordering rule based on the Phonological Order + Grammatical Order

    Maganda siya-**ng** babae.
 ?＊Maganda-**ng** babae siya.
    Maganda ba siya-**ng** babae?

Tagalog clitics are controlled by a kind of Surface Structure Constraints indifferent to the meaning and grammatical connections, which is discussed in Perlmutter (1971). The clitics are categorized as Proclitics, which are placed at the initial position, and Enclitics, which are placed next to the initial word. The enclitic linker is affixed at the end of the group of the clitics.

    HEAD + 1syl Prn + 1syl Prt + 2syl Prt + 2syl Prn + **LINKER**
        (syl=syllable, Prn=pronoun, Prt=particle)

② Ivatan Type

Moriguchi (1998) discusses different kind of ordering rule in Isamorong Ivatan, which is based on the grammatical functions.

   • Proclitic + HEAD + Enclitics + Predicate/Verb
   • Proclitic +   + Enclitics + Predicate/Verb

- •   HEAD + Enclitics # Proclitics + Pred/Verb
- • Imperative   + Enclitics + Verb

2．Split Modification or Floating/Remote Modification

The languages, in which the word order is the only means for expressing the "modifier + modified" relation, cannot separate the two constituents and place at the remote position. They must be placed in succession.

But in PFLG the "modifier + modified" concatenation is separated because of the clitic ordering rule which was discussed above.

Maganda[1] **-ng** babae[2] si Minda[3].
　　　"Minda[3] is (a) beautiful[1] girl[2]."
[?][*] Maganda[1]**-ng** babae[2] siya[3].
　Maganda siya**-ng** babae
　　　"She[3] is (a) beautiful[1] girl[2]."
　Maganda ba[4] **-ng** babae si Minda?.
　　　"Is Minda (a) beautiful girl?[4]"
　Magand[1] ba[4]　siya[3] **-ng** babae?
　　　"Is she (a) beautiful[1] girl[2] ?[4]"

The question marker "ba" and the personal pronoun "siya" in the last example are placed between the adjective "maganda" and "L ("-ng") + noun "babae".

Ⅳ．Focus or Definite Linker

1．Focus Linker in the Formosan Aboriginal Language Group (FALG)

① Linking Particles in FALG by Ogawa&Asai (1935)

In his publication, who mentioned the phenomenon first, Tsuchida (1980) discusses the linkers that show the "Specific vs. Non-Specific" meaning opposition

and the "Nominative vs. Non-Nominative" casal opposition. The author remarks that the grammatical functions are not observed in PLG.

In the Philippine-Formosan linguistics the function of the linker has been considered just to connect the constituents and irreverent to these functions-definiteness and case making - except for the ordering rule. The "Specific vs. Non-Specific" or "Definiteness vs. Indefiniteness" and case making, both of which are usually expressed by the verbal form and focus system in PFLG.

Until now seldom have the detailed discussions on this grammatical phenomena been challenged. But Ogawa&Asai (1935) advised to pick up this kind of phenomenon for the survey, although they could not analyze the strange relationship between ordinary and focus linkers in detail.

Following is the arranged list of the linkers and the focus markers reported in Ogawa&Asai (1935)

	Linker	Topic/Focus Marker
Atayal	ga	[ ] qo:
Saisiat	ka, a, i	ka
Paiwan	?a	?a, a
Puyuma	a, na,	a, na
Rukai	ka, na	a, ka, ko
Ami	?a, ?i	o, ko,
Sedeq	ka,	ka
Bunun		
(Southern)	xai; at, as	as
(Central)	a, ka;	as
(Northern)	a, ka; at	as, (a), (at)
Tsou	tṣi	ta
Saaroa	ka, kai	ka, kai
Kanakanabu	None	suwa, sa
Yami	a	u

② Linkers showing Case Marking and "Specific vs. Non-Specific" Relationships in Puyuma.

Tsuchida (1980) mentions two different kinds of linkers in Puyuma..

