

On the syntactic status of Oceanic possessive ‘classifiers’

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Most Oceanic languages encode possession in two distinct ways, prototypically associated with inalienable and alienable relationships respectively. One, termed ‘direct possession’ in the Oceanist literature, involves direct possessor agreement suffixation of the possessum noun, shown for Kokota in (1). The other, termed ‘indirect possession’, involves agreement marking of one of a small closed set of forms (two in the case of Kokota) that precede the possessum noun: one host occurs with items to be consumed (2b), glossed as C[onsumable] P[ossession], the other with general possessions (2a), glossed as G[eneral]P[ossession].

(1) (ia) *nene-gu* (ara)
ART leg-1SG.POSS I
‘my leg’

(2) a. (ia) *no-gu zora* (ara) b. (ia) *ye-gu zora* (ara)
ART GP-1SG.POSS pig I ART CP-1SG.POSS pig I
‘my pig’ ‘my pork’

The issue at stake in this paper is the syntactic status of these ‘indirect’ possessor-indexing host forms, and the structure of the NPs in which they occur.

It is typically assumed that these hosts function as classifiers, and that the possessum noun to their right is the NP head. We argue instead that the indexing hosts in (2) are semantically bleached directly possessed lexical nouns functioning as the syntactic head of the phrase in which they occur. In this respect, NPs such as those in (2) have a structure that directly parallels that in (1), the difference lying in the fact that the NP in (1) has a semantically fully specified noun as its head. In this analysis the possessum noun functions as a modifier specifying the precise nature of the possessed entity referred to by the head, our hypothesis resembling Wilkins’ (2000) proposal that forms traditionally analysed as noun classifiers in Arrente are generic nouns modified by the accompanying fully specified noun.

We argue that these indirect possessor-indexing hosts meet key criteria for headhood, specifically: obligatoriness, distributional equivalence, category determinance, and morphosyntactic locushood. (Zwicky 1985, 1993)

First, they are obligatory, while the adjacent fully specified noun is optional, as a comparison of (3a-b) shows.

(3) a. *n-e ŋa-di manei* [*ye-gu mala-ŋau*]=ro
REAL-3.SBJ eat-3PL.OBJ s/he CP-1SG.POSS PURP-eat=those
‘He ate my food.’

b. *n-e ŋa-di manei* [*ye-gu*]=ro
REAL-3.SBJ eat-3PL.OBJ s/he CP-1SG.POSS=those
‘He ate my food.’

- c. *n-e* *ŋa-di* *manei* [*mala-ŋau*]=*ro*
 REAL-3.SBJ eat-3PL.OBJ s/he PURP-eat=those
 ‘He ate that food.’

Although the possessor-indexed form may be absent from a well formed NP as in (3c), it is (3b), with only the possessor-indexed form, that is semantically consistent with the larger NP in (3a), having the same referent. The NP in (3b) therefore represents that in (3a), but with the fully specified noun omitted, while that in (3c) does not. In *ye-gu mala-ŋau*, therefore, the only obligatory element is *ye-gu*. This sole obligatory status means the indexed form is distributionally equivalent to a larger NP, which in turn means that it is the category determinant for the NP in which it occurs.

Second, by hosting the possessor-indexing suffixes, these hosts are the morphosyntactic locus of the construct in which they occur, as they mark the relation between that construct and the external possessor.

We further argue that the forms in question do not satisfy all criteria for status as classifiers presented by Dixon (1986), Grinevald (2000), and even Lichtenberk (1983), specifically the claim that classifiers do not classify all nouns, and comprise an open class of a largish number of items. Possessor-indexing hosts such as those in Kokota may occur with any common noun in the language, and form a closed class of two (or in some languages three or four) items.

By accounting for the status of possessor-indexing host forms as morphosyntactic loci, and their occurrence without an accompanying possessum noun, the analysis proposed here allows a simplification of NP structure proposed for Oceanic languages such as Kokota, as it unifies the structure of NPs displaying direct and indirect possession.

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When “what” is “where”: a linguistic analysis of landmark and body-part terms in Marquesan (Oceanic, French Polynesia)

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In this article I want to discuss in which way the linguistic marking of landmark and body-part terms is revealing with respect to how speakers of Marquesan categorise “what” and “where” in their language.

According to Lyons (1977) landmarks are an interesting ontological category because they hold an intermediate position between ‘being a place’ and ‘being a first order entity’ such as (moveable) things, humans and animals. It is difficult to determine whether landmarks such as cliffs, rivers, mountains etc. are perceived and conceptualised as first-order entities or not. This might be dependent on how speakers of a language classifies them, and it might be treated differently by different languages (Lyons 1977: 693).

In this article I will discuss how this “inbetween”-category of landmarks is linguistically expressed in Marquesan. The East-Polynesian language Marquesan is an interesting testing ground to examine this indeterminate ontological status of landmarks because speakers of Marquesan are sensitive to a “what”- and “where”-category in their language when talking about spatial relations. Quite generally there are two locative prepositions which mark the linguistic counterparts of “geographical entities” (i.e. landmarks and culturally defined places) as well as first-order entities (i.e. objects, humans, animals etc.) with respect to location, goal or direction towards a location. Location-denoting nominals such as the class of local nouns and place names receive ‘*i*-marking, whereas words denoting first-order entities such as common full words¹, proper names of persons and personal pronouns receive ‘*io*-marking. The difference between ‘*i*- and ‘*io*-marking is not a simple matter of distribution across lexical classes, but one based on a semantic distinction, namely that speakers of Marquesan mark the difference between locations as such (‘*i*-marking) and the locations of things, animals or persons (‘*io*-marking).

Furthermore, Marquesan is an interesting language to investigate because its speakers preferably use a local landmark-based geocentric system for the description of spatial configurations on a micro-level or “table-top” space. Thus some landmark terms have become grammaticalised markers of location.

With respect to the grammaticalisation of lexical items into locatives I further want to discuss the development of body-part terms to be used as grammaticalised markers of location. The grammaticalisation process is also mirrored in the use of ‘*i*- and ‘*io*-marking showing that the border between “what” and “where” is blurred in a similar way as with landmark terms.

