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**Oceanic languages:**  
**A comparative investigation of pre-clausal constructions**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree  
of  
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at  
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## Abstract

This thesis presents an investigation of pre-clausal phenomena in the lesser-studied languages of the Oceanic language family. The study is innovative in that the pre-clausal structure of interest, hereinafter labelled as a PRE construction, is analysed in its entirety, and found to exhibit prototypicality in regards to its structure and function. In regards to structure, the prototype possesses pre-clausal sequencing, and an intonation break longer than 0.2 s between the pre-clausal nominal constituent and its associated simple, complex, or non-verbal clause. Also attested in the prototype is a coreferencing relation distributing syntactic and semantic meaning between the pre-clausal constituent and either a free form nominal or pronominal, and /or a verb phrase index from the associated clause. The functional explanation of PRE constructions offered in this work is also distinctive, being developed with recourse to the models of Conceptual Blending (Fauconnier and Turner 1996, 1998, 2002, 2003) and the Greater Attentional System (Oakley 2004, 2009), as well as the typology of conceptual blends proposed by Brandt (2013:415–422). Accordingly, it is argued that PRE constructions are expressions of a schematic intraspace blend [PRE,ASC], the function of which is to foreground information via the human attention system. This schematic structure [PRE,ASC] provides the template for the creation of novel interspace blends, characterised by the nature of the meaning relations created during the conceptual integration of the PRE construction components. For prototypical blends, the integration is such that the conceptual counterparts represented by the pre-clausal constituent and the associated clause are perceived as identical in the resulting blend. Additionally, in response to the difficulties associated with determining the status of pre-clausal constructions within the larger linguistic system, it is proposed that such structures exemplify a new linguistic unit of analysis referred to as an expanded clause. An expanded clause is defined as a type of complex clause, where the distributed meaning relations between the parts characterise the notions of dependency and expansion.

## Acknowledgements

It is not uncommon for academic publications to acknowledge all those scholars who have gone before. As this thesis is a typological project, which relies heavily on the research of others, this sentiment is particularly relevant. This is not only in relation to the knowledge builders of yesteryear, but also to the speakers and researchers of the Oceanic languages who have so generously shared their languages and analyses, without which any cross-linguistic study such as this one would be impossible. To this very large group of people, most of whom I will never meet, I wish to acknowledge my sincere appreciation.

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## Abbreviations and conventions<sup>1</sup>

1	first person	DST	distant
2	second person	DU	dual
3	third person	DUR	durative
A	agent argument of transitive	DYS	dysfluency
ABS	absolutive	EMPH	emphatic marker
ACC	accusative	ERG	ergative
ADV	adverb	ES	echo subject
ANA	anaphoric marker	EV	epenthetic vowel
AOR	aorist	EXCL	exclusive
APPL	applicative	FOC	focus
ART	article	FORE	foregrounding marker
ASC	associated clause	FUT	future
ASP	aspectual marker	GEN	genitive
ASS	associative marker	IMM	immediate time
AUG	augmented number	IMP	imperative
BEN	beneficiary	INCL	inclusive
BKG	background marker	INCP	inceptive
C	cesura	INDEF	indefinite
CARD	cardinal	INDX	index
CAUS	causative	INST	instrument
CLF	classifier (possessive)	INT	intention
COLL	collective	INTR	intransitive
COMM	comment marker	INTS	intensifier
COMP	complementiser	IPFV	imperfective
CONJ	conjunction	IRR	irrealis
CONS	construct affix	IT	iterative
CONT	continuous	k.o.	kind of
COP	copula	LIG	ligature
COREF	coreferent	LOC	locative
DAT	dative	MIN	minimal number
DEF	definite	NEG	negator
DEI	deictic marker	NFUT	non-future
DEM	demonstrative	NMLZ	nominaliser
DET	determiner	NP	noun phrase
DIR	directional	NPM	noun phrase marker
DISC	discourse marker	NPST	non-past

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<sup>1</sup> Where possible, abbreviations and conventions listed above are from the *The Leipzig Glossing Rules* (2015), accessed from <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>, but are supplemented by additional abbreviations when there is no existing Leipzig option.

NSG	non-singular	TRI	trial
NUM	numeral	V	verb
O	object argument of transitive	VENT	ventative
OBJ	object	VP	verb phrase
OBL	oblique		
PART	partitive		
PASS	passive marker		
PCL	paucal		
PL	plural		
PM	possessum		
POSS	possessive marker		
POT	potential		
PR	possessor		
PRE	pre-clausal constituent		
PRED	predicate		
PREP	preposition		
PRES	presentative		
PRF	perfective		
PRO	pronoun		
PROF	proform		
PROX	proximal		
PRS	present		
PSP	prospective		
PST	past		
PURP	purposive		
R	recipient role		
REAL	realis		
REAS	reason		
RED	reduplication		
REL	relativiser		
RELC	relative clause		
s	second (time)		
S	single argument of intransitive		
SBJ	subject		
SEQ	sequential		
SG	singular		
STAT	stative		
SUB	subordinator		
T	theme role		
TAM	tense aspect mood marker		
TEL	telic aspect marker		
TOP	topic marker		
TR	transitive marker		

## Chapter 1 Thesis introduction

### 1.1 The research context

Numbering approximately 500 indigenous languages, the Oceanic language family represents a significant proportion of the 7,097 languages currently listed by *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simons and Fenning 2016), a project devoted to cataloguing all of the world's known living languages. This in itself is reason enough to devote an entire doctoral project to their study. The languages are geographically distributed through the Pacific region, from Papua New Guinea in the west, through Micronesia and Melanesia, across to Polynesia in the east, and down to New Zealand in the south. This geographical spread is paralleled by the structural diversity of the languages, a key reason why I have been drawn to undertake typological research of these languages. For example, five patterns of basic constituent order are found, argument indexing in verb phrases may be obligatory, optional or completely absent, and the systems of independent pronouns range from the simplest to the most complex in the world in regards to the expression of the grammatical categories of number and person. The Oceanic languages are also noteworthy for the complexity of the structural and semantic expression of the grammatical category of possession.

The speech communities are typically small, and some of the languages feature among those identified by UNESCO and *Ethnologue* as endangered.<sup>1</sup> Additionally, a fair number of languages are still to be documented, so little is currently known about them except for the approximate number of speakers, the areas in which they are thought to be spoken, and their basic constituent order. However, there are certainly sufficient grammatical descriptions and sketches of individual Oceanic languages along with publications relating to various subgroupings of languages to undertake typological research (see for example Ross 1988 for Western Melanesian languages and Moyse-Faurie 1997a for Western Polynesian languages). Several of the documented languages now also have rich collections of archived audio recordings available, providing the opportunity for discourse and prosodic analyses (more details below in §1.4).

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<sup>1</sup> See the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (<http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/index.php?hl=en&page=atlasmap>) and *Ethnologue* (<https://www.ethnologue.com>) for further details on the speaker numbers, vitality and status of individual languages.

Much of the previous research across the Oceanic family as a whole has focused on the reconstruction of Proto Oceanic. Apart from the “gallons of ink...expended on reconstructing the phonemic system” (Lynch 2000b:53), a notable morphosyntactic example is Evans’ (2003) study of valency-changing devices, and there is an impressive series of lexical studies by Ross, Pawley and Osmond (1998, 2003, 2008, 2011, 2016), aimed at reconstructing the culture and environment of Proto Oceanic speakers.<sup>2</sup> An important outcome of Ross, Pawley and Osmond’s 2011 volume is the schematic reconstruction of the Oceanic language family as it is thought to have descended from Proto Oceanic (Ross, Pawley and Osmond 2011:8).

In regards to typological descriptions, as noted relatively recently by Van den Berg (2013), there are no major comparative studies across the Oceanic language family as a whole. Existing typological work of morphological and syntactic topics includes a brief typological survey by Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:34–53), and an article describing the morphosyntactic characteristics of Oceanic languages by Ross (2004). Particular typological topics that have previously been explored in Oceanic languages include negation (Hovdhaugen and Mosel 1999), demonstratives and deixis (Senft 2004), complex predicates (Bril and Ozanne-Rivierre 2004), and possession (Lichtenberk 1983b, 1985, 2003, 2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2011). As discovered during the current project, very little typological research has been conducted on even basic structures such as the noun phrase. It was also noted that on a much wider scale, Oceanic languages, being a lesser-studied group, are often under-represented when it comes to current theoretical understandings of language. Such understandings tend to be based on knowledge arising from well-studied language families, always including Indo-European (see further comments on this point in §1.2). These research gaps provide further incentive to tackle a typological study of Oceanic languages.

## 1.2 The research topic

The research topic involves a pre-clausal structure which straddles traditional linguistic levels of syntax and discourse, being structurally associated with the following clause, while simultaneously seeming to function as a discourse device of some kind. This phenomenon was noticed during my Master’s research which was a descriptive project of Kwaraqae, an Oceanic language spoken in the Solomon Islands (Macdonald 2010). Data from my text

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<sup>2</sup> See the online website *The Oceanic Lexicon Project* at <https://sites.google.com/site/theoceaniclexiconproject/>.

corpus revealed that material is often ‘fronted’ (positioned before a main clause) and also coreferenced in the main clause itself, either as an independent pronoun, or as a verbal affix. The following two examples illustrate this phenomenon in Kwaraqae.<sup>3</sup> In (1) below, the fronted material is a coordinated noun phrase, which is simultaneously represented by the pronominal subject argument *kioq* ‘3PL’ in the following main clause:

- (1) Kwaraqae (SES, SVO)
- |                  |               |             |                  |             |             |              |             |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>Goq</i>       | <i>nouwaq</i> | <i>hein</i> | <i>diq</i>       | <i>nau,</i> |             |              |             |
| then             | 1SG           | and         | cousin           | 1SG.POSS    |             |              |             |
|                  |               |             | FRONTED MATERIAL |             |             |              |             |
| <i>kioq</i>      | <i>leak</i>   | <i>dao</i>  | <i>naq</i>       | <i>i</i>    | <i>luom</i> | <i>ngwei</i> | <i>nau.</i> |
| 1DU.EXCL         | go            | arrive      | COMP             | LOC         | house       | uncle        | 1SG.POSS    |
| COREFERENCED     |               |             |                  |             |             |              |             |
| SUBJECT ARGUMENT |               |             |                  |             |             |              |             |
- ‘Then my cousin and I, we went to my uncle’s house.’ (Macdonald 2010:352)

In example (2), the fronted material is a noun phrase which is coreferenced as the suffix *-a* on the verb in the main clause to indicate its grammatical status as object of this clause:

- (2) Kwaraqae (SES, SVO)
- |                   |                 |            |                   |              |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------|--------------|
| <i>...keiseiq</i> | <i>hu-an</i>    |            | <i>stadi-ang,</i> |              |
| time              | for-3SG.POSS    |            | study-NMLZ        |              |
|                   |                 |            | FRONTED MATERIAL  |              |
| <i>kiar</i>       | <i>se-a</i>     | <i>ein</i> | <i>prep</i>       | <i>teim.</i> |
| 3PL               | say-3SG.OBJ     | with       | prep              | time         |
|                   | COREFERENCED    |            |                   |              |
|                   | OBJECT ARGUMENT |            |                   |              |
- ‘...the time for studying, they call it prep time.’ (Macdonald 2010:353)

While searching for further information about this phenomenon, I found evidence that it occurred in the data of other languages from quite different Oceanic family subgroupings (see §1.3 for further details of the subgroupings). From Tirax (Brotchie 2009), a Southern Oceanic language from the North and Central Vanuatu linkages, the fronted material *marbih ŋe* ‘the boy’ in example (3) is a definite noun phrase which is also the pronominal subject argument *xain* ‘3SG’ of the following clause:

<sup>3</sup> The orthographic symbol <q> represents the glottal stop [ʔ].

- (3) Tirax (NCV,SVO)  
*Marbih* *ŋe*,  
 boy DEF  
 FRONTED MATERIAL  
*xain* *a* *ren-te* *i-ve* *i-dla* *ŋe*, ...  
 3SG DISC time-SUB 3SG.REAL-make 3SG.REAL-be.thus DEF  
 COREFERENCED  
 SUBJECT ARGUMENT  
 ‘As for the boy, while he was doing this,...’ (Brotchie 2009:683)

In example (4) from Manam (Margetts 2008:35), a Western Oceanic language of the North New Guinea linkage, the fronted noun phrase *niu* ‘coconuts’ is the object argument of the following clause and is coreferenced there in the verb phrase by the suffix *-di*:

- (4) Manam (NNG,SOV)  
*Niu*,  
 coconut  
 FRONTED MATERIAL  
*se* *pulisi-di*.  
 3PL husk-3PL.OBJ  
 COREFERENCED  
 OBJECT ARGUMENT  
 ‘They husked the coconuts.’ (Lit: ‘The coconuts, they husked them.’). (Margetts 2008:35)

Example (5) is from Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988:246), a Central Pacific language from the Eastern Fijian subgrouping, showing the fronted material *a tiivoli* ‘the wild yam’ coreferenced as an independent pronominal subject argument *e* ‘3SG’ in the following main clause:

- (5) Boumaa Fijian (FIJ,VSO)  
*Ia*, *a* *tiivoli*  
 well ART wild.yam  
 FRONTED MATERIAL  
*e* *ti’o* *vei* *’eimami*.  
 3SG be.at to 1PL.EXCL  
 COREFERENCED  
 SUBJECT ARGUMENT  
 ‘Well, we have the wild yam (among our foods)’ (Lit: ‘Well, the wild yam, it’s ours’). (Dixon 1988:246)

Continuing with this initial search for more information, I discovered that accounts of the pre-clausal feature of interest in the grammatical descriptions of Oceanic languages vary in terms of their treatment. In some cases, pre-clausal structures evident in the data are not

described in the accompanying analysis, while in other cases, discussion is limited to a few paragraphs or pages. In the odd case, a much richer description and analysis is provided. For example, while François (2002) does not present any discussion of pre-clausal phenomena for Araki (NCV), Schneider (2010:247–248) in her grammar of Abma (NCV) and Hyslop (2001:70–71) in her description of Lolovoli (NCV) present examples and commentary over two pages, and Lichtenberk (1983: 466–488) and Brotchie (2009:217–221) provide much greater detail in their grammars of Manam and Tirax respectively. In regards to the actual description, not all of the authors consulted clearly differentiate form from function, define the descriptive terms they use, or justify their selection of terms by directing the reader toward the theoretical paradigms which inform their analyses (although cf. Lichtenberk 1983b and Brotchie 2009). As a result, the terminology used to describe pre-clausal structures is inconsistent and confusing to a typologist. For example, pre-clausal structures are alternately described as left dislocation (Schneider 2009:247–248; Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011:331–334), or as a topic (Brotchie 2009:519–529; Palmer 2009:246; Von Prince 2012:268), with double reference (Brotchie 2009:459–461), or a pronoun copy (Hamel 1994:139–142). The term fronting is often used (Dixon 1988:42–43; Osumi 1995:239–245; Hyslop 2001:70–71; Van den Berg and Bachet 2006:161; Brotchie 2009:519–529; Barbour 2012:295–298), although the authors do not always distinguish between narrow fronting, where a nominal is positioned unexpectedly in clause-initial position, and wide fronting, where the nominal is pre-clausal. Topicalisation is frequently mentioned in descriptions of the function of unusually positioned nominals, but again, pre-clausal and clause-initial positioning are not always differentiated in regards to this process (Dixon 1988:41; Osumi 1995:239–245; Brownie and Brownie 2007:166–167). Such inconsistencies indicate a gap in our understandings of both the form and function of pre-clausal phenomena in Oceanic languages. Addressing this gap has been my motive to develop the current research project.

### 1.3 Theoretical and methodological foundations of the study

The theoretical foundations for this study are from Language Typology in the style of Greenberg (1963), who investigated morpheme and word order across 30 languages and proposed 45 implicational universals in regard to their cross-linguistic distribution. The goal for this type of comparative research is to explore the diversity of language structure and provide an explanatory account of any “distributional skewings” (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:9).

In relation to the present study, the particular structure being explored and compared is the pre-clausal phenomenon in Oceanic languages exemplified above (examples 1-5). Being exploratory, the research is primarily a qualitative rather than quantitative study, so an important goal is to ensure the exploration process is as broad as possible (see data collection §1.4).

This project is aligned with the functionalist research agenda where language structure is explained in terms of language use and the language user. Thus there is a focus on studying ‘real’ language (Givón 1990, 1995; Van Valin 2001; Schmidtke-Bode 2009; Bischoff and Jany 2013, *inter alios*). More specifically, the project is a functional-typological study which marries the typological interests of mapping cross-linguistic diversity with the functional view that linguistic structure is the way it is, due to competing pressures of communicative interaction and human cognitive processes, or “online and offline” phenomena as Kibrik (2011:16) so succinctly puts it. In accord with the increasingly cognitive perspective being adopted by functionalists (Nuyts 2011:51), the explanations for the findings from this project are sought from contemporary cognitive theories including Prototype Theory (Rosch 1975, 1977) and Mental Spaces and Conceptual Blending (Fauconnier and Turner 1996, 1998, 2002). These approaches are grounded in the understanding that conceptualisation is embodied, so that cognitive processes, like language, are a function of the way in which human beings experience their environment (Evans and Green 2006:50). Both communicative interaction and cognition are combined in the theory of the Greater Attentional System (Oakley 2004, 2009), which provides an additional explanatory resource for the functional analysis (see Chapter Eight for details of these approaches).

The functionalist approach is generally contrasted with the formalist tradition where language is viewed as “a collection of arbitrary symbolic units” (Kibrik 2011:17), and linguistic structure is explained in reference to “innately specified grammatical structures” (Haspelmath 1997:8). Although cognition is a primary concern, formalists are interested in uncovering native-speaker competency, such as the abstract rules which allow a speaker to understand and speak their language (Radford 2004:6). Performance, or the “actual use of language in concrete situations” (Chomsky 1965:4), is considered an imperfect reflection of speaker-knowledge, so not thought to be useful to the study of grammar. Because explanations from the communicative and cognitive aspects of human behaviour are typically not considered, the formal approach is not of interest to this project.

The methodological foundations of this study follow those of contemporary functional-typologists who typically adopt a “framework-free” approach to their research when the languages of study, such as the Oceanic languages in this project, are not well-known. The framework-free approach allows the linguist to describe languages on their own terms, rather than with the restrictions and biases of a theoretical paradigm previously developed from better known and very differently structured languages (Haspelmath 2010:341-365). By following this methodological perspective, “a survey of all the different ways in which languages may encode some linguistically relevant property” (Stassen 2011:91) is presented, and a language independent definition developed. Adopting a framework-free methodology and undertaking a bias-free survey of the pre-clausal phenomena in Oceanic languages is a major project objective. As a result of following this methodology, the analysis presented in this thesis differs noticeably from previous analyses of pre-clausal phenomena. For one thing, a large body of previous work takes the notion of left dislocation, which has a strong association with the generative tradition (van Riemsdijk 1997:4), as the starting point for analysis of pre-clausal phenomena (Prince 1982, 1997; Birner and Ward 1998; Gregory and Michaelis 2001; Lambrecht 2001; Snider 2005; Manetta 2007; van der Linden and Sleeman 2007; Pérez-Guerra and Tizón-Couto 2009; Shaer et al. 2009; Remberger 2010; van Putten 2014; Brill 2016). This analytical approach tends to follow a ‘top-down’ methodology where predefined labels with inherently associated characteristics are assigned to the research data. So, as suggested in Lambrecht (2001:1051) with regard to the term left dislocation, there are expectations that syntactic movement is involved, and that the resulting left-dislocated structure is a derivation of a more basic one. It is also supposed that after the dislocation, a resumptive pronoun remains in the original position of the dislocated element. Other labels for pre-clausal structures found in the literature belong to specific syntactic programmes, so have equally predetermined meanings, and are therefore disregarded for this project. For example, Van Valin and Polla (1997) and Van Valin (2005) use the term left-detached in their syntactic programme Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), and Dik (1997) employs the term extra-clausal constituent (ECC) to cover a variety of such expressions in his theory of Functional Grammar. In contrast to the top-down approaches just mentioned, the current project has an exploratory focus (see §1.4), hence a ‘bottom-up’ perspective to the research is required. Rather than working with preconceived labels like left dislocation, the structural analysis and description presented here arises from patterns directly observable in the data, thus providing scope for the development of fresh understandings of pre-clausal phenomena, such as the prototype model that is being advanced in this work.

The significance of the framework-free methodology chosen for this project is also evident in the functional explanation sought for the pre-clausal phenomena under investigation. A “general consensus” voiced in the literature is that left dislocations function as topic-marking constructions (Lambrecht 2001:1072). However, the term ‘topic’ is just as narrowly defined as the term left dislocation, alternatively used within traditional grammatical analyses to refer to the sentence-initial component of a topic/comment dyad, within the generative tradition to label a clause-initial phrase projection (Radford 2005:481), and in the area of pragmatics to indicate old or familiar discourse information (Chafe 1976; Clark and Haviland 1977; Prince 1981; Reinhart 1981; Givón 1983; Ariel 1988, 2009; Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski 1993). Therefore, as for the term left dislocation, the label ‘topic’ is avoided in the current analysis. Instead, the functional explanation arises from the data itself, and in order to best account for the patterns observed, finds its descriptive and explanatory resources in current typological theory and the frameworks of the functional and cognitively-oriented theories mentioned above. Thus, the bottom-up approach enables the thesis to follow hitherto uncharted research directions for the study of pre-clausal phenomena in Oceanic languages.

Another difference between the previous work mentioned above and the analysis undertaken in this thesis is that, due to following the framework-free perspective, it has been possible to view pre-clausal phenomena from a more holistic perspective, rather than as a derived form where the focus of the analysis tends to be mainly on the pre-clausal element itself. In contrast, the pre-clausal structure is treated here as a construction in its own right. This means that the structure in its entirety is studied, along with the component parts, these being the pre-clausal element and the clause with which it is always associated. The significance of this approach is that the structural, semantic and functional relationships operating across the pre-clausal components are more transparent. In addition, investing the pre-clausal element and its associated clause with constructionhood has elucidated the need for a new unit of linguistic description.

One further important advantage with the framework-free methodology is that the analysis should be accessible to a wider audience because patterns of language structure can be explained by considering their function, rather than relying on any one specific analytical theory which inevitably excludes readers not working within this paradigm (Haspelmath 2010:357). As a major justification for undertaking this study is to further understandings about pre-clausal phenomena, narrowing the field of potential readers by following any

particular syntactic theory (e.g. RRG, lexibase grammar, minimalist syntax, tagmemics) would have undermined the significance of the research.

The theoretical and methodological foundations of the functional-typological frameworks just outlined set the scene for the current research project, for which the following three major research objectives were developed:

- i) To explore and describe the range of pre-clausal structures in Oceanic languages;
- ii) To investigate and explain the function(s) of the pre-clausal structures in these languages;
- iii) To compare and type the pre-clausal structures according to the findings from the descriptive and explanatory research phases.

#### 1.4 Method: The data collection process

In keeping with the exploratory nature of the project and the intention to survey as many languages as possible, the preliminary rather randomly selected sample of languages referred to in §1.1 was expanded to incorporate the entire Oceanic language family. Therefore, the first step in the data collection process was to identify which languages were relevant. These languages were then collated to create what is referred to in the literature as a “convenience sample” (Bakker 2011:104) or a “variety sample” (Rijkhoff et al. 1993:171). The third data collection task was to note what was deemed to be the most relevant published linguistic materials for each of the languages, while the fourth step was to actually locate these materials and then review them, recording the details thought most important for undertaking the analyses to follow.

As the language-wide sample was potentially quite large (500+ languages), it was imperative to keep track of the languages and the results from the data collection. Accordingly, I developed an Oceanic Language Corpus (OLC) from resources such as *Ethnologue*, compiled and published by SIL International ([www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com)), and publications such as *The Oceanic languages* (Lynch and Crowley 2002), although the former is the main source.<sup>4</sup> A

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<sup>4</sup> SIL International, or the Summer Institute of Linguistics, is a non-profit organisation involved in researching ethnolinguistic minority communities. It has also been designated by the International Organization for

complete list of the resources consulted is provided in Appendix A. Although *Ethnologue* lists 514 languages as being Oceanic, other resources classified some of these language varieties as dialects. Therefore, the number of languages in the OLC is 501 at present. This number may also be overstating the situation, in that Tryon (1995) lists only 466 languages, while Ross, Pawley and Osmond (2011:1) refer less specifically to “more than 450”. This uncertainty in number reflects difficulties in determining both the status of very closely related speech varieties, and the status of those varieties which would appear to be undocumented. Of the 501 languages in the OLC, 108 seem not have any published linguistic data available at this time.

The OLC holds basic information for each of the individual languages including alternative names where applicable, the ISO639-3 code for each language where this exists (several languages recognised by linguists are not recorded by *Ethnologue*), and the basic constituent order where this could be determined from the published sources. The orders are categorised by following Ross’s (2004) typology of basic clause order for canonic and non-canonic Oceanic languages. This information proved useful for publication searches, especially where the same language is known by more than one name, which is not uncommon for Oceanic languages.

A fundamental feature of the OLC is that the languages are organised according to their genetic affiliation following the scheme proposed by Ross, Pawley and Osmond (2011:8) for their reconstructions of Proto Oceanic. The scheme comprises nine primary subgroupings, several of which are further divided into two or more linkages, so that the total subgroupings for contemporary Oceanic languages in the OLC number fifteen.<sup>5</sup> By organising the OLC in this way, it conforms to existing language-wide research for Oceanic languages, which means that observations correlating language structures with language subgroupings can be explored, thus fulfilling a comparative research objective.

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Standardization as the Registration Authority for the ISO 639-3 standard, so provides a reputable source for the OLC.

<sup>5</sup> The term subgroup is used by Ross, Pawley and Osmond (2011:8) to label a group of languages which share innovations “assumed to have occurred just once in the subgroup’s protolanguage”, whereas the term linkage is used to define a group of closely related languages or dialects where shared innovations are due to language contact (2011:9).

Once the OLC was established, each of the listed languages was methodically checked for published materials deemed relevant to the study. The data are from secondary sources such as the grammatical descriptions and studies of Oceanic languages published in grammars, theses, and journal articles, as well as textual and audio data wherever available from publically-accessible language archives such as PARADESIC, ELAR, DoBeS and the Pangloss collection of LACITO.<sup>6</sup> The OLC was expanded to record each of these sources, and their likely location.

After completing a thorough search for available data, I located and reviewed the publications listed in the OLC language by language for the presence of pre-clausal structures. As a result of the initial search for information (§1.1), it was known that pre-clausal structures are frequently associated with terminology such as left dislocation, topicalisation, fronting, double-subject, topic, focus or theme, so these became key words for the review process. However, where pre-clausal structures were not mentioned at all, an entire document was scanned for potential examples. Some of the publications included annotated texts such as narratives, and these were particularly valuable as such materials result from naturally spoken language. The texts provide important confirmation that pre-clausal structures are indeed found in spontaneous speech, and are not just the products of elicited language. Also gleaned from the preliminary search was the idea that prosodic characteristics were likely to be involved in pre-clausal structures. Therefore, special note was made to check for reported observations of this nature in the publications.

While the focus of the publication review began as a search specifically for pre-clausal structures, it soon became apparent that pronominal systems and verb phrase indexing were additional relevant areas to the research topic. Published materials were surveyed for this information as well. This was not always a straight forward task due to the terminological and analytical variation that persists around these topics in much of the material published for Oceanic languages.

To record details of all of the findings from the reviewing process, a document was created for each individual language listed in the OLC. These files contain the relevant grammatical

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<sup>6</sup>PARADESIC is the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Resources in Endangered Cultures, ELAR is the Endangered Languages Archive at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London, DoBeS is the *Dokumentation Bedrohter Sprachen* programme at the Max Plank Institute for Psycholinguistics in Germany, and LACITO is the Parisian research unit *Langues et Civilisations à Traditionale Orale*.

notes as just described, but most importantly, they are repositories for the actual pre-clausal examples, tabulated and formatted during the collection process in preparation for the ensuing analyses.

One problem encountered right at the beginning of the review process was how to determine which structures qualified as pre-clausal and which did not, as obviously, the analysis was still to be performed. I decided to include examples of all *potential* pre-clausal structures in the OLC language files with the expectation that their status would be reassessed as the project progressed. As a result, some of the earlier language examples have since been removed from the individual language files as they no longer match the criteria that have emerged from this study as relevant to the identification of pre-clausal structures.

As the publications for each individual language were reviewed, I updated the OLC so that a tally could be kept of the data collection progress. It was encouraging to see that the number of languages found to exhibit pre-clausal structures steadily increased. The total now stands at 145 languages, although not all of these languages appear in the thesis commentary. Appendix B provides a list of these languages. Since far fewer Oceanic languages had the archived collections of audio recorded and annotated texts necessary for the prosodic analysis of PRE constructions, the language sample was much smaller for this task, comprising just three languages: Neverver (NCV), Teop (MM) and Kubokota (MM). In contrast to this, the analyses of independent pronoun systems required for the chapters exploring the grammatical categories of number and person were based on a larger sample of 195 languages, as data of this type were more readily available than that pertaining specifically to pre-clausal phenomena.

## 1.5 Method: The data analysis

For this project, data analysis was an ongoing process, beginning with the very first publication reviewed for data collection when it was necessary to distinguish pre-clausal from non-pre-clausal structures, and continuing for each of the descriptive and explanatory topics presented in the thesis itself. Commensurate with the functional-typological foundations of the project, the latter analyses were performed by firstly exploring the entire range of data found for each topic. This was achieved by extracting all the appropriate data examples from the language files, and categorising them by family subgrouping and the observable structural

patterns. Spreadsheets were also created from time to time to assist with organising the types of structures, typically employing parameters suggested by typological theory where these ‘fit’ the observed patterns. Thus, both descriptive and comparative methods were simultaneously employed during the analysis. A description of the findings was then written up in the thesis, including language examples particularly illustrative of the point being discussed.

In response to comments made by authors of the publications I surveyed (see above §1.3), I performed prosodic analyses using PRAAT ([www.praat.org](http://www.praat.org)), a free scientific software package for speech analysis. A set of 120 potential PRE constructions were analysed from the audio text corpora of Neverver, Teop and Kubokota.

A number of analytical decisions were necessary during the study. Determining pre-clausal status was a core decision. A further matter was to determine which types of pre-clausal structures were relevant, because nominals, adjuncts, adverbs, discourse markers and vocatives can all be found in the pre-clausal position. However, as the structural and functional relations of dependency between the PRE construction components were clarified, it became evident that only pre-clausal nominals demonstrate the relevant characteristics, while the remaining categories display different structural and functional properties. For example, pre-clausal adjuncts and adverbs typically have a non-fixed clause position, and their function is to add information to events, states and actions. Likewise, discourse markers and vocatives are not always in pre-clausal position. Moreover, they function as theticals, which are parenthetical constructions that relate an utterance to a situation in discourse (Heine, Kaltenböck, Kuteva and Long 2013:173). Therefore, pre-clausal structures exhibiting adjuncts, adverbs, discourse markers and vocatives were set aside as not relevant to this particular project.

Since a methodological aim was to develop a language-independent definition of pre-clausal structures by taking a bottom-up approach to the analysis, I decided early on in the study to refer to the structure of interest as a PRE construction, thus avoiding understandings associated with terminology employed for other types of analysis. In this thesis, the PRE construction components are referred to as the pre-clausal constituent (PRE) and the associated clause (ASC), and are sectioned off in the language examples presented in the thesis as illustrated below for example (1), repeated here as (6):

(6) Kwaraqae (SES, SVO)

<i>Goq</i>	<i>nouwaq</i>	<i>hein</i>	<i>diq</i>	<i>nau,</i>
then	1SG	and	cousin	1SG.POSS
	PRE			

<i>kioq</i>	<i>leak</i>	<i>dao</i>	<i>naq</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>luom</i>	<i>ngwei</i>	<i>nau.</i>
1DU.EXCL	go	arrive	COMP	LOC	house	uncle	1SG.POSS
ASC CLAUSE							

‘Then my cousin and I, we went to my uncle’s house.’ (Macdonald 2010:352)

In accordance with standard typological practice (Schmidtke-Bode 2009:ix), the conventions and abbreviations used in the analysis are those set out in *The Leipzig Glossing Rules* (2015), but have been necessarily supplemented with project-specific abbreviations where the basic Leipzig list falls short. *The Leipzig Glossing Rules* (2015) state that “glosses are part of the analysis, not part of the data”, and suggest that glosses may be changed by authors to suit their analyses. Therefore, in this work, the glosses in the examples from individual languages are generally the same as the original source, but are occasionally adjusted either for consistency or for simplicity when grammatical detail is deemed unimportant to the point being discussed. For convenience, a number of repeated terms discussed in the thesis text are represented by small capitals. For example, the terms noun phrase (NP) and verb phrase (VP) are abbreviated like this, and of course, the pre-clausal structure and its components are labelled in this way (PRE, ASC).

In regards to other terminology employed in the analysis, this has mostly been drawn from contemporary linguistic descriptions and typological studies. So, for example, notions such as constituency (the grouping of structures which function as a single unit), and dependency (the relation of the structures to each other) are employed, as are the syntactic functions S, A and O. On occasion, terminology has also been used for a specific purpose, and in such cases, clarification is provided on first appearance in the thesis. While the label ‘sentence’ is often found in grammatical descriptions, it does not constitute a technically useful term, so is

avoided here. The term construction is used in its broadest sense to refer to a linguistic expression of several parts, which provide the elementary building blocks of human language (Fried and Boas 2005:2).

## 1.6 The research questions and thesis outline

The initial research proposal developed for this functional-typological study of pre-clausal phenomena in Oceanic languages had three main research objectives repeated here from §1.3:

- i) To explore and describe the pre-clausal structures in Oceanic languages;
- ii) To investigate and explain the function(s) of the pre-clausal structures in these languages;
- iii) To compare the findings from the descriptive and explanatory research phases and develop a model of the PRE constructions in the data from the OLC language files.

Although it was initially intended to treat each objective as a distinct research activity, in reality, all three tasks overlapped at times. For example, while analysing the sequencing characteristics of PRE constructions for the very first chapter, I found it necessary to simultaneously describe and compare the data from the individual language files of the OLC in order to account for the variation observed, and answer the questions relating to this topic. The model-building process, originally intended to be undertaken as the last research activity, began with this first chapter and continued as the analysis unfolded. As a result, the research questions originally formulated for each research objective have been addressed out of sequence, and in different parts of the final thesis. Additionally, the original rather general research questions formulated at the proposal stage of the project have become more specific since I began to review the data. The following sets out the research questions as they now relate to the different thesis chapters and sections.

The first part of the thesis describes and compares the structural characteristics of PRE constructions, and answers questions concerning what PRE constructions ‘look’ like, beginning with the most basic and also most challenging question of the entire thesis:

- How can PRE constructions be identified in Oceanic languages?

This relatively general question developed into more specific questions including this set which concern the non-relational structural property of sequencing, the topic of Chapter Two:

- In terms of the difficulties experienced in identifying PRE constructions, what is the process of establishing pre-clausal status for any potential PRE construction in Oceanic languages?
- Having observed in some PRE constructions, that the pre-clausal element and its associated clause may not exhibit contiguity, how many and what range of interceding structures are found in the data from the OLC language files?
- Also having observed in the OLC data that more than one pre-clausal nominal can occur within the same PRE construction, how many can be found, and what relationships do they form with each other, and with the associated clause?

As explained above, the findings in each chapter became relevant for the model-building process for PRE constructions, which became the overriding objective of the research.

Therefore, a further final chapter question for Chapter Two asks:

- How can the findings from this chapter regarding the sequencing properties of PRE constructions in Oceanic languages contribute to the development of a typological model?

A further general question relating to the identification of PRE constructions developed from an observation made during the data collection process, and is addressed in Chapter Three:

- How can the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages be described within the larger linguistic system?

More specific questions arising from this general question involve the non-relational structural property of hierarchy, and are:

- How can the sub-parts of PRE constructions be described? Specifically, what categories of components are they, what range of structures occur as each sub-part, and are there any constraints in regards to the range of structures that can occur as these components compared with the same range of categories in the simple clauses of Oceanic languages?

- Considering the PRE construction as a distinct unit, what type of linguistic structure is it, and how might it fit within the traditional model of hierarchical linguistic structures? Accordingly, where do PRE constructions ‘fit’ in a descriptive grammar?

For Chapter Three, a final chapter question is comparative and asks:

- How can the findings from the questions above contribute to the model being developed for PRE constructions in Oceanic languages?

From the corpus of data collected for my Master’s study, I observed that the range of coreferencing devices in the pre-clausal structures of Oceanic languages varied, and that the pre-clausal element could represent nominals in the following clause with different syntactic functions. I also noted in the publications of Oceanic languages from early on in this study that prosodic features were involved in the utterance of pre-clausal structures, most likely concerning intonation and pausing. These three observations generated the following questions which are answered in Chapter Four:

- What are the range of coreferencing devices in the associated clause of the PRE constructions in the OLC language files, and what is the nature of the coreferencing relation between the PRE constituent and the associated clause?
- What range of syntactic functions does the PRE constituent nominal represent, and how can the relationship between the PRE construction components which share the same syntactic function be described?
- What are the prosodic characteristics of PRE constructions, and what is their relevance to the identification and description of PRE constructions in the Oceanic languages of this project?

A final chapter question continues the search for properties identifying PRE constructions in Oceanic languages and the development of a typological model to describe them. It asks:

- How can the findings from the questions above contribute to the model being developed for PRE constructions in Oceanic languages?

At the proposal stage of the research project, I felt that it was important to explore the range of structures that occur as the pre-clausal element in Oceanic languages, and this became a question addressed in Chapter Two, where it was found that such structures are

overwhelmingly nominals. Therefore, I decided to limit the description presented in this thesis to the PRE constructions with nominal pre-clausal elements. This decision engendered two further questions, this time in regards to the meanings expressed by the various nominal structures in the pre-clausal position, and their coreferring counterparts when present:

- What kinds of grammatical meaning do the pre-clausal nominals and their coreferring counterparts express?
- Are the grammatical meanings expressed in the pre-clausal nominals of PRE constructions the same as those expressed in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages?

Two morphosyntactic categories (number, person) and one morphosemantic category (possession) were selected to investigate these questions, chosen specifically because of their rich expression in the noun phrases of Oceanic languages. These grammatical categories comprise the middle part of the thesis as Chapter Five for the category of number, Chapter Six for the category of person, and Chapter Seven for the category of possession. The questions relating to the grammatical categories are:

- In regards to the distribution of meaning in the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages, what are the structural means by which the grammatical categories of number, person and possession are expressed in the PRE constituent nominals (as the controlling component)?
- Is it possible that the same meanings distributed across the PRE construction components (as discovered in the first question) are also available for the expression of number, person and possession in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages?

The final part of the thesis is dedicated to exploring the functional questions about what PRE constructions ‘do’ in Oceanic languages (Chapter Eight), and comparing the different types of PRE constructions identified in the data from the OLC as the concluding thesis chapter (Chapter Nine). There are two main functional questions:

- What is the communicative purpose of a PRE construction in Oceanic languages?

- What ranges and types of meanings are expressed in the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages?

The comparative questions bring together the findings from the rest of the thesis. The questions are:

- What are the properties of the PRE constructions in this study?
- Are there different types of PRE constructions in Oceanic languages? If so, can a suitable typological model be devised to account for the variation?

In sum, the remaining thesis chapters are a series of investigations of the structural (Chapters Two - Seven) and functional (Chapter Eight) properties of the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages, while Chapter Nine suggests how these findings might be modelled. The first investigation in Chapter Two addresses the difficulties associated with identifying PRE constructions in regards to the topic of sequencing.

## Chapter 2 Establishing pre-clausal status: Sequential order

In Chapter One, I provided examples of PRE constructions from four different Oceanic languages, located in the preparatory stages of this research project. During the search for these examples, I very quickly realised that identifying pre-clausal structures is not always a straight forward task. As the study got underway, it became apparent that establishing pre-clausal status for any potential PRE construction in Oceanic languages is in fact the most basic and most challenging aspect of the research topic. Therefore, it is the pre-clausal status of PRE constructions that begins the structural description in this chapter.

Establishing pre-clausal status involves the non-relational structural property of sequential order which is among the “major features of the syntax of all human languages” (Payne 2006:153).<sup>1</sup> It is a general principle of grammar that structures can be described by the sequencing of their constituents, this being a representation of the temporal order of spoken language (Bloomfield 1935:163; Langacker 1968:104; Lyons 1968:209; Givón 2001a:110, 114; Dixon 2012a:46).

For the PRE constructions of this study, sequencing involves the identification of a clause boundary between a nominal, and a following clause with which the nominal has some kind of meaning relation. To identify the clause boundaries in the data collected for the OLC language files, I found that assigning syntactic functions and determining the argument status of the nominals in the would-be PRE constructions were relevant steps, as was considering the constituent order of the clauses in question. I also observed that the typical pattern of sequencing between a pre-clausal nominal and its associated clause was occasionally interrupted by structures other than nominals, and that sometimes, more than one pre-clausal nominal occurred. These observations constitute the first three research questions for this chapter which are linked with both the descriptive and comparative thesis objectives (§1.6):

- i) In terms of the difficulties experienced in identifying PRE constructions, what is the process of establishing pre-clausal status for any potential PRE construction in Oceanic languages?

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<sup>1</sup> The terms syntax and syntactic are used in this work, as they are in the quote above from Payne (2006), to refer to the “study of the organisation and interrelation of grammatical elements” (Dixon 2012a:92), rather than as a label associated with any particular grammatical theory such as Government and Binding Theory or Minimal Syntax.

- ii) Having observed in some PRE constructions, that the pre-clausal element and its associated clause may not exhibit contiguity, how many interceding structures are found in the data from the OLC language files, and what range of structures are they?
- iii) Also having observed in the OLC data that multiple pre-clausal nominals can occur within the same PRE construction, how many of these are found, and what relationships do they form with each other, and with the associated clause?

The final chapter question stems from research objective three where the goal is to investigate the possibility that there are different types of PRE constructions, and that these types can be modelled in some way. The question asks:

- iv) How can the findings from this chapter regarding sequencing properties contribute to the development of a typological model for the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages?

The first three research questions were investigated in turn by extracting from the OLC language files, as many examples as I could find for each particular sequential aspect being studied. In keeping with the framework-free approach described above in §1.2, the data sets were analysed according to the structural patterns observed, rather than by following any particular structural theory. The analysis was informed by relevant typological frameworks when appropriate, typically of the kind developed from larger cross-linguistic studies, although Oceanic typological work was also consulted whenever such work was both available and sufficiently detailed. The chosen frameworks are discussed below as they apply to the relevant sections. For the analysis of the sequential properties of PRE constructions in this and the remainder of the thesis, the PRE construction components are referred to as the pre-clausal constituent (PRE) and the associated clause (ASC).

Section §2.1 tackles the topics of determining clause boundaries, syntactic functions and the argument status of the nominals in would-be PRE constructions. Section §2.2 shows how these tasks can be assisted by observing changes to the basic constituent order in clauses. The remaining sections demonstrate that having pre-clausal status does not imply that a PRE constituent must be directly adjacent to its associated clause (§2.3), nor does it mean that there cannot be more than one PRE constituent per clause (§2.4).

## 2.1 Establishing pre-clausal status: Determining clause boundaries, syntactic functions and argument status

From the very start, the analyst is faced with a major issue regarding the identification of a PRE construction; how to determine whether the would-be PRE constituent does genuinely have pre-clausal status. A first step towards determining pre-clausal status relates to sequencing, and the identification of a clause-initial boundary. If a NP occurs before the clause-initial boundary, then traditionally, it can be regarded as clause-external, and said to occupy a pre-clausal slot. If a nominal follows the clause-initial boundary, then it is simply a clause-internal argument, and is not a PRE constituent. This all seems straight forward enough. However, the actual process of locating the clause-initial boundary is not always so.

Part of the process of locating the clause boundary involves determining the syntactic transitivity of the clause, thereby accounting for the predicate, and the number of obligatory core arguments, but also assigning the appropriate syntactic functions to these arguments.<sup>2</sup> So, for example, the sole argument in an intransitive clause is assigned the S function, while in transitive clauses with two obligatory arguments, the argument receiving the most agent-like treatment is allocated the A function, and the argument accorded the most patient-like treatment is assigned the O (or P) function (Andrews 2007:138).<sup>3</sup> Although generally unstated (but cf. Du Bois 2003:20), an important assumption embedded in the literature for this topic is that there is a one-to-one correlation between clause arguments and syntactic functions. In other words, within a single clause, there can only be one argument functioning as S for intransitives, or A and O for transitives (Dixon 1972:128; 2010:115–152; 2012a:98; Silverstein 1976:112; Comrie 1989:70; Whaley 1997:155–160; Payne 2006:216–221; Andrews 2007:138–140). Application of this principle to intransitive propositions expressed in structures comprising two or more coreferential NPs means that only one of these NPs can be assigned a syntactic function as a clause constituent. Any other coreferential NPs are ‘extra’, and deemed to be outside the clause. If positioned to the left of the clause-initial boundary, such NPs occupy a pre-clausal position, so are prime candidates for analysis as PRE constituents.

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<sup>2</sup> Following Van Valin (2005:4), core arguments are defined in this thesis as being the arguments of a clause predicate.

<sup>3</sup> See (§4.2) for a more detailed definition and discussion of syntactic (or grammatical) functions and their role in PRE constructions.

In order to examine the process by which clause boundaries and syntactic functions of structures which might present pre-clausal phenomena, I selected from the OLC language files, one intransitive and one transitive example of structures which were potentially PRE constructions. In this intransitive structure in (1) from Hoava (Davis 2003:328), the verb *tatakikioe* ‘be.afraid’ requires a single argument (S), and this is overtly expressed by the following NP *sa boko isana* ‘that pig’. The clause boundary, indicated in the example by the double vertical line, is then easily located to the left of the verb. As a result, the leftmost NP constituent, *sa boko isana* ‘that pig’ is outside the clause, and can be analysed as a PRE constituent:

- (1) Hoava (MM, VSO)
- |           |             |               |                    |                 |               |           |             |              |
|-----------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Sa</i> | <i>boko</i> | <i>isana,</i> | <i>ta-takikioe</i> | <i>nananana</i> | <i>holapa</i> | <i>sa</i> | <i>boko</i> | <i>isana</i> |
| ART.SG    | pig         | that          | RED-be.afraid      | INTS            | INTS          | ART.3SG   | pig         | that         |
| (S)       |             |               | VERB               |                 |               | S         |             |              |
| PRE       |             |               | ASC CLAUSE         |                 |               |           |             |              |
- ‘That pig, that pig was absolutely terrified.’ (Davis 2003: 328)

Transitive clauses are analysed in the same manner, although two arguments, A and O are sought. In example (2) from Dumbea below (Shintani and Paita 1990:67), the verb *tûâ* ‘see’ has an independent pronoun *nrââ* ‘3DU’ as its A argument, and an NP *té káatrââ* ‘the smoke’ as its O argument. As the required syntactic functions for the transitive verb *tûâ* ‘see’ are present, the clause boundary is located to the left of the pronoun *nrââ*, so that the NP *trù té trù jîé nrîa* ‘the two men there’ is clause-external, and analysed as pre-clausal:

- (2) Dumbea (NCAL,SVO/AVO)
- |               |            |            |              |                   |            |            |           |                |              |
|---------------|------------|------------|--------------|-------------------|------------|------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>Trù té</i> | <i>trù</i> | <i>jîé</i> | <i>nrîa,</i> | <i>nrââ</i>       | <i>mwà</i> | <i>tûâ</i> | <i>té</i> | <i>káatrââ</i> | <i>nrîa.</i> |
| DEM.DU        | NUM        | man        | there        | 3DU               | TAM        | see        | DEM       | smoke          | there        |
| (A)           |            |            |              | A                 | VP         |            | O         |                |              |
| PRE           |            |            |              | TRANSITIVE CLAUSE |            |            |           |                |              |
- ‘The two men, they saw the smoke there.’ (Shintani and Paita 1990:67)

In the process of locating the clause boundary by accounting for syntactic functions in this fashion, I made an important observation: a pre-clausal analysis is easily reached when all necessary referential expressions are overt. Indeed, this finding forms a main division in PRE constructions: those with overt argument expression in the associated clause, and those without overtly expressed clause arguments. In examining the former type, I found three

further sub-types. I therefore propose the following four kinds of PRE constructions, categorised according to the means of argument expression in the associated clause:

- Type ASC-overt/free, concerning associated clause arguments which are overtly expressed free nominals such as the lexical NP and independent pronoun in the associated clauses of the Hoava (1) and Dumbea (2) examples above, and the proform in (3) below from Tokelauan (§2.1.1);
- Type ASC-overt/bound, consisting of associated clauses where arguments are solely expressed by bound person forms in the VP (§2.1.2);
- Type ASC-overt/zero, involving associated clauses with a zero morpheme, a type of bound person form which encodes meaning by its very absence (§2.1.3);
- Type ASC-non.overt, consisting of associated clauses where a core clause argument is not overtly expressed at all (§2.1.4).

A summary of the discussion in regards to the four types is provided in §2.1.5.

### 2.1.1 The ASC-overt/free type

As mentioned above, in the ASC-overt/free structure type, the argument in the associated clause which coreferences the PRE constituent is overtly expressed by a free nominal. This free nominal is either a lexical NP, shown in Hoava (1), an independent pronoun, as in Dumbea (2), or a proform as illustrated here in (3) from Tokelauan (Hooper 1993: 229), where the proform *ai*, labelled as an anaphoric marker by Hooper, overtly expresses the A argument of a transitive associated clause, allowing the clause boundary to be located leftwards of the VP *na fakafino* ‘devastated’:<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Not all coreferring proforms in the associated clauses of PRE constructions are core clause arguments as in the example above from Tokelauan. Other coreferring proforms act as non-core clausal elements such as deictic adverbs of time and space (see §4.1.2). The reason they are categorised as ASC-overt/free types is that they seem to be mostly free forms in Oceanic languages, and are overtly stated, thus enabling pre-clausal status of any leftward nominals to be easily established.

## (3) Tokelauan (FIJ,VSO/VAO)

... <i>ko</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>galu</i>	<i>lava</i>	<i>ia,</i>
PRES	DET	wave	INT	DEM
(A)				
PRE				

<i>na</i>	<i>fakafino</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>nā</i>	<i>motu.</i>
TAM	CAUS.be.bad	PROF	DET	island
VP		A	O	
ASC TRANSITIVE CLAUSE				

‘... these waves, they devastated the island.’ (Hooper 1993:229)

One point to make regarding the ASC-overt/free type is that any person-related morphology in the VP of ASC-overt/free structure is of no consequence to the analysis. This is demonstrated by comparing example (2) above from Dumbea with example (4) below from Neve’ei (Musgrave 2007:101). While (2) shows a PRE construction of the the ASC/free-overt type where core clause arguments are not marked in the VP at all, this example from Neve’ei demonstrates an ASC/free-overt type in which the free form independent pronoun *i* ‘3SG’ is also obligatorily indexed in the VP by *i* ‘3SG.REAL’:

## (4) Neve’ei (NCV,SVO/AVO)

<i>Munur</i>	<i>tuan,</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i-leh</i>	<i>nomomokh</i>	<i>nge.</i>
person	INDF	3SG	3SG.REAL-see	woman	DEM
(A)		A	A.INDX-VERB	O	
PRE		ASC CLAUSE			

‘A man, he saw the woman.’ (Musgrave 2007:101)

### 2.1.2 The ASC-overt/bound type

For the second ASC-overt type, the ASC-overt/bound category, the structures which corefer with the PRE constituent are solely the bound forms in the VP of the associated clause. When these forms occur, locating a clause boundary is not simple. In such cases, the key issue involves identifying just what is, and just what is not, a core clausal argument. For example, in example (5) from Tamambo (Jauncey 2011:61), it could be that the initial NP *net rindi* has simply been fronted to clause-initial position, thus really only involving a change in word order (discussed further in §2.2). However, to decide if this is indeed the analysis, the status of the person marker *-a*, which indexes the O argument in the VP, must be established. If this bound form can function alone as the core clause argument, then a pre-clausal analysis is

possible. If, on the other hand, *-a* simply cross-references the NP *net rindi*, which plays the role of the core clause argument, then it is less likely that a PRE construction is involved (not impossible though, as other characteristics discussed elsewhere may yet apply). In the latter case, this would be the analysis:<sup>5</sup>

(5) Tamambo (NCV,SVO/AVO)

... 'net' rindi	<i>nira</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>lasi-a...</i>
net REF <sup>6</sup>	3PL	3PL	tie-3SG.OBJ
(O)	A	A.INDX	VERB-O.INDX
		VP	

'...as for that net, they tie (it)...' (Jauncey 2011:61)

The analysis depends on whether argument status can be granted to the dependent person forms that belong to VPs.<sup>7</sup> This issue is especially relevant to the languages of study, as canonic Oceanic languages obligatorily index the person and number of the S, A and often the O argument in their VPs with paradigms of bound person forms.

According to Mithun (2003:275–276) and Kibrik (2011:204–205), the literature generally represents two opposing viewpoints in regard to assigning argument status to bound forms. On the one hand is the agreement approach, where lexical NPs are assigned core argument status, while coreferential bound forms are simply viewed as non-referring agreement markers. When a lexical NP is not present, it is said to have been dropped.<sup>8</sup> As Bhat (2004:16) comments in his typology *Pronouns*, this is the pattern usually ascribed to familiar languages,

<sup>5</sup>Following Haspelmath (2013), the term 'index' is used as a cross-linguistic comparative concept, both as a noun, referring to the different types of bound person markers discussed in §2.1, and as a verb to describe the process involved with their use.

<sup>6</sup>Jauncey (2011:xxiv) uses this abbreviation to indicate "prior reference made".

<sup>7</sup>Dependent forms are defined by Siewierska (2004:21–39) in her typology *Person* as weak forms (unstressed independent pronouns), clitics, affixes and zero forms. In this work, all four categories are conflated and labelled as 'bound' forms, as the distinction between them is not especially relevant to the analysis. Moreover, the grammatical descriptions consulted for this project are not always consistent in their analyses of these forms, a not unexpected situation given the analytical issues with clitics as noted by Aikhenvald (2007:42–78) and Spencer and Luis (2012:1–10).

<sup>8</sup>The term 'dropped' has overtones relating to generative-style analyses, where some element that should be there, no longer is. It is not used in this work. Instead, such elements are described as ellipped, omitted or suppressed (Barbour 2008), with the idea that they are simply left out if the speaker deems this is contextually appropriate.

such as English, where agreement markers have a minor function. Opposed to this perspective is the pronominal approach, where bound person forms are viewed like independent pronouns, so have argument status, and are referential. Any coreferential NPs are often analysed as non-core arguments such as clause adjuncts, or as markers of topic or focus. Kibrik (2011:205) notes that this is the approach frequently taken by linguists studying polysynthetic languages. For example, Eloise Jelinek, working on Navajo in the 1980s, described bound person forms as core arguments rather than agreement markers (Hale 2003:12). More recently, this viewpoint is represented in the typological work of Bickel and Nichols (2007:229–233), who assert that a NP in the same argument role as a bound person marker is “banned” from occupying a syntactic argument position in the clause, as this is taken up by the bound form. Bresnan, Asudeh, Toivonen and Wechsler (2015:153) also subscribe to the same idea in their recent publication *Lexical Functional Syntax*, where they say that bound person forms are “in complementary distribution with a headed syntactic phrase of the same function”. The result is that independent NPs that cooccur with bound person forms cannot represent core clause arguments. Some Oceanic linguists also take this view in their grammatical descriptions when they say that independent pronouns, as types of NPs, are only used for emphasis, or to express contrast (e.g. Capell 1969:22; Fox 1979:30; Lichtenberk 1983a:273; Groves, Groves and Jacobs 1985:57; Senft 1986:47; Unger 2008:27; Lacrampe 2009:83; Schneider 2010:106–107; Guérin 2011:60; Franjeh 2012:76). Ascribing to this viewpoint suggests that independent pronouns are optional clausal elements, and that bound person forms are the true core arguments of the clause.

For some linguists, the agreement-pronominal debate has been discussed solely in regard to different types of person marking forms, so bound forms are compared with independent pronouns, rather than with free lexical NPs. One approach of this type is Bhat (2004:15–17), who creates a typology of “free-pronoun languages” and “bound-pronoun languages”. In the former, independent pronouns are said to be core arguments, while any bound person forms are simply redundant markers of grammatical agreement. In the latter, following the oft-cited work of Bresnan and Mchombo (1987:741), the bound person forms are considered core arguments of anaphoric agreement, while a coreferential independent pronoun is a non-argument.

Not all linguists subscribe to the agreement-pronominal debate. For example, Givón (1976:157), in an early but frequently-referenced publication, notes that agreement and referentiality seem to be performed simultaneously by bound person forms in Bantu

languages such as Swahili, this being due to their origins as free independent pronouns in the majority of cases. A key contemporary example that follows this same viewpoint is Anna Siewierska's (2004) typology *Person*, where both independent pronouns and bound person forms are treated as markers of person agreement, and also expressions of reference. Siewierska does note though, like the Oceanic linguists listed above, that in languages with both types of person forms, the independent forms are more restricted in their referential function than the bound ones (Siewierska 2004:40–42). Dixon (2010a:40) approaches this controversy by stating that where “minimal specification” of arguments is sufficient for successful communication, then bound person forms can take up this role should the language in question have such structures. The issue for Dixon is therefore more about specific speech events in specific languages. Ariel (2000:200) takes an historical view of the problem, by examining the diachronic process in which independent forms gradually become grammaticalised as verbal agreement markers (or bound person markers). She suggests that this process may in part explain the disagreement over argument status, as the grammaticalisation seems to occur at different rates for different persons and numbers within the same language, with the result that person markers carry different degrees of referentiality according to how advanced the grammaticalization process is. A cognitive approach is taken up by Mithun (2003:276). In her studies of Iroquoian languages, she argues that both lexical nominals and coreferential bound forms evoke the same entity, so must share argument status.

Underlying the entire controversy over assigning agreement or argument status to person marking forms is the principle of “Uniqueness of Argument Expression” (Haspelmath 2013:13), an assumption based on traditional linguistic understandings that core clause arguments can only be expressed by a single referential expression (Kibrik 2011:96; Haspelmath 2013:13). In languages where lexical NPs and independent pronouns cooccur with coreferential bound person forms, the analyst assumes the task is to decide which of these forms represent the true core argument in the clause. Two quite recent publications questioning the foundations of this assumption are Kibrik (2011:186) and Haspelmath (2013:13), who argue that it is not uncommon for languages to distribute meaning across more than one element. To draw on just one example, clausal negation is often expressed by two discontinuous morphemes, a well-known feature of standard French, but also a strategy noted among a number of the languages from this project, such as Atchin, Avava, Larevet, Malua Bay, Naman, Nese and Neve'ei (see Barbour 2015 for discussion). Haspelmath makes

an essential point in regards to uniqueness of argument expression. The main idea of the Uniqueness of Argument Expression principle is to prevent the same meaning being assigned to two quite separate elements. This constraint is in operation above with the analysis of syntactic functions, where only one NP per clause can function as an S, A or O argument. However, Haspelmath notes that the principle has been incorrectly extended to prohibit collaborative meaning, so structures such as bound person forms, which often combine with full lexical NPs and independent pronouns to share referential meaning, are deemed separate elements competing for core argument status. In response to this misunderstanding, both Kibrik (2011) and Haspelmath (2013) propose typological frameworks which allow for the possibility that more than one distinct element in the same clause might represent the same referent. In other words “argumenthood is distributed” (Kibrik 2011:202), and the bound forms or argument indexes “can cooccur, in the same narrow clause, with nominals that have the same role and reference” (Haspelmath 2013:7). This approach is particularly applicable to the analysis of those PRE constructions where there are difficulties locating the clause boundary due to the involvement of bound person forms.

Kibrik (2011:185–237) approaches this topic from the perspective of the bound person forms themselves, in particular whether it is obligatory for them to co-occur with a coreferential lexical NP. The bound forms are ‘tenacious’ when they are obligatory, regardless of whether a coreferential NP is present or not. They are ‘alternating’ if they are optional, and cannot cooccur with a coreferential NP. In regards to argument status and referentiality, Kibrik (2011:237) considers that the bound forms are markers of agreement, which also take on argument status and perform a referential role should a coreferential NP not be present. Additionally, he makes a distinction between the the tenacity/alternation properties of bound person forms with different syntactic functions. Applying this framework to the Oceanic languages of this study, the bound person forms found in the VPs of canonic Oceanic languages can be categorised as both bound tenacious and bound alternating, for both A and O syntactic functions.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Kibrik’s framework is actually more complex than this, as he also includes free independent pronouns in his analysis. After taking into account the free/bound and tenacious/alternating parameters, and their “sensitivity” to the syntactic functions A and O (principal and patientive in Kibrik’s work), Kibrik arrives at a typology of sixteen potential language types (Kibrik 2011:203), three of which are exemplified by Oceanic languages (Hoava, Gela and South Efate). Regrettably, the scope of this study is such that only a small part of his framework can be applied.

Haspelmath (2013:197–226) too includes obligatoriness as a defining characteristic of his framework, but it is the behaviour of the conominal (coreferential nominal), either as an independent pronoun or as a full lexical NP, which provides the organising criterion. If it is obligatory for a conominal to co-occur with an index (bound person form), the index is labelled as a ‘gramm-index’ (grammatical index). A gramm-index is highly grammaticalised, and Haspelmath (2013:9) points out that this type is rare, but familiar, being found in English, German and Russian (such as the *-s* in *he plays* which signals person, but can never occur without the pronoun *he*). This type belongs to Kibrik’s bound tenacious category.

Haspelmath’s second type involves an optional conominal, where the index is said to act like a cross-reference; hence its name ‘cross-index’. Haspelmath describes this type as being the most frequent, and it is common in the data of the Oceanic languages in this study. As the index is obligatory, cross-indexes are also bound tenacious forms in Kibrik’s scheme. The third type of index described by Haspelmath is one where the conominal is impossible, so the index acts as a substitute for the nominal, and is accordingly given the name ‘pro-index’. Pro-indexes are also found in the clauses of Oceanic languages, and as their distribution with nominals is complementary, they are comparable to Kibrik’s bound alternating type.

Together, these two frameworks provide sufficient explanatory resources to organise and present in a meaningful way the findings for the PRE constructions in the OLC language files which are the ASC-overt/bound type. Thus, the necessity of analysing the bound forms as either agreement markers or pronouns becomes redundant, as both coreferential nominals and bound person forms are seen to contribute toward the expression of a single entity performing a single syntactic function. The following examples illustrate ASC-overt/bound cases with pro-indexes, as bound alternating types, and cross-indexes, as bound tenacious types.<sup>10</sup>

Pre-clausal constructions of the ASC-overt/bound sub-type are much easier to verify when pro-indexes are involved, as the index must alternate with a conominal; in other words, the two cannot occur together in the same clause. Therefore, if both index and conominal happen to be present, the conominal cannot be analysed as a clause constituent. This is evident in example (5) above from Tamambo (Jauncey 2011:61), repeated below as (6). In this language, O arguments can only be encoded as a full NP, or as an index (labelled by Jauncey

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<sup>10</sup> While Haspelmath (2013:13–16) recognises three distinct types of indexes, he notes that in reality these types form a continuum, the same index exhibiting characteristics of more than one index type within the same language. Constraints of the current project prevent such detail being included here.

as a “pronoun trace”). Tamambo thus has pro-indexes for O arguments. In (6), the verb *lasi* ‘tie’ requires an O argument, satisfied by the O-index *-a* ‘3SG.OBJ’. The coreferential NP *net rindi* ‘that net’ cannot co-occur within the same clause, so is pre-clausal, as it precedes the clause-initial boundary, which is located to the left of the required A argument *nira* ‘3PL’. A pre-clausal analysis produces the following PRE construction:

(6) Tamambo (NCV,SVO/AVO)

... ‘net’	<i>rindi</i> ,	<i>nira</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>lasi-a...</i>
net	REF <sup>11</sup>	3PL	3PL	tie-3SG.OBJ
(O)		A	VP	VERB-O.INDX
PRE		TRANSITIVE CLAUSE		

‘...as for that net, they tie it...’ (Jauncey 2011:61)

Example (7) displays a pre-clausal analysis when the language in question has pro-indexes for A arguments. In Xârâcùù (Lynch 2002a:773), A indexes are “frequently omitted” when A arguments are lexical NPs, thus Xârâcùù is a language which is a candidate for a pro-index analysis where indexes and conominals do not co-exist in the same clause. Therefore, the NP *mwînyè-rè* ‘the mother’ in (7) is likely to be clause-external, as there is an A index *è* ‘3SG’ present in the VP. This suggests the presence of a PRE construction, additionally supported by Lynch’s observations that fronting of NPs causes a VP index to be present:

(7) Xârâcùù (NCaI, SVO/AVO)

<i>Mwînyè-rè</i> ,	<i>è</i>	<i>pwè</i>	<i>xuu</i>	<i>rèè.</i>
mother-3SG	3SG	carry	son	3SG.POSS
(A)	A.INDX	VERB	O	
PRE	ASC CLAUSE			

‘The mother, she was carrying her son.’ (Lynch 2002:773)

For ASC-overt/bound sub-types where cross-indexes are found, a pre-clausal analysis cannot be confidently made without supporting evidence of another kind, two examples of which are included below. This is because, in contrast to pro-indexes, the bound person forms are obligatory and tenacious, as they occur whether a conominal is present or not. So, when both index and conominal are in evidence, it can be difficult to see any difference between a

<sup>11</sup> Jauncey (2011:xxiv) uses this abbreviation to indicate “prior reference made”.

structure which is pre-clausal, and one which is a simple clause. Relying solely on the location of the clause boundary to make a pre-clausal analysis in such cases is therefore an unsuccessful strategy. For example, in Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001), S and A arguments are obligatorily expressed in the VP, while a conominal may or may not occur. The obligatory index *ra-* ‘3NSG’ in example (8) could simply be expressing shared meaning in regards to person with the conominal NP *tangaloi ngire* ‘those people’, so that both elements are clause constituents. Alternatively, the index could be carrying full referential status in the clause as the A argument itself, simultaneously coreferring to the NP *tangaloi ngire*, which occupies pre-clausal position. The fact that the latter analysis has been selected here is due to Hyslop’s analysis, and the addition of a comma, which she says is used to signal an intonation break indicative of extra-clausal fronting:<sup>12</sup>

(8) Lolovoli (NCV,SVO/AVO)

<i>Tangaloi ngire,</i>	<i>ra-u</i>	<i>haro</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>gineu.</i>
people 3NSG	3NSG-TEL	not.know	ACC	thing
(A)	A.INDX-TAM	VERB	O	
PRE	ASC CLAUSE			

‘Those people, they don’t know anything.’ (Hyslop 2001:70)

While a prosodic analysis must be invoked to establish a pre-clausal analysis in the previous instance, a functional explanation provides the evidence for claiming pre-clausal status in example (9) from Nalik (Volker 1998:143). As for Lolovoli above, S and A arguments are cross-indexed in the VP, so that conominals are optional. This renders two possible analyses for the following structure where an independent pronoun *ni* ‘1SG’ is either clause-initial as the S argument of an intransitive clause, or in pre-clausal position, so that the person index *ga* ‘1SG’ carries the referential load for the S argument in the associated clause. Volker (1998:143) has chosen to analyse this utterance with a clause external constituent, saying that the independent pronoun has been added “to emphasise the subject more”:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>As described in more detail in §4.3, the prosodic characteristics mentioned here are an important diagnostic criteria of PRE constructions.

<sup>13</sup>The functional characteristics of PRE constructions are presented in Chapter Eight.

- (9) Nalik (MM,SVO/AVO)
- |            |            |           |                |
|------------|------------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>Ni,</i> | <i>ga</i>  | <i>na</i> | <i>do-dor.</i> |
| 1SG        | 1SG        | FUT       | RED-talk       |
| (S)        | S.INDX     |           |                |
| PRE        | ASC CLAUSE |           |                |
- ‘It is I, I will speak.’ (Volker 1998:143)

### 2.1.3 The ASC-overt/zero type

For the ASC-overt/zero type, person marking in the VP of the associated clause is accomplished by the absence of phonological material in the expected syntactic position. Descriptive convention, or convenience as Dixon (2012a:143) suggests, treats such forms as zero morphemes. The following examples explain how the analysis proceeds when the ASC-overt/zero sub-type involves both free form nominals and zero verbal indexes (10), and then only zero verbal indexes (11) in the associated clause.

As for all PRE constructions involving free form nominals in the associated clause, indexes in the VP are irrelevant to the pre-clausal analysis (see §2.1.1), and this applies equally to indexes which are zero morphemes. In example (10) from Merei (Chung 2005:39), although the A argument indicating third person singular meaning is indexed in the VP by the absence of any phonological material ( $\emptyset$ ), it is immaterial to the analysis, as the free form pronominal phrase *i nie* ‘3SG’ takes the role of the A argument. The location of the clause boundary is easily established to the left of *i nie*, resulting in the pre-clausal analysis of the constituent *i Steven*:

- (10) Merei (NCV,SVO/AVO)
- |          |                |            |            |             |           |            |           |            |
|----------|----------------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>I</i> | <i>Steven,</i> | <i>i</i>   | <i>nie</i> | $\emptyset$ | <i>ta</i> | <i>ras</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>bo.</i> |
| ART      | Steven         | ART        | 3SG        | 3SG         | REAL      | kill       | ART       | pig        |
| (A)      |                | A          |            | A.INDX      |           |            | O         |            |
| PRE      |                | ASC CLAUSE |            |             |           |            |           |            |
- ‘Steven, he killed the pig.’ (Chung 2005:39)

When an analysis involves zero morphemes where free nominals are not present, the situation is more complicated. Observe example (11) from South Efate (Thieberger 2006:275) where the zero morpheme represents the third person singular meaning from a paradigm of O argument pro-indexes. From a theoretical perspective, it seems justifiable to say that the zero morpheme has argument status, and is carrying the referential load in the clause for the NP

*naot negamus* ‘your chief’ on account of the fact that it is part of a paradigm which has this role. From this viewpoint, the analysis would proceed as for the ASC-overt/bound pro-index sub-type described in (2.1.2), resulting in this pre-clausal analysis:

(11) South Efate (NCV,SVO/AVO)

<i>Naot</i>	<i>negamus,</i>	<i>ka-fo</i>	<i>puet-i-∅</i>	<i>pak</i>	<i>elau.</i>
chief	2PL.POSS	1SG.IRR-PSP.IRR	take-TR-3SG.OBJ	to	sea
(O)		VP	O.INDX		
PRE		ASC CLAUSE			

‘Your chief, I will take him to the sea.’ (Thieberger 2006:275)

However, from a more practical viewpoint, assigning argument status to a form which does not physically exist seems odd. Moreover, as demonstrated in (11), there would be no index at all on the verb *pueti* ‘take’ when the utterance is simply a clause with non-canonical constituent order, as pro-indexes do not co-occur with a free form nominal. Therefore, there would be no audible difference between *pueti∅* in (11) and *pueti* in (12). In such cases, other clues must be sought to establish a pre-clausal analysis, such as the prosodic characteristics discussed in §4.1.3:

(12) South Efate (NCV,SVO/AVO)

<i>Naot</i>	<i>negamus</i>	<i>ka-fo</i>	<i>puet-i</i>	<i>pak</i>	<i>elau.</i>
chief	2PL.POSS	1SG.IRR-PSP.IRR	take-TR	to	sea
O		VP			

‘Your chief I will take to the sea.’ (Thieberger 2006:275)

#### 2.1.4 The ASC-non.overt type

The final pattern of coreferential argument expression in the associated clause of PRE constructions is the ASC-non.overt type. With this category, coreferents are neither overtly expressed free nominals, nor VP indexes carrying argument status in the associated clause. In fact, they are not overtly expressed at all. As a consequence, accounting for arguments and syntactic functions to establish a clause boundary is not a useful strategy. However, with this type, a pre-clausal analysis is still possible by taking into account one or other of the PRE construction attributes.

An interesting case is found in example (13), a transitive clause in Vera'a (Schnell 2011a), specifically in regard to the expression of the O argument. While there is neither index nor free lexical NP in the associated clause, a pre-clausal analysis may still be appropriate due to the non-canonic word order of the utterance, the semantic attributes of the referent *lavet vō-wal 'anē* 'this one feast', and the discourse contextual factors of argument omission.<sup>14</sup> According to Schnell, O arguments may be left implicit if non-human referents are involved. Analytically, this allows an O argument to be hypothesised as a zero form (as Schnell does), occupying a position in the clause where a human referent would typically be expressed. Thus, all clausal arguments and syntactic functions are technically accounted for, allowing pre-clausal status to be bestowed on *lavet vō-wal 'anē* 'this one feast':

(13) Vera'a (NCV,SVO/AVO)

<i>Lavet</i>	<i>vō-wal</i>	<i>'anē,</i>	<i>dir-ē-m</i>	<i>gis</i>	∅.
feast	NUM-one	DEM	3PL-EV-TAM	hold	OBJ
(O)			VP		O
PRE			ASC CLAUSE		

'This one feast, they hold (it).' (Schnell 2011a)

### 2.1.5 Summary

This section began to address the first chapter question regarding how the pre-clausal status of would-be PRE constructions might be established. The commentary showed that in the process of accounting for the syntactic functions and the argument status of clausal NPs, and thereby locating a clause-initial boundary, four types of PRE constructions can be found, identifiable by the means of argument expression in the associated clause. The types are ASC-overt/free, ASC-overt/bound, ASC-overt/zero and ASC-non.overt.