	Linkers	
	Nominative	Others
Non-Specific	a	za̠
Non-Personal		
Specific	na	na
Personal	i	na

	Focus Markers			
	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Locative/Agentive
Non-Specific	a	za̠	za	i
Specific; Non-Exclusive	(i) na	(ni) nina	kana	i
Exclusive	ni		nina	nina
Personal Singular	i	ni	kani	kani
Plural	na	ni	kani	kani

The examples of the linkers in Tsuchida (1980) are shown as following:

- Hala   a̠   Tumay mu,   ula   a̠   a-kan-en
  (Generally NOM-unsp bear   TOP   exist NOM-unsp   food)
  a d/in/Ru   a   ʔeman mu,   m-a-ʔiyaH za
  (LIG   cooked LIG what   because look-for   OBL-unsp)
  maka-Ta-Tarun za̠ Harum za ʔeman ziya.
  (in-grasses   LIG meat LIG what   still)
    "Generally speaking, a bear has no cooked food, so it looks for beasts
    [=meat in grasses] of any kind."
        (H=[ħ], T=[ʈ], R=[r], r=[ɽ], z=[ẓ])

③ Northern Bunun Language

The research on the Northern Bunun language made by Moriguchi reveals
the same relationship as in Puyuma, although no casal function has been

investigated until now.

In the language two kinds of linkers are observed: Ordinary (Indefinite) linker and Focus (Definite) linker;

	Linker	Focus Marker
Definite	tsa	tsa
Non-Personal		
Indefinite	a ~ ka	(Non-Focused Marker)
Personal	tsa, at~kat, to at ~ kat	

madaing[1] **a** lomaq[2]   "big[1] house[2]"
madaing **tsa** lomaq   "the big house"
                              (= "The house is big.")

2．The Existence of the Focus Linker in the Philippine Language Group (FLG)

As discussed in the previous chapters, there are two kinds of linkers in FALG: Ordinary linker and Focus linker. But the latter kind of linker does not seem to exist in PLG. Any one of Ilocano, Tagalog and Cebuano does not own Formosan type of the Focus linker.

But the Batanic languages, especially Basco Ivatan, Isamorong Ivatan and Ibatan or Babuyan Claro show the different kind of the Focus linker.

Ivatan (Isamorong)
    Koman[1] o[2] chito[3] **a o** so[4] manok[5] **a o**.
        "The[2] dog[3] ate[1] the chiken[5]." (o[2]: Focus Mk.)
    Chinan[6] no chito o manok **a o**. (so[4]: Objective Mk.)
        "(A) dog ate the chicken."
        = "The chicken was eaten[6] by (a) dog."
    o[1] dekey[2] **a** vahay[3] **a o**
        "the[1] samll[2] house[3]"

This kind of definiteness in Isinay was discussed by Reid at the 13th Philippine Linguistic Conference held at the University of the Philippines in 2018.

V. Linker for Numerals

1. Linkers for Numerals in Philippine Language Group (PLG)

	Ordinary Linker	Number Linker
Ivatan	a	(a)ka

(asa^1 (a) ka $vahay^2$ "one^1 $house^2$")

	Ordinary Linker	Number Linker
Ilocano	a ~ nga	(a) ~ ka

($tallo^1$ ka tao^2 "$three^1$ men^2")

	Ordinary Linker	Number Linker
Cebuano	nga ~ -ng	ka

($tulo^1$ ka $mansanas^2$ "$three^1$ $apples^2$")

	Ordinary Linker	Number Linker
Tagalog	na ~ -ng	na ~ -ng

($tatlo^1$ ng tao^2 "$three^1$ men^2")

2. Linkers for Numerals in Formosan Aboriginal Language Group (FALG) in Ogawa&Asai (1935)

Language Name	Linker for Numerals
Atayal	?
Saisiat	ka
Paiwan	a
Puyuma	a
Rukai	ka
Ami	a
Sedeq	ka
Bunun	Not Specified
Tsou	tşi
Saaroa	ka
Kanakanabu	Not Specified
Yami	(a)ka

The linker for the numerals "(a) ka" seems to be extant in all over PFLG, which verifies the linker "(a)-ka" is an old one observed in all areas.