Apart from ‘*i*- and ‘*io*-marking, other linguistic (i.e. semantic, morphosyntactic and syntactic) evidence is discussed to reveal what is “what” and what is “where” in Marquesan.

¹ I prefer the term common full word to common noun because common full words (e.g. *ha’e* ‘house’, *tapu* ‘table’) can also function as intransitive verbals and therefore the label “noun” is inappropriate.

The evolution of the Brunei Malay Wedding Invitation: from a British model to a Bruneian one

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This paper examines the historical development of a discourse genre, the Brunei Malay Wedding Invitation (BMWII), from its first appearance in the 1960's, to the present. The BMWII was originally borrowed from, and calqued on, British models. (Brunei was a British protectorate from the late 19th century until 1984). The BMWII changed rapidly in the 70's and 80's; it was adapted culturally until it became quite different from the original models in both form and content. In part that development reflects major cultural differences between the two societies. In part its continuing evolution reflects ongoing changes in Bruneian society from the 1960's onwards, including a new widespread affluence, universal free education (including religious education), and a gradual assertion of independence from British influence, leading up to full independence in 1984.

Historical linguistics usually focuses on change at the 'micro' level – sound change, changes in word meaning, changes in syntactic structures. The evolution of the BMWII gives us a chance to study change at the level of discourse, to examine for example whether processes and motives for linguistic change applying at those 'micro' levels also apply at this level.

This study uses ideas from the Genre Analysis approach (Swales, Bhatia, Henry & Roseberry) to explain some aspects of that change. Genre Analysis holds that the form and content of a given genre are shaped in particular by (i) the values of the discourse community which 'owns' and produces it, and (ii) by the communicative purposes of the particular genre. It follows then that significant changes in either of those two factors should be reflected in the genre itself. We argue that that is the case, and that this approach thus helps explain historical change at the level of discourse.

Metaphor and possession.

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The opposition between inalienable and alienable possession, widely present in Amerindian and Austronesian languages has been considered a universal by various typologists (cf. Seiler 1983, Chappell and McGregor {eds.}(1996). However, the limits of these categories, both within and with respect to other relations are fuzzy, and vary from one language to another. Cognitive mappings can give account of how possession can be expressed by metaphoric extensions of other semantic relations, such as transitive or locative links. However, there are also cases where the reverse mechanism- possession as the source of metaphoric extensions- can be mapped on to other conceptual spheres, including transitive and locative relations.

Claims about the unidirectionality of the projections: Nikiforidou (1991:166), Heine (1997:94);are mutually exclusive. Pamies (2001, 2002, 2004) plants the idea of the existence of both projections (for example pseudo-possessive benefactive versus pseudo-benefactive possessive) and explores their co-existence in Amerindian languages. The relation between these forms and their meanings is analysed as output of grammatical metaphors based on possession and other grammatical-logical relations such as locatives, benefactives, agents, transitives.

Margetts (2004) presents the development of specialized benefactive expressions derived from expressions of possession in Oceanic Languages.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the position of locatives and transitives in relation to possession in some Oceanic Languages.

Is ergativity always a marker of agency? Comparing the different pragmatic value of ergativity in two Austronesian languages

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For linguistic anthropologists whose primary focus of interest is the study of ‘language as social action’, an ethno-pragmatic analysis of the actual use of ergative markers within spontaneous linguistic interaction can shed light on the micro-processes through which social actors attribute responsibility and intentions to themselves and others and thus greatly contribute to the understanding of locally specific cognitive and practical structures of agency (i. e. ‘the human capacity to act’). Duranti’s work (1990, 1994) on the pragmatic use of ergative markers made by Samoan political orators is probably one of the most thorough ethnographic analysis of the morpho-syntactic and lexical encoding of agency and responsibility in political discourse.

Drawing on Duranti’s analysis of the relation between the morphological expression of ergative case-marking and the semantic and pragmatic encoding of agency in Samoan political speech, this paper explores the link between agency and ergativity in Toraja, one of the languages spoken in the island of Sulawesi (Indonesia). The rationale for this comparative case study rests on the fact that both Samoan and Toraja are ergative languages belonging to the Austronesian language family. Duranti’s ethno-pragmatic analysis of ergative markers as grammatical ways for encoding agency in Samoan political praxis established, with respect to his specific ethnographic context of study, two important sets of relations: between grammar and semantics, on the one hand, and language and culture, on the other. In the first place, his ethnographically grounded study of Samoan political interaction provided significant empirical evidence in favour of the equivalence between morphological ergativity and semantic agentivity. In the second place, his analysis suggested a relation between transitivity (at the linguistic level) and agency and social status (at the socio-cultural level).

In this article, I intend to show that the equivalence found in Samoan political discourse between agency and social power, on the one side, and ergativity and syntactic transitivity, on the other side, does not necessarily hold cross-linguistically and cross-culturally. The empirical evidence for this argument is grounded on two different kinds of data:

- 1) The analysis of the pragmatic value of ergative markers (namely a distinct set of pronominal clitics) in a corpus of linguistic data recorded in Toraja between 2002 and 2003 during political meetings and rallies
- 2) The metalinguistic treatment of sentences with ergative subjects provided by my bilingual language assistants as they were engaged in translating the transcriptions of these recorded speeches from Toraja into Indonesian.

Retrospective analysis of the transcribed material reveals that the actual use of ergative case-marking in Toraja oratory mitigates instead of foregrounding the agentivity and responsibility of the referent of the noun phrase. At the same time, the consistent tendency to transform transitive sentences with ergative subjects in Toraja into Indonesian ‘di- passive’ constructions suggests that, in Toraja political speeches, ergativity –unlike in Samoan- is not a marker of agency. These findings confirm that in Toraja ergativity is associated with object-focus constructions, as it has already been argued for other neighbouring languages (see Himmelman 1996).