By putting aside the assumption of unique argument expression, the dispute over bound person forms as either agreement markers or core arguments became redundant, and irrelevant to the structural analysis of PRE constructions. Instead, the typologies devised by Kibrik (2011) and Haspelmath (2013) provided effective frameworks applicable to the description of associated clauses where bound forms occur. Two sub-types of these can be found. The first are the ASC-overt/bound types with pro-indexes which produce easily

<sup>14</sup> See section §2.2 for further discussion of constituent order, and §8.2.1 for a description of the semantic roles and relations in PRE constructions.

identifiable PRE constructions, as the pro-indexes and free nominal expressions cannot co-occur in the same clause; their relationship is one of alternation. In the event where both bound form and conominal are present, the conominal is clause-external, and if located to the left of the clause boundary, a pre-clausal analysis applies. For the second ASC-overt/bound sub-type which has cross-indexes, identifying a PRE construction is more difficult. This is because the indexes are tenacious; they are obligatory elements of the VP whether a conominal is present or not. Accordingly, it is difficult to be certain if a nominal is a clause argument, cross-referenced by the bound person marker in the VP, or if it is outside the clause, while the bound person form carries the referential load as the clause argument. In the latter case, a pre-clausal analysis is suitable. Thus, the contribution towards arriving at a pre-clausal analysis is only partial, and other evidence is needed.

Bound person forms which are deemed to be zero morphemes (ASC-overt/zero) require the presence of a coreferring free form nominal in the associated clause to be certain that pre-clausal status applies. However, if such a nominal is absent, additional evidence must be sought.

Table 2-1: Sub-types of associated clauses

Basic type	Defining characteristic	Sub-type	Contribution towards establishing PRE construction analysis	
ASC-overt	Overtly expressed forms in ASC	ASC-overt/free	Sufficient	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Free nominal forms as lexical NPS, independent pronouns, proforms</li> </ul>		
		ASC-overt/bound	Sufficient	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bound person forms as weak forms, clitics, affixes (Siewierska 2004)</li> </ul>		
ASC-overt/zero		Pro-index (Haspelmath 2013)	Partial	
		Cross-index (Haspelmath 2013)	Partial	
		Zero morpheme with free form conominal	Sufficient	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>part of VP person marking paradigm</li> </ul>	Zero morpheme only	Insufficient
ASC-non-overt	Non-overtly expressed forms in ASC (omitted arguments)	N/A	Insufficient	

When it comes to establishing pre-clausal status for the ASC-non.overt type, the strategy of allocating syntactic functions and determining argument status to locate a clause boundary is not effective. One or more of the attributes described in the remainder of this thesis must be applied instead. Table 2-1 above lists the subtypes of associated clauses just discussed, summarising the contribution that each structural sub-type plays in establishing a pre-clausal analysis.

## 2.2 Establishing pre-clausal status: Constituent order

This section continues to address the first chapter question regarding how pre-clausal status can be established for any potential PRE construction by exploring a further characteristic relevant to sequencing. This characteristic involves constituent order, or more specifically in relation to the data from the OLC language files, constituent order construed as unexpected. In the case of PRE constructions, I found that unexpected constituent order involves the nominal elements that are unusually positioned leftwards in a structure.<sup>15</sup> As a simple illustration to begin the discussion here, observe example (14) from Kara (Schlie 1994:9), which has a basic constituent order of SVO. It is the atypical positioning of the constituent representing the clausal O argument *a maanu pave* ‘that bird’ in the leftmost position that attracts attention (see §8.1.2 for further explanation of the role unexpected word order plays in the human attention system). Following basic ordering patterns, this NP would usually occur after the VP in the position where the independent pronoun *nane* ‘3SG’ sits:

(14) Kara (MM,SVO/AVO)

A	<i>maanu</i>	<i>pave,</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>rafulak</i>	<i>taxa</i>	<i>xalum</i>	<i>nane.</i>
ART	bird	there	ART	children	CONT	see	3SG
(O)			A		VP		O
PRE			ASC CLAUSE				

‘That bird, the children are watching it.’ (Schlie 1994:9)

<sup>15</sup> Basic constituent order is noted with every language example in the thesis so that word order changes can always be observed. Although word order is conventionally expressed in terms of the grammatical roles S, V and O, and this is found in Ross’s typology for Oceanic languages (2004), the discussion here employs the syntactic functions S, A and O, as appropriate for studies with a typological focus such as this one.

Order changes are most noticeable for languages with a V-initial basic order, since an NP representing an S, A or O argument preceding the VP appears marked.<sup>16</sup> Structures with a leftmost positioned constituent representing an O argument in languages with basic orders of SVO and SOV are also contra-expectation.

Not all PRE constructions are the result of a change to basic constituent order though. It may be that the argument typically found in clause-initial position seems to be repeated, as seen in example (15) from Mavea (Guérin 2007:549), which has a basic constituent order of SVO. In this example, the NP *kusue* ‘rat’ is coreferenced in the associated clause by the independent pronoun *nae* ‘3SG’, and cross-indexed (§2.1.2) in the VP by *e*, also ‘3SG’, all three expressions referring to the same entity. The unusual pattern here is the successive repetition of arguments which refer to the same entity. A pre-clausal analysis is arrived at by the process of allocating syntactic functions as described in section §2.1 above:

(15) Nguna (NCV,SVO/SV)

... <i>kusue</i>	<i>nae</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>taa</i>	<i>pasa</i> ,...
rat	3SG	3SG	NEG	speak
(S)	S	S.INDX-NEG-VERB		
PRE	ASC CLAUSE			

‘...rat, he did not speak...’ (Schütz 1969:67)

As there are currently no Oceanic languages with basic constituent orders where the O argument takes initial position (OSV, OVS) (Ross 2004:494–497), repetition as seen above in Nguna (15) can only occur with languages with basic orders of SVO or SOV, and with constituents representing either an S argument (intransitive clause) or an A argument (transitive clause).

While I found that a constituent order which is unusual or marked by either changes to basic order or sequential repetition was useful for drawing my attention to a potential PRE construction, unexpected constituent order does not in itself constitute a definitional feature. Additional criteria will normally be required to verify a pre-clausal analysis in such cases. For example, the previous two examples with marked orders also exhibit associated clauses of the ASC-overt/free type, which lends weight to their analysis as PRE constructions. The

<sup>16</sup> The term ‘marked’ is employed in this work with the more generalised meaning described by Bybee (2011:131); that is, as an unusual or unexpected phenomenon in contrast to one which is expected and usual.

main reason that marked constituent order cannot be relied upon to determine pre-clausal status is that, as already explained in (5) and (6) above for Tamambo, the unexpected order may simply be clause-initial rather than pre-clausal. Such clause-initial positioning is frequently referred to in the literature, and here also for convenience, as topicalisation (Prince 1997:129; Gregory and Michaelis 2001:2; Lambrecht 2001:1052; Foley 2007:443; Dixon 2012a:235), although preposing (Birner and Ward 1998:31), and narrow fronting (Wegener 2013) are alternative labels for the same process. While both topicalised and pre-clausal structures share the characteristic of marked constituent order, the former never has a coreferring element that has argument status, as observed for the PRE constructions with ASC-overt/free and ASC-overt/bound pro-index types (see §2.1.1 and §2.1.2).<sup>17</sup>

The following pair of examples are from Tuvaluan (Besnier 1999:133), and demonstrate the difference between canonic constituent order, topicalisation and pre-clausal fronting when a transitive structure is involved. Besnier (1999:133) says that Tuvaluan has a basic constituent order of VSO, indicating that in a canonical transitive clause, the verb phrase is clause-initial, followed by the A argument, marked as ergative, then the O argument, carrying the absolutive marker. Example (16) illustrates how this order changes through topicalisation. Here, the argument *Laapana* no longer occupies its canonical clause-medial position as the A function of the clause, but simply sits in the clause-initial slot (and ergative case marking is eliminated). There are no other changes to the clause:

(16) Tuvaluan (FIJ,VSO/VAO)

<i>Laapana</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>sui</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>Tafalagilua.</i>
Laapana	PST	replace	ABS	Tafalagilua
A	VP		O	
CLAUSE				

‘Laapana replaces Tafalagilua.’ (Besnier 1999:133)

<sup>17</sup> Topicalised structures also lack the schematic attributes of DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION, and the distributed meanings created by these attributes in the PRE constructions described in this thesis (§8.1.1). Another characteristic not present in topicalised structures, but listed as a prototypical attribute for PRE constructions, is a perceptible intonation break between the leftmost nominal and the remainder of the construction (§4.3). In regards to function, it is proposed in §8.1.2 that marked constituent order is instrumental in the detection of salient information in contrast to that which is less salient, and that this contributes to the foregrounding affect of PRE constructions. As topicalisations also have marked constituent order, it seems reasonable to infer that topicalisations also have a foregrounding function. This suggestion presents an area for future research, and begs the question why speakers might prefer one option over the other.

In the pre-clausal counterpart to (17), *Laapana* is also positioned unexpectedly at the beginning of the structure, but this time occupies the pre-clausal slot. Evidence for this analysis is found in the associated transitive clause which has its full complement of overtly expressed arguments (see §2.1.1). In particular, an ergatively marked independent pronoun *ia* ‘3SG’ performs the function of the A argument, which coreferences *Laapana* in the PRE constituent:<sup>18</sup>

(17) Tuvaluan (FIJ,VSO/VAO)

<i>Laapana,</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>sui</i>	<i>nee</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>Tafalagilua.</i>
Laapana	PST	replace	ERG	3SG	ABS	Tafalagilua
(A)	PREDICATE		A		O	
PRE	ASC CLAUSE					

‘Laapana replaces Tafalagilua.’ (Lit: Laapana, he replaces Tafalagilua’) (Besnier 1999:133)

In the Tuvaluan examples above, it is the presence (or absence) of an overtly expressed coreferent which provides the main structural test for distinguishing between pre-clausal structures and topicalisation. However, as discussed above in §2.1.1, this criterion often presents a problem for Oceanists due to the complex manner in which core arguments are expressed. To reiterate the points made previously, when clausal elements are free forms and pro-indexes, any leftward coreferring NPs are likely to be PRE constituents (§2.1.1, §2.1.2). Alternatively, without coreferring NPs, simple topicalisation may be the analysis. However, when clauses with cross-indexes (§2.1.2), and omitted arguments are under scrutiny (§2.1.4), it is not possible to draw a firm conclusion about which type of marked structure provides the best description without applying additional criteria.

### 2.3 PRE constructions and (non-)contiguity

In sections §2.1 and §2.2, I addressed the first chapter question regarding the sequencing aspects of establishing pre-clausal status for the potential PRE constructions in the OLC data.

<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, Besnier notes that the structure of (16) is “less frequent and less idiomatic” than that in (17), which he says is “very frequent in natural discourse” (Besnier 1999:133). This comment suggests that investigating different genres such as conversation, narratives and procedural texts for the use of both PRE constructions and topicalisations could be a fruitful direction for further research.

In the current section, I investigate the second chapter question and the sequencing pattern for the PRE constructions from the OLC language files where the PRE constituent is not always directly contiguous with its associated clause.

There are two aspects of contiguity that I found to be relevant to the description and identification of PRE constructions. Firstly there is the number of intervening elements. The structural association between the PRE constituent and the associated clause can be described as close, for unmarked cases where contiguity applies, or more or less distant, for marked cases with up to three slots of separation (+1-3), which is the maximum attested number. The second aspect of contiguity relevant to the identification of PRE constructions is the degree of structural complexity in the intervening slot.

For examples of +1 intervention, if the intervening structure is a relatively simple one, such as an adverb, or adjunct, its intervention does not add much weight to a pre-clausal analysis. This is because these structures have variable positions both inside and outside clauses. Therefore, even when interposed between an NP and a following predicate, it cannot be assumed that an adverb or oblique is clause-external, and that any NP to its left would have the same status. However, some support for claiming that non-contiguity provides evidence for a pre-clausal analysis is provided by the prosodic findings presented in §4.3. Although only structures with +1 separation were found among the audio archived data, and there are not a large number of these, such structures demonstrate a particularly important attribute for establishing PRE constructionhood: the presence of a perceptible cesura (intonation break) between the leftmost positioned nominal and the associated clause. For the structures with +1 separation, the cesura precedes the intervening element, so that this element becomes part of the major intonation phrase expressed as the associated clause (see Figures 4–14 and 4–15 and the related discussion). Therefore, a simple +1 separation is a likely indicator that pre-clausal status applies.

For structures with +1 intervening elements which are more complex, there are sufficient structural grounds to say that an NP is clause-external. This is because such structures are syntactically independent, so any NP positioned to their left must also be clause-external. Two examples follow. The first, example (18) in Araki (François 2002:105), has an entire declarative clause *ta co mule* ‘Dad will come back’ separating the independent pronoun *na* ‘1SG’ from its associated clause *na pa vadaia niai* ‘and I will tell him about it’:

(18) Araki (NCV,SVO/AVO)

<i>Na,</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>co</i>	<i>mule,</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>vadai-a</i>	<i>ni-a.</i>
1SG	dad	3SG.IRR	be.back	1SG.IRR	SEQ	tell-3SG	OBL-3SG
PRE	DECLARATIVE CLAUSE			ASC CLAUSE			

‘(As for) me, Dad will come back, and I will tell him about it.’ (François 2002:105)

The second case is example (19) from Nguna (Schütz 1969:118), where the clause *Mooso e pei naure sikai* ‘Mooso is an island’ appears as a parenthetical comment between the first pre-clausal constituent *natokoana kerua ni Mooso* ‘the second village of Mooso’, and the second *nagisa ni natokoana kerua* ‘the name of the second village’:

(19) Nguna (NCV,SVO/AVO)

<i>Go</i>	<i>natokoana</i>	<i>kerua</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Mooso,</i>	<i>(Mooso</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>pei</i>
and	village	second	of	Mooso	Mooso	3SG	be
	PRE1				PARENTHETICAL COMMENT		

<i>naure</i>	<i>sikai),</i>	<i>nagisa</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>natokoana</i>	<i>kerua,</i>
island	one	name	of	village	second
		PRE2			

<i>eu</i>	<i>soso</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>Siwo.</i>
3PL	call	3SG	OBJ	Siwo
ASC CLAUSE				

‘And the second village of Mooso, (Mooso is an island), the name of the second village, they call it Siwo.’ (Schütz 1969:118)

If structures with a minimum of intervening material (+1) can be assigned pre-clausal status on account of a perceptible cesura, and/or structural complexity, then it is not unreasonable to expect that structures with +2 and +3 intervening elements are likewise bona fide PRE constructions. Example (20) from Hula (Pat 1996:277) depicts a +2 separation, where an adverb *walami* ‘yesterday’ and an adjunct *numai* ‘in the house’ both come between the NP *Tau* and the clause *Kila na pevagevoa* ‘Kila left him’. In this particular example, the pre-clausal analysis can be confirmed by the presence of the pro-index *-a*, coreferencing the NP *Tau*, although the number of intervening elements and the resulting distance between the coreferencing elements would seem to suggest sufficient grounds on their own to arrive at a pre-clausal analysis:

(20) Hula (PT,SOV/AOV)

<i>Tau,</i>	<i>walani,</i>	<i>numa-i,</i>	<i>Kila</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>p-e-vagevo-a.</i>
Tau	yesterday	house-LOC	Kila	TR	TAM-3SG-leave-3SG
PRE	ADV	ADJUNCT	ASC CLAUSE		

‘Tau, yesterday, in the house, Kila left him.’ (Pat 1996:277)

An example illustrating the maximum number of interposed elements attested between a PRE constituent and its associated clause is provided below in (21) from Mekeo (Jones 1998:450), where the structures of interest are all postpositional adjuncts found between what is deemed to be the PRE constituent *kumapaŋa auŋa* ‘the pig skin’ and the associated clause *e-kua-lai* ‘it fell’. This time, the coreferent in the associated clause is a cross-index *e-* ‘3SG’, and cannot itself validate a pre-clausal analysis. However, as for Hula above (20), the suggestion is that structures like this one with a +3 separation are PRE constructions due to the number of intervening elements and the distance separating the coreferents:

(21) Mekeo (PT,SOV/SV)

<i>Kuma-paŋa</i>	<i>auŋa,</i>	<i>bauŋa-ai,</i>	<i>inae-ŋa-ai,</i>
pig-skin	FORE	village-OBL	centre-3SG-OBL
PRE		ADJUNCT	ADJUNCT

<i>ima-ŋa-ai,</i>	<i>e-kua-lai.</i>
hand-3SG-OBL	3SG-bend-TAM
ADJUNCT	ASC CLAUSE

‘As for the pig skin, it fell from her hands in the centre of the village.’ (Lit: ‘The pig skin, in the village, in the centre of it, from her hands, it fell.’) (Jones 1998:450)

To summarise the discussion in §2.3, and answer chapter question two regarding sequencing and the matter of contiguity in PRE constructions, I found that aspects of contiguity where the separation is +1 easily confirms a pre-clausal analysis, as will shown from the findings of the prosodic study where a perceptible intonation break occurs between the PRE constituent and the intervening element (§4.3). Additionally, when the +1 intervention is a complex independent structure, a pre-clausal analysis is also straight forward. Structures with +2 and +3 syntactic slots of separation are highly marked and deemed to be PRE constructions on account of the number of interventions and the greater distance between the coreferring elements. Moreover, it is hypothesised that such structures produce at least one cesura as for the PRE constructions with +1 separation. This needs to be confirmed by further research

## 2.4 PRE constructions with multiple PRE constituents

In section 2.4, I address chapter question three, derived from the observation that more than one pre-clausal nominal can occur within the same PRE construction. The question asks how many pre-clausal elements are possible, and what relationships they might have with each other and/or with the associated clause.

During the data search from the OLC language files for this topic, I discovered that it is not uncommon to find multiple occurrences of PRE constituents associated with a single clause (labelled in this work as a ‘multi-PRE’ construction). For the most part, positioning of the multiple constituents is contiguous, although intervening elements are possible (see example 19 above from Nguna). The data show that there is no formal marking to indicate any structural link between the PRE constituents themselves, although semantic and pragmatic links are certainly possible (22 below). Any other structural relations are those which operate between a multi-PRE constituent and its coreferent in the associated clause. As these structural relations were discovered to be the same as those observed for PRE constructions with single PRE constituents, they are discussed in §4.1. The following simply describes the number of PRE constituents attested per construction, and their correlation with different types of associated clauses. In regards to identifying multi-PRE constructions, the problem of assigning pre-clausal or clause-internal status to the NP closest to the associated clause boundary as described above in §2.1 applies here also. Therefore, multiple NPs located towards the left edge of structures are not solely reliable indicators of PRE constructions.

In regards to number, multi-PRE constructions with two PRE constituents are the most common type as seen below in examples (23) from Kairiru, (24) from Teop, (25) from Patpatar, and (26) from Loni. Three can occasionally be found in the data as in example (27) from Äiwoo. Example (22) below is a multi-PRE structure with four constituents, identified in the West Uvean corpus at LACITO (Moyse-Faurie 1997b).<sup>19</sup> Note the lack of overt formal marking between the PRE constituents themselves, although this is more than compensated for by the complexity of the grammatical and conceptual meaning relations operating between the m. For example, PRE1 and PRE2 represent the same s argument in the following associated clause, referenced in that clause solely by the VP subject cross-index *i* ‘3SG’. The relationship between PRE1 and PRE2 can be said to have an emphatic function, the independent pronoun *ia* ‘3SG’ in PRE2 drawing greater attention to the referent *drök* ‘duck’ in PRE1. PRE4 is obviously

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<sup>19</sup> LACITO is the abbreviation for *Langues et civilisations á tradition orale*, a digital online archive.

a repetition of PRE3 (perhaps as a dysfluency or for pragmatic purposes), and relates to PRE1 and PRE2 by way of attributive possession. Additionally, PRE3 and PRE4, which share a meaning relation of attributive possession, also represent the conceptual contents of the associated clause (see §8.2.4, example 43):

(22) West Uvean (FIJ,SVO/SV)

<i>Ga</i> and	<i>ia</i> as.for	<i>drök,</i> duck (S)	<i>ia,</i> 3SG (S)	<i>dona</i> 3SG.POSS	<i>lave,</i> responsibility	<i>one</i> 3SG.POSS	<i>lave,</i> responsibilities
	PRE1		PRE2	PRE3		PRE4	

<i>i</i> 3SG S. INDX	<i>de</i> TAM	<i>fagasaaina</i> indicate	<i>de</i> ART	<i>aso</i> day	<i>e</i> TAM	<i>maalie</i> good	<i>ma</i> and	<i>de</i> ART
MATRIX CLAUSE			COMPLEMENT CLAUSES					
ASC CLAUSE								

*aso e ngaio.*  
day TAM bad  
'As for the duck, him, his responsibility, his responsibilities, (he) indicated good weather or bad weather.' (Moyses-Faurie 1997b)

Apart from investigating the number of multi-PRE constituents per clause, I also considered the clause types with which they occur. The findings show that with intransitive clauses, the limit is two PRE constituents, both of which reference the only clausal syntactic function available - the S function. For example, in (23) from Kairiru (Wivell 1981:189), both the proper noun *Taunur* and the possessive phrase *ramat qait* 'our man' are PRE constituents, coreferenced by the independent pronoun *ei* '3SG', which has the S function in the associated clause:

(23) Kairiru (NNG,SVO/SV)

<i>Taunur,</i> Taunur (S)	<i>ramat</i> man (S)	<i>qait,</i> 1PL.POSS	<i>ei</i> 3SG S	<i>a-lieq...</i> 3SG-go S.INDX-VERB
PRE1	PRE2		ASC CLAUSE	

'Taunur, our man, he was going...' (Wivell 1981:189)

In this intransitive clause, example (24) from Teop (Mosel and Tah 2003), both PRE constituents represent the argument from the associated clause with S function, being coreferenced there by *ore*, which is the independent pronoun *ori* '3PL', fused with the

conjunction *re*. In contrast to the last example though, the two PRE constituents *a ba noas na otei* ‘the relatives of the man’ and *a ba noas na moon* ‘the relatives of the woman’ reference two different entities:

(24) Teop (MM,V-SECOND)

<i>A</i> ART (S) PRE1	<i>ba</i> group	<i>noas</i> relatives	<i>na</i> 3SG.POSS-ART	<i>otei,</i> man	<i>a</i> ART (S) PRE2	<i>ba</i> group	<i>noas</i> relatives
<i>na</i> 3SG.POSS-ART				<i>moon,</i> woman	<i>ore-paa</i> 3PL.CONJ-TAM S ASC CLAUSE	<i>nomaa,...</i> come PRED	

‘The relatives of the man, the relatives of the woman, they come then,...’ (Mosel and Tah 2003:Tah\_01 \_R\_Vavahio.pdf)

Multi-PRE structures with transitive clauses usually contain just two PRE constituents. Examples can be found where both PRE elements represent the same A or the same O syntactic function from the associated clause, although these are not frequent. Example (25) from Patpatar (Condra 1989:45) is one such case though. The two PRE constituents *diet* ‘3PL’ and *ira tunatuno na komiti* ‘the committee members’ corepresent the associated clause A argument *diet* ‘3PL’:

(25) Patpatar (MM,SVO/AVO)

<i>Diet,</i> 3PL (A) PRE1	<i>ira</i> ART (A) PRE2	<i>tunatuno</i> man	<i>na</i> POSS	<i>komiti,</i> committee	<i>diet</i> 3PL A ASC CLAUSE	<i>te</i> PRF	<i>gil</i> do	<i>tar</i> ?
------------------------------------	----------------------------------	------------------------	-------------------	-----------------------------	---------------------------------------	------------------	------------------	-----------------

*no*      *togat*      *na*      *haan...*  
art      invitation      IRR      go  
‘It was them, the committee members, they made the invitation which will go...’  
(Condra 1989:45)

The main pattern for transitive associated clauses in multi-PRE constructions generally comprises one representative of each syntactic function. No particular order is discernible. So here in example (26) from Loni (Hamel 1994:266), the PRE constituents are firstly *enum a suwe* ‘a yam garden’, coreferenced as the associated clause O argument in the VP by the pro-

index *-i* ‘3SG.OBJ (non-human)’, and secondly *seh pihin* ‘the women’, representing the associated clause A argument, coreferenced there by *seh* ‘3PL’ (homonymous with the plural marker):

(26) Loniu (ADM, SVO/AVO)

<i>Enum</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>suwε</i> ,	<i>seh</i>	<i>pihin</i> ,	<i>seh</i>	Ø-čan-i. NSG-clear-3SG.OBJ A.INDX-PRED-O.INDX
garden	POSS	yam	3PL	woman	3PL	
(O)			(A)		A	
PRE 1			PRE2		ASC CLAUSE	

‘A yam garden, the women, they clear it.’ (Hamel 1994:266)

Several examples of multi-PRE structures with ditransitive clauses were found with either two or three of the clausal syntactic functions represented as PRE constituents. Example (27) from Äiwoo (Næss 2006:276) is a multi-PRE ditransitive with three PRE constituents, all of which represent a different syntactic function from the associated clause, although only the agent (A) is overtly marked in the clause itself. The first pre-clausal slot contains *iunge* ‘1MIN-DEI’, representing the R function, the second contains *meea ile* ‘the writer’ representing the A function, and the third PRE constituent *lopâ-enge* ‘this story’ relates to the theme or T argument in the associated clause. This multi-PRE represents a highly marked structure, as the constituent order for Äiwoo is basic VSO:<sup>20</sup>

(27) Äiwoo (TM,VSO/VAO)

Ä	<i>iu-nge</i> ,	<i>me-ea</i>	<i>ile</i> ,	<i>lopâ-enge</i> ,	<i>i-lopâ-mole-maa</i>	<i>ma.</i>
and	1MIN-DEI	NMLZ-write	DEI	story-DEI	PRF-tell-straight-LOC	3MIN
	(R)	(A)		(T)	PRED	A
	PRE1	PRE2		PRE3	ASC CLAUSE	

‘And as for me, the writer, this story, he told it to me himself.’ (Næss 2006:276)

In short, and in answer to the question regarding the number of PRE constituents that are possible within the same PRE construction, up to four PRE constituents per clause can be found (West Uvean, example 22). In general, the more PRE constituents per construction, the more obvious the changes to the basic constituent order, so that multi-PRE constructions can be described by their degree of markedness in this regard. Least marked are those with 2 PRE constituents, while the PRE constructions with 3 PRE constituents are highly marked. The more

<sup>20</sup> An explanation of the Äiwoo minimal-augmented pronominal system is provided in (§5.2.1).

marked structures tend to add weight to the argument for pre-clausal status, because they have such unexpected constituent orders. However, when it comes to determining the number of pre-clausal slots, the same analytical difficulties identified in §2.1 remain relevant, these being the clause-internal versus the clause-external status of the leftward NPs in the region of a clause-initial boundary.

The second part of the question in this section asked about the relationships the multi-PRE constituents might have with each other and/or with the associated clause. I found no examples in the data where any formal marking links the multi-PRE constituents with each other. This indicates that the structural relationship between the PRE constituents is one of independence. So multi-PRE structures contain sequences of PRE constituents in separate syntactic slots. The PRE constituents form neither coordinating nor embedded structures resulting in larger units, which in turn combine to form larger structures still. Thus, PRE constructions lack the property of recursion (Payne 2006:6). This point is relevant to the hierarchical status of PRE constructions, discussed in the next chapter (Chapter Three).

In terms of the relationship between the multi-PRE constituents and the associated clause, this was investigated by considering the number of constituents and the clause types with which they occur (the coreferring relationship is the same as for PRE constructions with single PRE constituents and is addressed in §4.1). Multi-PRE constructions as intransitive clauses are preceded by two constituents representing the S argument in the associated clause. Such arguments may refer to the same entities (Kairiru, example 23) or different entities (Teop, example 24). Transitive clauses forming multi-PRE constructions generally have two PRE constituents, one representing the A function in the associated clause, and the other, the O function (Loniu example 26). It is possible to find ditransitive clauses where all three associated clause arguments (A, R and T) are pre-clausally positioned (Äiwoo example 27).

## 2.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented a description of the sequential characteristics of the PRE constructions in the Oceanic languages of this project. The first goal was to examine the process by which pre-clausal status can be established for any potential PRE construction in Oceanic languages (chapter question one). By drawing on the data from the OLC language files, I demonstrated that this process involves locating clause boundaries by accounting for syntactic functions

and assigning argument status to the referring expressions in clauses. During this process, I discovered four different types of PRE constructions, identifiable by the means of argument expression in the associated clause. The four types (ASC-overt/free, ASC-overt/bound, ASC-overt/zero and ASC-non.overt) contribute in varying degrees toward establishing a pre-clausal analysis. Structures exhibiting ASC-overt free, ASC-overt/bound pro-indexing and ASC-overt/zero (pro-index) types provide sufficient evidence alone to be analysed as PRE constructions. ASC-overt/bound types with cross-indexes and ASC-overt/zero (cross-index) contribute only partially toward establishing that a particular structure is a PRE construction, while ASC-non.overt types do not play any role at all in this regard.

The process of establishing pre-clausal status was also considered in terms of the constituent order of potential PRE constructions. Although a useful indicator that pre-clausal status may apply, constituent order is not a definitional characteristic of PRE constructions. Marked constituent order, either as a change to the basic order, or as a sequential repetition of a clause-initial argument, can suggest the presence of a PRE construction, but cannot verify pre-clausal status.

A further chapter question concerned contiguity of PRE construction components. I found that non-contiguity of a PRE constituent and its associated clause can yield a pre-clausal analysis, suggested by the presence of a perceptible cesura (intonation break) for +1 interventions as described in §4.3.1, and accordingly constructions with +2 and +3 interventions, although only a small number of examples have been analysed to date.

The third chapter question was aimed at investigating multi-PRE constructions, and the data in the OLC language files revealed structures of up to four PRE constituents in the one construction. Such multi-PRE structures are highly marked sequences when compared with simple clauses. However, care must be taken to ensure that all fronted elements in a hypothesised multi-PRE construction are pre-clausal.

The final question for Chapter Two relates to the comparative research objective:

- How can the findings from this chapter regarding the sequencing properties of PRE constructions in Oceanic languages contribute to the development of a typological model?

Overall, and in answer to chapter question four, the findings indicate that sequential order is a defining characteristic of the PRE constructions in the data from the OLC language files.

Although the associated clause in PRE constructions may be subject to language-specific grammatical behaviour in the expression of clausal arguments and basic constituent orders, and there may be additional elements and/or multiple nominals fronting it, the sequencing of the main components in a PRE construction is always the same. I therefore propose that sequencing is a basic property of PRE constructions, whereby a PRE constituent always precedes the clause with which it has an association. This can be formulated quite simply as [PRE,ASC]. This property can be regarded as the first step toward developing a model for the PRE constructions in this project.

In the following chapter, the investigation continues to examine the structural properties of PRE constructions. The topic for Chapter Three, as it was for the current one, developed from an issue noted during the preliminary data search for this project, and involves the status of PRE constructions within the larger linguistic system.

### Chapter 3 The hierarchical status of PRE constructions

In the previous chapter, I proposed that the PRE constructions in the Oceanic languages of this study exhibit the non-relational structural property of sequencing, whereby a PRE constituent always precedes the clause with which it has an association. The motivation for investigating sequencing emerged from observations I made during the preliminary stages of this project as has the topic of hierarchical status which is the focus of the investigation in this chapter.

While searching grammatical descriptions of Oceanic languages for information on pre-clausal phenomena, I found that such information was frequently either not available, or located in very different chapters and under various topics. Once I began in earnest to review the publications listed in the OLC, I observed that even relatively recent grammars did not always consider pre-clausal constructions in their descriptions, particularly if they were sketches. For example, neither Mosel and Thiessen's grammar sketch of Teop (2007), nor Chamber's sketch of Kubokota (2009) identify pre-clausal phenomena, although included in the latter are several examples discussed with the final section on topic markers. When pre-clausal structures are identified, such descriptions may be found in the discussion of clauses, and sometimes sentences, although the two labels are often mistakenly conflated (Dixon 2012a:75–76). Thus, there is no consistency between linguists in the way pre-clausal structures are presented. For example, Barbour in her grammar of Neverver (2008:447–451) describes pre-clausal fronting in her chapter on clause structure, as do Næss and Hovdhaugen (2011:331–334), in their grammar of Vaeakau-Taumako, albeit as dislocated topics which are part of simple clause types. Thieberger (2006:275–276) refers to pre-clausal NPs as left dislocations, and sets his discussion within a chapter entitled 'Simple Sentences', whereas Lichtenberk (2008:1237–1269) includes an analysis of pre-clausal phenomena in Toqabaqita as left dislocations in sentences which are topicalised. It would seem that this situation results from difficulties placing pre-clausal structures within the traditional hierarchical model of language structure which guides grammatical descriptions. Therefore, the objective in this chapter is to investigate how the PRE constructions in the Oceanic languages of this project can be described within the larger linguistic system.

An important feature of human cognition and language is the capacity to build large, complex structures from small, simple ones. This creates what is widely referred to in traditional grammar as a hierarchical structure of parts and sub-parts (Bloomfield 1935:160; Langacker

1968:104; Givón 2001a:110; Radford 2005:73; Payne 2006:153, 157; Dixon 2012a:46). The research questions in this chapter involve investigating the hierarchical status of the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages. Both the construction sub-parts and the construction in its entirety are considered for their position within the traditional hierarchical linguistic model, with the purpose of discovering what kind of structure a PRE construction might be. The questions link to the descriptive and comparative objectives outlined in §1.6. The first two questions are:

- i) Having established in Chapter Two that PRE constructions are sequences of two main components, a PRE constituent and its associated clause, how can these sub-parts be described? Specifically, what kind of sub-parts are they, where do the sub-parts fit within the traditional hierarchical model, and what range of structures occur as each component?
- ii) Considering the PRE construction as a distinct unit, what type of structure is it, and where does it fit within the traditional hierarchical model of linguistic structures? Additionally, where do PRE constructions ‘fit’ in a descriptive grammar?

As for Chapter Two, the third and final chapter question is comparative and asks:

- iii) How can the findings from the questions above contribute to the model being developed for PRE constructions in Oceanic languages?

As with the topic of sequencing in Chapter Two, I explored the research questions for this chapter by extracting the data relevant to each of the main section topics from the OLC language files, and organising it according to my own observations of the patterns found therein. To perform the analysis, relevant typological frameworks were taken into account. Details of each framework are provided in the relevant chapter sections.

The chapter begins by addressing chapter question one with a description of the PRE constituent (§3.1). A description of the associated clause follows this, firstly by examining the constituent order of these clauses (§3.2), and secondly by investigating the clause types (§3.3). In §3.4, the discussion considers PRE constructions as a distinct structural unit. In the chapter conclusion (§3.5), the findings of the preceding sections are summarised and considered for their contribution towards developing a model of PRE constructions.

### 3.1 The PRE constituent

The analysis in this chapter begins by considering the position of the PRE constituent within the traditional hierarchical model of linguistic structures, then continues by investigating the range of structures that can be observed in the PRE constituent component of the PRE constructions in the OLC data. These topics address chapter question one.

Observations of the PRE constituents in the OLC language files showed that overwhelmingly, PRE constituents are noun phrases, so the description here (and throughout the thesis) is limited to this category of structures. In terms of their hierarchical status, PRE constituents are phrasal structures. However, although phrasal, a PRE constituent is not a direct clausal constituent like other phrases tend to be; it forms an association with a following clause, but is never directly included in that clause. Additionally, where other phrasal units can combine to form larger units of the same type, multiple occurrences of PRE constituents form sequences (multi-PRE) of independent elements (see §2.4). Whereas phrasal units are linguistic structures said to have the potential to combine “over and over again” so that “an infinite range of outputs is possible” (Payne 2006:501), PRE constituents would seem to lack this property. The data in the OLC language files produced sequences of two PRE constituents, and rare cases of three (Chapter Two, example 27) and four (Chapter Two, example 22) in the same PRE construction, but examples with five or more were not found.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it can be argued that PRE constituents lack the hierarchical property of recursivity, as they cannot ‘nest’ or be embedded in each other. This finding suggests that non-recursivity is a general characteristic of PRE constituents.

In regards to the structural characteristics, the PRE constituent nominals observed in the OLC data can be categorised into three basic types following the classification system outlined in Table 3-1. This scheme was adapted from Givón (2001b:1–36), Dryer (2008:151–205), and Dixon (2010:50, 54), who provide a cross-linguistic account of noun phrases, and Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:37–43), who discuss noun phrases from an Oceanic perspective. The categories discussed are simple NPs (§3.1.1), modified NPs (§3.1.2), and complex NPs (§3.1.3). Some of the nominals are discussed in additional sections of the thesis, so are only given superficial treatment below.

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<sup>1</sup> Structures combining five or more NPs are also probably rare in the simple clauses of natural spontaneous discourse.

Table 3-1: Types of NPs in PRE constituents

NP Type	Grammatical category	Sub-type (where relevant)	Additional section in thesis
Simple NPs (§3.1.1)	Proper names	Personal, place	-
	Independent pronouns		(§5.2), (§6.2)
	Simple nouns	Common	-
Modified NPs (§3.1.2)	Number	Plural forms	(§5.3.1)
		Numerals	-
		Classifiers	-
	Possession	Direct	(§7.2.1)
		Indirect	(§7.2.2)
	Other	Adjectives	-
		Case	-
Complex NPs (§3.1.3)	Relativised nominals		(§3.3.2)
	Coordinated NPs		(§5.2.3)
	Nominalised forms		-
	Compounds		-

### 3.1.1 Simple NPs as PRE constituents

Among the simple NPs found as PRE constituents are the following examples where the noun is a proper name (1), an independent pronoun (2), and an unmodified type (3). Firstly is (1) from Māori (Bauer, Parker and Evans 1993:222) where the personal noun *Hone* is a PRE constituent, referenced in the associated clause by the independent pronoun *ia* ‘3SG’:

- (1) Māori (FIJ,VSO)
- |              |               |                 |               |            |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>Hone,</i> | <i>kei te</i> | <i>rukuruku</i> | <i>kooura</i> | <i>ia.</i> |
| John         | TAM           | dive            | crayfish      | 3SG        |
| (S)          |               |                 |               | S          |
| PRE          | ASC CLAUSE    |                 |               |            |
- ‘John, he’s diving for crayfish. (Bauer, Parker and Evans 1993:222)

Independent pronouns, defined in this work as noun phrase substitutes, are commonly found as PRE constituents, and are discussed in depth in regard to the grammatical categories of number (§4.2) and person (Chapter Six). Therefore only a single example is offered to illustrate the point here. Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2008:1238) illustrates the first person singular independent form *nau* positioned as the PRE constituent, and coreferenced in the associated clause by the same form acting as the O argument:

(2) Toqabaqita (SES,SVO)

<i>Qoo,</i> oh	<i>nau,</i> 1SG (O) PRE	<i>susuqi</i> hornet	<i>e</i> 3SG.NFUT	<i>susuqi</i> sting	<i>nau.</i> 1SG O
		ASC CLAUSE			

‘Oh, I, a hornet has stung me.’ (Lichtenberk 2008:1238)

Other unmodified nominals in the PRE constituent can be common nouns, although examples are not plentiful in the data. A possible explanation for this observation concerns the referential status of the PRE constituent nominals. As a main function of the PRE constituent is to draw attention to a particular entity (see §8.1.2), the modification of a PRE constituent nominal may assist with the identification of the particular referent that the speaker has in mind. Although not frequent, example (3) from Whitesands (Hammond 2009:101) demonstrates a PRE constituent with a common noun *nima* ‘house’. The associated clause is an ASC-non.overt type, with nominal reference in Whitesands being optional according to Hammond (2011). The pre-clausal analysis is therefore determined by the marked constituent order, along with the punctuation added by Hammond to indicate an intonation break between the PRE constituent and its associated clause (see §3.3):<sup>2</sup>

(3) Whitesands (SV,SVO)

<i>Nima,</i> house (O) PRE	<i>t-am-ol</i> 3SG-PST-make	$\emptyset$ 3SG O	<i>e</i> with	<i>semen.</i> cement
	ASC CLAUSE			

‘The house, he made (it) with cement.’ (Hammond 2009:101)

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<sup>2</sup> It is acknowledged that a comma placed after a leftwards positioned nominal in the data sourced for this project is not the most reliable indicator of pre-clausal status. To my knowledge, there is no stated convention that the punctuation patterns established for languages with a relatively long written tradition such as English should (and could) be equally applied to those languages that have been more recently documented. However, the assumption made in this work is that where such punctuation exists in the data, the author is indeed following the conventions of English punctuation, so that a comma represents a perceptible intonation break, and therefore a PRE construction is present.

### 3.1.2 Modified NPs as PRE constituents

PRE constituents which are NPs can consist of a head noun and various types of modifiers associated with the morphosyntactic category of number (examples 4-6), and the morphosemantic categories of possession (examples 7-10). Adjectives as NP modifiers are rare in the simple clause NPs of Oceanic languages, but do occur in some PRE constructions (11). Likewise, the case marking of grammatical roles in the NPs of the PRE constituent is not common, but an example is provided below (12). Where these four categories are discussed in more detail later in the thesis (see Table 3-1), the commentary here will be limited to a single example.

PRE constituent NPs are modified to express number by the use of plural words, numerals and classifiers, and briefly demonstrated below firstly for plural words in example (4) from Pingilapese (Good and Welley 1989:55). The independent form *pwi* ‘PL’ is used to indicate more than one person is being referred to:

- (4) Pingilapese (MIC,SVO)
- |               |               |            |            |               |          |                 |             |              |                  |
|---------------|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|----------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>Songen</i> | <i>eremas</i> | <i>pwi</i> | <i>me,</i> | <i>irahsi</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>soahroar</i> | <i>sang</i> | <i>udahn</i> | <i>eremas...</i> |
| kind.of       | person        | PL         | DEM        | 3PL           | 3PL      | different       | from        | real         | person           |
| PRE           |               |            |            | ASC CLAUSE    |          |                 |             |              |                  |
- ‘These people, they were different from real people...’ (Good and Welley 1989:55)

Numerals also modify the PRE constituent NPs as demonstrated in example (5) from Ponapean (Rehg 1981:306), where *riemen* ‘two’ refers to two men, coreferenced in the associated clause by the pro-index *ira* ‘3DU’:

- (5) Ponapean (MIC,SVO)
- |            |                  |            |            |                 |                 |
|------------|------------------|------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Ohl</i> | <i>riemen-o,</i> | <i>ira</i> | <i>kin</i> | <i>doadoahk</i> | <i>Kolonia.</i> |
| man        | two-DEM          | 3DU        | ASP        | work            | Kolonia         |
| PRE        |                  |            | ASC CLAUSE |                 |                 |
- ‘As for those two men, they work in Kolonia.’ (Rehg 1981:306)

Some Oceanic languages have specific sets of classifiers that must be used with nouns expressing number. Example (6) from Seimat (Wozna and Wilson 2005:94) is one case of this usage in the PRE constituent where the form *tel* indicates that the referent *ukalak pamu* ‘my older brother’ is a single human being (note that Seimat does not index A arguments in the VP):

- (6) Seimat (ADM,SVO)
- |   |                  |               |               |                |                |               |                  |       |               |        |     |  |  |  |  |  |   |          |                |               |            |          |                |               |     |            |      |     |     |      |     |             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |              |                |               |        |                   |  |  |
|---|------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|-------|---------------|--------|-----|--|--|--|--|--|---|----------|----------------|---------------|------------|----------|----------------|---------------|-----|------------|------|-----|-----|------|-----|-------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--------------|----------------|---------------|--------|-------------------|--|--|
| <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>Tel</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>ukalak</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>pamu,</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>ax-an</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>Mentel,</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">NUM.CLF</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">brother-1SG.POSS</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">older</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">name-3SG.POSS</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Mentel</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">PRE</td> <td colspan="4"></td> </tr> </table> | <i>Tel</i>       | <i>ukalak</i> | <i>pamu,</i>  | <i>ax-an</i>   | <i>Mentel,</i> | NUM.CLF       | brother-1SG.POSS | older | name-3SG.POSS | Mentel | PRE |  |  |  |  |  | <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>i</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>taha-ma</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>nemaux</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>ape</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>i</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>hangoni</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>nga...</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">3SG</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">arrive-VEN</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">bush</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">and</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">3SG</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">wake</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">1SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">ASC CLAUSES</td> <td colspan="6"></td> </tr> </table> | <i>i</i> | <i>taha-ma</i> | <i>nemaux</i> | <i>ape</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>hangoni</i> | <i>nga...</i> | 3SG | arrive-VEN | bush | and | 3SG | wake | 1SG | ASC CLAUSES |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>ax-an</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>Mentel,</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">name-3SG.POSS</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">Mentel</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="padding: 2px 10px;">NON-VERBAL CLAUSE</td> </tr> </table> | <i>ax-an</i> | <i>Mentel,</i> | name-3SG.POSS | Mentel | NON-VERBAL CLAUSE |  |  |
| <i>Tel</i>  | <i>ukalak</i>    | <i>pamu,</i>  | <i>ax-an</i>  | <i>Mentel,</i> |                |               |                  |       |               |        |     |  |  |  |  |  |   |          |                |               |            |          |                |               |     |            |      |     |     |      |     |             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |              |                |               |        |                   |  |  |
| NUM.CLF   | brother-1SG.POSS | older         | name-3SG.POSS | Mentel         |                |               |                  |       |               |        |     |  |  |  |  |  |   |          |                |               |            |          |                |               |     |            |      |     |     |      |     |             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |              |                |               |        |                   |  |  |
| PRE   |                  |               |               |                |                |               |                  |       |               |        |     |  |  |  |  |  |   |          |                |               |            |          |                |               |     |            |      |     |     |      |     |             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |              |                |               |        |                   |  |  |
| <i>i</i>  | <i>taha-ma</i>   | <i>nemaux</i> | <i>ape</i>    | <i>i</i>       | <i>hangoni</i> | <i>nga...</i> |                  |       |               |        |     |  |  |  |  |  |   |          |                |               |            |          |                |               |     |            |      |     |     |      |     |             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |              |                |               |        |                   |  |  |
| 3SG   | arrive-VEN       | bush          | and           | 3SG            | wake           | 1SG           |                  |       |               |        |     |  |  |  |  |  |   |          |                |               |            |          |                |               |     |            |      |     |     |      |     |             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |              |                |               |        |                   |  |  |
| ASC CLAUSES   |                  |               |               |                |                |               |                  |       |               |        |     |  |  |  |  |  |   |          |                |               |            |          |                |               |     |            |      |     |     |      |     |             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |              |                |               |        |                   |  |  |
| <i>ax-an</i>  | <i>Mentel,</i>   |               |               |                |                |               |                  |       |               |        |     |  |  |  |  |  |   |          |                |               |            |          |                |               |     |            |      |     |     |      |     |             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |              |                |               |        |                   |  |  |
| name-3SG.POSS   | Mentel           |               |               |                |                |               |                  |       |               |        |     |  |  |  |  |  |   |          |                |               |            |          |                |               |     |            |      |     |     |      |     |             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |              |                |               |        |                   |  |  |
| NON-VERBAL CLAUSE   |                  |               |               |                |                |               |                  |       |               |        |     |  |  |  |  |  |   |          |                |               |            |          |                |               |     |            |      |     |     |      |     |             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |              |                |               |        |                   |  |  |
- ‘My older brother, Mentel, he came to the bush, and he woke me up...’ (Wozna and Wilson 2005:94)

The expression of possession in Oceanic languages, which is somewhat complex, is another category modifying nouns in the NPs of the PRE constituent (see Chapter 7). Essentially, there are two main structural patterns involved. Firstly is a direct type, where the close-knit semantic relationship between possessor and possessum is explicitly marked by means of an affix, most often a suffix (see also §7.2.1). This is illustrated in the pre-clausal slot of example (7) from Mavea (Guérin 2007:542), where the possessum, the body part *palo-* ‘leg’ is directly affixed with the first person singular possessor suffix *-ku* to yield the form *paloku* ‘my leg’, coreferenced in the associated clause by the pro-index *-a* ‘3SG’:

- (7) Mavea (NCV,SVO)
- |  |                 |               |                 |                 |              |        |         |           |     |            |  |  |  |
|--|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|--------|---------|-----------|-----|------------|--|--|--|
| <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>Palo-ku,</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>doctor</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>mo-dom</i></td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;"><i>ravti-a.</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">leg-1SG.POSS</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">doctor</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">3SG-cut</td> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">break-3SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 10px;">PRE</td> <td colspan="3" style="padding: 2px 10px;">ASC CLAUSE</td> </tr> </table> | <i>Palo-ku,</i> | <i>doctor</i> | <i>mo-dom</i>   | <i>ravti-a.</i> | leg-1SG.POSS | doctor | 3SG-cut | break-3SG | PRE | ASC CLAUSE |  |  |  |
| <i>Palo-ku,</i>  | <i>doctor</i>   | <i>mo-dom</i> | <i>ravti-a.</i> |                 |              |        |         |           |     |            |  |  |  |
| leg-1SG.POSS   | doctor          | 3SG-cut       | break-3SG       |                 |              |        |         |           |     |            |  |  |  |
| PRE  | ASC CLAUSE      |               |                 |                 |              |        |         |           |     |            |  |  |  |
- ‘My leg, the doctor cut it.’ (Guérin 2007:542)

In contrast to the direct strategy of possession, nouns in the PRE constituent can be modified for possession indirectly. One such pattern requires the use of a possessive classifier, which indicates the nature of the relationship between the possessor and possessum (see also §7.2.1 and §7.4.2). In (8) from Arosi (Lynch and Horoi 2002:570), the noun *lima* ‘house’ is modified by the classifier *a-*, indicating possession of a general item, which in turn is suffixed

with the possessive determiner *gu(a)* ‘1SG’. Pre-clausal status for this NP is suggested by the marked word order, but assumed by the presence of the comma after the classifier *agua*, inserted by the authors to indicate an intonation break. The coreferent in the associated clause is the cross-index *-a* ‘3SG’, which cannot assist the analysis in this case:

- (8) Arosi (SES, SVO)
- |          |             |                 |            |             |          |                 |             |
|----------|-------------|-----------------|------------|-------------|----------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>I</i> | <i>ruma</i> | <i>a-gu(a),</i> | <i>e</i>   | <i>ro'a</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>heretai-</i> | <i>i-a.</i> |
| ART.OBJ  | house       | CLF-1SG         | ART.SBJ    | wind        | 3SG      | destroy-TR-     | 3SG         |
| PRE      |             |                 | ASC CLAUSE |             |          |                 |             |
- ‘As for my house, the wind destroyed it.’ (Lynch and Horoi 2002:570)

Two further indirect strategies for encoding possession occur in the NPs of PRE constituents. The first is the simple juxtaposition of a possessor and a possessum (see §7.2.2) as in example (9) from Mavea (Guérin 2011:383), where the noun *aka* ‘canoe’ is modified by the independent possessive determiner *kamatol* ‘1EXCL.PCL’, coreferenced in the associated clause by the proform *ai*:

- (9) Mavea (NCV, SVO)
- |                |             |            |              |            |
|----------------|-------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>Kamatol</i> | <i>aka,</i> | <i>wae</i> | <i>mo-si</i> | <i>ai.</i> |
| 1EXCL.PCL      | canoe       | water      | 3SG-go.down  | PROF       |
| PRE            |             |            | ASC CLAUSE   |            |
- ‘Our canoe, water went inside it.’ (Guérin 2011:383)

The second additional pattern is the use of a possessive ‘linker’ to associate two nominals in a possessive relation, demonstrated by example (10) from Loni (Hamel 1994), where the PRE constituent has a possessive relationship with its coreferent in the associated clause (see §7.2.2). The morpheme *a* simply links the possessor *seh* ‘3PL’ with the possessum *puret* ‘work’ creating the possessive phrase *puret seh* ‘their work’.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A pre-clausal analysis for this structure is arrived at by means of the conceptual relation of analogy which operates between the referent expressed by the PRE constituent and its counterpart *seh* ‘3PL’ in the associated clause (explained in §8.2.2).

(10) Loniu (ADM, SVO)

<i>Puret</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>seh,</i>	<i>seh</i>	<i>tɔ</i>	<i>put-i</i>	<i>lotay.</i>
work	POSS	3PL	3PL	STAT	take-TR	weed
PRE			ASC CLAUSE			

‘Their work, they pull out the weeds.’ (Hamel 1994:267)

Lexical modifiers traditionally labelled as adjectives form closed class sets of limited membership if present at all in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:40). Accordingly, there are not many examples in the NPs of PRE constituents. Example (11) from Nevever is analysed as a PRE construction on account of the marked constituent order for the O argument, and the lengthy intonation break (1.3 s) between the PRE constituent and the intervening adverb *barnax* ‘now’ (see §4.3 for discussion of intonation breaks in PRE constructions). Note also that the PRE constituent NP follows the typical order for nouns and their attributive adjectives noted by Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:40) for Oceanic languages; the property *mial* ‘red’ follows the head noun *nilian* ‘special thing’:

(11) Nevever (NCV,SVO)

<i>Ba</i>	<i>naut</i>	<i>i-ran,</i>	<i>nilian</i>	<i>mial</i>	<i>ang,</i>
when	place	3SG.REAL-light	special.thing	red	that
ADVERBIAL CLAUSE			PRE (O)		

<i>barnax</i>	<i>mam</i>	<i>nat-vus.</i>
now	1PL.EXCL	1PL.EXCL.REAL-carry
ADVERB	ASC CLAUSE	

‘When it was light, the red head dress, now we carried (it).’ Barbour 2010:NVKI03.95)

NPs modified by case marking are typically of ergative/absolutive alignment, and only found in a relatively small number of Oceanic languages, usually where argument indexing in the VP no longer occurs (Ross 2004:496). As with adjectives, there are few examples of case marking in PRE constituent NPs. One such case where this phenomenon can be seen is example (12) from Niuean (Seiter 1979:116), where the PRE constituent NP is a conjoined structure representing the subject relation in a non-verbal complement clause. Both nominals (*tagata* ‘man’ and *hoana haana* ‘his wife’) are preposed with the absolutive marker *e*:

(12) Niuean (FIJ,VSO)

<i>Ko</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>tagata</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>kō</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>hoana</i>	<i>haana,</i>
PRES	ABS	man	at	there	with	ABS	wife	3SG.POSS
(SUBJECT OF COMPLEMENT CLAUSE)								
PRE								

<i>kua</i>	<i>manako</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>Sione</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>fiafia</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>laua.</i>
PRF	want	ABS	Sinoe	COMP	happy	ABS	3DU
MATRIX				COMPLEMENT CLAUSE		SUBJECT	
ASC CLAUSE							

‘As for that man and his wife, Sione wants them to be happy.’ (Seiter 1979:116)

### 3.1.3 Complex NPs as PRE constituents

Relativised nominals (examples 13, 14), conjoined NPs (examples 15, 16), nominalised (17) and compounding (18) forms are four types of complex structures found in the NPs of Oceanic languages and also in the PRE constructions exemplified below. Relativised nominals are frequent PRE constituents. In each case, the dependent clause is postposed to the nominal head as also seems to be the pattern for relative clauses in simple clauses (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:43). Example (13) from Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:71), shows the the nominal *rivurivu* ‘k.o.plant’ modified by a postposed relative clause that is headed by the relativiser *ngihie*. The relativised PRE construction is coreferenced in the associated clause by the pro-index *-e* ‘3SG’:

(13) Lolovoli (NCV,SVO)

<i>Rivu-rivu</i>	<i>ngihie</i>	<i>hena-na</i>	<i>mwetarigelegi,</i>
RED-plant	REL	name-3SG.POSS	kava
PRE	REL		
PRE WITH RELC			

<i>garivi</i>	<i>ngihie</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>gani-e.</i>
rat	that	REAL	eat-3SG
ASC CLAUSE			

‘The plant called ‘mwetarigelegi’, the rat ate it.’ (Hyslop 2001:71)

In example (14) from Tawala (Ezard 1997:209), relativisation takes place in the PRE constituent without the presence of an overt relativiser, so that the NP *hougana* ‘the time’ is simply juxtaposed with its dependent clause:

- (14) Tawala (PT,SVO)
- |           |                 |                  |              |              |                 |              |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>Ma</i> | <i>houga-na</i> | <i>to-ne-nae</i> | <i>naka,</i> | <i>houga</i> | <i>i-apapoe</i> | <i>duma.</i> |
| and       | time-DEF        | 1PL.EXCL-DUR-go  | TOP          | time         | 3SG-bad         | very         |
|           | PRE             | REL              |              |              |                 |              |
|           | PRE WITH RELC   |                  |              | ASC CLAUSE   |                 |              |
- ‘As for the time we were going along, the time (weather) was really bad.’ (Ezard 1997:209)

Conjoined NPs in the PRE constituents of PRE constructions are discussed in §5.2.3 in regards to number, but the two examples below demonstrate their structural characteristics. In the first instance, example (15) from Vitu (Van den Berg and Bachet 2006:235), two nouns *boro* ‘pig’ and *kaua* ‘dog’ are simply linked by the conjunct *kamana* ‘with’ to form a single complex NP, which represents the s argument *hiro* ‘3DU’ of the associated clause:

- (15) Vitu (MM,SVO)
- |             |               |              |             |           |             |             |               |             |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Boro</i> | <i>kamana</i> | <i>kaua,</i> | <i>hiro</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>rovo</i> | <i>kara</i> | <i>potuna</i> | <i>kua.</i> |
| pig         | with          | dog          | 3DU         | NSG.REAL  | run         | to          | mountain      | this        |
| (S)         |               |              | S           |           |             |             |               |             |
| PRE         |               |              | ASC CLAUSE  |           |             |             |               |             |
- ‘The pig and the dog, they ran to the mountain.’ (Van den Berg and Bachet 2006:235)

The conjoined relationship is encoded a little differently in the PRE constituent from example (16) from Numbami (Bradshaw 1999:283) example, as the conjunct *to* ‘with’ is positioned phrase-finally, but functions as a link between three nominals: *aito* ‘3PL’, *aindi ekapakolopa* ‘their children’ and (*aindi*) *asowa* ‘their spouses’:

- (16) Numbami (NNG, SVO)
- |             |              |                    |              |            |             |               |
|-------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>Aito</i> | <i>aindi</i> | <i>ekapakolopa</i> | <i>asowa</i> | <i>to,</i> | <i>aito</i> | <i>ti-ani</i> |
| 3PL         | 3PL.POSS     | girls.boys         | spouse       | with       | 3PL         | 3PL-eat       |
| PRE         |              |                    |              |            | ASC CLAUSES |               |
- ti-mi*      *kapala*   *lalo.*  
 3PL-dwell   house   inside  
 ‘They (white women) and their children and spouses, they eat (it) in their houses.’  
 (Bradshaw 1999:283)

Although Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:38) say that “nouns are often productively derived from verbs”, nominalised forms are not often found in the NPs of PRE constituents. One clear

example of nominalisation was found in example (17) from Kwaio (Keesing 1985:218), where the verb *futa* ‘be born’, as seen in the associated clause, is nominalised by a suffix *-nga* and positioned in the PRE constituent to create the complex nominal *futanga* ‘birth’:<sup>4</sup>

- (17) Kwaio (SES,SVO)
- |                  |            |             |             |            |                    |
|------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|--------------------|
| <i>Futa-nga,</i> | <i>ku</i>  | <i>futa</i> | <i>guia</i> | <i>naa</i> | <i>ga'i-nau...</i> |
| be.born-NMLZ     | 1SG        | be.born     | side        | LOC        | mother-1SG.POSS    |
| PRE              | ASC CLAUSE |             |             |            |                    |
- ‘As for (my) birth (relatives), I was born among my mother’s people.’ (Keesing 1985:218)

Compound forms, where two or more simple lexical items are juxtaposed to form a new meaning are found in Oceanic languages, particularly to refer to non-traditional concepts and items. A simple example is included as (18) to show that these forms also occur as PRE constituents. From Tuvaluan (Besnier 1999:243), two nouns *potu* ‘team’ and *kau* ‘group’ combine to create the equivalent meaning of the English compound ‘political party’:

- (18) Tuvaluan (FIJ,VSO)
- |           |             |            |             |               |           |                    |            |
|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|--------------------|------------|
| <i>Te</i> | <i>potu</i> | <i>kau</i> | <i>nei,</i> | <i>palele</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>faka-maasei</i> | <i>nee</i> |
| DEF       | team        | group      | this        | PFV           | PST       | CAUS.bad           | ERG        |
| PRE       | ASC CLAUSE  |            |             |               |           |                    |            |
- laatou te maaloo a ttou atu fenua.*  
 3PL DEF government of 3PL.POSS island.chain  
 ‘That political party, they’ve completely messed up the government of our island group.’ (Besnier 1999:243)

The findings from this section demonstrate that PRE constituents are phrasal structures, more specifically NPs comprising simple, modified and complex nominals. It would appear that the range of PRE constituent nominals from the OLC language files are also found in the nominals of simple Oceanic clauses, therefore it can be said that there are no particular

<sup>4</sup> This structure is pre-clausal on account of the conceptual relation between the PRE construction components (see §8.2.2).

constraints in regards to the structural expression of the nominals in PRE constituents, a characteristic to add to the growing list of properties for the PRE construction model.<sup>5</sup>

### 3.2 The associated clause: Basic constituent orders

As part of chapter question one, the previous section investigated the hierarchical and structural characteristics of the PRE constituent, the first major component in the PRE constructions of the OLC language files. To answer the remaining part of question one, this and the following section (§3.3) explore the hierarchical and structural characteristics of the associated clause, the second main component of PRE constructions.

In regards to their position within the traditional hierarchy of linguistic structures, the data from the OLC confirm that associated clauses are always clausal structures. The clause, like the phrase, is a recognised linguistic unit, so the hierarchical structure of an associated clause is relatively straight forward to describe. Unlike PRE constituents, associated clauses can be conjoined to form larger associated clauses (see §3.3.2, example 23 from Sinaugoro).

Other structural characteristics relevant to associated clauses include basic constituent order, and clause type. The former topic is discussed briefly in this section (§3.2), while the latter topic is examined in §3.3.

Ross (2004:494–498) provides a typology of five basic constituent orders for Oceanic languages; three for canonic languages, and two for non-canonic languages. As demonstrated in the many examples in this thesis, all five types of clauses occur in PRE constructions. Canonic orders are SVO, VSO, and VOS, and exemplified in example (13) from Lolovoli (SVO), example (18) from Tuvaluan (VSO), and example (28) from Chapter Five from Anejom (VOS). Non-canonic orders are SOV, exemplified in example (20) from Chapter Two for Hula, and a pattern whereby predicates are typically V-second as can be seen in example (35) in Chapter Eight from Kubokota. The fact that associated clauses can be observed in the data for all five of the orders described by Ross (2004) suggests that clause-internal ordering rules which

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<sup>5</sup> While this chapter asks about the possibilities regarding the structural expression of the PRE construction components, Chapters Five, Six and Seven address the same kind of question in regard to the meanings distributed across the PRE construction components.

apply to simple clauses in Oceanic languages have no influence on the presence or absence of PRE constructions, thus suggesting a further characteristic relevant to PRE constructions.

### 3.3 The associated clause: Clause types

Having described the basic constituent orders of associated clauses, this section continues to address chapter question one by exploring the types of associated clauses observed in the OLC language files. A sample is provided below, organised (with slight modification) according to the typology of clause types listed by Dryer (2007:224), where clauses are categorised in terms of:

- Their internal structure as verbal or non-verbal types;
- Their complexity as clauses with dependent subordinating types (complement, relative, conditional);
- The speech acts they perform (declarative, interrogative, imperative);
- The way they package information.

The internal structure, or range of verbal and non-verbal clause types associated with the PRE constituent is addressed in §3.3.1, while examples of complex clauses with PRE constituents including coordinating and subordinating structures are described in §3.3.2. Declarative, interrogative and imperative associated clause types are the topic of §3.3.3. The analysis regarding information packaging has a functional explanation so is deferred until Chapter Eight.

#### 3.3.1 Verbal and non-verbal associated clauses

There is an abundance of examples throughout this work where PRE constituents front verbal associated clauses, such as intransitive, and transitive clause types. Ditransitive clauses are also found, as demonstrated in example (19) from Teop (Mosel and Thiessen 2007), where the NP *a beiko tenam ei* ‘our boy here’ is the PRE constituent. This constituent is coreferenced in the associated clause by *-e* ‘3SG.OBJ’ and corepresents the syntactic function of R (recipient) (also see §4.2.2):

(19) Teop (MM,V-SECOND)

<i>A</i>	<i>beiko</i>	<i>te-nam</i>	<i>ei,</i>
ART	child	PREP-1PL.EXCL	DEM
(R)			
PRE			

<i>anam</i>	<i>paa</i>	<i>maake</i>	<i>ki-vu-e</i>	<i>bene</i>	<i>eau.</i>
1EXCL.SBJ	TAM	choose	DAT-IMM-3SG.OBJ	ART.OBJ	2SG
A	PRED		R	T	
ASC CLAUSE					

‘Our boy here, we chose you for him.’ (Mosel and Thiessen 2007:[Vos. 1.468-469R])

Three types of simple non-verbal predicates (nominal, adjectival, locative) are identified by Dryer (2007:224), and all of these occur in non-verbal clauses with PRE constructions.

Example (20) below from Kubokota (Chambers 2006) associates a pre-clausal NP *na vavakato* ‘this story’ with a non-verbal clause. The predicate is the nominal *vavakatodi* ‘their story’, also the coreferencing element of the PRE constituent:

(20) Kubokota (MM,VSO)

<i>Ego,</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>vavakato,</i>	<i>vavakato-di</i>	<i>ria</i>	<i>pa moa.</i>
now	ART	story	story-3PL.POSS	3PL	of.before
			NON-VERBAL PRED	SUBJECT	
	PRE		ASC NON-VERBAL CLAUSE		

‘Okay, this story, it’s a story about the people of before.’ (Chambers 2006:a033Jw\_001)

An adjectival predicate *o beera* ‘big’ in example (21) from Teop (Kaetavara and Saovana-Spriggs 1994a) forms a non-verbal clause with the subject NP *o paku* ‘feast’, also acting as the coreferent for the NP of the same form in the PRE constituent:

(21) Teop (MM,V SECOND)

<i>O</i>	<i>vaabuaku</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>paku,</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>paku</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>beera.</i>
ART	second	ART	feast	ART	feast	ART	big
				SUBJECT		NON-VERBAL PRED	
PRE				ASC NON-VERBAL CLAUSE			

‘The second feast, it’s a big feast.’ (Kaetavara and Saovana-Spriggs 1994a:Kaetavara1\_R.pdf)

Locative non-verbal clauses fronted with PRE constituents are equally possible, as shown in example (22) from Mavea (Guérin 2011:279), where the locative predicate *noro* ‘here now’

locates the pre-clausal NP *aso* ‘mushroom’, coreferenced in the non-verbal clause by the independent pronoun *nna* ‘3SG’:

(22) Mavea (NCV,SVO)

<i>Aso,</i> mushroom	<i>nna</i> 3SG SUBJECT	<i>norō,</i> here.now NON-VERBAL PRED	<i>atano.</i> ground OBL
PRE	ASC NON-VERBAL CLAUSE		

‘The mushroom, it (is) here, on the ground.’ (Guérin 2011:279)

A further observation can be made regarding non-verbal clauses preceded by PRE constructions: the non-verbal clause can be either subject-predicate (examples 21, 22) or predicate-subject (20) order.

### 3.3.2 Complex clauses as associated clauses

The data from the OLC language files revealed that complex clauses of both coordinating (Type A) and subordinating (Type B) types exhibit interesting possibilities involving pre-clausal material. Two different structural patterns can be observed for each of these types. Firstly is the external pattern, where the PRE construction incorporates the complex clause, so that a PRE constituent is associated with either a complex coordinating or complex subordinating clause. With this pattern, a coreferencing element is found in each of the complex clause components. In the second pattern, the PRE construction is internal, being incorporated within the complex clause. In other words, one of the complex clause components is the PRE construction, and coreferencing occurs only within this pre-clausally structured component. This structural patterning is significant to the identification of PRE constructions, as externally positioned PRE constituents are easily determined, being outside the entire complex structure. On the other hand, internally positioned PRE constructions rely on the coreferencing method already described in §2.1, so that ASC-overt/free and ASC-overt-bound pro-indexed associated clauses imply PRE constructionhood, as do ASC/overt-zero types with free coreferencing nominals. ASC-overt/bound cross-indexed, ASC/overt-zero types without free nominals, and ASC-non.overt types require further evidence for pre-clausal

status. A further small set of examples involving different complex clausal structures were observed in the OLC data, and are included in the description for this section as Type C.

A summary of the PRE constructions which involve complex clauses is provided in Table 3-2. The examples to illustrate the different types are presented in order of the complex clause types indicated in this table.

Table 3-2: Complex associated clauses

Complex clause type	External pattern	Internal pattern
Type A:		
Coordinating clauses		
Disjunctive	Sinaugoro (23) – verbal PRE constituent precedes entire complex clause	Not found
Conjunctive	Mavea (24) – non-verbal PRE constituent fronts entire complex clause	Mutu (25) – non-verbal: PRE constituent fronts each clausal component
Type B:		
Subordinating clauses		
Complement	Boumaa Fijian (26) PRE constituent fronts entire complex clause	Mavea (27) PRE constituent fronts embedded complement clause
Adverbial (conditional)	Bierebo (28) PRE constituent fronts entire complex clause	Not found
Adverbial (temporal)	Neverver (29) PRE constituent fronts entire complex clause	Not found
Type C:		
Other		
Relative	Loniu (30) - PRE construction is embedded relative clause	
Combination	Neverver (31) – PRE constituent with relative clause fronts associated complex clause	
Switch reference	Ura (32) – PRE constituent fronts entire complex structure	

*Type A: Complex coordinating associated clauses*

Illustrating the external pattern for coordinating structures where the PRE constituent fronts the entire complex construction is example (23) from Sinaugoro (Tauberschmidt 1999:77). The NP *seamani gāuvei-na tu* ‘the chairmanship’ is in pre-clausal position of the complex coordinating structure, which happens to be of the disjunctive kind. The PRE constituent

represents the syntactic O function in each of the following three clauses, where it is coreferenced with the VP cross-index *-a* ‘3SG’, clearly taking the argument role in this case:

(23) Sinaugoro (PT,SOV)

<i>Seamani</i> chairman (O)	<i>ḡauvei-na</i> work-3SG	<i>tu,</i> TOP	<i>Kila-na</i> Kila-ERG A	<i>b-e</i> TAM-3SG PRED1	<i>ḡabi-a-ni</i> take-3SG-TAM O	<i>o</i> or
PRE			CLAUSE 1			
PRE			ASC CLAUSE			
<i>Raka-na</i> Raka-ERG A	<i>b-e</i> TAM-3SG PRED2	<i>ḡabi-a-ni</i> take-3SG-TAM O	<i>o</i> or	<i>Tau-na</i> Tau-ERG A	<i>b-e</i> TAM-3SG PRED3	<i>ḡabi-a-ni.</i> take-3SG-TAM O
CLAUSE 2			CLAUSE 3			

‘The chairmanship, either Kila will take it or Raka will take it or Tau will take it.’  
(Tauberschmidt 1999:77)

Components of coordinating non-verbal clauses can be externally fronted with a PRE constituent, as seen in example (24) from Mavea (Guérin 2011:282), where the relationship between the PRE constituent *nao* ‘1SG’ and the first clause subject *vatasiku* ‘my sister’ and the second clause subject *tasiku* ‘my brother’ is by way of conceptual analogy (see §8.2.2). In this particular case, the link between the two non-verbal clauses is paratactic: there is no overt conjunction:

(24) Mavea (NCV,SVO)

<i>Nao,</i> 1SG	<i>vatasi-ku</i> sister-1SG.POSS SUBJECT NON-VERBAL CLAUSE 1	<i>i</i> LIG	<i>vat,</i> four NON-VERBAL PRED
PRE	ASC CLAUSE		
<i>tasi-ku</i> brother-1SG.POSS SUBJECT	<i>i</i> LIG	<i>tol.</i> three NON-VERBAL PRED	
NON-VERBAL CLAUSE 2			

‘Me, (I have) four sisters, and three brothers.’ (Guérin 2011:282)

Also of the non-verbal coordinating type is example (25) from Mutu (Bugenhagen 2010:469), where the coordination is achieved by the overt expression of the coordinator *ve* ‘and’. The difference in this particular example is that each clause is fronted with its own PRE constituent

so exhibits pre-clausal complexity internally, the PRE constituent in each clause naming a kind of fly, which is coreferenced as the subject in the following non-verbal clause by the demonstrative forms(*e*)*ne* ‘this one’:

(25) Mutu (NNG,SVO)

<i>Lasom,</i> blue.fly	<i>ene</i> this.one SUBJECT	<i>tintiina,</i> big NON-VERBAL PRED	<i>ve</i> and CONJ
PRE	ASC NON-VERBAL CLAUSE		
CORD CLAUSE			
‘			
<i>nimnim,</i> fly	<i>ne</i> this.one SUBJECT	<i>geegeu.</i> small.PL NON-VERBAL PRED	
PRE	ASC NON-VERBAL CLAUSE		

‘Blue flies, these are big, and ordinary flies, these are small.’ (Bugenhagen 2010:469)

#### *Type B: Complex subordinating associated clauses*

Complex clauses of the subordinating type are accompanied by PRE constituents, and two different kinds are exemplified below: complement and adverbial clauses. As with coordinating structures, the PRE constructions with subordinating associated clauses exhibit different structural patterns.