VI. No linking Particle Construction: Idiomatic Expressions and Neutral Order

1. Tagalog:

The isolated/independent linker "na" is not placed in the Tagalog idiomatic expressions;

bahay[1] kubo[2]   "house in the field" (Lit: "cube[2] house[1]")
? * bahay na kubo
kapit[1] bahay[2]   "in the neighbor" (Lit: "adhering[1] house[2]")
? * kapit na bahay

2. Northern Bunun Language

In the Northern Bunun language the linker is inserted only in the case of the "modifier → modified" word order:

madaing[1] <u>a</u> lomaq[2]   "big[1] house[2]"

But no insertion of the linker is obligatory in the "modified → modifier" case.

lomaq[2] madaing/daing[1]   "big[1] house[2]"
? * lomaq[2] <u>a</u> madaing/daing

This indicates the insertion of the linker originated from the marking of the change from normal word order to intensified word order.

VII. Creation of the Linker and its Relationship to the Indonesian Language Group (ILG)

PFLG shares the grammatical marker -linker- in common in addition to the inversion marker. They are not, on the other hand, observed in the closely related ILG. The grammatical markers seem to have originated independently in PFLG, but historically taken over the other grammatical features in HLG. So the origin of the linker has to be discussed from the linkage relationship and meaning.

1.

First of all the characteristics of ILG, in which the word order is important, must be discussed.

In Indonesian the sentence and phrases as follows are often discussed.

orang[1] ini[2] muda[3].　　　"This[2] man[1] is young[3]."
　(C-Demo-Adj)
orang muda ini.　　　"this young man"
　(N-Adj-Demo)
orang muda　　　"young man" or
　(N-Adj)　　　"The man is young."

The phrase "orang muda" without the demonstrative "ini" shows ambiguity: "The man is young." or "young man". As a result the difference in meaning is expressed by the different placement of the demonstrative adjective in the word order:

　　　orang ini muda.　"This man is young."
　and
　　　orang muda ini.　"this young man"

2.

If PFLG succeeds to the proto-HLG, which is divided into the two groups,

ILG and PFLG, there must have been some linguistic improvements during the branching from HLG to PFLG so as to clarify the ambiguities of the construction and undergone a great change from word order system to function word or marker indication system.

Most of the languages that belong to HLG are "V-O" languages typologically. If the Indonesian language be the consistent "V-O" language, the word orders of the "Subject + Predicate", "Adjective + Noun" and "Modifier + Modified" are as follows respectively:

-     Predicate   →   Subject
      Noun   →   Adjective
      Modified   →   Modifier

The Indonesian "Subject → Predicate" order is inconsistent with the "V-O" language type.

Orang[1] ini[2] muda[3]   "This[2] man[1] is young[3]."
   (Subj. → Predicate)

But the other constructions follow the "V-O" type word order.

orang muda ini
   (Noun → Adj → Demonstrative)
orang muda
   (Modified → Modifier)

Tagalog and other languages in PFLG, on the other hand, show a kind of markers or function words for resolving this inconsistency.

Bata[1] ang tao[2].   "The man[2] is young[1]."
Ang tao[2] *ay* bata[1]

This kind of Inversion marker is observed in all the languages in PFLG.

Tagalog, Cebuano :   ay
Ilocano   :   ket, ki
Ivatan; Yami   :   am

Kavalan (FALG): nani

Tagalog: Ang[1] buhay[2] **ay** mahirap[3].
            Mahirap[3] ang[1] buhay[2].
            "The[1] life[2] is difficult[3]."
Cebuano   Duha[1]-**(a)**y aku[2]ng balay[3].
            "My[2] house[3] is two[1]."
            =I have two houses."
Ilocano   Diay[1] ubing[2] **ket** agsangit[3].
            Agsangit diay ubing.
            "The[1] child[2] will cry[3]."
Ivatan: O[1] viyay[2] **am** masadit[3]."
            Masadit o viyay.
            "The[1] life[2] is difficult[3]."