The Makuva enigma: locating a hidden language in East Timor

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In the tip of the Lautem District in the Republic of East Timor a language is spoken that is known under several names: Loikera (Riedel 1886), Lóvaia or Lóvaia Epulu (as in Ferreira 1951 and Hajek, Himmelmann and Bowden 2003), Maku' a (Sudana et al. 1996) and Makuva (Hull and Branco 2003). Whereas initially classified as a Papuan language (Capell 1972), Hull and Branco (2003) convincingly showed the Austronesian character of its lexicon and grammar. Ever since Ferreira's (1951) contribution, Makuva has been considered to be moribund and to have been replaced by Fataluku, the majority language in the region.

By means of 'reconstructing' a grammar sketch based on our fieldwork from 2003-2006 this paper intends to assess Hull's (2004) proposal that Makuva is an early offshoot of the protolanguage from which also descended the Kairui-Waima'a-Midiki-Naueti dialect chain in East Timor and the Austronesian languages in Southwest Maluku (Indonesia).

This paper proposes an alternative to Hajek's, Himmelmann's and Bowden's (2003) finding to reconsider Makuva to be a 'language in coma' rather than being moribund. Instead of being 'pushed aside' by Fataluku, Makuva has rather been 'pushed up' in to the ritual register of Fataluku speakers in the Tutuala subdistrict.

Transitivity in New Georgia languages

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The New Georgia group of languages are spoken on and around New Georgia in the western Solomon Islands, and form part of the Northwest Solomonian linkage within the Oceanic language family. Despite the general innovativeness of languages within this linkage, the New Georgia languages reflect many of the morphosyntactic markers of transitivity that have been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic.

For example, in Marovo there are a number of different morphosyntactic markers which appear to correlate with the transitivity of a clause. Thus clauses which show features that are high on the transitivity scale (see Hopper and Thompson 1980) can be marked with: (a) one of two transitive suffixes *-i* or *-ni*; (b) the causative prefix *va-*; and/or (c) suffixes which index the person and number of an object argument, as in (1). Clauses that show features which are low on the transitivity scale, on the other hand, can occur with: (a) reduplicated verbal stems, as in (2); (b) the passive prefix *ta-*; and (c) the apparent incorporation of a lexical noun within the verb complex.

- (1) ...*ma-ma* *la pa Abuhu pata la heru-di ria labete*
 then-1PLEXCLS go LOC A. in.order go carry-3PLO 3PL timber
- pu so-i hami pa rane Wednesday.*
 REL saw-TR 1PLEXCL LOC day W.
 ...then we went to Abuhu to carry the timber that we had cut on Wednesday.

- (2) *Ma-ma la talavuni heru~heru.*
 then-1PLEXCLS go start RDP~carry
 Then we started carrying.

In this paper transitivity marking in Marovo is described, focussing in particular on the uses of the object-indexing suffixes and the two transitive suffixes. The Marovo system will then be compared with that found in other New Georgia languages, in particular, Hoava, Roviana and Ganoqa (Davis 2003, Corston 1996 and Kettle 2000). The similarities and differences amongst these systems will be examined from an historical perspective as the beginning of an attempt to recover aspects of the linguistic prehistory of the New Georgia region and place it more broadly within the prehistory of the Northwest Solomonian linkage.

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Are Vanikoro languages really Austronesian?

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Apart from a recently settled Polynesian community, three languages are still spoken on the island of Vanikoro (Santa Cruz archipelago, eastern Solomons). *Teanu* [*Buma*] prevails nowadays with about 800 speakers; but two moribund languages, *Lovono* and *Tanema*, are also remembered by 4 and 3 individuals respectively. While they are surrounded by Polynesian as well as ‘Papuan’/non-Austronesian languages, the three languages of Vanikoro have been classified as Oceanic (Tryon 1994), and attached to a tentative ‘Eastern Outer Islands’ subgroup.

Compared with most other languages of the Solomons or Vanuatu, the Austronesian origins of Vanikoro languages are far from obvious. An extremely poor part of the lexicon—in *Teanu*, no more than 80 items out of a lexicon of 1100—is likely to be cognate with words from other Austronesian languages. And even these hypothetical candidates are dubious, with little possibility of finding any regular phonological correspondences. Clearly, these forms could equally be due to ancient language contact, if not to chance. Furthermore, basically nothing of the POC morphology can be found in these languages. On the other hand, it is true that syntactic structures are rather typical of Oceanic patterns.

In sum, the three languages of Vanikoro combine Oceanic-like *structures* with massively un-Oceanic *forms*. Several hypotheses will be examined to account for this situation. Explanations involving language contact or language shift would suggest linguistic interference between Oceanic and Papuan languages. Conversely, an alternate hypothesis would suggest that we are dealing with just Oceanic languages that have gone through massive, language-internal, innovation of forms. If this were the case, then Vanikoro languages would illustrate quite graphically the phenomenon of *esoterogeny* (Thurston 1989, Ross 1996).

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Exemplariness, aberrancy and diachronic stratification in Austronesian: a view from basic lexicon.

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Much of the Austronesian linguistic work of George Grace, for instance Grace (1990), has been concerned with problems in diachronic analysis, and the degree to which certain languages (such as those of Southeastern New Caledonia) are ‘exemplary’ or ‘aberrant’ in regard to the copiousness or otherwise of their reflection of features of Proto-Oceanic and higher proto-languages. Grace has made it clear that some Austronesian languages preserve a greater number of PAN features than others do, and that consequently some languages are simply more useful for reconstructing proto-languages than others are. (This is a truth which is not of course confined to Austronesian languages.)

In Grace (1990:155-156) he lightheartedly proposed a thought experiment involving the reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian relying solely upon three aberrant languages (including a Southeastern New Caledonian language), rather than the more exemplary Tagalog, Toba Batak and Javanese which Dempwolff had used in his 1934-1938 reconstruction work.

The Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database, founded on Robert Blust’s work (Blust 1981), at <http://language.psy.auckland.ac.nz/austronesian/classification.php>, provides us with a first point of entry for examining this hypothesis from the standpoint of carefully selected basic lexicon for which Proto-Malayo-Polynesian and often also Proto-Austronesian forms have been reconstructed. Reflexes of such proto-forms comprise the first of several diachronic strata (and the genealogical or ‘genetic stratum’) in each Austronesian language.

In this paper I examine the basic lexical consequences of Grace’s thought experiment, using this website and other materials. Drawing data from Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, Indochina and Micronesia, I examine some other cases of especially heavy basic lexical borrowing in Austronesian and show that a heavy rate of borrowing and an especially low rate of retention of PMP or PAN reflexes do not necessarily go hand in hand in the same language. The proportion of different diachronic strata in each language, including the proportion of independently-innovated elements, needs to be taken into consideration.

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The vocabulary of land claims and the regionalisation of custom in South Malakula, Vanuatu

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In South Malakula, Vanuatu, social transformations resulting from migrations, conversion to Christianity, and interaction with the judicial system have created a new hierarchy of spaces (areas, islands, provinces, nation) and led people to adopt new concepts making sense of their changing relationship to space. Prior concepts of place (e.g. *naur*) reflected a unity of kinship group and place of residence. Earlier anthropologists working in the area when this unity was already ruptured were at a loss to make sense of such concepts. In the context of increasing land disputes after Independence in 1980, a series of Bislama (pidgin) words, some of which of vernacular origin (e.g. *nasara*), have been adopted that incorporate a notion of physical distance between people and their original land, while expressing the inalienable character of original ownership. These concepts also reflect the constitution of village communities based not on common origin but on a shared faith. The paper will also focus on the discussion of these concepts in official and unofficial courts, representing a series of expanding circles to which the villages belong. The membership and location of these courts favours the emergence of new ideas about the relationship of people to place. The paper discusses changing ideas about ancient places, seen at a distance from mission villages, regional centres and towns, as well as in the emergence of new types of places.

Possessive constructions in Biak

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The Biak language belongs to the West New Guinea subgroup of the Austronesian language family and is spoken by around 50,000 to 70,000 speakers in the Indonesian province of West Papua (formerly known as Irian Jaya), in the northern part of the Geelvink Bay. In this paper I will discuss the possessive constructions of the Biak language. I will show that although Biak has two different types of nouns; alienable and inalienable nouns, the two types of nouns however, show similar characteristics in the functional properties of their possessive constructions. The possessive constructions of both types of possessions show information about person and number of their possessors and information about number of gender of the possession.

Inalienable:

- (1) *Yohanes* ***bruri***
Yohanes **bru-ri**
John **head-POSS.3SG.DET.SG**
'John's head'

Alienable:

- (2) *Yohanes* ***rum*** ***byedya***
Yohanes **rum** **be-y-dya**
John **house** POSS-3SG-DET.SG
'John's house'

In addition, I will also show that there is a systematic feature of the inalienable nouns where they have corresponding forms that behave as regular alienable nouns and that the corresponding forms can be combined with the alienable possessive pronominal.

Inalienable:

- (4) ***bruri*** *iduf*
bru-ri i-duf
head-POSS.3SG.DET.SG 3SG-sick
'his head is sick'

Inalienable nouns with alienable possessive construction:

- (5) ***bukor*** ***byedya*** *isam*
bukor **be-y-dya** i-sam
head **POSS-3SG- Det.SG.3SG-hot**
'his head is hot'

The fourth person in Teop

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In Teop, the constituent order is. TOPIC - VERB COMPLEX – OTHER ARGUMENTS; the order of non-topical arguments follows the hierarchy subject < primary object < secondary object. The other means of expression are two case marking articles (the basic article and the object article) and two kinds of cross-referencing particles (the object marker and the imperfective aspect marker). The selection of either the basic or the object article is determined by the following rule:

1. Topical and non-topical subjects take the basic article.
2. Topical primary and secondary objects take the basic article.
3. Non-topical primary objects take the basic article if the subject refers to a speech act participant, but the object article if the subject refers to a third participant.
4. Non-topical secondary objects only take the basic article, if both the subject and the primary object refer to speech act participants.

In accordance with this article selection rule, Teop has two pronouns that refer to participants other than the speech act participants: 3rd person and 4th person pronouns.

This differential object marking (3rd vs. 4th person and basic article vs object article) cannot be explained in terms of grammatical relations, but reflects the different kinds of relationships that can hold between the speaker and the participants of the reported event. If he/she speaks about him/herself and/or the hearer and one additional participant, the additional participant is expressed by 3rd pers. pronoun or basic NP, but when he/she speaks about a third and a fourth participant or even a third, fourth and fifth participant as in III, the fourth and fifth participant are expressed by the 4th pers. pronoun or an NP marked by the object article.

Bound nominal elements in Äiwoo: recategorising the “noun classes”

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The Reefs-Santa Cruz (RSC) languages are generally thought to be of mixed Papuan-Austronesian origin; much of their vocabulary appears to be Austronesian, but they are claimed to show a number of structural features of a non-Austronesian nature.

The most frequently cited “Papuan feature” of the RSC languages is the so-called “multiple noun class systems”. Wurm (1978 and later publications) claims that all the RSC languages have extensive, partly cross-cutting systems of noun classes, which he describes in any detail only for the largest of the languages, Reefs or Äiwoo.

In this paper I will examine a set of morphemes in Äiwoo which I call “bound nominal elements” (BNEs), which to a large extent overlap with those analysed by Wurm as “noun class markers”. I will argue that the terms “genders” or “noun classes” are inappropriate for the BNEs, and that consequently, comparisons with gender systems of Papuan languages such as Bilua, Baniata or Savosavo are infelicitous. Rather, the BNEs fall into two rough classes, **nominalising prefixes** and **classifiers** or **class terms**. However, the distributional and semantic characteristics of these types to a certain extent overlap, and so they should be seen as endpoints of a continuum from “more nominaliser-like” to “more classifier-like” rather than rigidly distinct formal classes.