Firstly are the subordinating complement clauses, and there are two sub-types of these. The PRE constituent either precedes both matrix and complement clauses so is externally positioned (26), or fronts the embedded complement clause itself as for the internal pattern described above (27).

In example (26) from the East Fijian dialect of Boumaa (Dixon 1988:272), the NP *a gone yawela yai* ‘that girl’ is positioned before the entire complex structure, and represents the (non-overtly expressed) A argument from the complement clause:

(26) Boumaa Fijian (FIJ,VSO)

A	<i>gone.yawela</i>	<i>yai,</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>nanu-ma</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>domi-ni</i>	<i>au.</i>
ART	girl	DEM	1SG	think-TR	COMP	love-TR	1SG
(A)						PRED	O
			MATRIX CLAUSE		COMPLEMENT CLAUSE		
PRE			ASC CLAUSE				

‘As for that girl, I think that (she) loves me.’ (Dixon 1988:272)

In contrast to the previous example, the PRE constituent in example (27) from Mavea (Guérin 2011:383) fronts the embedded complement clause itself. The NP *varua pulana* ‘his cardinal bird’ represents the P argument from the complement clause, coreferenced there in the VP by the pro-index *-a* ‘3SG’:

(27) Mavea (NCV,SVO)

<i>Mo-on</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>varua</i>	<i>pula-na,</i>	<i>tanuma</i>	<i>mo-lsu-a.</i>
3SG-look	COMP	cardinal	CLF-3SG.POSS	devil	3SG-hit-3SG
		(O)		A	O
		PRE		ASC CLAUSE	
MATRIX CLAUSE		COMPLEMENT CLAUSE			

‘He saw that his cardinal bird, the devil killed it ....’ (Guérin 2011:383)

A simple example in (28) from Bierebo (Budd 2010:366) shows that subordinating adverbial clause types have the potential to undergo pre-clausal treatment, here specifically with a conditional clause. Demonstrating the external pattern, the PRE constituent *mara-te* ‘the fruit’ represents the S argument of the condition and the A argument of the consequence in the matrix clause, signalled in both cases by the zero morpheme cross-indexes in the VP:

(28) Bierebo (NCV,SVO)

<i>Mara-te,</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>Ø-meno</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>Ø-pre-yal...</i>
fruit-ABS	if	3SG-dry	CONJ	3SG-REAL.say-find
(S,A)		S.INDX-VERB		A.INDX-TAM-VERB
		CONDITIONAL CLAUSE		MATRIX CLAUSE
PRE	ASC CLAUSE			

‘As for the fruit, if it’s ripe, then it tells (you)...’ (Budd 2010:366)

Similarly, in example (29) from Neverver (Barbour 2010), the subordinating adverbial clause with temporal meaning *ba ivlem* ‘when he came’, and the matrix clause *i-ver* ‘he said’ are both externally fronted by the PRE constituent NP *xavut titi* ‘her husband’. The cross-index *i-* ‘3SG.REAL’ has argument status in both the adverbial and associated clauses:

(29) Neverver (NCV,SVO)

<i>Xavut</i> husband	<i>titi</i> , 3.POSS	<i>ba</i> when	<i>i-vlem</i> 3SG.REAL-come	<i>i-ver...</i> 3SG.REAL-say
PRE		ADVERBIAL CLAUSE		MATRIX CLAUSE
		ASC CLAUSE		

‘Her husband, when he came, he said...’ (Barbour 2010:NVCT06.56)

### Type C: Other

Apart from subordinating complement and adverbial clauses, subordinating relative types are involved with PRE constructions, although the structural pattern does not conform to either of those just described for the other subordinating structures observed in the OLC data. Example (30) from Loni (Hamel 1994:157) demonstrates this pattern. The PRE constituent *ɲato suɲu* ‘their grandmother’ and its associated clause *suɲu luwe iy* ‘they had left her’ are found within the relative clause itself:<sup>6</sup>

(30) Loni (ADM, SVO)

<i>Suɲu</i> 3DU	<i>mε</i> come	<i>kɔ</i> village	<sup>n</sup> <i>rɔpɔ</i> REL	<i>ɲato</i> grandmother	<i>suɲu</i> , 3DU
OBL		REL (ON OBL)			
CLAUSE					
<i>suɲu</i> 3DU	<i>luwe</i> leave	<i>iy...</i> 3SG			
ASC CLAUSE					

‘They came to the village where they had left their grandmother ,...’ (Lit: They came to the village where their grandmother, they had left her,...) (Hamel 1994:157)

It is not uncommon to find cases where the above clause types (simple and complex) combine in complicated ways. Example (31) from Neverver (Barbour 2010) combines a

<sup>6</sup> See §3.1.3, examples (13) and (14), for cases where relative clauses are modifying elements of nominals in the PRE constituent.

complex PRE constituent, with a complex associated clause. The NP *netan* ‘thing’ is modified by a headless relative clause *niver* ‘(that) I want’ which subsequently has the clause *nimsisir ang* ‘I will talk about that’ as its complement. The predicate of the following associated clause *atver* ‘they say’ also has a complement clause as its object, this containing the non-verbal predicate *nibongva* ‘circumcision ceremony’ The relationship between the PRE constituent *netan* and its coreferent *nibongva* is one of conceptual representation (see §8.2.3):

(31) Neverver (NCV,SVO)

<i>Netan</i> thing	<i>ni-ver</i> 1SG.REAL-want MATRIX CLAUSE	<i>nim-sisir</i> 1SG.IRR-discuss	<i>ang,</i> ANA COMPLEMENT CLAUSE
PRE	REL		
PRE WITH RELC			

<i>at-ver</i> 3PL.REAL-say MATRIX CLAUSE	<i>te</i> COMP	<i>nibongva.</i> circumcision NON-VERBAL COMPLEMENT
ASC CLAUSE		

‘The thing I want to talk about, they call the Nibongva (circumcision ceremony).’  
(Barbour 2010:NVKI02.003)

An additional type of complex structure found in the associated clauses of PRE constructions illustrates a switch reference system, noted by Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:48) as being particular to languages of Southern Vanuatu, although Lynch (1998:182) says they do occur elsewhere in the world. In switch reference systems, sequences of clauses are marked for (dis)continuity of referents, specifically of the A or S argument (or subject relation, as traditionally labelled). For example, here in (32) from Ura (Crowley 1999:99), the PRE constituent nominal *nobudovlau* ‘a kind of insect’ represents the S argument of the associated clauses. It is coreferenced there firstly by the independent pronoun *iyi* ‘3SG’, and in the first verb complex by the cross-index *y-* ‘3SG’. As this same NP, *nobudovlau*, has the same syntactic function in each of the following VPs, it is marked by the echo subject (ES) marker *m(i)*, thereby having argument status:

- (32) Ura (SV,SVO)
- |                    |             |                       |              |              |              |                  |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>Nobudovlau,</i> | <i>iyi</i>  | <i>y-oumi-teti</i>    | <i>mi-va</i> | <i>m-era</i> | <i>buwip</i> | <i>m-omorop.</i> |
| k.o.insect         | 3SG         | 3SG-DST.PST-IT.return | ES-go        | ES-stay      | deep         | ES-live          |
| PRE                | ASC CLAUSES |                       |              |              |              |                  |
- ‘The *nobudovlau*, it returned and went and stayed deep down and lived.’ (Crowley 1999:99)

### 3.3.3 Speech acts as associated clauses

The third category of clause types listed by Dryer (2007:224) encodes declarative, interrogative and imperative speech acts. As the following shows, these structures were all observed in the OLC language files. Declarative associated clauses are commonplace, exemplified in example (33), a simple statement from Meri (Chung 2005:39), where the NP *i Steven* is the PRE constituent, being coreferenced in the associated clause with the independent pronoun *nie* ‘3SG’ (and zero morpheme cross-index):

- (33) Meri (NCV,SVO)
- |          |                |          |            |             |           |            |           |            |   |
|----------|----------------|----------|------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|---|
| <i>I</i> | <i>Steven,</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>nie</i> | $\emptyset$ | <i>ta</i> | <i>ras</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>bo.</i> |   |
| ART      | Steven         | ART      | 3SG        | 3SG         | REAL      | kill       | ART       | pig        |   |
| (A)      |                | A        |            |             |           |            |           |            | O |
| PRE      | ASC CLAUSE     |          |            |             |           |            |           |            |   |
- ‘It was Steven, he killed the pig.’ (Chung 2005:39)

Example (34) from Neverver (Barbour 2010) illustrates a pre-clausal interrogative. The independent pronoun *iokh* ‘2SG’ is positioned as the PRE constituent, and coreferenced as the s argument in the associated interrogative clause, from which it is separated by an independent declarative clause. The information being sought would typically occur in place of *abi* ‘where’:

- (34) Neverver (NCV,SVO)
- |           |                    |           |            |                       |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Ga</i> | <i>iokh,</i>       | <i>me</i> | <i>ina</i> | <i>ni-byal,</i>       |
| then      | 2SG                | just      | 1SG        | 1SG.REAL-be.all.about |
| (S)       |                    |           |            |                       |
| PRE       | DECLARATIVE CLAUSE |           |            |                       |

<i>iokh</i>	<i>kum-bbu</i>	<i>abi?</i>
2SG	2SG.IRR-go	where
S		
ASC INTERROGATIVE		

‘Then as for you, I’ll fly, but where will you go?’ (Barbour 2010:nvt\_ks04.013.txt)

Interrogatives with non-verbal clauses occur equally with PRE constituents. In example (35) from Mussau-Emira (Brownie and Brownie 2007:167) is this simple content question, where the pre-clausal constituent is the proper name *Pipi*, conceptually linked by analogy via relationship of attributive possession to the subject NP *tamana* ‘his father’ in the associated non-verbal interrogative:

(35) Mussau-Emira (MUSS, SVO)

<i>Pipi,</i>	<i>tama-na</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>see?</i>
Pipi	father-3SG.POSS	ART	who
(PR of SBJ)	SUBJECT	NON-VERBAL PRED	
PRE	ASC INTERROGATIVE (NON-VERBAL)		

‘Pipi, his father is who?’ (Brownie and Brownie 2007:167)

Polar interrogatives also occur fronted with PRE constituents as shown in example (36) from Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2008:1242), where, as above for Mussau-Emira (35), a conceptual relationship of attributive possession operates between the NP *kamuluqa* ‘2PL’ as the PRE constituent and the S argument *raa kamuluqa* ‘your work’ from the interrogative clause:

(36) Toqabaqita (SES,SVO)

<i>Kamuluqa,</i>	<i>raa</i>	<i>kamuluqa</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>karangi-a</i>	<i>kai</i>
2PL	work	2PL	PL	be.near.to-3.OBJ	3SG.FUT
(PR of S)	S				
PRE	ASC INTERROGATIVE				

*sui*                      *naqa?*  
be.finished              PRF

‘You, is your work almost finished?’ (Lichtenberk 2008:1242)

Imperative clauses front their NP arguments on occasion as seen in example (37) from Tuvaluan (Besnier 1999:243), where the NP *a itamaa paala* ‘a small kingfisher’ as the PRE constituent represents the O argument from the associated imperative clause, being coreferenced there by the proform *ei*:

(37) Tuvaluan (FIJ, VSO)

A	<i>itamaa</i>	<i>paala,</i>	<i>kiloke</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>koo!</i>
ABS	the.small	kingfisher	look	to	ANA	LOC	there
(O)					O		
PRE			ASC IMPERATIVE				

‘A small kingfisher, look at that one there!’ (Besnier 1999:243)

The goal in section §3.3 was to add to the findings of §3.1 and §3.2 to answer chapter question one. The examples presented in §3.3 show that associated clauses are always clausal structures which encompass a wide range of types and levels of complexity. The list includes simple verbal and non-verbal clauses, complex clauses of the coordinating and subordinating categories, and clauses encoding declarative, interrogative and imperative speech acts. An example from the OLC data was also found for an associated clause exhibiting switch reference. Therefore, it is safe to say that pre-clausal status is unaffected by clause-level variation: an associated clause can be either structurally simple or complex. This adds a further characteristic to the model being developed for PRE constructions in Oceanic languages.

### 3.4 The PRE construction: A type of expanded clause

In sections §3.1, §3.2 and §3.3, I addressed chapter question one by examining the hierarchical and structural characteristics of the main sub-parts of the PRE constructions in the OLC language data, and found that the PRE constituent is a phrase-level structure, while the associated clause has clause-level status. This section tackles chapter question two, where I consider how the PRE construction as a single unit might be categorised within the traditional hierarchy of structures. The discussion will conclude by suggesting how pre-clausal phenomena, such as the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages, might be included in descriptive grammars.

In considering the position of PRE constructions within the traditional hierarchy of linguistic structures, the project data show that they are neither phrases nor clauses, but combinations of both these structure types. In this respect, PRE constructions are complex structures. Whereas phrases combine to form larger phrases, and clauses combine to form complex clauses, and then larger units of text, PRE constructions cannot be combined in this way. Apart from the fact that I have not yet found such a structure in the OLC language files, from a theoretical perspective, two (or more) contiguous PRE constructions do not form one larger PRE construction. A single larger structure with the basic sequencing property [PRE,ASC] described for PRE constructions in Chapter Two produces a sequence of structures ([PRE,ASC],[PRE ASC],...). The recursivity inherent in the traditional hierarchy of linguistic structures seems not to apply for PRE constructions.

In response to these descriptive difficulties, I propose a new unit for linguistic analysis, typified by the PRE constructions in this project: the expanded clause. I define expanded clauses as combinations of two basic structural components, a clausal structure and an extra-clausal phrasal structure. At least one of each of these structure types must be present, although it is possible for two or more of either type to co-occur. The clausal and phrasal components can be either simple or complex structures. An important property of an expanded clause involves the syntactic concept of dependency, applicable firstly to the level of the entire construction, where the relationship between the clausal and extra-clausal phrasal component(s) is described as interdependent, since both are essential to produce the expanded structure.<sup>7</sup> When the notion of dependency is applied to the level of the individual components, the clausal component, which expresses a complete proposition, is independent and could therefore stand on its own, while the phrasal structure, which could not occur without the clausal component, has dependent status.

I also propose that the notion of expansion is responsible for a further property of expanded clauses: distributed meaning (see §2.1.2).<sup>8</sup> In an expanded clause, meanings are able to be

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<sup>7</sup> The notion of dependency applied here is based on the definition of dependency provided by Payne (2006:49), which states that the “presence of one element “depends” on the presence of another one somewhere else in the structure”, and Givón (2001b:327), who says that syntactic dependency involves elements which are “syntactically bound”. A more detailed discussion of dependency as a schematic notion is provided in §8.1.1.

<sup>8</sup> The notion of expansion is not a traditional syntactic notion, but is useful for describing how the distributed meaning relation might work in PRE constructions. A more detailed discussion of expansion as a schematic notion is provided in §8.1.1.

distributed across the clausal and phrasal components due to the relation of structural dependency. The resulting expanded structure enables new structural and functional meanings to be created.<sup>9</sup>

Being a complex structure with a clause as a main component, I suggest that expanded clauses can be analysed within the category of complex clauses, which are recognised structures of linguistic analysis. For example, coordinating and subordinating clauses are of this category. Such clauses do join together in various combinations to create larger linguistic units of discourse as sequences of structures which are linked by discourse cohesion. The textual data from the OLC show that PRE constructions combine with other clause types to create larger discourse units in this way.

Payne's (2006:288) typology of multi-clause constructions, organised around the principle of grammatical integration at the clausal juncture, provides an effective tool for describing how the expanded clause can be categorised as a type of complex clause. Structures with a high degree of grammatical integration are described by Payne as having a tight relation between a dependent structure and an independent one. Serial verbs represent this type, as the verb roots are so tightly integrated they create a single clause. In contrast to this are multi-clause constructions with a loose relationship between their components. A coordinating clause is one such example, as the two clauses are both independent, so not grammatically integrated. Serial verbs, coordinating clauses, and other multi-clause structures occupy various points along a continuum where a single clause represents the extreme case of integration, and two separate clauses exemplify no integration at all. The expanded clause can also be positioned among the multi-clause structures in Payne's typology by considering the degree of grammatical integration at the juncture of the clausal and phrasal elements. As the phrasal component is dependent on the independent clausal one, and there is a meaning relationship distributed across the two components, I propose that the degree of integration is high. I also suggest that expanded clauses fall between complement clauses and adverbial clauses within Payne's scheme (see Table 3-3). With a complement clause, the dependent complement substitutes for a clause argument, and is structurally within the matrix clause itself. Expanded

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<sup>9</sup> An expanded clause could become a useful unit of description to account for a wide range of structures other than PRE constructions with their nominal phrasal element. For example, clauses with extra-clausal adverbial expressions, adjuncts, vocatives, and discourse markers can be said to demonstrate the dependencies and distributed meanings of expanded clauses, so could be viewed from this perspective. Likewise, post-clausal structures may lend themselves to being described as an expanded clause.

clauses are not as tightly integrated as this, as the dependent element is clause-external, and corefers with a clause argument, rather than replacing it. While the dependent elements of both adverbial and expanded clauses are outside the boundary of the independent clause, the structural relationship at the juncture is tighter for expanded clauses. Adverbial clauses modify their independent counterpart, whereas the dependent phrasal structure of an expanded clause typically corefers with an argument from the independent clause. I suggest that examining expanded clauses in terms of their grammatical integration at the clause juncture adds weight to the argument that expanded clauses are a type of complex clause.

Table 3-3: The expanded clause and degree of grammatical integration

Construction	Degree of grammatical integration (Relationship between dependent and independent structure)
	High (tight)
Single clause	
Serial verb	
Complement clause	
Expanded clause	
Adverbial clause	
Clause chains	
Relative clause	
Coordinate clause	
Two separate clauses	
	Nil (loose)

If expanded clauses are complex clauses, then so too are the PRE constructions which typify them. Therefore, the issue in regards to the position of PRE constructions within the traditional hierarchical model of linguistic structures can be addressed (chapter question two). PRE constructions are complex clauses which combine with other clause types to create larger units of discourse.

As for the remaining issue of where to include PRE constructions in grammatical descriptions, I suggest that they could be included as a type of expanded clause alongside other complex structures such as those listed in Table 3-3. An alternative option might be to consider their function, and describe expanded clauses with the pragmatically marked structures such as interrogative and imperative structures. Asking questions and giving orders have specific communicative functions, and it would seem that expanded clauses do also, although these are not explored in any great detail until Chapter Eight.

### 3.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented a description of the non-relational hierarchical characteristics of PRE constructions. To answer the first chapter question regarding the structural aspects of the PRE construction components, I firstly examined the PRE constituents in the OLC data and found that they are NPs of the same types found as the nominal arguments of simple clauses in Oceanic languages (simple, modified and complex nominals). However, unlike other phrasal nominals, the PRE constituent NPs lack recursivity, so that combinations of PRE constituents form sequences of multi-PRE structures, rather than one larger PRE constituent.

In examining the hierarchical structure of the other main PRE construction component, the associated clause, I found that it is a clausal structure which does not have the same constraints as the PRE constituent vis-à-vis recursivity. An example from the OLC language files where a PRE construction has coordinating associated clauses can be found in §3.3.2 (example 23). PRE constructions with associated clauses for all of the five basic constituent orders identified by Ross (2004) for Oceanic languages were found, suggesting that clause order has no influence on the presence or absence of a PRE construction. I presented a sample of PRE constructions from the project data with associated clauses exemplifying a wide range of clause types including simple and complex clauses, and clauses functioning as interrogative and imperative structures. A PRE construction with a switch reference associated clause was also found. These findings suggest that clause level variation has no effect on the existence of PRE constructions.

Chapter question two asked how the PRE construction in its entirety can be described within the traditional hierarchical model of linguistic structures, and where a PRE construction might fit in a descriptive grammar. In answering this question, I proposed a new unit of linguistic analysis: the expanded clause. I described this unit as a two-part construction with a dependent phrasal component and an independent clausal component. Both components are necessary to create the expanded structure, and the distributed meanings which are a central property of expanded clauses. I also argued that an expanded clause is a type of complex clause. As the PRE constructions of this project typify this structure, they can be analysed as a type of complex clause, which is a recognised unit of linguistic analysis in grammatical descriptions.

The final chapter question (question three) can now be answered by considering the findings just outlined, and their contribution toward the model being developed for the PRE constructions in this project. The findings in this chapter show that the internal structuring of the PRE construction components in Oceanic languages does not affect the presence or absence of a PRE construction. The same range of structures occurring in the components would seem to be found in the NPs and simple clauses of Oceanic languages.

The most significant finding in this chapter is that PRE constructions can be accounted for within the traditional hierarchical model of linguistic structures as a type of complex clause, which I describe as an expanded clause. As just mentioned, expanded clauses have a two-part structural configuration where the components exhibit dependency relations and distributed meanings. Throughout the remainder of this thesis, I provide further discussion of the expanded clause through the PRE constructions which typify it.

The investigation continues in the next chapter by exploring the distributed meanings expressed by the PRE constructions in the OLC data files in more detail: the coreferencing relation, the corepresentation of syntactic functions, and the prosodic properties that operate between the PRE constituent and the associated clause.

## **Chapter 4 The relational properties of PRE constructions: Coreference, syntactic functions and prosody**

In Chapters Two and Three, I established that the PRE constructions in the data from the OLC are sequences of one or more PRE constituents followed by one or more associated clauses. I proposed that such sequences can be described within the traditional hierarchy of linguistic structures as a type of complex expanded clause. The investigation continues in this chapter by exploring three topics. As was the case for the previous two chapters, these three topics were selected in response to observations I made either prior to or quite early on in this project.

One of the first observations I made about the pre-clausal structures in the data corpus of my Master's research project was that a coreferential relation existed between the pre-clausal element and the following clause. This observation became a useful indicator for identifying the potential PRE constructions during the data review process for the current research project, and was an obvious topic to investigate further. I also noticed that the NP in the pre-clausal position could represent different syntactic functions, depending on the function represented by the nominal argument in the clause, but the possible range of functions, and the way such meanings extend across the entire PRE construction required more research. As a result of the initial search for information about pre-clausal phenomena in Oceanic languages, I read that prosodic features were potentially involved in their expression, so decided that this was an area that needed closer analysis. In contrast to the non-relational properties of sequencing and hierarchy investigated in the last two chapters, these three topics all concern relational properties, being expressed through the structural link between the PRE constituent and its associated clause. They are therefore grouped together and comprise the three main sections of this chapter.

Two of these relational properties concern the abstract notions of government and control, and scope and relevance, while a third involves the more physical properties of spoken language pertaining to prosody. All three properties are listed by Givón (2001a:18) as components of syntactic constructions which are “cognitively real”, so are considered to reflect human linguistic knowledge, and, as for sequencing and hierarchy, are deemed to be among the central features of human language.

Each of the topics concerning these three relational properties are linked to the same descriptive and comparative objectives in §1.6, but involve a separate chapter question. The research question to investigate the first topic of coreferentiality is:

- i) What are the range of coreferring devices in the associated clause of the PRE constructions in the OLC language files, and what is the nature of the coreferencing relation between the PRE constituent and the associated clause?

The expression of syntactic functions in PRE constructions is explored in response to the following question:

- ii) What range of syntactic functions does the PRE constituent nominal represent, and how can the relationship between the PRE construction components which share the same syntactic function be described?

For the prosodic properties of the PRE constructions in the OLC data, I set out to answer this question:

- iii) What are the prosodic characteristics of PRE constructions, and what is their relevance to the identification and description of PRE constructions in the Oceanic languages of this project?

A final chapter question continues the search for properties identifying PRE constructions in Oceanic languages and the development of a typological model to describe them. It asks:

- iv) How can the findings from the questions above contribute to the model being developed for PRE constructions in Oceanic languages?

To explore these questions, I extracted the relevant data for the first two questions from the OLC language files using the processes developed for Chapters One and Two. I organised the data into categories according to the patterns found. Whenever available, this process was also informed by relevant typological frameworks developed from cross-linguistic studies of both Oceanic languages and studies sampling a much wider range of languages. Details of the selected frameworks are provided for each of the specific topics below.

When it came to investigating the third question regarding prosody, I required publically available audio-recorded and annotated texts for the analysis. Therefore, I could only work with languages where this kind of data are accessible. Twenty-four languages were found to

have such data. As prosodic analysis is a time-consuming task, and there were many other research questions to answer, I decided to concentrate on studying the audio data for three of the languages. In making the selection, I decided to choose languages with different basic constituent orders to test whether such differences might influence the prosodic characteristics of PRE constructions, and assist in their identification. I also tried to select languages with different indexing properties (§2.1.1) to test if the different types of argument expression might affect the prosodic attributes. Three languages, Neverver, Teop and Kubokota, met these criteria. All three have large collections of texts from a wide variety of different genres. In regards to basic constituent order, Neverver (NCV) has a basic order of SVO (Barbour 2012), Kubokota (MM) is VSO (Chambers 2006), and Teop (MM) is different again, with a verb-second or (T)V(X) canonical order (Mosel and Thiessen 2007). All three languages omit clausal arguments and index their A and S arguments with cross-indexes. Kubokota and Teop have cross-indexes with their O arguments, while Neverver does not index O arguments.<sup>1</sup>

After permission was granted from the various archives to access the data, I located likely PRE constructions by reviewing the annotated text files for Neverver, Kubokota, and Teop from publications, Toolbox files, or archived pdfs.<sup>2</sup> The audio files for the potential PRE constructions were located, and the relevant sections clipped using ‘Audacity’ ([www.audacityteam.org](http://www.audacityteam.org)), a free, open-source, software tool for editing and recording audiotracks. Figure 4-1 provides an example of a sound clip from Neverver for the PRE construction in Figure 4-9 *Be nitan ijing, mama me adrikh nida arve* ‘But this thing, the father and mother do (it)’ (Barbour 2010:nvt\_ki02.049):

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<sup>1</sup>I wish to express my sincere thanks to Julie Barbour for access to the Neverver language corpus stored at the University of Waikato, to Mary Chambers who granted access to the Kubokota data archived with the Endangered Languages Archive, and to Ulrike Mosel for permission to access the Teop corpus archived with the Documentation of Endangered Languages Site.

<sup>2</sup> Toolbox, or ‘The Field Linguist’s Toolbox’, is a freeware data management, parsing and text analysis tool developed by SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) (<http://www-01.sil.org/computing/toolbox/>).

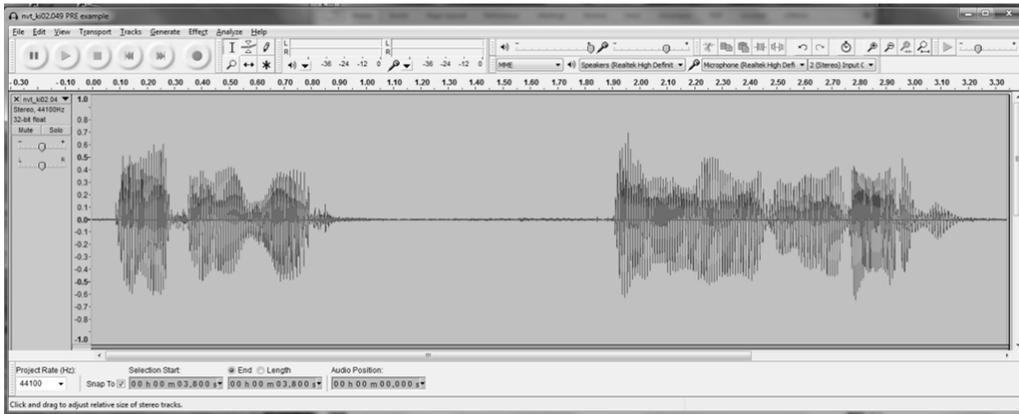


Figure 4-1: Example sound clip of PRE construction created with Audacity

The resulting sound clips were then opened in PRAAT ([www.praat.org](http://www.praat.org)), a freeware programme for the analysis and reconstruction of acoustic speech signals. Spectrograms and pitch contour diagrams were created for 120 sound files, and then matched with a text grid, an example of which is shown in Figure 4-2 for the same Neverver file as demonstrated above in Figure 4–1. When the spectrogram and pitch contour indicated that a pause in speech had occurred in the expected position between the PRE constituent and the associated clause, this section was measured in seconds and recorded in a spreadsheet for later analysis. The example in Figure 4–2 shows a speech pause of 1.103 s. Finally, from the sound and textgrid files, separate pitch contour diagrams were drawn for the examples included below in the thesis to illustrate the patterns found.

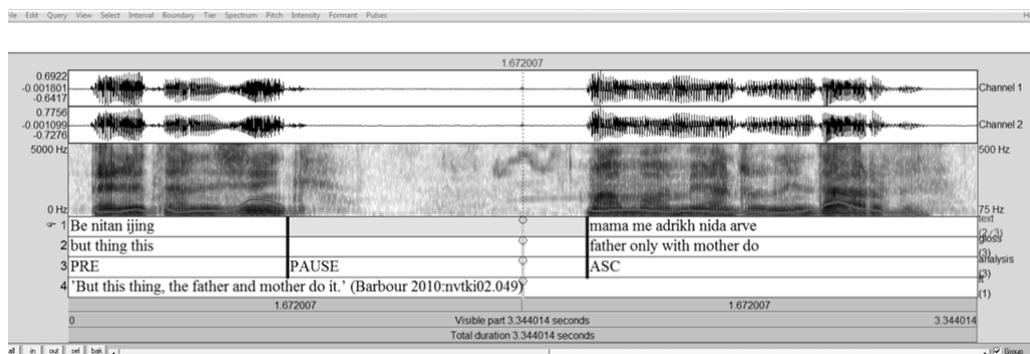


Figure 4-2: Example spectrogram, pitch contour and text grid created using PRAAT

The chapter starts by discussing the relational property of government and control, which is realised in the OLC data through the coreferencing relation (§4.1). The second relational property, scope and relevance, is realised in the OLC data through the shared representation of syntactic functions, and is the topic of §4.2. The prosodic properties of the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages are investigated in §4.3 for the Neverver, Kubokota and Teop languages.

#### 4.1 Government and control: The coreferencing relation between the PRE constituent and the associated clause

In the first section of this chapter, I investigate the property of government and control as it is realised through the coreferencing relation observed in the the OLC data between the PRE constituent and the associated clause. I approach this topic by considering the first chapter question concerning the nature of this coreferencing relation (§4.1.1), then describing the range of coreferencing devices in the associated clauses of the PRE constructions in the OLC language files (§4.1.2). A summary of these findings is in §4.1.3. The goal is to determine how this topic might add to the model of PRE constructions being developed.

While the notions of ‘government’ and ‘control’ are associated in the modern linguistic era with generative theories of syntax (see Landau 2013), Van Valin (1987:371) notes that such concepts, in particular government, actually pre-date generative approaches, and it is from understandings developed during this earlier period that the terms are employed here. As one of the more abstract components of syntactic organisation (Givón 2001a:12), government and control concern the relationships of dependency which operate between elements, whereby one element determines the structure of another in regards to some relevant category (Lyons 1968:241; Van Valin 1987:371; Payne 2006:175). For PRE constructions, the relevant category is reference, and the relation of control is described as coreference, because the PRE constituent and an element in the associated clause, labelled as the coreferent (COREF), denote the same real-world entity.<sup>3</sup> Data from the OLC reveal that the structural expression of the coreferencing relation is typically, though not always, controlled by the PRE constituent,

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<sup>3</sup>Alternative labels in the the literature for the coreferent in a pre-clausal structure include resumptive element, pronominal (Lambrecht 2001:1051), pronominal trace (Hamel 1994), and coindex (Kibrik 2011:35).

which determines the form of the coreferent in regards to the morphosyntactic features of number and person.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4.1.1 The coreferencing relation

The coreferencing relation between the PRE constituent and the coreferent in the associated clause is described by applying the parameters of symmetry, and direction of referential specificity, yielding the three main coreferential relational types set out in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1: The typology of coreferencing relations in PRE constructions

Coreferencing relation type	Relational sub-types	
	Expression of PRE constituent	Expression of ASC-COREF
Type A: Symmetric anaphoric	NP	ASC-overt/free NP
	IP	ASC-overt/free IP
Type B: Asymmetric anaphoric	NP	ASC-overt/free IP
	NP/IP	ASC-overt/bound
	NP	ASC-overt/free proform
	NP	ASC-non.overt
Type C: Asymmetric cataphoric	IP	ASC-overt/free NP

The parameter of symmetry categorises PRE constructions according to the form of the referential devices which occur as the PRE constituent and its coreferent.<sup>5</sup> When the same device occurs in each of these components, the relation is one of symmetry. Different devices produce an asymmetric relation in this regard. The second parameter enables the direction of referential specificity to be noted, so that a coreferent in the associated clause, which is less specific than the preceding PRE constituent in terms of the information expressed, is an anaphor, and the relationship is anaphoric.<sup>6</sup> In such cases, the PRE constituent controls the

<sup>4</sup> The morphosyntactic features of number and person and their distributed expression across the the PRE constituent and its coreferent(s) (when present) are described in chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Coreferents in this thesis are described and categorised by combining the typologies for person and number developed by Siewierska (2004:16-40) and Kibrik (2011:38-42), so that full NPs are distinguished from reduced forms, the latter being further defined as independent free form pronouns (IP) or dependent bound forms. See §4.1.2 for further details of this scheme.

<sup>6</sup> The terms anaphor(ic) and cataphor(ic) are used in this work in their traditional sense to describe reference to something earlier in a text in the case of the former, and something later in a text in the case of the latter (Givón 2001a:398; Payne 2006:238; Huang 2007:245; Dixon 2010:247; Kibrik 2011:35-36). This is opposed to the

information expressed by the coreferent. Should the opposite situation apply, and the coreferent be more specific than its coreferring PRE constituent, the relation is described as cataphoric, and the coreferent controls the information expressed by the PRE constituent. The three patterns resulting from the application of these two parameters (symmetric anaphoric, asymmetric anaphoric and asymmetric cataphoric) undergo further division to produce the sub-types listed above in Table 4-1, and are demonstrated in turn.

*Type A: The symmetric anaphoric coreferencing relation*

For PRE constructions of the symmetric anaphoric coreferencing type, the PRE constituent and the associated clause coreferent are expressed by the same referential device, and thus display a symmetric relation. The relation is also described as anaphoric, as the coreferent ‘points back’ to the aforementioned PRE constituent. The OLC data show that such PRE constructions have either identical lexical content in their PRE constituent and coreferent NPs, or the same independent pronoun occurs as both elements. To illustrate the former, observe example (1) from Hoava (Davis 2003:325), where the PRE constituent and the associated clause coreferent contain the identical lexical material *sa heleana isana* ‘that river’:

- (1) Hoava (MM, VSO )
- |               |                 |              |                |               |
|---------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>Sa</i>     | <i>heleana</i>  | <i>isana</i> | <i>sagi,</i>   |               |
| ART.SG        | river           | DEM          | TOP            |               |
| PRE           |                 |              |                |               |
|               |                 |              |                |               |
| <i>nikana</i> | <i>nuquri-a</i> | <i>sa</i>    | <i>heleana</i> | <i>isana.</i> |
| man           | enter.TR-3SG    | ART.SG       | river          | DEM           |
| ASC CLAUSE    |                 | COREF        |                |               |
- ‘That river, a man enters that river.’ (Davis 2003:325)

The same symmetrical anaphoric coreferencing relation is operating in example (2) from Vera’a (Schnell 2011:211), although this time the identical coreferring forms are the independent pronouns *no* ‘1SG’:

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definition of anaphora widely employed by generativist syntacticians where anaphora are solely clause-internal phenomena (Radford 2005:92).

(2) Vera'a (NCV,SVO)

<i>'Enei</i>	<i>no,</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ma.</i>
now	1SG	1SG	FUT	dead
	PRE	COREF		
		ASC CLAUSE		

'Now, I, I will die.' (Schnell 2011:211)

*Type B: The asymmetric anaphoric coreferencing relation*

In contrast to the previous pattern, the asymmetric anaphoric coreferencing type exhibits a different referential device for each of the coreferring PRE construction elements, the PRE constituent being an NP or independent pronoun, while the associated clause coreferent is a reduced form. The reduced coreferent may be an overtly expressed independent pronoun (3), bound form (4, 5), or proform (6), or alternatively a non.overt type (7). The direction of referential specificity is still anaphoric for these sub-types, as the associated clause coreferent has already been mentioned in the foregoing pre-clausal position, and is controlled by the PRE constituent in regards to the information expressed and the actual structure of the reduced form. As Table 4-1 above shows, there are four coreferencing combinations which qualify as sub-types of asymmetric anaphoric coreference.

For the first asymmetric anaphoric coreferencing sub-type, an NP is the PRE constituent, and the coreferent is an independent pronoun belonging to a PRE construction of the ASC-overt/free IP type, illustrated by example (3) from Nalik (Volker 1998:186). While the PRE constituent NP *a moni* 'the money' is relatively informative, it is coreferenced in the associated clause by the independent pronoun *naan*, a structurally simpler form, also referentially reduced in that it only carries information concerning the person (third) and number (singular) of the aforementioned PRE constituent:

(3) Nalik (MM,SVO)

<i>A</i>	<i>moni,</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>kot</i>	<i>naan.</i>
ART	money	1SG	count	3SG
	PRE	ASC CLAUSE		COREF

'The money, I'm counting it.' (Volker 1998:186)

A second asymmetric anaphoric sub-type has a PRE constituent as a NP (4) or independent pronoun (5), but the coreferent is a bound form. Such bound forms may be pro-indexes,

cross-indexes or zero forms belonging to either of these types (see §2.1.2 for discussion of bound forms). Observe example (4) from Mussau-Emira (Brownie and Brownie 2007:167) as an example of this coreferencing sub-type. Note that the bound form in the VP *-e* is a structurally reduced pro-index, which has argument status, and refers back to the PRE constituent NP *aliki eteva vause eteva oio* ‘this young woman’. The bound form *-e* indicates only the person (third), number (singular) and grammatical role (object) of the PRE constituent, so the coreferencing relationship is asymmetric, and also anaphoric:

(4) Mussau-Emira (MUSS, SVO)

<i>Aliki</i>	<i>eteva</i>	<i>vause</i>	<i>eteva</i>	<i>oio,</i>
child	NUM.CLF	woman	NUM.CLF	this
PRE				
<i>kin-na</i>	<i>ghe</i>	<i>su-ng-i-e-la.</i>		
mother.3SG.POSS	PST	send-LIG-TR-3SG.OBJ-PRF		
ASC CLAUSE			COREF	

‘This young woman, her mother sent her.’ (Brownie and Brownie 2007:167)

A further example of this second sub-type involves an independent pronoun as a PRE constituent and a bound form as its coreferent. While both of the coreferring elements are reduced forms, the bound form is generally more reduced than the independent pronoun, such reduction involving structure and/or referential specificity, as it is not uncommon for the person and number distinctions made in independent free forms to be neutralised in their bound counterparts (Ross 2004:498). Example (5) from Banoni (Lynch and Ross 2002:451) demonstrates asymmetry of structure, the independent pronoun *ghata* ‘1PL.INCL’ in the PRE constituent being reduced to the pro-index *-ta* when it functions as an anaphoric coreferent in the associated clause:

(5) Banoni (MM,V-second)

<i>Ghata,</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>reghe-ta</i>	<i>nna.</i>
1PL.INCL	3SG.REAL	see-1PL.INCL	3SG
PRE		COREF	
ASC CLAUSE			

‘(It was) us he saw.’ (Lit: Us, he saw us.’) (Lynch and Ross 2002:451)

The third asymmetric anaphoric sub-type listed in Table 4-1 has a corefencing relation that is also structurally and referentially asymmetric, as the PRE constituent is a fully expressed NP, while the coreferent in the associated clause is a highly reduced proform. While the NP provides explicit information about a referent, the proform only imparts general conceptual information associated with the same referent. One such case can be seen in example (6) from Niuean (Seiter 1979:102), where spatial meaning is expressed by the coreferencing relation. Here, the PRE constituent NP *Niuē* denotes a specific place, while the proform *ai* ‘there’ represents the more general concept of location. Thus, the proform performs a backward-referring function, and anaphoricity is the best description:

(6) Niuean (FIJ,VSO)

<i>Ko</i>	<i>Niuē,</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nonofo</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>tautolu.</i>	
PRS	Niue	NFUT	live.PL	there	ABS	1PL.INCL	
		VP		COREF (PROF)	S		
PRE							
		ASC CLAUSE					

‘Niue is where we live.’ (Lit: ‘Niue, we live there.’) (Seiter 1979:102)

A fourth and final sub-type of asymmetric anaphoric coreferencing relation has an NP as a PRE constituent, and a non-overt associated clause argument of the ASC-non.overt type, represented in example (7) from Cheke Holo (Palmer 2003a:47) by the PRE constituent NP *aju tugne* ‘this tree’, and the zero morpheme positioned where the object argument would normally appear. Pre-clausal status for this utterance is assigned by Palmer (2003:246), who rejects the possibility of OSV constituent order, and selects a clause-external explanation due to the prosodic separation of *aju tugne* from the rest of the structure:

(7) Cheke Holo (MM,V-second)

<i>Aju</i>	<i>tu-gne,</i>	<i>ge-hati</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ja'i</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>nu</i>
ART.tree	ANA-this	1EXCL-PL	do	plant	ANA	SEQ?
PRE						
		ASC CLAUSE				

*mala*     *fa-lehe*      $\emptyset$      *sasa.*  
PURP     CAUS-die     ANA     fish

‘This tree, we planted (it) to kill fish.’ (Palmer 2003a:47)

*Type C: The asymmetric cataphoric coreferencing relation*

The last type of coreferencing relation is the asymmetric cataphoric type. Though less commonly observed in the project data, instances where the PRE constituent is a reduced form which points forward to a more explicitly expressed coreferent in the associated clause do occur. Such asymmetric combinations display cataphoric reference. Example (8) from Nalik (Volker 1998:190) provides evidence of this pattern, and has an independent pronoun as its PRE constituent, and a coreferent of the ASC-overt/free NP type. In Nalik, the PRE constituent independent pronoun *naan* ‘3SG’ is structurally and referentially reduced in comparison to the coreferencing NP *Lundeng* which follows:

- (8) Nalik (MM,SVO)
- |              |                |           |             |
|--------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>Naan,</i> | <i>Lundeng</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>wut.</i> |
| 3SG          | Lundeng        | 3SG       | come        |
| PRE          | ASC CLAUSE     |           |             |
- ‘It’s Lundeng who is coming.’ (Lit: ‘He, Lundeng is coming.’) (Volker 1998:190)

#### **4.1.2 The range of coreferencing devices in the associated clause**

The range of coreferencing devices found in the associated clauses of the PRE constructions in the OLC data are also found in simple clauses, and include the nominals found as core or non-core arguments, plus a small group of adverbial forms which act as verbal modifiers. The coreferents are categorised by combining the typologies outlined by Kibrik (2011:38–42), who distinguishes full NP referencing devices from reduced nominal forms, Siewierska (2004:16–40), who categorises person forms as independent or dependent types, and Bhat (2004), where a distinction is made between pronouns, whose primary function is said to encode speech roles, and proforms, which are more general terms carrying out non-speech role functions. The resulting scheme is presented in Table 4-2, the main categories being full lexical nominals, reduced forms, ellipted types, and proforms. Where the first three are concerned (full NPs, reduced forms, ellipted types), examples have already been presented in previous sections, so only brief comments are included here. However, where proforms are coreferents, a more detailed description is provided.

Table 4-2: The range of associated clause coreferents

Category of coreferencing devices in ASC	Sub-category
Full nominals	Nouns <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• proper names</li> <li>• common nouns</li> </ul>
Reduced nominals	Person marking forms <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• independent markers               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ independent pronouns</li> </ul> </li> <li>• dependent markers               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ bound forms</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Ellipted argument Proforms	N/A Demonstratives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• demonstrative pronoun (substitute for NP)</li> <li>• demonstrative adverb (act as verbal modifier)</li> </ul>

*Full nominals as coreferents*

Although proper nouns acting as coreferents are not plentiful in the data, an example can be found in the preceding section of this chapter with the person name *Lundeng* in the associated clause of a PRE construction from Nalik (8), where it exemplifies the asymmetric cataphoric coreferencing relation. In contrast to this, common noun coreferents are very easily found, an example also being provided from this chapter with the NP *sa heleana isana* ‘that river’ from Hoava in example (1) above, where it is involved in the symmetric anaphoric coreferencing pattern.

*Reduced nominals as coreferents*

The category of reduced nominals divides into independent and dependent forms, based around the morphophonological criteria provided by Siewierska (2004:16–40), whereby the former are free words which carry stress, and perform specific discourse functions, while the latter are bound forms with reduced structures, which are not stressed, and are highly discourse accessible. Reduced independent forms are independent pronouns. In the case of the associated clause coreferent in PRE constructions, these express only the person and number features, and occasionally the syntactic function, of the PRE constituent. There are many examples in the data where independent pronouns are coreferents. For examples from the preceding section, see Vera’a (2), where the independent pronoun *no* ‘1SG’ fulfils the function of the S argument in an intransitive associated clause, and Nalik (3), which has the

independent pronoun *naan* ‘3SG’ functioning as the O argument in a transitive associated clause.

Reduced dependent forms are bound structures, and in Oceanic languages these structures are typically found in the verb phrase as clitics, affixes, or zero morphemes, labelled as indexes in this work for reasons explained in §2.1.2. As the defining characteristic of PRE constructions of the ASC-overt/bound type, bound forms which occur as associated clause coreferents have already been described in §2.1.2, where pro-indexes are seen in Tamambo (6) for an O argument, and Xârâcùù (7) for an A argument. Cross-indexes as coreferents can be viewed in §2.1.2 for Lolovoli (8), where the A argument in a transitive clause appears as a bound form in the VP, and in Nalik (9), where the S argument in an intransitive clause is a cliticised VP element. Zero morphemes as coreferents are likewise discussed in §2.1.2, exemplified in South Efate as (11), a zero morpheme being part of the pro-index paradigm for O arguments of transitive clauses.

#### *Ellipted arguments as coreferents*

Many of the authors of the publications consulted for this project note that argument omission or ellipsis is a relatively common occurrence in clauses (Allen 1971:76; Rivierre 1980:66; Dougherty 1983; Bauer, Parker and Evans 1993; Pat 1996:272; Howard 2002; Brownie and Brownie 2007; Palmer 2009; Margetts 2011; Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011). It is therefore not unexpected that ellipted arguments should equally occur in the associated clauses of PRE constructions. This situation creates a major analytical difficulty for determining pre-clausal status in Oceanic languages as already addressed in §2.1.4, so that structure alone cannot establish the presence of a PRE construction. For example, in Vera’a, example (13) from chapter 2, the O argument in the associated clause is analysed as an ellipted argument due to the non-human semantic attributes of its coreferring pre-clausal counterpart. In Cheke Holo, example (7) above from this chapter, an ellipted O argument in the associated clause is justified as such owing to atypical word order, but particularly because of the prosodic characteristics of the utterance.

#### *Proforms as coreferents*

In contrast to the previous three nominal categories, proforms in the associated clauses of PRE constructions are both nominal and adverbial, and belong to the ASC-overt/free proform type, which are easily identified as PRE constructions (see example 6 for Niuean). Proforms are

defined in this work following Bhat (2004:1–11), who contrasts them with personal pronouns, a division based on their primary discourse function. As personal pronouns directly connect with the speech roles of first and second person, their referents shift during discourse. Such forms tend not to encode any identificational characteristics of their referents. Proforms on the other hand, are all other pronominal types including third person forms, which do not function as speech participants. The result is that they can encode a wide range of referential information. Bhat (2004) shows that proforms have a dual internal structure, where one of the components is said to be a general concept concerning place, time, manner, or reason, or a general term for a person, a thing or a property. The other element is described as pronominal, and indicates particular purposes or uses, such as locating clause participants (demonstratives), referring backwards or forwards to other discourse expressions (anaphors or cataphors), or obtaining information (interrogatives), and denoting lack of knowledge about an entity (indefinites). This dual structure, although not always transparent, can be observed in the coreferent proforms in the associated clauses of PRE constructions. The data show proforms expressing the general concepts of place, time, thing, person and reason with such concepts being a reflection of the semantic nature of the PRE constituent that the proform coreferences. The pronominal functions of these proform coreferents are demonstrative or anaphoric. One type of demonstrative proform behaves like a demonstrative pronoun, substituting for a NP as a core clause argument in the associated clause, expressing notions such as *this one* (13). Another demonstrative type acts syntactically as a verbal modifier, its role being to add information concerning the spatial or temporal location of an event or situation. In this respect, the proform in question is an adverb. However, such proforms also function deictically, as they demonstrate or point out the event context. Therefore, such forms are described here as demonstrative adverbs following Diessel (1999:1), and have meanings such as *there* and *then* (9, 10). The anaphoric proforms function either as obliques, with glosses such as *in it*, *inside it*, *for it* (11), or as core clause arguments, restricted to referents which are third person forms such as *he*, *she*, *it*, or *they* (12).

Coreferent proforms expressing the general concept of space are relatively frequent in the data. Example (9) from Kusaiean (Lee, Cornelius and Asher 1975:320) illustrates the proform *we* ‘there’ acting as a demonstrative adverb, and coreferring to the location specified by the NP *lohm sihk ah* ‘my house’ in the PRE constituent:

(9) Kusaiean (MIC,SVO)

<i>Lohm</i>	<i>sih-k</i>	<i>ah,</i>	<i>eltahl</i>	<i>muhta</i>	<i>we.</i>
house	POSS-1SG.POSS	ART	3PL	stay	there
					PROF
PRE			ASC CLAUSE		

‘My house, they are staying there.’ (Lee, Cornelius and Asher 1975:320)

For proforms encoding the temporal concepts expressed as PRE constituents, demonstrative adverbs are again the pronominal type employed for this purpose. The proform *inang* ‘then’ in example (10) from Sonsorol (Oda 1977:145) is performing this role below, where it coreferences the temporal PRE constituent *pwongi we naa* ‘that night’:

(10) Sonsorol (MIC,SVO)

<i>Pwongi</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>naa,</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>masanipiki</i>	<i>inang.</i>
night	DEM	FOC	3SG	have.cold	then
					PROF
PRE			ASC CLAUSE		

‘That night, he was cold.’ (Oda 1977:145)

The general concept of reason can be expressed in a coreferent proform as seen in example (11) from Tokelauan (Hooper 1993:223). Here, the proform *ai*, labelled as an anaphor by Hooper, is indeed anaphoric, as it refers back to the NP *ko te ala ia* ‘this reason’ situated in the pre-clausal position, but would also seem to be replacing an oblique phrase with a meaning like ‘for it’ or ‘because of it’:

(11) Tokelauan (FIJ,VSO)

<i>Ko</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>ia,</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>hē</i>	<i>toe</i>
PRES	ART	way	DEM	TAM	NEG	again
PRE				ASC CLAUSE		

<i>malaga</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>vaka.</i>
travel	ANA	DEF	ship
	PROF		

‘It was for this reason that the ship would not make the trip again.’ (Lit: This reason, the ship would not travel for it again.) (Hooper 1993:223)

Proforms coreferring to things and functioning as anaphors are also found in the data, the example included below being from Neverver (Barbour 2012:450). In (12), the anaphor *ang* corefers to the PRE constituent *nemat* ‘snake’ as part of a PRE construction which is itself a complement clause (§3.3.2)

(12) Neverver (NCV,SVO)

<i>At-rongil</i> 3PL.REAL-know	<i>nemat,</i> snake	<i>nakhabb</i> fire	<i>i-khan</i> 3SG.REAL-eat	<i>ang</i> ANA PROF
	PRE	CLAUSE		
MATRIX CLAUSE	COMPLEMENT CLAUSE			

‘They all knew that the snake, the fire consumed it.’ (Barbour 2012:450)

Other proforms corefer to things, and behave like demonstrative pronouns, where the proform substitutes for an NP. This can be seen in example (13) from a story in Gumawana (Olson 1992:393). The proform *ame* ‘this one’ is both PRE constituent and coreferent, and refers to a previously mentioned species of fish, a *golao*:

(13) Gumawana (PT, SOV)

<i>Dokanikani-ia-na</i> giant-?-3SG	<i>i-diga</i> 3SG-say	<i>ka-na</i> talk-3SG	“ <i>Geya,</i> NEG DISC	<i>ame</i> this.one PRE (PROF)	<i>go,</i> TOP
<i>niu-mu</i> sibling.opposite.sex-2SG.POSS	<i>nunuo-na</i> desire-3SG	<i>go</i> TOP	<i>ame.”</i> this.one PROF		
ASC CLAUSE (NON-VERBAL)					

‘The giant said, “No, as for this one, your sister wants this one.” (Olson 1992:393)

### 4.1.3 Summary of coreference

In sum, the relational structural property of government and control is realised in the PRE constructions in this project through the coreferencing relationship operating between the PRE constituent and the associated clause coreferent. In answer to the first chapter question regarding the topic of coreferencing, the OLC data show that such relationships are symmetric and anaphoric when both the PRE constituent and the coreferent are expressed by the same category of free nominals, although it is the PRE constituent, being the first mentioned element, that determines the expression of the following coreferent. The

coreferencing relationships are asymmetric and anaphoric when the structure of a reduced coreferent is controlled by a preceding free form PRE constituent. Less frequently, an asymmetric cataphoric relation holds between a referentially reduced independent pronoun as the PRE constituent, and a more structurally complex and referentially explicit NP as the associated clause coreferent. The range of associated clause coreferencing devices found in the OLC data are the full nominals, reduced forms, ellipted arguments and proforms observed in the simple clauses of Oceanic languages. I propose that these findings present a general property of the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages.

As was demonstrated in Chapter Two, the pre-clausal sequencing of a PRE constituent and a following associated clause is a definitional characteristic PRE constructions. But, it is the range of devices serving as associated clause coreferents which provide the means to differentiate the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages, and there are four types of these (see §2.1). By investigating the first chapter question regarding coreferencing, I have shown that it is the property of control operating between a PRE constituent and an associated clause coreferent that demonstrates the distributed meaning characteristic of an expanded clause, the unit for descriptive analysis I introduced in §3.4. The following section demonstrates the role of coreference in the expression of syntactic functions in PRE constructions.

#### 4.2 Scope and relevance: Syntactic functions and their representation in PRE constructions

The chapter question guiding this section of the analysis (chapter question two) concerns the range of syntactic functions which are represented by the PRE constituent nominal, and how the relationship between the PRE construction components, which share the same syntactic function, might be described. I consider this question through the relational property of scope and relevance, which is demonstrated across PRE constructions by the grammatical subsystem of syntactic functions.

The notions of scope and relevance have various applications in linguistics, relevance being used in discourse pragmatics to discuss matters of implicature (Sperber and Wilson 2004:607–632; Huang 2007:227–231), while scope is employed in logical semantics to explain ambiguity (Cruse 2004:33–35; Farkas and Brasoveanu 2009:1). The notion of scope is also utilised in generative syntax for disambiguating clause-internal meaning, where it

accounts for the way that certain expressions have influence over others (Radford 2005:167, 475). However, commensurate with the more functional approach being taken in this thesis, and the notions of government and control previously discussed (§4.1), scope and relevance are considered to be abstract relational properties of grammar belonging to the conceptual category of reference, whose purpose is to organise discourse in a meaningful way for both speaker and addressee (Givón 2001a:12, 2005:96). While government and control is enacted through the coreferencing relation in PRE constructions (§4.1.1), scope and relevance is concerned with the discourse pragmatic domain of referential coherence, manifested in the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages by the system of syntactic functions which indicate the various grammatical and semantic roles of the discourse participants, or, put quite simply, who does what to whom. As such, syntactic functions involve a key aspect of the way that entities can be tracked during discourse.

In the PRE constructions of this project, I propose that the system of syntactic functions operates across the NP arguments of the entire expanded structure. Thus, the view here is contrary to that found in the literature for pre-clausally fronted NPs, where such NPs are generally treated as dislocations, syntactically independent from the clause that they precede (Gregory and Michaelis 2001:2; Pérez-Guerra and Tizón-Couto 2009:32; Lambrecht 2001:1065). If, as this viewpoint espouses, pre-clausal NPs are structurally independent, then the system of syntactic functions has no scope over them. Such a view would exclude the possibility of recognising the meaning relationship operating between the PRE constituent and its coreferent(s) in regard to their collaborative function as an argument of the associated clause predicate. As a point of difference in this work, I do not assume structural independence of pre-clausally positioned NPs, and section §4.2.1 explains how the PRE constituent is included in the expression of syntactic functions in PRE constructions, adding a function type to the taxonomy of NP functions presented by Andrews (2007:152). Following this, the wide range of syntactic functions corepresented in PRE constructions is exemplified in §4.2.2. A summary of the discussion in §4.2 concludes the topic (§4.2.3).

#### **4.2.1 The corepresentative relation of syntactic functions in PRE constructions**

In this study, I propose that a relational structural characteristic of PRE constructions is that the PRE constituent corepresents the syntactic function of the coreferent(s) in the associated clause. This analysis is founded upon the notions of collaborative meaning and distributed argumenthood as discussed previously in §2.1.2, whereby more than one referential

expression combines to express a single meaning. In the case of the PRE constructions in the OLC data, the referential expressions are the NPs of the PRE constituent and the associated clause coreferent(s) plus any co-occurring VP indexes. The combined meaning of interest in this section is the syntactic function these referential expressions encode.

There are three strategies by which languages mark syntactic functions; coreference, constituent order, and morphological marking. These also apply to the analysis of syntactic functions in the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages, and it is the strategy of coreference that is the most important, as the corepresentation of syntactic functions in PRE constructions is realised through the coreferencing relation. Just as a clause-internal NP and a coreferring VP index evoke the same entity, and combine to provide various pieces of referential information about that entity, so do a coreferring PRE constituent, clause-internal NP, and VP index (if present). The coreferential information expressed by these nominals represents the same participant enacting the same semantic role specified by the verb in the associated clause. This same semantic role is indicated in the grammar by the same syntactic function, thus the coreferential relationships in PRE constructions combine to coexpress this kind of meaning.

The ordering of constituents is a common strategy for marking syntactic functions in the canonic Oceanic languages described by Ross (2004:496–498), and is also relevant to the marking of PRE constructions in these languages. This is because the syntactic function of the coreferring nominals in a PRE construction is determined by the positioning of the associated clause coreferent(s), not only the NP argument, but also the coreferring VP index if and when present, as such indexes usually also have a fixed position within the VP according to their syntactic function. While a VP index is said to have an indexical relation with a coreferring NP argument (Haspelmath 2013), a PRE constituent is described here as having a relation of corepresentation with its coreferring associated clause argument.<sup>7</sup>

For PRE constructions, the corepresentational relationship that expresses syntactic functions is most transparent when syntactic functions are morphologically marked. This type of marking is a strategy only seen in the OLC data for non-canonical Oceanic languages (Ross 2004:495) such as Niuean, which indicates the syntactic functions of arguments with a case marking system of ergative-absolutive alignment. For PRE constructions in Niuean, the PRE constituent and the associated clause coreferent both carry the same case marking, so overtly indicate the

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<sup>7</sup>The syntactic function of the PRE constituent is bracketed in the examples which follow, to indicate this aspect of the corepresentative relation.

same syntactic function. Example (14) below (Seiter 1979:116) has an associated clause coreferent *ia* ‘3SG’, marked with the absolutive marker for pronouns *a*. The PRE constituent is the lexical form *leoleo* ‘police’, also marked with an absolutive marker, although this is *e*, the one for common nouns. The same pattern of case marking (absolutive) indicates the shared expression of the same syntactic function, this being the S argument of the intransitive associated clause. Therefore, the PRE constituent can be said to corepresent the syntactic function of the associated clause coreferent:<sup>8</sup>

(14) Niuean (FIJ,VSO/VS)

<i>Ko</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>leoleo</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>iloa</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>au,</i>			
PRS	ABS (S)	police	NFUT	know	ERG	1SG			
PRE WITH RELC									
<i>ko</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>mui</i>	<i>nī</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>motokā.</i>	
PRS	TAM	follow	just	ABS S	3SG	at	PL	car	
ASC CLAUSE (INTRANSITIVE)									

‘The policeman that I know, he’s just following cars.’ (Seiter 1979:117)

The relation of corepresentation can be positioned alongside the basic taxonomy of syntactic functions developed by Andrews (2007:152–223), which recognises clause-internal and clause-external function types. Clause internal types mark the syntactic functions within the clause as core (S, A and O) or oblique functions (OBL). Clause-external functions appear to be marked outside the basic clause structure, and are categorised as either free or bound. Examples of the external functions in English are the *as for* expression (free type), the *it*-cleft (bound type), and the structure known as topicalisation (bound type).

PRE constructions do not fit into Andrew’s taxonomy for one important reason: the syntactic functions can be marked within the associated clause, but also corepresented in the PRE constituent, as seen in (14) above. So, the functions are marked both clause-internally and clause-externally, and the system of syntactic functions can be said to operate across the entire pre-clausal construction. Therefore, it appears that PRE constructions represent an

<sup>8</sup> A further example of ergative/absolutive case marking is from Niuean in chapter 3 (example 12). However, it must be noted that in Seiter’s (1979) Niuean data, not all of the identifiable PRE constructions consistently mark their PRE constituents with case markers, although this behaviour does not negate the argument being made here.

additional category of syntactic functions, which are labelled in this work as the expanded type.

For multi-PRE constructions, the PRE constituents also corepresent the syntactic functions of their coreferents. Patterns of corepresentation in these cases are included with the examples for section 2.4, where the PRE constituents of +1 multi-PRE structures both corepresent the same syntactic function (examples 23-25), or different functions (example 26). A +2 multi-PRE construction (example 27) demonstrates that corepresentation of up to three different syntactic functions is possible, these being the A (agent), R (recipient), and T (theme) functions from an associated ditransitive clause (see §4.2.2 below for more details).

PRE constituents in PRE constructions with complex associated clauses may corepresent more than one syntactic function, particularly when the complex clauses are coordinating. As for multi-PRE structures, there are two corepresentational possibilities. Either the PRE constituent corepresents the same syntactic function in each of the component clauses, or as is far less common in the data, a different syntactic function is corepresented. From section 3.3.2, Sinaugoro (example 23) demonstrates how the PRE constituent corepresents the same syntactic O function in each of the three subsequent coordinating associated clauses in an externally-patterned complex PRE construction. An example where the PRE constituent corepresents a different syntactic function from the coordinated associated clauses is seen in (15) from Iamalele (Beaumont 2008:11). The PRE constituent is an independent pronoun *yau* ‘1SG’ fronting a complex associated clause, and corepresents the R function expressed as *-ku* ‘1SG’ in the first associated clause, but either S or A function expressed as the cross-index *a-* ‘1SG’ in the second associated clause, depending on the transitivity of the verb *‘ani* ‘eat’:<sup>9</sup>

(15) Iamalele (PT,SOV/AOV/SV)

<i>Yau,</i>	<i>Sanidele</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>yadi</i>	<i>lamoga</i>	<i>bawe</i>	<i>wata</i>	<i>bi’wa</i>
1SG	Sanidele	and	3SG.POSS	husband	pig	and	taro
(R),(S/A)							
PRE	ASC CLAUSE1						

<sup>9</sup> The published material available for Iamalele does not include information about the transitivity of *‘ani* ‘eat’. However, this does not affect the point being made here.

<i>i-vele-ku</i>		<i>a- 'ani.</i>
3PL-give-1SG		1SG-eat
R		S/A.INDX
		ASC CLAUSE2

‘As for me, Sanidele and her husband gave me pig and taro, and I ate (it).’ (Beaumont 2008:11)

#### 4.2.2 The range of syntactic functions corepresented by the PRE constituent

The range of syntactic functions corepresented in the PRE constructions of the OLC data was mentioned above in §2.1.1 as including S, the sole argument of an intransitive clause, A, the most agent-like participant, and O, as the most patient-like participant in transitive clauses (Dixon 2010:116–121; Andrews 2007:138). Following Andrews (2007:152–153) and Dixon (2010:118), S, A and O functions are categorised in this work as core functions, due to their syntactic and semantic behaviour in comparison with other grammatical functions.<sup>10</sup> Two additional syntactic functions being included as core types are involved in ditransitive clauses, also designated as core functions by Dixon (2010:117), although he describes them somewhat differently.<sup>11</sup> The additional functions are the R function, encoding a participant as a recipient, and the T function representing the theme participant (see Äiwoo, example 27 in §2.4). Other syntactic functions corepresented by the PRE constituent and the associated clause coreferent are categorised as oblique functions (OBL), as the function of the coreferent is expressed by a non-core or peripheral argument, described as such due to the non-essential role the participant plays in regards to completing the meaning of the verb (Van Valin 2005:4–5; Payne 2006:211, 215; Dixon 2012a:97). In general, the observation can be made that the same range of syntactic functions operate in the PRE constructions as in the simple clauses of Oceanic languages. The core functions corepresented in PRE constructions have already been exemplified in chapter 2 where the identification of syntactic functions in the associated clause facilitated the process of locating the associated clause boundary (§2.1.1). Therefore to avoid redundancy, they are not repeated in this section, but can be observed in Chapter Two as example (1) from Hoava (S functions in PRE), example (2) from Dumbea (A

<sup>10</sup> Such behavioural differences are suggested by Dixon (2010:118) to involve their role in valency-changing derivations, in the formation of complex clauses, and in the construction of reflexive and reciprocal structures.

<sup>11</sup> Dixon describes ditransitive clauses as “extended transitive” clauses, and provides an example from Tongan using the verb of transfer ‘*oange* ‘give’, and labelling the dative marked recipient as the E function.

function in PRE), and example (14) from Kara (O function in PRE). Äiwoo demonstrates the R and T functions in their corepresentative role as PRE constituents with the ditransitive associated clause in example (27).

Among the oblique functions corepresented in PRE constructions are the following with locative (16, 17) and instrumental meanings (18). The typical structural pattern for obliques in PRE constructions is for the oblique marker to remain *in situ* in the associated clause, along with an overtly expressed object argument as its complement, this argument coreferring to the NP in the pre-clausal position. So, the corepresented element of the oblique function in PRE constructions is only the nominal object of the oblique expression. The nominals involved in the corepresentation of the oblique argument may both be reduced forms, such as the independent pronoun *koe* ‘2SG’ in example (16) from Vaeakau-Taumako (Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011:334):

(16) Vaeakau-Taumako (FIJ, SVO/AVO)

A	<i>koe,</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>thai</i>	<i>pele</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>lau</i>	<i>ite</i>	<i>koe</i>	<i>na.</i>	
ART	2SG	DEM	one	disease	DEM	TAM	reach	LOC	2SG	DEM	
(OBL)								OBL			
PRE		ASC CLAUSE									

‘You have been struck by some disease.’ (Lit. ‘You, a disease has struck you.’) (Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011:334)

Alternatively, the corepresentational nominals may be both lexical NPs, which is the case in example (17) below from Teop (Mosel and Nan 2003). The NP *a teebana teve* ‘her bed’ occurs both as the PRE constituent and the object NP of the oblique phrase headed by the preposition *te* with the locative meanings ‘in, at, of, on’:

(17) Teop (MM, V SECOND)

A	<i>teebana</i>	<i>teve,</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>maamihu</i>	<i>taba</i>	<i>avuavuhu</i>
ART	bed	3SG.POSS	ART	all.kinds.of	thing	fragrant
(OBL)						
PRE			ASC CLAUSE			
<i>paa</i>	<i>vaatii</i>	<i>vo-ri</i>	<i>te-a</i>	<i>teebana</i>	<i>teve,</i>	
TAM	put	like-3PL.OBJ	PREP-ART	bed	3SG.POSS	
			OBL			

‘Her bed, all sorts of fragrant things (leaves), they put on her bed,...’ (Mosel and Nan 2003:Nan-2\_R.pdf)

A more commonly observed pattern is for a more explicit lexical NP to occupy the pre-clausal slot, while the coreferring oblique NP argument is a reduced form as an independent pronoun. This is the case in example (18) from Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:70), where the PRE constituent is the lexical NP *noku bue* ‘my knife’, coreferenced in the associated clause by *-a* ‘3SG’, the object complement of *gene-*, which is used in Lolovoli to express instrumental meaning:

(18) Lolovoli (NCV,SVO/AVO)

<i>No-ku</i> CLF-1SG.POSS (OBL) PRE	<i>bue,</i> knife	<i>na-ni</i> 1SG.SBJ-IRR	<i>tei</i> chop	<i>na</i> ACC	<i>bue</i> bamboo	<i>gene-a.</i> INST-3SG.OBJ OBL
		ASC CLAUSE				

‘My knife, I’ll chop down the bamboo with it.’ (Hyslop 2001:70)

### 4.2.3 Summary of syntactic functions

In this section I set out to answer chapter question two regarding the nature of the relationship between the PRE construction components which share the same syntactic function, and the range of functions which are represented. In doing so, I have claimed that syntactic functions have scope across the entire PRE construction due to the distributed argumenthood and collaborative meaning created by the coreferential relationship between the PRE constituent, the associated clause coreferent, and VP index if present. The functions are marked in PRE constructions by a combination of strategies, of which the coreferencing strategy is the main kind. Typically, the order of the clause-internal coreferents, along with any VP index, determines the appropriate syntactic function, which is corepresented by the PRE constituent. This corepresentation is most easily observed in the PRE constructions of languages like Niuean, when the strategy of morphological marking comes into play, and the PRE constituent carries the same case marking as its coreferent NP in the associated clause.

As a result of the corepresentational relation of syntactic functions operating across the clause boundary of a PRE construction, a new type of syntactic function, labelled as the expanded type, can be added to Andrew’s taxonomy (2007:152). The range of syntactic functions observed in the data for this project reveals that both the core and oblique functions of internal types are corepresented by the PRE constituent; sufficient breadth to suggest that the

same range of syntactic functions found in the simple clauses of Oceanic languages occurs equally in the PRE constructions under investigation here.

### 4.3 The prosodic characteristics of PRE constructions

In this section, I address chapter question three regarding the prosodic characteristics of the PRE constructions in this project, and the role such attributes might play in establishing pre-clausal status. The method of data analysis necessary to answer this question was explained in the chapter introduction. To briefly summarise the main points, not all of the languages in the OLC have the publically available audio-recorded and annotated data necessary for a prosodic analysis. Therefore, three languages with large audio corpora, Nevever, Kubokota, and Teop, were selected from the list in the OLC to undertake this part of the project. The relevant audio files were located and selections including potential PRE constructions were clipped with Audacity ([www.audacityteam.org](http://www.audacityteam.org)). I then performed the analysis using PRAAT ([www.praat.org](http://www.praat.org)), measuring the speech pauses of interest. I constructed spectrograms and pitch diagrams for each audio clip, aligning the prosodic and textual data in text grids. Examples of these pitch contour diagrams appear in the discussion below to illustrate the patterns found in the data.

Prosody in linguistics encompasses some of the more physical attributes of spoken language, such as the way the vocal chords vibrate (pitch), the physical effort afforded in their use (loudness and intensity), and the timing of articulatory movements (speed, duration and silence) (Crystal 1969:123; Cruttenden 1986:1; Fox 2000:1; Schlüter 2005:232; Wichmann, Dehé and Barth-Weingarten 2009:2; Jun 2014:431). Wilson and Wharton (2006:1560) succinctly describe the prosodic features noted above as forming the packaging rather than the content of any message being communicated. In regards to the linguistic analysis of prosody, this is typically undertaken from a more abstract perspective concerning the notions of contour, prominence and phrasing (von Heusinger 1999:15; Selkirk 1995:550), wherein units of various kinds, generally larger than a single phonetic segment, are assigned values relative to those within the same sequence of discourse (von Heusinger 1999:16). Von Heusinger (1999:5) describes contour as the the pitch pattern associated with a unit of intonation, phrasing as the marking of informational units, and prominence as the relevant “highlighted unit”. Of the three concepts, contour and phrasing are the most applicable to the analysis in this section, the first in respect to the pitch pattern operating across an entire PRE

construction, and the second vis-à-vis the prosodic relationship between the phrasal components of the pre-clausal structure.