Kavalan   Ti Abi[1] **nani** tazungan[2].
            Tazungan ti Abi.
            "Abi[1] is a woman[2]."

3.

In the case of the "Adjective + Noun" constructions most of the PFLG languages permit both word orders: "Adjective → Noun" and "Noun → Adjective", although the discoursal meaning is different. In Tagalog both constructions are grammatical:

maganda[1] **-ng** babae[2]   "beautiful[1] woman[2]"
babae-**ng** maganda

The neutral construction is the latter phrase and the former phrase stresses

the adjective "maganda". And in the case of the demonstrative adjective two adjectives with linkers can be used for stressing the deictic meaning in the phrase.

ito[1] -**ng** bahay[2] **na** ito[1]   "THIS[1] house[2]"

In the Northern Bunun language the neutral construction is the latter one and no insertion of the linker is needed.

tikits[1] **a** lomaq[2]   "small[1] house[2]"
lomaq tikits
? * lomaq a tikits

The difference in Tagalog noun phrase constructions is same as the difference in relative clause constructions; Restrictive and Non-Restrictive Relative clauses.

- house which is big: bahay *na* malaki
  He sold the house which was big.
- house, which is big: malaki-**ng** bahay
  He sold a house, which was big,

VIII. Focus Linker in PLG and Relative Clause Construction

1.

As discussed in Chapter IV, two types of the Focus linker constructions are observed in the PFLG languages; one of which is discovered in the languages like Puyuma and Northern Bunun in FALG: 1), the other of which is found in Ivatan, Yami and Isinay: 2).

1) Adj → Focus Marker → Noun
   tikits[1]   **tsa**   lomaq[2] (Northern Bunun) "small[1] house[2]"
2) Adj → Linker → Noun → (Linker) → Focus Marker
   dekey[1] **a**   vahay[2]   **a**   o

2.

In Tagalog and other PFLG languages the linker functions as a relative clause conjunction, which connect the noun and the modifying sentence

Both of the following phrases are grammatical;

Tagalog:

ang aso[1] **-ng** s1[kumain[2] ng[3] karne[4]]s1

"the dog[1] that ate[2] meat[4]"

ang s1[kumain ng karne]s1 **-ng** aso (ng=nang: Objective Mk.)

Isamorong Ivatan:

o[1] chito[2] **a** s1[koman[3] so asi[4]]s1

"the[1] dog[2] that ate[3] meat[4]"

o s1[koman so asi]s1 **a** chito

As the result of the discussion above the noun phrase "Adjective + Noun" in PFLG has alternative concerning the word order. And as a consistent "V-O" language "Noun → Adjective" order is normal word order and "Adjective → Noun" order is intensified word order.

The restriction on the noun phrase is true to both on the "Subject + Predicate" and the relative clause constructions in PFLG.

3.

The two types of the relative clause constructions in Tagalog and Ivatan are as follows:

1）s1[Verb Phrase]s1 - L - Noun

2）Noun - L - s1[Verb Phrase]s1

And the deep structures of the relative constructions are schematized as follows;

3) $_{S1}[$Focus M + $\underline{Noun_1} \cdot \cdot \cdot]_{S1}$- (L) - Noun$_1$
4) Noun$_1$ - (L) - $_{S1}[$Focus M. + $\underline{Noun_1} \cdot \cdot \cdot]_{S1}$

The definiteness is grammaticalized through focus system or verbal construction in PFLG.

> Kumain^1 ang^2 tao^3 ng karne^4.
>   "The^2 man^3 ate^1 meat^4."
> Kinain^1 ang^2 karne^3 ng tao^4.
>   "The^2 meat^3 $\underline{\text{was eaten}}^1$ by a man^4." or
>   "(A) man ate the meat."