Most of the classifier-type BNEs are clearly derived from lexical nouns minus the prefix *nV-*, presumably a fossilised reflex of the Austronesian article **na-*. Rather than being an indication of a link to Papuan languages, this system has clear parallels in a number of Oceanic languages of Vanuatu, where the reflex of **na-* disappears when a noun is used in a compound (Crowley 1985). This also means that Wurm’s (1981) attempt at analysing the article reflexes **themselves** as class markers is highly problematic, especially since the semantic characteristics of these alleged “fixed noun classes” are quite vaguely defined.

If the BNEs show any indication of a Papuan connection at all, it is found in the nominalising prefixes, which are functionally quite similar to systems of nominalising affixes found in the Bougainville languages Buin and Nasioi. However, neither the forms nor the structural particulars of these systems show any obvious resemblance to the Äiwoo nominalising prefixes, so the link is tenuous at best. It would appear, then, that evidence for a Papuan origin of RSC will have to be sought in areas other than the so-called noun classes of Äiwoo.

A probabilistic grammar of Hawaiian stress

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The challenge is to produce a predictive grammar of Hawaiian stress. Many authors have insisted that this is impossible (e.g. Schütz et al. 2005: 4). However, if native speakers are able to predict stress, and if there is any system to this ability, then modelling it *should* be possible.

Therefore, I present a probabilistic grammar of Hawaiian stress, which I compare with a non-probabilistic one, in order to show that probabilities improve predictability. I have, moreover, implemented both grammars computationally, to evaluate them against data from Pukui & Elbert’s (1986) *Hawaiian Dictionary*.

The key data are words like ‘*elemakule* ‘old man’ and *makuahine* ‘mother’, which are stressed /,ʔe.le.ma.'ku.le/ and /ma. ku.a.'hi.ne/, respectively. More abstractly, these could be represented as /,σσσ'σσ/ and /σ,σσ'σσ/, where σ is a syllable. These represent both combinations of /'σσ/ and /σ'σσ/, which are templates, where only the rightmost stress is a series is primary (see Schütz 1979, 1981).

The question is this: why aren’t these words stressed as */ʔe. le.ma.'ku.le/ or */ ma.ku.a.'hi.ne/? That is, why doesn’t ‘*elemakule* have *makuahine*’s stress pattern, or vice versa?

One proposal is to introduce morphology; we might write a morphological grammar of Hawaiian, and then spell out how it influences the phonological parsing. For the examples above, there is good motivation (i.e. independent of phonology) to postulate the morphemes ‘*ele-* ‘old’, *makua* ‘parent’, and *-hine* ‘female’. Therefore, we could use morphemes to guide the phonological analysis of stress.

It is doubtful, however, that this morphological approach would account for other problematic words, like *kalikimaka* ‘Christmas’. (Compare: /ka. li.ki.'ma.ka/ and */ ka.li.ki.'ma.ka/.) Since this is a loanword, native morphemes probably won’t help in determining its stress pattern: therefore, we’d like an alternative proposal. Probability provides it.

The probabilistic grammar I propose eschews morphological information: it relies instead on phonological generalizations and on a dictionary (for learning probabilities). I implemented it in SWI-Prolog, using the Expected Likelihood Estimate (to model ‘accidental gaps’). (I shall discuss my results in the talk.)

This work represents ongoing research into the phonology and morphology of Hawaiian (including interfaces). Here and elsewhere, I employ the constraint-based, lexicalist, and monostratal framework of Declarative Phonology (e.g., Scobbie, Coleman, & Bird 1996). I find Declarative Phonology’s design conducive to data-driven, formally-constrained theories of linguistic competence, as well as practical implementations; it could be used to produce rich, predictive analyses of other Austronesian languages, too.

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Malagasy control structures

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My purpose is to describe control structures in Malagasy, contrasting their behaviour with that of verbs of saying. As in (1) below, a Malagasy subject control predicate constituent-selects the tense-marker on the embedded verb, allows complementizer ‘ny’ and never allows a sentential object to show up after the subject that (b) as in (2), a Malagasy object control predicate constituent-selects the tense-marker on the embedded verb and allows complementizer ‘mba’, whereas (c) a Malagasy verb of saying does NOT constituent-select the tense on the embedded predicate, requires complementizer ‘fa’ and as in (3), allows a sentential object to show up after the subject.

- (1) *Nikasa* (ny) *hividy* *boky* *i* *Jeanne*.
N-i-kasa (ny) h-i-vidy boky i Jeanne.
past-prf-root.intend (comp) fut-prf-root.buy a.book(s) D.sg Jeanne
“Jeanne intended to buy a book/books.”
- (2) *Niangavy* *an’ i* *Jeanne* (*mba*) *handeha* *i* *Marie*.
N-i-angavy an’ i Jeanne (mba) h-andeha i Marie.
past-prf-request acc D.sg Jeanne (comp) fut-go D.sg Marie
“Marie asked Jeanne to go.”
- (3) *Nilaza* *i* *Paoly* *fa handeha*.
N-i-laza i Paoly fa h-an-(l>)deha.
past-prf-root.laza D.sg Paul comp
“Paul said that he would go.”
- (4) a. *mikasa ny mpianatra [fa izaho no hangalatra ny toaka]*
intend the student that I FOCUS steal the booze
“The student intends that I steal the booze.”
- b. *mikasa ahy [hangalatra ny toaka] ny mpianatra*
intend me steal the booze the student
“The student intends me to steal the booze.”

These parameters were already in Randriamasimanana (1986). The selection of the embedded tense-marker by a control predicate is crucial as lack of it accounts for the ungrammaticality of sequences in Paul (1998:117, ex. 17a) or in Pearson (2001:116, ex. 81a.); selection of the appropriate complementizer by a control predicate is important as selection of the wrong complementizer leads to ungrammatical sequences as in Paul (1998:117, ex. 17b). The non-observance of the “same-subject” control in (1) yields ungrammatical sentences such as (4)a and (4)b. from Polinsky and Potsdam 2004.