Grounds for investigating the expression of prosody in PRE constructions are provided by Givón (2001a:18), who includes the prosodic properties of intonation and rhythm in the list of human language attributes deemed by him to be the “coding instruments” of clausal grammar, but also Fox (2000:333), who notes in his monograph *Prosodic Features and Prosodic Structure*, that prosodic structure is “the fundamental basis for the production of speech”. An additional reason for examining the prosodic structure of PRE constructions was found in the early part of the study when I reviewed the publications of Oceanic languages for this project. In these publications, authors frequently mention that a pause or intonation break is found between a preposed nominal and a following clause (De la Fontinelle 1976:193–195; Moyse-Faurie 1983:199; Healey 1984:2; Whiteacre 1986:65; Bugenhagen 1995:316; Hyslop 2001:70; Howard 2002:13; Brownie and Brownie 2007:166; Brotchie 2009:217; Schneider 2009:20–22; Guérin 2011:382; Barbour 2012:447). I also found further evidence that intonation and pausing are the specific prosodic characteristics to investigate in publications from several non-Oceanic linguists, who likewise observe the prosodic separation of a preposed nominal from a following clause (Geluykens 1992:25; Selkirk 1995:567; Lambrecht 2001:1071).

In regards to the literature selected for the prosodic description in this section, the most relevant, in keeping with the functional perspective of this project, demonstrates a commitment on the part of the researchers to study prosody by way of natural spontaneous spoken language, while assuming that the production and perception of prosody has a communicative function.<sup>12</sup> These studies consider prosodic units larger than a single intonation phrase, and the nature of the pauses between these units. Each study is introduced in the relevant sections below.

Publications devoted to prosodic typological studies are “rare” (Jun 2014:430), and those that do exist, such as the two volumes edited by Sun Ah Jun regarding intonation and phrasing (2005, 2014), tend to employ the Autosegmental-Metrical model of intonational phonology (Pierrehumbert 1980; Beckman and Pierrehumbert 1986; Ladd 1996), and/or the ToBI

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<sup>12</sup> The possible communicative purpose for which speakers might exploit this characteristic in their selection of a PRE construction is introduced below in §4.3.2, and explored further in the functional discussion in Chapter Eight in regards to foregrounding and the human attentional system.

transcription system of tone and break indices, adapted from Pierrehumbert's model by Silverman et al. (1992).<sup>13</sup> Although the Autosegmental-Metrical model and the ToBI systems are influential methodological approaches (Cruttenden 1986:72; Selkirk 1995:551; Fox 2000:300; Couper-Kühlen 2003:2; Wichmann, Dehé and Barth-Weingarten 2009:1), both systems describe the internal features of intonation phrases (pitch accents, boundary tones), but not the phrase-external features (pauses) which are of most interest to the current study. Additionally, the approach taken by these analytical frameworks is tone-based, where the meaning of a pitch contour is determined by the individual parts, such as the pitch accents, boundary tones, and phrase accents (Rietveld and Chen 2012:283). As will be shown below (§4.3.3), a tune-based approach is more effective for the prosodic description of PRE constructions, because it allows the meaning and function of the whole contour to be studied.

As indicated above, pauses and pitch contours are the prosodic properties suggested in the literature as most relevant to the PRE constructions in the data. Therefore the analysis presented in this section begins by exploring the pauses found at the syntactic juncture of the PRE constituent and the associated clause of PRE constructions from Neverver, Kubokota and Teop (§4.3.1). The next topic discussed concerns the pitch contours of the units divided by the pause (§4.3.2), while the final section investigates the prosodic characteristics of the entire PRE construction (§4.3.3). Subsection §4.3.4 summarises the prosodic investigation.

#### **4.3.1 The cesura between the MINOR and MAJOR intonation phrases of PRE constructions**

The data for this topic show that the most obvious prosodic characteristic of PRE constructions is the pause or break between the PRE constituent and the associated clause, henceforth referred to as the minor and major intonation phrases respectively.<sup>14</sup> For the prosodic discussion, the pause will be described as a cesura, following Barth-Weingarten 2013:98–99), who uses this term to describe the “splitting-up” of talk, and to represent the

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<sup>13</sup> Of the twenty-seven languages surveyed for the two volumes edited by Sun Ah Jun (2005, 2014), none are from the Oceanic language family. This is likely a reflection of the dearth of prosodic studies of Oceanic languages in general.

<sup>14</sup> There are a number of alternative labels for the prosodic unit of intonation used in the literature (see lists in Cruttenden 1986:35; Fox 2000:288; or Barth-Weingarten 2013:92). ‘Intonation phrase’ is employed for the description in this work as it seems to represent the most neutral term in that it is not associated with any specific theoretical approach. The labels ‘minor’ and ‘major’ are adopted from Fox (2000:318), who uses this scheme to rank sequences of intonation phrases in terms of their prosodic (in)dependence.

bumps in the flow of speech which are said to be the most noticeable feature of interactive spoken language. As pausing is a characteristic specifically mentioned by other researchers, the term *cesura* seems an appropriate choice for the task at hand, because it directs the analysis towards a description of the actual speech pause itself. Barth-Weingarten (2013:109) outlines a number of parameters used by speakers in varying amounts to create different kinds of *cesuras*, also applicable to the findings here. The parameters from her work most relevant to the current description are features at the *cesura* boundaries, such as the melodic characteristic of pitch movement and the rhythmical feature of syllable-final lengthening.<sup>15</sup>

Another rhythmical phenomenon important to the perception of *cesuras* is their duration, as *cesuras* shorter than 200 ms or thereabouts are not typically noticed during speech (Nootboom 1997:26), although some allowance must be made for the speaking style and speed of the speaker (Nootboom 1997:5). While breaks in pitch contour resulting from voiceless segments are short and generally not noticed, longer pauses between intonation phrases are (Nootboom 1997:26). Therefore, the 200 ms perception limit provides a useful criterion for determining PRE constructionhood. On occasion, Nootboom notes that it is possible for speech participants to perceive a pause where prosodic analysis shows this to be shorter than 200 ms. In such cases, other prosodic features such as a “clear melodic boundary marker” may suggest a *cesura* (Barth-Weingarten 2013:109). For example, final-syllable lengthening, or a steep pitch movement at an intonation phrase boundary may trigger *cesura* perception, as might a declination reset, where the pattern of general pitch fall across utterances (declination) is interrupted, and a new, but much higher pitch begins another unit of speech (‘t Hart, Collier and Cohen 1990:8; Nootboom 1997:9, 26). Such prosodic features provide explanations for PRE constructions with perceptible *cesuras* shorter than 200 ms.

In the following commentary, I describe my findings for the major prosodic characteristic of PRE constructions: the perceptible *cesura*. The first sections describe a typical *cesura* (Type A), then a less typical type (Type B). A further section discusses structures which lack perceptible *cesuras* completely, so are more difficult to analyse as PRE constructions (Type C).

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<sup>15</sup> Other parameters acting as cues for *cesuras* include voice quality (short creaky breath), increased loudness and open vocal tract configuration of a boundary syllable, as well as a lengthy aspirated release of a final segment (Barth-Weingarten 2013:109). These parameters remain uninvestigated for PRE constructions at the present time, as they require more detailed analyses outside the scope of the broad description being attempted here.

*Type A: The typical perceptible cesura in PRE constructions*

Typical perceptible cesuras in the PRE constructions of the data sampled are unfilled. In other words, they are silent. Their most obvious property is a duration of 200 ms or more, as explained above. Of the 120 PRE constructions sampled, those with perceptible cesuras have lengths ranging from 0.203 s to 3.433 s, and result in an average time of 0.925 s, well above the 0.2 s threshold of perceptibility described by Nootboom (1997:26). The pitch contour diagram in Figure 4-3 below was constructed from Kubokota data (Chambers 2006:a033JW-001), and represents a PRE construction with a cesura around the average time (0.947 s), positioned here between the NP *na vavakato* ‘this story’ of the minor intonation phrase, and the non-verbal clause *vavakatodi ria pamo*a ‘it’s the story of them before’ of the major intonation phrase:

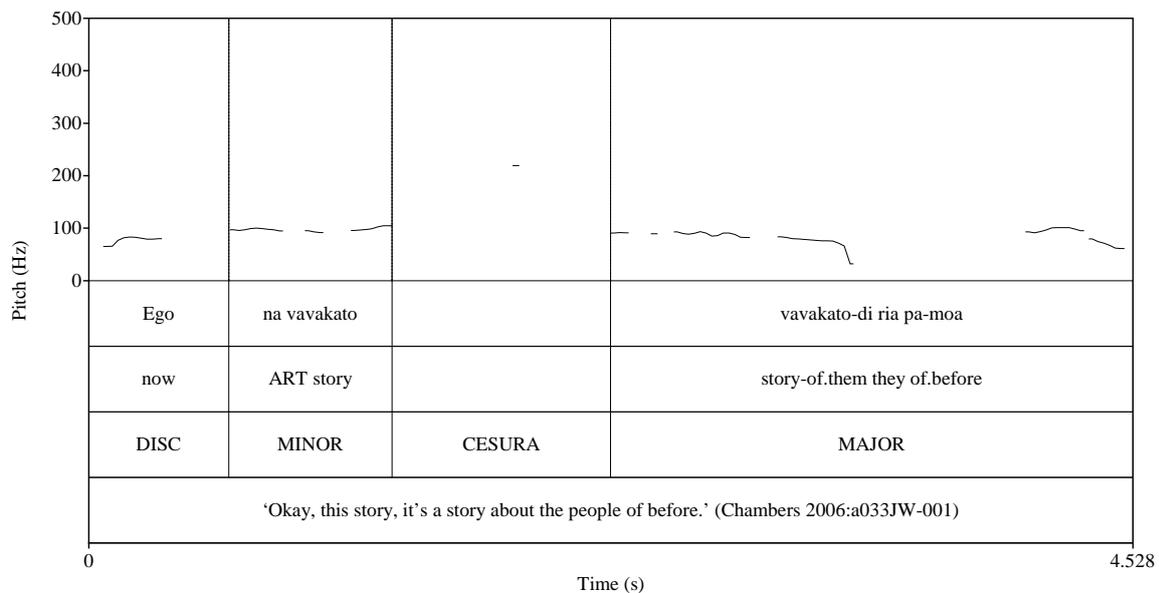


Figure 4-3: PRE construction from Kubokota demonstrating an average-sized cesura between the minor and major intonation phrases of 0.947 s

In the 120 samples analysed, cesuras occur in all of the PRE constructions types categorised in §2.1, including those with the ASC-overt/free, ASC-overt/bound, ASC-overt/free proform and ASC-non.overt structures. In all cases, a cesura longer than 200 ms shows that the minor intonation phrase is a separate chunk of information from that in the major intonation

phrase.<sup>16</sup> Support for the claim being made here comes from Chafe’s (1994:55) observations regarding the flow of information in discourse, where an intonation unit is said to represent “a unit of mental and linguistic processing that seems to be exactly the right size to be processed in its entirety”, and that “each intonation unit expresses something different from the others immediately preceding and and following” (1994:29). The presence of a perceptible cesura not only supports a pre-clausal analysis for ASC-overt/free types, but provides much-needed clarification for ASC-overt/bound types with cross-references and ASC-non.overt types, where a pre-clausal analysis is in doubt (§2.1).

This next pitch contour diagram in Figure 4-4 below of Kubokota data (Chambers 2006: a024EL\_022) shows that the analysis made on syntactic grounds for the ASC-overt/free types is verified by the prosodic analysis (although this could just as easily be the other way around). A cesura longer than 200 ms (0.799 s) is positioned between the minor intonation phrase, which corresponds with the PRE constituent NP *sasari* ‘decorations’, and the major intonation phrase containing the associated clause with the overtly stated coreferent NP *doru taipi sasari* ‘all types of decorations’:

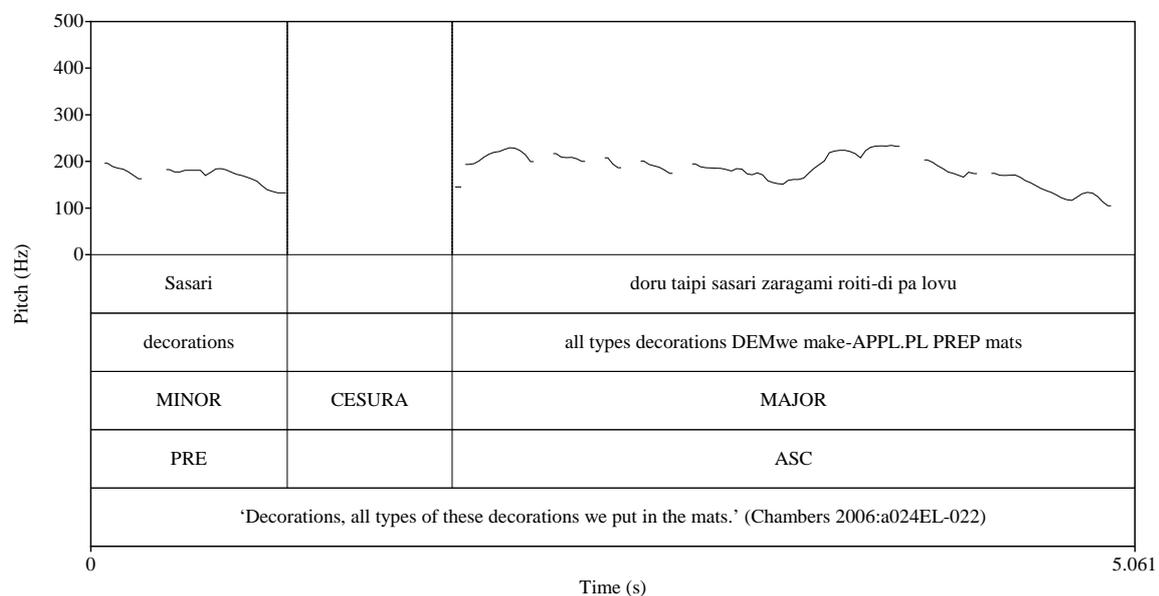


Figure 4-4: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Kubokota data showing a 0.799 s cesura for an ASC-overt/free type PRE construction

<sup>16</sup> Further discussion of the intonation unit as a separate chunk of information can be found in §8.1.2, which considers the role played by the minor intonation phrase in the human attention system.

Although it could be argued that a multi-PRE analysis is possible for this PRE construction on account of the unexpected OV word order in the associated clause (Kubokota is VSO), I have chosen to represent this utterance with a single PRE constituent, due to the single perceptible cesura present. Any other silences in the major intonation phrase are due to voiceless sounds.

For the ASC-overt/free proform type (§4.1.2), the presence of a perceptible cesura again verifies a pre-clausal analysis. In the pitch contour diagram of Figure 4-5 below, a PRE construction from Kubokota (Chambers s2006:a035JT\_007) shows a relevant cesura (1.308 s) positioned between a minor intonation phrase with a pre-clausal constituent *vinaori pie* ‘the second river’ and a major intonation phrase, which is described syntactically as an associated complex conditional clause (note that the pitch pattern in the cesura is caused by contextual noise). The coreferent is the proform *ketakoi* ‘there’:

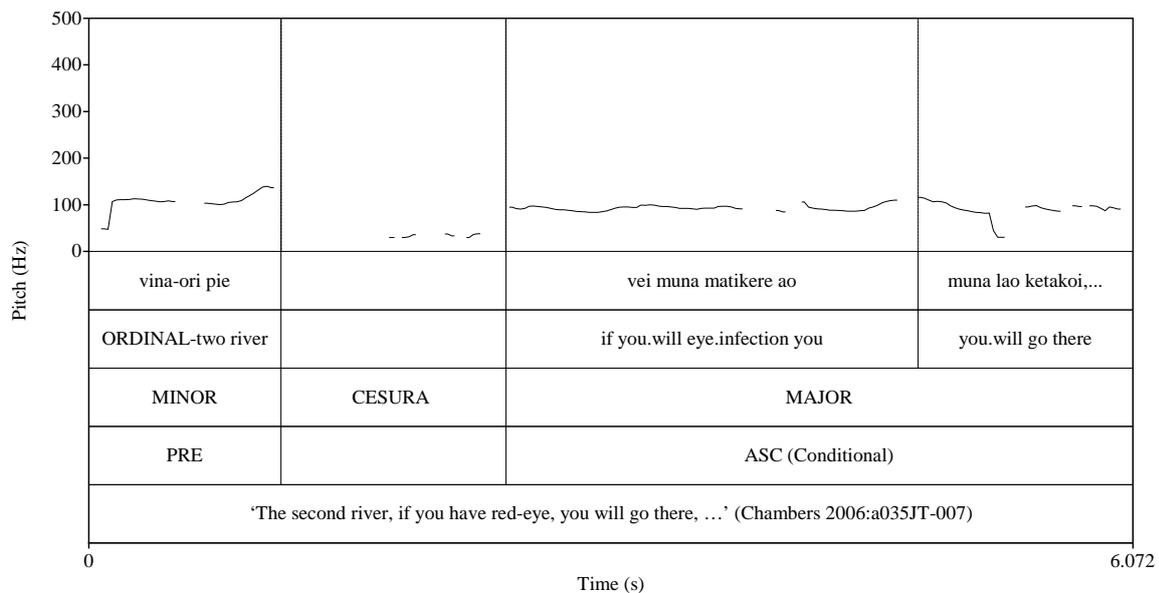


Figure 4-5: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Kubokota data demonstrating the presence of a cesura for the ASC-overt/free proform PRE construction type

The occurrence of a perceptible cesura demarcating a minor and major intonation phrase is particularly advantageous to the analysis of the ASC-overt/bound types when a cross-index is involved.<sup>17</sup> A cross-index does not necessarily have argument status, so any coreferring

<sup>17</sup>The ASC-overt/bound types with pro-indexes or zero morphemes are not demonstrated, as the only languages which actually have available audio resources have cross-indexes or do not index their arguments in the VP at all. However, PRE constructions with pro-indexes are analysable as such due to their syntactic structure alone,

nominal positioned to the left of the clause predicate may be a clausal constituent, or alternatively, a pre-clausal element. This situation can be disambiguated when a perceptible cesura is present, as the cesura is prosodic evidence for the syntactic separation of the utterance-initial coreferring nominal, so that the cross-index in the clause VP has argument status, and the entire structure in question is pre-clausal. In Figure 4-6 below from the Neverver data (Barbour 2010:nvt\_ks02.173), there is a clear cesura (1.633 s) positioned between the PRE constituent *be nani* ‘but coconut’ in the minor intonation phrase and its associated clause *i-ve nimjal* ‘it made flesh’ in the major intonation phrase. The coreferent *i-* ‘3SG.REAL/it’ has status as the S argument, verified by the presence of the cesura, which indicates that the NP *be nani* is not a direct constituent of the clause itself:

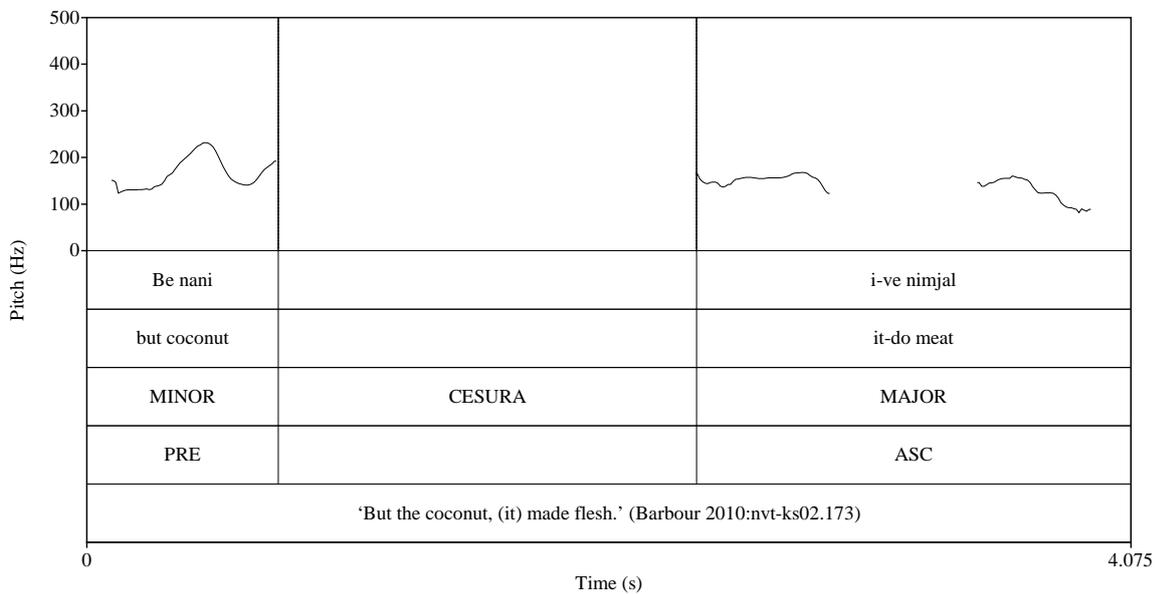


Figure 4-6: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Neverver data demonstrating how a cesura can confirm argument status for a cross-index (S argument) in an ASC-overt/bound PRE construction and a pre-clausal analysis

A similar example is included in Figure 4-7 below from Kubokota (Chambers 2006:a036LP\_033), which has cross-indexes for A arguments. The cesura is 0.956 s, so around the average length among the extracted data examples (the cesura includes some contextual noise). As above in Figure 4-6, the syntactic status of the content of the minor intonation phrase *ara za* ‘I’ can be verified due to the presence of the cesura, which indicates

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while ASC-overt/zero types pattern as for the paradigms of pro-indexes or cross-indexes to which they belong, so don’t require further discussion.

that *ara za* is pre-clausal, and that the cross-index *qa* ‘I’ in the associated clause is the A argument:

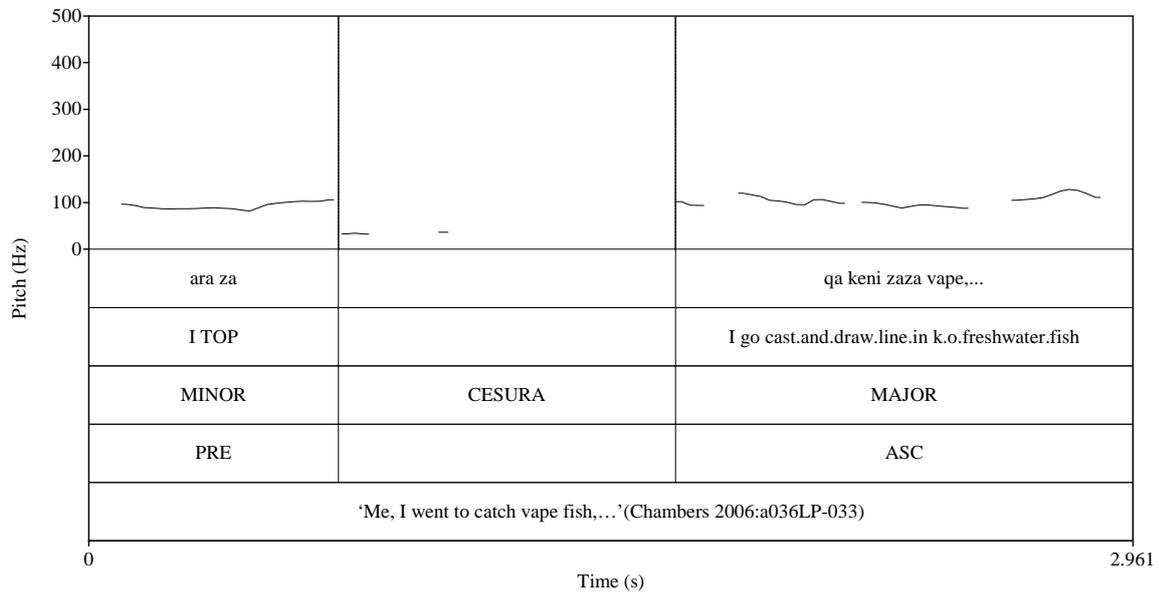


Figure 4-7: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Kubokota data demonstrating how a cesura can confirm argument status for a cross-index (A argument) in an ASC-overt/bound PRE construction and a pre-clausal analysis

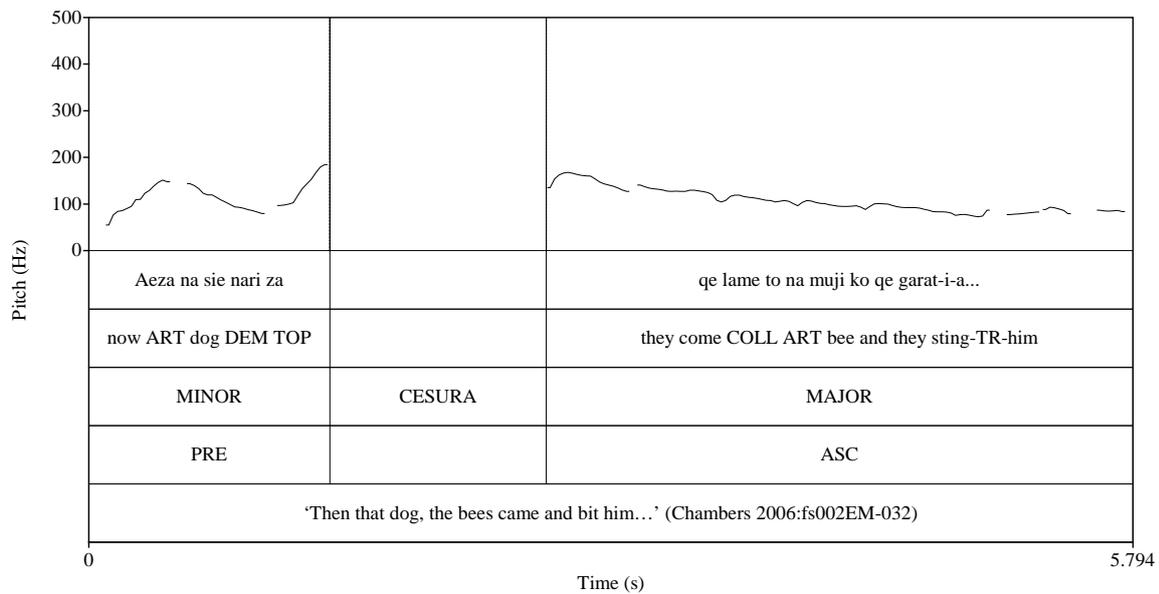


Figure 4-8: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Kubokota data demonstrating how a cesura can confirm argument status for a cross-index (O argument) in an ASC-overt/bound PRE construction and a pre-clausal analysis

A third example of the ASC-overt/bound pre-clausal type with cross-indexes is presented in Figure 4-8 above from a PRE construction in Kubokota (Chambers 2006:fs002EM\_032), where O arguments are cross-indexed in the VP. The NP *aeza na sie nari za* ‘then that dog’, forms the minor intonation phrase, separated from the major intonation phrase by a cesura of 1.2 s. The relevant aspect of the cesura is that the cross index *-a* ‘him’ is the O argument in the associated clause, thus enabling a pre-clausal analysis.

When it comes to the ASC-non.overt type, syntactic criteria alone are not sufficient to determine pre-clausal status, as there is no potential coreferent at all in the associated clause (§2.1.4). However, a cesura, indicating that the likely coreferent has simply been omitted, solves this dilemma. Thus, in Figure 4-9 below from the Neverver data (Barbour 2010:nvt\_ki02.049), there is a clear cesura (1.103 s) signalling the separation between the intonation phrases, and confirming the pre-clausal status of *be nitan ijing* ‘but this thing’, and its omission as an O argument of the associated clause:

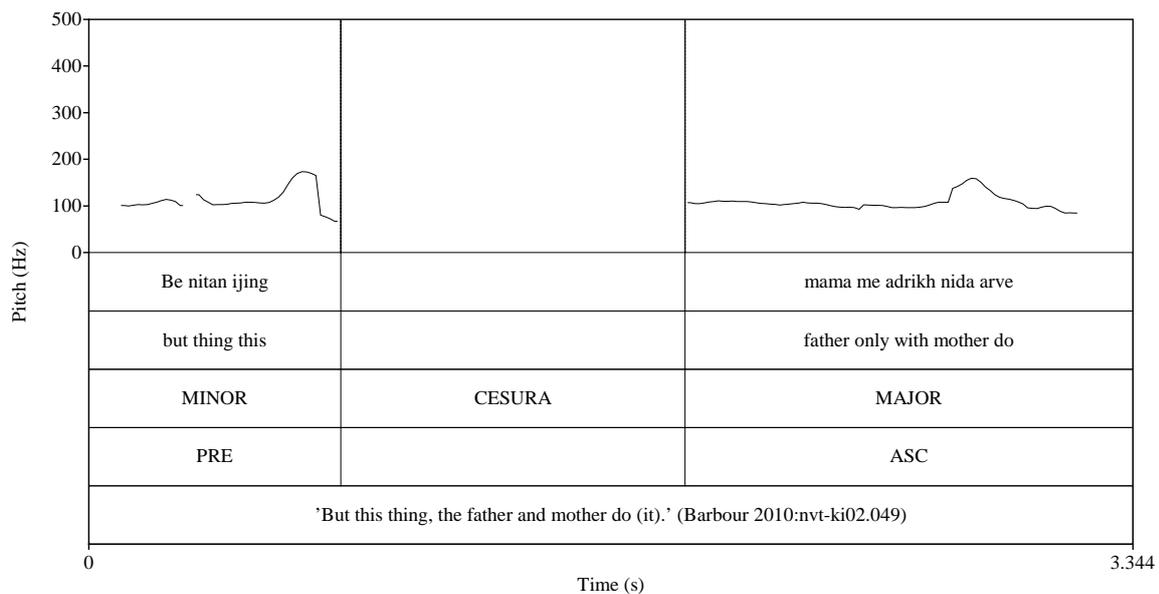


Figure 4-9: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Neverver data demonstrating the disambiguating role played by the cesura in determining the analysis for an ASC-non.overt construction

In a further example, Figure 4-10 below from Teop (Hel and Mosel 2003:Hel\_3\_049), both the O argument and the A argument are omitted in the clause *saka paa vaatei haa vuru teo surraa* ‘(you) have not put (them) in the fire’. However, the O argument is corepresented by

the overtly expressed NP *amaa vasu* ‘stones’ in the pre-clausal position, verifiable due to the perceptible cesura of 0.959 s between it and the following clause:

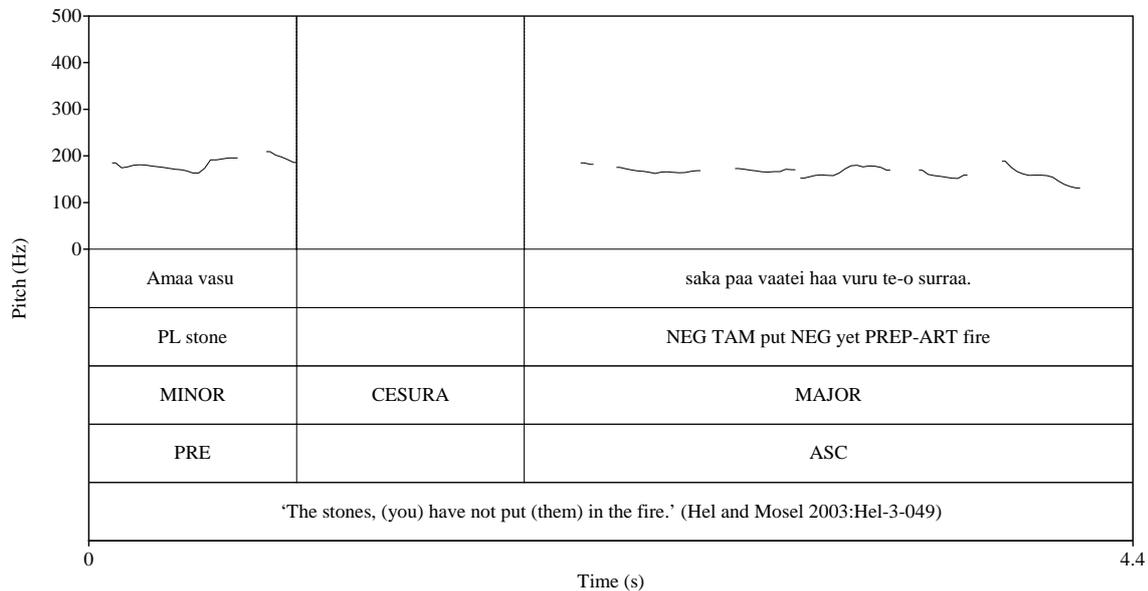


Figure 4-10: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Teop data demonstrating the disambiguating role played by the cesura in determining the presence of an ASC-non.overt construction

Constructions with more than one cesura separating minor intonation phrases from a major intonation phrase are also found (multi-CESURA), although the data from Neverver, Kubokota and Teop only produced a maximum of two cesura per construction. To demonstrate, consider this next example in Figure 4–11 below from Neverver (Barbour 2010:nvt\_ks06.020), where CESURA1 (0.961 s) separates the NP of the first minor intonation phrase *nibarbar* ‘a big pig’ from the NP of the second minor intonation phrase *lebrot* ‘a thin pig (from birthing)’. CESURA2 (0.586 s) performs the same prosodic function between the NP of the second minor intonation phrase *lebrot* and the clause *ijing man* ‘it was lying there’ of the major intonation phrase. Thus, the prosodic structure of multi-CESURA constructions aligns exactly with the syntactic structure of multi-PRE constructions (§2.1.4), and in this particular case, justifies an analysis in which the cross-index *i* ‘it’ is the only expression of the S argument in the associated clause:

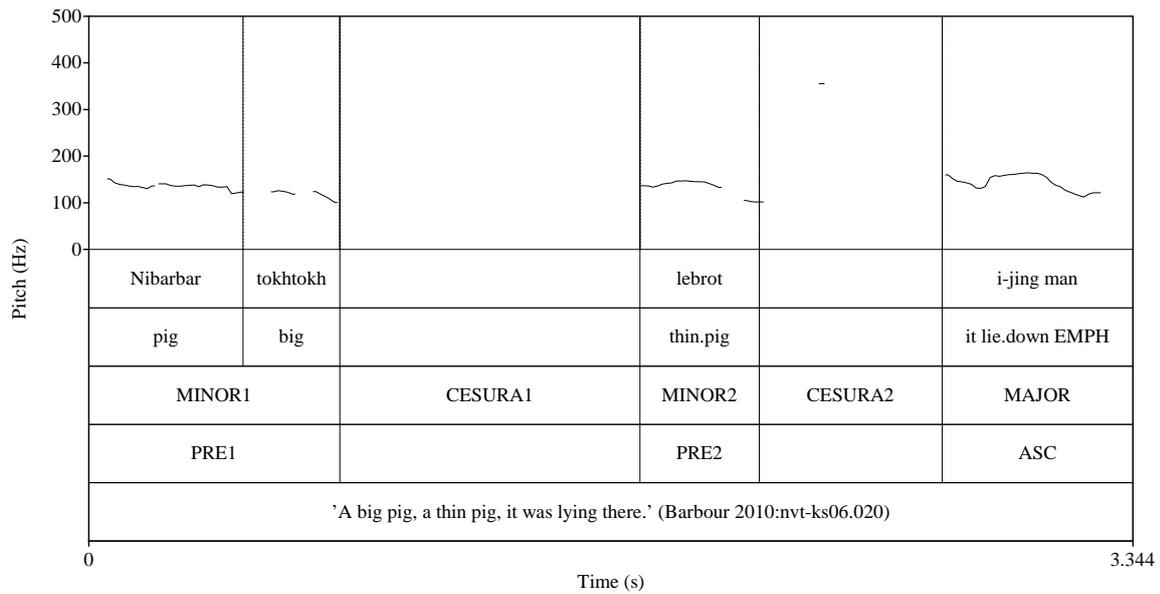


Figure 4-11: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Neverver data demonstrating a multi-CESURA structure

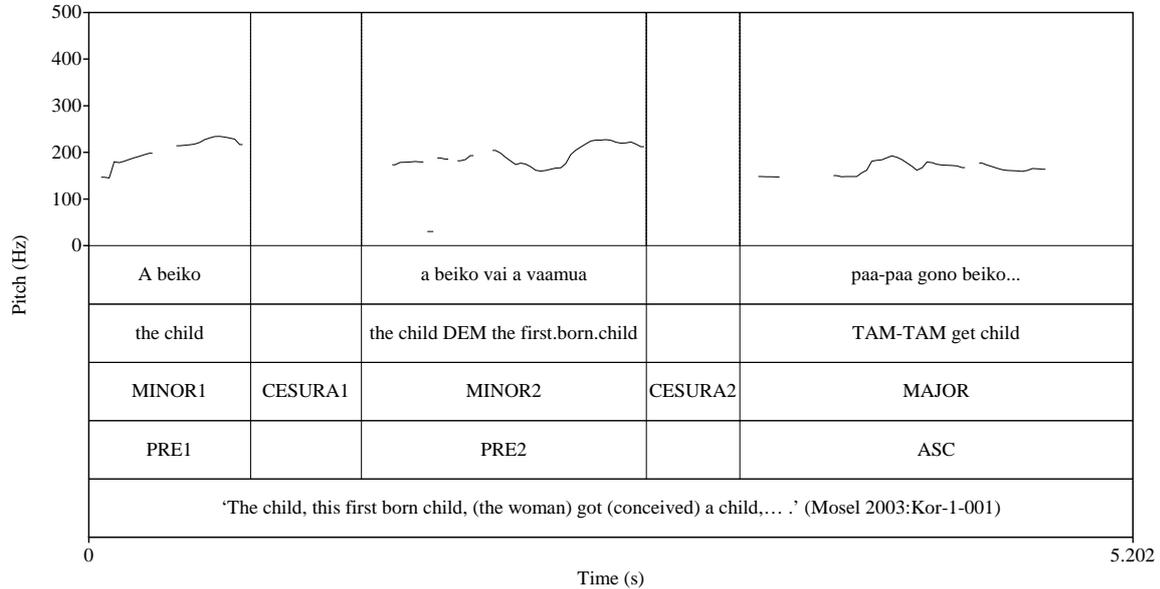


Figure 4-12: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Teop data demonstrating a multi-CESURA structure

A second multi-CESURA example is in Figure 4-12 above, and comes from Teop data (Kor and Mosel 2003:Kor\_1\_001). There are two minor intonation phrases expressed as the NPs *a beiko* 'the child' and *a beiko vai a vaamua* 'this first born child' separated by CESURA1 (0.584

s). CESURA2 (0.489 s) demarcates the second minor intonation phrase *a beiko vai a vaamua* from the major one, expressed as the clause *paapaa gono beiko* ‘(the woman) got (conceived) a child’.

The presence of a cesura can establish multiple or single PRE constituency. So, in Figure 4-13 below from Teop (Kaetavara and Saovana-Spriggs 1994b), the two NPs *o kara kuriri o kara toraara* ‘the fathom of kuriri, a string of beads’ are in apposition, and form a single intonation contour, and therefore a single PRE constituent. There is no perceptible cesura separating *o kara kuriri* from *o kara toraara*; the pitch break at the boundary of the two NPs is due to the fusion of the final [i] of *kuriri* with the following [o], and the voiceless segment [k] of *kara*. The only cesura present separates the minor and major phrase by 1.085 s:

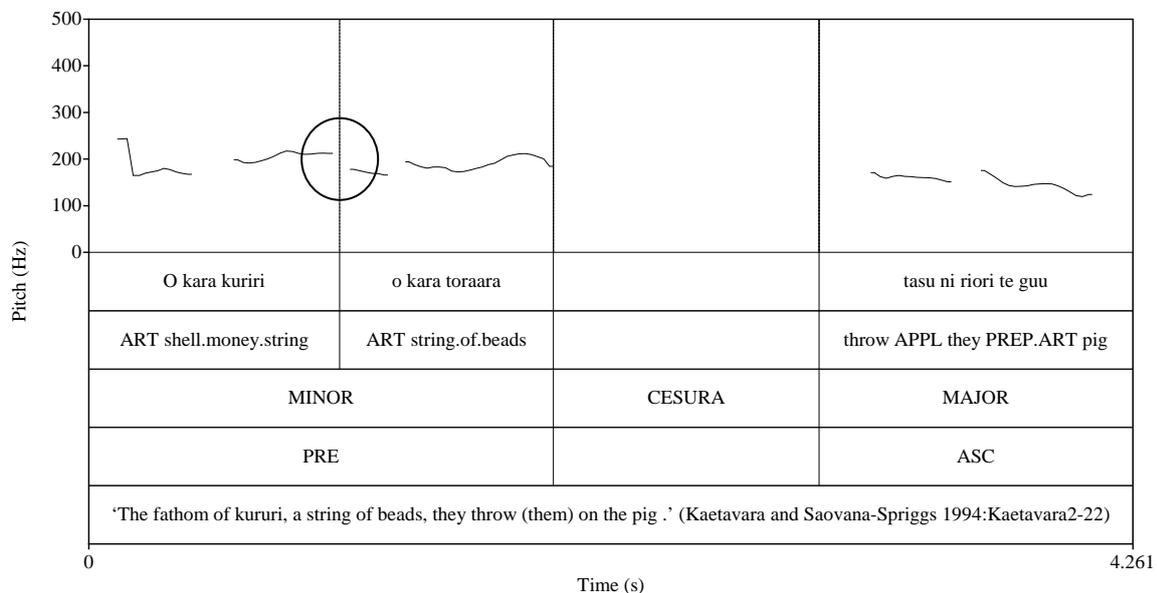


Figure 4-13: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Teop data clarifying single/multiple PRE constituency

For PRE constructions with a non-contiguous syntactic configuration (§2.3), examples with the appropriate audio recorded material have only been found where a +1 separation exists, involving either an adjunct (Figure 4–14) or an adverb (Figure 4–15). Of interest to the analysis here is the positioning of the intervening material and the cesura. For this example in Figure 4–14 below from Neverver (Barbour 2010:nvt\_ki02.007), the intervening element is an adjunct, which is a component of the major intonation phrase. So, there is no cesura between the adjunct *lon kuman nossorian tkuman* ‘in our language’ and the associated clause *nat-ver ‘nibongva’* ‘we say ‘nibvongva’’. There is however a perceptible cesura (1.503 s)

between this adjunct and the NP *nibongva*, which comprise the contents of the minor intonation phrase:

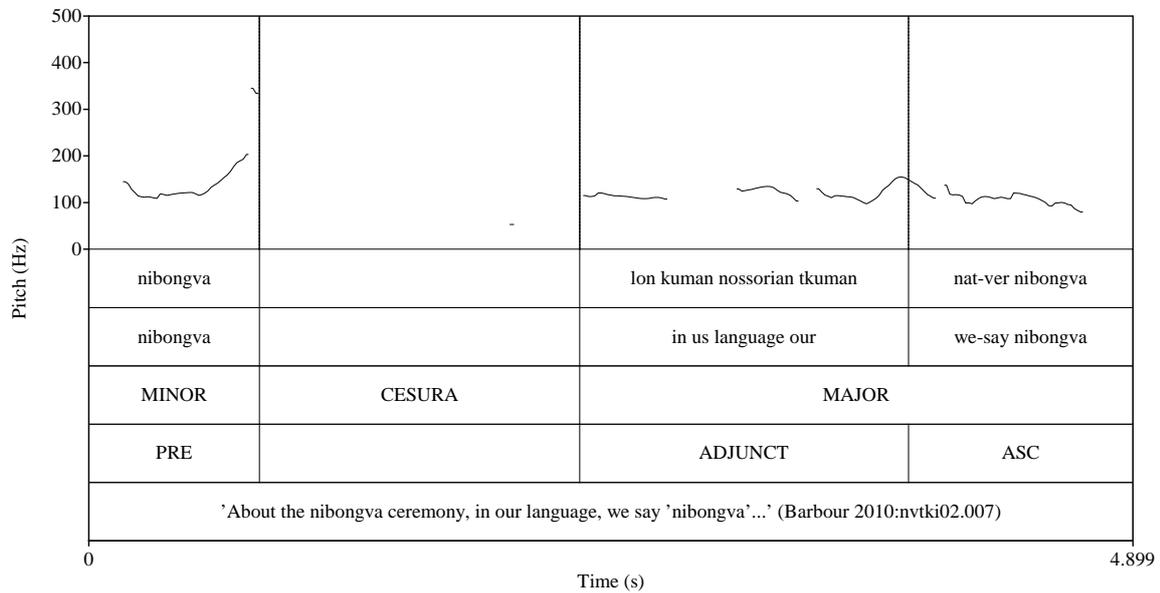


Figure 4-14: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Neverver data demonstrating the positioning of an intervening adjunct in relation to the cesura

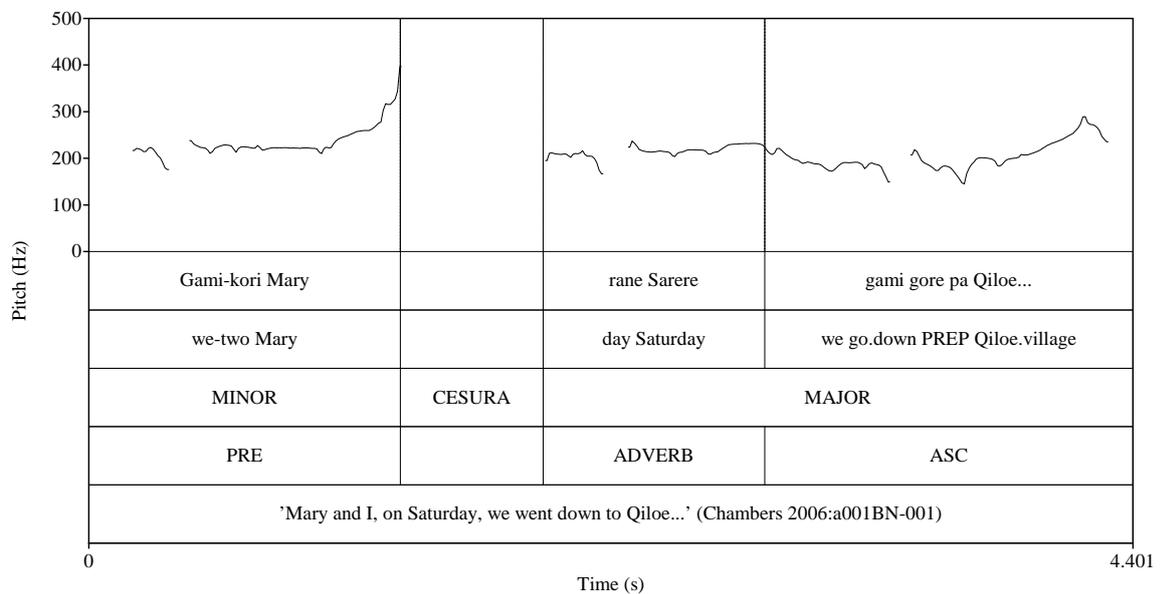


Figure 4-15: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Kubokota data demonstrating the positioning of an intervening adverb in relation to the cesura

The intervening temporal adverb *rane Sarare* ‘Saturday’ is also a component of the major intonation phrase in Figure 4–15 above from Kubokota (Chambers 2006:a001BN\_001), where there is a clear cesura (0.602 s) separating the adverb from the NP *gami-kori Mary* ‘Mary and I’ in the minor intonation phrase.

While both examples here show that the intervening element is part of the major intonation phrase, this is not the case for the adverb in the less typical PRE construction below (Figure 4-18). Unfortunately, three examples is not enough to really establish a pattern, nor to say that there is likely to be one, although the cesura is present in every case. More examples need to be located and prosodically analysed to give a clearer picture.

To sum up the situation thus far, the presence of a perceptible cesura is the major prosodic characteristic of PRE constructions, the most typical of which are unfilled and are 200ms or longer. A perceptible cesura can disambiguate pre-clausal status in PRE construction types where the argument status of an overt coreferent cannot be established (ASC-overt/bound cross index), or particularly when no coreferent is present (ASC-non.overt).

*Type B: The less typical perceptible cesuras in PRE constructions*

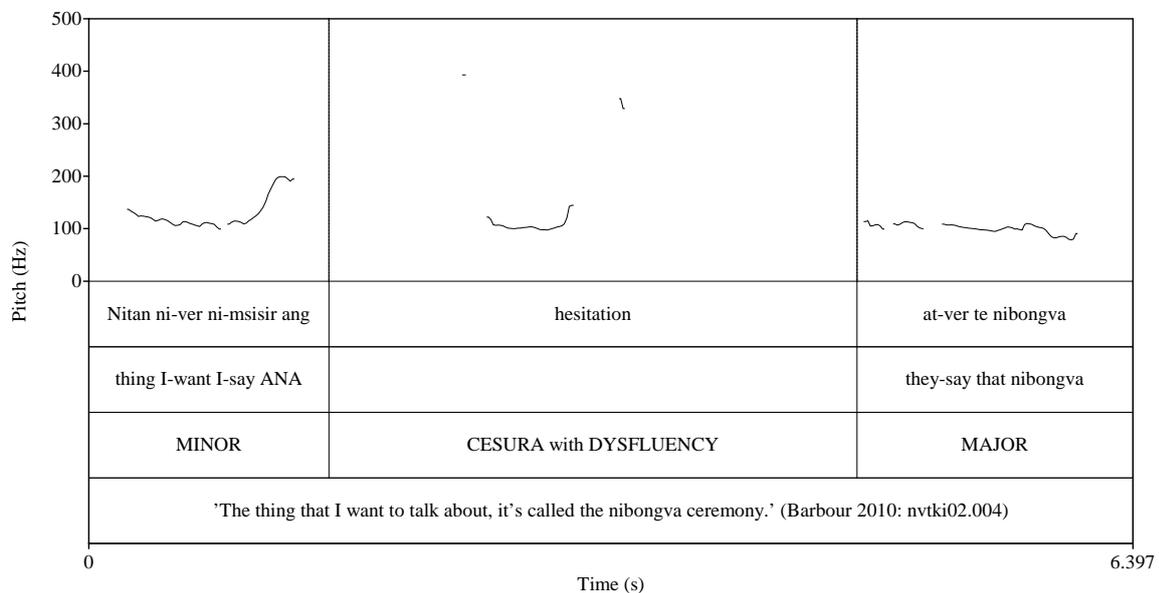


Figure 4-16: PRE construction constructed from Neverver data with partially filled cesura (3.433 s)

While typical cesuras are unfilled, less typical ones may contain speech dysfluencies, which obviously aid perceptibility, no matter the cesura duration. Above in Figure 4-16, the speaker

from Neverver (Barbour 2010:nvt\_ki02.004) employs the hesitation marker *um* in the cesura between the minor and major intonation phrases. This lengthy cesura (3.433 s), including the hesitation, provides the speaker with increased planning time, a common function of pauses and dysfluencies in spoken language (Cruttenden 1986:37): Note that the coreferencing relation is expressed between the lexical items *nitan* ‘thing’ and *nibongva* ‘nibongva ceremony’, exhibiting a conceptual meaning relation of representation (see §8.2.3).

A further example of dysfluency (DYS) included in the cesura between the minor and major intonation phrases is in Figure 4-17 below from Kubokota (Chambers 2006:a014SP\_003). In this case, the speaker has two false starts while planning the content of the major intonation phrase, which is a non-verbal predicate. The coreferencing relation is a conceptual one of attributive possession (§8.2.2). Both the following and previous examples exemplify one of the roles that perceptible cesuras play: they assist with planning and organising speech (Fox 2000:26):

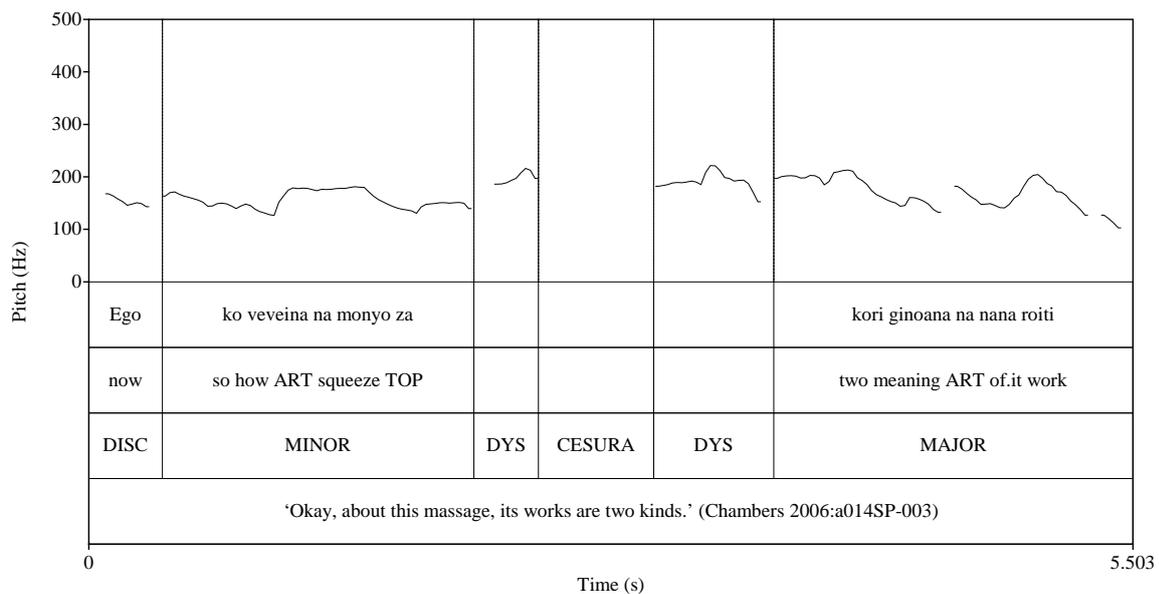


Figure 4-17: PRE construction from Kubokota data with partially filled cesura (0.607 s)

Less typical cesuras which are unfilled do not meet the 200 ms perceptibility threshold, but, as indicated in the introduction to (§4.3), there are other prosodic parameters which induce perceptibility. So, in the pitch contour diagram of Figure 4-18 below from Teop, where an intervening adverb *nabunuu* ‘in the past’ is positioned between a PRE constituent *eori* ‘them’ and an associated clause (Mahaka and Saovana-Spriggs 2001:Mark\_Mahaka3\_094\_095),

neither of the intonation breaks are 200 ms, the first being only 0.168 s in length, while the second is slightly longer (0.194 s):

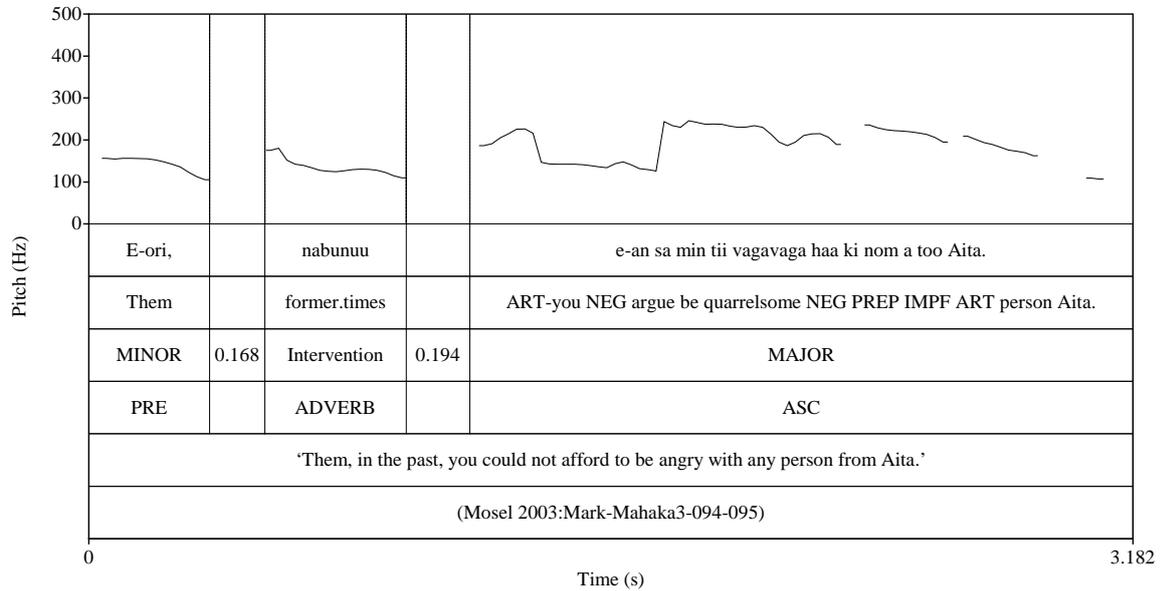


Figure 4-18: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Teop data showing a less typical PRE construction, where the intonation breaks between the minor, intervening major phrases are less than 200ms

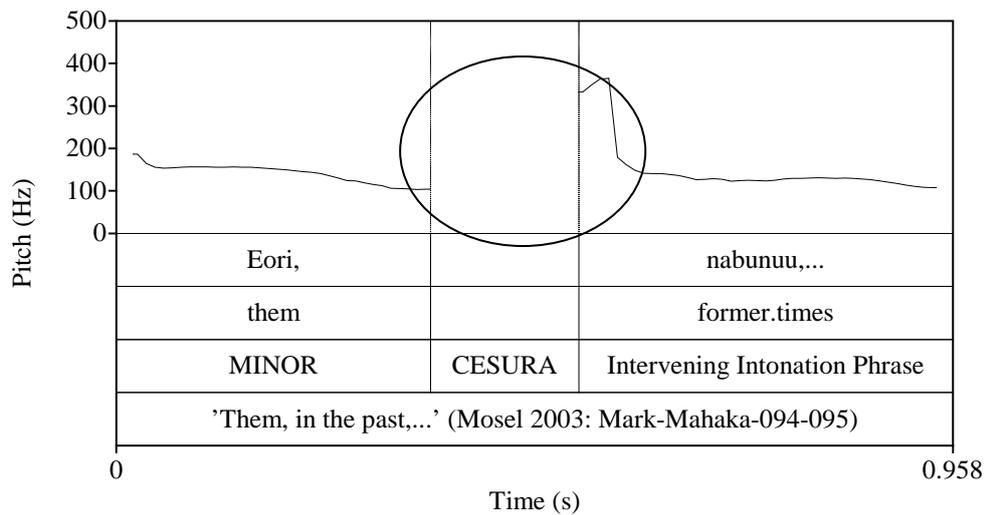


Figure 4-19: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Teop data demonstrating the steep pitch movement across the intonation phase boundaries responsible for cesura perceptibility

However, the cesura are apparent when the audio track is played. One possible explanation for this concerns the relatively large change in pitch across the intonation boundaries of the minor, intervening, and major intonation phrases. This pitch change becomes clearer once the relevant intonation phrase boundaries are extracted and drawn separately. So, in Figure 4-19 above, the fundamental frequency at the terminal boundary of the minor intonation phrase is 103.7 Hz, which jumps up to a frequency of 332.3 Hz at the beginning of the intonation phrase for the intervening adverb. It is the contrast between the frequencies which are thought to initiate cesura perception in such cases (Nootboom 1997:26).

This same explanation could be made for the second break, although as can be seen by the extracted pitch contour diagram in Figure 4-20 below, the pitch change is not as steep (107.7 Hz up to 172.4 Hz):

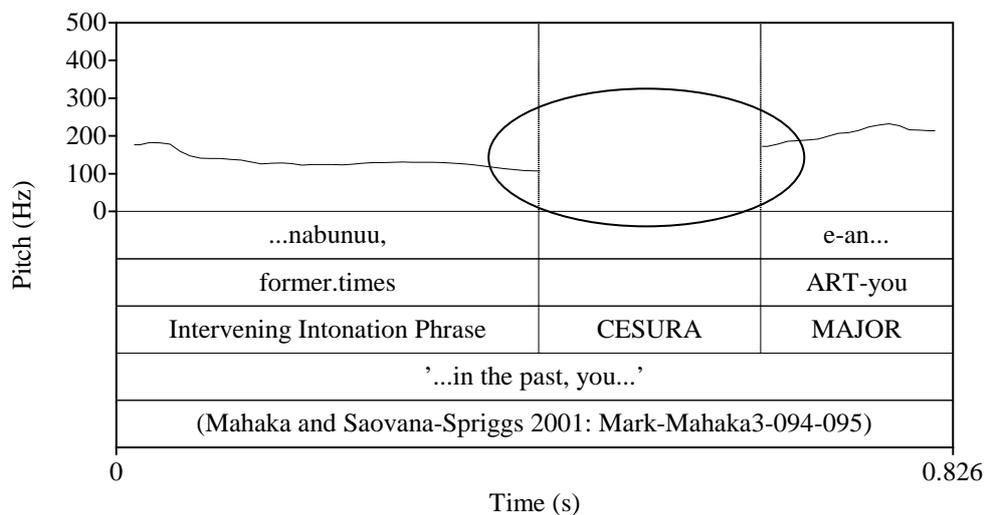


Figure 4-20: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Teop data demonstrating the pitch movement across boundaries of the intervening and major intonation phrases

In this case, the general pitch contour patterns across the entire utterance offer a further explanation. Each intonation phrase exhibits a downwards trend in pitch as time proceeds, demonstrated by the dotted lines added to the pitch contour diagram in Figure 4-21 below. This trend is labelled as declination, and is thought to be one of the few universal features of intonation (Chafe 1994:59; Nootboom 1997:9; Fox 2000:325; Ladd 2001:1381). Where the beginning of an intonation phrase shows a rise in pitch after the end of the preceding one, this is known as a declination reset, and noted by Nootboom (1997:9,26) as a trigger for pause

perception. Thus, the declination reset occurring at the end of both cesura below may explain why the cesuras between the intonation phrases are perceptible, even though they are short:

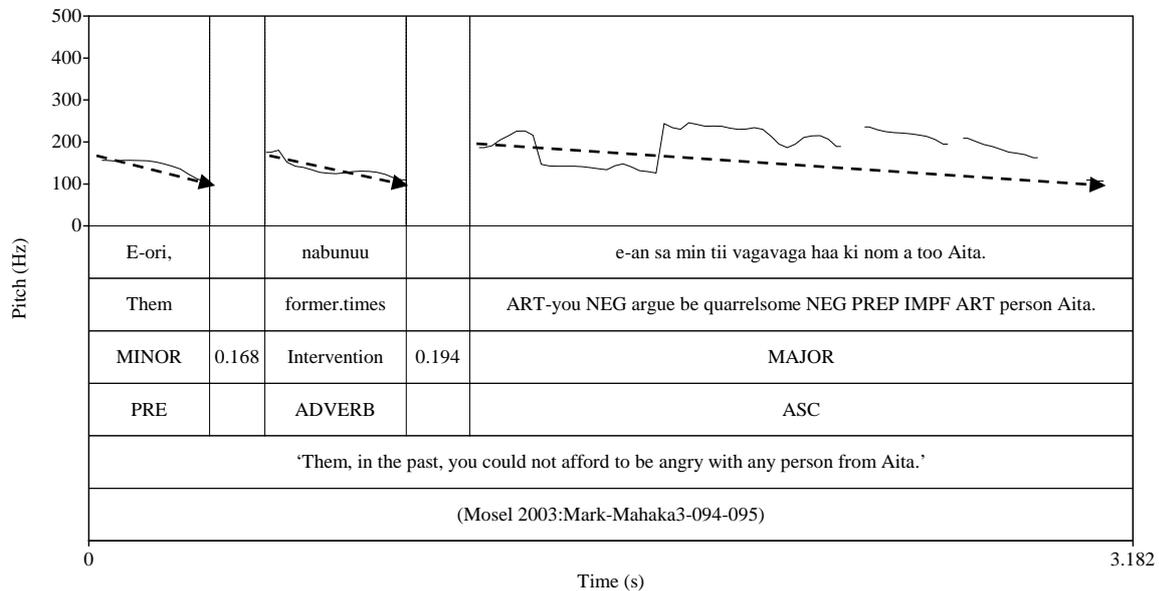


Figure 4-21: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Teop data demonstrating declination reset across the minor, intervening and major intonation phrases

Another less typical PRE construction is exemplified in Figure 4-22 below from Neverver (Barbour 2010:nvt\_ks08.035), where the cesura is well below the 200 ms limit (0.049 s), but definitely audible. In this instance, the speed of delivery is very fast, but the sudden change and discontinuity in pitch movement across the cesura, along with the lengthening of the terminal boundary syllable of the minor intonation phrase can explain perceptibility, both being prosodic features noted by Nootboom (1997:26) as having this function. So, from the pitch analysis conducted in PRAAT, the frequency at the terminal boundary of the minor intonation phrase is 207.7 Hz, but the pitch reading at the beginning of the major intonation phrase drops sharply to 77.4 Hz, then quickly jumps back up to a frequency of 241.9 Hz. Additionally, the phrase-final syllable *tgam* in the minor intonation phrase is slightly lengthened (0.287 s) compared to its articulation in the phrase-medial position of the associated clause (0.263 s) where there is also no break between *tgam* and the following syllable *i*:

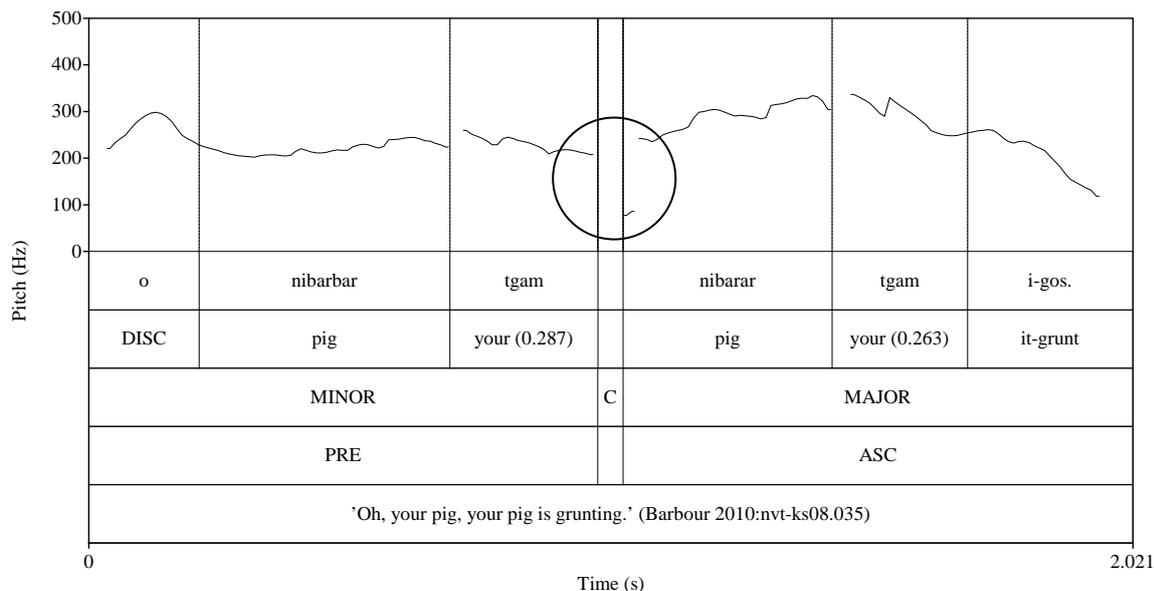


Figure 4-22: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Neverver data demonstrating final-syllable lengthening (*tgam*) at the terminal boundary of the minor intonation phrase, and sudden changes and discontinuity in the pitch direction across the cesura boundaries

While both Nooteboom (1997:25) and Barth-Weingarten (2013:109) indicate that final lengthening of the syllable at the left cesura boundary is a common feature, the data from this project do not yield examples other than the previous one from Neverver (Figure 4-22) that lend themselves easily to further investigation. It is possible that syllable lengthening is a feature of typical cesuras, not just less typical ones, but this remains an area for further study. Pitch movement at cesura boundaries is more easily observed, and is discussed below from the perspective of the prosodic relationship between the minor and major intonation phrases (§4.3.2).

*Type C: Potential pre-clausal structures without cesuras*

The data for the prosodic analysis have suggested that the presence of a perceptible cesura is a robust characteristic of PRE constructions. Therefore, any structure which lacks this characteristic makes a pre-clausal analysis less compelling. This section rounds out the prosodic discussion by presenting one such example. In Figure 4-23 below from Neverver (Barbour 2010:nvt\_ks07.027), which has a basic order of SVO, the O argument *nakhabb anjakh* ‘this fire’ unexpectedly occupies utterance-initial position, thus is a prime candidate for pre-clausal analysis. In regards to coreference, although there is no overt coreferent for this NP anywhere in the structure, it has already been shown that this is not uncommon for the

PRE constructions of the ASC-non.overt type (§2.1.4). The absence of a coreferent does not necessarily exclude a pre-clausal analysis, as Neverver routinely suppresses O arguments (J. Barbour, personal communication, 10th January, 2017). However, a prosodic analysis shows that the utterance forms but a single intonation phrase, as the only pitch contour breaks are made by the voiceless segments [s] and [x]. For pre-clausal status, a cesura would be expected between the syllables *jakh* and *nar*. Therefore, it is difficult to say whether this structure should be analysed as a PRE construction or a topicalisation, which shares the characteristic of marked constituent order with PRE constructions:<sup>18</sup>

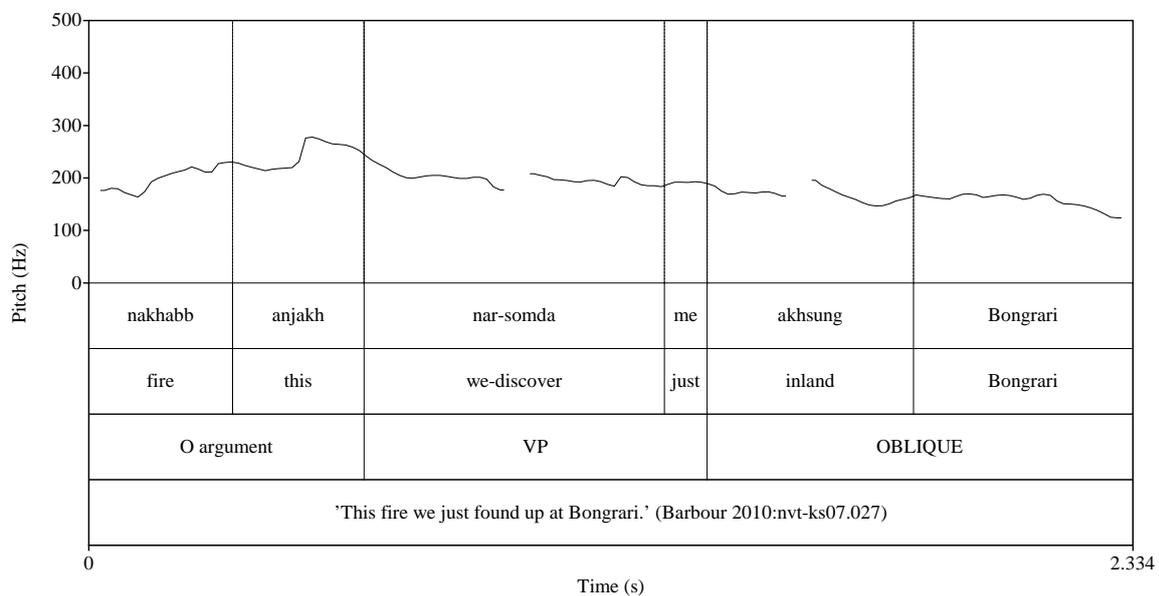


Figure 4-23: Pitch contour diagram constructed from Neverver data demonstrating a structure without a perceptible cesura

### 4.3.2 The prosodic characteristics of the minor and major intonation phrases

Having addressed chapter question three with regard to the prosodic characteristic of pausing, the task in this section is to do the same, but in consideration of the prosodic characteristics of the minor and major intonation phrases instead.

From their work with conversational data, Du Bois, Scheutze-Coburn, Cumming and Paolino (1993:52–56) suggest that the contour at the end of an intonation phrase is a transition point in speech, where speakers can signal their intentions to continue or stop speaking. So, while a

<sup>18</sup> For discussion of topicalisation and its relation to PRE constructions see chapter two (footnote 17).

fall in pitch at the transition point generally indicates finality, a rise can be used as an appeal. Alternatively, when a speaker wishes to indicate continuity, either a fall, rise or level pitch contour can be used, although a continuity fall may not reach the same low point in pitch as a final fall. Therefore for PRE constructions, where the minor phrase precedes the major one, the expectation is that no particular contour pattern at the terminal boundary of the minor phrase will be found, as the speaker is always continuing on. A small sample of PRE constructions was analysed to test for this pattern. The results did suggest continuity at the minor phrase boundary, although some language-specific preferences seem to be operating, since for the three languages tested, Kubokota speakers end their minor phrases with more rises, the Teop speakers end their minor phrases with more falls, while the Neverver speakers are equally divided between rising and falling contours at the minor phrase boundaries. To exclude the possibility that other factors were influencing these findings, correlations between the terminal pitch contour of the minor intonation phrase and the animacy, syntactic function and previous mention of the PRE constituent were briefly considered. No particular patterns were found, apart from a weak tendency in Kubokota for a rising contour to corepresent an S or A syntactic function, and be a previously mentioned discourse referent. Since the data surveyed were randomly selected, and the analysis was conducted using a very simple rise-fall configurational scheme in the style of Bolinger (1964; 1972:19–29), the very weak tendency for the minor phrase to signal continuation is probably best treated as inconclusive.

In regards to the prosodic characteristics of the major intonation phrase, a brief study of the data shows that in keeping with the near universal pattern of declination observed for utterances (Nooteboom (1997:9), there is a tendency for the pitch contour at the terminal boundary of the major intonation phrase to fall.

Overall, as the results for the minor intonation phrase were not consistent, I think it best to treat the findings in this section as tendencies only, and note that this is one area for future research.