These sentences are grammatical, although this type is affected by English or Spanish or modern languages. But the sentence constructions often used for showing the definiteness clearly are as follows;

> Ang tao^1 ang kumain^2 ng karne^3.
>   "Who ate^2 meat^3 is the man^1." or
>   "The man is the one who ate meat."
> Ang kumain ng karne **(a)y** ang tao.
> = Kumain ang tao ng karne.
>   "The man ate meat."
> Ang tao **(a)y** kumain ng karne.
>
> Ang karne ang kinain^4 ng aso.
>   "What $\underline{\text{was eaten}}^4$ by a dog is the meat."
> = Kinain ng aso ang karne.
> Ang kinain ng aso **(a)y** ang karne.

The constructions in 3) and 4) are deep structures for the two types of the Focus linkers, i.e., the equi-noun phrase is deleted, leaving the Focus marker which denotes the definiteness in the noun phrase.

IX. Enclitic Linker [-ŋ] in Cebuano and Tagalog

1.

There are at least two types of linkers in PLG, that is, Ilocano type and Tagalog/Cebuano type

The former or Ilocano type is very similar to the linkers in FALG.

	Ordinary Linker	Numeral Linker
FALG	a ~ ka	((a) ka)
Ivatan	a	((a) ka)
Ilocano	a ~ nga	((a) ka)

But Tagalog and Cebuano own different types of the linkers.

Tagalog	-ng=-[ŋ]	~	na
Cebuano	-ng=-[ŋ]	~	nga [ŋa]

These types of the linkers, at first sight, appear to be very different from the ones in Northern PLG (NPLG). But this does not mean those linkers have different origins. It is assumed that the languages in NPLG and FALG retained the old linker system and Southern PLG (SPLG) changed original linkers into the contemporary ones.

One of the common features of the linker in NPLG and SPLG is the alternation between two kinds of the linkers.

Northern PLG:	a	~	ka
Southern PLG:	-ng [-ŋ]	~	nga [ŋa] or na

The latter linkers - "ka" and "nga or na"- can be traced back to the same origin and because of the sound change "ka" became "na" through "nga".

But is there any correlation between "a" and "-ng"?

2.

In Bunun the alternations of the linkers resulted from the sound circumstances: "ka" is placed after a word ending in the vowel and "a" is after the glottal stop or consonant.

Tagalog, on the other hand, has an interesting rule concerning word final glottal stop and word boundary.

When the linker is placed after the preceding word ending in the glottal stop, the glottal stop is deleted and the linker [-ng] is suffixed.

> ʔ → Ø/ X _ + [-ng]
> "samaʔ + [-ng] → samang [samaŋ]"

In addition to the rules for the linker Tagalog shows an interesting sentential phonological rule concerning the glottal stop and vowel. Tagalog native speakers often mention that the non-native speakers of Tagalog retain word final glottal stop and word final boundary. The Tagalog speakers drop word final glottal stop and boundary or word boundary and agglutinating the two words into one. As a result the phrase "magadang babae" and "matabang baboy" become ambiguous.

> Maganda[1]# #ang babae[2]. → magandang babae
> "The girl[2] is beautiful[1]." ; = "beautiful lady"
> Matabaʔ[1]# #ang baboy[2]. → matabang baboy
> "The pig[2] is fat[1]." ; = "fat pig"

The sentences "The lady is beautiful." and "The pig is fat." are equal to the noun phrases "beautiful lady" and "fat pig" respectively.

Ilocano linkers "a ~ nga" seems to be a mediator between linkers in FALG "a ~ ka" and ones in SPLG "-ng ~ nga" or "-ng ~ na"

Meanwhile, Ivatan does not own the two kinds of the linkers, but only one linker "a" except for the numerals. The word final glottal stop in the languages and dialects in Batanic/Ivatan Group changed into /h/ and it became non distinctive at the word final position. As a result the languages keep only one kind of linker "a"

3.