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Volcanoes, migrations and the south-east wind: directional verbs in Arop-Lokep and Karnai

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Arop-Lokep and Karnai are closely related Austronesian languages spoken on neighbouring islands in Papua New Guinea. Long Island is wholly occupied by speakers of the Arop dialect of Arop-Lokep, while the Lokep dialect covers the whole of Tolokiwa; Karnai occupies a small coastal section of Umboi Island. The directional verb systems of the two languages contain obviously cognate forms but differ radically in usage. In this talk I will describe and exemplify the two systems, and will consider how they may be accounted for at least partially in terms of the different histories of the two groups and the different geography of their territories.

In Proto-Oceanic, directions were expressed on three dimensions: across/traverse, up/landward and down/seaward (Ross 2004:195). Although Arop-Lokep and Karnai are descended from a recent common ancestor, Arop-Lokep distinguishes six dimensions (a total of nine terms, with ‘come’ and ‘go’ pairs being distinguished for the first three); Karnai, meanwhile, has only four, and instead of having ‘come’ and ‘go’ pairs, combines the directional verbs with the geographically neutral verbs *ma* ‘come/movement towards deictic centre’ and *la* ‘go/movement away from deictic centre’; the neutral terms are cognates of the Arop traverse terms, a dimension which is absent from Karnai.

Arop-Lokep	come	go	Karnai	come	go
across	<i>man</i>	<i>la</i>	neutral	<i>ma</i>	<i>la</i>
down/seaward	<i>si</i>	<i>du</i>	down	<i>si</i>	
up	<i>se</i>	<i>lo</i>	up	<i>sai</i>	
coastward on land	<i>pot</i>		out/seaward	<i>du</i>	
bushward on land	<i>di</i>		in/landward	<i>long</i>	
landward on sea	<i>long</i>				

Movement around Umboi Island in Karnai is described as up or down in relation to the direction of the prevailing wind (which coincides with the principal coastline), whereas in the Arop dialect, orientation is to Tolokiwa, the neighbouring island and home of the Lokep dialect, from whence the Arop people came in recent prehistory.

Karnai and Arop represent two extremes of directional orientation in the Oceanic languages. Karnai is conservative and is typical of languages spoken on south-east oriented coastlines across the Pacific. Arop, like many languages on round or unusually-shaped islands, is innovative. This talk will illustrate the importance of both physical geography and migration history on the paradigms and use of directional verbs in Arop and Karnai, and will suggest that these two factors have been a powerful influence on the evolution of directionals in languages across the Oceanic region.

Discourse partitivity in Tagalog

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We characterize partitivity, often addressed as a semantic subset-set relation, as a discourse function, defined as **the evocation of a new discourse entity which is part of an accessible discourse group**: e.g., the Overt Partitive *one of them* in (1a) and the Covert Partitive *one* in (1b) evokes a single snoring student from among a contextually-determined group of bored students. Like English, Tagalog contains both Overt Partitives (2a), where the subgroup and discourse group nominals are linked by *sa*, and Covert Partitives (2b), where a numeral/quantifier is interpreted as a subgroup of a discourse group. Moreover, Tagalog numerals can be interpreted as covert partitives or cardinals; so in (3), the three/*tatlo* dead soldiers could be either part of the accessible group of four wounded soldiers or a separate, newly-evoked group.

In this paper, we report on a study of Tagalog partitives, based on elicited sentences, judgements, and narratives. We present **both discourse and sentence-level evidence which support our characterization of Tagalog partitives as accessibility markers**, as follows:

- (1) Within a discourse segment with consecutive partitives, Tagalog (and English) speakers tend to establish discourse groups with overt partitives and to use covert partitives in evoking further subgroups locally, as in (4).
- (2) *Ay*-inversion (2b), a marker of discourse salience, correlates with partitive readings of simple numeral while adverbs (*pa* in (5a)) and existentials associated with new discourse segments often accompany cardinal interpretations.
- (3) Multi-argument sentence often distinguish partitive/cardinal readings with nominal marking: *ng*-marked Patients receive cardinal readings (5a) and *ang*-marked numeral Patients receive partitive readings (5b). *Ang*-marking is associated with definiteness and clause-level Topic; we link its use with partitives to the accessibility of the established discourse group.
 - (1) a. *The students seemed bored and **one of them** was actually snoring.*
b. *The students seemed bored and **one** was actually snoring.*
 - (2) a. *Apat na kawal ang sugatan, **tatlo sa kanila** ang namatay.*
Four L soldier A wounded three S them A died*
b. *Apat na sundalo na ang sugatan, ang **tatlo** ay namatay.*
Four L soldier L A wounded A three I die
'Four soldiers were wounded; three of them died'
 - (3) *Apat na sundalo na ang sugatan, **tatlo** ang namatay.*
Four L soldier L A wounded three A die
'Four soldiers were wounded and three (of them) died.'

- (4) **Tatlo sa labintatlong** mamamayan na ang edad ay mula sa animnapu't isa hang gang
three S thirteen.=L resident L A age I start fromS sixty.and one until

pitumpu't limang taong gulang ay napagbintang ang nagnakaw ng baboy Dalawa ay
seventy.and five.=L year.=L age.=L I accused A stole N pig two I

napatunayang nagkasala; dalawa ay nakulong at walang nabigyan ng probasyon.
verified.=L guilty two I jailed and none.A given N probation

'**Three out of the thirteen residents** aged sixty-one to seventy-five years were
accused of stealing pigs. **Two** were found guilty; **two** jailed and **none** given
probation.'

- (5) a. *Gumawa si Maria ng apat na buslo at nagpintura siya ng dalawa pang buslo.*
Make A Maria N four L basket and painted sheA N two alsoL basket
'Maria made four baskets and painted two.' (6 in all: *ng dalawa pang buslo* cardinal)
- b. *Gumawa si Maria ng apat na buslo at pininturahan niya ang dalawa.*
Make A Maria N four L basket and painted sheN A two
'Maria made four baskets and painted two (of them)' (4 in all: *ang dalawa* partitive)

* L = Linker, A = *ang*-marked, S = *sa*-marked, I = *ay*-inversion, N = *ng*-marked.