### **4.3.3 The prosodic patterning of PRE constructions**

Having demonstrated that an important prosodic characteristic of the PRE constructions in the data is the presence of a perceptible cesura between the minor and major intonation phrases, the remaining task necessary to complete the investigation for chapter question three is to consider the prosodic patterning of the entire PRE construction. In particular, I describe the

prosodic patterning of the data from Nevever, Kubokota, and Teop, and what relevance this might have to the PRE constructions in the Oceanic languages of this project. The phonological concepts of contour and phrasing noted in the section introduction (§4.3) provide a meaningful way of approaching this topic.

In regards to contour, I demonstrated in the data presented above (§4.3.1, §4.3.2) that a PRE construction can be described as a single unit with internal structure. In typical cases, there is a break in the pitch contour separating a minor (MINOR) and major (MAJOR) intonation phrase. This break is a perceptible cesura longer than 0.2 s (||). The pattern of a typical PRE construction can then be represented by the following simple formula in (20):

(20) MINOR || CESURA || MAJOR

For the concept of phrasing, the data examples above (§4.3.1, §4.3.2) show there is a strict pattern of phrasal sequencing in typical PRE constructions whereby a minor intonation phrase always precedes a major intonation phrase. Moreover, the minor phrase never occurs in the data without the following major phrase. Thus, the parts can be described as being linked in a relationship of prosodic dependency, where the minor intonation phrase is dependent upon the major one, and both must be present to construct the larger prosodic unit. In this respect, the prosodic patterns can be said to mirror the syntactic patterns of dependency described in §3.4 for the expanded clause.

Fox (1984:122; 2000:315–316) identifies dependency relations for larger prosodic units such as that described in (20) for the typical PRE constructions of this project. Fox describes coordinating prosodic structures, where the individual parts are prosodically independent, and subordinating types with an independent and dependent prosodic component.<sup>19</sup> It would seem that the PRE constructions in this study exhibit prosodic interdependency, as both components must occur to create the cesura.

The prosodic relationship of the coordinating and subordinating types are said by Fox (Fox 1984:127, 129) to reflect the textual or informational status of the parts. In coordinating

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<sup>19</sup> Fox (1984) takes care to distinguish prosodic coordination and subordination from syntactic coordination and subordination, although he notes that more often than not, the prosodic and syntactic structures correspond as I have observed for PRE constructions.

prosodic structures, the parts are textually equivalent, creating open-ended structures with a theoretically infinite number of additional parts. Clearly, the parts in the PRE constructions of this study are not textually equal, and the data show that the number of parts are both syntactically (§2.4) and prosodically limited (§4.3.1). In the subordinating prosodic structures described by Fox (1984:127), the textual status of the parts is described as complementary, where one part is added in to complete the information being expressed by the whole. For the PRE constructions in this project, the minor and major intonation phrases do not complement each other in this fashion. Rather, it seems that the information in the minor intonation phrase is a sub-part of the information expressed in the major phrase, but made extra salient by being set apart in its own prosodic unit.<sup>20</sup> Therefore I suggest that the minor phrase can be described as being associated with the major phrase in regard to textual representation.

Fox (1984:128) also describes the relationship of the prosodic structures in terms of discourse structure, so that coordinating types are concatenating, where a single whole is formed from a series of individual intonation units. In contrast to the coordinating types, the subordinating kinds are said to have a relationship of integration (Fox 1984:122–128), where the unified whole is formed from a set of hierarchically arranged intonation phrases. The PRE constructions in this project pattern neither as a series of individual units, nor as a set of hierarchically organised intonation phrases. Instead, I suggest that the entire structure is typically created by contrasting the minor phrase with the major one, achieved by the insertion of the perceptible cesura. This contrast produces a foregrounding relationship between the minor and major intonation phrases. The foregrounding relationship is discussed further in Chapter Eight with regard to the human attention system (§8.1.2).

In considering the attributes of prosodic dependency, the relationship of the prosodic parts, and the discourse significance of the coordinating and subordinating prosodic units described Fox, alongside the same attributes observed for PRE constructions, it would seem that the prosodic patterning for PRE constructions represents an additional category. I describe this category as being an expanding type, where the relationship between the parts is by association and the discourse significance of this prosodic unit is its foregrounding function (see Table 4-3). For the associative relationship between the prosodic components, more

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<sup>20</sup>A related point for further research here concerns the nature of the syntactic-prosodic correspondence noted in the literature, for example, whether the cesura length (strength?) indexes the coreferent types described in §2.1.1 (ASC-overt versus ASC-non.overt).

research regarding the prosodic characteristics of the minor and major intonation phrases (§4.3.2) would provide greater details into the exact nature of this association.

Table 4-3: Types of prosodic patterning

Prosodic relation of dependency	Relationship of parts to each other	Discourse significance
Coordinating	Open-ended	Concatenation
Subordinating	Complementary	Integration
Expanding	Association	Foregrounding

To return to the question for this subsection, I have analysed the prosodic patterning of the data from Nevever, Kubokota, and Teop, and found that there is a relationship of interdependency between the minor and major intonation phrases of the entire structure, and that this interdependency produces a perceptible cesura. This finding is relevant to the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages because the presence of the cesura provides a useful tool for identifying typical PRE constructions. A further finding is that the prosodic patterning mirrors the syntactic one described in Chapters Two and Three in regards to sequencing and hierarchical status. Where the PRE construction forms a single syntactic unit which is described as a type of expanded clause, it also creates a single prosodic unit which can be described as an expanding type.

#### 4.3.4 Summary of prosody

This section (§4.3) addressed chapter question three, which involved the investigation of prosodic characteristics of the PRE constructions in the audio-recorded data from Nevever, Kubokota and Teop, and considered their relevance to the identification and description of the PRE constructions in the Oceanic languages of this project. I found that PRE constructions typically exhibit a prosodic relationship of dependency, whereby a minor dependent intonation phrase is prosodically separated from a major independent intonation phrase by a perceptible cesura, typically 0.2 s or longer. Less typical cesuras may be shorter than 200 ms, but perception is achieved by final syllable lengthening at the terminal boundary of the minor intonation phrase, and /or a significant change in pitch direction across the cesura boundaries. An important finding is that the presence of a cesura provides a crucial criterion for determining pre-clausal status in structures where syntactic characteristics are ambiguous,

such as those with ASC-overt/bound cross indexes, and ASC-non.overt types (provided audio recorded material is available).

As a whole, I suggest that the prosodic patterning of PRE constructions forms a larger prosodic structure which represents an expanded type with a specific melody and rhythm. Melody and rhythm are defined in this work following Nootboom (1997:2,4), where the former refers to the sequences of perceived pitch movements in a stream of speech, and the latter to the speaker controlled “durational variation” of speech (Nootboom 1997:15). In other words, melody includes the intonational contours of speech, and rhythm involves the pauses created by the phrasing of intonation units. In this section I have demonstrated by analysing the data from Neverver, Kubokota, and Teop, that intonational contours and pauses are the most relevant prosodic properties of PRE constructions, which I represent by the simple formula in (20) above, repeated in (21):

(21) MINOR || CESURA || MAJOR

#### 4.4 Conclusion

The investigation in this chapter addressed three questions, all of which are relational structural characteristics of the PRE constructions in this project. The first question concerned the topic of coreference, specifically the nature of the coreferencing relation between the PRE constituent and the associated clause, and the range of coreferencing devices. I found that the coreferencing relationship between the PRE constituent and the associated clause coreferent is the main vehicle for the expression of collaborative meaning in PRE constructions. Evidence of this collaborative meaning was seen by examining the coreferencing relationship of the data from the OLC language files in regards to the notions of government and control. The PRE constituent and associated clause coreferents either share the same form (symmetric relation), or exhibit different forms (asymmetric relation). The coreferents have an anaphoric relationship, where the associated clause coreferent encodes a less specific meaning than the preceding PRE constituent, or less frequently, there is a cataphoric relationship, when the

associated clause coreferent is more specific. The range of forms which occur as the associated clause coreferent in Oceanic languages were examined, and it was noted that the range of nominal types found as associated clause coreferents are also found as simple clause arguments.

The second relational characteristic concerned the scope of syntactic functions in PRE constructions. The question relating to this topic asked about the relationship between the PRE construction components which share the same syntactic function, and the range of syntactic functions expressed by the PRE constituent nominal. For this topic, I explained the relationship of shared syntactic function observed in the OLC data as one of corepresentation resulting from the distributed argumenthood and collaborative meaning created by the coreferential relationship between the PRE constituent, the associated clause coreferent, and VP index if present. The corepresentation is most easily seen in languages like Niuean where case marking occurs on both the associated clause coreferent and the PRE constituent (14). The possible range of syntactic functions expressed in PRE constructions would seem to be the same core and non-core functions as those expressed in simple Oceanic languages.

The third relational characteristic studied was in response to the third chapter question which involved the prosodic characteristics of the PRE constructions in the Nevever, Kubokota and Teop languages, and the relevance of these characteristics to the identification and description of PRE constructions in Oceanic languages. I found that the PRE constructions in the data typically exhibit a perceptible cesura longer than 0.2 s between a minor and a major intonation phrase, and that this is a useful property for establishing pre-clausal status. Less typical PRE constructions may still have a perceptible cesura, but this is triggered by final syllable lengthening and/or discontinuity in pitch movement across the cesura. The data suggest that the prosodic components of PRE constructions are interdependent, and I proposed that this relationship is one of association which I categorised as an expanded type. The discourse significance of this expanded prosodic structure is its foregrounding function, explained in greater detail in Chapter Eight (§8.1.2). I described the overall prosodic pattern of the PRE constructions observed in the data as one with a unique melody and rhythm, which mirrors the syntactic structure described in Chapters Two and Three in regards to sequencing and hierarchical status.

A final chapter question concerned the findings from the questions above, and their contribution toward the development of a model for the PRE constructions of this project. The

following important properties of the PRE constructions in the OLC language files were discovered:

- There is a coreferencing relationship between the PRE constituent and the associated clause coreferent, and this relationship is the main vehicle for the expression of collaborative meaning in PRE constructions;
- The collaborative meaning created by the coreferential relationship also produces the distributed argumenthood observed across PRE constructions where the PRE constituent corepresents the syntactic function of the associated clause coreferent and VP index (if present);
- A cesura longer than 0.2 s is found between a minor and major intonation phrase in typical PRE constructions and this creates a prosodic pattern across an entire PRE construction with a specific melody and rhythm, described as an expanded type;
- The range of coreferencing devices and syntactic functions in the PRE constructions of this project would seem to be the same as those found in the simple clauses of Oceanic languages.

These properties not only add to those of sequencing and hierarchical status already found, they also play a role in establishing pre-clausal status, thereby assisting in the identification of the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages. The properties exemplify the distributed meanings and dependency relations I described in §3.4 as characteristic of an expanded clause.

Having now described the non-relational and relational structural characteristics of PRE constructions in Chapters Two, Three and Four, the focus shifts to the exploration of the grammatical meanings distributed across the PRE constituent and its coreferring counterparts in the associated clause (when present). The next chapter, Chapter Five, begins this investigation with the grammatical category of number.

## Chapter 5 PRE constructions and the distributed meaning of number

In Chapter Three, I drew evidence from the data in the OLC language files to establish that the PRE constituents of prototypical PRE constructions in Oceanic languages are nominals (§3.1). Chapter Four demonstrated that these PRE constituent nominals form a coreferencing relation with a referring expression from the associated clause. Additionally, it was also shown in Chapter Four that the coreferencing relation exhibits distributed meaning, and that this meaning is typically controlled by the PRE constituent (§4.1.1). In this and the following two chapters, the investigation is directed towards exploring the kinds of meanings that are distributed via the coreferencing relation across PRE constructions in Oceanic languages. An important aim of this investigation is to determine how such meanings might contribute towards the model of PRE constructions being developed in this thesis. Although both the PRE constituent and its coreferring counterpart are the structures principally responsible for the meaning distribution, the analyses in Chapters Five, Six and Seven will concentrate on the grammatical meanings typically expressed by the controlling element: the PRE constituent nominal.

Two morphosyntactic categories (number, person) and one morphosemantic category (possession) were selected to investigate the distributed grammatical meanings in PRE constructions, chosen specifically because of their rich expression in the noun phrases of the simple clauses in Oceanic languages.<sup>1</sup> The grammatical meaning explored in the current chapter is the morphosyntactic category of number, and there are three research questions addressed. The first links with the descriptive research objective outlined in §1.6, and asks:

- In regards to the distribution of meaning in the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages, what are the structural means by which the grammatical category of number is expressed in the PRE constituent nominals (as the controlling component)?

The second research question links with the comparative research objective in §1.6, and asks:

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<sup>1</sup> A morphosyntactic category is one which is relevant to syntax by participating in agreement (Corbett 2012:49-50). For example, in regards to number, the number value expressed in a NP may require the syntactic agreement of this value in any morphology present in the VP. In contrast to this, a morphosemantic category is one where the semantic nature of the structure determines the morphology (Corbett 2012:49-50). The grammatical category of possession is a good example of this kind of category.

- Is it possible that the same number meanings distributed across the PRE construction components (as discovered in question one) are also available for number expression in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages?

Since the answers to the first and second questions overlap to some extent, both are simultaneously addressed in the analysis presented below. A third question also relates to the comparative research objective in §1.6, but requires the findings of the first two, so is answered at the conclusion of the chapter. This question asks:

- How can the findings from questions one and two in regards to the distributed meaning of number contribute to the development of the model being constructed for the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages?

The relationship between nominals and number is explained quite simply by Lyons (1968:281), who says that countability requires the recognition of entities such as “persons, animals and objects”, and that such entities are encoded in language as nouns.<sup>2</sup> Complete noun phrases are also noted by Dixon (2010:55) as sites for number reference, and both nouns and NPs can be substituted with independent pronouns. Therefore unmodified independent pronouns, unmodified lexical nominals, or modified noun phrases are the structures relevant for the analysis in this chapter.

Answering the research questions for this chapter required two sets of data. The first comprised the PRE constructions identified in the OLC language files where the PRE constituent expressed number either as an independent pronoun, an unmodified lexical nominal or a modified noun. The relevant examples for each of these nominal types were extracted from the OLC language files and organised according to the different number values that were found, thus providing the necessary data to address the structural query raised in question one. In order to answer the second comparative question, a further set of data was required regarding the number expressed in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages. While Lynch (1998:106–110) and Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:35–

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<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that actions and events are not countable. However, actions and events involve temporal experiences with internal structure, typically expressed in the tense, aspect and mood systems of languages (particularly aspect). Nouns on the other hand, are entities whose internal properties change comparatively little over time, but involve spatial qualities. Hence, the manner of conceptualising and encoding number is thought to be quite different for events and actions compared to that involving entities (Croft and Cruse 2004; Langacker 2008).

40) provide brief comments appropriate to the expression of number in nouns and noun phrases, I could not find a typology of sufficient detail appropriate for the description of the independent pronoun values and systems of Oceanic languages. Therefore, I reviewed the OLC language files for the additional information on independent pronouns gathered earlier in the study (see §1.4), and categorised the pronouns and their systems according to the typological framework developed for this chapter regarding number expression. The two data sets could then be compared to answer the second chapter question, and provide information for addressing the third question.

As just indicated, little typological work on number has been undertaken specifically across the languages of the Oceanic family. As a result, frameworks from the wider cross-linguistic studies of Corbett (2000) and Storch and Dimmendaal (2014) were employed as descriptive tools alongside Lynch (1998) and Lynch, Ross and Crowley's (2002) brief observations for the analysis of number in this chapter. Corbett (2000) and Storch and Dimmendaal's (2014) frameworks are briefly outlined in §5.1. Section §5.2 describes and compares the independent pronoun values and systems involved in the distributed expression of number in both the PRE constructions and simple clauses of Oceanic languages, while §5.3 undertakes the same tasks for the other nominals coded for number. Section §5.4 concludes the chapter by summarising the findings and addressing the third chapter question.

## 5.1 Typological frameworks for the description of number in the PRE constituent

In Corbett's cross-linguistic survey of number, readers are reminded that not all languages have a grammatical number category (2000:50). However, all of the Oceanic languages surveyed for this project do grammaticalise the concept of number, and the values singular (SG), dual (DU), trial (TR), paucal (PCL), greater paucal (GTR PCL), plural (PL) and greater plural (GTR PL) are all attested in various combinations in the number systems of the individual languages with available data. Number systems may distinguish between two, three, four or even up to five of these values, with Sursurunga (MM), Tangga (MM), Lihir (MM), Marshallese (MIC), Mussau-Emira (MUSS) and Mele-Fila (FIJ) all making a 5-way number value distinction. These systems are among the largest systems discovered in the world to date (Corbett 2000). Corbett (2000) accounts for complexity in number systems by proposing a Typology of Possible Number Systems, visually represented with a binary model built on a simple opposition between singular and plural values. While singular is considered

the unmarked value occurring in every system, the plural value is divided up according to the range of values found in individual languages. Corbett (2000:42) demonstrates this model with respect to Teop with its simple SG-PL system, and Sursurunga with its more complex 5-way distinction. Speaker selection is based on a SG-PL choice. If SG is not chosen, then the choice is PL, unless other options are available. In Sursurunga, DU is the next choice if SG is not chosen. If DU is not the distinction sought, then the choice is either PCL or PL, and so on down the tree until the final option is PL. Corbett’s model additionally accounts for “facultative” number, where it is obligatory for speakers to mark number, but not all of the available choices must be made. For example, Marshallese exhibits a 5-way number distinction (SG, DU, TR, PCL, PL), but DU, TR and PCL are optional choices, so speakers do not always select these forms, but may default to PL.<sup>3</sup>

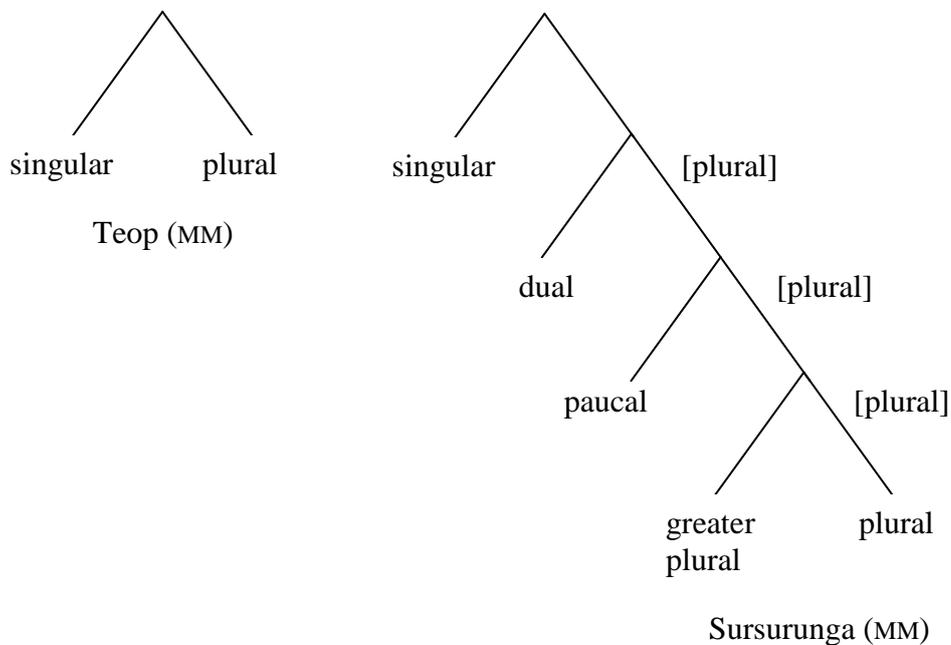


Figure 5-1: The model of number systems for Teop and Sursurunga (adapted from Corbett 2000:42)

A further relevant framework for this chapter is that developed by Storch and Dimmendaal (2014:3, 20), who suggest that degree of precision and specificity, as well as the cognitive

<sup>3</sup> Although Bender (1969:8-9) labels PCL as ‘quadral’, I follow Corbett (2000:30,46) who argues that paucal is a more accurate analysis because “we have found no clear case of a quadral” which refers specifically to four entities only.

dimensions of extension, size and referent countability, are relevant to speakers in the selection of number values. These certainly seem to be significant factors involved in the way that speakers of Oceanic languages utilise the number values in the different systems. For instance, a contrast can be made between those systems which employ the number values precisely and consistently, and those which do not. In the former case, the number values have fixed meanings, and the systems are said to exhibit ‘absolute’ frames of reference (Dixon 2012b). In the latter type, the value choices are not as consistent, and the systems are described as having ‘relative’ frames of reference. With relative systems, speakers may select different number values according to the way particular referents are conceptualised. The situational context may also have a bearing on value choice. From a systemic perspective, the values are defined as relatively smaller or larger compared to others in the paradigm (Dixon 2012; Storch and Dimmendaal 2014). For example, in Mokilese (MIC) the independent pronoun system enables the plural form *kisai* (1PL.INCL) to be used when the speaker has a particular group of people in mind, while the greater plural form *kihs* (1GTR.PL.INCL) may be selected to refer to a larger, less specific group (Harrison 1976:88; Corbett 2000:34).<sup>4</sup>

When combined, these two typological approaches provide a framework for the description of grammatical number in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages, and the PRE constructions from the OLC language files in this project. The analysis will show that additional complexity in the number systems has been found in the data from the OLC, and that this complexity is most evident in the independent pronoun systems discussed next in §5.2. Other nominals involved in the distributed expression of number in PRE constructions are less complex, and are presented in section §5.3.

## 5.2 Independent pronouns as the PRE constituent

Corbett suggests that independent pronoun systems display the “...greatest interest in terms of the distinctions of number available” (Corbett 2000:19), and this proves to be the case for the Oceanic languages in this project. Accordingly, independent pronouns and their systems are an appropriate place to begin to explore the research questions relating firstly to the range of structures expressing number across PRE constructions (research question one), and

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<sup>4</sup> For consistency, I apply Corbett’s (2000) label, although Harrison (1976:88) refers to this value as the ‘remote’ plural.

secondly to the likelihood of finding these same structures in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages (research question two). To complete these tasks, both data sets described in the chapter introduction above were required. While the first set comprised the data extracted from the 145 languages listed in the OLC with PRE constructions, the data for the second set were retrieved for 195 languages listed in the OLC language files, the difference in number being due to the fact that descriptions of independent pronoun systems were more frequently found in the publications reviewed for this project than those relating to pre-clausal structures. The results of the survey undertaken to produce the second set of data are discussed in §5.2.1. These results are then compared in §5.2.2 with the data from the first set (the PRE constructions with independent pronouns in the PRE constituent). During the analyses of these sections, several additional usages of independent pronouns in the PRE constituent were observed. These are discussed in §5.2.3.

This work follows Siewierska (2004:4-8) in that a pronoun is defined as a person marker from a closed class set of forms which substitute for a noun or lexical NP. While other sets of pronominal-like markers occur in Oceanic languages (e.g. SBJ and OBJ markers in the VP), these forms are considered to be bound person forms not NP substitutes, so are not categorised here as pronouns.

### **5.2.1 Survey of number in independent pronoun systems**

As explained above, in order to address the structural and comparative questions for this chapter, it was first necessary to conduct a survey of the independent pronoun values and systems involved in the expression of number in the simple clauses of Oceanic languages. The results of this survey are set out in Table 5–1, organised by the systems found in the nine primary subgroupings for Oceanic languages proposed by Ross, Pawley and Osmond (2011:8). Those systems containing the number values PCL, GTR PCL, and GTR PL have systems which are relative (26/195), while all remaining systems have absolute reference (169/195).

Table 5-1: Typology of independent pronoun systems of Oceanic languages<sup>5</sup>

	2-Way Distinction	3-Way Distinction	4-Way Distinction		5-Way Distinction			Other	Totals
	SG-PL	SG-DU-PL	SG- DU- TR- PL	SG-DU- PCL-PL	SG- DU- PL- GTR PL	SG- DU- TR- PCL- PL	SG- DU- PCL- GTR PCL- PL	MIN- AUG	
YAP		1							1
ADM		1		1	1				3
MUSS						1			1
WEST	36	19	14	3		1	2		75
TM		1						3	4
SES		4	6	4					14
SOUTH	14	27	11	9					61
MIC	9	2	1		1	1			14
CENT		18	2	1	1				22
TOTALS	59	73	34	18	3	3	2	3	195

There are several observations which can be made regarding the results of this survey. Firstly, the most frequent type of independent pronoun system makes a three-way distinction between SG-DU-PL: 73 of the 195 languages have this pattern. However, according to Dixon (2012), a two-way SG-PL distinction is the most common in the world’s languages, so the findings here suggests an important typological characteristic for the Oceanic language family. Although this was previously noted by Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:38) and Ross (2004:498), no empirical evidence was provided at that time. The results from this survey therefore provide verification for Lynch, Ross and Pawley’s observations. Secondly, there is a relatively large number of languages with 4-way and 5-way distinctions (60/195), noted to be “quite uncommon” and “extremely rare” by Dixon (2012:47). This is also an interesting typological feature for Oceanic languages. Thirdly, there are tendencies for different groupings of languages to have one type of number system rather than another. For example, 11/12 languages surveyed from the Papuan Tip group (part of the Western Oceanic (WEST) linkage) have independent pronoun systems with a two-way distinction, while 18/22 of the languages

<sup>5</sup> The abbreviations in the table represent the following subgroupings: Yapese (YAP), Proto Admiralty (ADM), Mussau-Tench (MUSS), Western Oceanic Linkage (WEST), Proto Temotu (TM), Proto Southeast Solomonic (SES), Southern Oceanic Linkage (SOUTH), Proto Micronesian (MIC), Proto Central Pacific (CENT). See Appendix B for a list of the languages in this study, organised according to the primary and lower-order subgroupings.

from the lower order Central Pacific Fijian subgrouping have independent pronoun systems with a 3-way distinction. It may be that these findings can contribute morphosyntactic support for the genetic affiliations proposed by Ross, Pawley and Osmond (2011:8), although it is also possible that the system types group this way as a result of contact between geographically-close languages.

More complex numerical systems, classified as ‘other’ in Table 5-1, are found in three of the languages from the Temotu subgroup (Äiwoo, Natügu, Nalöga). These languages are analysed as having an additional ‘person’ value (1+2) in their pronominal systems to cater for forms which don’t quite ‘fit’ traditional analyses. So, instead of paradigms with values such as SG, DU, TR and PL, the columns are organised by ‘minimal’ value, and ‘augmented’ value (minimal value + >1). For Äiwoo, an additional value, ‘unit-augmented’ (minimal value +1) is also necessary. Table 5-2 shows how this system works (Næss 2006:271-2). The main reason for organising the paradigm in this manner is the form *iudele*, traditionally analysed as a first person TR value, but the only form representing three referents across the entire pronominal system. So, in a traditional paradigm, the TR column would only consist of values for first person, and require zero morphemes to represent second and third person values, an analysis not without contention among linguists (Haspelmath and Sims 2010:45–46). Therefore, to solve this issue, the paradigm structure employed for Phillipine languages with similar sets of forms (Siewierska 2004:84–85) has been adopted by Oceanists too (but see §6.1.3 and Cysouw’s (2009) alternative analysis for these systems regarding person).

Table 5-2: The minimal-augmented paradigm for independent pronouns in Äiwoo

	Minimal	No. of Referents	Unit-Augmented	No. of Referents	Augmented	No. of Referents
1	<i>iu</i>	1	<i>iungole</i>	2	<i>iungo</i>	3 or more
1+2	<i>iuji</i>	2	<i>iudele</i>	3	<i>iude</i>	4 or more
2	<i>iumu</i>	1	<i>imile</i>	2	<i>imi</i>	3 or more
3	<i>inâ</i>	1	<i>ijiile</i>	2	<i>iji</i>	3 or more

### 5.2.2 Independent pronoun systems and the PRE constituent

Having surveyed the number values and systems of independent pronouns found in the 195 language sample from the OLC, the descriptive and comparative tasks can proceed by investigating these same values and systems of the independent pronouns observed for the PRE constructions in the 145 language sample from the OLC. As explained above in the

chapter introduction (also see §4.1.1), it is the PRE constituent that typically controls the grammatical expression of number distributed across the entire PRE construction, so the analysis concentrates on the independent pronouns found there.

As indicated in Table 5-1, independent pronoun systems with eight different patterns of value distinctions can be found in the simple clauses of Oceanic languages. These may be classified as having either absolute or relative types of number reference. The survey of PRE constructions from the OLC data shows that there are examples of independent pronouns occurring in the PRE constituent for each of these system types. There are some gaps in the data, with pronouns with the actual number values PCL, GTR PCL, and GTR PL not being found. There are two likely reasons for this ‘gap’: the lack of available data for languages with these values, and the rarity with which these values occur across the language systems as a whole (refer Table 5-1). Lack of available data has already been mentioned in the introduction to this thesis (§1.4), but there are several comments that can be made here concerning the second point of rarity. For one thing, SG is the unmarked value, being present in every system, whereas the PL space is often divided up. There are far more examples with SG independent pronouns in the PRE constituents from the OLC data than any other value. A second factor to consider is that with larger pronominal systems, not all the number values are available for all types of referents. So, for example, there may be an animacy hierarchy operating, whereby more grammatical distinctions are made for more animate participants (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:37).<sup>6</sup> One such case can be found in Manam (Lichtenberk 1983:109–110), a language which can make up to four distinctions in number. In this language, the values DU and PCL are only used to reference humans and ‘higher’ animates, while PL is the default value for inanimate groups of more than one. With more potential referents, it might be expected that SG and PL independent pronouns will occur more frequently in Manam discourse than DU and PCL pronouns.

In the remaining discussion for this section, examples of PRE constituents exhibiting each of the number system types found in Table 5-1 are presented, organised in terms of system

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<sup>6</sup> Whaley (1997:173) sets out the following hierarchy for nominals based on their animacy which explains how this works. Those nominals to the left are deemed more animate and more likely to be grammatically distinguished than those to the right:

1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person > 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun > proper name/kin term > human NP > animate NP > inanimate NP

In relation to number expression, the hierarchy predicts that the likelihood of number being distinguished will decrease for each type of nominal as we move rightwards along the hierarchy (Corbett 2000:70; 2012:92).

frequency. To finish, three construction types where independent pronoun use is extended are outlined in §5.2.3.

In the Oceanic language family, and in the data for this project, the most common system makes an absolute/3-way distinction, here illustrated in three examples from Maisin (Frampton 2010:10–14). All examples are for third person, although the example for dual number does not seem to explicitly indicate person. In (1), a multi-PRE construction, third person is indicated along with SG in the independent pronoun *ai* ‘3SG’ found in the first PRE constituent, and coreferenced by the identical form in the associated clause:

(1) Maisin (PT,SOV)

<i>Ai-ro,</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>yan-ka,</i>	
3SG-EMPH	3SG.POSS	mat.TOP	
PRE1	PRE2		
<i>ai-ro</i>	<i>kaira</i>	<i>i-tes-si</i>	<i>i-su-n-ate.</i>
3SG-EMPH	handle	3SG-put-3SG.OBJ	3SG-carry-3SG.OBJ-REAL.SEQ
ASC CLAUSES			

‘He too, his mat, he put a handle on it and carried it.’ (Frampton 2010:14)

In (2), the dual meaning distributed across the PRE construction is expressed in the PRE constituent by the pronoun *yaisen* ‘DU’, and by the two singular independent pronouns *ai* ‘3SG’ in each of the following associated clauses where they represent the A argument:

(2) Maisin (PT,SOV)

<i>Yaisen-ka,</i>	<i>ai-ro</i>	<i>kaasi</i>	<i>i-ve,</i>	<i>ai-ro</i>	<i>kaasi</i>	<i>i-ve.</i>
DU-FORE	3SG-EMPH	paddle	3SG-get	3SG-EMPH	paddle	3SG-get
PRE	ASC CLAUSE 1			ASC CLAUSE 2		

‘The two of them, this one took a paddle, that one took a paddle too. (Frampton 2010:12)

Example (3) in this set from Maisin involves the independent pronoun *ei* ‘3PL’ in the PRE constituent. The meaning distribution is unusual in that it is an asymmetric cataphoric relation (§4.1.1), the coreferent *sauki tamati ratti nen* ‘that old couple’ being more explicitly expressed than the PRE constituent pronoun:

- (3) Maisin (PT,SOV)
- |            |              |               |              |            |             |           |                  |
|------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>Ei,</i> | <i>sauki</i> | <i>tamati</i> | <i>ratti</i> | <i>nen</i> | <i>te-e</i> | <i>ei</i> | <i>too-re...</i> |
| 3PL        | woman        | man           | old          | DEM        | 3PL-go      | 3PL.POSS  | land-LOC         |
| PRE        | ASC CLAUSE   |               |              |            |             |           |                  |
- ‘Them, that old couple went to their land...’ (Frampton 2010:10)

The second most common number system in Oceanic languages is an absolute system type with a 2-way distinction, and is exemplified by data from the Neverver corpus (Barbour 2010). The first example (4) illustrates the SG form *ina* ‘1SG’ in both PRE constituents of a multi-PRE, coreferenced in the following complex clause by the cross-index *ni* ‘1SG.REAL’:

- (4) Neverver (NCV,SVO)
- |             |             |             |                  |                |               |           |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|---------------|-----------|
| <i>Oke,</i> | <i>ina,</i> | <i>ina,</i> | <i>ba</i>        | <i>ni-sber</i> | <i>nisixa</i> | <i>ij</i> |
| okay        | 1SG         | 1SG         | when             | 1SG.REAL-reach | age           | COMP      |
|             | PRE1        | PRE2        | ADVERBIAL CLAUSE |                |               |           |
|             |             |             | ASC CLAUSE       |                |               |           |
- 
- |                       |                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| <i>i-sisxam</i>       | <i>ni-malu.</i>   |
| 3SG.REAL-individually | 1SG.REAL-come.out |
| MATRIX CLAUSES        |                   |
- ‘Okay, I, I, when I reached the age of independence, I left.’ (Barbour 2010:nvt\_ki03.022)

The plural or non-singular distinction is observable in example (5), also from Neverver. The independent pronoun *igit* ‘1NSG.INCL’ occupies the PRE constituent of a less typical asymmetric cataphoric structure as explained for (3) above (§4.1.1). Meaning is distributed across the PRE construction via the coreferring counterparts. These meanings include the PRE constituent independent pronoun, the lexical NP *nemakh Sakhan blev nemakh Midu* ‘the people of Sakhan and the people of Mindu’, and the cross-index *nit* ‘1PL.INCL’ in the VP, which must be analysed as plural rather than non-singular on account of the set of dual markers which are part of the subject index paradigm in Neverver:

- (5) Neverver (NCV,SVO)
- |              |               |               |             |               |              |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>Igit,</i> | <i>nemakh</i> | <i>Sakhan</i> | <i>blev</i> | <i>nemakh</i> | <i>Midu,</i> |
| 1NSG.INCL    | people        | Sakhan        | with        | people        | Mindu        |
| PRE          | ASC           |               |             |               |              |

*nit-tokh*                      *Lingarakh.*  
 1PL.INCL.REAL-live    Lingarakh  
 ‘We, the people of Sakhan and the people of Mindu live in Lingarakh.’ (Barbour  
 2010:nvt\_ki07.046.txt)

The third most common type of number system is one which makes an absolute/4-way distinction between SG-DU-TR and PL. Anejom (Lynch 2000a) is one language of this type. The data provide examples only for SG and TR values, but not for DU or PL. In (6), the SG form *añak* ‘1SG’ occurs as part of a coordinated NP in the PRE constituent, the entirety of which necessitates the associated clause coreferent to be expressed as first person plural:

(6) Anejom (SV,VOS)

<i>Añak</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>elpu-hal</i>	<i>uña-k,</i>	<i>ekris</i>	<i>ahe-i</i>	<i>incai</i>
1SG	and	PL-child	POSS-1SG	1PL.EXCL.PST	climb-TR	tree
PRE				ASC CLAUSE		

*iyiiki*    *ajama.*  
 DEM      1PL.EXCL  
 ‘I and my children, we climbed the tree.’ (Lynch 2000a:37)

Example (7) from Anejom shows the TR independent pronoun *aattaj* ‘3TR’ in the PRE constituent, emphasising that specifically three referents are involved in the situation expressed in the associated clause:

(7) Anejom (SV,VOS)

<i>Aattaj</i>	<i>achei,</i>	<i>eris</i>	<i>esej</i>	<i>achei</i>	<i>aattaj...</i>
3TRI	only	3PL.PST	three	only	3TRI
PRE				ASC CLAUSE	

‘Those three only, there were just the three of them...’ (Lynch 2000a:116)

Less common systems include those making a relative/4-way distinction with values SG-DU-PCL-PL. While the data do not provide a set of examples where the independent pronouns in the PRE constituent demonstrate all four values in the same language, Boouma Fijian, an Eastern Fijian dialect, provides an example with a PL value which demonstrates the relative nature of these types of number systems. In this case, the PL value is used to indicate a

number relatively larger than PCL. In example (8), the PL form *ira* ‘3PL’ is used to refer to a particularly large group of travellers (Dixon 1988:327):

- (8) Boumaa Fijian (FIJ,VSO)
- |          |             |            |             |            |          |            |                |
|----------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|----------|------------|----------------|
| <i>O</i> | <i>ira,</i> | <i>sa</i>  | <i>la’o</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>ira</i> | <i>qoo,...</i> |
| ART      | 3PL         | ASP        | go          | DEI        | ART      | 3PL        | DEM            |
| PRE      |             | ASC CLAUSE |             |            |          |            |                |
- ‘As for them, these (people) came here,...’ (Dixon 1988:327)

For languages with systems making a relative/4-way distinction between SG-DU-PL-GTR PL and a relative/5-way distinction of SG-DU-TR-PCL-PL or SG-DU-PCL-GTR PCL- PL, examples of independent pronouns in the PRE constituent have only been found for the SG values. Reasons for the lack of non-singular forms in the data were suggested at the beginning of this section. The SG examples are still interesting as they indicate that languages with larger, more complex systems as well as those with smaller, but more common systems all make use of the PRE constituent for pronominal reference. In example (9) from Marshallese (Willson 2008:21), a language making a SG-DU-TR-PCL-PL distinction, two SG independent pronouns representing first person (*na*) and second person (*kwe*) occur juxtaposed in a coordinating relationship in the PRE constituent. Pre-clausal status is suggested by Willson who has inserted the comma after the NP *kwe na im Mona*:

- (9) Marshallese (MIC,SVO)
- |            |           |           |              |                |               |             |            |
|------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>Kwe</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>im</i> | <i>Mona,</i> | <i>kōj-jil</i> | <i>e-naaj</i> | <i>umum</i> | <i>nan</i> |
| 2SG        | 1SG       | and       | Mona         | 1PL.INCL-3     | 3SG-TAM       | bake.INTR   | for        |
| PRE        |           |           |              | ASC CLAUSE     |               |             |            |
- bade* *eo.*  
party ART  
‘You, me and Mona, the three of us will bake for the party.’ (Willson 2008:21)

Sursurunga (Hutchisson 1975) provides example (10) where the SG pronouns *yau* ‘1SG’ and *yäu* ‘2SG’ each occur in the pre-clausal position of two conjoined clauses. The coreferents in

the associated clauses are analysed as pro-indexes here on account of the observation made by Hutchisson that it is uncommon to see subject markers (verb indexes) with independent pronouns in the same clause, although they do occur with NPs:

(10) Sursurunga (MM,SVO)

<i>Yau,</i>	<i>i-na</i>	<i>sar-i</i>	<i>lomas</i>	<i>mä</i>	<i>yäu,</i>	<i>u-na</i>	<i>sup-i...</i>
1SG	1SG-FUT	climb-3SG	coconut	CONJ	2SG	2SG-FUT	husk-3SG
PRE	ASC CLAUSE				PRE	ASC CLAUSE	

‘I, I’ll climb the coconuts and you, you can husk them...’ (Hutchisson 1975:103)

Finally, also represented in the PRE constituent is the minimal-augmented system, which is the remaining type categorised as ‘other’ in Table 5-1. The following two examples from Äiwoo (Næss 2006) illustrate this system. Firstly in (11), a minimal value *iu* ‘1MIN’ indicates a singular number for first person. Note that the PRE constituent is translated as having a recipient role in the associated clause even though it seems not to have an overtly expressed coreferent:

(11) Äiwoo (TM,VSO)

<i>Ä</i>	<i>iu-nge,</i>	<i>me-ea</i>	<i>ile</i>	<i>lopâ-enge,</i>	<i>i-lopâ-mole-maa</i>	<i>ma.</i>
and	1MIN-DEI	NMLZ-write	DEI	story-DEI	PRF-tell-straight-LOC	3MIN
PRE1	PRE2					ASC CLAUSE

‘And as for me, the writer of this story, he told it to me himself.’ (Næss 2006:276)

Secondly in (12), the free form *ijii* ‘s/he and some others’ represents an augmented value and is also found in the PRE constituent of a PRE construction, coreferenced in the associated clause by the NP *pesingeda mo pedewalili* ‘the women and children’, and the index *lu* ‘3AUG’ in the VP. Thus, the pattern of meaning distribution is the less typical asymmetric cataphoric one described in section §4.1.1:

(12) Äiwoo (TM,VSO)

... <i>ijii,</i>	<i>pe-singeda</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>pe-dewalili</i>	<i>lu-pwa-to</i>	<i>Malubu.</i>
3AUG	NMLZ-COLL.woman	and	NMLZ-COLL.child	3AUG-go-TAM	Malubu
PRE	ASC CLAUSE				

‘... they, the women and children had escaped to Malubu.’ (Næss 2006:279)

### 5.2.3 The extended use of independent pronouns in the PRE constituent

The use of independent pronouns for number expression in the PRE constituent extends in interesting ways. With PRE constituents which are themselves coordinated with one or more pronominal conjuncts, the number of entities referred to in this NP are usually coreferenced in the associated clause with a pronoun or index representing this total. Example (13) from Loniū (Hamel 1994:142) contains two SG pronominal conjuncts in the PRE constituent (*iy* ‘3SG’ and *wɔw* ‘2SG’). The dual meaning expressed in the PRE constituent by these two SG pronouns is distributed across the PRE construction and subsequently encoded with a DU pronoun *ɔw* ‘2DU’ in each of the following two non-verbal associated clauses:

(13) Loniū (ADM, SVO)

<i>Iy</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>wɔw</i> ,	<i>ɔw</i>	<i>maʔamɔw</i> ,	<i>ɔw</i>	<i>musih</i>
3SG	and	2SG	2DU	two	2DU	alike
PRE			NON-VERBAL CLAUSE		NON-VERBAL CLAUSE	

‘You and he, the two of you, you are alike.’ (Hamel 1994:142)

In example (14) from Marshallese (Willson 2008:21), there are three conjuncts in the PRE constituent: two juxtaposed SG pronouns *kwe* ‘2SG’, and *na* ‘1SG’, as well as the proper name *Mona*. The TR form *kōj-jil* ‘1PL.INCL-3’ is used in the associated clause:<sup>7</sup>

(14) Marshallese (MIC,SVO)

<i>Kwe</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>Mona</i> ,	<i>kōj-jil</i>	<i>e-naaj</i>	<i>umum</i>	<i>nan</i>
2SG	1SG	and	Mona	1PL.INCL-3	3SG-TAM	bake.INTR	for
PRE				ASC CLAUSE			

*bade*    *eo*.  
party    ART  
‘You, me and Mona, the three of us will bake for the party.’ (Willson 2008:21)

In (15), the third example from Anejom (Lynch 2000a:37), a SG pronoun *añak* ‘1SG’ is coordinated in the PRE constituent with a PL noun *elpu-hal* ‘children’. The total number of

<sup>7</sup> There is some debate as to whether forms like *kōj-jil* ‘1PL.INCL-3’ are in reality trial number, as they are formed by the affixation of a numeral to another pronominal form. However, the original author’s analysis (Willson 2008:21) is followed here.

entities in the PRE constituent is coreferenced in the associated clause by the PL pronominal form *ajama* ‘1PL.EXCL’:

(15) Anejom (SV,VOS)

<i>Añak</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>elpu-hal</i>	<i>uña-k,</i>	<i>ekris</i>	<i>ahe-i</i>	<i>incai</i>	
1SG	and	PL-child	POSS-1SG	1PL.EXCL.PST	climb-TR	tree	
PRE						ASC CLAUSE	

*iyiiki ajama.*  
DEM 1PL.EXCL

‘I and my children, we climbed the tree.’ (Lynch 2000a:37)

A further extended use of independent pronouns for number expression in the PRE constituent can be found in a construction referred to in the literature as an ‘inclusory pronominal’ (Lichtenberk 2000). Inclusory pronominals consist of a person marker, and a lexical noun phrase, whereby the person marker refers to “a set of participants that includes the one or those referred to by the lexical noun phrase” (Lichtenberk 2000:1). When the person marker and the lexical NP form a single syntactic constituent, as can be seen in the examples which follow, the structure is a phrasal type. The person marker is the NP head, while the lexical noun is its dependent modifier. According to Lichtenberk (2000), this syntactic construction is reasonably widespread across the Austronesian language family, so it is not surprising to find it in PRE constructions.

In (16) from Vaeakau-Taumako (Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011:101), the inclusory pronominal construction is part of a multi-PRE structure, and is positioned in the second PRE constituent where it is explicitly marked with a coordinating conjunction *ma* ‘and’. The DU pronoun *laua* is head of the phrase, and indicates two referents are being talked about; one of these is the aforementioned referent *tai tai* ‘one man’ from the first PRE constituent, while the other is the possessed noun *nohine ana* ‘his wife’. This inclusory meaning is distributed across the PRE construction via the possessive determiner *laua* ‘3DU.POSS’ in the associated non-verbal clause:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> This PRE construction exemplifies a less prototypical type, labelled in this work as an extended Analogy Blend. In these types, the PRE constituent is the possessor of the possessed entity in the associated clause (see §8.2.2).

(16) Vaeakau-Taumako (FIJ, SVO)

<i>Tai</i>	<i>tai,</i>	<i>laua</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>nohine</i>	<i>a-na,</i>
one	man	3DU	and	wife	POSS-3SG.POSS
PRE1		PRE2			
<hr/>					
<i>a</i>	<i>memea</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>laua</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>lua.</i>
COLL	child	POSS	3DU.POSS	TAM	two
NON-VERBAL CLAUSE					

‘There was a man; he and his wife had two children.’ (Lit: ‘There is/was a man, those two (he) and his wife, their children were two.’) (Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011:101)

In example (17) from Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2000:15), the inclusory construction in the PRE constituent contains the inclusory pronoun *kamareqa* ‘1DU.EXCL’ and the included referents *maka* ‘father’ and *nau* ‘1SG’. In contrast to the above example, the phrasal elements are simply juxtaposed; there is no coordinating conjunction marking their relationship. The referents are coreferenced in the associated clause by *kamareqa*, taking the role of the o argument this time:

(17) Toqabaqita (SES,SVO)

<i>Kamareqa</i>	<i>maka</i>	<i>nau,</i>	<i>wane</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>laba-taqi</i>	<i>kamareqa</i>	<i>naqa.</i>
1DU.EXCL	father	1SG	man	3SG.NFUT	harm-TR	1DU.EXCL	PRF
PRE			ASC CLAUSE				

‘Me and my father, the man harmed us.’ (Lichtenberk 2000:15)

The last type of extended use involving independent pronouns in the PRE construction features an appositive relation between a pronoun and an immediately following noun, where “both component parts of a construction designate the same entity” (Evans and Green 2006:588). In example (18) from Loniū (Hamel 1994), the independent pronoun *uweh* ‘1PL.EXCL’ refers to the same entity as the juxtaposed noun *kaman* ‘men’:

(18) Loniū (ADM, SVO)

<i>...uweh</i>	<i>kaman,</i>	<i>uweh</i>	<i>wēcē</i>	<i>ake.</i>
1PL.EXCL	male	1PL.EXCL	cut.down	trees
PRE		ASC CLAUSE		

‘... we men, we cut down the trees.’ (Hamel 1994:266)

Having now explored the independent pronouns which occur in the PRE constituent in terms of the number values expressed therein (chapter question one), it seems reasonable to suggest

that the range of number values that are possible for the independent pronouns which are simple clause arguments is likewise available for the expression of number in the independent pronouns of PRE constituents, and thus, the number meaning distributed across the PRE construction components (chapter question two). The preceding commentary provides examples of independent pronouns in the PRE constituent for each of the pronominal system types identified for Oceanic languages, although, for reasons explained at the beginning of this section, some of the rarer values (PCL, GTR PCL, and GTR PL) have yet to be attested in this pre-clausal position. This gap in the data becomes less significant when the extended uses of the independent pronouns in PRE constituents are taken into account. If complex but less common structures such as these occur pre-clausally, then it seems likely that any simpler expressions, and the yet-to-be-located values could occur there too.

### 5.3 Other nominals coded for number in the PRE constituent

As mentioned in the chapter introduction, independent pronouns are not the only group of nominals involved in the expression of grammatical number distributed across the PRE constituent and its coreferent(s) should these be present. The nouns and noun phrases of the PRE constituent are also sites for the distributed expression of grammatical number in PRE constructions, although for these nominals, the range of number values expressed is much more limited than for independent pronouns, with SG and PL being the main options, and DU being occasionally possible. The questions addressed in this subsection are essentially the same as those for the independent pronouns discussed in §5.2, but are asked in respect of nouns and noun phrases. Firstly, what are the range of structures expressing number in the nouns and noun phrases of the PRE constituents of the PRE constructions from the OLC language data (question one), and secondly, what is the likelihood of finding these same structures in the nouns and noun phrases of simple clauses in Oceanic languages (question two)?

Unlike the investigation of independent pronouns for §5.2, the analysis of nouns and noun phrases in the PRE constituent did not require additional data collection, since Lynch (1998), and Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002) provide sufficient typological information for Oceanic languages to address the second comparative question outlined above, although Corbett's cross-linguistic typology for number expression, adapted for the previous section, is also used to organise and describe the data from the OLC in this section. The following subsections

discuss number words and clitics (§5.3.1), concatenative morphological processes such as affixation (§5.3.2), and non-concatenative morphological processes such as reduplication and vowel lengthening (§5.3.3) in respect to the structural and comparative questions being considered in this section.

### 5.3.1 Number words and clitics in the NPs of the PRE constituent

Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:39) note that separate number words are a common strategy for marking number in the NPs in Oceanic languages, but that typically, this is only for PL values, while SG is left unmarked. This represents an important typological distinction for Oceanic languages, as Dryer (2013a) reports in the World Atlas of Online Structures (WALS) that from a sample of 1066 of the world's languages, only 170 use a plural word.<sup>9</sup> Cliticised forms expressing number are also employed in Oceanic languages, and again, this is less common cross-linguistically, as the WALS project shows only 98/1066 of the world's languages employing this strategy.<sup>10</sup>

In regards to independent number words in the PRE constituent of PRE constructions, there are no examples in the OLC language data marking SG value, which is not unexpected given Lynch, Ross and Crowley's (2002) observations for NPs in general in Oceanic languages. In contrast with the non-marking of SG, PL is sometimes marked in the PRE constituent, an example of which can be seen in (19) for Lau (Featherstone-Santosuosso 2011:142). The invariant noun *wane* 'boy/man' in the PRE constituent is marked for PL number by a post-posed number word *gi*, which is apparently the common order in the nominals of simple Oceanic clauses (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:39):<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> WALS is the 'World Atlas of Language Structures Online' and can be accessed by the following link: <http://wals.org>

<sup>10</sup> Clitics are described by Corbett (2000:152) as "phrasal affixes" which "fall between being independent words and being inflections". In the grammars surveyed for this project, clitics are sometimes represented as independent words, but on other occasions as affixed forms. For consistency, I decided to discuss clitics with independent word forms in this work.

<sup>11</sup> While Lau has cross-indexes for marking subjects when they are lexical nominals, Featherstone-Santosuosso (2011) notes that these subject markers are less likely to be found with independent pronouns such as *gera* '3PL' in the associated clause of this example.

- (19) Lau (SES,SVO)
- |           |             |            |             |                         |            |               |
|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>Na</i> | <i>wane</i> | <i>gi,</i> | <i>gera</i> | <i>tae-li-a</i>         | <i>ola</i> | <i>gi,...</i> |
| ART       | man         | PL         | 3PL         | travel.by.canoe-TR-3OBJ | canoe      | PL            |
| PRE       |             |            | ASC CLAUSE  |                         |            |               |
- ‘The men, they went by canoe,...’ (Featherstone-Santosuosso 2011:142)

While postpositional placement of the PL word in NPs is typical (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:39), there are some languages, particularly Western Melanesian languages (Ross 1988), where the number word has an alternative position. This also applies in the NPs of PRE constituents. One such Western Melanesian language where this pattern can be observed is Tolai (Ross 1988:227), and example (20) shows the PL marker *umana* preposed to the noun *bul* ‘child’ in the PRE constituent:<sup>12</sup>

- (20) Tolai (MM, V-SECOND)
- |              |              |             |            |             |           |           |              |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>Kador</i> | <i>umana</i> | <i>bul,</i> | <i>a</i>   | <i>bata</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>ti</i> | <i>ububu</i> |
| 1PL.POSS     | PL           | child       | ART        | rain        | 3SG.TAM   | TAM       | destroy      |
| PRE          |              |             | ASC CLAUSE |             |           |           |              |
- kadia*                      *nirautan*  
 3PL.POSS                      cleared.place  
 ‘Our children, the rain will destroy their cleared place.’ (Ross 1988:227)

Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:39) note that PL words are often homonymous with third person PL independent pronouns. This is the case in the PRE constituent too. Here in example (21) from Neverver (Barbour 2012:190), the PL marker *adr* also functions as the form for third person non-singular pronoun, and modifies the noun *nida* ‘mother’ in the PRE constituent. Note that plural marking is optional in Neverver, so while the second occurrence of *nida* in the associated clause is unmarked, plural meaning is indicated in the verb complex with the affix *at-* ‘3PL’, and also signalled through the distributed meaning created by the PRE constituent and the coreferring relation with this same verbal affix:

<sup>12</sup> Note that grammatical number is only partially expressed in the coreferring associated clause counterpart *kadia nirautan* ‘their cleared place’. This is the common pattern for the less prototypical PRE constructions described in §8.2.2 and §9.2.2.

- (21) Neverver (NCV,SVO)
- |  |                       |                   |                     |                   |                                     |
|--|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Ba-ver-te</i><br>when-say-that<br>PRE | <i>nida</i><br>mother | <i>adr,</i><br>PL | <i>naut</i><br>time | <i>ang</i><br>ANA | <i>i-ratlasil,</i><br>3SG.REAL-dawn |
| ADVERBIAL CLAUSE                         |                       |                   |                     |                   |                                     |
- 
- |  |                   |                                 |                                 |                  |                                     |
|--|-------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>ni-sav-ian</i><br>NMLZ-dance-NMLZ<br>CLAUSE | <i>ang</i><br>ANA | <i>i-tokh</i><br>3SG.REAL-exist | <i>i-vus,</i><br>3SG.REAL-carry | <i>be</i><br>but | <i>nida</i><br>mother<br>ASC CLAUSE |
|--|-------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
- 
- |                                 |                         |                   |                                |                   |                        |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| <i>at-lem</i><br>3PL.REAL-carry | <i>nolong</i><br>laplap | <i>ang</i><br>ANA | <i>i-vlem</i><br>3SG.REAL-come | <i>lon</i><br>LOC | <i>nemal.</i><br>chief |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
- Then the mothers, at dawn, the ceremony continued, the mothers carried the laplap to the chief.’ (Barbour 2011:NVK103)

Loniu (Hamel 1994:157) provides a further example of homonymy in (22) below. The form *seh* is firstly a PL marker in the second PRE constituent of this multi-PRE, then the third person plural independent pronoun in the associated clause:

- (22) Loniu (ADM, SVO)
- |                             |                               |                           |                              |                          |                   |  |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|--|
| <i>ɛpi,</i><br>sago<br>PRE1 | <i>henə,</i><br>before<br>ADV | <i>seh</i><br>PL<br>PRE 2 | <i>natupu</i><br>grandfather | <i>uwɛh,</i><br>1PL.EXCL | <i>seh</i><br>3PL | <i>Ø-ləm<sup>w</sup>i</i><br>3PL.plant<br>ASC CLAUSE |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|--|
- 
- |                    |                           |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>ɛpi</i><br>sago | <i>malimeyey.</i><br>five |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
- ‘Sago, before, our grandfathers, they planted five kinds of sago palms.’ (Hamel 1994:157)

In contrast to the preceding cases of homonymy, example (23) from Pingelapese (Good and Welley 1981:55) shows that the PL marker can be distinct from third person forms. The PL marker *pwi* is in the PRE constituent, while a completely different form *irahsi* represents the third person plural independent pronoun in the associated clause.

- (23) Pingelapese (MIC,SVO)
- |                                 |                         |                  |                   |                      |                 |                              |                     |                      |                            |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Songen</i><br>kind.of<br>PRE | <i>eremas</i><br>person | <i>pwi</i><br>PL | <i>me,</i><br>DEM | <i>irahsi</i><br>3PL | <i>e</i><br>3PL | <i>soahroar</i><br>different | <i>sang</i><br>from | <i>udahn</i><br>real | <i>eremas...</i><br>person |
| ASC CLAUSE                      |                         |                  |                   |                      |                 |                              |                     |                      |                            |
- ‘These people, they were different from real people...’ (Good and Welley 1989:55)

There is some evidence for suggesting that a separate DU marker exists in some languages, although this is not mentioned in Lynch (1998), or Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002). For example (24) from Niufo’ou (Early 2002:853), the form *onga* is analysed as such. While it might seem that *onga* could be a numeral, an article or even perhaps a pronoun, this is not the case, as the numeral for ‘two’ is *ua/lua*, articles are *te*, *he*, or *hina*, and DU pronouns are *tāua*, *māua*, *kōlua*, or *nāua*. Therefore, *onga* marks two referents, and the example shows that this DU marker is found in the PRE constituents of PRE constructions in Niufo’ou, here positioned before the noun *mātu’a* ‘parents’, but after the other phrasal modifiers. The dual meaning is distributed across the PRE construction by way of the less specific anaphor *ai*:

(24) Niufo’ou (FIJ,VSO)

<i>Ko</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>onga</i>	<i>mātu’a</i> ,	<i>ne</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>nā</i>
NPM	ART	DU	parents	PST	LOC	ANA	3DU.POSS
PRE				ASC NON-VERBAL CLAUSE			

*ki’i*      *fafine*.  
small      daughter

‘(There were) two parents, they had a little girl.’ (Early 2002:861)

A similar case is example (25) in Vera’a (Schnell 2011:61) where the DU number marker *ruwa* is found in the NP of a PRE constituent, but only because the noun *re-reñe* ‘girls’, which it is modifying, belongs to the small subset of human referents positioned to the extreme left on the animacy hierarchy. Schnell (2011:61) describes *ruwa* as a “number-indicating personal noun”:

(25) Vera’a (NCV,SVO)

<i>E</i>	<i>ruwa</i>	<i>re-reñe</i>	<i>anē</i> ,	<i>duru-m</i>	<i>da’ō</i>	<i>duruō</i> .
ART	two.people	RED-woman	DEM	3DU-TAM	care.for	3DU
PRE				ASC CLAUSE		

‘The two girls, they (the parents) looked after them.’ (Schnell 2012:67)

Another type of number word, found in both simple clauses and PRE constructions, is exemplified in (26) from Mwotlap (François 2005:123–124). The form *yoge* belongs to a small set of words labelled by François as ‘collectives’, used for non-singular reference with

groups having [+human] attributes. *Yoge* is the form for collective dual, referring to the human referents *nētnētmey* ‘children’, but specifically, a ‘collection’ of two.

- (26) Mwotlap (NCV, SVO)
- |             |                  |             |            |             |                  |
|-------------|------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>Yoge</i> | <i>nētnētmey</i> | <i>susu</i> | <i>en,</i> | <i>kōyo</i> | <i>(∅-)mōl.</i>  |
| COLL.DU     | RED.child        | RED.small   | BKG        | 3DU         | AOR(3NSG)-return |
| PRE         |                  |             |            | ASC CLAUSE  |                  |
- ‘The two small children, they returned.’ (François 2005:125)

Clitics, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, are other word-like devices expressing number, and are also found in the PRE constituent of PRE constructions. Longgu (Hill 2011:203) provides example (27) where a PL enclitic *gi* is attached phrase-finally, firstly forming *vanga ago-gi* ‘cooked foods’, then *vanga ma’a-gi* ‘raw foods’ in the two PRE constituents of a multi-PRE construction:

- (27) Longgu (SES,VOS)
- |              |                |              |                 |             |           |               |             |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Vanga</i> | <i>ago-gi,</i> | <i>vanga</i> | <i>ma’a-gi,</i> | <i>gira</i> | <i>nu</i> | <i>ade-i</i>  | <i>mai.</i> |
| food         | cooked-PL      | food         | raw-PL          | 3PL         | 1SG       | take-3PL.INCL | hither      |
| PRE1         | PRE2           |              | ASC CLAUSE      |             |           |               |             |
- ‘Cooked foods, raw foods, I bring them.’ (Hill 2011:203)

To conclude this section, the data from the OLC show that the SG, PL, and to a limited extent, DU values that are found in the simple clauses of Oceanic languages are equally attested in the PRE constituents of PRE constructions as independent words, or clitics, a further step toward answering question one in regards to the structural description of number, and question two concerning number expression in both PRE constituents and simple clause nominals of Oceanic languages.

### 5.3.2 Concatenative morphological processes expressing number on nouns in the PRE constituent

This subsection continues to explore the chapter questions regarding the structural description (question one) and comparison (question two) of number in the PRE constituents of PRE constructions by investigating the concatenative morphological processes expressing number on nouns in Oceanic languages. If nominal number marking in Oceanic languages is most

typically accomplished with separate words or clitics in the NP, as suggested in §5.3.1, then we might expect that number marking on the noun itself is more likely to be limited. This would indeed seem to be so, as in their brief typological overview of Oceanic languages, Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:38-39) describe the concatenative morphological process of affixation as a “rare strategy” for marking number. Accordingly, just this single example (28) was found in the data from the OLC. In (28) from Anejom, (Lynch 2000a:37), a PL prefix *elpu-* marks nouns in simple clauses, but also in PRE constituents as shown here, where the human noun *hal* ‘child’ is pluralised by the addition of this affix:

(28) Anejom (SV,VOS)

<i>Añak</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>elpu-hal</i>	<i>uña-k,</i>	<i>ekris</i>	<i>ahe-i</i>	<i>incai</i>
1SG	and	PL-child	POSS-1SG	1PL.EXCL.PST	climb-TR	tree
PRE						

*iyiiki ajama.*  
 DEM 1PL.EXCL  
 ‘I and my children, we climbed the tree.’ (Lynch 2000a:37)

### 5.3.3 Non-concatenative marking of number in the PRE constituent

The data from the OLC language files show that non-concatenative marking strategies of reduplication and vowel lengthening are found in the PRE constituents of PRE constructions, both strategies which are equally found in the expression of number in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:37–40). These observations contribute further structural and comparative details towards the answers to chapter questions one and two (and ultimately question three). It would also seem that, as for the concatenative process of affixation described in §5.3.2, non-concatenative marking strategies are less commonly found in both clause types compared to number marking by separate words or clitics.

The first process, reduplication, is widely employed in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002), although the expression of grammatical number is only one of its functions. In example (29) from Sinaugoro (Tauberschmidt 1999:73), a reduplicated noun in the PRE constituent is non-singular, and involves partial copying of the stem, where the last two CV syllables of the noun *ta.ri.ma* are copied and suffixed to the stem to produce *tarimarima*,

meaning a large group of people, the meaning of which would seem to be expressed in the associated clause by a plural form of the verb *vaḡri* ‘kill.3PL’:

(29) Sinaugoro (PT,SOV)

<i>Tarima-rima,</i>	<i>ḡia</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>vaḡri-to</i>	<i>ḡoi.</i>
people-RED	3SG	ERG	3SG	kill.3PL-TAM	TAM
PRE	ASC CLAUSE				

‘Many people, he used to kill them.’ (Tauberschmidt 1999:73)

In example (30) from Siar-Lak (Rowe 2005:106) the noun *nat* ‘child’ is partially reduplicated by the copying and prefixation of the first CV segment *na*, to the stem. This produces the PL form *nanat* meaning ‘children’, coreferenced in the associated clause by the independent pronoun *dit* ‘3PL’. Note that number is also distinguished in the NP by complete reduplication of the singular adjective *lik* ‘small’ to create the plural form *liklik*. Rowe (2005:33) says that *lik* is an exceptional case for adjectives in Siar-Lak, which are usually unmarked for number:

(30) Siar-Lak (MM,SVO)

<i>Ap</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ep</i>	<i>kirai,</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>na-nat</i>	<i>lik-lik,</i>
and	3SG	one	now	ART	time	ART	RED-child	RED-little
	TEMPORAL CLAUSE						PRE	

<i>dit</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>wót.</i>
3PL	3SG.TAM	arrive
	ASC CLAUSE	

‘And one day, some little children, they came.’ (Rowe 2005:106)

A further example of reduplication in the PRE constituent is (31) from Mwotlap (François 2005:125), where PL number is indicated by the copying and prefixation of the first CVC syllable of the singular noun *nēt.mey* ‘child’, yielding *nētnētmey* ‘children’. Apparently, Mwotlap nouns can only undergo reduplication to express PL number when they are [+human], as in the example here. In a similar manner to Siar-Lak, number is also expressed in the NP by complete reduplication of the singular adjective *su* ‘small’ to produce the PL *susu* ‘small’. Unlike Siar-Lak, adjectives are not noted as being restricted with regard to number expression by reduplication:

(31) Mwotlap (NCV, SVO)

<i>Yoge</i>	<i>nēt-nētmeŷ</i>	<i>su-su</i>	<i>en,</i>	<i>kōyo</i>	<i>(∅-)mōl.</i>
COLL.DU	RED-child	RED-small	BKG	3DU	TAM.3NSG-return
PRE				ASC CLAUSE	

‘The two small children, they returned.’ (François 2005:125)

Vera’a (Schnell 2012:66) provides a reduplicative example in (32), where *re*, the first CV syllable of the noun *reñe* ‘woman’, is copied and prefixed to the stem to yield *rereñe* ‘women’. As for Mwotlap, reduplication of nominals to mark number in Vera’a is determined by animacy, although here only age and sex-defining nouns are said to be marked in this way:

(32) Vera’a (NCV,SVO)

<i>E</i>	<i>ruwa</i>	<i>re-reñe</i>	<i>anē,</i>	<i>duru-m</i>	<i>da’ō</i>	<i>duruō.</i>
ART	two.people	RED-woman	DEM	3DU-TAM	care.for	3DU
PRE				ASC CLAUSE		

‘The two girls, they (the parents) looked after them.’ (Schnell 2012:67)

The process of reduplication in example (33) from Tamambo (Jauncey 2011:61) shows complete copying and prefixation of the body part noun *mbisu* ‘finger’, where the bilabial nasal [ᵐb] is represented in the orthographic system as <b> when word initial, but <mb> when word medial (Jauncey 2011:45). The resulting form *bisumbisu* means ‘fingers’, and works to express PL number alongside the numeral *sangavulu* ‘ten’. The plural meaning is distributed across the PRE construction and expressed in both the independent pronoun *nira* ‘3PL’ and the cross-index *na* ‘3PL’:

(33) Tamambo (NCV,SVO)

<i>Bisu-mbisu-na</i>	<i>sangavulu,</i>	<i>nira</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>maututu.</i>
RED-finger-SG.POSS	ten	3PL	3PL	broken
PRE		ASC CLAUSE		

‘As for her ten fingers, they were broken.’ (Jauncey 2011:61)

An additional non-concatenative morphological process involved in marking number is stem modification. This strategy is found in the Polynesian languages of the Fijian sub-grouping, but typically only for nouns with human referents. Example (34) from Niafo’ou (Early 2002:861), repeated from (24) above, shows one such case in the PRE constituent. A singular

noun *matu'a* ‘old man’ undergoes lengthening of the vowel in the first syllable to become *mātu'a*, translated as ‘parents’:

(34) Niuafu'ou (FIJ,VSO)

<i>Ko</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>onga</i>	<i>mātu'a</i> ,	<i>ne</i>	<i>'i</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>nā</i>
NPM	ART	DU	parents	PST	LOC	ANA	3DU.POSS
PRE				ASC NON-VERBAL CLAUSE			

*ki'i*      *fafine*.  
small      daughter

‘(There were) two parents, they had a little girl.’ (Early 2002:861)

### 5.3.4 Number expression with other elements in the PRE constituent

Apart from independent number words and clitics (§5.3.1), whose sole function is to signal number, other elements in the NP were found to contribute to the number expression in both the PRE constructions in the OLC data and the simple clause arguments of Oceanic languages. Adjectives as in (30) and (31) above represent one of these other elements. The following shows that articles are another. Note the PL article *ko* postposed to the noun *drolul* ‘group’ in the PRE constituent of example (35), observed in Marshallese (Willson 2008:122):<sup>13</sup>

(35) Marshallese (MIC,SVO)

<i>...drolul</i>	<i>ko,</i>	<i>e-naaj</i>	<i>etal</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>raan</i>
group	ART.PL	3SG-TAM	go	60	day
PRE		ASC CLAUSE			

*ko*      *nan*      *a-er*      *kadrelon*      *tok*      *brojaak*      *ko...*  
ART      for      CLF-3PL.POSS      submission      toward      project      ART

‘...the groups, (it) will be 60 days for their project submissions ...’ (Willson 2008:122)

A particularly interesting strategy for marking number with articles in the nominals of simple clauses is that known as ‘inverse number’, found in two groups of Oceanic languages from

<sup>13</sup> This example represents the distribution of grammatical number in a less prototypical PRE construction whereby the PRE constituent NP *drolul ko* ‘the groups’ is the possessor of the possessed element *aer kadrelon tok brojaak ro* ‘their project submissions’ in the associated clause (see §8.2.2, §9.2.2).

the Western Oceanic linkage (Meso-Melanesian) (Ross 1988:293; Corbett 2000:159–166).<sup>14</sup>

Table 5-3: Noun classes and their semantics in Teop

	e-class	a-class	o-class
humans	kin socially important people	humans (other than e-class)	-
animates	pets	vertebrates and invertebrates with legs	invertebrates without legs
inanimates	-	fruit, food	plants trees plant parts
	-	objects (other than o-class)	objects made from parts of plants
	-	landmarks natural forces	abstract nouns emotions feasts

In these languages, the same article can be used for both SG and PL number, the meaning being determined by noun class membership.<sup>15</sup> For example, in Teop, there are three noun classes: e-class, a-class and o-class. Class membership is determined mainly on semantic grounds (see Table 5-3), although not sex or animacy (Mosel and Thiessen 2007:1).

Inverse number occurs when articles for SG and PL are swapped across a-class and o-class. Thus for a-class nouns which are SG, the article is *a*. When the same noun becomes PL, it takes the *o* article. For o-class nouns, just the opposite occurs: the SG article is *o*, but when the same noun is PL, the article selected is *a*. Table 5-4 demonstrates this inverse patterning.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The two groups of languages identified in Ross (1988:293-305) are nine from North Bougainville (Nehan, Solos, Petats, Halia, Tinputz, Taiof, Hahon, Papapana, Teop), and nine from New Ireland (Lihir, Lamasong, Madak, Tangga, Bilur, Kandas, Romoaaaina, Siar, Tomoip).

<sup>15</sup> While the term ‘gender’ is traditionally used to label nominal classification systems, in this work, the term ‘noun class’ is preferred. There is an association between ‘gender’ and the well-studied languages of the Indo-European family that is not really appropriate for the systems found in Oceanic languages.

<sup>16</sup> There are additional articles apart from those listed in Table 5-4, although these signal meanings other than number such as definiteness, specificity and grammatical role (Mosel and Spriggs 2000:324). There is also a general PL marker *maa* which is a separate PL word in Teop.

Table 5-4: Singular and plural articles in the three noun classes of Teop

	e-class	a-class	o-class
singular	e	a	o
plural	o	o	a

The following examples from Teop (Mosel and Thiessen 2007) show that inverse number is found in the PRE constituent of PRE constructions, even though it is not a common number marking strategy as far as the Oceanic language family is concerned. Firstly in (36), the a-class SG article *a* is used with *beiko* ‘child’, a human noun:

(36) Teop (MM,V SECOND)

A	<i>beiko</i>	<i>te-nam,</i>
ART	child	PREP-1EXCL.POSS
PRE		

<i>ei</i>	<i>anam</i>	<i>paa</i>	<i>maake</i>	<i>ki-vu-e</i>	<i>bene</i>	<i>eau.</i>
DEM	1EXCL	TAM	choose	DAT-IMM-3SG	ART.OBJ	2SG
ASC CLAUSE						

‘Our boy here, we chose you for him.’ (Mosel and Thiessen 2007:[Vos. 1.468-469R])

This second example (37) from Teop (Mosel and Aro 2003) demonstrates the inversion of the articles in the PRE constituent. Here, the marker *o* confers PL meaning because the vertebrate noun *manii* ‘possum’ has a-class membership:

(37) Teop (MM,V SECOND)

<i>...are,</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>manii</i>	<i>ve</i>	-	<i>be</i>	<i>rakaraka</i>
DISC	ART	possum	EMPH		when	be.dry
	PRE				ADVERBIAL CLAUSE	

<i>o-re-paa</i>	<i>nih</i>	<i>nana,</i> ...
3SG-CONJ-TAM	show.teeth	IPFV.3SG
ASC CLAUSE		

‘...you know, the possums – when they are dry, they show the teeth...’ (Mosel and Aro 2003:Aro\_02-046-047)

## 5.4 Conclusion

The aims of this chapter were firstly to present an overview of the structural means by which the grammatical category of number is expressed in the PRE constituent, and thus distributed across the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages (chapter question one). The findings from the OLC data show that independent pronouns are the nominal structures exhibiting the widest range of number distinctions in the PRE constituent, which controls the grammatical meaning across PRE constructions (§5.2). Other number marking structures and strategies are also found, including the use of specific words/clitics in the noun phrase (§5.3.1), concatenative processes such as affixation (§5.3.2), and non-concatenative processes such as stem modification (reduplication and vowel lengthening) (§5.3.3). Elements in the NP such as adjectives, and articles, including those of the inverse number system found in Teop, are further number marking structures found in PRE constituents (§5.3.4).