In the PFLG languages there are two kinds of the linkers, Ordinary linker and Focus linker, especially the latter of which is considered to be none in PLG except for the Ivatan type:

Adj → (Linker) → Noun → (Linker) → Focus Marker
　dekey[1] **a** chito[2] **a** o　"the small[1] dog[2]"

The Focus linker in FALG is mostly aligned as shown in the following construction:

Adj → (Linker) → Focus Marker → Noun

The old linker "a" and Focus marker "ang" and the prosodic rules in Tagalog give a hint to the development of the Tagalog linker "-ng". In Tagalog and Cebuano the Focus marker is "ang" and the enclitic linker is "-ng". These markers seem to bear a close resemblance each other.

4.

In the Batanic languages the linkers for the numerals are "ka" and "(a) ka", latter of which has an additional "a". The linker "a" seems to be an original old linker and its remnant is observed in the Batanic languages. And the Focus linker "a" in "a → o" concatenation, which is placed behind the preceding word, is the combination of the original linker and the Focus marker.

So the old linker "a", which does not exist in the southern two languages now, and the Focus marker "ang" and prosodic rules are presumed as the factors for the development of the enclitic linker "-ng".

matabaʔ a　ang　baboy.　→　mataba a ang baboy
　　　　　→　mataba-**ng** baboy "the fat pig"
matanda a ang baboy　→　matanda a ang baboy
　　　　　→　matanda-**ng** baboy
bago a ang bahay　→　bago (a) ng bahay
　　　　　→　bago-**ng** bahay

malaki a ang bata. malaki (a) ng

   → malaki-**ng**

And with the word ending in consonant other than glottal stop, "(a) ka" is placed between the two words and changing into "ka", then into "nga" in Cebano and finally into "na" in Tagalog historically.

mabait **(a) ka** bata. → mabait **nga** bata

   → mabait **na** bata

Tagalog and Cebuano lost the Focus/Definite meaning of the linker afterwards and only its system was retained and it became the ordinary enclitic linker: [-ng] ([-ŋ]).

Ⅹ．Passages of the Linkers from HLG to PFLG

The discussion above assumes the following scenario for the passages of the linkers from HLG.

HLG was divided into ILG and PFLG, the former of which followed the simplification route or pidginzation and the latter of which developed new grammatical markers for improvement or removal of the syntactic ambiguity.

The Linkers and the Inversion markers were invented and developed for reducing the ambiguity in PFLG.

1．Hesperonesian Language Group (HLG)

Basically the languages that belong to this group are "V-O" type languages and the original consistent word orders are

  Verb   → Focus
  Predicate → Subject
  Adjective → Noun

2．Indonesian Group (ILG)

This group of the languages attached to the importance of the word order and did not make use of the grammatical function words or markers.

But the constructional/grammatical ambiguity occured, if the phrase follows the "V-O" type ordering.

orang muda ("young man or The young is the man.")

So the language group found another way out, that is, to deny the "V-O" word order for the sentence pattern and using demonstrative adjective. But the noun phrase retained the "V-O" word order.

Orang[1] ini[2] muda[3].   "This[2] man[1] is young[3]."
orang muda ini.   "this young man"
orang muda   "young man"

3．Philippine-Formosan Language Group (PFLG)

The PFLG languages, on the other hand, invented new grammatical markers to resolve the problems, two of which were sentential inversion marker for the sentence, i.e.; "ay, am, ket, nani and so on" and linkers for (noun) phrase, i.e.;"a, ka".

And another factor that led to the special use of the linker in PFLG was its function as a relative clause conjunction between the antecedent and the modifying sentence.

Because of the preposed construction of the relative sentence, the linker connecting method and the equi-noun phrase deletion, the preposed Focus linker construction, which is

Adj → (L) → Focus Marker → Noun,

was invented.