The *ang* prenominal marker in Tagalog as a Specificity Marker

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The Tagalog *ang* marker and the *ang*-phrase have been captured the interest of linguists for long time. The marker has generally been analysed as a case marker (a nominative marker (Kroeger 1993), or an absolutive marker (Aldridge 2002)).

In this paper, we propose that the *ang* marker is a specificity marker within the DP (SPEC). We will bring different data from the minimalist framework (binding, infinitive embedded clause, the absence of ECM constructions) which show that the *ang*-phrase does not behave as the syntactic subject and that there is no subject position (Spec,IP) in Tagalog. As known, the presence of *ang* marker makes a DP specific.

In the copular predicative constructions (where the copula is zero) the nominal predicate can be optionally marked by *ang* (while a predicate cannot be optionally inflected or marked for case). The *ang*-marking of the predicate creates an identificational copular sentence, in which both the subject and the predicate are specific (cf. 1b), while the absence of *ang* makes the predicate non specific and the small clause predicational (cf. 1a).

- (1) a. *Titser ang nanay ko*
teacher SPEC mother Dir.1sg
My mother is a teacher.
- b. *Ang titser ng anak mo ang nanay ko*
SPEC teacher Dir child Dir.2sg SPEC mother Dir.1sg
My mother is your child's teacher.

Interesting evidence come from argument focus constructions. Following Cinque's (2005) relative clause analysis and Frascarelli's (2005) focus analysis, we propose to analyse it as a cleft construction. While adjunct foci are simply fronted in the CP area (i.e. Spec,FocP), we will show that argument foci are merged as the predicate of a Small Clause hosting a free relative clause in its subject position. As the predicate of copular constructions, foci can be marked by *ang* when specific or not marked when non-specific.

We will present original data about the syntax-discourse grammar interface and include a data on intonation.

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Diglossic ecologies and language change

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Languages are intertwined with their environment through various ways, including the ways of thinking and ways of living of their users. This paper will argue that languages in contact do not necessarily constitute or are part of a single ecological system. Instead, when different linguistic groups come into contact the associated ecologies may come into conflicting diglossic relationship, resulting into language change (i.e., shift, loss, attrition and endangerment). The paper will discuss this claim by demonstrating the presence of an overlapping ecological diglossia in Brunei Darussalam, an unfolding nation state in an increasingly globalised world. It will highlight, on the one hand, the sociolinguistic consequences of the relationship between the dominant Malay ethnolinguistic group and the other Austronesian indigenous ethnolinguistic groups, since Brunei's independence from the British Protectorate status. On the other hand, it will show the linguistic consequences of the uneasy relationship between the ecologies associated with Malay and English due to the onslaught of globalization. A variety of data for the paper will be drawn from an ongoing ethnographic project funded by the Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

Is the medium the message? Language use in intra-ethnic communication among Penan in Borneo

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This paper considers aspects of language behaviour among the Penan of Sukang, an ethnic isolate in Brunei, who were hunter-gatherers until 1962. Unmarked language use among the Penan includes the following: the use of Iban or Malay as a default code in interaction with non-Penan; the use of Penan with no evidence of code-mixing; or the use of non-Penan items, in a Penan language matrix, for which there are no Penan equivalents, i.e. unmarked culture-specific borrowings, the features most commonly borrowed across languages. From an etic perspective, occurrences of language-mixing in discourse appear marked when Penan are addressing other Penan and where there occur features of Iban and Malay for which there are Penan semantic equivalents. Further revealing areas of marked form include the exclusive use of Iban for communicating with Penan relatives and friends in neighbouring Sarawak, many of the latter being unable to comprehend these messages. This paper provides examples of marked discourse and attempts to account for their occurrence. It might be argued that non-Penan variants in Penan language use are unmarked, just minor anomalies or nonce occurrences. However, I would argue that the frequency and quality of non-Penan occurrences are too great and varied for this to be the case and that they reflect larger innovations in the perceptions of Penan in Sukang.

Negation and complex verbal constructions in Sri Lankan Malay

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I will discuss the significance of the shape and distribution of negation elements in Sri Lankan Malay (SLM) as a key to the language's syntactic structure.

Both open and closed class phonological shapes in SLM are primarily drawn from Indonesian Malay. The specific source is taken to be Moluccan and Jakartanese varieties. The morphosyntax of SLM has converged dramatically on the morphosyntax of other Sri Lankan languages however, but there are properties of the verbal domain which set SLM apart. The morphosyntax of negation is one of the areas in which all the Sri Lankan languages – including Tamil and Sinhala – clearly differ from each other.

SLM, uniquely within the Sri Lankan *sprachbund* (and also in contrast with its Malay lexifier varieties) marks an explicit finiteness contrast in the phonological shape of the morpheme selected when negating a verb: *tə-* (or an allomorph) for finite verbs and *jang-* (or an allomorph) for non-finite verbs. This is useful because the subparts of the verbal complex in Lankan languages cannot always be separated using adjacency evidence from adverbial insertion. (So functional morphemes may or may not be syntactic affixes.) I will argue that SLM constructions containing an auxiliary verb, as in the following example, are bi-clausal.

- (1) *Farida nasi a(bI)s-makan (tr)-aḍa.*
Farida rice ASP-eat (NEG)-?
'Farida has (not) already eaten rice.'

In the SLM perfect construction above, the (etymologically) existential *aḍa* can be analyzed as a semantically vacuous auxiliary verb rather than as an aspect marker. It can itself be negated, and negation always precedes rather than follows the verb in SLM, so *tr* is not a suffix on the lexical verb in the example. The negation interrupts the adjacency of the verb and the auxiliary, although aspect is normally adjacent to a lexical verb. Negation of the embedded lexical verb is also possible, but must then be non-finite in form. I will discuss how these facts support a bi-clausal analysis of this construction.