A second chapter aim was comparative, the goal being to test whether number expression distributed across the PRE constituent and any coreferring elements in PRE constructions is comparable to that found in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages (chapter question two). Although examples of the actual number values PCL, GTR PCL, and GTR PL which occur in some Oceanic languages have not yet been found in the PRE constituents of the OLC data, examples representing each of the different types of Oceanic number systems have. Oceanic languages with both commonly-found number systems, such as those with absolute/2-way, 3-way and 4-way systems, and much rarer number systems, such as the minimal-augmented pronominal systems in Äiwoo, have all provided examples for the investigation in this chapter. In regards to the number marking structures themselves, the devices most typically found in the NPs of simple clauses in Oceanic languages are equally present in PRE constituent NPs (words/clitics), as are the lesser-employed devices, both concatenative and non-concatenative. These findings are summarised in Table 5-5, and suggest that it is not unreasonable to claim that any number-marking devices a particular Oceanic language may use for the expression of nominals in simple clauses, are likewise available for the expression of grammatical number distributed across the components of PRE constructions.

Table 5-5: Structures expressing distributed number meaning in PRE constructions

	Number Expression	Found in the PRE constituent	Relevant section
Independent pronouns (§5.2)	Values: SG-DU-TR-PCL-GTR PCL-PL-GTR PL	Not PCL-GTR PCL-GTR PL	§5.2.2
	Absolute systems (2-4 way distinctions; Min/Aug system)	✓	§5.2.2
	Relative systems (4-5 way distinctions)	✓	§5.2.2
	Extended use of independent pronouns (coordination, inclusory pronouns, apposition)	✓	§5.2.3
	Other nominal elements (§5.3)		
	Number words/clitics (SG-DU-PL)	✓	§5.3.1
	Concatenative morphological processes (affixation)	✓	§5.3.2
	Non-concatenative morphological processes (reduplication, vowel length)	✓	§5.3.3
	Other elements in NP (adjectives, articles, inverse system)	✓	§5.3.4

The third chapter question asked how the findings from questions one and two might contribute to the model being developed in this thesis for the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages. In answer to this question, I propose that the findings summarised above exemplify a general property of PRE constructions: any grammatical meanings expressed by the nominals in the simple clauses of Oceanic languages are equally expressed by the nominals involved in the coreferencing relation of PRE constructions, the PRE constituent being the component that typically controls the meaning values distributed. I also propose that this property of meaning distribution exemplifies a central characteristic of an expanded clause, the unit of linguistic analysis being introduced in this thesis. These hypotheses will be tested further in the next two chapters.

## Chapter 6 PRE constructions and the distributed meaning of person

Chapter Five presented the first investigation of distributed meaning in the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages by exploring the grammatical category of number, and its expression in the PRE constituent which typically controls this meaning. The findings suggested that any number-marking devices a particular Oceanic language uses for the expression of nominals in simple clauses would seem to be equally available for the expression of grammatical number distributed across the components of PRE constructions. I proposed that this meaning distribution might be a general property of PRE constructions, thus exemplifying a central characteristic of an expanded clause, a linguistic unit of description being introduced in this thesis (see §3.4). The objective in the current chapter is to test these hypotheses further by continuing to investigate distributed meaning in the same manner, with the morphosyntactic category of person being the topic this time. Person was selected because of its complex expression in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages, thus offering a suitable topic for gauging the possibilities of distributed meaning across the PRE construction components. As the PRE constituent typically governs the expression of person across the PRE construction components, the analysis undertaken for this investigation focuses on the person forms found therein.

The research questions for this chapter are similar to those for the investigation of number expression in Chapter Five, each linking with a research objective outlined in §1.6. The first question is descriptive (objective one) and enquires:

- i) In regards to the distribution of meaning in the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages, what are the structural means by which the grammatical category of person is expressed in the PRE constituent nominals (as the controlling component)?

The second research question is comparative and links with research objective three. It asks:

- ii) Is it possible that the same person meanings distributed across the PRE construction components (as discovered in question one) are also available for person expression in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages?

As for the analysis in Chapter Five, questions one and two tend to be addressed together in the following sections. The third and final question is a typological one in that it asks how the the answers to the first two questions can add to the construction of a model for the PRE

constructions from the Oceanic languages in this project (research objective three). The answer is addressed in the chapter conclusion. The question is:

- iii) How can the findings from questions one and two in regards to the distributed meaning of person contribute to the development of the model being constructed for the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages?

These three chapter questions were investigated using two sets of data. Firstly, examples of person marking in the PRE constituent of PRE constructions from the OLC language files were extracted, and organised in a separate document according to Cysouw's (2009) detailed cross-linguistic typology of person outlined below in §6.1. The data from this task showed that the grammatical devices for the expression of person in the PRE constituent form the closed class paradigms of independent pronouns described in the previous chapter for number, so these are the structures discussed in this chapter.<sup>1</sup> Additionally, as for the study of number expression in the nominals of simple clauses, information was needed to answer the comparative chapter question (question two), this time regarding person expression. While a specific typology of grammatical person reference has yet to be published for the Oceanic language family, Ross (2004:498–504) illustrates the person marking of canonic Oceanic languages in his study of morphosyntactic characteristics, showing that independent pronouns perform this role in simple clause nominals. Therefore, the additional data collected from the OLC language files which were employed for investigating number in the independent pronouns of simple clause nominals were used for this purpose, supported by the brief observations made in Lynch (1998:100–101), Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:35), and Ross (2004:498–504). The resulting analysis of person expression is presented in §6.2, while section §6.3 summarises the findings for this chapter and addresses the third chapter question.

## 6.1 Typological framework for the description of person in the PRE constituent

As stated above, person is encoded in the PRE constituent by systems of independent pronouns, and the theoretical framework guiding the description in these systems comes from

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<sup>1</sup> Alternative labels for independent pronoun are also found in the literature for Oceanic languages. These include: “disjunctive pronouns” (Ross 1988, 2004), “independent focal pronouns” (Palmer 2009:67), “absolutive/emphatic” pronouns (Willson 2008:20), “focal” and “nuclear” pronouns (Geraghty 1983:200), and “long forms” Oda (1997:27).

Cysouw (2009). Several key ideas underpinning Cysouw’s typology lend themselves particularly well to the description of person marking systems in Oceanic languages, and therefore the data from this project. Firstly, Cysouw argues that while person is traditionally treated as inseparable from number, the two categories are in fact different dimensions. Although number expression is essentially quantitative and concerns multiple tokens of the same type, person expression is more about kinds of entities, and so is qualitative in nature. For this reason, Cysouw substitutes the notion ‘plural’ for that of ‘group’ or ‘non-singular’, resulting in a paradigm with eight person categories attested in the languages of his cross-linguistic study: three of the singular kind, and five of the group kind (Table 6-1).<sup>2</sup>

Table 6-1: Cysouw’s (2009: 297) paradigm for person marking

		Group (Non-singular)				
	Singular		1+2	Minimal inclusive	}	Inclusive
			1+2+3	Augmented inclusive		
Speaker	1	1+3		Exclusive	}	First person complex
Addressee	2	2+3		Second person plural		
Other	3	3+3		Third person plural		

A further noteworthy aspect of Cysouw’s person typology is his treatment of the notion clusivity, which is said to represent the relationship between the locutors in a particular speech situation, whereby inclusive signals that the speaker and addressee share an ‘in-group’ relation, and exclusive declares that they do not (Hanks 1992:50). Rather than assuming that inclusive is a sub-type of first person (it is not relevant to second or third person), and is simply opposed to the exclusive relation, Cysouw treats inclusive as a distinct category. The result is that since both speaker and hearer(s) are essential to the meaning of inclusivity, they can be perceived as forming a single unit.<sup>3</sup> The outcome of this point can also be seen in Table 6-1.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Languages like those of the Oceanic language family with dual, trial and paucal values in their number systems are not forgotten either, as Cysouw recognises that these values represent highly restricted groups of entities. He therefore includes the column ‘restricted group’ in his person marking paradigm alongside those of singular and group. The restricted group column is not depicted in the figure above (Figure 6–1), as it is neither central to Cysouw’s typology of person oppositions (Figure 6–2), nor to the description of person in the PRE constructions presented below (§6.2).

<sup>3</sup> Additional support for arguing that inclusive is a distinct category comes from the extended functions of such forms noted by Lichtenberk (2005:262) for Austronesian (and therefore Oceanic) languages. For example, the

One advantage with Cysouw's paradigm for the study of person is that clusivity is seamlessly integrated. As an inclusive/exclusive distinction is made "almost without exception" in Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:35), this is particularly beneficial for the current project. Another advantage is that the minimal-augmented systems of the Oceanic languages described in §5.2.2 (see examples 11 and 12 in Äiwoo), which actually do have distinct forms for combined units of speaker and hearer(s), are catered for. There is no need to hypothesise a fourth person (see for example Næss 2006:272), or an additional discourse role to account for this type inclusivity.

To build his typology, Cysouw (2009) applies the paradigm in Table 6-1 to the sets of person marking forms in each of the languages from his study, searching for patterns of homophony (or syncretism) among the singular values, the singular and group values across the paradigm (horizontal homophony), and the group values down the paradigm (vertical homophony). Using this classificatory system, Cysouw discovered that the homophony involved with the non-singular values, and particularly that of the 'first person complex' (1+2, 1+2+3, 1+3), account for much of the variation in person paradigms, and provided a foundation for typing the different language systems in his sample. Of these patterns, Cysouw found that the most common is the inclusive/exclusive system as found in the majority of Oceanic languages where an opposition is found between (1+2, 1+2+3) and (1+3). The minimal/augmented type, as found in the Oceanic languages Nalögo, Natügu and Äiwoo from the Temotu subgrouping, is noted by Cysouw (2009:86) as being found relatively often, so is not nearly as rare and 'exotic' as once thought.

Within the first person complex, Cysouw (2009:303–305) found a basic division between the languages with clusivity, and those without, the former yielding larger systems than the latter. Cysouw explains this division by suggesting that the greater the number of meaning oppositions in a paradigm, the more explicit the system is, and the more "purely"

---

desire to show oneself as more community-minded or polite may trigger the use of an inclusive form (also see §6.2.1 below).

<sup>4</sup> Filimonova's (2005) relatively recent typology and edited collection of case studies also questions the assumptions raised by Cysouw concerning the inclusive and exclusive relation. In particular, see chapters by Crevels and Muysken for Central-Western South American languages, Lichtenberk for Oceanic languages, and La Polla for Tibeto-Burman languages. Daniel (2005:1–48) is a further publication which argues that inclusive is a distinct person category.

conceptualised the category of person is in the language. The paradigm types can be organised in a hierarchy according to the extent to which they explicitly mark person:

- (1) Explicitness Hierarchy (Cysouw 2009:304)
- singular homophony > vertical homophony > unified-we > inclusive/exclusive > minimal/augmented

When dual, as a restricted number, was investigated for homophonous variability, Cysouw found a similar pattern in terms of explicitness. Languages which make the greatest distinctions in regards to marking DU are those with unit-augmented systems (extreme right on the hierarchy). Those that mark DU (or TR), but with the least distinctions across the first person values, are those where there is vertical homophony for all first person DU forms (extreme left on the hierarchy). Cysouw’s Dual Explicitness Hierarchy is presented below in (2):

- (2) Dual Explicitness Hierarchy (Cysouw 2009:304)
- dual-vertical homophony > dual-unified-we > dual-inclusive/exclusive > unit-augmented

Taking into account the data from the OLC language files regarding independent pronoun systems, and the observations found in Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:35), it can be seen that the majority of Oceanic languages in this study, with their ubiquitous inclusive/exclusive marking of person, occupy the rightmost positions on these two hierarchies, positioning them among the languages of the world which make the maximal possible distinctions between speakers, addressees and other entities in their discourse.

The complexity of person marking that I have observed in the publications I surveyed for the Oceanic languages in this study can also be appreciated by noting the positions the languages occupy on the hierarchical tree of person oppositions (Figure 6-1), the framework Cysouw (2009:310) devised to bring the wide variation of paradigmatic structures revealed in his study “under control” (2009:39). Each successive step down the tree entails additional distinctions made. Apart from two languages (Bukawac and Numèè) which seem to be of the differentiated non-first persons non-singular type, most Oceanic languages are clustered around the bottom of the tree, with the majority positioned on the differentiated exclusive branch. A further two from the Temotu sub-grouping (Nalögo, Natügu) are situated on the

minimal inclusive branch, and Äiwoo (also TM) is assigned to the lowest limb, augmented inclusive. This classificatory scheme provides the framework for the following discussion of the grammatical expression of person in the PRE constituent of PRE constructions.

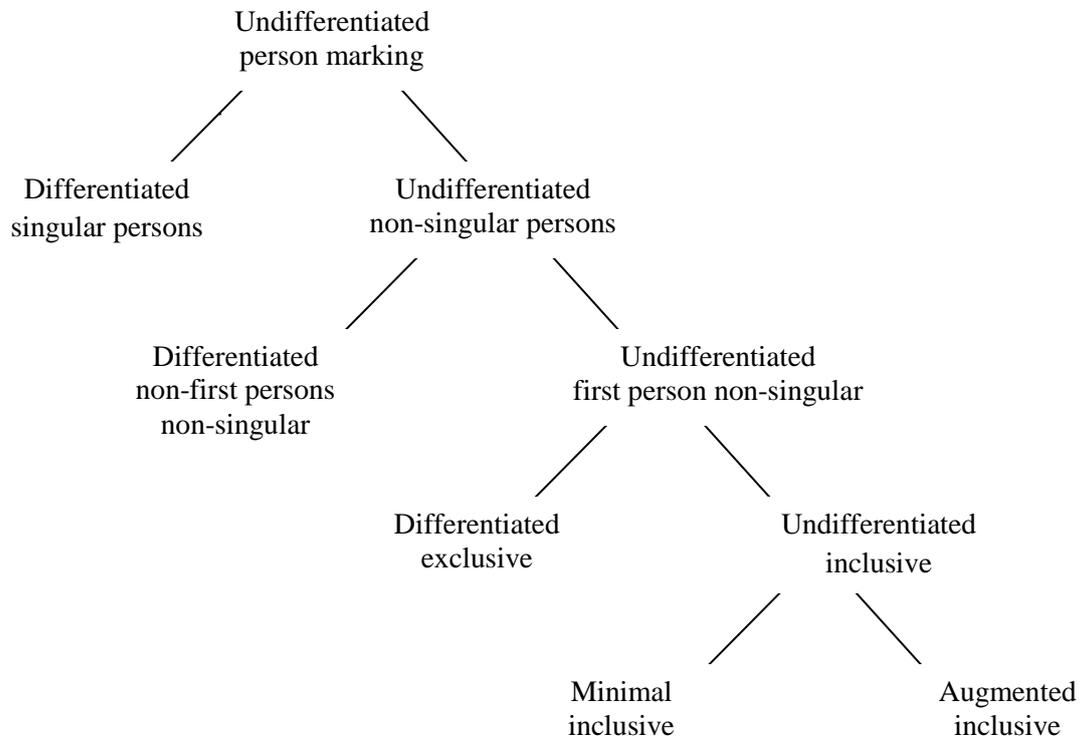


Figure 6-1: The hierarchical tree of person oppositions (Cysouw 2009:310)

## 6.2 The grammatical expression of person in the PRE constituent

This section addresses chapter question one regarding the structural means by which person is expressed in the PRE constituent of the PRE constructions from the OLC language files, simultaneously noting whether such structures are equally found in simple Oceanic clauses, the goal of chapter question two. The analysis employs the paradigm types from Figure 6-1, and begins with the differentiated exclusive type (§6.2.1). Two languages (Bukawa and Numèè) seem to be differentiated non-first persons non-singular types, and these are described in §6.2.2. Two further paradigm types, the minimal inclusive and the augmented inclusive, complete the description of grammatical person in §6.2.3.

### 6.2.1 The differentiated exclusive type and the PRE constituent

The differentiated exclusive type is common in Oceanic languages, and also frequently found in the data for this project. For this person type, there is a contrast between two of the first person complex values in the group column, these being the first person non-singular inclusive (1+2, 1+2+3), and the first person non-singular exclusive (1+3). This contrast is demonstrated in the PRE constituent of PRE constructions, firstly for languages with systems of unrestricted non-singular values (that is, no DU, TR or PCL etc). Example (3) from Mekeo (Jones 1998:143) shows a first person inclusive pronoun in the PRE constituent, the distribution of this meaning being indicated by the cross-index *ga* ‘1PL’ in the VP of the associated clause (punctuation provided by Jones to indicate an intonation break):

- (3) Mekeo (PT,SOV)
- |             |                     |
|-------------|---------------------|
| <i>Ika,</i> | <i>ga-aŋu-belo.</i> |
| 1PL.INCL    | 1PL-sit-good        |
| PRE         | ASC CLAUSE          |
- ‘We, (we) are well off.’ (Jones 1998:143)

An opposing exclusive value *ghata* ‘1PL.EXCL’ appears here in the PRE constituent of example (4) from Banoni. This example also represents an unexpected disparity in the meaning distributed across the PRE construction, as the coreferent indicates inclusivity in the object index *ta* ‘1PL.INCL’, rather than exclusivity as expressed by the PRE constituent pronominal. As object indexes are apparently pro-indexes when they are specific, perhaps this can provide an explanation for the inconsistency found here (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:450):

- (4) Banoni (MM,V-second)
- |               |            |                 |             |
|---------------|------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>Ghata,</i> | <i>ke</i>  | <i>reghe-ta</i> | <i>nna.</i> |
| 1PL.EXCL      | 3SG.REAL   | see-1PL.INCL    | 3SG         |
| PRE           | ASC CLAUSE |                 |             |
- ‘(It was) us he saw.’ (Lynch and Ross 2002:450)

The following pair of examples are both from Kubokota (Chambers 2006). In (5), the independent pronoun *gita* is inclusive (1+2,1+2+3), and affixed to the preceding preposition *ta* ‘of’. This form stands in an appositive relation to the next phrase *na tinoni pa pezo* ‘the people of the earth’. Note that pre-clausal status is established here on account of the

perceptible cesura of 0.527 s between the PRE constituent and the associated clause (Kubokota has cross-indexes for S arguments):

(5) Kubokota (MM,VSO)

<i>Ta-di-gita</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>tinoni</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pezo,</i>
PREP-PL-1PL.INCL	ART	person	PREP	earth
PRE				

<i>qari</i>	<i>masuru</i>	<i>soga</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>totozo</i>	<i>aza.</i>
3PL.REAL	fertile	again	PREP	time	DEM
ASC CLAUSE					

‘For we, the people of the earth, they had plenty (food) again at this time.’ (Chambers 2006:a002MD\_027)

In (6) from Kubokota, the independent form *gami* ‘1PL.EXCL’, is used in a coordinating structure, and excludes the addressee (1+3):

(6) Kubokota (MM,VSO)

<i>I</i>	<i>Lamu</i>	<i>beto</i>	<i>gami,</i>
ART	Lamu	and	1PL.EXCL
PRE			

<i>paja</i>	<i>gami</i>	<i>kaviza</i>	<i>tamatina.</i>
walk.in.bush	1PL.EXCL	how.many	mother.and.children
ASC CLAUSE			

‘We and Lamu, we few mothers and children went inland.’ (Chambers 2006:a062BN)

Apart from differentiated exclusive languages with systems of unrestricted values, there is also the large group of differentiated exclusive types with restricted DU value in their independent pronominal systems (§5.2.2). Examples of this type can be seen in the PRE constituent firstly for (7) from Loni (Hamel 1994), where a first person dual inclusive pronoun *tɔʔu* is positioned in the PRE constituent of an interrogative clause. The two referents are the speaker and the addressee (1+2):

(7) Loni (ADM, SVO)

<i>Tɔʔu</i>	<i>itiyɔ,</i>	<i>tɔʔu</i>	<i>∅</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>ehɛ?</i>
1DU.INCL	DEM	1DU.INCL	NSG	POT.NSG	where
PRE		INTERROGATIVE ASC CLAUSE			

‘We two here, where can we go?’ (Hamel 1994:139)

In contrast to example (7), the speaker in Vaeakau-Taumako (Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011:125) in example (8) has selected the first person exclusive DU form, indicating specifically two referents, this time the speaker and some other person, so not the addressee (1+3):<sup>5</sup>

- (8) Vaeakau-Taumako (FIJ, SVO)
- |              |            |            |              |          |               |           |                |
|--------------|------------|------------|--------------|----------|---------------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>Mhaua</i> | <i>ne,</i> | <i>te</i>  | <i>memea</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>maua</i>   | <i>ko</i> | <i>lavaki.</i> |
| 1DU.EXCL     | DEM        | ART        | child        | POSS     | 1DU.EXCL.POSS | INCP      | disappear      |
| PRE          |            | ASC CLAUSE |              |          |               |           |                |
- ‘As for the two of us, our child has disappeared.’ (Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011:125)

No examples have been found as yet with person markers for the TR or PCL values in the PRE constituent, which can be partly explained by Cysouw’s observation that such values are restricted to situations where quite specific numbers of participants are involved. These types of situations are likely to be comparatively infrequent occasions, and so it is not unexpected that they are not present in the data from the OLC languages files.

Extended functions of inclusivity were also noted in the OLC data where PRE constituents are of the differentiated exclusive type. In such cases, inclusive independent pronouns may be used for purposes other than their basic referential use, argued by Lichtenberk (2005:271) to give inclusivity a privileged status compared with exclusivity. Support for this claim includes many examples from Polynesian languages of the Central-Pacific subgroup where inclusive forms which are reflexes of Proto-Austronesian \**kita* ‘1PL.INCL’ are used as “integrative”: the speaker integrates him/herself with the addressee to imply that they are part of the same group, even though in reality, they are not.

The integrative function can be seen in the PRE constituent in (9) from Tikopia (Firth and Rangiaco 1985:188) where the speaker has chosen *kita* ‘1PL.INCL’ to explain away behaviour that might otherwise perhaps be viewed in this society as anti-social. By overtly including the

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<sup>5</sup> This PRE construction is a less prototypical type, created by the meaning relation of attributive possession operating between the PRE constituent *tʔu* ‘1DU.EXCL’ as the possessor, and the possessum *te memea a maua* ‘our child’ in the associated clause (§8.2.2, §9.2.2).

addressee, the speaker is covertly engendering their complicity. The suggested translation in English is ‘one’ (Firth 1985:xxx):

- (9) Tikopia (FIJ, VSO)
- |             |                   |             |            |                 |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>Kita</i> | <i>maso-kita,</i> | <i>kita</i> | <i>poi</i> | <i>tatāfau.</i> |
| 1SG.INCL    | alone-1SG.INCL    | 1SG.INCL    | go         | stroll.RED      |
| PRE         |                   | ASC         | CLAUSE     |                 |
- ‘One on one’s own, one goes for a stroll.’ (Lit: We, we alone, we go for a stroll.) (Firth and Rangiaco 1985:188)

Another example (10) from Tikopia (Firth and Rangiaco 1985:188) demonstrates the use of *kita* ‘1PL.INCL’, on this occasion to suggest indirect impersonal reference, thereby emphasising “abstract identification of personality” (Firth and Rangiaco 1985:xxx). Note that the pronoun *kuou* ‘1SG’ is acting as a non-verbal predicate:<sup>6</sup>

- (10) Tikopia (FIJ, VSO)
- |           |             |             |                |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Ko</i> | <i>kita</i> | <i>nei,</i> | <i>kuou.</i>   |
| pres      | 1PL.INCL    | here        | 1SG            |
| PRE       |             |             | NON-VERBAL ASC |
| CLAUSE    |             |             |                |
- ‘One here, it is I.’ (Lit: Of us here, it is me.) (Firth and Rangiaco 1985:188)

Inclusory pronominals in the PRE constituent of the differentiated exclusive type were also found in the OLC data. As already mentioned in §5.2.3, inclusory pronouns identify “a total set of participants, a subset of which is identified by a lexical noun phrase” (Lichtenberk 2000:2). Lichtenberk (2000) identifies two sub-types of inclusory-pronominal constructions: a phrasal type and a split type. The former consists of a phrase including a lexical nominal and an inclusory pronoun acting as the phrasal head. The latter is made up of a lexical nominal and an inclusory pronominal, but the two elements are ‘split’, the pronominal being a dependent marker typically indexed in the VP. It is the phrasal type which occurs in the PRE constituent of PRE constructions as exemplified in (11) in Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2000:17)

<sup>6</sup> The meaning relation across this PRE construction counterparts is not one of identity, but of representation. Such PRE constructions are described later in the thesis (§8.2.3, §9.2.3).

where the inclusory pronoun *kamareqa* ‘1DU.EXCL’ indicates that two referents are co-participants in the following event. One of these includes the speaker, while the other includes the lexical NP *maka nau* ‘my father’. The inclusory relation is further described by Lichtenberk as being implicit since the pronominal and the lexical NP are simply juxtaposed. The inclusory meaning is distributed across the PRE construction by being coreferenced in the associated clause by the object index *kamareqa* ‘1DU.EXCL’:

- (11) Toqabaqita (SES,SVO)
- |                 |             |             |             |          |                  |                 |              |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>Kamareqa</i> | <i>maka</i> | <i>nau,</i> | <i>wane</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>laba-taqi</i> | <i>kamareqa</i> | <i>naqa.</i> |
| 1DU.EXCL        | father      | 1SG.POSS    | man         | 3SG.NFUT | harm-TR          | 1DU.EXCL        | PRF          |
| PRE             |             |             | ASC CLAUSE  |          |                  |                 |              |
- ‘Me and my father, the man harmed us.’ (Lichtenberk 2000:17)

In (12), a similar example from Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2000:18), the pronoun *kamaroqa* ‘2DU’ heads an implicit inclusory construction in the PRE constituent, although this time, the referents are the addressee and the person named *Uluta*, so second person is required to make the inclusory relation:<sup>7</sup>

- (12) Toqabaqita (SES,SVO)
- |                 |            |               |                   |           |             |                    |
|-----------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|--------------------|
| <i>Kamaroqa</i> | <i>tha</i> | <i>Uluta,</i> | <i>nuu-maroqa</i> | <i>qe</i> | <i>leqa</i> | <i>qasia naqa.</i> |
| 2DU             | ART        | Uluta         | picture-2DU.POSS  | 3SG.NFUT  | be.nice     | very               |
| PRE             |            |               | ASC CLAUSE        |           |             |                    |
- ‘You and Uluta, the picture of you two is very nice.’ (Lichtenberk 2000:18)

## 6.2.2 Two languages of the differentiated non-first-persons non-singular type and the PRE constituent

Two languages have paradigms which seem to pattern as differentiated non-first persons non-singular types (Figure 6-1). Unlike the majority of Oceanic languages, these have vertical homophony in their independent pronoun systems for first person forms, so no distinction is made between inclusive (1+2, 1+2+3) and exclusive (1+3). The first case in the PRE constituent is example (13) from Bukawa (Eckermann 2007:186) where the pronoun *yac*

<sup>7</sup> This PRE construction belongs to the less prototypical type where the person (and number) meaning distributed between the PRE constituent and its associated clause counterpart is expressed only partially by the possessive affix, here *maroqa* ‘2DU’ (see §8.2.2 and §9.2.2).

‘1PL’ demonstrates this vertical homophony.<sup>8</sup> Note that while clusivity is not marked with the independent pronoun *yac* ‘1PL’ in the PRE constituent, it is marked in the VPs of the fused forms *asôc* ‘1PL.EXCL.enter’ and *mabo* ‘1PL.EXCL.be/stay’ in the associated clauses. This appears to be contrary to the generalisation noted in Siewierska and Bakker (2005:151) that where there are both independent and dependent markers found, the dependent forms will encode fewer semantic distinctions than the independent ones:<sup>9</sup>

(13) Bukawa (NNG,SVO)

<i>Têŋ</i> 3SG.go to ADV	<i>yala</i> year	<i>1957,</i> 1957	<i>yac</i> 1PL PRE	<i>lau</i> people	<i>toŋ</i> group	<i>daŋ,</i> a/one	
<i>asôc</i> 1PL.EXCL.enter ASC CLAUSE1			<i>lôm</i> room	<i>bapia,</i> paper	<i>ambo</i> 1PL.EXCL.be/stay ASC CLAUSE2		<i>Hocpoi.</i> Hocpoi

‘In 1957, we, a group of people, we went to school at Hocpoi.’ (Eckermann 2007:186)

An additional point to note regarding person marking in Bukawa is that contrary to expectation, there appear to be clearly distinct forms in the independent pronoun system for the restricted values of first person dual inclusive (*hêclu/yêclu*) and first person dual exclusive (*alu*). This represents a “structural markedness reversal” (Cysouw 2009:203), as the restricted first person dual category (marked) exhibits clusivity oppositions not found in the unrestricted first person group category (unmarked).

Another example of vertical homophony in the first person inclusive (1+2, 1+2+3) and exclusive (1+3) can be seen in example (14) from Numèè (Rivierre 1966). Here, the meanings are conflated and represented by a single pronoun *géé* ‘1PL’, found in the first pre-clausal position of a multi-PRE construction. Although a grammar for Numèè has yet to be published, it would seem that the situation described above for Bukawa applies here too, as

<sup>8</sup> It is possible that *yac* is acting as an inclusory type pronoun here so that the translation for the phrase *yac lau toŋ daŋ* would be ‘we, a group of people and I’, although Eckermann does not suggest this.

<sup>9</sup> Another exception is Neverver (Barbour 2012:72) where the expression of number is more specific in the dependent VP indexes (SG, DU, PL) than in the independent forms (SG, NSG).

clusivity can be seen in the archived texts in LACITO (*Langues et Civilisations à Traditionale Orale*) for DU forms, but not for PL:

- (14) Numèè (NCAL,SVO)
- |                                   |  |                                  |  |  |  |                         |  |   |  |                              |
|-----------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|--|--|--|-------------------------|--|---|--|------------------------------|
| <i>Géè,</i><br>1PL<br><u>PRE1</u> |  | <i>tré</i><br>ART<br><u>PRE2</u> |  | <i>âgwèrèrè</i><br>Agwèrèrèr<br>REL-live-DEM |  | <i>a-kêê-â,</i><br>well |  | <i>a' géè tré</i><br>1PL ART<br>NON-VERBAL ASC CLAUSE |  | <i>mùraaré.</i><br>Mont Dore |
|-----------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|--|--|--|-------------------------|--|---|--|------------------------------|
- ‘We, the Angwèrèrèr from here, well we are the Mont Dore people.’ (Rivierre 1966)

### 6.2.3 Minimal and augmented inclusive types and the PRE constituent

To date only two minimal inclusive languages (Nalögo, Natügu), and one augmented inclusive language (Äiwoo) have been identified in the Oceanic family. These paradigms exhibit the maximum possible person distinctions in Cysouw’s typology (Figure 6-1). There is one clear example (15) of an augmented form in the PRE constituent (*gö* ‘3AUG’ – 1+2+3) from the minimal inclusive language Nalögo (Boerger and Zimmerman 2012:119), here seen cliticised with a demonstrative *kâ* and an accusative case marker *ni*:

- (15) Nalögo (TM,VSO)
- |  |  |   |  |                        |
|--|--|---|--|------------------------|
| <i>Kâ-ni-gö,</i><br>DEM4-ACC-3AUG<br><u>PRE</u>              |  | <i>tü-wö-tö-mü-Ø</i><br>REAL-swim-DIR-DIR-3MIN<br><u>ASC CLAUSE 1</u> |  | <i>meipwë</i><br>shore |
| <i>tü-vë-lë-Ø</i><br>REAL-go-DIR-3MIN<br><u>ASC CLAUSE 2</u> |  | <i>namwe.</i><br>singlehouse  |  |                        |
- ‘Each of them taking a wave, he swam in to shore, he went up to the singlehouse.’ (Lit: Those ones, each swam to shore, each went to the singlehouse.’). (Boerger and Zimmerman 2012:119)

The augmented inclusive type is observed in the PRE constituent from examples in Äiwoo (Næss 2006:276), the first (16) repeated here from §5.2.2 (example 11). For person expression, the form *iu* ‘1MIN’ is positioned in the first pre-clausal slot of a multi-PRE, and indicates minimum value for first person (the speaker only) in Næss’s analysis, but first person singular in Cysouw’s paradigm (Table 6-1):

- (16) Äiwoo (TM,VSO)
- |                         |                            |                                    |                   |                                |   |                    |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| <i>Ä</i><br>and<br>PRE1 | <i>iu-nge,</i><br>1MIN-DEI | <i>me-ea</i><br>NMLZ-write<br>PRE2 | <i>ile</i><br>DEI | <i>lopâ-enge,</i><br>story-DEI | <i>i-lopâ-mole-maa</i><br>PRF-tell-straight-LOC<br>ASC CLAUSE | <i>ma.</i><br>3MIN |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|---|--------------------|
- ‘And as for me, the writer of this story, he told it to me himself.’ (Næss 2006:276)

In this second example (17) from Äiwoo (repeated from §5.2.2 example 12), the augmented value *ijii* ‘3AUG’, meaning third person plural (three or more other entities) in Næss (2006:279), but third person plural in Cysouw’s paradigm (Table 6-1), is positioned in the PRE constituent in the following utterance:

- (17) Äiwoo (TM,VSO)
- |                         |                      |  |                  |                                       |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Mo</i><br>and<br>PRE | <i>ijii,</i><br>3AUG | <i>pe-singeda</i><br>NMLZ-COLL.woman<br>ASC CLAUSE | <i>mo</i><br>and | <i>pe-dewalili</i><br>NMLZ-COLL.child |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--|------------------|---------------------------------------|
- lu-pwa-to*  
3AUG-go-TAM
- Malubu.*  
Malubu
- ‘But they, the women and children had escaped to Malubu.’ (Næss 2006:279)

### 6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigated the distribution of meaning in the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages for the grammatical category of person. The investigation was conducted by surveying the independent pronoun systems found in the OLC language files in terms of the nominals in both the PRE constituents of PRE constructions and the simple clauses in Oceanic languages. In the process of addressing research question one regarding the structural means of person expression, and question two concerning the comparative aspects of this investigation, I found that, according to Cysouw’s (2009) typology, Oceanic languages are among those which exhibit the maximal number of possible distinctions in their pronominal paradigms (see examples 1 and 2). When looking at person marking in the independent pronouns of PRE constituents, examples can be found where languages with the paradigmatic types of differentiated exclusive, differentiated non-first persons non-singular, minimal inclusive, and augmented inclusive employ their independent pronouns. It is also notable that some other person marking structures found in Oceanic languages such as inclusory

pronominals, and other person marking functions like those associated with inclusivity, are likewise found in the PRE constituent. These findings provide support for suggesting that the meanings of grammatical person expressed in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages are just as likely to be found in the distributed meanings of person expressed by the PRE constituent and its coreferring associated clause counterpart.

Turning to the third chapter question regarding the model of PRE constructions being developed in this thesis, it would seem that, when the findings for this chapter are considered together with those from Chapter Five for the distributed meaning of number, it is even more likely that the expression of grammatical meanings will be the same for the nominals in simple clauses as they are in the PRE constituents of PRE constructions in Oceanic languages, and that this is a general property for PRE constructions. The findings in this chapter also exemplify further the means by which distributed meaning operates in PRE constructions, and, as an extension of this, how such meaning relations might characterise the unit of expanded clause being proposed in this thesis. The next chapter, which explores the distributed meaning in PRE constructions for the third grammatical category of possession, continues to investigate these proposals.

## Chapter 7 PRE constructions and the grammatical category of possession

Previous chapters have explored the morphosyntactic expression of the number (Chapter Five) and person (Chapter Six) categories in the PRE constituent of PRE constructions, and provided support for the proposal that the grammatical meanings distributed across the nominals of PRE construction components are those equally found in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages. I have also proposed that this pattern of meaning distribution is a general property of PRE constructions, which exemplifies a key characteristic of an expanded clause. This chapter explores a third grammatical category relating to the investigation of distributed meaning in the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages: the morphosemantic category of possession.<sup>1</sup> This category is equally as complex as the categories of number and person in Oceanic languages, so provides a further opportunity to investigate the potential of the distributed meanings expressed by PRE constructions, and test the hypotheses mentioned above. As the semantics and structural expression of possession in Oceanic languages go hand-in-hand, both are explored in this chapter, although addressed in separate sections.

During the analysis for this topic, it became obvious that possessive meaning is distributed across PRE constructions in two different ways. With the first pattern, the PRE constituent is a possessed nominal, which controls the number and person attributes of its coreferring counterpart in the associated clause so that the two elements are perceived as identical. Thus, the meanings are distributed in the same manner as those for the expression of number and person described in Chapter Five and Six. The current chapter describes this pattern of distributed meaning for possession, and as before, the analysis will focus on the possessed nominal in the PRE constituent, this being the controlling component.

In the second pattern, the PRE constituent and its counterpart in the associated clause do not denote the same entity. Instead, the PRE constituent nominal represents the possessor of a possessive phrase from the associated clause. Therefore the coreferencing link is only partial. This type of meaning relation is described later on in the thesis (§8.2.2).

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<sup>1</sup> Possession is a morphosemantic rather morphosyntactic category, as it is the semantic nature of the possessive structure which determines the morphology (Corbett 2000:49–50).

Since the investigation conducted for this chapter is essentially the same as that undertaken for Chapters Five and Six, the research questions are similar, except that both structural and semantic aspects are explored. The first question relating to descriptive research objective one (§1.6) asks:

- i) In regards to the distribution of meaning in the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages, what are the structural means and the semantic categories by which the morphosemantic category of possession is expressed in the PRE constituent nominals (as the controlling component) where such nominals and their associated clause coreferents denote identical entities (pattern one above)?

The second research question links with the comparative research objective in §1.6, and asks:

- ii) Is it possible that the same meanings distributed across the PRE construction components for the grammatical category of possession (as discovered in question one) are also available for the expression of possession in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages?

Again, as for number and person, the first and second questions are addressed simultaneously during the structural and semantic analyses presented below. The third question belongs to the comparative research objective in §1.6, and is answered in the chapter conclusion. This question asks:

- iii) How can the findings from questions one and two in regards to the distributed meaning of possession contribute to the development of the model being constructed for the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages?

In order to answer these three chapter questions, a survey of the OLC language files was made to locate all examples where the PRE constituent involved a possessive phrase. The examples were firstly organised into types according to their structural attributes, which in turn guided the development of the typological framework set out in §7.1, and produced the structural analysis presented below in §7.2. The same procedure was followed for the semantic analysis, although there was an additional step, as the patterns of semantic attributes observed in the surveyed data needed to be correlated with the patterns from the structural analysis. Two different schemes were required to describe and explain the semantic data, and these are outlined in §7.3, while the analysis follows in §7.4. The findings are summarised in the chapter conclusion (§7.5).

## 7.1 The grammatical category of possession and the typological framework for the structural analysis of possession in the PRE constituent

Possession is consistently described in the literature as the linguistic expression of the relationship between a possessor (PR) and a possessum (PM), and as a construction which denotes a much wider range of meanings than the common everyday notion of ownership (Lyons 1977:722; Seiler 1981:6; Heine 1997:2; Hersland and Baron 2001:1–2; Dixon 2010:262; Aikhenvald 2013:1–4). The wider definition of possession is also followed in the current study. For example, Aikhenvald (2013:4-5) lists ownership of property (*my house*), whole/part relations (*my arm*) and kinship relations (*my father, my spouse*) as three core meaning types, along with general association (*Paul's dentist*), orientation and location (*bottom of the pile*), and attribution and properties in general (*the child's temperature*) as non-core, broad association types of meanings that are expressed through possessive constructions. Additionally, there is agreement that the various meaning relations are generally manifested in different linguistic constructions (Seiler 1981:8; Hersland and Baron 2001:2–20; Siewierska 2004:139; McGregor 2009:1; Dixon 2010:264; Aikhenvald 2013:1, 5). The correlation between linguistic and non-linguistic dimensions exemplifies Haiman's (1983:781) Principle of Iconic Motivation in Grammar, which states that “the distance between linguistic expressions may be an iconically motivated index of the conceptual distance between the terms or events which they denote”. In regards to possession, relationships between a possessor and a possessum that are conceptualised as close and tight knit (semantically inalienable) are typically realised in synthetic structures, while relationships where the possessum is viewed as more independent from the possessor (semantically alienable) are generally expressed by analytic structures (Dixon 2010:286; Aikhenvald 2013:8–9). This iconicity is especially apparent in the category of possession in Oceanic languages, as entities deemed inalienably possessed are typically directly affixed with a suffix referencing the possessor. In contrast to this, items viewed as alienably possessed are mostly indirectly marked by an independent possessive constituent, such as a classifier, which itself is marked by a possessor suffix (Lynch 1998:122–123; Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:40; Lichtenberk 2009). Selection of construction type is also thought to be motivated by individuation (Hopper and Thompson 1980:253; Lichtenberk 2003:12–14). For possession, this involves the degree of distinctness or separateness that the possessum has from the possessor. An inalienably possessed noun, typically encoded with a direct construction, can occur in an indirect construction when it is conceptualised as having a

separate identity apart from its possessor. For example, this would be the equivalent of referring to ‘my eye’ as an inherent part of me, in comparison to the phrase ‘this eye of mine’, which foregrounds the body part ‘eye’ against the entirety of me as the possessor (see Lichtenberk 2009:11-12 for further discussion and examples). Many of the authors of the publications consulted for this project noted that nouns often occur with different possessive construction types in this way. Individuation offers one explanation for this “fluidity” in structural patterning (Lichtenberk 2003).

The binary pattern of direct/indirect marking just described is of the attributive type, consisting of “two noun phrases linked to one another in a specific way” (Heine 1997:143), and is the pattern relevant to the PRE constituent nominals under investigation in this chapter. The typological framework for the structural analysis of these attributive possessive structures is set out in Table 7-1 and has been developed from four main sources:

- Seiler (1981:6–9), who explored possession as an “operational dimension in language”;
- Ross (2004:511–514), whose typological survey includes an overview of possession in canonic Oceanic languages;
- Lichtenberk (2009:253–261), where patterns of attributive possessive structures in Oceanic languages are described as typical and not so typical;
- The data from the OLC language files in this project where possessive structures are found in the PRE constituent.

The typological framework is based on an explanatory principle advanced by Seiler (1981:6–9), which states that possessive structures can be arranged on a scale of “increasing explicitation of the possessive relationship”. While Seiler’s discussion contrasts the explicit marking of predicative compared with attributive possessive constructions, I have applied this same principle to the range of attributive construction types observed in the data of the PRE constructions for this project.<sup>2</sup>

Ross (2004:511–514) and Lichtenberk (2009:253–261) provide the starting point for identifying and analysing the range of attributive constructions in Oceanic languages. Both

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<sup>2</sup> Seiler (1981:9) concludes that predicative structures involve “established possession” and are more explicitly marked, while attributive ones are more “inherent-like” and comparatively less marked.

these studies are relatively brief surveys, and any detailed typology of actual systems of possession in Oceanic languages is beyond their scope, as it is with the current project. Lichtenberk (1983b:150–156; 1985:93–140), Lynch (1998:122–130), Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:41–42) and Franjeh (2012:196–199; 2016) present data from various Oceanic languages to illustrate different possessive systems, but their selections are based on geographic region, rather than genetic affiliation, and are not sufficiently detailed to provide a scheme for the descriptive analysis of the possessive structures in the PRE constituent here (chapter question one).

Table 7-1: The typological framework of possessive structures found in the PRE constituent

Degree of explicitation of possessive relationship		Construction Type	Basic description
Most explicitly marked relationship	PR affixation on PM (direct strategy of canonic languages)	Type (A1) Simplex Affix only	PR affix on PM
		Type (A2) Complex Affix + NP	PR affix on PM + PR NP
	PR affixation on CLF (indirect strategy of canonic languages)	Type (B) Indirect CLF	CLF-PR affix + PM noun
	No PR affixation but possessive marker (indirect non-canonic strategy)	Type (C) Associative	Possessive morpheme links PM and PR
Least explicitly marked relationship	No PR affixation or possessive marker (indirect non-canonic strategy)	Type (D) Bare	Juxtaposition of PR and PM

Key:	PR	possessor
	PM	possesum
	CLF	classifier

However, they are used to address the comparative question asked in this chapter (question two) concerning the likelihood that the same possessive structure types can be found in both simple clauses of Oceanic languages and the PRE constituents of PRE constructions. The following explains the typology I developed, based on the surveys of Ross (2004) and Lichtenberk (2009), and organised by applying Seiler's principle of increasing explicitation. Some adjustments have also been made to account for the data observed in the OLC language files.

In regards to the typology in Table 7-1, the most explicit marking of the possessive relationship in Oceanic languages is found where an affix is directly attached to the possessum. There are two sub-types involved. The first, type (A1), simply involves the possessum and the possessor affix, described by Ross (2004:512) as the common strategy for the expression of inalienably possessed nouns in canonic Oceanic languages, and labelled by Schneider (2010:143) and Franjeh (2012:232), after Lichtenberk (1985) as a simplex construction.

Type (A1) is demonstrated in example (1) from Mussau-Emira (Brownie and Brownie 2007:122), where the possessor suffix *-ghi* '1SG.POSS' is attached to the bound noun *tama-* 'father', explicitly marking the direct relationship between the possessor and the possessum:<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Mussau-Emira (MUSS, SVO)  
*tama-ghi*  
 father-1SG.POSS  
 PM-PR  
 'my father'

The second sub-type, type (A2), involves the same possessor affixation on the possessum as type (A1), but there is an additional NP overtly encoding the possessor. This is described by Schneider (2010:143) and Franjeh (2012:232) as a complex construction, and is demonstrated firstly in example (2) from Zabana (Fitzsimmons 1989:144) where the possessum noun *babaolo-* 'name' is not only indexed with the possessor suffix *-na* '3SG.POSS', but also accompanied by the lexical noun *tugele* 'hill':

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<sup>3</sup> All examples in §7.1 are extracted from the data in the OLC language files.

- (2) Zabana (MM)
- |                        |               |
|------------------------|---------------|
| <i>babaolo-na</i>      | <i>tugele</i> |
| name-3SG.POSS          | hill          |
| PM-PR                  | PR            |
| 'the name of the hill' |               |

The same basic pattern can be seen in example (3) from Ughele (Frostad 2013:125), where the additional NP is an independent pronoun *rau* '1SG':

- (3) Ughele (MM)
- |                 |            |
|-----------------|------------|
| <i>tama-gu</i>  | <i>rau</i> |
| father-1SG.POSS | 1SG        |
| PM-PR           | PR         |
| 'my father'     |            |

Type (B) constructions mark the possessive relationship less explicitly than type (A), as the possessor is not marked directly on the possessum. Instead, a possessive morpheme functioning as a relational classifier (cf. Lichtenberk 1983b; Aikhenvald 2003:135–145) carries the possessor index. The possessive relation is therefore indirectly structured, and is the strategy for expressing alienable relations in canonic languages where the possessor-possessum relationship is not inherent (Ross 2004:512; Lichtenberk 2009:286). Relational classifiers are noted by Aikhenvald (2003:20) as being “an almost exclusive property of the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian languages”, so this is an important typological distinction for this language family. The type (B) construction is exemplified in example (4) from Abma (Schneider 2009:19) with the edible classifier *ka* hosting the possessor suffix *-da* '1PL.INCL.POSS' preposed to the possessum noun *kabstin* 'vegetable':

- (4) Abma (NCV,SVO)
- |                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>ka-da</i>      | <i>kabstin</i> |
| CLF-1PL.INCL.POSS | vegetable      |
| PR                | PM             |
| 'our vegetables'  |                |

Even less explicit marking of the possessive relationship can be observed in type (C) constructions where possessor affixation occurs neither directly on the possessum, nor indirectly on a classifier. There is, however, a possessive morpheme, the function of which is to indicate a relationship of association between two entities. It is not unusual to find that the

possessive morphemes have roles other than that of possession. Both Lichtenberk (2009:261) and Ross (2004:512) identify prepositions acting in the associative role as seen in example (5) from Nguna (Schütz 1969:236–237). The preposition *ni* indirectly links the possessum *tama* ‘father’ and the possessor *nagoro* ‘girl’:

- (5) Nguna (NCV)
- |             |           |               |
|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>tama</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>nagoro</i> |
| father      | PREP      | girl          |
| PM          |           | PR            |
- ‘the girl’s father/ father of the girl’

Independent possessive markers other than prepositions can be found in Oceanic languages, and are labelled in the literature as linkers (Bril 2013:66), associatives (Hyslop 2001:186), possessive particles (Hamel 1994), or genitives (Healey 2013:295). They are all glossed in this work as POSS, as shown below in example (6) from Loniū (Hamel 1994:266). The structure here follows the same indirect pattern as (5), where a possessive morpheme *a* links two entities, a possessum *enum* ‘garden’ and a possessor *suwe* ‘yam’

- (6) Loniū (ADM)
- |             |          |               |
|-------------|----------|---------------|
| <i>Enum</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>suwe</i> , |
| garden      | POSS     | yam           |
| PM          |          | PR            |
- ‘yam garden/garden of yams’

Another kind of independent possessive marker can be found in some Polynesian languages. The “Polynesian Pattern” as defined by Lichtenberk (2009:270-271), replaces the typical direct/indirect contrast of canonic languages with what is known as the A/O distinction (Fischer 2000:229). A-possession and O-possession represent the vowels *a* and *o* used as independent non-affixed morphemes linking a possessor and a possessum. Hence, the Polynesian pattern is included as a type (C) construction. The A/O distinction is said to signal the amount of control the possessor has over the initiation of the possessive relationship. Here in example (7) from Māori (Bauer, Parker and Evans 1993:237), the possessive morpheme *a* indicates an associative relationship of control and dominance between the possessor *Te Aotakī* and the possessum *tamāhine* ‘daughters’:

- (7) Māori (FIJ)  
*ngā tamāhine a Te Aotakī*  
 ART daughters POSS Te Aotakī  
 PM PR  
 ‘Te Aotakī’s daughters’

Whereas A-possession is said to indicate dominance, O-possession suggests lack of control and subordinate possession (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:42–43; Lichtenberk 2009:270–271; Franjeh 2012:198–199). An example of O-possession is this one (8) from Tuvaluan (Besnier 1999:244), although it is difficult to see how the control hypothesis works here, unless viewed in a very abstract way. Once again, an independent possessive morpheme *o* signals an association between a possessor *puupuu* ‘container’ and a possessum *muli* ‘bottom’:

- (8) Tuvaluan (FIJ)  
*muli o te puupuu*  
 bottom POSS ART container  
 PM PR  
 ‘the bottom of the container’

The least explicitly marked possessive relationship is type (D), labelled by Lichtenberk (2009:260) as the bare type - bare due to the fact that there is no possessive morphology involved. Instead, two NPs are simply juxtaposed. The possessor may be an independent pronoun as in (9) from Loniū (Hamel 1994:157), where *uweh* ‘1PL.EXCL’ simply follows the possessum NP *seh natupu* ‘grandfathers’:

- (9) Loniū (ADM)  
*seh natupu uweh*  
 PL grandfather 1PL.EXCL  
 PM PR  
 ‘our grandfathers’

Alternatively, the juxtaposed possessor may be a noun as in (10) from Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2008:1246). The possessor noun *arekwao* ‘white person’ follows the possessum noun *fanu* ‘country’ to form the possessive phrase ‘the white people’s country’:

- (10) Toqabaqita (SES)  
*fanu arekwao*  
 country white.person  
 PM PR  
 ‘the white people’s country’

## 7.2 Structural possession in the PRE constituent

This section addresses the first chapter question regarding the structural means by which the grammatical category of possession is expressed in the PRE constituent of the PRE constructions from the OLC language files. The commentary also notes relevant information connected with question two concerning the comparison of possession in PRE constituents and simple clause nominals. The analysis follows the typological framework introduced above (§7.1), and outlined in Table 7-1, presenting the most explicitly marked constructions in the first subsection (§7.2.1), and the less explicitly marked possessive constructions in §7.2.2.

### 7.2.1 Most explicitly marked possessive constructions in the PRE constituent

The most explicitly marked possessive constructions found in the PRE constituents of the PRE constructions from the OLC language files are the (A1), (A2) and (B) types. These types are also found in the possessive systems, and hence the simple clauses, of canonic Oceanic languages (see Ross 2004:511–514, and Lichtenberk 2009:253–261).

#### (A1) Direct affix type

Among the many examples of the (A1) possessive construction type found in the PRE constituent is example (11) from Big Nambas (Fox 1979:134) where the noun *tap* ‘grandmother’ carries the possessive suffix *-əm*, ‘2SG.POSS’ to form *tap’əm* ‘your grandmother’, denoting the same entity as the coreferencing independent pronoun *hin* ‘3SG’ and VP cross-index *i-* ‘3SG.REAL’ in the associated clause:

#### (11) Big Nambas (NCV,SVO)

A	<i>tap’-əm,</i>	<i>hin</i>	<i>i-p’əh-ma</i>	<i>ra.</i>
ART	grandmother-2SG.POSS	3SG	3SG.REAL-PROX-come	now
PRE		ASC CLAUSE		

‘Your grandmother, she has just come now.’ (Fox:1979:134)

Another simple example illustrating the (A1) direct affix type is in (12) from Cèmuhî (Rivierre 1994:37), where the PRE constituent contains the bound form *nàì* ‘child’ suffixed with *-ng* ‘1SG.POSS’ to form the possessive phrase *nàìng* ‘my child’:

(12) Cèmuhî (NCAL, VOS)

<i>Ô</i>	<i>pā</i>	<i>nàì-ng,</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>cínú</i>	<i>nâng.</i>
PRS	ART	child-1SG.POSS	PRED	be.sick	3SG
PRE			ASC CLAUSE		

‘My child, he is sick.’ (Rivierre 1994:37)

Example (13) exemplifies the (A1) direct affix type in a multi-PRE construction from Loniu (Hamel 1994:157), where the possessed nouns *ɲetun* ‘her child’ and *ɲapulun* ‘her husband’ are PRE constituents:

(13) Loniu (ADM, SVO)

..., <i>ɲetun,</i>	<i>ɲapulun,</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>iy</i>	<i>ime</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>hetow</i>	<i>kani.</i>
child.3SG	spouse.3SG	who	3SG	3SG.come	FUT	3PCL	POT.NSG.eat
PRE1	PRE2	ADVERBIAL CLAUSE				MATRIX CLAUSE	
		ASC COMPLEX CLAUSE					

‘..., her child(ren), her husband, whoever will come, they can eat.’ (Hamel 1994:157)

Reduplicated forms can be directly possessed as seen in this utterance from Tamambo in example (14), where *bisumbisu* ‘fingers’ is affixed with a third person singular suffix *-na* indexing the possessor (Jauncey 2011:61) :

(14) Tamambo (NCV,SVO)

<i>Bisu-mbisu-na</i>	<i>sangavulu,</i>	<i>nira</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>maututu.</i>
RED-finger-3SG.POSS	ten	3PL	3PL	broken
PRE	ASC CLAUSE			

‘As for her ten fingers, they were broken.’ (Jauncey 2011:61)

(A2) Direct affix + NP type

Type (A2) constructions are much rarer in the data from the OLC language files. They involve direct affixation of the possessor on the possessum as for type (A1), but there is an additional element included. This example (15) from Ughele (Frostad 2013:125)

demonstrates two (A2) type possessive constructions in the PRE constituent. In the first one, the additional element is the independent pronoun *rau* ‘1SG’, postposed to the possessum noun *tama* ‘father’, itself indexed with the possessor suffix *-gu* ‘1SG.POSS’ to yield the possessive phrase *tamagu rau* ‘my father’. The second (A2) structure has the independent pronoun *ia* ‘3SG’ postposed to the same possessum noun *tama* ‘father’, this time directly affixed with the possessor suffix *na* ‘3SG.POSS’. The resulting possessive phrase is *tamana ia* ‘his father’:

(15) Ughele (MM,VSO)

<i>Tama-gu</i>	<i>rau</i>	<i>meke</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>tama-na</i>			
father-1SG.POSS	1SG	and	COMM	father-3SG.POSS			
PRE							
<i>na</i>	<i>tama-na</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>rie</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>Javete.</i>	
COMM	father-3SG.POSS	3SG	3PL	be	LOC	Javete	
			ASC CLAUSE				

‘My father and his father’s father, they lived in Javete.’ (Frostad 2013:125)

(B) Indirect type

Indirect type (B) structures are identifiable by the presence of a classifier, which can be broadly defined as a “noun categorisation device” (Aikhenvald 2003:1), and more specifically in regards to possessive structures in Oceanic languages, as a morpheme whose function is to determine “the relation between the referents of two elements” (Lichtenberk 1983b:168). Relational classifiers in the indirect constructions of the PRE constituent typically carry a suffix which indexes the possessor as seen in example (16) from Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:70), where the general classifier *no* is affixed with the possessive suffix *-ku* ‘1SG.POSS’, and modifies the noun *bue* ‘knife’ to form the possessive phrase *noku bue* ‘my knife’:

(16) Lolovoli (NCV,SVO)

<i>No-ku</i>	<i>bue,</i>	<i>na-ni</i>	<i>tei</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>bue</i>	<i>gene-a.</i>
CLF-1SG.POSS	knife	1SG.IRR	chop	ACC	bamboo	INST-3SG
PRE		ASC CLAUSE				

‘My knife, I’ll chop down the bamboo with it.’ (Hyslop 2001:70)

In regards to size of classifier inventory, it is generally agreed that contemporary systems are derived from a tripartite set of forms reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic (Lynch, Ross and

Crowley 2002:77; Lichtenberk 2009:268). The reconstructed forms are *\*ka-* ‘food possession’, *\*m<sup>(w)</sup>a-* ‘drink possession’, and *\*na-* ‘general possession’ (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:77). From this set, there has been both reduction and expansion so that some languages have lost all classifiers, and therefore have other strategies for indirect possession like those described below in the PRE constituents of construction types (C) and (D). Other languages are reported as having increased the number of classifiers in their inventories. Examples where relational classifiers were found in the PRE constituent are limited for the present to:

- Lolovoli (16), which has a four-way classifier system;
- Arosi, (example 8, Chapter Three), which has a 4-way classifier system;
- Anejom (19), with a six-way system;
- Mavea (example 33 below, and example 27 from Chapter Three), which has a six-way system.<sup>4</sup>

One kind of possessive phrase observed in the data, which is both structurally and functionally similar to a classifier type (B) construction (CLF-affix + PM noun), contains a “possessive noun” rather than a classifier (Bickel and Nichols 2013). A possessive noun is a grammaticalised generic or abstract noun capable of carrying appropriate possessor affixation, used when a possessum is a grammatically non-possessible noun, and classifiers are not an option. Such a situation can be seen in the PRE constituent from example (17) in Adzera (Howard 2002:14). Adzera does not have a classifier system. To enter into a possessive relationship, the possessum *gadan*, a nominalised form meaning ‘food’, requires the appositionally placed possessive noun *nanj-* ‘thing’ to host the possessor affix *ga* ‘our’. Note that Adzera does not have subject VP indexes, so *aga* ‘1PL.EXCL’ has argument status in the associated clause, thus verifying a pre-clausal analysis:

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<sup>4</sup> One reason for this limitation is the relatively small number of ‘classifier languages’ with data appropriate for the study (18), and the difficulties establishing pre-clausal status for many of the likely PRE constructions where the languages have cross-indexes and no available audio data.

(17) Adzera (NNG,SVO)

<i>Da</i>	<i>aga</i>	<i>wa'...</i>	<i>naŋ-ga'</i>	<i>ga-dan</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>apu-gaŋ'</i>
and	1PL.EXCL PRE1	um... DYS	thing-1.POSS PRE2	eat-NMLZ	and	meat-1.POSS

<i>aga</i>	<i>westim</i>	<i>natiŋ</i>	<i>aŋu</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>agam.</i>
1PL.EXCL	waste	for.nothing	only	PREP	2PL
MAIN CLAUSE					

'And as for us um..., our food and our meat, we are just wasting (it) on you.' (Howard 2002:14)

One general comment to make regarding the affixing patterns for types (A1), (A2) and (B), is that they are mainly suffixes. This is not really surprising as according to Dryer's (2013b) chapter in WALS on the position of pronominal possessive affixes, Austronesian languages, and therefore Oceanic languages, are "overwhelmingly suffixing", this also being the most common type across the world's languages. However, Lichtenberk (2009:254) notes that prefixation does occur in directly affixed constructions, albeit with restricted use. Example (18) from Dobu (Lithgow 1975:28) demonstrates that this usage occurs not only in the directly affixed constructions of simple clause possessives, but also in the PRE constituent of the PRE constructions from the OLC language files. According to Lithgow (1978:36), in Dobu, prefixation is used for things distantly possessed, while suffixes are for things closely possessed. There is also a set of forms labelled as intermediate which includes things to be eaten, drunk, or worn. The intermediate possessive prefix 'ana- is found here in the second pre-clausal slot with the noun *masula* 'food', to form the possessive structure 'her food'. According to Lithgow (1978:38), this structure indicates that the food is eaten regularly:

(18) Dobu (PT,SOV)

<i>Tubu-da</i>	<i>gete,</i>	<i>'ana-masula,</i>	<i>mwa'adega</i>	<i>'i-'ese.ese-i</i>
grandmother-1PL.POSS	here	3SG.POSS-food	what	3SG-RED.do-3SG
PRE1		PRE2	ASC CLAUSES	

*ta*                      *bobo'a-na...?*  
and                      RED.be.good-3SG.POSS

'Our grandmother here, her food, what is she doing to it to make it good...?' (Lithgow 1975:28)

A further factor relevant to possessor affixation in the structure types of canonic Oceanic languages (A1, A2 and B) is the degree of possessor detail involved. Most commonly, affixes fully express the person and number of the possessor. Less frequently, affixes may show a

reduction in the possible distinctions that can be made. Another less common strategy is where a construct affix indexes a possessor, and person and number features are not expressed at all (Lichtenberk 2009:255–256). The examples above show the former pattern: all person and number values of the possessor are expressed in the affix. The two examples below demonstrate the last pattern with construct affixes at work in the PRE constituent of a PRE construction. Firstly in (19) from Anejom (Lynch 2000a:116), where the construct *-i* is suffixed to the possessum *nahaje* ‘other side’. The construct is used here to link the bound locational noun *nahaje* ‘other side’ and the possessor phrase *elpuhal urau* ‘their children’. There is no indication from the construct suffix that the possessor NP happens to be third person and plural in number. Instead, this can be seen by observing the distribution of meaning across the PRE construction, from the PRE constituent in its entirety, to the coreferring independent pronoun *aara* ‘3PL’, and the VP cross-index *eris* ‘3PL.PST’:

- (19) Anejom (SV,VOS)
- |                 |                 |               |             |             |              |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Nahaje-i</i> | <i>elpu-hal</i> | <i>u-rau,</i> | <i>eris</i> | <i>apam</i> | <i>aara.</i> |
| other.side-CONS | PL-child        | CLF-3DU.POSS  | 3PL.PST     | come        | 3PL          |
| PRE             |                 |               |             | ASC CLAUSE  |              |
- ‘The other group of their children, they came.’ (Lynch 2000a:116)

The construct affix *-n* shown in example (20) from Mavea (Guérin 2011:400) is suffixed to the possessum *otoli-* ‘egg’, which also has the same form as the third person singular possessive suffix. In this case however, it is used to index a second person singular possessor, although person and number must be established from context.

- (20) Mavea (NCV,SVO)
- |                    |            |              |                |             |
|--------------------|------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|
| ... <i>otoli-n</i> | <i>me</i>  | <i>tamlo</i> | <i>ra-l-an</i> | <i>nna.</i> |
| egg-CONS           | FUT        | man          | 3PL-IPFV-eat   | 3SG         |
| PRE                | ASC CLAUSE |              |                |             |
- ‘...your egg, men will eat it.’ (Guérin 2011:400)

### 7.2.2 Least explicitly marked possessive constructions in the PRE constituent

The examples which follow illustrate those less explicitly marked possessive structures (types C and D) found in the PRE constituents of PRE constructions from the OLC language files. These same types of structures also occur in the possessive structures found in the simple

clauses of Oceanic languages, although they are described among the less typical patterns found (Ross 2004:513–514; Lichtenberk 2009:259–260).

(C) Associative type

Even less explicit expression of the possessive relationship can be observed in the PRE constituent where an independent possessive marker signals an association between a possessor and possessum without any affixation being involved. The possessive marker may be a preposition, most typically positioned between the possessum and the possessor as in example (21) from Kubokota (Chambers 2006). The PRE constituent contains a possessive phrase where the possessum *na baeke ganigani* ‘the food bags’ is associated with the possessum noun *Nathan* by way of the form *ti*, constructed from the preposition *ta* and the personal article *i*, which preposes personal names in Kubokota (Chambers 2006:76). The meaning expressed by the entire possessive phrase is distributed in the PRE construction by the independent pronoun *ria* ‘3PL’ in the associated clause:

(21) Kubokota (MM,VSO)

<i>Na</i>	<i>baeke</i>	<i>ganigani</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>Nathan,</i>				
ART	bag	food	PREP	Nathan				
PRE								
<i>za</i>	<i>siqasiqarai</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>vaka,</i>					
3SG.REAL	hurry	ART	ship					
CLAUSE								
<i>ko</i>	<i>za-ke</i>	<i>boka</i>	<i>surana</i>	<i>ria</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ngena</i>	<i>veluvelu</i>	
CONJ	3SG.REAL-NEG	able	load	3PL	PREP	today	afternoon	
	ASC CLAUSE							

‘The food bags of Nathan, the ship (went) quickly and he didn’t manage to take them this afternoon...’ (Chambers 2006, ELAR Collection: a012LP\_046)

Apart from prepositions, there are other morphemes used to indirectly mark a possessive relationship. In example (22) from Loniū (Hamel 1994:267), the form *a* does exactly that, as

seen below when used to associate the two nouns *enum* ‘garden’ and *suwe* ‘yams’ to produce *enum a suwe* ‘yam garden’:<sup>5</sup>

(22) Loniū (ADM, SVO)

<i>Enum</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>suwe,</i>	<i>seh</i>	<i>pihin,</i>	<i>seh</i>	<i>Ø-čani.</i>
garden	POSS	yam	3PL	woman	3PL	NSG-clear
PRE 1			PRE2		ASC CLAUSE	

‘A yam garden, the women, they clear it.’ (Hamel 1994:266)

As discussed above in §7.1, and demonstrated in examples (7) and (8), the Polynesian pattern of A-possession and O-possession involves the free unaffixed morphemes *a* and *o*. These possessive markers may also be found in the possessive phrases of PRE constituents as shown in example (23) from Vaeakau-Taumako (Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011:101) for the marker *a* which indicates a possessive relation in the second pre-clausal constituent. In this instance, the *a* marker is affixed to the following possessive determiner *na* ‘3SG.POSS’ to produce the possessive phrase *nohine ana* ‘his wife/wife of him’ (although it is shown to be a free form in the possessive phrase of the non-verbal associated clause):

(23) Vaeakau-Taumako (FIJ, SVO)

<i>Tai</i>	<i>tai,</i>	<i>laua</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>nohine</i>	<i>a-na,</i>
one	man	3DU	and	wife	POSS-3SG.POSS
PRE1		PRE2			

<i>a</i>	<i>memea</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>laua,</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>lua.</i>
COLL	child	POSS	3DU.POSS	TAM	two
NON-VERBAL ASC CLAUSE					

‘There was a man; he and his wife had two children.’ (Lit: ‘There is/was a man, those two (he) and his wife, their children are/were two.’). (Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011:101)

(D) Bare type

The final possessive construction type, which exhibits the least explicitation, involves the simple juxtaposition of possessum and possessor. For example, Neverver (Barbour 2012:183), has neither the direct type (A), nor the indirect type (B) constructions in its possessive system. Instead, there are bare structures like the one seen here in the PRE

<sup>5</sup> The morpheme *seh* is both an independent pronoun ‘3PL’ and the plural marker ‘PL’ in Loniū.

constituent of example (24), where the inalienably possessed noun *nida* ‘mother’ simply sits in apposition with its possessor, a postposed possessive determiner *titi-Ø* ‘3.POSS-SG’:

(24) Neverver (NCV,SVO)

<i>Nida</i>	<i>titi-Ø</i> ,	<i>ba</i>	<i>i-vlem</i>	<i>i-sus</i>	<i>i-ver...</i>
mother	3.POSS-SG	when	3SG.REAL-come	3SG.REAL-ask	3SG.REAL-say
PRE		ADVERBIAL CLAUSE		MATRIX CLAUSES	
ASC CLAUSE					

‘His mother, when he came she asked ...’ (Barbour 2010:NVCT06.15)

Lichtenberk (2009:260) reports that Toqabaqita and its close relatives of the South-East Solomonic sub-group do not have the classifier systems of type (B) constructions in their possessive systems. Instead, a bare construction is used, as in example (25) from the SES language Kwaraqae (Macdonald 2010:169), where the noun *haon* ‘village’ is possessed by a following possessive determiner *keim* ‘1PL.EXCL.POSS’ to produce *haon keim* ‘our village’:

(25) Kwaraqae (SES,SVO)

<i>Haon</i>	<i>keim</i> ,	<i>ni</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>Tabaqa.</i>
village	1PL.EXCL.POSS	3SG	LOC	Tabaqa
PRE		NON-VERBAL ASC CLAUSE		

‘Our village, it’s in Tabaqa.’ (Macdonald 2010:169)

Less frequently, the juxtapositional relationship of the bare possessive construction (D) is formed with a noun or NP as the possessor. Example (26) from Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2008:1246) demonstrates clearly the bare nature of this construction type with the possessum noun *fanu* ‘country’ and the possessor noun *arekwao* ‘white.person’ simply placed together:

(26) Toqabaqita (SES,SVO)

<i>Fanu</i>	<i>arekwao</i> ,	<i>fanu</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>leqa</i>	<i>neri.</i>
country	white.person	country	3SG.NFUT	be.nice	INTS
PRE		ASC CLAUSE			

‘The white people’s country, it is a nice country.’ (Lichtenberk 2008:1246)

To sum up this section, and partially answer the structural question asked at the beginning of the chapter, the data presented above from the OLC language files demonstrates that the structural means by which the grammatical category of possession is expressed in the PRE constituent nominals of PRE constructions in Oceanic languages is by types (A1), (A2), and (B), as well as those of as types (C) and (D). The results from this section also contribute towards answering the second comparative question asked for this chapter by showing that the same structural patterns presented for PRE constructions are described for the possessive structures found in the simple clauses of Oceanic languages. A further point regarding the pattern of meaning distribution across the PRE constructions presented above is that the meaning relation is typically one where the possessive nominal in the PRE constituent and the coreferent in the associated clause denote the same entity and can be described as conceptually identical.

### 7.3 Typological frameworks for the semantic analysis of possession in the PRE constituent

The investigation now turns to the semantic expression of attributive possession in Oceanic languages in order to continue answering the same questions addressed for the structural description in §7.2:

- What are the semantic categories by which the morphosemantic category of possession is expressed in the PRE constituent nominals (chapter question one)?
- Is it possible that the same meanings distributed across the PRE construction components are also available for the expression of possession in the nominals of simple clauses in Oceanic languages (chapter question two)?

This section sets out the typological frameworks which are used to present the semantic analysis of possession where the entities denoted by the PRE constituent of a PRE construction and a coreferring counterpart are perceived as identical. As noted in §7.1, there is a correlation between the structural characteristics and the semantic nature of possession in Oceanic languages, whereby direct structures typically encode inalienable possession, and indirect strategies express alienable possession. Additionally, it is thought that in Oceanic languages, both (in)alienability and construction choice are determined by the nature of the

possessive relationship between the possessor and the possessum (Lichtenberk 2009:261). So, for example, the kinship terms ‘father’, and ‘child’, and the body parts ‘head’ and ‘leg’ are conceptualised as inherently possessed. Therefore they are deemed inalienable, and expressed with a direct type (A1) and/or (A2) construction, which explicitly signals intimacy between the possessor and the possessum. Entities such as food and drink-related items are non-relational, and have “no highly salient, context-stable relation between the possessum and the possessor” (Lichtenberk 2009:286). They are viewed as alienably possessed, and generally express independence between possessor and possessum less explicitly by employing any of the indirect constructions seen in Table 7-1 (types B, C, and D). This forms the basic overall pattern regarding the semantics of possession in Oceanic languages. Variations on this pattern are both language-external, where cultural beliefs may alter the typical alienable/inalienable division, and language-internal, when fluidity, or the capacity for nouns to occur with more than one structural device is in operation (Lichtenberk 2009:261, 273–280).