４．Formosan Aboriginal Language Group (FALG)

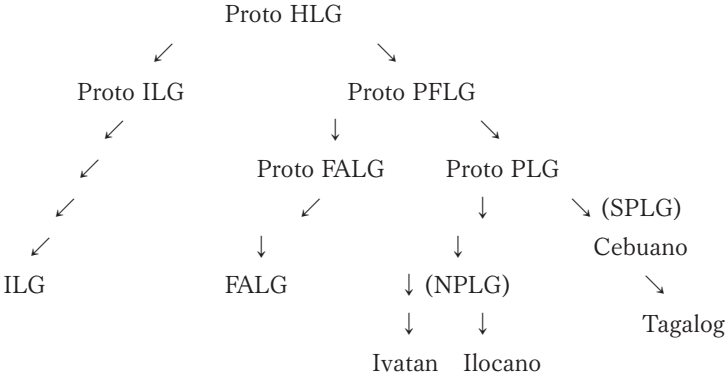The FALG languages carried on the PFLG linker system; Ordinary and Preposed Focus linker.

５．Southern Philippine Language Group (SPLG)

The old PFLG linker system was taken over to the FALG ones. But because of the idiosyncratic change the linker "a" caused the outbreak of the enclitic linker "-ng".

６．Northern Philippine Language Group (NPLG)

The Batanic languages and Isinay made another change to the Focus linker. Because of the postposed construction of the relative clause, the   deletion of the equi-noun phrase gave birth to the postposed Focus linker: "a → o" in "chito a o" (the dog).

The following diagram shows the development of the linker system in the Hesperonesian Language Group

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                        Proto HLG
            ↙                        ↘
        Proto ILG                Proto PFLG
          ↙                        ↓        ↘
        ↙                   Proto FALG      Proto PLG
      ↙                        ↙            ↓         ↘ (SPLG)
    ↙                         ↓             ↓         Cebuano
  ILG                       FALG         ↓ (NPLG)       ↘
                                          ↓      ↓        Tagalog
                                       Ivatan  Ilocano
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（要旨）

フィリピン・台湾語群の繋辞（Linker, Ligature）と
その西部語派における歴史的変化に関する探究

森　口　恒　一

　この小論では、繋辞（Linker/Ligature）の現象をフィリピン・台湾の原住民の言語それぞれについて調査・整理を行い、その結果をもとにオーストロネシア語族・西部語派（HLG）内での歴史的変化を考察した。

　世界の近代語は、その文法的な意味を表現するのに語順が重要なものになっている。しかし、西洋古典語などでは、屈折、活用等の手段を用い、語順によらない統辞的な意味を表現することができる。それゆえに、一つの句としてのまとまりも分割可能で、離れた位置に置くことができる。一方、オーストロネシア語族・西部語派（HLG）のフィリピン・台湾語群（PFLG）では、複数の構成素を結合する繋辞（Linker/Ligature）という文法的マーカーを使うことにより語順が自由になっている。

　台湾原住民言語（FALG）に属する言語には限定的繋辞と非限定的繋辞の2種類がある。また、フィリピングループ（PLG）では、北部フィリピングループ（NFLG）にもこの2種類の繋辞がある。台湾原住民言語（FALG）の場合は、“(繋辞)＋フォーカス冠詞＋名詞”の語順であるが、後者では、“名詞＋繋辞＋フォーカス冠詞”の語順になる。この2者の違いは、PFLGにおける語順と関係する2種の関係節の構造に起因していることが明白になった。

　一方、南部フィリピングループ（SFLG）には、北部フィリピングループ（NFLG）とは違う繋辞の形式が、存在する。繋辞の“－ng”である。これは、古いPFLGの古い形式である“(繋辞)＋フォーカス冠詞＋名詞”から文章等の音韻的規則により発生・変化して成立したと考えられる。

　以上の結果から、HLG祖語から分岐した、語順を中心に発展したインドネシア語群（ILG）の矛盾を克服すべく、フィリピン・台湾語群（PFLG）内では、いくつかの新たな機能語が作り出されたと推定される。それがPFLGの繋辞と語順転位マーカーである。

　最後に、結論として、PFLG内での繋辞の言語現象を歴史的な流れにまとめ、

図式化して、HLG内での歴史的変化の試案として提案した。