The finiteness contrast itself does not contribute consistently to the semantic interpretation of predicates, contra the idea that contact language contrasts are drawn from source languages if they are strongly semantically salient. I claim that a strong motivation for the finiteness contrast in SLM is the replication of a purely pragmatic device frequently employed in the Sri Lankan *sprachbund*: the temporal stacking of consecutive events. In the relevant sentence type, the latest-occurring event is typically finite and unembedded.

Serial verbs in Mekeo

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While Austronesian languages are not generally classified typologically as ‘verb serialising languages’, as is the case with Papuan (Non-Austronesian) languages, it is now generally acknowledged that there is some degree of productive verb serialisation in a good number of Austronesian languages. Pawley (1973:142-47) for example, initially discusses what he calls “propositional verbs” in proto-Oceanic, which appears to be basically a kind of serial verb construction.

Bradshaw (1982) further this by presenting a much more detailed discussion on verbal construction in New Guinea Oceanic languages. He reports that languages like Yabem in the Morobe District and Numambi have complete verb serialising systems, while Papuan Tip languages, of which Mekeo is a member, only appears to have residue systems of what may have been a much more productive systems.

However, much of the later works on New Guinea Oceanic languages show that, verb serialisation is quite a common feature of these languages, a feature that is often not recognised.

This paper on verb serialisation in Mekeo, intends to further the claim that like other New Guinea area Oceanic languages, verb serialisation is a much more productive process in Papuan Tip Oceanic languages like Mekeo.

The paper discusses the different processes of verb serialisation in Mekeo. The first type of SVC following Foley and Olsen (1985) will be referred to as the ‘same-subject serialisation’. In this type of SVCs, we find a total identity of the subjects of the constituting verbs. The second type involves the identity between object of the first verb and the subject of the second verb, which following Crowley (1987) will be referred to as the ‘switch-subject serialisation’.

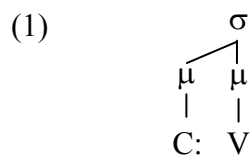
Structurally, serial verb constructions in Mekeo are of only one type, that is, verbs in SVCs are simply juxtaposed, without overt morphological links and a number of SVC semantic types will be discussed for Mekeo.

Geminates and syllabification in Pattani Malay and Marshallese

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In moraic theory (Hayes 1989; Morén 1999), medial geminates are syllabified in a coda-onset configuration, where the first half of the geminate is moraic, yielding a so-called ‘flopped’ structure. For word-initial geminates, this representation is not viable, due to the absence of a coda. It thus remains puzzling how to represent initial geminates. However, if we accept Ham’s (2001) claim that the medial ‘flopped’ structure is not imposed by moraic theory, but by syllabification demands [since $CVC_i^{\mu}.C_iV$ is better than $CVC^{\mu}:V$ (where $C_iC_i=C:=\text{geminate}$)], then nothing stops an initial geminate to be tautosyllabic in the form of a moraic onset (1), given that both syllabification and moraicity requirements can be simultaneously satisfied.

I claim that (1) is not only the right representation for word-initial geminates [cf. Hajek and Goedemans 2003 (henceforth HG)], but also for some word-medial geminates. To this end, I examine initial geminates in Pattani Malay (PM) (Yupho 1989; HG) and medial geminates in Marshallese (Abo et al. 1976; Zewen 1977; Hendricks 1999), and show how they support this proposal.



More specifically, PM possesses geminates only word-initially. Normally, the final syllable gets primary stress with all remaining syllables receiving secondary stress, e.g. *pɛ̀ʔdʒh* ‘usefulness’, unless they include the vowel /ɛ/ in which case they remain stressless: *sɪdàdú* ‘police’. Initial geminates however systematically attract primary stress on the syllables that host them, producing initial stress, e.g. *m:átɔ̀* ‘jewellery’, even if they are followed by /ɛ/, e.g. *k:íðà* ‘to the shop’. To explain initial stress in *k:íðà* but lack thereof in *sɪdàdú*, I offer a proposal that utilizes (1) and combines weight and vowel quality considerations. This accounts for the full range of data and dispenses with the problematic proposal of HG who - making use of moraic onsets too - prioritize *onset* weight over nucleic weight. Moreover, in Marshallese, data from reduplication and stress suggest that medial geminates are moraic and need to be wholly syllabified in the onset.

Finally, I consider some theoretical implications of this proposal and compare it to alternative representations of initial geminates, which however pose certain syllabification or prosodification issues, such as the inability of geminates to contribute to weight (Davis 1999) or equating geminates with unsyllabified consonants (Curtis 2003). The representation of a geminate as a moraic onset (1) avoids such problems and is also in line with the idea that onsets may be weightful, as suggested by the data of Pirahã stress (Everett 1988, Gordon 2005), Samothraki Greek compensatory lengthening (Katsanis 1996, Kavitskaya 2002) and Damin Word Minimality (Hale and Nash 1997) among others.

Syntactic nominalization in Savosavo (Papuan, Solomon Islands) and neighbouring Austronesian languages

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Savosavo is a Papuan language spoken in the Central Province of the Solomon Islands. It does not have any closely related neighbours and has been in close contact with the surrounding Austronesian languages for a long time. In this talk I will focus on syntactic nominalization, i.e. nominalization of verbal clauses. Nominalization of verbal clauses has been discussed for a number of languages, including Austronesian languages such as Samoan (Mosel, 1992) and Marquesan (Cablitz, 2000) as well as Tibeto-Burman languages (cf. Noonan, 1997; Bickel, 1999; Genetti, to appear), and also seems to play a role in the grammar of some Austronesian languages of the Solomon Islands, such as Kokota and Longgu. Syntactic nominalization is a salient feature of Savosavo grammar. There are a number of syntactic contexts where a nominalized verbal clause is obligatory, e.g. for complementation with certain verbs or for use with a certain information structural enclitic. The aim of this talk is to provide a short description of the structural features of nominalized verbal clauses in Savosavo as well as a survey of the syntactic contexts in which they are used, and to compare this with what is known about how neighbouring Austronesian languages make use of syntactic nominalization.

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