For the analysis here, Aikhenvald’s (2013b:4–5) typology of core and broad meaning types mentioned in §7.1 can only be loosely applied. The inalienable-direct and alienable-indirect associations suggested in this work are not always relevant to the semantics of possession in Oceanic languages.<sup>6</sup> For example, nouns of location and orientation are frequently treated in Oceanic as inalienably possessed, rather than alienably possessed items. Moreover, Aikhenvald’s categories are rather broad, and lack the descriptive detail sought for the task at hand. More appropriate are the Oceanic-specific publications of Lichtenberk (2009:264–272) and Ross (2004:512), who discuss possession of canonic languages. Lichtenberk’s study of attributive possession identifies nine key semantic categories associated with direct constructions. These are labelled in Table 7-2 below as (a) to (h).<sup>7</sup> A further six semantic categories relevant to indirect classifier type (B) constructions are derived from both Ross (2004:512) and Lichtenberk (2009:268–272), and are labelled (i) to (n) in Table 7-2.

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<sup>6</sup> Repeated from above, the core types typically associated with inalienable possession are kinship terms, part-whole relations, and ownership of property; non-core or broad associative meanings are alienably possessed, as are orientation and location, attribution and properties in general, and general association (Aikhenvald 2013b:4–5).

<sup>7</sup> Lichtenberk (2009:268–272) also includes in this list a category labelled ‘emphatic pronominal forms’. As this is not strictly a semantic category, I have excluded it from the discussion here.

Table 7-2: Semantic categories of possession

Label	Semantic Category
(a)	Kinship terms and other social/cultural relations
(b)	Body parts and other part-whole relations
(c)	Bodily products of PR/other physical bodies
(d)	Entities/matter on PR body surface
(e)	PR attributes
(f)	Spatial/temporal relations
(g)	Mental organs/states of mental processes
(h)	PR as patient, theme, stimulus
(i)	Alienable possessions (single CLF for all alienable possessions)
(j)	Alimentary possessions (food and drink-related possessions)
(k)	Food-related possessions
(l)	Drink-related possessions
(m)	General possessions
(n)	Other language-specific categories of possessions

For the analysis of semantic categories for non-canonic languages and the atypical patterns of indirect type (C) and (D) constructions, a different approach is required. The expectation is that indirect constructions are used to express semantic categories other than those found in Table 7-4. However, as will be shown below, this is not always the case. On the one hand, this is partly due to the fact that some languages are non-canonic, and do not have type (A1), (A2) and/or type (B) strategies for possession. Therefore, other construction types must be pressed into service to express both alienable and inalienable possession. On the other hand, for canonic languages, association and juxtaposition are additional processes, so provide speakers with options other than classifier type (B) constructions for expressing possessive relationships conceptualised as less tightly knit. As a result, the scheme for the analysis here must cope with the meanings expressed by both inalienable and alienable relations in indirect (C) and (D) constructions. Moreover, alienable nouns in Oceanic languages typically form an open class (Ross 2004:511), so constructing a definitive typology of meanings which can account for this semantic open-endedness is difficult. Most of the literature consulted for this project either does not address meanings of alienably possessed nouns occurring in type (C)

and (D) constructions (Chappell and McGregor 1996:3–30; Hersland and Baron 2001:12–14; Lichtenberk 2009:261–276), or, as suggested above, assign it to vague categories of association or general possession (Dixon 2012b:262–263; Aikhenvald 2013:1–64), which are not particularly descriptive

One publication which does offer a way of accounting for the heterogeneity manifested in these indirect construction types is the monograph on possession by Heine (1997). This work takes a cognitive approach, claiming that “most of the possessive constructions to be found in the world’s languages can be traced back to a small set of basic conceptual patterns” (Heine 1997:xiii). These conceptual patterns form the basis of the cognitive event schemas (Heine 1997:143–183) adopted as the categorial framework for this section, and are presented in Table 7-3.

Table 7-3: Cognitive schemas

Cognitive Schema	PR –PM concept	Morphosyntax
Location [Y at X]	PR at place of PM <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Y is at X’s home/place</li> <li>• Y is at X’s body-part</li> </ul> Metaphor: WHOLES ARE ORIGINS	Locative marker Focal sense: at, on, near, in PM head- PR modifier
Companion [X with Y]	Metaphor: A PM IS A COMPANION	Comitative marker Focal sense: with PR head-PM complement or Apposition
Source [Y from X]	PM-specification PR source against PM as ground	Genitive marker PM-PR order (or other) Focal sense: (out) of, (away) from
Goal [Y for/to X]	PM-specification PR as experiencer <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Y exists to/for X</li> </ul>	Benefactive marker PM-PR order (or other) Focal sense: for, to May be PR cross-reference
Topic [(as for) X, X’s Y]	PR-specification (type-token relation) PM controlled by PR PR as theme PR is human	Apposition PR cross-reference common (as pronominal) PR-PM order
Reversed Topic [the Y, that (of) X] [Y, poss. of X]	PM specified by PR	Apposition PM-PR order

The event schemas are said to be abstracted from the stereotypical situations which are regularly part of human experience, for example, what one does (Action Schema), where one

is (Location Schema), who one is accompanied by (Companion Schema), and what exists (Existence Schemas of Goal, Source, and Topic) (Heine 1997:45–46).<sup>8</sup> Over time, linguistic expressions associated with these stereotypical experiences are said to be extended by a process of grammaticalisation for use in more abstract domains such as possession. For instance, a marker of location like a preposition takes on an extended role as a marker of possession (Heine 1997:158).<sup>9</sup> An advantage of this approach for the current work is that the schemas provide a way of explaining how both alienably and inalienably possessed items happen to occur in the same construction types. Additionally, there is some explanation for the possession of more abstract elements. If the schematic framework in Table 7-3 applies cross-linguistically as claimed by Heine, it should provide the explanatory resources needed to account for the polysemous nature of the entire domain of possession in Oceanic languages, rather than just the meanings of the attributive indirect structures in the PRE constructions being described in §7.4.3. However, such a study is beyond the current project. Therefore, the investigation of semantic categories in type (C) and (D) possessive constructions must necessarily be limited to demonstrating these categories as found in the PRE constituent of the PRE construction in the OLC data.

#### 7.4 Semantic expression of possession in the PRE constituent

Having found two suitable frameworks to account for the data patterns observed in the OLC language files, the investigation now continues with the analysis itself. The aim is to answer chapter questions one and two, this time in terms of the semantic expression of possession in the PRE constituents of Oceanic PRE constructions, and their likely occurrence in simple Oceanic clauses. Section §7.4.1 presents examples from the OLC data for the directly encoded categories labelled (a) to (h) in Table 7-2. Indirect classifier types are (i) to (n) in Table 7-2 and the topic of section §7.4.2. The semantic categories encoded in other indirect types (C) and (D) constructions are presented in §7.4.3.

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<sup>8</sup> The names of the specific schema are capitalised in this work as they are in Heine (1997:146) to avoid confusion with the term ‘source schema’ which refers to any template that serves as an historical source for a grammatical construction.

<sup>9</sup> This theoretical approach has similarities with the cognitive theories of Mental Blending and Conceptual Integration outlined in Chapter Eight. In particular, the schema suggested by Heine (1997) represent the same type of conventionalised linguistic concepts as the intraspace blends described by Brandt (2013).

#### 7.4.1 Semantic categories expressed in direct type (A1) and (A2) constructions in the PRE constituent

Lichtenberk (2009:264) states that directly possessed nouns tend to express relational concepts, and are “overwhelmingly” inalienably possessed. Such is the case for the type (A1) and (A2) constructions found in the PRE constituent as shown in the following. To date, examples have been observed for four of the categories listed in Table 7-4 (extracted from Table 7-2 above).

Table 7-4: Semantic categories of possession for direct type (A1) and (A2) constructions

Label	Semantic Category
(a)	Kinship terms and other social/cultural relations
(b)	Body parts and other part-whole relations
(c)	Bodily products of PR/other physical bodies
(d)	Entities/matter on PR body surface
(e)	PR attributes
(f)	Spatial/temporal relations
(g)	Mental organs/states of mental processes
(h)	PR is patient, theme, stimulus
(i)	Emphatic pronominal forms

##### Kinship terms and other social/cultural relations (a)

It is not difficult to find examples in the PRE constituent where the possessive relationship involves a directly affixed noun from the kinship category. Examples have already been presented above for Big Nambas (11), and Ugehele (15). A further example is (27) from Atchin (Capell and Layard 1980:45), and demonstrates a consanguineal relation between the possessum noun *tasi-* ‘sibling’ and a third person possessor, encoded as the suffix *-n* ‘3SG.POSS’. The result is the possessive construction *tasin* ‘her brothers’, this meaning being distributed across the entire multi-PRE construction via the independent pronoun *inir* ‘3PL’ in the second PRE constituent as well as the identical possessive phrase *tasin* ‘her brothers’ and an accompanying VP cross-index *ar* ‘3PL.REAL’ in the associated clause:

(27) Atchin (NCV,SVO)

<i>Ko</i>	<i>tasi-n,</i>	<i>inir,</i>	<i>tasi-n</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>liw-liwe</i>	<i>na-riv.</i>
ART	sibling-3SG.POSS	3PL	sibling-3SG.POSS	3PL.REAL	RED-shoot	CLF-rat
PRE		PRE2	ASC CLAUSE			

‘As for her brothers, them, her brothers were shooting rats’ (Capell and Layard 1980:45)

Other social and cultural relations can be directly possessed, and Lichtenberk (2009:266–267) includes them in this semantic category. For example, the notion ‘friend’ implies an inherently possessive relationship, either as a possessum (*Sam’s friend*), or as a possessor (*my friend Sam*). The former is seen in the PRE constituent of example (28) from Torau (Palmer: [http://surrey.ac.uk/lcts/bill.palmer/NWS\\_site/Tor/Welcome.htm](http://surrey.ac.uk/lcts/bill.palmer/NWS_site/Tor/Welcome.htm)). The possessum noun *apo* is directly suffixed with the possessor morpheme *-dia* ‘3PL.POSS’, encoding the close relationship between possessor and possessum. This meaning is distributed across the PRE construction by the independent pronoun *ine* ‘2SG’ in the first PRE constituent, and also the VP object index *o* ‘2SG’, all of which denote the same entity:

(28) Torau (MM,SOV)

<i>Ine,</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>apo-dia</i>	<i>umana,</i>	<i>ta-di</i>	<i>tere-o.</i>
2SG	DEF.SG	friend-3PL.POSS	all	PRF-3PL	give-2SG
PRE1	PRE2			ASC CLAUSE	

‘You, friend of everyone, they gave it to you.’ (Palmer:/\_sh v3.0 400 Torau.txt/ref 083)

Body parts and other part-whole relations (b)

From Caac (Cauchaard 2012) comes example (29) demonstrating a part-whole relation in the PRE constituent involving inanimates. The part relation *cee* ‘joist’ is encoded as a possessum by being directly affixed with the possessor suffix *-n* ‘3SG.POSS’, indexing the inanimate whole *mwÁĈ* ‘house’:

(29) Caac (NCAL,VSO)

<i>Pwaame</i>	<i>ole</i>	<i>cee-n</i>	<i>mwÁĈ,</i>
about	DET	joist-3SG.POSS	house
PRE			

<i>e-ni</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ceec</i>	<i>ra-en.</i>
REL-3SG.OBJ	PL	DET	tree	3PL.SBJ-DEM
ASC CLAUSE				

‘For the joists of the house, that’s these trees there.’ (Cauchard 2012: StructHouse\_JP\_019)

#### Entities/matter on PR body surface (d)

Clothing is an item which can be inherently possessed, and is part of the semantic category which includes entities or matter on the possessor’s body. In example (30) from Nêlêmwa (Bril 2000:265), a speaker is expressing the intimacy that can exist between a human possessor and her clothing by suffixing the noun *habwali* ‘clothes’ directly with the possessor suffix *-n* ‘3SG.POSS’:

(30) Nêlêmwa (NCAL,VOS)

<i>Habwali-n,</i>	<i>xe</i>	<i>hooli</i>	<i>habwan</i>	<i>xe</i>	<i>hmwêên</i>
clothes-3SG.POSS	TOP	that	clothes	TOP	be.big
PRE	ASC CLAUSE				

*xa*      *foro.*  
also      be.white

‘Her clothes, they are the clothes that are big and white.’ (Bril 2000:265)

#### Spatial and temporal relations (f)

In example (31), the second PRE constituent of a multi-PRE from Eastern Fijian (Dixon 1988:338) demonstrates the way that locations can often be encoded with direct constructions, thereby expressing the intrinsic nature of the spatial reference. Sides, backs, fronts, tops and bottoms of objects or places can be construed in terms of the frontal, median and horizontal body planes of human possessors as shown here, where the possessum noun *bati* ‘side’ is directly affixed with the suffix *-na* ‘3SG.POSS’ to indicate that environmentally-based location can be conceptualised as an inherent relation:

(31) Boumaa Fijian (FIJ,VSO)

<i>O</i>	<i>Vanualevu,</i>	<i>bati-na</i>	<i>yani</i>	<i>yaa,</i>	<i>era</i>	<i>saa</i>	<i>toso</i>	<i>kece</i>
ART	place	side-3SG.POSS	LOC	DEM	3PL	ASP	move	all
PRE1		PRE2	ASC CLAUSES					

<i>mai</i>	<i>me-ra</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>waawaa</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>Wairi'i.</i>
DIR	TAM-3PL	DIR	wait	DIR	place

‘Vanua Levu, those ones from the other side (people from Natewa Bay), they all moved over here and waited at Wairi’i’ (Dixon 1988:338)

To summarise this section, examples were provided for only four of the eight semantic categories from Table 7-4 expressed with direct type (A1) and (A2) constructions. This result suggests that the semantic categories observed in direct type structures by Lichtenberk (2009) are possible in the PRE constituents of PRE constructions, but further data would be useful to test the robustness of this finding.

#### 7.4.2 Semantic categories expressed in indirect classifier type (B) constructions of the PRE constituent

In Oceanic languages, indirect type (B) constructions always occur with a relational classifier, which specifies the nature of the relationship between the possessor and the possessum (Lichtenberk 1983b:148; Aikhenvald 2003:2–3).<sup>10</sup> The semantic categories associated with classifier constructions in Oceanic languages (Table 7-2) have been derived from Ross (2004:512) and Lichtenberk (2009:268–272), who uses the tripartite classifier system reconstructed for Proto Oceanic as a starting point for his discussion.<sup>11</sup> Examples of indirect classifier types in the data for this project are rare, and only four examples can be provided at this time for the categories (i) to (n) in Table 7–2: two for general possessions (m), and two categorised as (n) where they both represent a miscellaneous language-specific meaning found in the data.

##### General possessions (m)

One example where a possessum may be categorised as a general possession is in (32) from Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:70), which has a 4-way classifier system. The classifier *no* signals that

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<sup>10</sup> Relational classifiers are not to be confused with possessive classifiers, which characterise some attribute of the possessum or possessor, numeral classifiers, which occur with a numeral and categorise a noun according to some inherent property, or noun classifiers, which refer to inherent properties of the noun itself (Aikhenvald 2003:1–18). Relational classifiers also constitute distinct systems from noun class or gender systems, the hallmarks of membership to the latter being the assignation of every noun in the language to one, and only one class, and the requirement that other NP elements ‘agree’ (Grinevald 2000:55–62).

<sup>11</sup> As discussed previously, in regards to classifier inventory size, the reconstructed classifiers are *\*ka-* ‘food possession’, *\*m<sup>w</sup>a-* ‘drink possession, and *\*na-* ‘general possession (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:77).

the relationship between the first person singular possessor *-ku*, and the possessum *bue* ‘knife’ is a general, non-intimate one:

- (32) Lolovoli (NCV,SVO)
- |                  |             |              |            |           |            |                |
|------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|-----------|------------|----------------|
| <i>No-ku</i>     | <i>bue,</i> | <i>na-ni</i> | <i>tei</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>bue</i> | <i>gene-a.</i> |
| CLF.GEN-1SG.POSS | knife       | 1SG.IRR      | chop       | ACC       | bamboo     | INST-3SG       |
| PRE              |             | ASC CLAUSE   |            |           |            |                |
- ‘My knife, I’ll chop down the bamboo with it.’ (Hyslop 2001:70)

A further example for category (m) can be seen above in Chapter Three (example 8) from Arosi. Anejom (19) is also an example where a general classifier is found in the PRE constituent of a PRE construction.

Other language-specific categories (n)

Among the languages with extended systems of classifiers is Mavea, which encodes six different types of relations between the possessor and possessum (Guérin 2007). Example (33) is a PRE construction from a narrative, with an indirect classifier type (B) construction in the PRE constituent. The speaker is referring to a prawn (*ura*) that she has found and been regularly feeding. Therefore it is classified with *pula*, a language-specific category used with animals and vegetables that one has raised or planted (Guérin 2011:174) (see Chapter Three, example 27 for a further example of *pula*-):

- (33) Mavea (NCV,SVO)
- |           |           |            |                    |             |                   |
|-----------|-----------|------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>O!</i> | <i>Na</i> | <i>ura</i> | <i>pula-ku,</i>    | <i>aite</i> | <i>mo-losu-a.</i> |
| oh        | but       | prawn      | CLF.OTHER-1SG.POSS | one         | 3SG-hit-3         |
| PRE       |           |            |                    | ASC CLAUSE  |                   |
- “Oh! My prawn, someone has killed it.”. (Guérin 2007:542)

In sum, the data for indirect classifier type (B) constructions demonstrated only two of the seven possible semantic categories occurring in the PRE constituent. It may be that examples for other categories are possible for PRE constructions, but these have not been found as yet. While type (B) constructions can be listed among the semantic categories that can be found in PRE constructions (chapter question one), the small number of examples found means that more data are needed to be able to establish that the same possessive meanings are expressed

in the nominals of PRE constituents as they for the nominals of simple clauses in regards to this particular possessive construction type (chapter question two).

### 7.4.3 Semantic categories expressed in indirect type (C) and type (D) constructions of the PRE constituent

The objective in this section is to present a sample of the semantic categories expressed with the associative type (C) and bare type (D) constructions observed in the PRE constituent. As noted above, the cognitive schemas in Table 7-5 from Heine (1997) provide the categories for the analysis (repeated from Table 7-3).

Table 7-5: Cognitive schemas for type (C) and (D) possessive constructions

Cognitive Schema	PR –PM concept	Morphosyntax
Location [Y at X]	PR at place of PM <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Y is at X’s home/place</li> <li>• Y is at X’s body-part</li> </ul> Metaphor: WHOLES ARE ORIGINS	Locative marker Focal sense: at, on, near, in PM head- PR modifier
Companion [X with Y]	Metaphor: A PM IS A COMPANION	Comitative marker Focal sense: with PR head-PM complement or Apposition
Source [Y from X]	PM-specification PR source against PM as ground	Genitive marker PM-PR order (or other) Focal sense: (out) of, (away) from
Goal [Y for/to X]	PM-specification PR as experiencer <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Y exists to/for X</li> </ul>	Benefactive marker PM-PR order (or other) Focal sense: for, to May be PR cross-reference
Topic [(as for) X, X’s Y]	PR-specification (type-token relation) PM controlled by PR PR as theme PR is human	Apposition PR cross-reference common (as pronominal) PR-PM order
Reversed Topic [the Y, that (of) X] [Y, poss. of X]	PM specified by PR	Apposition PM-PR order

The Location Schema [Y at X] would seem to occur reasonably often in the pre-clausal position of Oceanic languages, in particular with type (C) constructions. In some cases, the associative marker is homonymous with a spatial/temporal adposition, and is a clue that the Location Schema has provided the template for the possessive meaning. Example (34) from Langalanga (Ivens 1938:761) seems to be one such case, as the possessive marker *ata* is

listed by Ivens (1938:755) as a preposition, one of its meanings being ‘from a place or time’. The possessive phrase below can be analysed as [Y at X]; ‘*ke sinobu* ‘these people’ [Y] *ata* ‘at the place of’ *Raga* [X]’:<sup>12</sup>

(34) Langalanga (SES,SVO)

<i>Ta</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>sinobu</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>Raga,</i>	<i>ram</i>	<i>hav</i>	<i>ilo</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>huria.</i>
but	DEM	people	PREP	Raga	3PL	NEG	know	ART	about.it
	PRE				ASC CLAUSE				

‘But these people of Raga, they didn’t know about it.’ (Ivens 1938:761)

Body parts and part-whole relations are possible derivations of the Location Schema, as the entire body, or the whole relation locates the part, evoking the metaphor WHOLES ARE ORIGINS (Franjeh 2012:271). Although body parts in Oceanic languages are typically inalienably possessed, and encoded as direct type (A) constructions, Hersland and Baron (2001:14) note that body parts can occur with indirect constructions when they carry non-relational meaning (so are conceptualised as alienable). Heine’s (1997) work with schemas, and Lichtenberk’s (2003) paper on individuation offer a possible explanation. It may be that alienably possessed body parts are instantiations of the Location Schema when the body part is viewed as individuated, being ‘at’ or ‘on’ a body, rather than being inseparable from it.

Kubokota (Chambers 2009:65) provides example (35) which demonstrates the Location Schema being used for body parts in the PRE constituent with a type (C) construction. The preposition *pa*, used for inanimates, links the possessum NP *na raqoraqo* ‘the ribs’ and the possessor NP *na lima* ‘the hand’ in a relationship where the schematic analysis would read ‘*na raqoraqo* ‘the bones’ [Y] at the place where *na lima* ‘the hand’ [X] is’. Chambers has provided commas in her analysis here, indicating an intonation break between the possessive phrase and the passive clauses which follow, thus confirming pre-clausal status:

(35) Kubokota (MM,VSO)

<i>Na</i>	<i>raqoraqo</i>	<i>pa-na</i>	<i>lima,</i>	<i>za-ke</i>	<i>ta-bata,</i>
DET	rib	PREP-DET	hand	3SG.REAL-NEG	PASS-see
PRE				ASC CLAUSES	

<sup>12</sup> The form *ram* is an independent pronoun in Langalanga.

*qe ta-teku.*  
 3PL.REAL PASS-take  
 ‘The bones of the hand, they weren’t (to be ) seen, they had been taken.’ (Chambers 2009:65)

Part-whole relations derived from the Location Schema can be observed in example (36) from Tuvaluan (Besnier 1999:244), which uses the Polynesian strategy known as O-  
 possession and the marker *o*, often referred to as a preposition, to locate the part *te muli* ‘the bottom’[Y] in relation to the whole *te puupuukao* ‘the sour toddy container’[X]:

(36) Tuvaluan (FIJ, VSO)

A	<i>kaukaluga</i>	<i>kolaa</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>muli</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>te</i>	
ABS	deposit	those	LOC	DEF	bottom	POSS	DEF	
PRE								
<i>puupuukao</i> container		<i>kao,</i> sour.toddy	<i>teenaa</i> that PRE	<i>te</i> DEF	<i>mea,</i> thing	<i>e</i> NPST	<i>mmae</i> ache	<i>saale</i> often
<i>ei</i>	<i>tou</i>	<i>tinae.</i>						
ANA	2SG.POSS	stomach						

‘The cloudy deposit at the bottom of the sour toddy container, that’s what gives you a stomach ache.’ (Besnier 1999:244)

Possessive relations involving the Location Schema can be extended from physical body parts and part-whole relations to more abstract notions of locative association. An example of this is in (37) from Kubokota (Chambers 2006), this time between a possessum NP *na roiti* ‘the work’ and a possessor NP *na tinoni rire* ‘those men’. The link is performed by the use of *ta*, described by Chambers (2009:149) as a preposition used with animates. In this particular example, *ta* occurs affixed with the plural marker *di* due to the plurality of the following possessor NP. The result, *tadi*, is also affixed with the independent pronoun *ria* ‘3PL’, marking the possessor. The schematic meaning can be analysed as ‘*na roiti* ‘the work’ [Y] at the place where *na tinoni rire* ‘those men’ [X] are’:

(37) Kubokota (MM, VSO)

<i>Ego,</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>roiti</i>	<i>tadiria</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>tinoni</i>	<i>rire,</i>
now	ART	work	PREP.3PL	ART	person	DEM
	PRE					

<i>na</i>	<i>dia</i>	<i>roiti</i>	<i>qari</i>	<i>kavala,</i>
art	3PL.POSS	work	3PL.REAL	file
ASC CLAUSE				

‘Now, the work of those men, their work was to file,...’ (Chambers 2006, ELAR Archive: a033JW\_007)

While the Location Schema appears quite often among the possessive phrases in the PRE constituent, the Companion Schema [X with Y] is less frequent. The following example from Ughele (Frostad 2013:377) appears to express the kind of meaning based on this template.

In example (38) from Ughele, the associative marker *taga* offers little clue as to its origins, although Frostad (2013:127) suggests it could be a reflex of *\*ta*, a reconstructed preposition of Proto Oceanic. In example (38) it links the borrowed term *kasin* ‘cousin’ with the independent pronoun possessor *rau* ‘1SG’. This yields a schematic meaning of ‘I [X] with cousin [Y]’. Ughele typically uses the direct type (A) construction to express kinship relations, however *taga* is noted as an alternative option for this same purpose (Frostad 2013:117). As already noted, while kinship relations are typically directly encoded, indirect strategies are employed from time to time in many of the languages surveyed for this project. Once again, Heine (1997) and Lichtenberk (2003) offer a possible explanation. Perhaps when a family member, as the possessum, is conceptualised as having a distinct identity apart from the possessor (individuation), the kin relation is experienced as one of companionship and equality, rather than a hierarchical one of subordination or dominance. This evokes the Companion Schema, and the resulting linguistic structure is focused around the concept of ‘with’. Frostad has provided the punctuation in this narrative excerpt, indicating a cesura between the possessive phrase and the following clause:

(38) Ughele (MM,VSO)

<i>Le</i>	<i>a-rau</i>	<i>meke</i>	<i>kasin</i>	<i>taga</i>	<i>rau,</i>
So	FOC-1SG	and	cousin	POSS	1SG
PRE					

<i>ghai</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>voze</i>	<i>pulese.</i>
1PL.EXCL	CARD	two	paddle	return
ASC CLAUSE				

‘So, my cousin and I, the two of us went back paddled back.’ (Frostad 2013:377)

The Source schema is said to be common in European languages (Heine 1997:145–146), but this is not the finding here in the Oceanic language data. The only instance found is example (39) from Nalik (Volker 1998:187), and involves the marker *sin*, described by Volker as a preposition with the meaning ‘of’ or ‘from’. Here *sin* is fused with the first person singular possessor to produce *sarago*, and is semantically extended to associate the quality *doxo’ing* ‘goodness’ as a ground relation [Y] against the first person possessor as the source [X]:

- (39) Nalik (MM,SVO)
- |     |                  |                |             |           |              |               |
|-----|------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|
| A   | <i>doxo’-ing</i> | <i>sarago,</i> | <i>naan</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>walak</i> | <i>pa-na.</i> |
| ART | good-NMLZ        | POSS.1SG       | 3SG         | 3SG       | grow         | PREP-3SG      |
| PRE | ASC CLAUSE       |                |             |           |              |               |
- ‘My goodness (loving kindness), it will grow through it.’ (Volker 1998:187)

The Goal Schema is described as involving the concepts of benefit and purpose (Heine 1997:146–147). Although Heine says that this schema is not common in attributive possession, it seems to occur reasonably often in the data for PRE constituents. Example (40) features this template in its possessive phrase. Firstly is this complex pre-clausal element in Kubokota (Chambers 2006), which combines type (C) and type (D) constructions. The constituent of interest here though, is the type (C) associative construction, where the possessum *dia ganigani* ‘their food’, and the possessor *kastomo* ‘custom’ are linked by the use of *pa*, analysed by Chambers (2009:69) as a preposition used with inanimates. The notion of purpose expressed in the possessive relation suggests the Goal Schema, and a schematic analysis of ‘*dia ganigani* ‘their food’ [Y] for *kastomo* ‘custom’ [X]’. Chambers provides the punctuation here indicating pre-clausal status for the possessive phrase, also confirmed by the PRAAT analysis, which produces a 0.514 s perceptible cesura in this same position:

- (40) Kubokota (MM,VSO)
- |           |            |                 |           |                 |             |              |
|-----------|------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Na</i> | <i>dia</i> | <i>ganigani</i> | <i>pa</i> | <i>kastomo,</i> | <i>qari</i> | <i>roiti</i> |
| ART       | POSS.3PL   | food            | PREP      | custom          | 3PL.REAL    | make         |
| PRE       | ASC CLAUSE |                 |           |                 |             |              |
- 
- |              |            |           |                   |
|--------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|
| <i>va-ni</i> | <i>ria</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>saqelu,...</i> |
| give-APPL    | 3PL        | ART       | new.mother        |

‘Their custom food, they made (it) for the woman who had delivered.’ (Chambers 2006:a004MD\_030)

The Reversed Topic Schema seems to be common with type (D) constructions involving kinship relations and a pronominalised possessor. Neverver is a non-canonic language in regard to possession, as it does not have type (A1) or (A2) constructions. Instead, as demonstrated here in example (41), this schema is employed for possession involving humans (Barbour 2012:183). The kinship term *xavut* ‘husband’ is specified as a kin relation of the third person possessor *titi* ‘3.POSS’ (Barbour 2010). The schematic interpretation of this construction is ‘*xavut* ‘husband’ [Y], that of *titi* ‘her’ [X]’:

(41) Neverver (NCV,SVO)

<i>Xavut</i>	<i>titi,</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>i-vlem</i>	<i>i-ver...</i>
husband	3.POSS	when	3SG.REAL-come	3SG.REAL-say
PRE		ADVERBIAL CLAUSE		ASC CLAUSE

‘Her husband, when he came, he said...’ (Barbour 2010:NVCT06.56)

Although indirect construction types (C) and (D) are considered atypical in Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk 2009), this subsection has shown that they are well represented in the data from the OLC language files, expressing a wide range of semantic categories derived from the small set of schemas in Table 7-5. Of the six schemas listed in Table 7-5, examples were presented for five (topic is not exemplified here). As information is not available at present to enable a comparison to be made concerning the expression of the semantic categories of types (C) and (D) constructions in the nominals of simple Oceanic clauses compared to that in the PRE constituent of PRE constructions, the findings in this section cannot contribute to the answer being sought for chapter question two.

## 7.5 Conclusion

Attributive possession in Oceanic languages exhibits both structural and semantic complexity. The investigation in this chapter was directed towards describing this complexity (chapter question one), and determining whether the same complex possessive meanings found in the nominals of simple Oceanic clauses are likewise distributed across the components of the PRE constructions from the OLC language files (chapter question two).

In answer to the first chapter question, the findings presented in this chapter from the OLC language files show that five major morphosyntactic construction types (types (A1), (A2),

(B), (C) and (D)) express some of the semantic categories (a) to (n) listed in Table 7-2, and nearly all (5/6) of the six basic cognitive schemas Location, Companion, Source, Goal, Topic and Reversed Topic from Table 7-5.

In considering the second chapter question, all of the structural strategies described by Lynch (1998), Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002), Ross (2004) and Lichtenberk (2009) in their brief typological surveys of Oceanic languages were found in the PRE constituents of the PRE constructions in this project. However, not all of the semantic categories identified by Lichtenberk (2009) for possessive meanings in canonic Oceanic languages, which typically have type (A1), (A2), or (B) constructions, were apparent in the data. Other semantic meanings identified in the current work for type (C) and (D) possessive constructions are not addressed in the literature for Oceanic languages, so a comparison between their expression in simple Oceanic clause nominals and the PRE constituents of PRE constructions cannot be made.

Returning to the semantic categories expressed in the PRE constituent of type (A1), (A2), and (B) possessive structures, or more specifically, their absence, it seems probable that the gaps are simply due to the lack of relevant data. While the pool of languages providing data for the entire project numbered 145, when searching for the presence of the indirect type (B) classifier structures in PRE constituents, only three languages provided data exemplifying this type (Lolovoli, Mavea, Arosi).<sup>13</sup> Taking the issue of data availability into account, along with the fact that all potential structural means of expressing possession in the PRE constituents have been found, it seems reasonable to suggest that any possessive construction found in the simple clause arguments of Oceanic languages could likewise be used as a PRE constituent in a PRE construction.

When considering the contribution of the chapter findings to the development of a model for PRE constructions (chapter question three), I suggest that after reviewing the results of this chapter, along with the findings from Chapter Five on number and Chapter Six on person, it is still likely that any grammatical meanings expressed by simple Oceanic clause nominals are equally likely to be expressed in the PRE constituent of PRE constructions. I further

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<sup>13</sup> Other languages with type (B) classifier systems are part of the 145 project sample, but these either lack PRE constructions where the PRE constituents contain classifiers, or have potential PRE constructions of the right type which cannot be verified as they have cross-indexes in their VPs and/or lack the necessary audio data.

propose that this is a general property of PRE constructions and a characteristic of an expanded clause.

This chapter completes the investigation of distributed meaning in PRE constructions regarding the three grammatical categories of number, person and possession. The next chapter examines the properties of PRE constructions by investigating their function.

## Chapter 8 The function of PRE constructions

In preceding chapters, I have presented a structural description of the PRE constructions in the OLC language files, and shown that a PRE constituent always precedes the clause with which it has an association (Chapter Two), and that this configuration has hierarchical status in the larger linguistic system as a complex expanded clause, the components of which exhibit dependency relations and distributed meanings (Chapter Three). I have also demonstrated that the distributed meanings are expressed via the coreferencing relation, which in turn provides scope for the corepresentation of syntactic functions across the coreferring counterparts (Chapter Four). The bipartite syntactic structure [PRE,ASC] is mirrored by a prosodic one in which the distinguishing feature is a perceptible cesura typically longer than 0.2 s positioned between a minor and a major intonation phrase (Chapter Four). I investigated three grammatical categories (number, person and possession), and showed that for the most part, the meanings distributed across the PRE construction counterparts are the same as those found in simple Oceanic clauses (Chapters Five, Six and Seven). In accordance with the functional typological perspective guiding this project (see §1.3), an account of the pre-clausal phenomenon under investigation must go beyond this structural description, and include an explanation of its functional properties. This is the objective for the current chapter.

For functionalists, “meaning is a job that linguistic expressions do” (Harder 1996:79), so the functional explanation advanced here considers the meaning of PRE constructions firstly in terms of their communicative purpose, and secondly in regards to their semantic content. At the planning and proposal stages of the project, I had intended that the functional explanation would explore both the internal and external information packaging properties of PRE constructions. However, after completing the investigation of the structural description presented in the previous thesis chapters, I decided that there was really only sufficient data within the current project to investigate the internal information packaging properties, or more specifically, the functional properties relating to the PRE construction and its components. Therefore, I have set aside the investigation of the external information packaging properties and the discourse analysis required to undertake this study for another project. This decision altered the focus of the questions guiding the investigation for this chapter. The revised chapter questions are:

- i) What is the communicative purpose of a PRE construction in the Oceanic languages of this project in terms of its internal information packaging properties?
- ii) What ranges and types of semantic meanings (as opposed to syntactic and grammatical meanings) are expressed in the PRE constructions of the OLC language data?
- iii) How can the findings for questions one and two contribute to the model being developed for the PRE constructions in this project?

Having decided to focus on the internal information packaging properties of PRE constructions, the data I needed to explore the first question was already accessible from the OLC language files, so this was reviewed to look for patterns that might suggest communicative function. As with the previous chapter topics investigated in this research project, potential functional-oriented theories were auditioned for the analysis of this data, although in this case for their explanatory potential, rather than for their descriptive adequacy. As the data I had collected for the OLC were from published accounts of spoken discourse, theories concerning spoken communication were of particular interest. Also, aligning with the increasingly cognitive perspective being adopted by functionalists (Nuyts 2011:51), theories with a cognitive approach were also considered. After studying potential theoretical frameworks and reviewing the project data, it seemed that two domains of knowledge were particularly appropriate to address question one; in fact, only these two knowledge areas were sufficiently broad to explain the patterns I found in the data from the OLC. These two domains of knowledge are the human attentional system, and the cognitive theories of mental spaces and conceptual integration (discussed in more detail below).

For the second chapter question involving the semantic investigation, I did need to extract further data from the OLC language files. The procedure for this task was mostly the same as for previous topics: the data were extracted and collated according to the patterns that appeared, in conjunction with the theoretical approaches most appropriate for their description (outlined in §8.2). However, I also found that the functional explanation I developed for question one provided the overarching principles on which to organise and categorise the data to answer question two.

As noted above, two major domains of knowledge are relevant to the functional explanation presented in this chapter. The first concerns the human attentional system and the central role

attention plays in the structuring of information in the language system. While attention has been a “major area of investigation within psychology, neurology, and cognitive neuroscience” (Alain, Arnott and Dyson 2014:215), the same does not seem to hold where language and linguistics are concerned. Even relatively recent publications such as Lampert and Lampert (2013:31–32), who do link together the cognitive systems of attention and language, note that studies of attention in language are “sparse”.<sup>1</sup> In particular, Lampert and Lampert take issue with research such as Lambrecht’s (1994) “foundational account” of information structure, in which they say the roles of attention and attention management in language structuring are ignored (2013:32). However, there are a few notable cases relating to the study of referential choice where attention-oriented notions are employed. Examples of such notions are attentional activation (Givón 1983, 1993, 2001a, 2001b), mental accessibility (Ariel 1988, 2001), salience (Prince 1981), focal attention (Tomlin 1995; Kibrik 2011:53, 368–384, 452–454), knowledge and attention state (Freitheim and Gudel 1996; Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski 1993, 2012), and consciousness (Chafe 1994).<sup>2</sup> I found that while the theoretical approaches just listed include attention-oriented notions, they do not address the attention system as a whole, so lack the necessary explanatory resources for the analysis I was wanting to undertake. Instead, the language models of Talmy (2000a, 2000b) and Oakley (2004, 2009) proved more helpful in this regard since both models consider conscious experience and attention integral to language, and place attention at the centre of their theories. As I will demonstrate in §8.1.2, Oakley’s programme was particularly important for understanding how the attention system works in language, but more specifically in the PRE constructions of the OLC data.

Attention is often defined in the literature with reference to the psychologist William James as “the taking possession by the mind, in clear and vivid form, of one out of what seem

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<sup>1</sup> While the theorists working in this area reject the notion that there is an autonomous language faculty (in the generative sense), they do share the idea that language constitutes a major cognitive system in its own right, but that it shares properties with other cognitive systems, such as the attention, memory, reasoning, force dynamics and affect systems.

<sup>2</sup> In Chafe’s work, it would seem that attention and consciousness are treated as being more or less the same mental phenomenon. Talmy (2010:1.2.1) also seems to share this viewpoint. However, not all theorists agree. For example, in a recent study by Montemayor and Haladjian (2015:2), attention is defined as a process for filtering and selecting sensory information, while consciousness is described as a quality arising from a sensory experience or mental state. In this thesis, the analysis does not rely on making a distinction between consciousness and attention, so the approach of Chafe and Talmy has been adopted.

several objects or trains of thought. Focalization, concentration of consciousness are of its essence.” (James 1950/1980:403). Today, this quote still expresses aspects of attention that remain undisputed. For example, the idea that attention is not one single thing, but a number of interdependent systems still has currency (Ward 2004:3; Styles 2006:1; Oakley 2009:26; Petersen and Posner 2012:74; Wolfe 2014:167; Alain, Arnott and Dyson 2014:215). Although consensus over the number and exact nature of these interdependent systems has not been reached, James’ notions of focalization and concentration seem to be included in contemporary approaches to attention in some form. Another of James’ earlier observations that is still commonly endorsed is that not all objects can be attended to at the same time (Talmy 2000a:306, 2011:630; Lampert and Lampert 2013:34; Wolfe 2014:167). This is said to be due to the “bottlenecks” (Wolfe:2014:167) or limited processing capacity that characterises all human (and non-human) sensory systems (Kastner 2014:163).

As for the link between attention and language, Talmy (2007:266) claims to be the first to develop an actual system situating attention within linguistic theory. A key understanding developed in his work is based on the idea that different degrees of salience are attached to different linguistic elements in a speech situation. Talmy suggests that the speaker manipulates the salience levels by the application of over fifty linguistic factors or mechanisms (2010:§2). For example, one such mechanism that applies to the sequential structuring of PRE constructions is that concepts expressed in initial or pre-verbal position are privileged with regard to salience (Talmy 2007:11).<sup>3</sup> Another of Talmy’s factors (2010:§2) applicable to PRE constructions concerns the increased degree of salience associated with concepts that have multiple mention (see §8.1.2 below).

While Talmy’s work provides useful ideas for the role of attention in the function of PRE constructions, Oakley’s (2004) programme provides the theoretical framework for a more detailed explanation. For Oakley, language and attention are said to determine each other, by which he means that language structures, or “classes of items”, can be used by speakers to direct attention to particular meanings, while simultaneously, the attention system is used for selecting from the myriad possibilities just those meanings that are important to the speech participants in that particular space and time (2009:125–126). This selectional system, along

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<sup>3</sup> An important psychological study by Gernsbacher and Hargreaves (1992) found that things arranged first, such as sentence-initial information, often gain a unique psychological status. This is known as The Privilege of Primacy, and provides experimental justification for Talmy’s claim.

with two further systems (the signal and interpersonal systems), comprise Oakley's Greater Attentional System. Oakley (2009:26) divides these three main systems further into the eight attentional processes of alerting, orienting, detecting, sustaining, controlling, sharing, harmonizing, and directing. All of these attentional processes seem to be applicable to the function of PRE constructions (see §8.1.2), apart from sharing. Additionally, Oakley suggests that the selectional process of the Greater Attentional System is a fundamental aspect of general cognition, whereby particular concepts are extracted or selected from much broader domains of knowledge (2009:126–127). Thus, in Oakley's programme, language and attention are also linked to cognition. The attention system provides the actual processes for selecting entities worth thinking about. The cognitive system provides the meaning resources from which the selections are made. The language system signals the meaningful selections during communicative situations. This trinity of systems is linked in Oakley's programme by the cognitive theories of mental spaces and conceptual blending, and it is these same two theories which comprise the second major domain of knowledge underpinning the functional explanation of the pre-clausal phenomenon being presented here.

The theories of mental spaces and conceptual integration, often just 'blending' in the literature, were developed by Fauconnier and Turner (1996, 1998, 2002).<sup>4</sup> Since their creation, the theories of mental spaces and conceptual blending have been widely applied to a range of disciplines, however, in regards to linguistics, studies employing blending theory as an explanatory tool to account for meaning in grammatical constructions are not abundant.<sup>5</sup> However, two noteworthy studies are those of Mandelblit (2000), who applied blending theory to account for the morphosyntactic expression of causatives in Hebrew, and Dancygier and Sweetser (2005), who found blending a particularly fruitful method of describing conditional constructions. Among the literature for blending particularly appropriate for the current study is the relatively recent typology of conceptual integrations by Brandt (2013:404–422). In this study, I propose that the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages can

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<sup>4</sup> Fauconnier and Turner have published and lectured extensively on conceptual blending and many related topics. A comprehensive list of publications by Gilles Fauconnier can be found at <http://www.cogsci.ucsd.edu/~faucon/publications.html>, and a further list by Mark Turner is at <http://markturner.org/turnerwebcv.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> See Brandt (2013:202–203) for a list of disciplines and practitioners. Also, Mark Turner's website has a partial list of published work employing blending (<http://markturner.org/blending.html>).

be categorised within Brandt's typology as both intraspace (§8.1) and interspace blends (§8.2).

Conceptual blending, purported to be a basic operation of human thinking (Fauconnier and Turner 1996:113, 2002:18, 2003:57–58; Evans and Green 2006:401; Fauconnier 2009:147), is the mental process whereby different mental spaces, or “conceptual packets constructed as we talk and think” (Fauconnier and Turner 2003:58) integrate to create meaning that is “more than the sum of its parts” (Evans and Green 2006:400). The integrated meaning is described as emergent and referred to as a ‘blend’. During conceptual blending, counterparts in each of the mental spaces of the conceptual network are said to be linked by way of certain meaning relations labelled as “vital relations” in the literature (Fauconnier and Turner 2002:41, 92; Klopper 2003:291, 293; Evans and Green 2006:421–425; Oakley and Hougaard 2008:9). This model is applied here to PRE constructions to illustrate how the integration processes can create new blended meanings which are both schematic (§8.1) and content rich (§8.2).

One strength of the research in attention and language is a commitment on the part of the researchers to develop theories compatible with neuroscientific and psychological research in these areas. This includes accounts of the workings of the auditory and human speech perception systems (Blumstein and Myers 2014), and the psychology of attention in human communication (Styles 2006). Experimental research has shown that the two systems of language and attention are “highly interactive at the neurobiological level” (Kristensen et al. 2013:1836, 1847). Likewise, theories of mental spaces and conceptual blending represent an attempt to develop a model of human thinking based on neurobiological understandings, so that the elements in the proposed mental spaces might represent activated neural assemblies in short-term memory, and the linking of the elements in the different mental spaces may correspond to some kind of “neurobiological binding” process, partly “built up by activating structures available from long-term memory” (Fauconnier and Turner 2002:102).

Omnipresent thus far in the study has been the objective to describe and explain the pre-clausal phenomenon of interest both as a single integrated whole, and also in regards to the nature of the separate components. This chapter is no different. So, while section §8.1 deals with the function of the PRE construction in its entirety [PRE,ASC], thereby addressing chapter question one regarding communicative function, §8.2 answers chapter question two by exploring the meaning relations operating between the component parts, and the types of

meanings they express once conceptually blended. A conclusion (§8.3) brings together the findings of this chapter.

## 8.1 Foregrounding: The schematic function of the PRE construction

In this section, I address chapter question one which asked what the communicative purpose of a PRE construction in the Oceanic languages of this project might be, specifically in terms of its internal information packaging properties. The explanation begins by hypothesising that a PRE construction, as a single unit, appears to be a highly schematic, conventionalised conceptual blend. I suggest that its communicative function is to foreground information (§8.1.1), and I show how this might be accomplished by means of the Greater Attentional System (§8.1.2).

### 8.1.1 A conceptual blend for foregrounding information<sup>6</sup>

As mentioned in the chapter introduction, Talmy (2007:11) suggests that languages have certain sentence positions for foregrounding referents. The entity expressed as the PRE constituent in PRE constructions consistently demonstrates this particular function through the non-relational and relational structural characteristics described in chapters two and three. For example, in the following example from Loniu, the speaker assigns extra salience to the lexically expressed *keʔipow* ‘kind of bird’ by positioning it first as the PRE constituent, ahead of the backgrounded event *iy i-wɔh i-yew* ‘it flew away’ in which it is also a participant:

- (1) Loniu (ADM, SVO)
- |                 |             |              |               |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>Keʔipow,</i> | <i>iy</i>   | <i>i-wɔh</i> | <i>i-yew.</i> |
| k.o.bird        | 3SG         | 3SG-fly      | 3SG-go        |
| PRE             | ASC CLAUSES |              |               |
- ‘The bird, it flew away.’ (Hamel 1994:141)

The idea of equating pre-clausal position with added salience is supported by psychological research showing that information placed first in an utterance acquires “the privilege of primacy”, gaining a “unique psychological status” (Gernsbacher and Hargreaves 1992:83–84). Gernsbacher and Hargreaves suggest that this privileged information is used for “laying

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<sup>6</sup> Alternative terminology for the foregrounding process is also found in the literature, and includes ‘windowing’ (Talmy 2011), ‘highlighting’ (Fillmore (1976) and ‘profiling’ (Langacker 1987).

foundations” in the addressee’s mind for the construction of new mental substructures. In this respect, their research has some commonalities with the explanation I am advancing in this work for the role of the foregrounded PRE constituent within the theories of mental spaces and conceptual integration. I describe the PRE constituent as an input space of the type labelled by Fauconnier and Turner (1996:1, 2002:40–43, 2003:60) as a “space builder”. Space builders are said to prompt the creation of a new conceptual network. It is proposed here that this mental space (hereinafter referred to as the PRE space) and the conceptual network it establishes, represent a new separate chunk of information.<sup>7</sup> During the building of the new conceptual network, the PRE space prompts the creation of a second input space, wherein the backgrounded event is evoked (labelled here as the event space).<sup>8</sup> The two spaces are then conceptually integrated when elements from the PRE space are attributed to counterpart elements from the event space. These counterparts are mapped in PRE constructions by way of the ‘vital relations’ mentioned in the chapter introduction, both at the schematic and semantic levels of conceptualisation.<sup>9</sup> In regards to the schematic mappings, the vital relations can be seen at work in the emergent meaning of the integrated blend. So for example, the vital relation of identity is distributed across the grammatical meanings expressed by the structural relations of coreference (§4.1). The vital relations operating at the semantic level also involve identity, but other relations as well. A description of vital relations is provided in §8.2.

The data presented in previous chapters of this thesis have demonstrated that PRE constructions are frequent in the languages of the Oceanic family. In fact, they can be found in languages representing all nine of the primary sub-groups reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic by Ross, Pawley and Osmond (2011:8). Thus, it seems reasonable to suggest that a PRE construction is among the formal structures which have become conventionalised blends in contemporary Oceanic languages. Blends of this ilk are like the intraspace schematic

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<sup>7</sup> Oakley and Hougaard (2008:5) say that information chunks are identifiable by their discontinuity with respect to the previous “seam” of information. This point suggests an area for further research in regard to the discourse analysis of PRE constructions.

<sup>8</sup> The backgrounded event may be either an event, state, or action, but hereinafter is simply referred to as an event.

<sup>9</sup> Fauconnier and Turner (2002:93-102) discuss a set of 15 commonly occurring conceptual relations, which are ‘vital’ in that they are instrumental in producing the new meanings expressed in the resulting blend. Evans and Green (2006:421-425) classify this set in a useful taxonomy, while Klopper (2003:291) provides clarification of some of the relations.

integrations categorised by Brandt (2013:407) in her typology of conceptual integrations. Such blends are said to become entrenched in long term memory, and are accessible in their entirety, so come to occupy only a single mental space. Furthermore, intraspace blends are described by Brandt as being mental representations that lack semantic content. Thus, as a conventionalised intraspace blend, a PRE construction equates to a kind of “skeletal configuration” (Brandt 2013:408) or schema, accessed according to the speaker’s communicative need for its foregrounding function.

Schemas are thought to arise from everyday sensory-perceptual human experience, allowing us to mentally organise entities and provide coherence to the events in our world (Klopper 2003:301; Evans and Green 2006:68–74; Langacker 2008:32–33). Brandt (2013:408) suggests that intraspace schematic integrations are spatio-temporal in nature, listing among her inventory, the dynamic schemas of DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION.<sup>10</sup> I propose that PRE constructions display the dynamic properties of both these schemas.

In regards to the schema of DEPENDENCY, I suggest that the kinds of everyday experiences connected with this schema might be ones which enable us to understand relationships between real-life entities, specifically in cases where one item is influenced or determined by another. A very basic example is the dependent relationship a human baby has with its caregiver. In a more abstract sense, this is the kind of dependency relation I have described for the PRE constructions in this project, firstly for the structural dependency between a PRE constituent and an associated clause coreferent (§3.4, §4.1), and secondly for the prosodic dependency between a minor and a major intonation phrase which creates a perceptible cesura in typical PRE constructions (§4.3).<sup>11</sup> Dependency can also be observed in everyday experiences where elements are sub-parts of a larger structure. The larger structure only exists when both sub-parts are present. A simple real-world experience of this type of dependency is illustrated by the process of cake-baking; a successful cake cannot be made

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<sup>10</sup> DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION are listed in Brandt’s (2013:408) inventory of image schemas, but Hampe (2005:2–3) only lists EXPANSION in her introductory discussion of image schemas (originally from Turner 1991). Neither DEPENDENCY or EXPANSION are included in Evans and Green’s inventory (2006:189), compiled from sources such as Johnson (1987), the original work on images schemas, Lakoff (1987), and Lakoff and Turner (1989), also influential publications on this topic. None of the sources I consulted actually defined the nature of the DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION schemas.

<sup>11</sup> The semantic dependency relations emerging from this schema are described in §8.2 as types of conceptual blends.

without the necessary ingredients. I have described this kind of dependency in relation to the hierarchical status of the PRE constructions in this project in §3.4 when I analysed them as a type of complex clause where both the phrasal and clausal components are necessary to produce the larger construction. In the light of these findings, I suggest that PRE constructions are the linguistic representation of a DEPENDENCY schema.

As for the schema of EXPANSION, everyday experiences relating to this schema might include those which encompass an increase, enlargement, development, or stretching out of an item to make it larger in some way. Examples of real-life experiences pertaining to expansion are easily found in the growth of living things in the animal and plant kingdoms, or to the expansion of a house through the addition of another room. On a much more abstract level, these experiences of expansion characterise the notion of distributed meaning discussed in relation to the PRE constructions in this thesis, in particular the notions involving expansion which might depict a kind of stretching and spreading out. In the structural description, I noted that meaning was stretched across the clause boundary of PRE constructions by the coreferencing relation (§4.1) and the corepresentation of syntactic functions (§4.2). I demonstrated that the grammatical meanings for number (Chapter Five), person (Chapter Six) and possession (Chapter Seven) in Oceanic languages are spread or distributed across PRE construction components. I provided evidence depicting the expanded melody and rhythmic pattern that results from the addition of a perceptible cesura between a minor and major intonation phrase of typical PRE constructions (§4.3).<sup>12</sup> It therefore seems reasonable to characterise the PRE constructions of this study as instantiations of an EXPANSION schema.

Brandt (2013:408) notes that schemas may also be integrated to form “composite schemas”. It may be the case that the DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION schemas are integrated to produce a further schema, represented in PRE constructions by the foregrounding/backgrounding relation between the PRE construction components. I have yet to find a label for this schema from the lists provided by Hampe (2005:2–3), Evans and Green (2006:189), or Brandt (2013:408) that adequately represents the foregrounding relation which I am describing for PRE constructions.<sup>13</sup> However, I explain this foregrounding relation by suggesting that the

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<sup>12</sup> The semantic relations emerging from the blended meanings of the PRE and event spaces described in §8.2 can also be described as a type of expansion.

<sup>13</sup> It could also be the case that an alternative cognitive structure is more suitable to describe the foregrounding/backgrounding effect resulting from the integration of the DEPENDENCY and the EXPANSION schemas. This remains a topic for future research.

meaning distributed across the co-dependent elements of simple clauses is expanded across the clause boundary to create a pre-clausal construction. A key property of this expansion is that the dependent meanings now extend beyond the clause, and acquire additional salience through the detecting and sustaining processes of the human attentional system as described below (see §8.1.2). The additional salience gained by the extra-clausal material contrasts with that in the associated clause, creating an information packaging configuration which can be described as a foregrounding-backgrounding relationship.

In proposing that the PRE constructions of this project can be schematically represented in this way, I note that this is a topic which lends itself to further research. In particular, there is scope to develop and apply these ideas to the external information packaging properties of the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages.

### **8.1.2 The foregrounding of PRE constructions through the attention system**

In this section, which continues to address chapter question one in regards to communicative function, I explain how the foregrounding function of the schematic PRE construction described in the previous section might be accomplished in discourse through the Greater Attentional System, a model integrating the specialised cognitive systems of attention and language developed by Oakley (2004, 2009). A foundational criterion for Oakley's model is the understanding that attention is not a single unitary phenomenon, but comprises three independent systems, each including a number of attentional processes. In the following commentary, I consider the foregrounding function of PRE constructions within these systems. Firstly is the signal system that alerts and detects incoming information (System A). This is followed by the selection system, responsible for detecting, sustaining and controlling information (System B), and finally, the interpersonal system, which involves the harmonising and directing of information (System C). An additional interpersonal subsystem, sharing, is noted by Oakley (2009:152) as being generally irrelevant to language and its use, and therefore will not be applicable to PRE constructions.

#### *PRE constructions and the signal system: Attentional system A*

According to Oakley (2009:27–28) and Talmy (2000:266), humans are programmed to attend to any environmental stimuli or signs that are likely to affect us. We need to be alert to respond to such changes, and be able to orient ourselves to particular kinds of information,

while ignoring others. For PRE constructions, the alerting and orienting processes involve prosody (§4.3).

In regards to being alert or ready, stimuli that we are primed to notice include novel or important sounds, especially sounds such as those of human speech (Styles 2006:5; Oakley 2009:27). Other sounds that attract our attention are signals that vary in intensity, or change suddenly. Apparently, in discourse, a short pause alerts us to pay attention to the last thing said (Talmy 2000:266; Oakley 2009:28,129). For PRE constructions, the cesura between the minor and major intonation units exhibits exactly this kind of variation, as the flow of discourse in typical cases is unexpectedly and abruptly suspended for a perceptible time. Therefore, an addressee is alerted by the cesura to attend to the preceding minor intonation unit as encoding information that is salient, both in terms of the actual semantic content, and in regard to the schematic structure this intonation pattern evokes.

Once alerted to unusual or potentially important stimuli, speakers must sort out which of the incoming information should be attended to and which should not (Oakley 2009:129). This is the task of the orienting process, and it is necessary because of the limited capacity that humans have to process information (Styles 2006:1, 5). Oakley suggests that phonotactic constraints are perfect examples of orienting in the language system, as speakers are primed to detect the sound sequences permissible in their language(s), over those which are not. A further example of orienting is exemplified by Chafe's research on discourse and consciousness (1994:108–119), where speakers are said to be predisposed to attend to entire intonation units from the discourse stream, each unit being constrained to represent a single new 'chunk' of information or new idea. The relevance of orienting to PRE constructions lies in the capacity for speech participants to detect the minor intonation phrase in its entirety, as a separate unit representing one complete idea, ready for processing as a foregrounding unit.

The signal system also orients speakers to recognise the minor intonation unit in PRE constructions as a bearer of extra salience due to the class of information packaged there. For the PRE constructions in this project, the information is typically from the open nominal class, which is said to 'enjoy' greater salience. Humans are oriented to attend to open classes, evidently because they typically represent direct experiences and "norms of thought" (Talmy 2007; Oakley 2009:131, 137). This added salience contributes towards the recognition of the foregrounding function of the minor intonation phrase.

Once detected by the signal system, Oakley suggests that a stimulus may be assigned to the “attentional budget”, in which case it becomes the content of a mental space in short-term or working memory (2000:40). The information in this mental space is then sustained or held in order to add to it, and process it further (Oakley 2004:42). A controlling process oversees the detection and sustaining processes to ensure that concentration can be maintained over the selected information, or that more than one task can be managed simultaneously (Oakley 2009:149). In regards to PRE constructions, items are selected for foregrounding via unexpected constituent order (§2.2), the coreferencing (§4.1) and corepresentative relations (§4.2) between the PRE constituent and the associated clause, and for some Oceanic languages, by the use of a specific foregrounding marker (described below). The following outlines how these selectional devices can be seen to relate to the attentional processes of detection, sustaining and controlling.

Not all incoming information has equal relevance or salience, so it must be filtered (Oakley 2004:29). The detection of salient information is aided by the grammatical system, in particular, by the way an event is construed or linguistically packaged, so that certain aspects of the event exhibit different degrees of saliency. Some aspects are emphasised, while others are minimised or even suppressed (Oakley 2009:138). PRE constructions function specifically to emphasise and add greater salience to a specific event participant through unexpected pre-clausal positioning (§2.1). Other event participants carry a lesser degree of salience and simply occur in their default positions in the following associated clause. Thus, pre-clausal positioning incurs added salience and contributes to the foregrounding affect.

Oakley (2009:148) describes the sustaining process as one where attention becomes more closely focused on the information currently in short-term memory in order to complete the task at hand. New information is added, and further cognitive processing is said to take place. Oakley suggests that this pattern seems to follow the “rhythms of topic and comment, or old and new information” (2009:148). This same kind of pattern is borne out in PRE constructions, although in keeping with the cognitive perspective of the frameworks selected for the functional explanation, the information packaging relationship between the PRE space and the event space are viewed as realisations of the DEPENDENCY schema (explained in more detail below). Thus, the information in the PRE space is sustained, so that additional, closely-

related information, on which the PRE space depends, is added in the event space (and coded in the associated clause).

Additionally, sustaining is involved in producing the distributed meanings expressed by the structural relations of coreference (§4.1) and corepresentation (§4.2). Shared meanings are created when the PRE space participant is retained for a time in the attention system, allowing the conceptual integration to take place with a counterpart from the event space coded in the associated clause. I propose that the distributed structural expression of the PRE constituent entity in the blended PRE construction results in the increased salience of this entity, adding to the foregrounding effect. Further support for this idea is that the pronominal forms in the associated clause which typically corefer to the PRE constituent are among the attentional devices listed by Oakley (2004:40) specifically “made for sustaining attention”.

The control of attention in language is basically concerned with the control of information flow at different “layers” or linguistic levels (Oakley 2009:150). Controlling in PRE constructions is discussed here in regards to the levels of internal information packaging structures: the expanded clause and the phrase.<sup>14</sup> At the level of the expanded clause, the controlling process directs attention firstly to the entity in the PRE space of a PRE construction, instructing the addressee to oscillate attention between the foregrounding function associated with this space and the referential meaning of its contents. As it is “impossible to divide attention to the same task simultaneously” (Oakley 2009:149), attention must then shift to the event space, where it fluctuates between the backgrounding function of the event, and the semantic content of this event.

At the phrasal level, the controlling process may be assisted by the presence of a marker in the PRE constituent. Such markers are described alternatively in the Oceanic literature as markers of topic (Lauck 1976:14; Wivell 1981:189–190; Chambers 2006:161), focus (Oda 1977:146; Lichtenberk 1983a:476–484), or theme (Bugenhagen 1995:253; Brill 2000:64–66), depending upon the analytical framework adopted by the author. However, a commonality with each of these terms is that they are devices or “triggers” (Talmy 2007:265; 2011:91) for controlling the attention of the addressee. In particular, their purpose is to indicate that the event participant they mark has added salience, so should be attended to. I propose that their

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<sup>14</sup> There is no doubt that PRE constructions have a role in controlling attention at the larger discourse level. For one thing, they share some properties of the parenthetical expressions which Oakley (2009:150) says are used for controlling attention, in particular their pre-clausal positioning.

grammatical function is to foreground the information with which they are packaged, so these forms are labelled in this work as foregrounding devices [FORE].

Example (2) from Patep (Lauck 1976:14) demonstrates the use of the foregrounding marker *ge* in phrase-final position of the PRE constituent *lie wê baba ge* ‘his other kinsmen’, where it is functioning as an attention-controlling device by prompting the addressee to assign importance to these particular event participants. Patep has neither A nor O arguments marked in the VP, so pre-clausal status is confirmed by the fact that *he* ‘3PL’ is an independent pronoun, and therefore has argument status:

(2) Patep (NNG,SVO)

<i>Lie</i>	<i>wê</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>ge,</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>ob</i>	<i>hilo</i>	<i>mia</i>
siblings	that	others	FORE	3PL	POT	hunt	water
PRE				ASC CLAUSES			

*mî*      *hi*      *vîyob*      *tax le.*  
and      hit      eels      first

‘His other kinsmen, they go hunting for eels and kill them.’ (Lauck 1976:14)

Foregrounding markers in PRE constructions need not be phrase-final as in the previous example. Drehu (Moyses-Faurie 1983:199) has a morpheme *ame* glossed by Moyses-Faurie (1983:199) as ‘as for’, which is phrase-initial and acts as a foregrounding marker in example (3) to emphasise the phrase *la fôï eö* ‘your wife’ in this example. Drehu does not have indexing in the VP for either A or O arguments, so a pre-clausal analysis is made in (3) on account of the independent pronoun *angeic* ‘3SG’ having argument status, the non-canonical constituent order, and the pause inserted by Moyses-Faurie, a strong indication of a perceptible cesura:

(3) Drehu (NCAL,VOS)

<i>Ame</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>fôï</i>	<i>eö,</i>	//	<i>paatr</i>	<i>hë</i>	<i>angeic.</i>
FORE	ART	wife	2SG	pause	disappear	TAM	3SG
PRE					ASC CLAUSE		

‘As for your wife, she has disappeared.’ (Moyses-Faurie 1983:199)

Foregrounding markers are not found in all Oceanic languages, and among the languages where they are observed, their use seems to be optional as shown in example (4) from Kara (Schlie 1994:9). The author says that “frequently the topic noun phrase is followed by the

form *xo*”, thus indicating that the marker does not always occur, so the author has bracketed it (1994:10). This optionality suggests that the presence of a foregrounding marker in utterance-initial position can support a pre-clausal analysis, but does not provide the only evidence of PRE constructionhood. The pre-clausal analysis is made on account of the non-canonic word order, and the comma inserted by Schlie (1994:9) suggesting an intonation break:

- (4) Kara (MM,SVO)
- |     |              |             |              |            |             |                 |
|-----|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|
| A   | <i>maanu</i> | <i>pave</i> | <i>(xo),</i> | <i>ri</i>  | <i>taxa</i> | <i>xalum-e.</i> |
| ART | bird         | there       | FORE         | 3PL        | CONT        | see-3SG         |
| PRE |              |             |              | ASC CLAUSE |             |                 |
- ‘That bird (now), they are watching it.’ (Schlie 1994:9)

Another reason that foregrounding markers are not defining characteristics of PRE constructions relates to their presence in structures which are not pre-clausal. The following set of examples from Kubokota illustrate this characteristic with regard to the marker *za*. To compare, example (5) demonstrates its use in a PRE construction. In (5) it is a final element in the PRE constituent, foregrounding the event participant *ara* ‘1SG’ against the backgrounded event *qa keni zaza vape...* ‘I went to catch vape fish...’. The coreferent *qa* ‘1SG.REAL’ is a cross index, so pre-clausal status is established due to the perceptible cesura (0.956) between the PRE constituent and its associated clause, rather than with coreferencing (see §4.3):

- (5) Kubokota (MM,VSO)
- |            |            |           |             |                       |                     |
|------------|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Ara</i> | <i>za,</i> | <i>qa</i> | <i>keni</i> | <i>zaza</i>           | <i>vape,...</i>     |
| 1SG        | FORE       | 1SG.REAL  | go          | cast.and.draw.line.in | k.o.freshwater.fish |
| PRE        |            |           |             | ASC CLAUSE            |                     |
- ‘Me, I went to catch *vape* fish,...’ (Chambers 2006:a036LP\_033)

However, in this second Kubokota example below, the marker *za* occurs in the final position of a conditional subordinate clause. Chambers (2006:161) notes that the function of *za* “seems to be to highlight the topicality of the entity referred to”. In example (6), it seems that the speaker may be intending to convey the importance of the entire condition by including *za* in this position:

(6) Kubokota (MM,VSO)

<i>Vei</i>	<i>kaka</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>sela</i>	<i>za,</i>
if	some	thing	3SG	wrong	FORE

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

<i>muna</i>	<i>ule</i>	<i>lame</i>	<i>vani-ziu</i>	<i>soga</i>	<i>uve?</i>
2.FUT	tell	come	BEN.APPL.SG-1SG.OBJ	again	okay

MATRIX CLAUSE

‘If anything is wrong, you will tell me again, okay?’ (Chambers 2006:email003NS-005)

In (7), the third example from Kubokota, the use of *za* occurs with relative clauses (Chambers 2006:162). Both (6) and (7) exemplify the use of *za* in a subordinate clause, suggesting that not only is the event participant being foregrounded and made salient, the extra information pertaining to this event participant has added importance also:

(7) Kubokota (MM,VSO)

<i>Na</i>	<i>izongo-na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>igana</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>rave-ria</i>	<i>za,</i>
DET	name-3SG.POSS	DET	fish	3SG.REAL	catch.fish-3PL.OBJ	FORE

CLAUSE

<i>za</i>	<i>rave-ria</i>	<i>za,</i>
3SG.REAL	catch.fish-3PL.OBJ	FORE

REL

<i>na</i>	<i>vape.</i>
DET	k.o.fish

NON-VERBAL PREDICATE

‘The name of the fish he caught is *vape*.’ (Chambers 2006:a036LP\_013)

In Kubokota, the marker *za* is also part of the question phrase *na za* ‘what’, used in the example (8) to foreground the item *vaka* ‘ship’, and provide a reference point with respect to the remainder of the question clause (Chambers 2006:162):

(8) Kubokota (MM,VSO)

<i>Na</i>	<i>vaka</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>muna</i>	<i>titi-a</i>	<i>muna</i>	<i>lao</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>Honiara?</i>
DET	ship	FORE	2.FUT	follow-3SG.OBJ	2.FUT	go	in	Honiara

‘Which ship will you take to go to Honiara?’ (Chambers 2006:a012LP\_019)

Finally, Chambers (2006:162) provides example (9), where *za* forms part of the phrase *ba za*, translated as ‘maybe/or what’. In this case the unknown information is being contrasted with what is known (*qari minyere* ‘they’re resting’), so is foregrounded to indicate its undetermined status:

- (9) Kubokota (MM,VSO)  
*Qari minyere ba za.*  
 3PL.REAL rest or what  
 ‘Maybe they’re resting’. (Lit: ‘They’re resting or what’.) (Chambers 2006:o0243)

I suggest that the Kubokota data demonstrate a general foregrounding function for the marker *za*; speakers can apply it whenever they wish to attract attention to not only event participants, but also to events, and unknown information. Such markers, where they occur in the PRE constituent, can confirm pre-clausal status. Further study in other Oceanic languages would reveal whether the Kubokota set of examples above represent the typical situation for such markers, or if the general foregrounding function of the Kubokota *za* is a language-specific phenomenon.

*PRE constructions and the interpersonal system: Attentional system C*

As stated by Oakley (2009:33), “most of what we do and how we do it involves other bodies and other minds”, which necessitates the sharing, harmonising and directing of attention. Sharing refers to the part of the attentional system which involves being aware of the people around us in the same communicative context. As Oakley (2009:152) points out, sharing the same attentional space is not really relevant to language structure and use. It is therefore not relevant to the explanation of PRE constructions in this study. However, being in harmony with others so that we jointly attend to the same object is relevant, as is the capacity to intentionally direct another’s attention to that particular object. What follows is a discussion of the harmonising and directing attentional processes with regard to their operation in PRE constructions.

I hypothesise that when a speaker utters a PRE construction, they are attempting to guide their addressee’s attention, so that the event expressed by the PRE construction will be construed harmoniously, that is, by both speech participants from the same perspective. When both speaker and addressee jointly attend to a PRE construction, they share (all things being equal)

both the schematic and semantic meanings, the former being the foregrounding and backgrounding of information (§8.1.1), while the latter includes the range of semantic meanings presented in the next section (§8.2).

The capacity to harmonise our minds with others allows us to intentionally direct another's attention, and I suggest that PRE constructions are linguistic devices *par excellence* for doing this by “pointing to things among other things” as Brandt (2009:14) says. Thus, PRE constructions can be added to the attentional devices listed by Styles (2006:5) to which humans are said to be attuned. Oakley (2009:153) and Oakley and Tobin (2012:4) make the point that sensitivity to these devices helps us to package information for others to overcome the fact that their mental states are inaccessible to us.

Devices for directing attention are said to exhibit both perspective and scope (Oakley 2009:155; Oakley 2011:3). PRE constructions direct the addressee's perspective of an event by the foregrounding of an event participant in a pre-clausal position, ensuring importance is associated with this participant. As an attentional device, a PRE construction appears to have wide scope. What is attended to most are entities in some event, action or state that have contextual relevance at the time of utterance. There does not seem to be any limit to the semantic domains of knowledge to which these entities belong.

One discourse effect of the directing process emerges as a result of the foregrounding function, and involves contrast. In example (10) from Mangap-Mbula (Bugenhagen 1995:331), the contrasting function is performed across a two clause sequence, with the specific purpose of differentiating between two agents and their actions. While in the first simple clause, the agent *Andau* occupies the default position for subjects in Mangap-Mbula, in the second expanded clause, the addressee is directed to attend specifically to the agent *Ankep*, as it is foregrounded in a PRE construction, thereby creating a contrast with the preceding clause:

- (10) Mangap-Mbula (NNG, SVO)
- |                  |              |                 |                 |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Tana</i>      | <i>Andau</i> | <i>i-mburus</i> | <i>manioka,</i> |
| so               | Andau        | 3SG-scrape      | manioc          |
| PRECEDING CLAUSE |              |                 |                 |

<i>mi</i>	<i>Akep,</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>i-twortwooro</i>	<i>buza</i>	<i>kini.</i>
and	Akep	3SG	3SG-file	knife	LOC.3SG
	PRE		ASC		
PRE CONSTRUCTION					

‘So, Andau scraped/shredded manioc, while Ankep, he continued to file his knife.’  
(Bugenhagen 1995:331)

In example (11) from Maisin (Frampton (2010:14), a contrast is achieved by juxtaposing two separate PRE constructions in a three-clause sequence. The first clause refers to two entities together in a simple declarative clause *yaisen teukime* ‘the two of them went down’. Then, in order to contrast the two entities and their actions, the speaker employs two juxtaposed PRE constructions, each one foregrounding one of the entities. Note the use of the foregrounding marker *ka*, which only marks the PRE constituent *gorubu* ‘rat’ in the second PRE construction. Also notable is the use of this marker (*ka*) with the independent pronouns in both of the associated clauses. One possible reason for the asymmetric marking pattern between *bimbababe* and *gorubu* is that the speaker wants to increase the contrasting effect, between the two PRE constructions:

(11) Maisin (PT,SOV)

<i>Yaisen te-uki-me.</i>	<i>Bimbababe,</i>	<i>ai-ka</i>	<i>i-rufi</i>	<i>wowo-re...</i>
DU.PRO 3PL-go.down-PST	butterfly	3SG-FORE	3SG-fly	above-LOC
PRECEDING CLAUSE	PRE	ASC CLAUSE		
PRE CONSTRUCTION 1				

<i>Gorubu-ka,</i>	<i>ai-ka</i>	<i>i-ye-yewan.</i>
rat-FORE	3SG-FORE	3SG-CONT-swim
PRE	ASC CLAUSE	
PRE CONSTRUCTION 2		

‘The two of them went down. Butterfly, he flew up in the sky, but rat, he swam.’  
(Frampton 2010:14)

An additional discourse effect of the directing process is found in PRE constructions which are involved in tail-head linkage as can be seen in example (12) from Teop (Tahi and Mosel 2003).<sup>15</sup> While tail-head linkage is typically a discourse pattern where the main verb of the preceding sentence is repeated at the beginning of the next sentence (Guillaume 2011:109),

<sup>15</sup>The effects of the directing process producing the contrasting (examples 10, 11) and tail-head linkage (example 12) structures above suggest a fruitful area for future research involving the external information packaging properties of PRE constructions in Oceanic languages.

this example shows that the verb *vaamatana* ‘make.bow’ has been nominalised, allowing it to be foregrounded as the PRE constituent of a PRE construction. This allows the speaker to direct the attention of the addressee to the bow making process itself, which he then proceeds to explain:

(12) Teop (MM,V SECOND)

A	<i>mosi</i>	<i>momohu</i>	<i>te-o</i>	<i>sinivi,</i>
ART	cutting	first	PREP-ART	canoe
PRE				

<i>toro</i>	<i>vaamatana</i>	<i>ori.</i>
must	make.bow	3PL
ASC CLAUSE		

A	<i>vaamatana,</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>poana</i>	<i>vai</i>	<i>te-o</i>	<i>tete,...</i>
ART	make.bow	DEM	ART	poana	DEM	PREP-ART	log
PRE	NON-VERBAL CLAUSE						

‘The first cut of the canoe, they must make the bow. The making of the bow, this is the poana of the log,...’ (Tahi and Mosel 2003:Tah\_02-030-032)

In answer to chapter question one regarding communicative functions, I have hypothesised the PRE constructions in this project as representations of intraspace blends of the DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION schemas. The blends function to foreground information through the attentional system. I identify a PRE space as a type of space builder, which prompts a further mental space, the event space, to be set up. The two spaces are conceptually integrated and blended to form a conventionalised single space, available for the creation of the interspace conceptual networks and blends demonstrated below (§8.2).

I have argued that the foregrounding function of PRE constructions is enacted through the Greater Attentional System. The cesura between the minor and major intonation phrases alerts addressees to attend to the information expressed in the minor intonation phrase as being extra salient, and orients attention by enabling hearers to attend to the minor intonation unit in its entirety in preparation for foregrounding it. Further detection of material for foregrounding is via pre-clausal positioning, while sustaining or maintaining attention on information in the PRE space evokes the DEPENDENCY schema and expectations that this information will be added to in the event space. At the level of the expanded clause, attention oscillates between the schematic and semantic meanings. At the phrasal level, foregrounding may be signalled by the addition of a foregrounding marker to the PRE constituent, although

this marker is not a definitional characteristic of PRE constructions. Finally, PRE constructions are described as being devices for directing attention, achieved specifically by the pattern of pre-clausal packaging.

## 8.2 The semantic conceptualisation of PRE constructions

In §8.1, I hypothesised that the schematic meaning of PRE constructions is the conceptual foregrounding of an event participant communicated via the attention system. In section 8.2, I address chapter question two which asks about the ranges and types of semantic meanings (as opposed to syntactic and grammatical meanings) expressed in the PRE constructions of the OLC language data. I begin by proposing that the semantic conceptualisation of PRE constructions emerges when a new conceptual network based on an intraspace schematic structure [PRE,ASC] is created. The following ideas are based on Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) model, and explain how this process of conceptual integration might proceed for the PRE constructions in this thesis.

The schematic 'template' [PRE,ASC] is posited as the source of the generic information necessary to construct new PRE and event spaces, each said to contain the semantic and linguistic content specified by the schematic PRE construction.<sup>16</sup> A PRE space is created, but contains only the conceptual knowledge represented by the nominals described in section §2.2.1 and Chapters Five, Six and Seven, while a separate event space is also constructed containing information related to the event types expressed by the clause structures discussed in sections §2.2.2 and §2.2.3. The contents of the PRE and event spaces in the new mental structures are then conceptually integrated. During the integration process, the schematic PRE construction provides the matching instructions, so that the PRE space element is related to an element from the event space. The linked PRE space and event space elements are conceptually compressed to create the semantic meaning and structural expression of the blended PRE construction. As the structural expression of the blended constructions has already been addressed in previous chapters, the commentary henceforth is focused on the explanation of the semantic meanings.

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<sup>16</sup> One fundamental principle underpinning cognitive approaches to language, and therefore also relevant to the current study, is that conceptual knowledge of any item includes both the rich semantic content (meaning) and the symbolic means (form) to refer to that item (Evans and Green 2006:476–478).

Figure 8–1 visually represents the process of conceptual integration of the PRE construction in (13), repeated from (1) above. The vital relation of identity is involved in the compressed meaning of the blend in this case.

- (13) Loniu (ADM, SVO)
- |                 |             |              |               |
|-----------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>Keʔipow,</i> | <i>iy</i>   | <i>i-wəh</i> | <i>i-yew.</i> |
| k.o.bird        | 3SG         | 3SG-fly      | 3SG-go        |
| PRE             | ASC CLAUSES |              |               |
- ‘The bird, it flew away.’ (Hamel 1994:141)

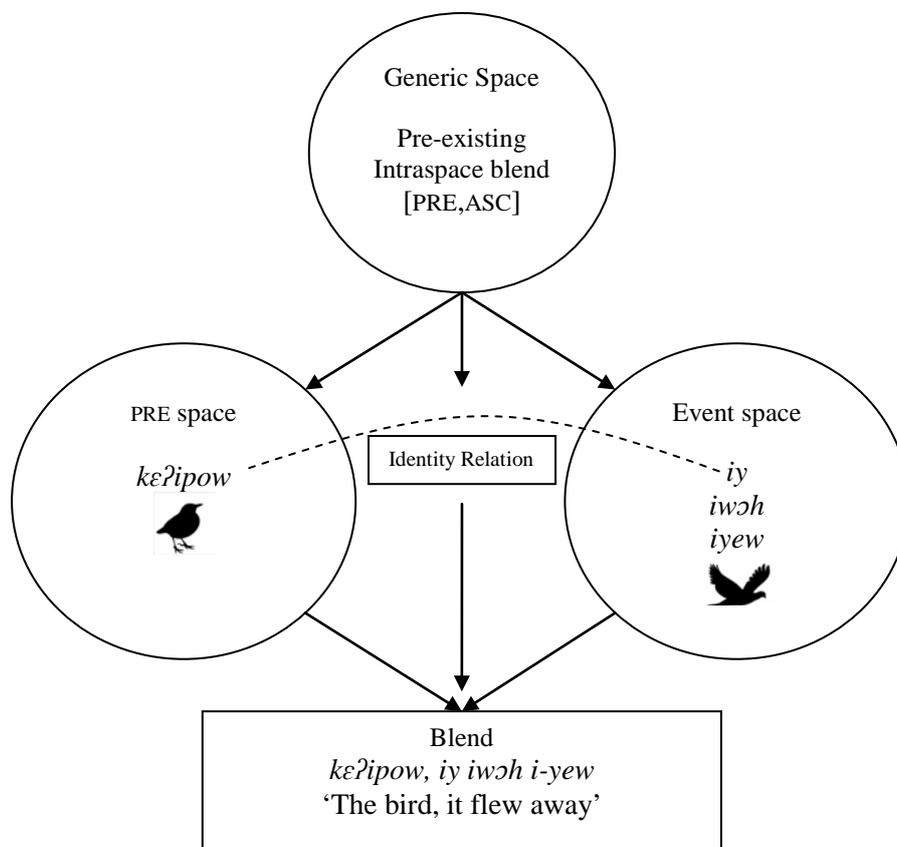


Figure 8-1: Figure representing the conceptual integration of the PRE construction *Keʔipow, iy iwəh i-yew* ‘The bird, it flew away.’

In Figure 8–1, the generic space contains the schematic PRE construction, serving as a kind of template for setting up the new mental structure, which comprises the new PRE space containing the semantic concept and its form *keʔipow* ‘bird’, and the new event space containing the elements of the event being associated with the entity bird. During integration, the PRE space element *keʔipow* is linked by means of an identity relation with its counterpart

in the event space: the element *iy*. The two elements *ke?ipow* and *iy* become compressed, so that in the resulting blend they are conceptualised as being a single entity.

In contrast to the schematic intraspace blend described above (§8.1.1), the semantic meanings of PRE constructions arise from the conceptual integrations like those categorised by Brandt (2013:415–420) as interspace semiotic expressive types, where one mental space “informs the meaning of the other” (2013:415). Brandt (2013:415) describes this pattern of conceptualisation as being due to the layering of the mental spaces, and suggests that this layering process produces blends which differ according to how ‘tightly’ the semantic contents of the input spaces are integrated. For the PRE constructions in this work, I propose that this tightness is a property of the DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION schemas described above (§8.1.1), only here the dependency and expansion are not schematic, but refer to the kinds of meaning relations which emerge during the cross-mapping of counterparts between the PRE space and the event space.

I categorise the various kinds of meaning relations observed in the project data into three main types of blends. A blended PRE construction where the entity evoked by the PRE constituent is perceived as virtually identical to a counterpart entity evoked in the associated clause can be said to have tight layering, and represents the basic identity blend exemplified by Figure 8–1 (§8.2.1). A blended PRE construction with entities evoked by the PRE constituent and the associated clause that are only similar with respect to the property of attributive possession would seem to be less tightly layered, so is classified here as an extended blend type (§8.2.2). Blended PRE constructions where the entity evoked by the PRE constituent and the event expressed in the associated clause exhibit a relationship based only on shared representation, a cause and effect, or spatio-temporal relation appear to demonstrate rather loose layering, so that the contents have a higher degree of conceptual separation in the resulting blend. Such PRE constructions represent a maximally extended blend type (§8.2.3). One further group of blends observed in the data from the OLC are the multiple types, which exhibit various combinations of the basic, extended and maximally extended blends in the same PRE construction (§8.2.4).

### **8.2.1 Basic identity blend**

As I explained above, the most basic blended meanings found in the PRE constructions of the OLC data are described as identity blends (see Figure 8–1). Conceptually, this basic blend exemplifies the tight layering described by Brandt (2013:402–422); the counterparts in the

PRE and event spaces are matched during integration by the identity relation, so are conceptualised as identical in the blend. Structurally, the Identity Blend exhibits the characteristics described in Chapters Two to Seven, notably the distributed meanings of coreference (§4.1) and the corepresentation of syntactic functions (§4.2). This section shows that the identity relation is also expressed through the coparticipation of semantic roles, a wide range of which are briefly demonstrated below. Table 8-1, adapted from several sources (Fillmore 1971; Givón 2001a:106–109; Van Valin 2001:31; Langacker 2008:355–356; Cruse 2001:288–290), provides the list of the semantic roles discussed.

Table 8-1: Semantic roles in the expression of the virtual identity relation

Concepts as participant roles	Participant role	Prototypical member
Participatory (participants in event)	Agent	Sentient/animate entity deliberately carrying out event <i>giver, runner, killer, speaker, dancer</i>
	Patient	Non-causally involved entity, may/may not change state as result of event <i>broken, destroyed, killed, bitten</i>
	Experiencer	Sentient entity experiencing event, but not in control or visibly affected <i>cogniser, perceiver, emoter</i>
	Instrument	Used to perform action indirectly, typically inanimate <i>tools (with x)</i>
	Force	Entity unconsciously causes an event <i>weather terms, natural phenomenon</i>
	Source	Location of entity at beginning of event, entity from which something moves <i>(from x)</i>
	Goal	Location of entity at end of movement, entity towards which something moves <i>(to x)</i>
Circumstantial (not direct participants in event)	Beneficiary	Sentient entity benefits from event <i>(for x)</i>
	Location	Place where event occurs <i>places (at x)</i>
	Manner/reason	Way in which event occurs or is performed, or why done <i>in this way (for/by x)</i>

Traditionally, pre-clausal elements are deemed structurally and semantically independent of propositional structures (Lambrecht 2001:1065). However, by taking a more holistic view of the entire PRE construction, the examples below show that the counterparts of the PRE and

event spaces are actually semantically dependent; it takes both components to complete the meaning relation of identity that is projected onto the blended construction.

The participatory roles resulting from the conceptual integration of identical counterparts includes that of agency, demonstrated by repeating again example (1) from this chapter. The blend represents a bird, an agent as a sentient being involved in the deliberate action of flying:<sup>17</sup>

(14) Loniu (ADM, SVO)

<i>Kēʔipow,</i>	<i>iy</i>	<i>i-wəh</i>	<i>i-yew.</i>
k.o.bird	3SG	3SG-fly	3SG-go
(AGENT)	AGENT		
PRE	ASC CLAUSES		

‘The bird, it flew away.’ (Hamel 1994:141)

The role of patient is a frequent participatory role in the identity relations of the PRE construction blends in this project. Example (15) from Mussau-Emira (Ross 2002:163) includes an entity which participates as the patient. The patient counterparts are represented by the NP *katoa taumatuu* ‘some men’ from the PRE space and the affix *-la* ‘3PL’ from the event space, conceptually identical in the blend as non-causal event participants:

(15) Mussau-Emira (MUSS, SVO)

<i>Katoa</i>	<i>taumatuu,</i>	<i>mosu</i>	<i>eteba</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>katai-la-la.</i>
some	man	pig	CLF.SG	3SG	bite-3PL-PRF
(PATIENT)	PATIENT				
PRE	ASC CLAUSE				

‘Some men were bitten by a pig. (Lit: ‘Some men, a pig bit them.’) (Ross 2002:163)

Blends are also created with event participants that are experiencers. For example, in (16) from Bukawa (Eckermann 2007:107), the speaker and his/her physical sensation of needing

<sup>17</sup> The semantic role of the entity expressed as the PRE constituent is bracketed to represent the fact that it is the coparticipant in the associated event which actually determines the role.



The identity relation is expressed through the semantic role of source in example (19) from Kwaio (Keesing 1985:217), the source being a temporal concept. The coparticipating concepts are represented in the PRE space by the NP *ono akwale'e farisi ma te'e farisi* 'sixty-one years' and the event space by the NP *tala'ina lo'oo* 'this day'. In the blended PRE construction both concepts become the one source:

- (19) Kwaio (SES,SVO)
- |                                      |                        |                       |                        |                       |                        |                          |                                |  |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>Ono</i><br>six<br>(SOURCE)<br>PRE | <i>akwale'e</i><br>ten | <i>farisi</i><br>year | <i>ma</i><br>and       | <i>te'e</i><br>only   | <i>farisi,</i><br>year |                          |                                |  |
| <br>ASC CLAUSE                       | <i>nau</i><br>1SG      | <i>ku</i><br>1SG      | <i>futa</i><br>be.born | <i>a-i</i><br>LOC-PRS | <i>nigi</i><br>arrive  | <i>tala'ina</i><br>today | <i>lo'oo.</i><br>DEI<br>SOURCE |  |
- 'Sixty-one years have passed since I was born.' (Lit: 'Sixty-one years, I was born since this day.')

A goal is typically a location at the end of a movement as is the case in example (20) from Kubokota (Chambers 2006:a035JT\_007). The NP *vina-ori pie* 'the second river' and the proform *ketakoi* 'there' are represented in the PRE space in the case of the former, and the event space in the case of the latter, but are integrated through the relation of identity so that they are in effect the same concept in the blend:

- (20) Kubokota (MM,VSO)
- |   |                      |                  |                        |                                  |                   |                           |  |
|---|----------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|--|
| <i>Vina-ori</i><br>ordinal-two<br>(GOAL)<br>PRE | <i>pie,</i><br>river | <i>vei</i><br>if | <i>muna</i><br>2SG.FUT | <i>matikere</i><br>eye.infection | <i>ao,</i><br>2SG |                           |  |
|   |                      |                  |                        |                                  |                   | ASC CLAUSES (CONDITIONAL) |  |
- |                        |                  |                                  |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>muna</i><br>2SG.FUT | <i>lao</i><br>go | <i>ketakoi,</i><br>there<br>GOAL |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|
- 'The second river, if you have red-eye, you will go there, ...' (Chambers 2006:a035JT\_007)

The last three examples show that semantic roles which are circumstantial also appear in the PRE construction data as blends of virtual identity. A beneficiary is one of these roles, and can



(23) Tokelauan (FIJ,VSO)

<i>Ko</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>ia,</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>hē</i>	<i>toe</i>
PRES	ART	way	DEM	TAM	NEG	again
PRE				ASC CLAUSE		

*malaga ai te vaka.*  
 travel ANA DEF ship

‘It was for this reason that the ship would not make the trip again.’ (Lit: ‘ This reason, the ship would not travel because of that again’) (Hooper 1993:223)

### 8.2.2 Extended analogy blend

The meaning relations in Analogy Blends are described here as being extended on account of the fact that they are not as close or tight as they are in an Identity Blend. In such blends, the entity expressed as the PRE constituent does not have a direct semantic role in the event expressed as the associated clause. For example, in (24) from Avava below (Crowley 2006:137), the entity *muut* ‘people’ expressed as the PRE constituent has no identical conceptual counterpart in the associated clause. It is however, conceptually related with the entity *arkanian tier* ‘their food’ by analogy through the property of attributive possession, so that the possessor is *muut*, and the possessed item is *arkanian tier*. Thus, the meaning relation represents a less tightly layered conceptual integration akin to the less tightly layered meanings described in Brandt’s typology (2013:404–422).

(24) Avava (NCV,SVO)

<i>Muut,</i>	<i>arkanian</i>	<i>tier</i>	<i>bo-nong.</i>
people	food	3PL.POSS	3SG.IRR-finish
PRE	ASC CLAUSE		

‘As for the people, their food will be finished.’ (Crowley 2006:137)

Due to the less tight meaning relations, the ambiguities associated with establishing pre-clausal status observed with Identity Blends (§2.1) do not apply. For example, from Avava above (24), it is the entity *arkanian tier* ‘their food’ which participates in the event *bonong* ‘will be finished’, not the leftmost entity ‘*muut* ‘people’. Therefore, the element *muut* is unquestionably pre-clausal:

The Avava example (24), where the PRE constituent represents the possessor of a possessed entity in the associated clause, does in fact demonstrate the typical meaning relation expressed by the Analogy Blends observed in the data for this project. This meaning relation

contrasts with the possessive structures described in Chapter Seven, as there, the possessor and possessum in the PRE constituent represent a conceptually fused intraspace blend, and occupy the same mental space. For Analogy Blends, the possessor occupies a separate mental space, and functions as a space builder for the creation of a new conceptual network. Additionally, while the discourse role of the possessor in the intraspace blend is to assist in the identification of a particular possessed item, the discourse function of the possessor in an Analogy Blend of a PRE construction is to provide a reference point for locating the possessed item in the following event clause. Rather than being backgrounded in a possessive phrase, the possessor in a PRE construction is foregrounded. In this way, the PRE construction Analogy Blend can be said to offer an additional strategy for expressing possession in Oceanic languages.

The following commentary presents a selection of Analogy Blends, organised according to the list of semantic categories employed for the description of attributive possession for PRE constituents from Chapter Seven (Tables 7-2 and 7-3). As Analogy Blends do not exhibit the structural differentiation observable for the possessive phrases of PRE constituents, the categories are assigned to the examples below solely with regard to distinctions in meaning.

A first example is (25) from Mussau-Emira (Brownie and Brownie 2007:34), and involves kinship relations, specifically a father-son relationship. The son *Kealo* is given added salience by being positioned pre-clausally, while his kin relation *tamana* ‘his father’ is the subject of a following non-verbal associated clause:

- (25) Mussau-Emira (MUSS, SVO)
- |               |                 |           |              |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>Kealo,</i> | <i>tama-na</i>  | <i>ta</i> | <i>Goma.</i> |
| Kealo         | father-3SG.POSS | ART       | Goma         |
| PRE           | NON-VERBAL ASC  |           |              |
- ‘Kealo, his father is Goma.’ (Brownie and Brownie 2007:34)

Human body parts are often attributed to their owners in a PRE construction via an Analogy Blend. For example, in (26) from Tinrin (Osumi 1995:243), the PRE space entity *hûwûnrâro* ‘my son’ is foregrounded and matched with *nrâ nrime-nrî* ‘his face’ in the resulting blend.

Note that this example shows that the entity in the PRE space may itself be an intraspace blend of the indirect possessive type (C) as illustrated in chapter six (§7.2.2):

- (26) Tinrin (NCAL,VOS)
- |                    |            |             |            |                   |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|
| <i>Hûwû-nrâ-ro</i> | <i>nrâ</i> | <i>sòwò</i> | <i>nrâ</i> | <i>nrime-nrî.</i> |
| child-POSS-1SG     | 3SG        | be.swollen  | SBJ        | face-3SG          |
| PRE                | ASC CLAUSE |             |            |                   |
- ‘My son, his face is swollen.’ (Osumi 1995:243)

Expressing emotion using human body parts is not unusual in Oceanic languages, and the data from this project show that Analogy Blends provide one such strategy. In example (27) from Ambrym North (Franjeh 2012b:221), sadness is the emotion being attributed, and the speaker is able to emphasise the experiencer *John* by foregrounding him, while his body parts *lon* are conceptualised as *mwe hakbe* ‘broken’:

- (27) Ambrym North (NCV,SVO)
- |              |             |            |               |
|--------------|-------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>John,</i> | <i>lo-n</i> | <i>mwe</i> | <i>hakbe.</i> |
| John         | inside-3SG  | PST.3SG    | break         |
| PRE          | ASC CLAUSE  |            |               |
- ‘John, he is sad.’ (Lit: ‘John, his insides are broken.’) (Franjeh 2012:221)

In example (28) from Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001:70), a non-human experiencer *higo* ‘kingfisher’ is foregrounded and serves as a reference point for assigning the animate sensation of tiredness to the inanimate body parts *banihine* ‘its wings’:

- (28) Lolovoli (NCV,SVO)
- |                  |                  |           |                   |
|------------------|------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| ... <i>higo,</i> | <i>banihi-ne</i> | <i>mo</i> | <i>wiri-wiri.</i> |
| kingfisher       | wing-3SG.POSS    | REAL      | RED-tired         |
| PRE              | ASC CLAUSE       |           |                   |
- ‘...kingfisher, its wings were tired.’ (Hyslop 2001:70)

Inanimate objects may be foregrounded and analogously linked with a part in a whole-part relation as in example (29) from Kusaiean below (Lee, Cornelius and Asher 1975:323). The foregrounded item *tepuh sac* ‘the table’ represents the whole object, while *niyac ah* ‘the leg’ takes the part role. Note that the possessor is not explicitly expressed in this example, so the conceptual integration is made by activating the domain of knowledge relevant to tables, and

the meronymic understandings that enable us to know that tables have legs as their parts:

(29) Kusaiean (MIC,SVO)

<i>Tepuh</i>	<i>sac,</i>	<i>kaptwaclihk</i>	<i>niyac</i>	<i>ah.</i>
table	ART	be.broken	leg	ART
PRE		ASC CLAUSE		

‘The table, its leg is broken.’ (Lee, Cornelius and Asher 1975:323)

Possessor attributes such as appearance occur in Analogy Blends, as for example (30) from Sonsorol (Oda 1977:141) where *mana kana naoni iedang* ‘those people of the north’ are integrated via analogy with *kappwaikkiila* ‘their looks’ to form the following PRE construction:

(30) Sonsorol (MIC,SVO)

<i>Mana</i>	<i>ka-na</i>	<i>nao-ni</i>	<i>iedang,</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>kadei</i>	<i>naki</i>
DEM-PL	PL-DEM	people-POSS	north	3SG	same	just
PRE				ASC CLAUSE		

*kappwaikki-ila*                      *ma*                      *yalemata-ila.*  
 look-3PL.POSS                      with                      man-3PL.POSS

‘As for the people from the north, their looks were similar to those of their (chief’s) men.’ (Oda 1977:141)

Singing is another possessive attribute found in the data for Analogy Blends. In example (31) from Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988:272), the analogy is made between the PRE space entity, represented by *a marama yaa* ‘that lady’, and the counterpart entity from the event space *ona lagasere* ‘her singing:

(31) Boumaa Fijian (FIJ,VSO)

<i>A</i>	<i>marama</i>	<i>yaa,</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>taalei-ta’ina</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o-na</i>	<i>laga.sere.</i>
ART	lady	DEM	1SG	like-TR	ART	CLF-3SG	sing.song
PRE			ASC CLAUSE				

‘As for that lady, I like her singing.’ (Dixon 1988:272)

More general possessions can be presented as analogously blended PRE constructions. Apart from example (24) above for Avava, which demonstrates this kind of attributive possession, is this utterance in example (32) from a speaker of Nehan (Todd 1978:1217). The blended

structure is the result of a speaker *ingo* ‘1SG’, foregrounding him/herself in a PRE construction to locate the entity *wan i Tapongal* ‘Tapongal village’ specifically in an analogous relation to him/herself:

(32) Nehan (MM, V-SECOND)

<i>Ingo,</i>	<i>nag</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>Tapongal</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>toka</i>
1SG	1SG.POSS	village	ART	Tapongal	3SG	stay
PRE	ASC CLAUSE					

*tar*      *totoro*    *lik...*  
 ART      island      little

‘Me, my village Tapongal is situated on a little island...’ (Todd 1978:1217)

### 8.2.3 Maximally extended blends

The blends described in this section are labelled maximally extended as the meaning relations between the PRE and event spaces are the least tight of those found in the project data. In all cases, the input contents from these two spaces remain conceptually distinct in the resulting PRE construction blend. This is in contrast to the Identity Bend, where the counterparts in the inputs are conceptualised as identical, and to the Analogy Blend, where the parts are perceived to be similar in respect to the attribute of possession. As with the Analogy Blends above, pre-clausal status is easily established as the PRE constituent does not have a structural coreferent in the associated clause.

There is a tendency in the OLC data for the maximally extended types to create three types of blends: a representation blend, a cause-effect blend and a spatio-temporal blend. These blends express the same kinds of meanings described as interpropositional (Crombie 1985) or interclausal relations (Van Valin 1997). However, the meaning relations of maximally extended PRE constructions involve only a single proposition or clause, so are clearly neither of these proposition or clause types. In the PRE constructions of this project, these meanings are created without the overt logical connectors associated with interpropositional or interclausal structures. Instead, the logical meanings emerge in the PRE construction from the simple juxtaposition of the counterparts being conceptually integrated. This seems a useful strategy for Oceanic languages which typically have only small sets of conjunctions functioning as logical connectors (Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:53).

*Maximally extended representation blends*

A representation blend is simply one where the contents of the PRE space are represented by the contents of the event space. The typical pattern in the blend is for the PRE constituent to encode the item or event that is being foregrounded, while the information in the associated clause is a representation of this item or event. Typical text types employing this type of blend include explanatory and procedural texts, where the speaker specifies why or how something happens.

Examples include the following explanation in (33) from Nehan (Todd 1978:1217), where the entity *tar wan* ‘the village’ from the PRE space is represented in the blend by specifying information about it, in this case, the fact that the village comprises thirteen families. Note the lack of structural coreference between the PRE constituent and the associated clause:

(33) Nehan (MM,V-SECOND)

<i>Tar</i>	<i>wan,</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>siokor</i>	<i>hangual</i>	<i>doh</i>	<i>a</i>
ART	village	ART	one	ten	and	ART
PRE		ASC CLAUSE				

*towonoor*      *family*      *ura*      *wangual.*  
 three              families      3PL      live

‘The village, there are about thirteen families.’ (Todd 1978:1217)

A further example where a representation blend is used in an explanatory text is this one in (34) from Teop (Mosel and Daana 2003), where the speaker is talking about marriage customs. In particular, he is explaining that *a vavahio mamana* ‘the genuine marriage’ is represented by the event *a moon paa vaahovou* ‘the girl has had the *vaahovou*’. The semantic contents of the component parts remain conceptually separate in the blend, although the one part (ASC) represents the meaning of the other (PRE):

(34) Teop (MM,V SECOND)

<i>A</i>	<i>vavahio</i>	<i>mamana,</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>moon</i>	<i>paa</i>	<i>vaahovou.</i>
ART	marriage	genuine	ART	girl	TAM	have.premarital.ceremony
PRE			ASC CLAUSE			

‘The genuine marriage, the girl has had the *vaahovou*.’ (Mosel and Daana 2003:Daa\_1-063)

This excerpt in (35) is from a procedural text in Kubokota (Chambers 2006) describing the process of making black pandanus for weaving. The PRE constituent foregrounds the information *agana kuduru za* ‘the black pandanus’, while the following associated clause begins to explain to the addressee how the black pandanus is made :

- (35) Kubokota (MM,VSO)
- |              |               |            |             |               |           |                  |
|--------------|---------------|------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>Agana</i> | <i>kuduru</i> | <i>za,</i> | <i>gami</i> | <i>teku-a</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>ngiru,...</i> |
| pandanus     | black         | FORE       | 1PL.EXCL    | take-3SG      | ART       | coconut          |
| PRE          |               |            | ASC CLAUSE  |               |           |                  |
- ‘The black pandanus, we take a green coconut...’ (Chambers 2006:a024EL\_018)

#### *Maximally extended cause-effect blends*

A cause-effect blend is also maximally extended or loose in regard to the meaning relations between the contents of the PRE space and the event space, but is less commonly observed in the project data than representation blends.

A purpose-means relation in example (36) from Whitesands (Hammond 2009:116) is the result of a cause-effect blend, as the event *yakuen mos nolul apaha pari* ‘I go collect wild cane from the west’ begins to describe the means by which the entities *nowan* ‘arrows’ are made:

- (36) Whitesands (SV,SVO)
- |             |               |                 |             |               |              |                 |
|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>Kani</i> | <i>nowan,</i> | <i>ya-k-uen</i> | <i>m-os</i> | <i>nolul</i>  | <i>apaha</i> | <i>pari,...</i> |
| and         | arrow         | 1-NPST.SG-go    | ES-carry    | k.o.wild.cane | from         | landward        |
| PRE         |               |                 | ASC CLAUSE  |               |              |                 |
- ‘And (for) the arrows, I go collect wild cane from the west,...’ (Hammond 2009:116)

#### *Maximally extended spatio-temporal blends*

The maximally extended spatio-temporal blend, also less common than representation blends, demonstrates spatial and temporal contiguity between the PRE and event spaces, here in (37) from Nehan (Todd 1978:1219) as temporal overlap. The PRE constituent *tar binakang hop o* ‘the (time of) cooking’ represents an event, foregrounded for the purpose of describing co-temporal details about it in the juxtaposed associated clause *gisimeher kuaha ra hui tar an...* ‘some women peel food...’. Note that the blended meaning is created without the use of a

logical connector (see introductory comments above in this sub-section):

(37) Nehan (MM,V-SECOND)

<i>Tar binakang hop</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>gisiameher kuaha ra</i>	<i>hui</i>
ART time.of bake	ART	some.of women 3PL	peel
PRE		ASC CLAUSE	

*tar an...*

ART food

‘The (time of) cooking, some women peel food...’ (Todd 1978:1219)

Another example of a spatio-temporal blend is example (38) from Neverver (Barbour 2010), which also demonstrates temporal overlap. The speaker is referring to an event *nilangrav anjing* ‘that cyclone’, which is conceptually matched in a PRE construction with the co-temporal event *naus ivov lon ilablab* ‘the rain rained heavily on (us)’. Again, the two components are juxtaposed without evidence of any structural connectors:

(38) Neverver (NCV,SVO)

<i>Nilangrav anjing,</i>	<i>naus i-vov</i>	<i>lon i-lablab.</i>
cyclone DEM	rain 3SG.REAL-fall	LOC 3SG.REAL-big
PRE	ASC CLAUSES	

‘That cyclone, the rain rained heavily on (us).’ Barbour 2010:NVDL14.7)

#### 8.2.4 Multiple blends

On occasion, the same PRE construction may exhibit the meaning relations of any of the basic, extended and maximally extended blend types. In Mussau-Emira (Brownie and Brownie 2007:167), the PRE construction in (39) includes a PRE constituent involved in the expression of not only a basic Identity Blend, but also an extended Analogy Blend. The semantic content of the PRE constituent *aliki eteva vause eteva oio* ‘this young woman’ is conceptualised as identical with the patient argument expressed as the VP affix *-e* ‘3SG.OBJ’ in the associated clause, but is also perceptually related to the event agent *kinna* ‘her mother’ in

the associated clause through the analogous property of attributive possession and the category of kinship. Thus, this example is a multiple blend type with both tight and less tight meaning relations:

(39) Mussau-Emira (MUSS, SVO)

<i>Aliki</i>	<i>eteva</i>	<i>vause</i>	<i>eteva</i>	<i>oio,</i>
child	NUM.CLF	woman	NUM.CLF	this
PRE				
<i>kin-na</i>	<i>ghe</i>	<i>su-ng-i-e-la.</i>		
mother.3SG.POSS	PST	send-LIG-TR-3SG.OBJ-PRF		
ASC CLAUSE				

‘This young woman, her mother sent her.’ (Brownie and Brownie 2007:167)

Another example similar to that just discussed is example (40) from Lelepa (Lacrampe 2009:83), which demonstrates a frequently observed function of PRE constructions: the naming or labelling of entities. As above, the PRE space entity is matched with two counterparts from the event space. One of these counterparts is the actual name or label of the entity itself, so that and in the blend, the PRE constituent entity and the name in the associated clause are conceptualised as representing the same person or object. In the example below, the speaker introduces himself by this method, so that the content of the PRE constituent *konou* ‘1SG’ is deemed identical to the entity expressed in the associated clause as *ritait elda Poikiiki* ‘retired Elder Poikiiki’. However, the PRE construction does not achieve its purpose without the second meaning relation, the analogous matching of the speaker *konou* ‘1SG’ and *nagigo* ‘my name’ by the property of attributive possession. Once again, this type of PRE construction demonstrates both the basic and extended patterns of conceptualisation:

(40) Lelepa (NCV,SVO)

<i>Konou,</i>	<i>nagi-go</i>	<i>e-pi</i>	<i>ritait</i>	<i>elda</i>	<i>Poikiiki.</i>
1SG	name-1SG.POSS	3SG.REAL-COP	retired	elder	Poikiiki
PRE	ASC CLAUSE				

‘As for me, my name is retired Elder Poikiiki.’ (Lacrampe 2009:83)

Examples can also be found where an extended analogy blend and a maximally extended cause-effect blend co-occur. For example, in (41) from Iamalele (Beaumont 2008:12), the PRE constituent *yaku bunumayaganina faifaina* ‘the reason for my shame’ is analogous in

regards to the attributive property of possession with the agent expressed by the VP affix *a-* ‘1SG’ in the events *asouyeku bawe aloveni* ‘I went out and speared a pig’. Note that the structural pattern for the analogy blend is reversed here (cf. §7.2.2), as the possessed item is the entity expressed by the PRE constituent this time. This change in order may be due to the fact that the element in the PRE constituent is also matched by causality in a reason-result relation, whereby the shame is the reason for the spearing of the pig:

(41) Iamalele (PT,SOV)

<i>Yaku</i>	<i>bunumayaga-nina</i>	<i>faifai-na,</i>
1SG.POSS	shame-this	REAS-3SG.POSS
PRE		

<i>a-souye-ku</i>	<i>bawe</i>	<i>a-love-ni.</i>
1SG-go.out-1SG	pig	1SG-spear-3SG
ASC CLAUSES		

‘(On account of) the reason for my (previously mentioned) shame, I went out and speared the pig.’ (Beaumont 2008:12)

A similarly reversed pattern for an analogy blend can be seen in example (42), a mixed PRE construction from Hoava (Davis 2003:326). The nominalised event *sa pu tinaloa rao pa Hoava sagi* ‘as for my leaving Hoava’ is matched analogously with the agent *rao* ‘1SG’, through the property of attributive possession, and again it is the former, the possessed entity, which is the PRE constituent, rather than the latter. The reason for the switch in order may be due to the chronological sequencing of events. This further exemplifies the multiple occurrence of the extended analogy and the maximally extended spatio-temporal blends in the same PRE construction:

(42) Hoava (MM, VSO)

<i>Sa</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>t&lt;in&gt;aloo</i>	<i>rao</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>Hoava</i>	<i>sagi</i>
PRO.SG	REL	leave<NMLZ>	PRO.1SG	PREP	Hoava	FORE
PRE						

<i>vasi</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>Burongo</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>rao.</i>
INTS	PREP	Burongo	exist	PRO.1SG
ASC CLAUSE				

‘As for my leaving Hoava, I went straight to Burongo.’ (Davis 2003:326)

This complex multi-PRE example from West Uvean (Moyses-Faurie 1997), repeated here from chapter two (22), demonstrates a case where all three meaning relations occur in the one blended construction. To begin with, the entities represented by the nominals *drök* ‘duck’ and *ia* ‘3SG’ in the first and second pre-clausal slots have a counterpart in the associated clause event expressed as the VP index *i* ‘3SG’, all of which are conceptualised as identical in the identity blend. Additionally, the third and fourth pre-clausal elements *dona lave* and *one lave* ‘his responsibilities’ are linked by way of a representation blend to the associated clause event *i de fagasaaina de aso e maalie ma de* ‘he indicated good weather or bad weather’. Finally, the relationship between the meanings of the PRE1 and 2, and the PRE3 and 4 constituents produce an analogy blend, demonstrating that blended meanings occur across multiple PRE spaces as they do between the PRE and event spaces:

(43) West Uvean (FIJ,SVO)

<i>Ga</i> and	<i>ia</i> as.for	<i>drök,</i> duck (S)	<i>ia,</i> 3SG (S)	<i>dona</i> 3SG.POSS	<i>lave,</i> responsibility	<i>one</i> 3SG.POSS	<i>lave,</i> responsibilities	
	PRE1		PRE2	PRE3		PRE4		
<i>i</i> 3SG S. INDX	<i>de</i> TAM	<i>fagasaaina</i> indicate	<i>de</i> ART	<i>aso</i> day	<i>e</i> TAM	<i>maalie</i> good	<i>ma</i> and	<i>de</i> ART
MATRIX CLAUSE			COMPLEMENT CLAUSES					
ASC CLAUSE								

*aso e ngaio.*  
day TAM bad

‘As for the duck, him, his responsibility, his responsibilities, he indicated good weather or bad weather.’ (Moyse-Faurie 1997)

### 8.3 Conclusion

The communicative function of the PRE constructions in this project was the starting point for the investigation in this chapter (chapter question one). In studying this topic, I proposed that a PRE construction is a schematic intraspace blend, conventionalised for the purpose of foregrounding event participants via the Greater Attentional System. Typically, the foregrounding process occurs when addressees are alerted to pay attention to the contents of an immediately preceding intonation phrase by the presence of a perceptible cesura. Extra salience is also assigned to the information in this intonation phrase when it is detected as

being an unusually positioned open class nominal, thus being perceived as the pre-clausal element of a PRE construction. The space-building PRE constituent [PRE] is sustained by the attention system in short-term memory in order to motivate the conceptualisation of an associated event [ASC]. I suggested that a foregrounding effect is achieved when the two parts, [PRE] and [ASC], are conceptually blended through the schematic relation of the DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION schemas.

To answer the second chapter question which concerned the range and types of semantic meanings expressed by PRE constructions, I suggested that the conceptual blends created by the foregrounding process exhibit different degrees of conceptual separation between the PRE construction components. In a basic identity blend, the meaning relations are tight, and the counterparts of the PRE and event mental spaces emerge in the blend as conceptually identical, evoking the same referent. An extended analogy blend exhibits a meaning relation which is neither tight nor loose, but one where the PRE construction counterparts are similar in respect to the property of possession. The maximally extended representation, cause-effect and spatio-temporal blends have rather loosely layered meaning relations between the PRE construction components. Multiple blends show varying degrees of conceptual integration according to the combinations of meaning relations they demonstrate. Such blends can become quite complex when multi-PRE constructions are involved.

In the concluding chapter, the meaning relations described here are considered alongside the structural characteristics presented in earlier chapters, and a model is proposed to account for the properties of the PRE constructions observed in the data for the Oceanic languages surveyed in this project.

## Chapter 9 Thesis conclusion

This thesis has argued that a two-part pre-clausal structure, the PRE construction, is a widely-observed information packaging phenomenon in the Oceanic languages. While previous chapters have presented the structural and functional characteristics of this construction, the goal with this final chapter is to bring the findings from these earlier chapters together thereby addressing two important research questions:

- i) What are the properties of the PRE constructions in this study?
- ii) Are there different types of PRE constructions in Oceanic languages? If so, can a suitable typological model be devised to account for the variation?

The chapter sections are as follows. Section §9.1 answers the first chapter question by summarising the main properties of the PRE constructions in this project. Section §9.2 addresses chapter question two by considering the structural and functional expression of the properties outlined in §9.1, and proposing a model to account for the differences in the OLC data. In section §9.3, I suggest areas for further research, and comment on the project as a whole.

### 9.1 The properties of the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages

To answer chapter question one, I reviewed the findings from the previous chapters, in particular with the goal of identifying a set of structural and functional properties of the PRE constructions in this project. The following summarises these properties as they were described in each chapter.

In Chapter Two, I found that sequential order is a robust characteristic of PRE constructions, shared by all of the PRE constructions in the OLC language files. The sequence itself however is subject to some variation. While the majority of PRE constructions comprise a pre-clausal constituent (PRE) followed by an associated clause (ASC), there are others with multiple PRE constituents (multi-PRE), and non-contiguous positioning. The types of PRE constructions in the data most clearly exhibiting this basic sequencing property are those where an associated clause coreferent is an overtly expressed free form (ASC-overt/free), or a bound form in the VP which is a pro-index (ASC-overt/bound pro-index). Where associated clause coreferents are

cross-indexes (ASC-overt/bound cross-index) or not overtly present at all (ASC-non.overt), pre-clausal status is less certain. A further sequencing property is that of unexpected constituent order. However, while this property is useful for drawing attention to a potential PRE construction, it is not definitional, as topicalised structures also display this same feature.

The most important result of the investigation in Chapter Three involved the hierarchical status of PRE constructions. I described PRE constructions as a type of complex expanded clause which exhibits a dependency relation and distributed meanings between the components. For PRE constructions, the dependency relation occurs at two levels. Firstly, both sub-parts must be present to create the PRE construction. Secondly, the PRE constituent is dependent on the independent associated clause. Further findings were that PRE constituents are the nominals typically found in the NP arguments of the simple clauses in Oceanic languages, and that clause level variation in the associated clause has no effect on the presence or absence of PRE constructions.

Chapter Four revealed three relational properties of PRE constructions. The first is that there is typically a coreferencing relation distributed across the PRE constituent and a nominal element in the associated clause. The associated clause coreferencing devices would seem to occur equally in the PRE constructions and simple clauses of Oceanic languages. A second property is that syntactic functions in the PRE construction components of this project demonstrate corepresentation via the coreferencing relation. The third property is that typical PRE constructions have a perceptible cesura longer than 0.2 s between a minor and major intonation phrase, thus creating a unique melody and rhythm. The cesura can confirm the presence of a PRE construction, although its absence does not rule out pre-clausal status.

A general property of meaning distribution in the PRE constructions of Oceanic languages was discovered in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. The range of meanings distributed in the PRE construction components for the grammatical categories of number, person, and possession are potentially the same as those in simple clause nominals. This suggests that any grammatical meanings found in simple clause nominals are likely to be expressed by the PRE construction components.

Two major properties of PRE constructions were hypothesised in Chapter Eight. The first is that PRE constructions are essentially concerned with a speaker's intention to bring to the attention of an addressee some especially noteworthy chunk of information. More specifically, I proposed that a PRE construction is an intraspace information packaging

schema, conventionalised for the purpose of foregrounding a discourse entity. The role of the DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION schemas in creating the conventionalised intraspace PRE construction was considered in terms of the structural, prosodic, semantic and functional properties found in the thesis. The second property is that the conventionalised intraspace blend can be employed by speakers to create novel interspace blends. Such interspace blends are produced through conceptual integration of the entities denoted by the PRE construction components, thereby producing the blended meanings of identity, analogy and representation found in the OLC data.

Table 9-1: Properties of PRE constructions in Oceanic languages

Property	Structural/Functional Expression	Thesis Section
Sequential order	Pre-clausal element (PRE) + associated clause (ASC)	§2.1.1
Constituent order	Unexpected	§2.1.2
PRE constituent structure	Nominals of simple clause arguments	§3.2.1
ASC structure	Simple and complex clause types; clause level variation not relevant	§3.2.2, §3.2.3
Hierarchical status	Complex expanded clause with dependency and distributed meaning relations	§3.4
Dependency relation (1)	Sub-parts [PRE,ASC] must be present to create a PRE construction	§3.4
Dependency relation (2)	PRE constituent depends on associated clause	§3.4
Distributed meaning	Between PRE construction components	§3.4
Coreference	Referential relation between PRE constituent and associated clause counterpart	§4.1
Corepresentation	Syntactic function of coreferencing elements	§4.2
Cesura	Typically perceptible between minor and major intonation phrases if longer than 0.2 s	§4.3
Distribution of grammatical meanings	Grammatical meanings of PRE construction coreferents as for simple clauses	Chapters 5, 6, 7
Instantiations of DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION schemas	Conventionalised intraspace blend with foregrounding function	§8.1.1
Foregrounding function	Accomplished via the human attentional system	§8.1.2
Semantic meanings	Projection of generic intraspace blend to create interspace conceptual blends of identity, analogy and representation	§8.2

In answering chapter question one, I have completed the structural description of PRE constructions (research objective one) and the functional explanation (research objective two). The set of properties outlined above are summarised above in Table 9-1, and comprise

the necessary information to tackle chapter question two in regards to devising a model for the different types of PRE constructions observed in the thesis findings.

## 9.2 A prototype model for PRE constructions

Chapter question two asked if there are different types of PRE constructions in Oceanic languages. Based on the findings in this thesis, I can confirm that there are different types of PRE constructions. The types can be distinguished by considering their expression of the structural and functional properties reported above in §9.1. Question two also asked if a model could be found to account for the different types. After reviewing the properties in §9.1, I decided that the most effective means of accounting for the different types of PRE constructions was to construct a prototype model.

The prototype model I employ to type the PRE constructions in this study is based on the notions of prototype theory which originated in the 1970s with Rosch's research into the internal structure of categories (1975, 1977). Prototype theory was taken up by linguists in the 1980s as an alternative to the classical theory of categorisation. Key ideas are that categories cannot be defined by a single set of criteria, that the category members exhibit family resemblance, that not all members are equally representative of a category, and that categories have fuzzy boundaries (Geeraerts 1989; Ungerer and Schmid 1996; Croft and Cruse 2004).

The PRE constructions of the OLC language files demonstrate these categorial characteristics. Firstly, the properties listed in Table 9-1 do not comprise a single set of criteria where all are necessarily present to confer PRE constructionhood, or where the set describes only those criteria sufficient to define a PRE construction. For example, some of the PRE constructions in this study do not demonstrate a coreferencing relation (§7.2.2, §7.2.3), so this criteria is not a necessary condition for determining category membership. Other PRE constructions have been identified with a perceptible cesura shorter than 0.2 s (§4.3.1), so the set of properties above are not sufficient to define all PRE constructions. Secondly, the PRE constructions in this project exhibit family resemblance as instantiations of the EXPANSION and DEPENDENCY schemas; they are all expanded clauses with dependent phrasal and clausal sub-parts which share the function of foregrounding (§8.1). These schemas allow the entire group of structures to be recognised as whole. A further point is that the structures identified as PRE

constructions in this study can be rated in terms of typicality in regards to the number of properties they have in common. For example, the PRE constructions described as basic identity blends in §8.2.1 share more of the properties listed in Table 9-1 than those described as extended analogy blends (§8.2.2) and maximally extended blends (§8.2.3). The basic identity blends appear to be ‘better’ examples of PRE constructions than the extended analogy and maximally extended blends. Finally, I have already noted that fuzzy boundaries exist between PRE constructions and topicalised structures in relation to the unexpected or non-canonic constituent ordering that both structures produce (chapter two - footnote 17). In consideration of these points, I propose that the PRE constructions of this project demonstrate the internal structure of a single basic level category where prototypical category members share the largest number of properties identified in Table 9-1, while less prototypical members share only some of these attributes. I recognise a prototype (§9.2.1), a less prototypical type (§9.2.2), and a group of category members as the least prototypical types (§9.2.3).

### **9.2.1 Prototypical PRE constructions**

Prototypes represent the best examples of a category. They are said to demonstrate the clearest cases of category membership, and to provide the schematic reference point for that membership (Ungerer and Schmid 1998:38). The findings presented in this thesis suggest that a prototypical PRE construction is a type of complex expanded clause with a simple clause nominal as a PRE constituent, and an associated clause of the type found in the simple and complex clauses of Oceanic languages. The prototype exhibits unexpected constituent order, and has a coreferencing relation between the PRE constituent and an associated clause counterpart. The syntactic function of this associated clause counterpart is corepresented by the PRE constituent nominal. A perceptible cesura occurs between a minor and major intonation phrase, which align with the PRE constituent and the associated clause. The grammatical meanings of number, person and possession expressed in the nominals of simple clauses are available for distribution across the PRE construction counterparts. The prototypical PRE construction is a basic identity blend, where the coreferring counterparts are perceived as being identical when conceptually blended. Thus, the meaning relations are conceptually tight. The function of the prototypical PRE construction is to foreground the entity denoted by the PRE constituent, and this is accomplished via the human attentional

system. In sum, the prototypical PRE construction exhibits all of the properties listed in Table 9-1.

Although all of the properties from Table 9-1 are present in a prototypical PRE construction, some of the properties demonstrate graded centrality in their expression. The perceptible cesura is one such property, and section §4.3.1 provided examples where otherwise prototypical PRE constructions possess cesuras with perceptible pauses shorter than the typical length of 0.2 s. Such atypical cesuras are due to final syllable lengthening at the terminal boundary of the minor intonation phrase, and /or a significant change in pitch direction across the cesura boundaries.

Another property from the list in Table 9-1 graded in its expression in prototypical PRE constructions is the structural coreferencing relation between the PRE constituent and associated clause counterparts. The ‘best’, most easily identifiable coreferencing relations are those where the associated clause has either an overtly expressed lexical NP, independent pronoun, or proform (ASC-overt/free type), or a pro-indexed bound form (ASC-overt/bound pro-index type). Less recognisable coreferencing relations are those where the associated clause has a cross-indexed bound form (ASC/overt bound cross-index type), which must occur in the VP whether a conominal is present or not. Even less typical of the coreferencing relation are associated clauses where neither overtly expressed free nominals, nor overtly expressed VP indexes are apparent (ASC/non.overt).

### **9.2.2 Less prototypical PRE constructions**

In prototype theory, it is expected that less prototypical category members display only some of the category attributes that prototypical members do. This is the case with the less prototypical PRE constructions in this project. One difference between the two groups of category members relates to the property of coreference, where the structural relation in the less prototypical PRE constructions is expressed only partially across the PRE construction components via the grammatical category of possession. In such cases, the PRE constituent denotes an entity that is the possessor of a different entity in the associated clause. Therefore, the corepresentation of syntactic functions seen in prototypical PRE constructions does not occur. The possessor entity denoted by the PRE constituent does not coparticipate in the semantic roles of the associated clause. Ironically, the identification of less prototypical PRE constructions can be much easier than prototypical PRE constructions because they lack the properties of coreferencing, corepresentation and coparticipation.

The distinguishing characteristic of less prototypical PRE constructions is the extended nature of the meaning relation between the PRE constituent components. This relation is conceptually linked by analogy through the property of attributive possession (§8.2.2). Since the conceptual counterparts in analogy blends are not identical as for prototypical PRE constructions, the meaning relations are less tightly layered. The result is that although the counterparts are linked by the possessive relation, they maintain a degree of conceptual separation in the conceptual blend as two distinct entities. This same degree of conceptual separation explains the pattern of structural coreferencing of an analogy blend, as the possessive relation is generally only marked on the possessum in the associated clause. This process of conceptually separating out and foregrounding a possessor provides an additional strategy for expressing attributive possession in Oceanic languages.

### **9.2.3 Least prototypical PRE constructions**

The least prototypical PRE constructions in this project also share some of the same properties with the above two types of category members. However, as with the less prototypical types, the property of coreference is not one of these. While prototypical PRE constructions exhibit fully coreferring relations between a PRE constituent and associated clause counterpart, and this same relation is partially coreferring for less prototypical PRE constructions, in the case of the least prototypical PRE constructions, the coreferencing relation is completely absent. Accordingly, the corepresentational relation with syntactic functions does not apply, and neither does the coparticipatory semantic role between the PRE constituent and the associated clause arguments. The grammatical meanings of number, person and possession are also not distributed across the PRE construction components in this type. Due to the lack of structural coreferencing between the components, establishing pre-clausal status is not difficult for the least prototypical PRE constructions.

The property which distinguishes the least prototypical PRE constructions relates to the maximally extended meanings they create during the blending process. The blended meanings between the PRE construction counterparts are much looser than any of the previous types. Instead of the tightly blended relations of identity (prototypical), or the less tightly blended relations of analogy (less prototypical), the blends for the least prototypical PRE constructions are quite loose in that the meanings may be those where one PRE construction component simply represents the other in some way, or forms a cause-effect, or spatio-

temporal relation (§8.3.2). I would also expect that other blends with these kinds of loose meaning relations could be found as more data become available.

To conclude this section, I have described the PRE constructions in this project as a single category of structures, and identified prototypical, less prototypical and least prototypical types, most easily distinguished by the different conceptual blends that they create. As demonstrated above in §8.3.3, these blends can co-occur in the same PRE construction to create mixed types, sometimes with complex relations between them (see example 43). This suggests that graded centrality exists across the category as a whole, and not just for some of the individual properties. While three prototypical patterns have been described here, others may well be possible.

### 9.3 Conclusion

In the introductory chapter to this thesis I outlined the three main research objectives (§1.6) guiding the investigation of pre-clausal constructions in Oceanic languages:

- i) To explore and describe the pre-clausal structures in Oceanic languages;
- ii) To investigate and explain the function(s) of the pre-clausal structures in these languages;
- iii) To compare the findings from the descriptive and explanatory research phases and develop a model of the PRE constructions in the data from the OLC language files.

The first objective was fulfilled in the first part of the thesis, where I presented the results of the structural investigation using the data from the OLC language files. These results are the properties in Table 9-1 for Chapters Two-Seven. The second objective was met with the functional explanation for the OLC data provided in Chapter Eight. The functional properties are also summarised in Table 9-1 above. The comparative and typological goals of the third objective were pursued during the structural and functional investigations, and achieved with the presentation of the prototype model in the current chapter (§9.2).

In the process of addressing the three objectives and the questions arising from these, I discovered a number of areas ripe for further research. Notable examples include the topics associated with the noun phrase in Oceanic languages. The brief surveys presented in

Chapters Five (number), Six (person), and Seven (possession) focused primarily on nominals in the PRE constituent of PRE constructions, but more in-depth typological studies concentrating on the noun phrases as constituents of a variety of other clause types would benefit language documentation and description projects of Oceanic languages, as well as cross-linguistic studies of language diversity. For example, the domain of attributive possession may be more effectively described and explained with the cognitive approach demonstrated in §7.4.3, and/or the cognitive theories of mental spaces and conceptual integration. Another area lending itself to further investigation is the use of the foregrounding markers described in §8.1.2. Such markers can be observed in the data for various languages in the Oceanic Language Corpus, but a detailed study might show how widespread this phenomenon is, and reveal the various functions of the markers.

While the prosodic investigation in this project produced evidence that a cesura is a feature of pre-clausal structures, in accordance with expectations voiced in the wider literature regarding pitch patterns across intonation phrases, there is more work to do regarding the prosodic patterning of pre-clausal structures (§4.3).

As mentioned in Chapter Eight, an original intention was to survey the external information packaging properties of PRE constructions. However, after the structural description (Chapters Two-Eight), it was decided that this task was outside the scope of the current project. There are a few observations that can be made though in anticipation of further research in this direction. Firstly, it would seem that the majority of PRE constructions are from the narrative genre, so are part of the textual units found in stories. The predominance of examples from this genre is no doubt due to the fact that this is the most commonly documented data type across all of the languages in this study. Secondly, PRE constructions were also present in interviews, which according to Geluykens (1992:153–154) in his study of left dislocation in English conversation, is a typical place to find pre-clausal phenomena, due to the way that information is organised according to “social, interactional factors”. This relatively simple example from Teop (Mahaka and Saovana-Spriggs 2001) demonstrates such interactional factors, the interviewer (RS) providing the collaborative interjection *ha!* ‘yes!’ as a signal that the referents in the interviewee’s (MM) preceding utterance (two rather complex modified nominals) have been accepted as a discourse topic. The interviewee is then confident to add the remaining information pertaining to these referents in the associated clause expressed in his next turn:

(1) Teop (MM,V SECOND)

Interviewee: MM:

<i>E-nam</i>	<i>bere</i>	<i>Keevao,</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>bere-</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>vahara</i>
ART-1PL.EXCL	CONJ.ART	Keevao	1PL.EXCL	CONJ.ART	ART	little.PL
PRE1			PRE2			

*beiko vaa NaoMutana na hovo te-a tobara bona,*  
child from NaoMutan REAL enter PREP-ART ceremonial.house DEM

Interviewer: RS:

*Ha!*

yes

Interviewee:MM:

<i>To</i>	<i>sipoana</i>	<i>nam.</i>
ART	child's.blessing.ceremony	1PL.EXCL
NON-VERBAL ASSOCIATED CLAUSE		

MM: 'Us together with Keevao, us with the children of the NaoMutana clan who had been allowed into the *tobara*.'

RS: 'Yes!'

MM: 'We had the *vaasipoana* ceremony.'

(Mahaka, and Saovana-Spriggs 2001:Mark\_Mahaka3\_R.pdf)

An additional point to make here is that the unit of expanded clause introduced in this thesis may provide a very useful descriptive tool for analysing spoken interactive data such as the example from Teop above. The notion of expansion, exemplified by the distributed meaning of PRE constructions in this thesis, could equally take into account units of related interactional meanings exhibiting similar structural, conceptual and functional attributes across more than one single conversational turn.

Investigating the external packaging properties of PRE constructions in different genres could also be accomplished within the explanatory frameworks offered by Oakley's Greater Attentional System (2004, 2009), and Fauconnier and Turner's mental spaces and conceptual integration theories (1996, 1998, 2002). For example, it is likely that the DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION schemas and the foregrounding/backgrounding effects accomplished via the Greater Attentional System are not just operating within the PRE construction itself, but also between the larger discourse structures in which PRE constructions are a part.

Another direction for future research involves the foregrounding function of PRE constructions and their status within a larger category of foregrounding structures, of which topicalisation is also a member. Three obvious research questions related to this idea are why

it is that these two different strategies exist, what the motivation is for the choice of one construction over the other, and whether one might be a sub-type of the other.

On a more practical note, the Oceanic Language Corpus created for the data collection phase of this project has the potential to be developed into a resource suitable for use in the wider linguistic community. To undertake this task, it would be necessary to create an electronic database, and ideally one that would automatically capture references to new publications. Finally, there is a need to develop, alongside the current set of Leipzig Glossing Rules (2008), a standardised set of conventions and abbreviations specifically suitable for the description of Oceanic languages, as the current Leipzig Glossing Rules require considerable additions to enable descriptive work with this language family.

In the process of fulfilling the three research objectives outlined above, I have met a further objective, which was to keep the analysis and description in the thesis as broad as possible by collecting as much data from as many languages as I could. As a result, the large number of language examples throughout the thesis represent data samples from all nine primary subgroupings of Oceanic languages recognised by Ross, Pawley and Osmond (2011).

By studying pre-clausal structures from a holistic perspective, I discovered patterns of dependency and distributed meaning extending across the PRE construction components. I was also able to suggest a solution to the issue of hierarchical status by proposing that the PRE constructions in this project typify a type of complex expanded clause. I define an expanded clause as having a two-part internal configuration. The two major components are a phrasal and a clausal structure. The major properties are the dependency relations and distributed meanings operating across the two components.

By undertaking a prosodic analysis, I was able to confirm that a pause or intonation break does occur in pre-clausal structures. In the case of the PRE constructions from the OLC language files, I described the intonation break as a cesura, typically perceptible when longer than 0.2 s.

The patterns I observed in the data for the functional explanation show that the PRE constructions in this project represent a conventionalised intraspace blend which functions as a foregrounding device via the human attentional system. I proposed that the foregrounding effect is accomplished when the PRE construction components are conceptually blended through the schematic relation of the DEPENDENCY and EXPANSION schemas. The data from

the OLC revealed patterns of basic, extended and maximally extended meaning relations resulting from the conceptual blending process.

By considering PRE constructions in terms of the structural and functional properties described throughout the thesis, I proposed that the PRE constructions in Oceanic languages form a single category exhibiting prototypicality. Apart from a prototype, there are data examples which represent a less prototypical and a least prototypical group of PRE constructions.

Lastly, by attempting to follow a frame-free perspective throughout the project, the findings are derived from the patterns observed in the OLC data, both for the structural description and the functional explanation. I hope that the results of this analysis of pre-clausal constructions will contribute to linguistic understandings of individual Oceanic languages, and the Oceanic language family within the wider linguistic scene.

## Appendix A: List of resources used to compile the OLC (Oceanic Language Corpus)

- Dryer, Matthew S. and Martin Haspelmath (eds.). 2011. *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library: <http://wals.info/>
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- Languages and Linguistics in Melanesia: The Journal of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea*. <http://www.langlxmlanesia.com/>
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- Lynch, John, Malcolm Ross, and Terry Crowley (eds.). 2002. *The Oceanic languages*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.
- Ross, Malcolm D. 1998. *Proto Oceanic and the Austronesian languages of Western Melanesia*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Ross, Malcolm, Andrew Pawley, and Meredith Osmond (eds.). 2008. *Introduction to The lexicon of Proto-Oceanic Vol. 3: Plants*, 1-22. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Nordhoff, Sebastian, Harald Hammarström, Robert Forkel, and Martin Haspelmath (eds.).  
2013. *Glottolog 2.1*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.  
<http://glottolog.org>

Northwest Solomonian Materials Website:

[http://www3.surrey.ac.uk/lcts/bill.palmer/NWS\\_site/Index.htm](http://www3.surrey.ac.uk/lcts/bill.palmer/NWS_site/Index.htm)

Wurm, Stephen Adolphe and Shirō Hattori (eds). 1981. *Language atlas of the Pacific area*.  
Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

## Appendix B: List of Oceanic languages and resources consulted for this project

Appendix B provides a list of the 145 languages from the Oceanic Language Corpus (OLC) currently identified as exhibiting PRE constructions, along with the principal resources consulted for this study. The list is presented following the primary subgroupings and linkages proposed by Ross, Pawley and Osmond (2011:8) for the reconstruction of the Oceanic language family. Notably, all of the reconstructed primary subgroupings are represented in this project by at least one language, the primary subgroupings being Yapese, Admiralty, Mussau-Tench, Western Oceanic Linkage, Temotu, Southeast Solomonic, Southern Oceanic linkage, Micronesian, and Central Pacific. Furthermore, lower-order subgroupings from the Western Oceanic and Southern Oceanic linkages, and the Central Pacific grouping are also represented.

### Primary subgroup: Yapese (YAP)

Yapese	[yap]	Thayer 1977; Ballantyne 2004
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### Primary subgroup: Admiralty (ADM)

Loniū	[los]	Hamel 1994
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Seimat	[ssg]	Wozna and Wilson 2005
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### Primary subgroup: Mussau-Tench (MUSS)

Mussau-Emira	[emi]	Ross 2002; Brownie and Brownie 2007
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### Primary subgroup: Western Oceanic linkage (WEST)

#### Lower-order subgroup: North New Guinea linkage (NNG)

Adzera	[adz]	Howard 2002
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Arop-Lokep	[apr]	D'Jernes 2002
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Arop-Sissano	[aps]	Whiteacre 1986
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Awad Bing	[bcu]	Bennett and Bennett 1998
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Bariai	Not in Ethnologue	Gallagher and Baehr 2005
Buang, Mangga	[mmo]	Healey 1984
Bugawac	[buk]	Eckermann 2007
Iwal	[kbn]	Bradshaw 2001
Kairiru	[kxa]	Wivell 1981
Labu	[lbu]	Siegel 1984
Lote	[uvl]	Pearson and van den Berg 2008
Lusi	[khl]	Thurston 1982
Manam	[mva]	Lichtenberk 1983
Mangap-Mbula	[mna]	Bugenhagen 1995
Musom	[msu]	Holzknicht 1997
Mutu	[tuc]	Bugenhagen 2010
Numbami	[sij]	Bradshaw 1999
Patep	[ptp]	Lauck 1976
Takia	[tbc]	Ross 2002, 2004
Yabem	[jae]	Bradshaw 1999

Primary subgroup: Western Oceanic linkage (WEST)

Lower-order subgroup: Papuan Tip (PT)

Buhutu	[bxh]	Cooper 1992
Dobu	[dob]	Lithgow 1975
Gumawana	[gvs]	Olson 1992
Hula	[hul]	Pat 1996
Iamalele	[yml]	Beaumont and Beaumont 1975; Beaumont 2008
Kilivila	[kij]	Senft 1986
Maisin	[mbq]	Frampton 2010
Mekeo	[mek]	Jones 1998
Muyuw	[myw]	Lithgow 1969; Lithgow and Lithgow 1974
Saliba	[sbe]	Margetts 1999, 2004
Sinaugoro	[snc]	Tauberschmidt 1999

Sudest	[tgo]	Anderson 1992; Anderson and Ross 2002
Tawala	[tbo]	Ezard 1997

Primary subgroup: Western Oceanic linkage (WEST)

Lower-order subgroup: Meso-Melanesian linkage (MM)

Banoni	[bcm]	Lynch and Ross 2002
Cheke Holo	[mrn]	Palmer 2003, 2009
Halia	[hla]	Allen 1971
Hoava	[hoa]	Davis 2003
Kara	[leu]	Schlie 1994
Kokota	[kkk]	Palmer 2009
Kubokota	[ghn]	Chambers 2006, 2009
Marovo	[mvo]	Evans 2008
Nakanai	[nak]	Johnston 1980
Nalik	[nal]	Volker 1998
Nehan	[nsn]	Todd 1978
Patpatar	[gfk]	Condra 1989
Ramoaina	[rai]	Davies 2001
Roviana	[rug]	Corston_Pliver 2002
Siar-Lak	[sjr]	Rowe 2005
Simbo	[sbb]	Palmer 1996
Sursurunga	[sgz]	Hutchisson 1975
Teop	[tio]	Mosel and Thiessen 2007
Tigak	[tgc]	Beaumont 1979
Tolai	[ksd]	Ross 1988
Torau	[ttu]	Palmer Website
Tungag	[lcm]	Fast 1997
Ughele	[uge]	Frostad 2013
Vitu	[bbn]	Van den Berg and Bachet 2006
Zabana	[kji]	Fitzsimmons 1989

Primary subgroup: Temotu (TM)

Äiwoo	[nfl]	Næss 2006
Nalögo	[nlz]	Boerger 2013
Natügu	[ntu]	Van den Berg and Boerger 2011

Primary subgroup: Southeast Solomonic (SES)

Arosi	[aia]	Lynch and Horoi 2002
Gela	[nlg]	Miller 1974, Wegener 2013
Kwaio	[kwd]	Keesing 1985
Kwaraqae	[kwf]	Macdonald 2010
Lau	[llu]	Featherstone-Santosuosso 2011
Lengo	[lgr]	Unger 2008
Longgu	[lgu]	Hill 2011
Toqabaqita	[mlu]	Lichtenberk 2008

Primary Subgroup: Southern Oceanic linkage (SOUTH)

Lower-order subgroup: Northern and Central Vanuatu (NCV)

Ambae (East)	[omb]	Hyslop 2001
Ambrym N	[mmg]	Franjieh 2012
Apma	[app]	Schneider 2010
Araki	[akr]	François 2002
Atchin	Not in Ethnologue	Capell and Layard 1980; Duhamel 2010
Aulua	[aul]	Paviour-Smith nd.
Avava	[tmb]	Crowley 2006
Big Nambas	[nmb]	Fox 1979; Dodd 2015
Bierebo	[bnk]	Budd 2010
Dakaaka	[bpa]	Prince 2012
Efate South	[erk]	Thieberger 2006
Lamen	[lmu]	Early 2002
Lelepa	[lpa]	Lacrampe 2009

Lonwolwol	[crc]	Paton 1971a, 1971b
Malua Bay	[mll]	Holmes 2014
Marino	[mrb]	Henri 2011
Maskelynes	[klv]	Healey 2013
Mavea	[mkv]	Guérin 2011
Merei	[lmb]	Chung 2005
Mwotlap	[mlv]	François 2005
Nahavaq	[sns]	Dimock 2009
Naman	[lzl]	Crowley 2006
Neverver	[lgk]	Barbour 2010, 2012
Neve'ei	[vnm]	Musgrave 2007
Nguna	[llp]	Schütz 1969a, 1969b
Paamese	[pma]	Crowley 1982
Tamambo	[mla]	Jauncey 2011
Tirax	[mme]	Brotchie
Vera'a	[vra]	Schnell 2011
Vurës	[msn]	Malau 2002

Primary subgroup: Southern Oceanic linkage (SOUTH)

Lower-order subgroup: South Vanuatu (SV)

Aneityum	[aty]	Lynch 2000
Kwamera	[tnk]	Lindstrom and Lynch 1994
Sie	[erg]	Crowley 1998
Ura	[uur]	Crowley 1999
Whitesands	[tnp]	Hammond 2009

Primary subgroup: Southern Oceanic linkage (SOUTH)

Lower-order subgroup: Loyalties and New Caledonia (NCAL)

Aijë	[aji]	De la Fontinelle 1976; Lercari and De la Fontaine 1965
Bwatoö	[bwa]	Rivierre 1997

Caac	[msq]	Cauchard 2012
Cemuhî	[cam]	Rivierre 1980
Drehu	[dhv]	Moyse-Faurie 1983
Dumbea	[duf]	Shintani and Païta 1989
Nêlêmwa	[nee]	Bril 2000
Nemi	[nem]	Ozanne-Rivierre 1973
Numee	[kdk]	Rivierre 1966
Nyelâyu	[yly]	Ozanne-Rivierre 1998
Pije	[piz]	Rivierre 1978
Tinrin	[cir]	Osumi 1995
Xârâcùù	[ane]	Moyse-Faurie 1995
Xârâgurè	[axx]	Moyse-Faurie 1997

Primary subgroup: Micronesian (MIC)

Kiribati	[gil]	Grove, Grove and Jacobs 1985
Kosraean	[kos]	Lee, Cornelius and Asher 1975
Marshallese	[mah]	Willson 2008
Mokilese	[mkj]	Harrison 1976
Pingelapese	[pif]	Good and Welley 1989
Ponapean	[pon]	Rehg 1981
Satawalese	[stw]	Roddy 2007
Sonsorol	[sov]	Oda 1977
Ulithian	[uli]	Sohn and Bender 1973
Woleaian	[woe]	Sohn 1975

Primary subgroup: Central Pacific (CENT)

Lower-order subgroup: Rotuman (ROT)

Rotuman	[rtm]	Schmidt 2002
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Primary subgroup: Central Pacific (CENT)

Lower-order subgroup: Western and Eastern Fijian (FIJ)

Boumaa Fijian	[fij]	Dixon 1988
Fijian Western	[wyy]	Geraghty 2002; Pawley 2000

Primary subgroup: Central Pacific (CENT)

Lower-order subgroup: Polynesian (FIJ)

Futuna-Aniwa	[fut]	Dougherty 1983
Maori	[mri]	Bauer 1993
Niufo'ou	[num]	Early 2002
Niuean	[niu]	Seiter 1979
Tahitian	[tah]	Lazard and Peltzer 1991
Tikopia	[tkp]	Firth 1985
Tokelauan	[tkl]	Hooper 1993
Tuvaluan	[tvl]	Besnier 1999
Uvean West	[uve]	Moyse-Faurie 1997
Vaeakau-Taumako	[piv]	Næss and Hovdhaugen 2011

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